

Institut für Slavische Philologie der LMU München

Starke Frauen des Mittelalters und das Bild des neuen Europa

Strong Women of the Middle Ages and the Image of the New Europe



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Vorwort der Herausgeber:innen

Die Hervorhebung *Starke Frauen* im Titel dieses Sammelbandes vermittelt zunächst den Eindruck, als sei diese Stärke etwas Besonderes. Zudem erscheint die Epoche des Mittelalters als fern und fast vergessen, vielfach ist auch nicht bekannt, daß der Vorgänger der heutigen Ukraine – die sog. Kyiver Rus' – einer der bedeutendsten mittelalterlichen Staaten war. Ziel der folgenden Beiträge ist es, die Rolle uns teilweise auch noch nicht so bekannter starker Frauen in Geschichte und Literatur gerade auch aus dem ukrainischen Kontext heraus neu aufzugreifen und zu verdeutlichen. So konnte beispielsweise der berühmte Großfürst der Kiever Rus' Jaroslav der Weise (980 – 1054) alle seine drei Töchter mit mittelalterlichen Herrschern des heutigen Europa verheiraten, seine Tochter Anna wurde später sogar Königin von Frankreich.

Gerade die europäische Dimension steht bei den Beiträgen dieses Bandes im Vordergrund, d.h. es wird erforscht, wie starke Frauen in alten, jedoch neu gedachten Legenden und Mythen ihren ganz spezifischen Beitrag zum Aufbau einer neuen europäischen Identität leisteten. Die Lebensaktivität vieler dieser starken Frauen zeigt sich als unverzichtbarer, teilweise revolutionärer Bestandteil der kulturellen, sozialen und politischen Werte eines Europas, wie wir es heute kennen und schätzen. In den Beiträgen dieses Bandes wird nachgefragt, wie die Erfolgsgeschichten starker Frauen gerade aus der mittelalterlichen Kultur Mittel- und Osteuropas möglich wurden, wie es ihnen gelang, berühmt und gleichsam zu ‚Agentinnen‘ des kulturellen Dialogs zwischen Ost und West zu werden. Grundlegend wird dabei deutlich, daß die Stärke der Frauen stets darauf beruhte, daß sie bestehende Sozialsysteme und Lebensbedingungen nicht mehr ertragen wollten, sondern sie mit großem Mut und Engagement auf ihre persönliche Weise revolutionär, aber friedlich zu verändern suchten. Gerade derzeit in unseren Tagen läßt sich erkennen, daß die historischen Leistungen der starken Frauen des Mittelalters von ungeahnter Aktualität und von mehr als vitaler Bedeutung für ein friedliches Verhältnis zwischen Ost und West sind.

Die Idee, *Starke Frauen des Mittelalters und das Bild des neuen Europa* zum Gegenstand eines Projekts und vor allem zum Inhalt des vorliegenden Sammelbandes zu machen, geht ganz wesentlich auf unsere Kollegin Dr. Olena Novikova zurück, der dafür wie auch für die Zusammenstellung dieses Sammelbandes ein ganz großer Dank gebührt. Zu danken haben wir Frau Olena Bader für die Unterstützung bei Textlayout und Formatierung des Bandes, ebenso Frau Gabriele Fröhlich für das Bild *Starke Frauen*, das zum Emblem des ukrainisch-polnisch-deutschen Gesamtprojekts geworden ist. Unser Dank gilt des Weiteren auch dem *Verlag Buchschmiede von Dataform Media GmbH Wien* sowie dem *Referat Elektronisches Publizieren der Universitätsbibliothek der LMU München*.

- 1 Von der Antike bis zum
21. Jahrhundert: Darstellung
der mittelalterlichen Frauen in
Geschichte und Literatur

LITERARY PORTRAYAL OF ELIZABETH-ELISIV IN VERA HENRIKSEN'S NOVEL "THE KING'S MIRROR"

Natalija Horbač
(Ukraine)

This research analyzes the novel about Jaroslav the Wise's daughter. This perspective is important for the Ukrainian-Norwegian historical retrospective, modern outlook on different cultures and understanding of the role and position of women in the Middle Ages as well.

Key words: Kyivan Rus', Norway, portrayal, novel, topos.

ЛІТЕРАТУРНА ПРОЄКЦІЯ ОБРАЗУ ЄЛИЗАВЕТИ-ЕЛІСІВ У РОМАНІ ВЕРИ ГЕНРІКСЕН "КОРОЛІВСЬКЕ ДЗЕРКАЛО"

Наталія Горбач

Об'єктом аналізу в статті є роман, присвячений доньці Ярослава Мудрого. Обраний аспект аналізу є важливим як у контексті україно-норвезької історичної ретроспективи, сучасних уявлень про інші культури, так і з точки зору осмислення становища жінки доби Середньовіччя.

Ключові слова: Київська Русь, Норвегія, образ, роман, топос.

The medieval period is appealing to mass historical fiction due to the abundance of the material it may provide to create a good story. Such factors as a long lapse of time, stereotypical view of many aspects of that epoch along with exoticism of its material and spiritual culture make the Middle Ages ideal for historical and artistic representation of reality, but, on the other hand, require from its writers to bridge the naturally occurring information gaps in a compelling manner. This is especially true when it comes to portraying historical figures which remain controversial, owing to a lack of firm research or incompleteness of the relevant historical process.

In terms of women characters, the above-mentioned aspects can be complemented by the discrimination of femininity. Being a cultural marker of the time, it set limits on social roles of women. Thus, O. Ščerbak, who identified three types of women characters in the old Ukrainian literature of the Middle Ages as follows: historical, religious and sinful, wrote about the former, “They were either members of princely families or foreign queens and princesses, etc. As a rule, they were mentioned only briefly in historical chronicles in relation to certain events. These records very seldom represented the individual author’s view on a historical figure or gave the description of their appearance...” (Ščerbak 2016, 15). This means that a historical novelist who takes on the task to write about such distant times lacks sources and historical references regarding even the most famous personalities. A good example of this is Elisabeth, the daughter of Jaroslav the Wise, who is depicted in Vera Henriksen’s novel *The King’s Mirror* (1980). The novel, translated by Natalija Ivanyčuk, became available to the Ukrainian readers in 2002.

Of all the Grand Prince’s daughters, Anna remains the most famous, owing largely to the fact that she was married to Henry I of France. As for the rest, the information is scarce and limited to the western sources (Vojtovyč 2006; Smoljar 1999). The reason for the Norwegian writer’s interest to Elizabeth is that she was the wife of a Norwegian Prince, and subsequently the King, Harald III of Norway.

Marital agreements of the Medieval times reveal a lot about foreign policy aspirations and cultural orientations in the Middle Ages. According to Ja. Radyš and O. Kožuchar, priority partners of Kyivan Rus’ were “the Nordic countries (Norway, Sweden, Denmark); the Romano-Germanic countries in the West (France, England, German feudal states) and the Slavic countries in the East (Czechia, Poland, etc.); the latter also include Hungary” (Radyš, Kožuchar 2015, 113). P. Hai-Nyžnyk’s calculations show that only 44 out of 103 Princesses of Rus’ became Grand Princess of Rus’, while 39 of Princesses married foreigners. As regards Grand Princes of Rus’, they had 53 wives from other countries (Haj-Nyžnyk 2011). Although far from exhaustive, these statistics, in the historian’s view, make it clear that “Kyivan Rus’ was a key player in the international political arena during 10th–13th centuries” (Haj-Nyžnyk 2011). It was this matrimonial ‘expansion’ that made known to the world

such royal figures as *Bolesław the Bold, King of Poland, the grandson of Volodymyr the Great; Valdemar the Great, King of Denmark, the grandson of Mstyslav I Volodymyrovyč; Saint Margaret of Scotland, a Scottish Queen, as well as Hugh the Great, a leader of the First Crusade, both the grandchildren of Jaroslav the Wise; Béla II, King of Hungary and Croatia, the grandson of Svjatoslav Izjaslavyč; Jevpraksija-Irene, the spouse of the Byzantine co-emperor and the daughter of the Kyivan Prince Mstyslav, and many others.*

The portrayal of the Kyivan princess in the Norwegian literature started with *visur*, that is a genre of scaldic poetry, written by Harald himself, where he complained about the insensitivity of “Gerd¹ from Gardarike² who will not accept his gold rings” and the number of sagas (Pricak 2003, 121–129). As for contemporary literature, the depiction of Elizabeth can be found in the novels by Frid Ingulstad, in particular: *Elisiv*³, *Maria* and *Ingegerd* (the latter two portray the characters of Elizabeth’s daughters). There are several works of Ukrainian literature that portray the daughter of Jaroslav the Wise, including *The Song about the Girl from the Land of the Rus’* (Franko 1978), I. Franko’s translation of Harald’s poem, a dramatic poem *Jaroslav the Wise* by I. Kočerha (Kočerha 1946), a fiction-documentary story *Mother, Marry the King* by I. Korsak (Korsak 2007), fictional biographies *Jaroslav’s Daughters Saga* by Ja. Chorunžyj and Ja. Jakymiv (Chorunžyj, Jakymiv 2004) and *Elizabeth, Jaroslav’s Daughter, the Queen of Two States* by N. Krutenko (Krutenko 2015), and others.

The purpose of this research is to analyse artistic representation of Elizabeth Jaroslavna, in V. Henriksen’s novel *The King’s Mirror*, which is important for bridging historical gaps in the lives of women in the Middle Ages and getting a better understanding of the social role of women in different historical periods and in various cultural contexts. This research will also make a substantial contribution to the national imagology studies related to the vision of a Ukrainian / a Pole (R. Holyk, G. Hrabovyč, D. Nalyvajko, D. Sosnovs’ka, S. Uljaš), a Ukrainian / a

1 A woman from the Kyivan Rus’.

2 “The country of cities (towns)” – the name of the Kyivan Rus’ in the Old Norse epic literature.

3 Elizabeth’s Scandinavian name, which could come from the Slavic name *Olisava*.

Jew (D. Homon, G. Hrabovyč), a Ukrainian / a Georgian (L. Hrytsyk, O. Muškudiani, L. Rozsocha), a Ukrainian / an Italian (N. Bilyk, O. Pachl'ovs'ka, K. Konstantynenko, D. Nalyvajko), a Ukrainian / an American (T. Denysova, A. Mel'nyčuk, O. Nyčko, T. Ostapčuk, M. Tarnavs'ka), a Ukrainian / an Englishman (V. Narivs'ka), a Ukrainian / a Frenchman (D. Čyk), etc. in the literary discourse.

In a situation where the comparison of the images of a foreign and a home culture is being conducted in the number of imagological studies in the spheres of literature, history, culturology, political science and linguistics, and when the conceptual apparatus of the science is being developed, the above-mentioned research shows the specific nature of literary imagology which should be taken into account when exploring theoretical basis of this interdisciplinary field and doing imagological analysis of a literary work as well. However, we could not find any published literary studies research on V. Henriksen's novel and, therefore, there are grounds to claim that this is the first time that a chosen aspect has been studied.

The title of V. Henriksen's novel was inspired by the old Norwegian book *The King's Mirror*. This didactic Christocentric text is in the form of a dialogue between a father and a son, where the son is advised by his father. Such texts were quite popular then and could be found in many literatures of the Middle Ages (the author herself compares the Norwegian text with Volodymyr Monomach's *Admonition* to his children (Henriksen 2002, 279)). This allusion to *The King's Mirror* determines to some extent V. Henriksen's intentions to depict the life and battles of Harald the Ruthless. Since he is one of the three prominent Norwegian rulers who are in the focus of sagas, it seems quite natural that his life could provide plenty of fictional material. However, unlike the medieval writer, V. Henriksen does not give the narrator's voice to the king but Elizabeth-Elisiv instead who is telling about his father's life to her stepson Olaf, the son of Harald and Tora.

The reader meets mature-age Elisiv and Harald at the beginning of the novel, shortly before Harald's campaign to conquer England where he was subsequently killed in the battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066. The story about how they had met and lived in Kyiv as well as the further events from Harald's life and his long struggle for power in Norway are

presented in flashbacks, narrated by Elisiv. A female's perspective allows not only to see Herald the warrior who bribes, cheats and kills, but also a less-than-perfect husband (who, being a Christian, had two wives in addition to sending rebellious Elisiv to an island unsuitable for living), whom she still loves for his looks, intelligence and courage. Although Elisiv does not ignore the conflict between her husband and God, they are Christian virtues and values, impersonated by her ancestors, Grand Prince Volodymyr, princes Borys and Hlib and Grand Princess Ol'ha as well, that have become the benchmark by which the perception of her husband and herself is measured.

On the one hand, the princess is portrayed as her father's daughter. The governance of Jaroslav the Wise was characterized by economic growth, advances in science and education, regulation of legal and social relations and further Christianisation. "He followed the laws, prayed to God and acquired wisdom from books, and for that he was called the Wise" (Henriksen 2002, 98), Elizabeth-Elisiv says about the Grand Prince. She herself could speak Norwegian, Greek and Latin as well as the Old East Slavic language. Moreover, Elisiv was able to count and write (when in exile, she copied books). She was also a connoisseur of skaldic poetry, etiquette and Christian dogmas, including the writings of the Church fathers. Her teachers back in Kyiv were Hilarion, Metropolitan of Kyiv and all Rus', and Theodosius of the Caves. The Gospel and the Book of Psalms were the most precious presents that Elisiv would expect to be brought from Kyiv. The two of the most favourite Elisiv's icons accompanied her through her life. They were "the diptych of ivory, with major religious Holy Days on it, and a silver-framed folding icon, with Jesus in the middle and John the Apostle and the Virgin Mary on their chairs" (Henriksen 2002, 98).

Elisiv's Christocentrism is most apparent in her resistance to the moral scepticism of her husband. Despite being a Christian, Harald obeys religious dogmas only when they do not interfere with his endless encroachments on the authority, property and territory. This is best illustrated by the argument that Elisiv had with her husband about his arranged campaign against England. Harald sees it as a completely legitimate manner to take possession of the legacy of his nephew Magnus who died under unclear circumstances. "I might have killed him and

I might not. It doesn't matter," he says to his wife, without even trying to reduce her suspicions. "What is important to me is to get hold of his wealth in England and Denmark. I have to do it so that people wouldn't tell I didn't dare seize his legacy because I had taken his life" (Henriksen 2002, 11–12). The arguments that Harald uses to justify the breach of a peace treaty with Sweyn II Estridsson, King of Denmark, may well illustrate his treacherous nature, "What is a treaty? The way to keep peace until I benefit from it. . . Once I had a treaty with him but then I terminated it. He should have known better" (Henriksen 2002, 12). The four Elisiv's ancestors, who became saints of the Rus' Orthodox church for their moral standing, do not evoke any reverence in the Norwegian bellicose. Moreover, he negates their Christian virtues by reminding about ways of life they had led before receiving baptism. He means Grand Prince Volodymyr's concubines and three acts of revenge that "saint Valkyrie" Grand Princess Ol'ha took on the Drevljans. As for the Saints Borys and Hlib, who had been Christians from birth and did not stain their reputation, their fault was in "their letting kill themselves and refusing to take or defend their legacy" (Henriksen 2002, 12). For Harald, who respects only power, they are just worthless failures.

Faith is used in the novel to accentuate the spiritual bond between Elisiv and her motherland, "she never got accustomed to the Latin Church service. She still heard the echo of the other liturgy which was the song that could embrace and put the whole sky under the dome of the Saint Sophia of Kyiv" (Henriksen 2002, 52). Experiencing crisis in her island exile, the woman feels alienated from the Church and loses her connection with God. It is the period when she starts having nostalgic dreams in her native language and it is also the time when she turns to her "childhood God", "that Light Father, the God of Heaven who embraced people giving them his kindness and love?" (Henriksen 2002, 73). Even Kyiv, her hometown, is by and large marked with the Christian loci such as Kyiv Pečers'k Lavra, the Church of the Tithes, and of course, Saint Sophia Cathedral, "High above the city rises Kyiv Metropolis, the biggest church in the town, Holy Sophia Cathedral. My father has built it and it has taken him many years. The temple is spacious inside, and its vaults are held on the huge pillars. The walls there are decorated with wonderful pictures, some of them are painted, and oth-

ers are lined with tiny shards of stained glass and gold flecks. The rays of light, which come from above through the big windows, brighten the colours, making the gold shine and sparkle magnificently. It seems as if the earth and the heaven have combined all together. Mary raises her hands to the heavens praying for us, mortals. Jesus Christ comes alive and walks the Earth, with prophets, apostles, saints and angels beside him. Over all of them, high in the sky, there is Christ Pantocrator who ...” Elisiv stumbled, “It’s not that easy to describe Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv in the Norwegian language. I have run out of words” (Henriksen 2002, 101–102).

The portrayal of Harald’s wife, however, is not one-dimensional. In addition to being an educated, intelligent and sensitive woman, fictional Elisiv is presented as “Harald’s Valkyrie” who followed him in his military campaigns. With this, V. Henriksen substantiates that her heroine became like this not only because of the challenges of those times and the king’s wife’s status, but also due to her origin. In doing so, the author characterizes the Rus’ people as a warlike nation on several occasions throughout the novel. “In the ancient times, long before Christianisation of Kyivan Rus’, my forbears would put a drawn sword in front of a newborn son saying, “Don’t count on my legacy. You will earn everything with your own sword” (Henriksen 2002, 101–102). Except Jaroslav the Wise, almost all men in the main heroine’s paternal line followed this admonition, “My brothers saw the blood too, but I don’t know whether they enjoyed that. Fighting with neighbors was just their daily grind. Having defeated their enemies, they would burn their towns and villages, take prisoners and sell them into slavery” (Henriksen 2002, 152).

Although Elisabeth-Elisiv respected her father for his contribution into economical, social and cultural development of Kyivan Rus’, she really looked up to her grandfather Svjatoslav whom she admired for his military prowess. According to her, Svjatoslav “had been fighting all his life and conquered a lot of countries. He sneaked around like a cat... He never took any provision with him but cooked his meat in the campfire. He never had a tent, neither, so when he got tired, he just put a saddle under his head and went to sleep” (Henriksen 2002, 31). She tends to think that consanguinity may explain her own recklessness, “I am a real descendant of Svjatoslav, flesh of his flesh, his kindred spirit.

I used to take pleasure from looking at the battlefield. I loved to see how bravely Harald would rush into a battle under the banner which I embroidered for him. You can only imagine how many times I had the chance to watch his battles! Even Harald himself once asked me to be more careful or he would have to give me a helmet and armor” (Henriksen 2002, 152). Svjatoslav is also the one from her family who is the most respected by Harald. He talks about him when he tries to justify his own aggressive ambitions to his wife, “You once told me that you wanted me to be more like Svjatoslav than your educated but fearful father” (Henriksen 2002, 31–32). Nothing can change his plans, even reminding about the humiliating death of Svjatoslav, whose skull served as a drinking vessel for his enemies. “Do you think my sculp will make a good vessel? Look, how good it is” (Henriksen 2002, 32), he just laughed the matter off. For this reason, his rushed words addressed to Elisiv, “Svjatoslav’s spawn!” (Henriksen 2002, 215), sound more like admiration of her strong will than criticism.

From a psychological perspective, relations between Elisiv and Harald, the two people with extremely strong personalities who are not willing to make compromises, appear very convincing. The author starts to follow the fates of the characters beginning with their first meeting in Kyiv, where a 15-year-old Harald and his half-brother Olaf came to wait out uncertain times away from their homeland conquered by the King of Denmark. He became the head of the mercenary unit in the service of Jaroslav the Wise. The family ties of the future king with the Kyivan princely are worth mentioning here since his elder brother Olaf’s wife was the sister of Ingegerd, the second wife of the Grand Prince of Kyiv and Elizabeth’s mother. Young Harald’s ambitions involved not only the Norwegian throne, but also a marriage to a Jaroslav the Wise’s daughter. These plans at first had not come to fruition since Hovdings preferred Olaf’s underage son, Magnus, and the Grand Prince of Kyiv refused to marry his daughter to an outcast whose fate was precarious and uncertain. As a result, Harald entered into service at the court of Byzantium emperors in Constantinople. Having won a lot of battles, which made him extremely prosperous, he came back to Kyiv and, finally, married the princess. Two years later, young couple left for Norway where Harald “executed his half-brother Olaf’s intentions

of taking control over the whole kingdom, including agricultural areas of Trondelag and Oppland” (Helle 2001, 25) and became a sole ruler. However, the main obstacles to their love were not the wars and a political power play of that time but Harald’s bad temper. Thus, he decided to teach his pertinacious wife a lesson and gain support from the local nobility by banishing Elisiv to an island and taking Tora Torbergsdatter as a concubine and his wife.

The novel is set in the first decade of the Christianisation of Norway, that began circa 1000 and is associated with the Harald’s brother, Olaf II Haraldsson, King of Norway. Apparently, the new religion did not gain much popularity at that time, and Harald’s impertinent behaviour eloquently attests to this, “I’ll do whatever I want. I’ll go to England even if Michael the Archangel and all his army gets in my way” (Henriksen 2002, 29). Throughout the novel Harald, who is a typical Scandinavian adventurer of the period, shows even greater religious skepticism. “It would be hardly possible to call God my friend” (Henriksen 2002, 18), he says. The author further maintains that “The unsurmountable wall was growing between Harald and God” (Henriksen 2002, 136). The reason for this internal conflict is the confrontation between Christian morality and the traditional way of life of the Norwegians, who, due to the lack of arable lands and overpopulation, were engaged in constant raids, military and naval campaigns, piracy and looting. Nevertheless, life went on and the feudal society replaced the clan system, having transformed a semi-nomadic way of life into a settled one. These changes put the end to wars of conquest in the first half of the 11th century. St. Olaf and Harald were the last Norwegian Viking leaders. Moreover, Harald’s death marked the end of a three-hundred-year history of the Viking expansion.

This explains the reason why fictional Elisiv represents more than just a new type of personality. She also embodies the new type of conscience that is intended to replace pre-Christian morals. The concept of her portrayal may be interpreted as a response to Olaf’s question about whether it is possible to be a Valkyrie and a saint at the same time. “It’s possible,” the woman said, “I’ve never lied about my love to God. I’ve been searching for God” (Henriksen 2002, 259). Thus, conversations with Harald and Tora’s son, besides providing the reader with the facts

from the family history and the summary of the late king's ruling, serve as admonitions to his son who will succeed the throne. It is noteworthy that under his rule (at first as his brother Magnus's co-regent and then, after his death, as the sole ruler of the Kingdom of Norway) the country saw an increase of trade and towns as well as strengthening of the Church and the power of the king. Olaf II Haraldsson was the first literate king of Norway and was also known as Olaf 'the calm' due to his overall peace-loving policy.

For Elisiv, personal relationships refer to physical love coupled with a Christian virtue. Although she is aware of such Harald's negative traits as treachery, revengefulness, greediness, pettiness, wiliness and vanity, she never stops fighting for him. She says, "If he [Harald – N.H.] is destined to eternal damnation in hell, I'd rather suffer with him than go to Heaven alone" (Henriksen 2002, 259). Elisiv's value conflict is a result of her contradicting feelings of love for Harald ("I loved him for his reckless courage, restlessness, zeal for combat and strength" (Henriksen 2002, 259)) and repentance for her husband's sins ("She held herself responsible for the harm her husband inflicted. She felt as if she rose with Harald together to his stardom, and then fell with him into the abyss. She paid for this dearly, living in fear for Harald's soul and praying daily for his salvation and deliverance for those whose lives he had destroyed" (Henriksen 2002, 268).

What makes fictional Elisiv human is the depiction of her relations with her daughters, Maria and Ingegerd. In this respect, she is portrayed as a loving mother, who cares about lives, security and happiness of her children. She has love not only for Harald and her own children but also for her stepson Olaf. She first met him after his father had died. Olaf, who was sixteen then, hated his father and Elisiv, drank a lot and would not listen to anyone, "She used to worry about Maria, you know, it's not easy to be the King Harald's daughter. She shouldn't have. It might have been much more difficult for a son to have Harald as a father. This is especially true for an emotionally vulnerable young boy. By the way, Olaf and Maria look alike ... She was almost sure that Olaf was suffering She wanted to help him" (Henriksen 2002, 62). She treats her rival Tora with dignity as well and will not listen to bad things about her, emphasizing that "King Harald has two widows" (Henriksen 2002, 62).

Elisiv's emotive and evaluative attitudes toward Kyivan Rus' and Norway constitute the 'homeland'/'foreign land' dichotomy. The former is described as fertile and blessed, and also as the land "that is good for wheat, that gives birth and becomes a bed for those who have lied into it" (Henriksen 2002, 74). As for the latter, it is rocky, empty and impoverished. Kyiv has become a central topos of her home world. It is the princess's home town, "a place of unprecedented beauty" (Henriksen 2002, 101), which has "forty churches, eight markets, ... surrounded by a long wall with numerous gates, one of which is golden" (Henriksen 2002, 101). The fact that market places are mentioned just after buildings for Christian worship highlights the importance of foreign and domestic trade in the economy of that period. According to Elisiv, it is the trade that have made Kyiv so prosperous, "But for the trade, there wouldn't be any Kyiv, the goods are brought here from everywhere. Fur and copper come from boundless northern forests, weapons arrive from the western countries, sophisticated cloths are from Constantinople, exotic vegetables appear from the south and magnificent jewelry is from far away oriental countries whose names are all mystery to us!" (Henriksen 2002, 101), "camelcades travel from the east whereas mule pack trains deliver goods from the west, making their way through impenetrable forests" (Henriksen 2002, 101). The main waterway of Kyivan Rus' is also described in terms of its importance for the trade, "The Dnieper river is the biggest trade route... Every spring Kyiv harbours a big fleet of merchant ships. A lot of boats come from the towns upriver, some of them arrive from far away towns like Novhorod... At the beginning of the summer they are ready to leave, loaded with goods and slaves. Merchants set off on a long journey to Constantinople" (Henriksen 2002, 101). This description of the broad lands of the Kyivan state reminds the one from the ancient records, where the narrator gives an impression of looking at them from above and connecting in his mind the territories that are thousands of miles apart. In terms of the novel by V. Henriksen, this active and mobile map shows both the scope of the country and its place on the trade route from the Varangians to the Greeks.

Literary space becomes an important indicator of the changes that Elisiv's character undergoes throughout the novel. For example, the description of the one of the Dnieper Rapids, *Insatiable* or *Nenasytet'*

(Nejasyt' in the novel), which presented a big danger to navigation, at first glance, seems to be just a part of the Dnieper topos, "The most petrifying is the fourth⁴ rapid. Here the garrison has to carry ships and drive shackled slaves over land. This rapid is called Nejasyt', which means insatiable⁵, and this name fits it perfectly. Nejasyt' has twelve rifts and the river seethes there, it thrashes about, breaking against the cliffs, which are as sharp as sword blades. There is a thick mist in the air, and many whirlpools swirl among stones. A terrible roaring noise silences everything around the place" (Henriksen 2002, 103–104). In terms of numbers, the rapid was approximately 2.5 km long downstream and about 1 km wide; the total drop height of the water from its 12 rifts was above 5 m; it never froze even in the harshest winters due to the speed of the current of 4–6 m/s (Vermenyč 2004, Vermenyč 2010). With that in mind, the novelist uses toponym 'Nenasytec' to signify the challenge that requires from a person moral and physical strength. This seems especially relevant if we keep in mind that water symbolizes a purifying elemental force. The situation that will require the heroine to suppress her feelings will be her love to her stepson, "Here it is, that rapid, her own Nejasyt', which she was carried to by the relentless river" (Henriksen 2002, 261). Elisiv cannot help but be attracted to Olaf's personality, who, unlike his father, "can cry and fight at the same time" (Henriksen 2002, 261), who will not send his troops to invade other lands because peace for his country is paramount and a human life is more valuable for him than spoils of war. Having had a moment of weakness, the woman realizes that there is no future in a sinful relationship, "What is a sin? Elisiv felt like Whore of Babylon. If somebody found out that she made love to her husband's son, she would be stoned to death. But her heart was still filled with hope that even Creator God would not

4 In historical sources it is the fifth out of the nine Dnieper rapids.

5 In the work *De Administrando Imperio* (946–953) by Constantine Porphyrogenetos ('the Purple-born'), Emperor of the Byzantine Empire, where we find the first historic mention of Nenasytec', its name is derived from the owl-like bird Nejasyt' that lived on the rapid cliffs. Nevertheless, semantic interpretation of the toponym as 'insatiable and bloodthirsty', which is given in the novel, is widely accepted and was cited by D. Javornyc'kyj who linked the name to the fact that the rapid was difficult to navigate.

judge her and would forgive her, telling her not to sin again” (Henriksen 2002, 261).

From the very beginning, Elisiv has been adjusting to her new role in a foreign country simultaneously with her psychological and physical adaptation to an alien landscape, that is associated with depicted in the novel islands, fjords, straits, cliffs and the sea. This can be observed most clearly in the connection with the latter topos.

Being from a mainland state, Elisiv initially perceives the sea as an incomprehensible and hostile force to mankind, “I was standing on the deck, watching the last outlines of the sea shore disappearing over the horizon... You’ll never see what I mean, Olaf. You’ve known the sea since you were a child, whereas for me the boundless sea, that was breathing and pulsing below, with its horrible monsters lurking in its depths, was a living being... It didn’t take long before I could see how dangerous it could be ... The sky grew dark, the clouds became heavy with rain; the storm began, bringing high winds and gales. Big waves were tossing our ship like a nutshell; hanging over the deck, they were showing their white fangs as if they wanted to swallow us ...” (Henriksen 2002, 145). More than once the writer endows her characters with pagan consciousness, but the sea seems to be so alien to Elisiv that it does not fit into any polytheistic worldview, “I could not imagine it being a woman, as, say, mother Earth, or a man who would look like an ancient idol. The sea was just a shapeless giant, who was unfathomable and strange like nothing I’ve ever seen before” (Henriksen 2002, 145). The depth of her heroine’s inner turmoil in the new environment is masterfully conveyed by V. Henriksen through Elisiv’s childhood fears, “I felt like a small girl, abandoned by her mother and left with strangers” (Henriksen 2002, 145).

When her fear of the sea wore off over time (“My wife has to be accustomed to sea voyages” (Henriksen 2002, 145)), Elisiv, according to Olaf, “never ceased to be a Valkyrie, the protector of her husband in battles” (Henriksen 2002, 258) alongside Harald in his naval campaigns. Just like Elisiv’s older daughter Maria who since her early age “hasn’t seen anything but the sea and the cliffs” (Henriksen 2002, 36), her mother is gradually getting used to the sea landscape, “She could stand for hours on the shore admiring stones in the harbor, white with

frost; watching how sea forth glistened in the sun when the tide came in or how the mist glowed with myriads of sparkling droplets” (Henriksen 2002, 144).

Fourteen years (out of her over twenty-year-long marriage to Harald) that Elisiv spent in exile on the island, exposed to the winds and waves, taught her to perceive the sea as divinity, “It seemed to her that high and low tides were the manifestation of God’s will... She felt as if she opened her soul to God with the boundless trust. She let the waves of His love to carry her along. And when the sea rolled back, it took the scum, washing away her sins” (Henriksen 2002, 34). Thus, in the woman’s mind, the sea acquired both purificatory and purgatory powers. This is why at the moments when Elisiv faces a conflict between her spiritual and terrestrial callings and wishes her husband a victory at any cost (“it doesn’t matter who he should thank for that victory, God or Satan himself” (Henriksen 2002, 34)), she regards the high tide as recompense for her sinful thoughts, “God’s will that manifested itself in a flux terrified her because she, a mortal, had rebelled against the Lord” (Henriksen 2002, 34).

Apart from this, high and low tides are a part of the natural cycle according to which the woman lives on the island. The way she compares seasons with the rise and fall of the tide, by saying that “seasons alternate with each other as fast as flood and ebb” (Henriksen 2002, 228), is evidence of the importance of the sea in her life. Although Norway was initially in contrast to Kyivan Rus’, Elisiv later realizes that a foreign country has become closer to her through the years of hardships and struggles, “The sea breeze used to be strange to her when she first arrived with King Harald in his weather-bitten and rocky homeland, but it has become her friend. She could hear the sea waves roaring below and thought that they sounded like a pipe organ song. With the difference that God the Father himself played it, not a monk” (Henriksen 2002, 6).

As can be inferred from the above, the sea in V. Henriksen’s novel *The King’s Mirror* is a constituent of a spatial description that has characteristics of unknown space requiring familiarization. The main heroine’s physical and psychological adaptation is conveyed through the

change of her attitude to the sea, which went from fear and hostility to harmonic coexistence.

Spatial images as components of the author's individual picture of the world are closely related to other elements of the imagery system of the literary work. In particular, they may be an important means to portray what the character is like 'through place'. When it comes to a character who, like Elisiv, is the bearer of medieval consciousness, the spatial coordinates are defined by the presence of their own (inner, close, comprehensible and relatively safe) and alien (external, unknown, unpredictable, distant and threatening) worlds within this consciousness. When the heroine of V. Henriksen's novel overcomes the barrier between the worlds of Kyivan Rus' and Norway, she moves from one ethnic, sociopolitical and cultural dimension to another. In this manner, Elisiv abandons the role of a character with 'spatial and ethical statics' (according to Ju. Lotman) and becomes the active character capable to eliminate the obstacles. This successful move enables the heroine, despite her many losses and suffering, to overcome not only geographical distances, but also differences in mentality and bond with the topos of the country that used to be alien to her.

As for Elizabeth's later life, the writer follows the concept of Scandinavian sagas and concludes the novel with the heroine's marriage to Sweyn II Estridsson, King of Denmark. It was also an arranged marriage, just like the first one, with difference being that this time it was Elisiv's step-son Olaf, not her father Jaroslav the Wise, who decided whom she should marry. Thus, a peace treaty between Norway and Denmark was strengthened by the marriages of Elisiv and Sweyn on the one hand, and his daughter Ingerid and Olaf on the other. Although dynastic marriages disregarded women's feelings, V. Henriksen again departs from this stereotype, "Elisiv has been watching Sweyn; she took to him twenty years ago when she lived in Sweden. Sweyn was an amiable man, but he often lost his temper. She hoped she might have a tolerable life with him" (Henriksen 2002, 277). Notwithstanding the open ending of the novel, Sweyn's last phrase, "I'm going to invade England. Do you fancy being the Queen of England, Elisiv?" (Henriksen 2002, 277), makes us think that it is impossible for a woman to be happily married in the system of wrong values.

Both historical and literary portrayal of Elizabeth, Jaroslav's daughter, remains controversial due to the absence of fundamental research into that historical period as well as information gaps concerning the life of the Kyivan Princess. However, there are indications that Ukrainian translation of the novel by V. Henriksen may cause the renewal of interest in a historical figure of Elizabeth-Elisiv, which implies involvement of various literary and academic works on the topic. The novel can be considered as a source of historical evidence about that distant epoch and a means of forming mass historical consciousness. As rightly pointed out by I. Lučuk, "Ukrainian readers may find historical allusions and citations too transparent"⁶. However, it must be born in mind that for readers from Norway and other foreign countries, where V. Henrikson's novels are published and translated, important events and facts in the history of Ukraine need additional explanation. Therefore, this novel by Vera Henriksen is a powerful tool ... to popularize our history in the world" (Lučuk 2002, 6).

Although intercultural contacts have become part of everyday life in modern times, people still may perceive other cultures through the lenses of their own, limiting themselves by its boundaries. Literature has always helped people push these limits, having created certain genres where foreign cultures are accurately portrayed, being presented through the prism of author's consciousness. Ukraine and Norway have a rather long history of literary relations, if we regard the translations of the Nobel laureate B. Bjørnson's works at the end of the 19th century as their beginning. But it is only in recent years that these contacts have intensified. As a result, the joint literary events have been held, Ukrainian literature collections have been established in Norwegian libraries, several Ukrainian publishers have printed the number of translations from Norwegian, which familiarize our reader with new names and literary works. In terms of building positive interethnic relationships, an important role is played by cross-cultural literary works. Being a representative of this literary genre, V. Henriksen's novel *The*

⁶ While discussing preparatory aspects of writing her historical novel, V. Henriksen pointed out that she had used both Western European sources and early written records of Rus', including *The Chronicle of Nestor*, old sermons, biographies of saints and the *Admonition of Prince Volodymyr Monomach* (Henriksen 2002, 281).

King's Mirror facilitates understanding of a multipolar world, extends our knowledge of the historical Ukrainian-Norwegian retrospective and enriches contemporary views on the world and a place of our own culture in it.

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THE IMAGE OF A MEDIEVAL WOMAN IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

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The article analyses the image of a medieval woman in children's literature basing on two picture books: "Syla divčat. 50 korotkych istorij nezlamnych ukrajinok" by Katja Babkina and Marek Livin, and collective work "Ce zrobyla vona". From among the female characters presented by the authors, three heroines were chosen: Princess Ol'ha, Anne of Kyiv and Ingegerd. The manner of their presentation, selected elements of the biography and the most accented personality traits were analysed. A question was asked about the way and the purpose of updating these characters in contemporary children's literature.

Keywords: children's literature, Princess Ol'ha, Anne of Kyiv, Ingegerd.

ЗОБРАЖЕННЯ СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧНОЇ ЖІНКИ В СУЧАСНІЙ УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ДИТЯЧІЙ ЛІТЕРАТУРІ

Катажина Якубовська-Кравчик

У статті проаналізовано образ середньовічної жінки в дитячій літературі на прикладі двох книжок із малюнками: "Сила дівчат. 50 коротких історій незламних українок" (автори – Катя Бабкіна, Марек Лівін) і збірки "Це зробила вона". Серед представлених авторами жіночих персонажів були обрані три героїні – княгиня Ольга, Анна Ярославівна й Інгігерда. Проаналізовано спосіб їх зображення, вибрані елементи автобіографії та найяскравіше зображені риси характеру. Проблемне питання стосується способу й мети оновлення цих персонажів у сучасній дитячій літературі.

Ключові слова: дитяча література, княгиня Ольга, Анна Ярославівна, Інгігерда.

In their approach to women in the Middle Ages, many people go along with a simplistic view expressed by Stefan of Fongeres who, in the twelfth century, wrote that women were “a source of war and a source of hatred”, and thanks to their “kitchen practices” they were capable of changing a course of events (Ryniec, 2009). Contrary to popular belief, there were quite a few medieval women who left their mark in history, among others: Joan of Arc, Anna Komnene, Jadwiga of Poland, Princess Ol’ha, Anne of Kyiv, Bridget of Sweden, Catherine of Siena, Hildegard of Bingen, Hilda of Whitby, Mechthild of Magdeburg, Juliana of Norwich, Queen Clotilde, Margaret and many more. General knowledge about them, compared to what is known about men of that period is, nonetheless, rudimentary. The belief in the negligible influence of women on the public domain in the Middle Ages probably arises from the opinion voiced by gender studies that social and political life was the realm of men. The role of a woman was to charm with her beauty, to be a good wife and mother (Zielińska 2014, 125). The general view is that public life is largely moulded by stereotypes. Children come across stereotypes from an early age. What parents often highlight in the upbringing of girls is sensitivity, good manners and beauty, and expect boys to be brave and bold. They learn specific attitudes in the course of the education process. In many countries, the beliefs attributed to male and female roles are presented in school textbooks. Several researchers draw attention to this phenomenon. Małgorzata Karwatowska and Jolanta Szpyra-Kozłowska, in their book “Lingwistyka płci. Ona i on w języku polskim [Linguistics of gender. She and he in the Polish language]” appeal for “including female addressees to a greater extent, not only male addressees, in the content and form” (Bielak 2015, 106) of school textbooks. These gaps in school textbooks are, to some extent, filled by children’s literature where more and more women are shown as wise and strong, sharing their opinions, and not afraid of challenges. This article will discuss the images of medieval women and the ways they are presented, using selected examples of Ukrainian literature. Agnieszka Tetrycz-Puzio notes, “Most source information from the Middle Ages concerns princesses or nuns, there are only rudimentary references to women from the lower classes. In the light of chronicles and *Vita*, it is noticeable that, on the one hand, men in the Middle Ages

were afraid of women, declared that they were a tool of Satan but, on the other hand, they showed them respect, admired and even adored them (also in court poetry)” (Tetrycz-Puzio 2012, 9). No wonder then that the majority of children’s literature heroines are medieval queens, princesses or saints.

In recent years, there has been a noticeable growth in the interest in Medieval women, partly because of the myths that have arisen around them, partly because many threads have not yet been exploited. The following titles can be quoted “Katherine” by Anya Seton, “Pope Joan” by Donna Woolfolk Cross, Bernard Cornwell’s and Philippa Gregory’s novels etc. in which, among others, we find references to national mythologies, legends, folk tales, etc.

Middle Ages. A woman. Authority

Medieval women had the opportunity to be active in a realm if they were born to a princely or royal family. Theodora, Emperor Justinian’s wife who co-ruled with him and became a co-creator of Justinian’s reforms may be an example of the above statement. “To travel to the distant past, you need not only imagination but also a large dose of knowledge” – says the motto to “Jadwiga Król” (Orlińska 2017, 3), the young readers novel by Zuzanna Orlińska, about the medieval ruler of Poland. Several protagonists of the analysed children’s novels have left their strong marks in the history of Ukraine and other European countries. In this article, I will try to discuss whether or not, and to what extent the strong personalities of medieval women are present in the literature for the young reader. Referring to the figure of three women who had to exercise power in the Middle Ages: Princess Ol’ha, Ingegerd, and Anne of Kyiv, I will try to analyse the image of a medieval woman in children’s and young reader’s literature. “Syla divčat. 50 korotkych istorij nezlamnych ukrajinok” by Katja Babkina and Marek Livin, and collective work “Ce zrobyla vona” will be used as a research material.

Literature for children and young readers is specific. For a long time, it remained outside the area of interest of literature researchers, classified as a tool in teaching rather than full-fledged literary work. Writers, whose works were addressed not only to young readers but also to adults, for example, Kornel Makuszyński and Jan Brzechwa put forward

questions about such a division. At present, this literature is regarded to be an independent category, with its own literary research, sometimes called “separate literature” (Cieślukowski 1985). A. Szwagrzyk-Dalasińska writes: “Literature for children and young people has always been studied discursively – it is extremely susceptible to it. It was read using the most popular tools in a given period, hence the changeability of perspectives in which it was debated, and the changeability of analytical contexts. The current literature for non-adults is defined primarily in terms of literary studies (not, as before, in terms derived mainly from children’s folklore or the borderland of psychology and pedagogy), always present in the discourse” (Szwagrzyk-Dalasińska 2018, 35).

In the literature for younger generation, we find stories about strong women in the Middle Ages in richly illustrated books for children. In the case of “Syla divčat. 50 korotkych istorij nezlamnykh ukrajinok”, the illustrators Anna Savirva and Julia Tvjeritina are no less important than the authors of the texts, while 120 authors and illustrators worked on the book “Ce zrobyła vona”. In the Ukrainian market, these editions are often presented as picture books. We will not delve into the nuances between definitions of the picture book and the illustrated book, however, there is no doubt that in both cases verbal and pictorial messages play a fundamental role. Both messages are mutually supportive and strengthen the conveyed meanings. The images of Middle Ages women we analyse are as different as they were. The illustrators tried to include the most important features of the characters they depicted in order to present them in a colourful and intriguing way, while at the same time arousing the sympathy of the readers.

One of the most common medieval female figures in the literature is Princess Ol’ha who appears as early as in the 12th century in Novels of the Past. Her contemporaries were fascinated by her, and she still fascinates readers today by her courage and the ability to make far-reaching plans. She did not hesitate to wage wars and create new laws. According to the sources, she was an endearing woman, and the emperor Constantine himself appreciated her beauty and wisdom in his marriage proposal.

The analysis of selected texts proves that the authors while writing had primarily in mind the target group of children and young readers.

They took into account the fact that in this type of literary communication an important role is played by a young person, constantly developing, looking for role models and trying to find answers to challenging questions. In the analysed children's literature, O'ha is portrayed as a girl who, when marrying at the age of fifteen, showed extraordinary maturity. She knew that the ruler's most important virtue was wisdom, which made the people respect and love the monarch. This approach to power made it easier for her to be active and independent. Babkina and Livin present her as the true ruler of Kyivan Rus' because her husband Ihor was busy fighting the invaders. After his death, she raised their son Svjatoslav, holding the power in her hands and ruling the country on his behalf. She did not hesitate to introduce reforms such as a tax system. She even decided to embrace Christianity bravely which, in the long run, was to change the position of the state forever.

The authors, therefore, seek to find and emphasize those qualities of a medieval ruler which may help girls overcome the fear of participating in public life, and challenge stereotypes of male and female roles. If, in the ancient Middle Ages, a woman could rule such a large country as Kyivan Rus', make military decisions, can she not do the same in the 21st century?

Babkina and Livin deliberately make use of J.S. Bruner's claim who said that "in individual experiences, culture manifests itself in the 'production of meanings' emerging in social negotiation in a specific cultural context. Symbolic culture, which includes stories, texts, images, symbols, traditions, music, etc., provides specific tools which are internalized in the ontogenesis into the sphere of thinking, perception, habits, feelings, and attitudes of the individual." (Bruner 2006, 226). That is why the elements in all the stories about medieval princesses analysed here which, according to the authors, are worth internalizing by the young generation, are deemed most important.

More stories have been written in a similar vein. An example is the figure of a French queen, Anne of Kyiv, daughter of Jaroslav the Wise. Her life has been an inspiration not only for children's books illustrators, but also writers, painters, and filmmakers. Several novels have been written about her, including A. Candaille "De France, Ou Le Douzième Siècle", I. Fylypčak, "Anna Jaroslavna – koroleva Franciji", A. Ladyns'kyj,

“Anna Jaroslavna”, Ph. Delorme, “Anne de Kiev: Epouse de Henri 1er”, V. Sokolovs’kyj, “Anna. Dyllohija abo Bila Koroleva” and many others.

The readers of “Ce zrobyla vona” meet her as a young girl, a prince’s daughter. Evidently, in the tale about Anna, there is an extensive passage about her father and brothers, but it has been introduced mainly to illustrate the fact that she was in no way inferior to them. From a young age, she learned foreign languages – Latin, Greek, French – she spoke Russian and Swedish. She learned to write, and in the 11th century, this skill was reserved primarily for boys. Anna refused the first marriage proposal, she agreed to marry only after four years, with the consent of both her and Jaroslav the Wise, her father. She ruled France jointly with her husband, and then with her son. She promulgated the good name of her native Rus’.

What is clear in the story is an attempt to use images of concepts (e.g., gender) and symbols characteristic for children’s literature, intuitively interpreted by a young recipient. This narrative manner is expected to have a strong impact on children’s imagination which, unlike adult imagination, knows no boundaries. Combining creative and reproductive imagination, young readers can create a world where they can cross all boundaries and become whoever they want. It should be remembered, however, that as Górniewicz stated, that images “contain elements of various fragments of remembered reality and are not mechanical” (Górniewicz, 1992, 6). And this reality is also created by books. As John Masefield wrote, “Humans consist of body, mind, and imagination. Our bodies are faulty, our minds untrustworthy, but our imagination has made us remarkable” (Selye 1967, 50).

In our case, imagination is influenced by images of strong medieval women and Ingegerd, the Swedish princess, presented by Nika Novikova (author of one of the stories from the book “Ce zrobyla vona” as a role model. Initially, following the decisions taken in 1017 in Upsala, she was to be married to King Olaf II of Norway to seal the Swedish-Norwegian peace treaty. Things, however, turned out differently and she married Prince Jaroslav. In the analysed literature, Ingegerd is portrayed as one who, with her attitude, was able to stop the invasion of the Polovcians, a year after her husband Jaroslav the Wise managed to stop another Polovcian invasion. The authors present her not only as

a woman who is wise but also aware of her value, with a strong character, and capable of defending her position. Married to Prince Jaroslav because of state interests, she loved the ruler of Norway all her life. She was devoted but not subordinated to the Rus' prince. The manifestation of this fact was, among other things, her own army which she commanded, and which was not under the prince's orders, although she often helped him in his military ventures. Ingegerd plays the role of a medieval rebel; she does not want to forget about her love for Olaf II which causes several conflicts with Prince Jaroslav. Nonetheless, she had her own way and, despite Jaroslav's initial resistance, she devotedly raised Magnus, the son of the Norwegian king, so that he could take the throne in the future. And nowadays, the image of the heroine rebel presented in the young reader literature is highly appreciated.

Female roles

Both books challenge the stereotypes of the princess and the pea female heroines, often found in children's literature. The books are true to historical realities, which is very valuable in stories about strong and wise women. According to historians, women who occupied high social positions in the Middle Ages had to submit to specific norms of behaviour. A woman was expected to be a wife, a mother, a good Christian supporting the sick and the poor, a patron of culture. All three heroines, Ol'ha, Ingegerd, and Anna, played feminine roles in accordance with medieval norms but were not limited to them. R. Pernoud wrote: "The family has been and still is the basic social unit and, therefore, also is marriage. Both in the first and in the latter case a woman is the central figure in each of these forms; she is the core without which these institutions have no *raison d'être*, she is the main driving force of both these structures." (Pernoud 1990, 84). It was particularly important in royal families whose descendants were to be heirs to the throne. All three princesses had children who were heirs to the throne. Ol'ha gave birth to Svjatoslav, Ingegerd, despite tensions with her husband, gave birth to the future Grand-Novhorod Prince Volodymyr Jaroslavič, and Izjaslav I Jaroslavič, the Grand Prince of Kyiv, Svjatoslav II Jaroslavič – the Prince of Černihiv, Vsevolod I Jaroslavič, the Prince of Perejaslav, and the Grand Duke of Kyiv, Černihiv Rostov and Suzdal', Ihor Jaro-

slavič, the Prince of Volodymyr-Volyn' and Smolens'k, and V"jačeslav the Prince of Smolens'k. Ingegerd also gave birth to three daughters, who later became queens of European countries: Elizabeth was the wife of Harald III, King of Norway, then she was married to Swen II, King of Denmark, Anna was the Queen of France and Anastasija was the Queen of Hungary. On the other hand, Anna Jaroslavna gave King Henry four children: Philip I, the King of France, Robert who died as a child, Hugo, the Count Vermandois and Emma, who according to legend became a nun and was canonized by the Catholic church.

The matter of faith and piety was another element of assessment of a medieval woman, second only to the duties towards her husband. Many of the respectable princes were declared saints after death, and it was also the case of our two protagonists: Saint Ol'ha (who was the first Rus' princess to be baptized), and Saint Anna Jaroslavna's life was a little more complicated until the Pope probably put a curse on her (he definitely put a curse on her second husband Raul the II from Peronne). However, it is worth paying attention to another aspect of the matter. According to M. Michalski, "The husband of a holy woman, despite wielding the highest political power in the state, was subject to his wife, endowed with more powerful, heavenly power. Thus, holy women described in the second half of the 13th century *Vita* stood above medieval principles defining the place of men and women in the society" (Michalski 2004, 309). From the narratives in the analysed books, the young reader gets a picture of women who are not afraid to defy the established conventions. They understand their social and political roles well and carefully try to perform them adequately, but they are not afraid to challenge the stereotypes and to do so they must overcome their fear, sometimes give up their dreams and take into account the possibility that they may not be understood. So, the authors, following the example of their colleagues from other countries, created the characters of rebels, similar to those we find in "Rebel Ladies Who Rocked the World" by Penelope Bagieu (2018) or "Good Night Stories for Rebel Girls" by Elena Favilla and Franceska Cavallo (2017) presenting fascinating women who have often achieved more in their lives than men. The second title is especially interesting because it inspired Ukrainian publishers to create the books "Syla divčat. 50 korotkych

istorij nezlamnych ukrajinek” and “Ce zrobyla vona”. Both volumes saw the light of the day because they were to play a special social role. The first edition of “Syla divčat. 50 korotkych istorij nezlamnych ukrajinek” was funded by the Government of Canada and Internews, and this is how 5000 copies were sent to libraries in the regions of Donec’k and Luhans’k and to displaced families and children of displaced parents.

The co-founder of “Vydavnytvo”, Illja Strohonovs, analysing the book market, notes that there are still few publications about Ukrainian women. An example could be another book for children “Vydatni včeni Ukrajinjy” where among 166 presented figures of Ukrainian activists there were only two women.

Both in “Good Night Stories for Rebel Girls” and Ukrainian novels focus on such a selection of historical material which may give young readers and, above all, young female readers, the motivation to pursue seemingly impossible goals. These are HER stories, rather than HIS stories. The life of so many women described in both books not only delights but also inspires. The authors of these books show that women who have lived their lives fruitfully were very different, originated from different social strata, had different experiences and represented different professions. Ukrainian books depict not only medieval rulers but also strong women of all times, among them Marko Vovčok, Lesja Ukrajinka, Lina Kostenko, Kateryna Bilokur, Marija Prymačenko, Iryna Halaj, as well as contemporary protagonists, such as Jevhenija Zakrevs’ka, Natalka Seldlec’ka, Olena Prytula, and others. The women who fearlessly oppose traditions and stereotypes and do important things are to be role models.

These books try to redefine the image of a woman and her place in public life. The authors, taking the floor in a wide-ranging discussion about the need to change the perception of social roles, made use of literature “preferring the type of reception assuming that certain moral, ethical and aesthetic model attitudes will be searched for in a literary work” (Sadzikowska 2017). Using specific examples they seek to show the need for development. To quote Z. Bielak: “the quality of forming female ethos, free from social conventions, will be determined by the space of development, i.e. external autonomy (freedom from pressure), and internal autonomy, i.e. the ability to manage one’s life based on

cognitive and volitional development” (Bielak 2015, 104). And this is probably one of the basic messages of the analysed novels.

This is what Marta Baszewska has written about “Rebel Ladies Who Rocked the World”: “It is a fact known for a long time that a woman signifies strength. This feminine force of the protagonists of the novel seems to be contagious. [...] Looking at the female reader somewhat provocatively, they seem to ask: «Will you dare? Will you follow in our footsteps? Will you fight for your future or let others decide for it? It is up to us to decide whether we will take the challenge» (Baszewska 2017). Medieval princesses ask readers the same question. All the three discussed characters are well-educated, wise and prudent women. They make independent decisions not only about their future but also about the future of their countries. They are not afraid of introducing a new order and, in some cases, conducting military operations. Are they not possible types of heroines tailor-made for our times?

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FRAUEN IM MITTELALTER ALS SPRACHKULTURELLE TYPEN IN AUSGEWÄHLTEN KLASSISCHEN TEXTEN: EINE VERGLEICHENDE ANALYSE (VON GEOFFREY CHAUCER BIS ZUM 21. JH)

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Gegenstand vorliegender Arbeit ist die Frau im Mittelalter als sprachkultureller Typ. Untersucht werden die archetypischen Bilder der Göttin, Mutter, jungfräulichen Kämpferin, La Belle Dame etc. Als theoretische Grundlage werden die Jungsche Analyse sowie verschiedene Übersetzungsstrategien herangezogen. Es werden die verschiedenen Arten der Darstellung von Frauen in literarischen Texten aus dem europäischen Mittelalter und in ukrainischen Texten miteinander verglichen.

Schlüsselwörter: Frau, archetypisches Bild, Archetyp, sprachkultureller Typ, männlich/weiblich, Übersetzung.

СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧНІ ЖІНКИ ЯК ЛІНГВОКУЛЬТУРНІ ТИПАЖІ У ВИБРАНИХ КЛАСИЧНИХ ТЕКСТАХ: КОМПАРАТИВНИЙ АНАЛІЗ (ВІД ДЖЕФФРІ ЧОСЕРА ДО XXI СТОЛІТТЯ)

Ольга Смольницька

У статті здійснюється спроба розгляду середньовічної жінки як лінгвокультурного типу. Досліджуються архетипові образи богині, матері, діви-войовниці, Прекрасної Дами та ін. Також пропонується юнгіанський аналіз, досліджуються перекладацькі стратегії тощо. Матеріалом аналізу є оригінали і переклади.

Ключові слова: жінка, образ, архетип, лінгвокультурний типаж, маскулінне/фемінінне, переклад.

Gender und Nationalität sind nur zwei Beispiele für die aktuell besonders intensiv erforschten Hauptströmungen *Feminismus und Postkolo-*

nialismus. In der Ukraine wird erstere Strömung v.a. durch Nila Zbo-rov's'ka (Zborov's'ka 2006 etc.) und Solomija Pavlyčko (Pavlyčko 2002 u.v.m) vertreten. Letztere wird anhand der Psychoanalyse veranschaulicht (v.a. Freudianismus und Carl Gustav Jungs Archetypenlehre) und orientiert sich an wissenschaftlichen Übersetzungen und Arbeiten, wie z.B. Marija Zubryč'kas *Antolohija svitovoji literaturno-krytyčnoji dumky XX stolittja* (1996; 2001 "Anthologie des weltweiten literatur-kritischen Denkens des 20. Jhs"), und Werken von Psychoanalytikern (v.a. zum Freudianismus). Die beiden zuerst genannten Autorinnen wenden feministische, postkoloniale und Freudianische Lehren an (N. Zbo-rov's'ka verwendet zudem die archetypische Analyse) und kombinieren diese miteinander. Sie untersuchen Fragen zu Kanon, Land und Staat als Körper. Diese Methodik erfordert einen etwas breiteren Forschungsansatz und schließt auch Lehren zur Mythologie und Folkloristik mit ein, da viele ältere Texte wie "Glieder einer Kette" sowohl mit mittelalterlichen als auch mit modernen Werken verwoben sind.

Das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist es, einige zeitgenössische Probleme aufzuzeigen, die mit dem Stellenwert der Frau in kanonischen, elitären und poetischen Texten des Mittelalters verbunden sind. Hierbei werde ich mich auf sprachkulturelle Typen konzentrieren, die die männlichen und weiblichen Welten als weibliches Bild (*Anima*) und als männliches Bild (*Animus*) widerspiegeln. Mein besonderes Augenmerk gilt dabei der "Belle Dame Sans Merci(e)", die in speziellen Hypostasen dargestellt wird (z.B. als Hexe, Zauberin, profane Ehebrecherin usw.). Des Weiteren werde ich ergründen, wie sich der *Animus* in der "Maske" des Ritters, des Gelehrten und des Königs verkleidet. Diese sprachkulturellen Typen sind in der mittelalterlichen Literatur häufig anzutreffen und sind universell.

Neben der Jung'schen Analyse werde ich vergleichende Untersuchungen und Arbeiten zu Übersetzungsstrategien heranziehen. Der bedeutendste Archetyp in der vorliegenden Untersuchung ist die *Anima*, die von Carl Gustav Jung als "Archetyp des Lebens selbst" definiert wurde (Franc/Franz 2007, 247, Zitat von mir übersetzt – O. S.). Das Korpus der hier untersuchten Texte umfasst Geoffrey Chaucers mittelalterliches Werk *Canterbury-Erzählungen* (Mittelenglisch: *Tales of Caunterbury*, ca. 1340er Jahre bis 1400), ausgewählte schottische Volks-

balladen, poetische Werke der Renaissance, des Barocks, der Romantik und der modernen Britischen Literatur, einige ausgewählte Werke der ukrainischen Lyrik und dramatische Gedichte. Die hier untersuchten Texte sind auf Englisch (einschließlich Mittelenglisch und verschiedener Dialekte), Schottisch (und schottischen Dialekte) sowie Ukrainisch verfasst. Neben literarischen Texten werde ich auch einige multimediale Quellen wie Videos und Lieder heranziehen, um die Darstellung der *Anima* und des *Animus* zu analysieren.

Der erste Autor in meinem Korpus ist Geoffrey Chaucer. Die Forschung konnte bereits viele folkloristische Elemente in seinen Gedichten ausmachen. Besagter Autor beschreibt in seinen Texten oft gegensätzliche weibliche Bilder, und seine Figuren sind allesamt äußerst interessant. Neueste literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen seines Oeuvres zeigten, dass einige seine Figuren Merkmale von Prototypen realer Personen des Mittelalters haben und andere Eigenschaften von Figuren aus antiken Mythen aufweisen (Čoser 2018, 36–40 und Čoser 2020, 8–13, 20–29). Obwohl Chaucer einer der bedeutendsten Schriftsteller des Britischen Literaturkanons ist (Blum 2007), ist sein Werk (im Vergleich zu dem von William Shakespeare) außerhalb von England weniger bekannt. So wurden die *Canterbury-Erzählungen* bspw. erst vor kurzem ins Ukrainische übersetzt.

Meine Interpretation der weiblichen und männlichen Figuren in Geoffrey Chaucers Texten basiert auf der Annahme, dass es sich bei den mittelalterlichen Figuren um Reinkarnationen antiker Bilder und Verhaltensmuster handelt, wie sie in vielen Kulturen (z.B. in der keltischen oder slavischen) zu finden sind. Die Parallelen, die hier gezogen werden können, sind manchmal etwas überraschend, da es nie zu einem direkten Kontakt zwischen diesen Kulturen gekommen war, und wir keinesfalls von einer gegenseitigen Beeinflussung selbiger sprechen können. *Die Erzählung der Frau von Bath* weist beispielsweise aufgrund der archetypischen Grundlage des Sujets Parallelen mit folkloristischen Werken anderer Kulturen auf (für mehr Informationen zu Vergleichen dieser Art: Smol'nyč'ka 2017a, 65–69). Mit anderen Worten: Die alten Kelten, Skandinavier, Slaven und andere Stämme oder Nationen hatten Chaucers Gedichte weder gelesen noch von ihnen gehört, und dennoch haben sie Werke geschaffen, die an Chaucers Texte erinnern.

J. Lacan formulierte eine gleichermaßen berühmte wie kontroverse Maxime zur weiblichen Bewusstlosigkeit: “La femme n'existe pas” (“Die Frau existiert nicht”). Simone de Beauvoir, die auch die “Mutter des klassischen Feminismus” genannt wird, zitierte in ihrem Bestseller “Das andere Geschlecht. Sitte und Sexus der Frau” eine andere Maxime, die aus der Römer-Zeit stammt: “But first we must ask: what is a woman? ‘Tota mulier in utero’, says one, ‘woman is a womb’ (Bovuar 1994, 23). Heutzutage ist evident, dass die soeben zitierten Maxime ein Ausdruck von Sexismus, Hegemonie des traditionellen Paradigmas und einer konservativen Denkweise sind, und dass diejenigen, die derartige Denkansätze vertraten, Frauen nicht als Menschen, sondern rein als Mittel zum Zweck und Lustobjekt wahrnahmen. Die hier untersuchten Texte beweisen das Gegenteil der soeben zitierten Maxime, und obwohl es das Konzept der Individualität und des Gender in der Antike und im Mittelalter noch nicht gab, dienen die Texte auf textologischer und ideologischer Ebene als interessantes Untersuchungsmaterial, weil sie weiter gefasst sind als die theoretischen Grundlagen jener Epochen, und die weiblichen Figuren des Mittelalters Ähnlichkeiten mit den Jungfrauen Archetypen aufweisen. Die Figuren sind dabei typisch und untypisch zugleich, weil sie u.a. auch auf dem Prinzip der Individualisierung basieren. Dieser Analyseansatz ist auch auf Kulturen späterer Epochen übertragbar. Die Muster dieser Kulturen sind in den hier behandelten Texten “kodierte”. Die äußeren Attribute wirken also wie ein “Gewand”, doch die Essenz dieser Frauen liegt im “Kern” dahinter und ist allgemeingültig.

Es gibt viele verschiedene Konzepte und Theorien zu den sprachkulturellen Typen. Ihr Hauptaspekt ist psychologischer Art, und es lässt sich folgende Trias ausmachen: “Historisch – kulturell – psychologisch”. Eine repräsentative Auswahl dieser Theorien ist in einigen zeitgenössischen ukrainischen Werken zu finden, die derartige Konzepte etc. beleuchten: Die Definition des sprachkulturellen Typs lautet hier, dass dieser ein verallgemeinertes Bild der Gesellschaft und ihrer Verhaltensmuster vermittelt (Kyryčenko 2018, 27). Dies trifft bspw. auf Archetypen wie *Anima*, *Animus*, *Schatten*, *Weiser alter Mann/Weise alte Frau* (*Senex Puer*), *Puer Aeternus* (*Puella – Ewige Jugend*) etc. zu. Chaucers *Die Frau von Bath* (Mittelenglisch: *The Wyf of Bath*) weist viele Arche-

typen auf und prangert den männlichen Sexismus an. Die Protagonistin zeichnet sich durch ihre Intelligenz aus, die sich durch ihre Lektüre und ihre unabhängigen Interpretationen des Kanons (Gesetze oder antike oder biblische Thesen und Episoden, die von Frauen erzählen) offenbart, und sie weist die Kultur des "körperliches niederen Schicht" (um die Begrifflichkeiten Michail Bachtins zu verwenden) im feministischen Manifest von *Die Frau von Bath* bzgl. der Gegensätze Ehe und Zölibat (nach Theophrastus) auf: "...And if thou take a wife unto thy household / Full easily canst thou be a cuckold". / This opinion, and a hundred things worse, / Writes this man, may God his bones curse! / But take no heed of all such foolishness; / Defy Theophrastus, and listen to me" (Verse 1305–1310, *Canterbury Tales. Text and Translations*). Die folgenden Zeilen veranschaulichen das Credo dieser Person: "A wife is God's gift truly" (1311, ebd.). Doch der Protagonist vergleicht sie mit Weideland und anderen Besitztümern und sagt: "That woman is created for man's help" (Vers 1324, ebd.).

Die Erzählung dieser Frau spiegelt die archaische Angst der Männer vor Frauen als *das Andere* wider (d.h. den Konflikt zwischen Ich/das Andere). Geburten und Geschlechtsverkehr gelten in den Mythen und Erzählungen vieler Völker als Symbol des Todes, und ihr beschämter Humor verschleiert in Wirklichkeit nur die Angst vor *Thanatos* (bzw. genauer: die archaische zwischenrassische Kultur und *Thanatos*). Das Fazit lautet hier: Ironie ist die Waffe der Schwachen, und in der oben genannten folkloristischen Erzählung verliert der Mann seine Vormachtstellung an eine Frau, obwohl diese physisch oder sozial schwächer als ihr Herr ist. Diese Art der Ironie kommt v.a. durch den Schreibstil des Autors und die Merkmale der Protagonistin zum Ausdruck. Die Frau formuliert Thesen zur Ehe und zum Gehorsam und reißt dabei Zitate (z.B. aus der Bibel oder aus Traktaten von Theophrastus etc.) aus deren Kontext und legt sie in ihrer Interpretation der Dinge äußerst gewinnbringend aus.

Die Frau von Bath zieht Männer an und nimmt diese dabei als unabhängige, sexuelle Führerin vollkommen ein. Sie wird in der Erzählung zuerst als *Weise alte Frau* (äußerlich hässlich) und dann als junge Schönheit dargestellt. Dies sind zwei Aspekte des weiblichen Archetyps: Am Ende verwandelt sich die hässliche Frau in eine schöne junge Dame.

Der Text beschreibt die Frau auf abstrakte Weise. Zu Beginn heißt es dort: “There can no man imagine an uglier creature” (999, ebd.) und nach der Verwandlung liest man: “That she so was beautiful, and so young moreover” (1251, ebd.). Dies bedeutet, dass diese hypertrophierten Portraits nicht einzigartig sind. Dieser Archetyp ist die weibliche Entsprechung der Figur des *Weisen alten Mannes* (Puer Senex). Er ist ambivalent, wie z.B. Merlin oder der Teufel (Jung 2013, 293). Seine negativen Merkmale sind “Zynismus, Härte, übermäßiger Konservatismus” (Franc 2007, 249, dieses sowie die folgenden Zitate wurden von mir übersetzt – O. S.). Seine positiven Merkmale sind: “Verantwortungsbewusstsein, Anerkennung von Unterordnung und Selbstdisziplin” (ebd., 250). Eine weise Feenfigur gibt dem Protagonisten den richtigen Rat. Diese Figur tritt auch in einem hier analysierten Gedicht von Chaucer auf.

Der Ritter vermag es nicht, eine *Anima* hervorzubringen – deshalb betont der Text sein lüsternes Verhalten. So sieht er zuerst nicht nur eine, sondern viele Frauen im Wald (die dann wieder verschwinden) – in Wirklichkeit jedoch erscheint ihm immer dieselbe Frau. Diese ist alt und hässlich. Die *Anima* des Protagonisten ist degradiert, weil dieser Archetyp assimiliert und verbessert werden muss. Die Darstellung geschieht im Rahmen des Monologs eines alten Monsters, das versucht, seine *Anima* herbeizurufen. Die hässliche alte Frau ist ein dunkler Aspekt eines Teils der Psyche des Ritters (Junggesellen), den dieser noch nicht ausreichend entwickelt hat. Dieser Teil, dem sich der Ritter verweigert, wird von seiner *Anima* verkörpert. Der Protagonist leidet an einem Mutterkomplex (Jung 2012, 126), und seine letzte *Anima* ist eine ältere Frau. Sie ist seine Gattin und als alte Göttin, die verschlingt und gebärt, im übertragenen Sinne auch seine Mutter. In mythologischer Hinsicht ist die alte Frau (Göttin, Hexe) die Nacht und die junge Frau ist der Morgen. So trifft der Chaucerische *Animus* nach einer Nacht dunkelsten Seelenpeins seine vollkommen erneuerte *Anima*. Der Dualismus der Figur der *Anima* deutet auf zwei Gesichter der Großen Göttin hin (als Mond). Ihr gesamtes Bild hat drei Hypostasen (alte Frau – Dame – Mädchen; alte Frau als Großmutter – Mutter – Tochter) (Grejvs 2005, 497). C.G. Jung unterscheidet die typischen Formen als: Mutter, Großmutter, sonstigen Vorfahrinnen, die Weiße Frau, die Jungfrau, Sophia, verschiedene Orte wie die Kirche, das Feld, Wasser,

verschiedene Tiere, Gottheiten etc. (Jung 2013, 113–114; zum Mutterbild in Märchen: M.-L. von Franc, S. Birkhäuser-Oeri etc.).

Es ist bezeichnend, dass die magische Protagonistin in Chaucers Erzählung (englischer Titel: *The Wife of Bath*) nur den Namen *wife* (Mittelenglisch: *wyf*) trägt – und nicht *lady*, *mistress* oder *woman*. D.h., dass es sich bei der Protagonistin weder um eine Aristokratin noch um eine Figur, die Teil der Realität ist, handelt. *Wife* und *woman* sind archaische Synonyme (so auch *lady* oder *mistress*), wenn die Frau den Status der Ehefrau, Mutter, Hausfrau, Hausherrin etc. innehat. Das Morphem *wife* im Wort *housewife* belegt dies. Archaische Identifikationen sind noch heute an einigen Orten der ländlichen Sprachetikette mit keltischen Wurzeln erhalten (bei schottischen Highlandern oder walisischen Bauern z.B.), wenn ein Ehemann seine Ehefrau bspw. als *woman* bezeichnet (Donskova 2008, 272f.) – dieses Rudiment dient somit als linguistisches Beweisstück. Denselben Stellenwert hat die weibliche Erzählerin in Chaucers Werk – *the Wife of Bath*. Diese Figur weist sich ihren eigenen Stellenwert selbst zu, genau wie die Protagonistin. Somit ist *wife* ein lexikalisch festgelegtes Kennzeichen der sozialen Stellung der beiden Protagonistinnen. Der ukrainische Übersetzer Maksim Stricha betonte, dass die Stellung der Frau von Bath (obwohl sie Witwe und Weberin ist) hauptsächlich dadurch bestimmt ist, dass sie eine *Frau* ist, die „ungezügelt in ihrem Sexualleben und ihrem Drang ist, ihre Unabhängigkeit zu verteidigen. Chaucer betitelt sie dieserart, und es besteht kein Grund dazu, diesen Namen in der Übersetzung zu ändern“ (Čoser 2019, 57) (die Übersetzung aus dem Ukrainischen wurde von mir angefertigt – O. S.).

Der Anzahl der Figuren nach sind Frauen in den *Canterbury-Erzählungen* deutlich in der Minderheit. Die männlichen Figuren sind: Der Ritter, der Müller, der Gemeindevorsteher, der Koch, der Mann des Gesetzes, der Bettelmönch, der Gerichtsvorlader, der Angestellte, der Kaufmann, der Knappe, der Franklin, der Arzt, der Begnadiger, der Schiffsmann, der Mönch, der Kanoniker Yeomen, der Verwalter, der Pfarrer, also insgesamt 18. Dagegen gibt es nur vier weibliche Figuren: die Frau von Bath, die Priorin, die Nonnenpriesterin und die zweite Nonnenpriesterin. Frauen treten hier v.a. als Rednerinnen und Erzählerinnen auf. Sie haben das Recht angehört zu werden. Die weiblichen

Figuren sind in ihrer Art typisch und einzigartig zugleich. Der Rezipient sollte ihre Monologe nicht nur als "Sprachhorn" wahrnehmen, sondern auch als Merkmale jener Epoche und als sprachkulturelle Typen. Vollkommen einzigartig ist natürlich die Frau von Bath, die vielleicht den Prototyp schlechthin bzw. gar mehrere Prototypen verkörpert.

"*Die Erzählung der Frau von Bath*". In dieser Erzählung gibt es viele typische Protagonisten: Der Ritter, die von ihm vergewaltigte Magd, die Königin als Repräsentantin der weibliche Gerechtigkeit, Feen (magische Damen) und die ambivalente *Anima*, die sowohl als hässlich als auch als schön dargestellt wird (dieses Bild hat seine Wurzeln im keltischen Volkstum, genauer: in den Irischen Scéls oder Sags – um hier nur zwei Beispiele zu nennen – und in Legenden, Märchen und Balladen). Chaucers Protagonistin leitet ihre Erzählung ein, indem sie von Feen, Elfen und anderen Fabelwesen erzählt, die im Reich von König Arthur lebten und vollwertige Figuren waren. Das märchenhafte, romantische Vorwort der Frau von Bath überrascht durch seinen unromantischen Schluss (Verse 878–881): "Women may go safely up and down. / In every bush or under every tree / There is no other evil spirit but he, / And he will not do them any harm except dishonor" (Canterbury Tales. Text and Translations). Mit diesen Worten wird der Rezipient auf die Erzählung über die fleischliche Liebe vorbereitet, die, obwohl sie romantische Merkmale aufweist, von Anfang an frivol ist (Verse 882–888): "And so it happened that this king Arthur / Had in his house a lusty bachelor, / That on one day came riding from hawking, / And it happened that, alone as he was born, / He saw a maiden walking before him, / Of which maiden straightway, despite all she could do, / By utter force, he took away her maidenhead..." (ebd.). Die Königin (Guinevere) ist eine Frauen-Verteidigerin, deshalb überträgt sie dem verurteilten Ritter eine Aufgabe (Verse 904–905): "I grant thee life, if thou canst tell me / What thing it is that women most desire." (ebd.). Die korrekte Antwort (laut Chaucer) ist: "Women desire to have sovereignty / As well over her husband as her love" (Verse 1038–1039) (ebd.), im Original: "Wommen desire to heve soverinetee / As well over hir housbonde as hir love, / And for to been in maistrye him above" (Chaucer 1993, 139). Hier stehen sich zwei konträre Sprachkonzepte gegenüber: *die Souveränität – der Herr* (denn ein Ehemann wurde im Mittelalter

automatisch zum 'Herren' seiner Frau). Die richtige Antwort erhält der Ritter von einer magischen Dame (die archetypisch alt und hässlich ist) im Tausch gegen einen Wunsch der Frau: Nach der Befreiung des Ritters möchte sie diesen heiraten. Hierbei handelt es sich um das für Volksmärchen und Mythen typische Motiv des mündlichen Gelübdes (Schwur) und der damit verbundenen Verpflichtungen. Der Protagonist darf sein Gelübde nicht brechen. Die Königin zwingt den Ritter, die Frau zu heiraten (obwohl der Protagonist diese Ehe nicht eingehen möchte), und nach einigen Auseinandersetzungen in der Hochzeitsnacht verwandelte sich die Gemahlin in eine schöne junge Frau. Die Verwandlung kommt dabei nur deshalb zu Stande, weil der *Animus* sein Handeln bereut (ein christliches Motiv) und sich schließlich zu seiner *Anima* bekennt. Die in der Erzählung beschriebene Märchenwelt steht für das Unbewusste, das in die reale (Bewusstseins-) Sphäre eindringt. Das Unbewusste muss die Archetypen assimilieren. Die Hexe unterscheidet sich äußerlich stark von der durch den Junggesellen entehrten Magd und den "four and twenty, and yet more" Damen (Canterbury Tales. Texts and Translations), die im Wald tanzten. Besagte Damen stammen aus einem Feen-Clan, somit sind sie, genau wie die alte Frau, heilig. Es ist bezeichnend, dass diese Figuren keine Namen tragen, weil sie Archetypen sind. Laut den Worten der Frau von Bath spielt die Geschichte im Märchen-Zeitalter.

Das Motiv der Bekenntnis zur schönen, archaischen *Anima* findet sich in ähnlicher Form auch in der schottischen Volksballade "King Henry" (aus Francis James Childs Sammlung "The English and Scottish Popular Ballads", herausgegeben im 19. Jh, Band 1, Nr. 32), wenn der König dem weiblichen Eindringling, einem Monster (Riesendämon), sein Ross (als Fleisch und Wein = Blut) opfert und sie danach heiraten muss, woraufhin sich die schreckliche Kreatur in eine schöne junge Dame verwandelt: "Tak aff your claiths, now, King Henry, / An lye down by my side.' / 'O God forbid,' says King Henry, / 'That ever the like betide; / That ever the fiend that wons in hell / Shoud streak down by my side.' // Whan night was gane, and day was come, / An the sun shone throw the ha, / The fairest lady that ever was seen / Lay atween him an the wa. / 'O well is me!' says King Henry, / 'How lang'll this last wi me?' / Then out it spake that fair lady, / 'Even till the day you dee. /

‘For I’ve met wi mony a gentle knight / That’s gien me sic a fill, / But never before wi a courteous knight / That ga me a’ my will.’” (The Child Ballads: 32. King Henry – Sacred Texts). Es handelt sich hier um eine dämonische *Anima* – der christliche Subtext beschreibt dies anhand des Lexems ‘Hölle’. Die Hölle liegt traditionell unten. Sie symbolisiert somit sowohl Eros als auch Thanatos und steht für die dunklen Aspekte des Unbewussten und bei Frauen für den Mutterleib als Leben = Tod. Die mittelalterlichen Rezipienten konnten hierin außerdem einen Mythos wiedererkennen, denn *Hel* war eine schreckliche skandinavische Riesin und die Göttin des Totenreichs (das genaue Gegenteil der *Valhalla*). *Hel* entwickelte sich im Laufe der Zeit zu dem Lexem und dem Konzept ‘Hölle’ (im christlichen und im allgemeinen, monotheistischen Aspekt steht dieser Begriff für die göttliche Vergeltung und die Leiden der Sünder). Die ‘Hölle’ ist im Deutschen und in den skandinavischen Sprachen weiblich (und diese skandinavisch-deutschen Anspielungen sind aufgrund der britischen Geschichte [die der Wikinger eingeschlossen] in diesen Sprachen verankert). Im Chaucerischen Text findet sich folgendes höfisches Wortpaar: *der edle (höfliche) Ritter – die schönste Dame*. Sie treten permanent als Epitheta auf, wodurch ihre notwendige Zugehörigkeit angezeigt wird und dass die Substantive ein Paar bilden. Sowohl im Chaucerischen Text allgemein wie auch in dieser Ballade muss der *Animus* aufgrund des höfischen Kodexes sein Wort halten. Der Held der Ballade “King Henry” ist edel, und der Chaucerische Protagonist entwickelt sich zu einer edlen und höflichen Individuum (er wird letztendlich also zu einem moralisch handelnden Menschen). Aus diesem Grund wird die *Anima* beider Männer zur *schönsten Frau*, d.h. *Animus* und *Anima* werden gleichgestellt, was hier auf lexikalischer Ebene verdeutlicht wird. Doch während der schottische König Henry aufgrund seiner Moral wahrhaftig *edel* ist, muss Chaucers Junggeselle erst spirituell wiedergeboren werden, indem er die Ausmaße seines Verbrechens begreift und seine schreckliche *Anima* akzeptiert, wodurch diese zu einer schönen jungen Frau wird.

Das Motiv der verzauberten *Anima* ist somit archetypisch. Doch König Henry ist in der Ballade kein Sünder (im Gegensatz zu Chaucers Protagonisten) und sein Verhalten ist edel. In beiden Fällen testet die *Anima* den *Animus*: Er gibt ihr alles, was sie fordert, wobei jede

Aufgabe (gemäß der Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Volksmärchen) moralisch immer noch herausfordernder als die vorangegangene ist. Die letzte Aufgabe deutet dabei den Beginn einer Erneuerung an, und das Ende dieser Geschichte ist gleichzeitig das Ende der Erzählung. Die Herausforderungen in dieser Ballade sind zuerst Thanatos (Morde), die letzte ist Eros (sexuell). Die Heirat der eignen *Anima* sollte als Assimilation interpretiert werden, als die "Zähmung" des eigenen Archetyps.

Eine weitere schottische Ballade, "*The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter*" (Nr. 110C in Childs Sammlung), weist dasselbe archetypische Modell (Sujet) auf, der Text unterscheidet sich jedoch aufgrund seines dunklen Humors, der im Laufe der Ballade stetig zunimmt, von den anderen Texten: "There was a shepherd's dochter / Kept sheep on yonder hill; / Bye cam a knicht frae the High College, / And he wad hae his will. / O jumpt he upon his horse, / And said he wad go ride; / Kilted she her green claithing, / And said she wad na bide" (110C: The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter). Der Refrain lautet: "'Turn back, turn back, ye weill-faurd may, / My heart will brak in three:' / 'And sae did mine in yon bonny hill-side, / Whan ye wad [na] lat me be.'" (ebd.). Die Königin, Richards Schwester, befiehlt ihrem Bruder, eine Hirten-tochter zu heiraten (die Ehe ist also in beiden Texten als Bestrafung des Ritters durch die Königin zu sehen). Dann testet die Heldin den Ritter, der seine Tat bereut und beteuert, von nun an nichts mehr (außer Wasser) trinken und respektvoller mit Frauen umgehen zu wollen. Am Ende wird der Humor besonders vulgär, und es wird erneut die Verwandlung einer unattraktiven *Anima* beschrieben, die als *Verschleierte Dame* auftritt: "'Ye'll turn about, Earl Richard, / And mak some mair o me; / An ye mak me lady o ae puir plow, / I can mak ye laird o three.' / 'If ye be the Earl of Stockford's dochter, / As I've taen some thoughts ye be, / Aft hae I waited at your father's yett, / But your face I coud never see'" (ebd.). "...dein Gesicht konnte ich nie sehen": Die Verlobung eines jungen Paares in jungen Jahren oder sogar noch vor der Geburt, obwohl es sich vor der Hochzeit noch nie gesehen hatte, war früher Gang und Gebe. Doch die Tatsache, dass der Ritter seine Braut vor seinem tödlichen Treffen nicht gesehen hat, kann sowohl auf das versteckte Gesicht einer weiblichen Gottheit (wie Isis) hindeuten als auch die Tatsache, dass ihm seine *Anima* vollkommen unbekannt ist. Jedenfalls ist die

unattraktive Figur zugleich die *Anima* des Ritters, der zum Tode verdammt ist. Somit offenbart die aufrichtige Reue des Protagonisten (in der schottischen Ballade) das wahre Wesen seiner *Anima*: Sie ist nur nach außen hin eine arme Hirtin vom Land – in Wirklichkeit ist sie jedoch eine reiche Aristokratin und seine Braut. Dies bedeutet, dass er belohnt wird. Die *Anima* mag Masken und ahmt eine andere Hypostase nach. Interessant ist auch, dass sowohl in Chaucers Erzählung, als auch in dieser Ballade, die entweichte Protagonistin von der Königin, der Beschützerin der Mädchen (Jungfern), geschützt wird, vgl. Artemis und andere Göttinnen, die Jungfrauen und Patroninnen von Jungfrauen sind. Zugleich ist die Königin im übertragenen Sinne die Mutter des gesamten weiblichen Geschlechts (wie die Jungfrau Maria).

Die beiden Werke (das von Chaucer und die berühmte Ballade) zeigen also die Potentiale der *Anima* auf: Sie ist nach außen hin unattraktiv, verfügt in Wirklichkeit jedoch über viele positive Merkmale (wie Schönheit, Jugend und Reichtum). Die *Anima* (lt. 'Seele') ist der "unconscious feminine part of man's person and is obedient to the law of the *Eros*", der *Animus* (lt. 'Geist') ist der "unconscious masculine part of feminine person and is obedient to the law of the *Logos*" (Franc 2007, 247), und der *Schatten* ist "a part of personal unconsciousness which has both positive and negative properties: the consciousness of Ego rejects or ignores this part" (ebd., 250). Dieser Archetyp kann, je nach Situation, sowohl Eros als auch Thanatos hervorbringen. Das Fazit ist somit die Trias "Anima – Animus – Schatten". Die archaischen Wurzeln der soeben analysierten Handlung belegen diese These. Dieselben Muster lassen sich auch in anderen Erzählungen wiederfinden. In einer sibirischen Erzählung hatte eine einsame Frau zum Beispiel nur einen einzigen Diener. Dieser brachte ihr immer alles, was sie wünschte. Dabei erledigte er immer schwierigere Aufgaben und offenbarte schließlich folgende Überraschung: "And it turned out that, although the servant looked poor, in fact he was very rich" (Franc 2004, 180). Er ist ein unattraktiver, aber unbekannter Weise reicher *Animus* (hier handelt es sich um eine versteckte Potentiale). Genau wie die scheinbar unattraktive *Anima* birgt also auch er ungeahnte Potentiale in sich. Somit weisen die archaische *Anima* und der Schatten in den mittelalterlichen Texten die gleichen Merkmale auf: Mangelnde Attraktivität nach außen hin, inner-

lich jedoch Weisheit und ungeahnte Potentiale. Die 'Masken' der beiden Archetypen sind Figuren wie Hexen, Zauberer, Vampire, jemand oder etwas Schreckliches (wie z.B. eine Kröte, Schlange oder ein Drache) etc.

Alle hier analysierten Texte beruhen auf archaischen Grundlagen und v.a. auf der Trias "Anima – Animus – Schatten". Chaucers Junggeselle läuft Gefahr zu sterben (Thanatos), und er muss erst seinen eigenen Eros erkennen, um der Retterin danken zu können. Dabei bringt ihn sein exzessives Sexualleben (Eros) fast ins Grab. In der Erzählung kann die Kontamination der ungewollten Frau (Ehefrau oder Geliebten) ausgemacht werden. Ein weiteres, typisches Problem der Protagonisten mystischer, mittelalterlicher Texte ist folgendes: Das, was sie für ihre Anima halten, ist in Wirklichkeit nur ihr Schatten. Das ist einer der Gründe, warum die Figuren in den Bann der scheinbar unattraktiven *Anima* gelangen, die jedoch über ungeahnte Potentiale verfügt. Um diese erkennen zu können, muss die Figur ihre *Anima* assimilieren. Hierbei handelt es sich um den Aspekt einer Pseudo-*Anima* und eines echten Schattens.

Das soeben besprochene Sujet ist auch in anderen Kulturen sehr beliebt. Obwohl hier meistens der Mann den unerwünschten Partner darstellt (von Märchen wie dem Forschkönig bzw. der Forschkönigin etc. sei hier einmal abgesehen, vgl. Smol'nyc'ka 2009, 218–220). Die übersetzte Ballade erinnert an das Irische Scél aus dem Ulad-Zyklus, in dem der irische König Niall der neun Geiseln (Niall Noígíallach) und sein Halbbruder kein Wasser aus dem Brunnen schöpfen können, weil die Quelle von einer schrecklichen, verrückten, alten Frau bewacht wird. Im Tausch gegen das Wasser (das als Symbol für Sex interpretiert werden kann), verlangt die Hexe körperliche Nähe von den Männern. Alle lehnen dies ab, außer Niall. Nachdem der Protagonist sein Versprechen eingelöst hat, verwandelt sich die Alte in eine wunderschöne Frau. Sie nennt sich selbst 'Kraft' und macht Niall zum König von Tara (Lajsaft, Michajlova 2007, 115). Niall gibt seinen drei Brüdern erst Wasser ab, als diese eingewilligt haben, ihm dafür im Tausch ihr Land zu geben und ihn als König zu akzeptieren. In der irischen Literatur ist die Göttin Kraft ein Bild für Irland: Irland gedieh erst nach der symbolischen Hochzeit des Königs und wird dank Kraft wunderschön. In einer anderen Sage erfüllt einer der fünf Söhne des Königs von Dara,

Lugaid, ebenfalls die Forderungen des alten, weiblichen Monsters namens ‘Kraft’, das sich sodann in eine schöne Frau verwandelt (für Details bzgl. der möglichen keltischen Quellen von Chaucers Erzählung vgl. Smol’nyč’ka 2017b, 54–57; Smol’nyč’ka 2017c, 48–51; Smol’nyč’ka 2017d, 63–67). Dieses Motiv findet sich oft in Texten heidnischer Kelten, Germanen, Skandinaviern etc.

Es ist bezeichnend, dass das weibliche Monster in der erwähnten schottischen Ballade eine Riesin ist. Dies könnte auch als Angst von Seiten des *Animus* davor gedeutet werden, dass die nicht genau definierte, unbekannte *Anima* niemals zum Leben erweckt werden könnte. Die Dimensionen der *Anima* sind hypertrophiert. Es könnte sich hier außerdem um die Angst des Königs vor der Ehe handeln. Eine ähnliche Methode wurde in einer italienischen Verfilmung der Novelletten “Boccaccio-70” angewandt, in denen der Hauptdarsteller des Films “Die Versuchung des Dr. Antonius” (eine Parodie auf die Handlung von *Die Versuchung des heiligen Antonius*), ein aggressiver Religionsverfechter, versucht, auf jegliches noch so kleines Detail aufmerksam zu machen, das seiner Meinung nach gegen die Moral verstößt. So prangert “St.” Antonio z.B. eine Werbeanzeige an, auf der eine “lüsterne” Frau abgebildet ist. Daraufhin erscheint diese Frau ihm und wird zu einer schrecklichen Riesin. Am Ende wird der Protagonist verrückt. Die Novелlette birgt Freud’sche Anspielungen in sich. Ein weiterer Grund ist die Parodie im Subtext: Der Film parodiert hagiografische Handlungen (Versuchungen des heiligen Antonius) und das italienische Mittelalter mit Einschüben aus der Renaissance. Chaucers Erzählungen sind als Antwort auf das *Decameron* zu verstehen. Das italienische Kino des 20. Jahrhunderts ist aus der Tradition des *Boccaccio* erwachsen, doch der neue Geist interpretiert die Postulate der Klassiker neu.

Anhand dieser Fakten kann die Entwicklung der archetypischen Modelle des weiblichen Kults nachgezeichnet werden. Die Frau kann ein Objekt sein (La Belle Dame), sie kann aber auch die Rolle der Straf-göttin einnehmen und Subjekt sein (La Belle Dame Sans Merci und ihre Variationen als Fee, Weise alte Frau, Anführerin etc.). Ich möchte folgende Einteilung der klassischen britischen Poesie vorschlagen:

1. Sagenumwobene, mythische, biblische, historische (aber idealisierte) Personen, die in den Texten allegorisch und archetypisch sind – v.a. bei Chaucer, wobei dieser Autor seinen Figuren individuelle Eigenschaften verleiht.
2. Höfische Vorbilder einer Dame und ihres Ritters von den Kelten (“Mabinogi” usw.) bis hin zu späteren Traditionen.
3. La Belle Dame Sans Merci (in John Keats gleichnamiger Ballade; jedoch ist diese archetypische Figur in der Folklore beschrieben. Als höfischer Kult ist er in den Liebestexten von Chaucer verwoben.)
4. Die Entwicklung von der Gottheit hin zur Zauberin, Hexe oder umgekehrt; Nymphe, Sirene (Slast’on 2017, 173–186) in der britischen und ukrainischen Tradition, v.a. in V. Vovks Gedichten.
5. Ihre Neuinterpretationen (hier sind Parodien miteingeschlossen): Sir Philip Sidneys Sonett “What length of verse can serue braue Mopsa’s good to show...”, 1580 (von M. Stricha ins Ukrainische übertragen – Stricha 2015) – die Elisabethanische Zeit (Stricha 2017, 83; Stricha 2016, 73–79); die Dame in Samuel Butlers iroikomischem Gedicht “Hudibras” (1663) (Stricha 2017, 135–141; Troš 2016, 280–283); Ironie in der Poesie der Barockmetaphysik (John Donnes “The Flea”). Man stellt sich die Dame oder Geliebte auch als Hoheit (=Turm) vor, die es von den potentiellen Verführern zu erobern gilt.

Die Merkmale der Belle Dame Sans Merci im Hochturm, die in der Liste von Chaucer zuletzt beschrieben wurde, sind im Stile einer Parodie verfasst. Man nehme die Figur Aliso(u)n in “*The Miller’s Tale*” als Beispiel: Absolon singt traurig eine Serenade unter ihrem Fenster, und Alison ist mit einem anderen Mann verheiratet – es liegen hier also äußerlich Merkmale des höfischen Ideals vor. Die Protagonistin sagt, dass sie einen neuen Liebhaber hat (den Gelehrten Nicolas). Ein Gelehrter oder Student ist eine weitere, typische Figur, mit denen in mittelalterlichen Stücken Ehemänner betrogen wurden. Sadistische Witze und die Verstümmelung aller Mitglieder dieses ‘Liebesdreiecks’ funktionieren hier als grausame Parodie auf die Ritterprüfungen. Der Dialog zwischen Absolon und Alison ist ebenfalls eine Parodie. Vielleicht verspottet Chaucer auch das mechanistische Denken und die Clinches des degenerierten Genres. Die Vergleiche, die von den unglücklich

Verliebten gemacht werden, sind in allen "poetischen" Versuchen (wie in Romanzen) ziemlich herb. Alison sagt z.B. (Verse 3708–3711): "Go from the window, you idiot," she said; / 'So help me God, it will not be 'come kiss me.' / I love another – and else I were to blame – / Well better than thee, by Jesus, Absolon" (Canterbury Tales. Text and Translations). Die Erwähnung des Namens Jesu scheint auf Frömmigkeit (ein Attribut vieler mittelalterlicher Figuren) hinzudeuten, doch sie ist auch blasphemisch. Die Aussage ist sehr ausdrucksstark und verfolgt nur ein Ziel: Die ungewollten Bewunderer zu vertreiben. Viele Parallelen mit dem archaischen Charakter der unbarmherzigen Göttin können auch in "*Tale of the Knight*" aufgezeigt werden (beim 'Liebesdreieck'): Prinzessin Emelye, die Diana unterworfen ist, möchte im Zölibat leben. Die Antagonisten sind ihre beiden Geliebten, Palamon und Arcite. Letzterer stirbt schließlich im Duell, so dass die Geschichte aus Palamons Perspektive betrachtet ein glückliches Ende nimmt. Ein weiteres Beispiel ist hagiographischer Natur: "*Tale of the Second Nun*", die von der heiligen Cecilia und dem in sie verliebten Valerian handelt (Cecilia wurde später zu einer christlichen Märtyrerin; Die sterblichen Heldinnen verfügen über mythopoetische Merkmale gnadenloser Göttinnen (eine dieser Hypostasen ist La Belle Sans Merci): Der Prozess eines Ritters oder eines anderen Subjekts (*Animus*), die Ablehnung seiner Brautwerbung, das Versprechen des Lebens im Zölibat an eine höhere Gottheit als mystische Ehepartnerin oder als mystischer Elternteil. Dieser weibliche Archetyp ist durch viele ihrer Merkmale mit der *Anima* verbunden, aber an einigen Stellen kann sie auch als Weise Mutter oder Schatten auftreten. Alison vertreibt Absolon (genau wie die gnadenlose Göttin *Animus* zurückweist), aber ihre Art ist jener der ehemaligen Prinzessin vollkommen entgegengesetzt, weil diese mittelalterliche Frau fleischlich, bodenständig und ihr *Animus* sexualisiert ist. Alison begeht Ehebruch und Cecilia ist asexuell.

Das Problem des höfischen Kodex der starken, individuellen Anima – Animus – Gehorsam – Tabu und die Verletzung des Verbots (was in den hier untersuchten Texten neu interpretiert wurde) beruht in anderen Literaturen auf mittelalterlichen und modernen Traditionen sowie auf sprachkulturellen Typen, die mit dem Prinzip des Gehorsams und des bewussten und unbewussten Protests verbunden sind, wenn

Animus und *Anima* plötzlich nicht mehr Objekte, sondern Subjekte sind. Heutzutage werden u.a. spezielle, matriarchalische Konzepte und Modelle verwendet. So finden sich in der ukrainischen Literatur, die gerade dabei ist, Chaucer für sich zu entdecken (auch wenn die ukrainischen Texte nicht an Chaucers Bedeutung herankommen) und die sich für vergleichende Untersuchungen anbietet, zwei Haupttendenzen ausgebildet, nach denen sie die Stellung der Frau beschreibt: Patriarchalisch und interpretierend. Die Figur der schönen Dame oder der Prinzessin im Hochturm und die Stellung der Figur, die für ihren Befreier (den Ritter) ein Objekt ist, wurde im Rahmen der Werke von Lesja Ukrajinka, Maksym Ryl's'kyj, Lina Kostenko, Vira Vovk, Olena O'Lear (O'Lir) und vielen anderen Schriftstellern des 19. und 21. Jhs (tragisch oder ironisch) unter einem weiblichen Aspekt interpretiert. Beispiele in den Dramen von Lesja Ukrajinka sind: Don Juan als *Animus* – seine Verlobte Doloroz – Donna Anna (beide sind sehr spirituelle Frauen) in *Kaminnyj hospodar* (Der steinerne Wirt). Die beiden weiblichen Figuren können als zwei Aspekte einer *Anima* betrachtet werden. Dasselbe Modelle (die Trias) sehen wir in *Osinnja kazka* (Herbstmärchen): Der Ritter (als schwacher *Animus*) – die Prinzessin – die Dienerin (Služebka); Lukaš – Mavka (Nymphen) – Kylyna *Lisova pisanja* (Waldlied), etc. (alle Texte: Lesja Ukrajinka 2008).

Die zeitgenössische ukrainische Literatur ist einzigartig und äußerst originell, genau wie eine ihrer wichtigsten Vertreterinnen: Die Schriftstellerin, Übersetzerin, Künstlerin, Komponistin und Herausgeberin V. Vovk. Ihr Textkorpus (Poesie, Prosa, Drama, Übersetzungen, Studien, Briefe, Memoiren, kritische Essays) und ihre multimediale Werke sind vielseitig und umfangreich, weshalb im Rahmen vorliegender Arbeit leider nur auf einige wenige Gedichte eingegangen werden kann. Die Schriftstellerin beschreibt oft ursprünglich weibliche archetypische Figuren wie ihre berühmte poetische Sammlung *Žinoči masky* (Weibliche Masken, 1994). Es finden sich hier traditionelle Figuren aus verschiedenen Mythologien, aus der Bibel, der Geschichte etc. (Smol'nyč'ka 2017e, 83–90). Viele dieser Figuren sind allgemein bekannt, aber es gibt auch elitäre, unbekanntere Figuren. In ihrem kürzlich erschienenen Memoiren schlägt V. Vovk eine Neuinterpretation des ukrainischen Liedkanons in dem ironischen Gedichtbrief "Die Ant-

wort” vor: “Die Tage sind vorbei als die Mädchen / beim Quaken der Frösche und dem Summen der Käfer / im Garten auf einen jungen Mann warteten... // Sie sind nicht länger Oksanas in Kirschen, / Und sie sind Jeanne d’Arc, Claires Schumann, / Mesdames Marie Curie...” (Vovk 2019, 14 – die Übersetzung der lyrischen Zitate wurden von mir angefertigt. – O. S.). Das erste traditionell katholische Bild in dieser Liste ist Jeanne d’Arc. Die Heilige wird von der Autorin als weibliche Kriegerin und Patriotin verehrt, und Vovks Protagonistin ist mit ihrem Heimatland, der Ukraine, so stark verbunden, wie Jeanne mit ihrer Heimat Frankreich. Doch die Heldin spricht in dem Gedicht “Jeanne d’Arc (“Joanna d’Arc”; in der polnischen Übersetzung von T. Karabowicz): “kleidet mich nicht in einem Kettenhemd / meine Flagge ist ein Lilienfeld / und meine Geheimnisse sind tief” (Vovk 2014, 68). Jeanne d’Arcs Geschichte und Ikonographie werden von ihrem Wappensymbol, der heraldischen Lilie, verbildlicht, das für Reinheit und Jungfräulichkeit steht und ein Attribut der französischen Könige ist. Hervorzuheben ist zudem die Versinnbildlichung der Jungfrau Maria durch die christliche Blume. V. Vovk zählt zu den bedeutendsten ukrainischen Schriftstellerinnen in Brasilien, und ihre Werke sind stets mit ukrainischen Thematiken verbunden. Die nächste Strophe des Gedichts ist durch die ukrainischen Symbole erschließbar: “Ich bin der Stiel einer Kuhschelle / abfallende Hänge sind meine Siedlung / ich bin eine Hirtin der Wolken / pfeife” (Vovk 2014, 68). “Die Hirtin der Wolken” suggeriert, dass wir Jeanne in ihrem Heimatdorf Domrémy sehen, wo sie Hirtin war, genau wie die französische Heilige St. Genevieve (Schutzpatronin von Paris) und der biblische David (diese historisch belegte Person wurde später zum König). Die Metapher deutet zudem auch auf eine germanische oder skandinavische *Kenning* hin: Zum Beispiel webte (spann) Odins (Wotans) Frau Frigg in Asgards Wolken, und sie wird oftmals beim Fahren in ihrer Himmelsschaluppe dargestellt (die Wolken sind ihr Garn; s. dieses Bild bei Frigg *Norse Mythology for Smart People* (<https://norse-mythology.org/gods-and-creatures/the-aesir-gods-and-goddesses/frigg/>)). V. Vovk forschte in Deutschland und untersuchte im Rahmen ihrer Dissertation mariologische Legenden und mittelalterliche Hofromane (Vovks Brief an Ol’ha Smol’nyč’ka). Die nordische Mythologie und Edda sind der Autorin wohl bekannt, und sie verwendet diese u.a. in

ihren poetischen Werken. Somit könnte man hypothetisch über eine Kontaminierung einiger Merkmale der christlichen Heiligen und der nordischen Protagonistinnen in ihrem Werk nachdenken. Das Hauptmerkmal aller ist die weibliche Führerschaft. Die Krone und Spitze all dieser Symbole und Archetypen ist Jesus Christus als Der Gute Hirte. Es ist an dieser Stelle erwähnenswert, dass V. Vovk gern Kontaminationen in ukrainisch-brasilianischen (Afro- und indisch-brasilianischen), ukrainisch-biblichen, biblisch-altgriechischen, ägyptischen, deutschen usw. Motiven, Mustern, Symbolen usw. verwendet. Die Kontamination der aus Skandinavien stammenden heidnischen Frigg und der christlichen Heiligen ist also keine Überraschung. Die prähistorische Frau als Große Mutter und Göttin gibt ihre Merkmale den nächsten Generationen der weiblichen Führerinnen des Mittelalters weiter und all die oben aufgeführten Frauen sind archetypisch.

Zeitgenössische Studien und Fiktionen (in dieser Arbeit insbesondere die der Lesja Ukrajinka) zeigen, dass der Protagonist (Lukaš und andere männliche literarische Figuren) als *Animus* seine wahre *Anima* nicht kennt oder sie sich nicht vorstellen kann, und dass seine Illusionen zur Verschlechterung seiner *Anima* und somit auch seiner eigenen Person führen. Das Modell der weiblichen Kriegerin als vollständiges Subjekt (und nicht Objekt) steht im Einklang mit der Hoffnung auf Zusammenarbeit, Dialog und Koexistenz mit bedeutenden, gleichwertigen Männern. Diese Position stellt eine Reaktion auf den radikalen Feminismus dar und ist auch in den Massenmedien vertreten: Das erstmals von Bonnie Tyler veröffentlichte Lied "I Need a Hero" (der Text basiert auf archetypischen Merkmalen und Ikonen wie Hercules, die nicht in unsere zeitgenössische Realität passen), eine Vielzahl von Filmen, Musikvideos, die eine alleinstehende, progressive Frau als Märtyrerinnen zeigen etc. Die Frau ist dabei von schwachen, fiktiven oder illusorischen *Animi* umgeben (weil sie berühmte, legendäre, mythische Helden mit echten Personen vergleicht), und ihre Gender-Existenz ist leer. Der moderne 'Turm' der modernen 'Dame' ist also die durch sie erschaffene Welt der Illusionen, die die weibliche Figur zu 'La Belle Dame Sans Merci' macht. Wenn der Diskurs jedoch von einer Figur in ihrer Rolle als moderner *Animus* einer überdrüssigen modernen Frauen handelt, dann ist dies als Warnung zu verstehen: "Doch ein Held

ist kein Ego. Ein Held ist das Bild einer archetypischen Kraft, die einer Person nur dann dabei hilft, Schwierigkeiten zu überwinden, wenn er oder sie sich nicht selbst mit ihnen identifiziert. Und falls das Ego sich doch damit identifiziert, sollte es das Schicksal des Helden teilen, das jedoch fast immer tragischer Natur ist.” (Franc 2007, 218 – Übersetzung von mir – O. S.).

Fazit: Im Rahmen der vorliegenden komparatistischen Untersuchung wurde die Stellung der Frau in Texten vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart untersucht. Die Frau gilt als Göttin, als La Belle Dame (und als La Belle Dame Sans Merci), Madonna, Kriegerin, aber ihre Stellung kann auch passiver Natur sein, so als wäre sie ein Objekt. Sie ist Aufgabe und Beute zugleich. Die untersuchten Texte von Chaucer zeigen, dass der britische Autor Frauen nicht nur als Objekte, sondern auch als Subjekte beschrieb, und dass das Objekt zu einem Subjekt werden kann, s. “Erzählung der Frau von Bath”; Alison in “Tale of the Miller” etc. Die Schriftsteller des 20. und 21. Jhs revolutionierten dieses Paradigma und interpretierten traditionelle Muster vollkommen neu. Dies ist in vielen Texten von Lesja Ukrajinka und V. Vovk ersichtlich (v.a. in Vovks Sammlung *Žinoči masky* und in zeitgenössischen Gedichten, Briefen und Memoiren). Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung wurden vergleichende Methoden, Jungs Archetyp, Symbologie, Gender-Studies, Thesaurus, Übersetzungen und intermediale Interpretationsmethoden (Bilder, Lieder, Filme) herangezogen. Die Analyse der Archetypen ergab die archetypische Trias Anima – Animus – Schatten, den Archetyp der Weisen alten Frau, der Großen Mutter (Göttin) etc. und offenbarte ihre Ambivalenz. Es konnten Parallelen zwischen Chaucers Texten und bekannten schottischen Balladen aufgezeigt werden, da die Werke vieler bekannter wie auch anonymen Schriftsteller auf dieser Tradition basieren und sich auch hier archetypische Modelle finden lassen. In der vorliegenden Arbeit wurden zudem noch nicht veröffentlichte Übersetzungen und neue Übersetzungen (z.B. Übersetzungen des Werks von Chaucer von O. Demydenko, M. Stricha) analysiert, die immer mehr zu Elementen des klassischen ukrainischen Kanons werden. Die Arbeit beantwortet somit aktuelle Fragen aus den Bereichen der vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, Ukrainistik, Anglistik, Psychoanalyse, der theoretischen und praktischen Übersetzungswis-

senschaften, Religion und sprachkultureller Studien. Der besprochene Ansatz legt die Grundlage für viele weitere Forschungsmöglichkeiten.

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2 Die ukrainische Dimension der mittelalterlichen Frauengeschichte und -Literatur

DIE DARSTELLUNG DER KYIVER GROSSFÜRSTIN OL'HA IN TEXTEN DES 17. JHS

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Die Einführung dieses Artikels enthält eine Analyse moderner Forschungen, die der Kyiver Großfürstin Ol'ha gewidmet sind. Im ersten Abschnitt werden die Darstellungen der Großfürstin untersucht, die in der "Hustyn-Chronik", der "Chronik" von Feodosij Sofonovyč, der "Synopsis von Kyiv" und in "Der Chronist" (Litopysec') von Leontij Bobolyns'kyj vorgestellt werden. Der zweite Abschnitt zeigt die Rolle des Bildes der Großfürstin Ol'ha in der interkonfessionellen Polemik des 17. Jhs. Im dritten Abschnitt versucht die Autorin des Artikels, das Schicksal der Reliquien der heiligen Ol'ha-Olena zu klären.

Schlüsselwörter: Großfürstin Ol'ha, Chronik, Motiv, Bildargument, Konzeption der mehrstufigen Taufe der Rus', Auffinden der Reliquien.

ОБРАЗ КИЇВСЬКОЇ КНЯГИНИ ОЛЬГИ В ТЕКСТАХ XVII СТ.

Тетяна Гетц

Вступна частина статті містить аналіз сучасних досліджень, присвячених Київській княгині Ользі. У першому розділі досліджується образ княгині, представлений у "Густинському літописі", "Хроніці" Феодосія Софоновича, "Синописі Київському" та в "Літописці" Леонтія Боболинського. У другому розділі показана роль образу княгині Ольги в міжконфесійній полеміці XVII ст. У третьому розділі авторка статті робить спробу прояснити долю мощей святої Ольги-Олени.

Ключові слова: княгиня Ольга, літопис, мотив, образ-аргумент, концепція про поетапне хрещення Русі, обретіння мощей.

Einführung

Großfürstin Ol'ha von Kyiv ist eine der komplexesten und widersprüchlichsten Figuren, die aus der Literatur der Kyiver Rus' hervorgingen. Als Gegenstand künstlerischen Interesses, wissenschaftlicher Studien und kirchlicher Verehrung werden die Legenden um ihre Person bis heute weiterentwickelt. Wenn wir uns jedoch der Analyse der Lebensgeschichte der Großfürstin Ol'ha als historischer Figur des 10. Jhs zuwenden, können wir ohne Übertreibung sagen, dass es in ihrer Biographie nur sehr wenige Informationen gibt, die nicht an ihrer wissenschaftlichen Belegtheit zweifeln lassen und die nicht aus zahlreichen (oft kontroversen) Hypothesen und Interpretationsversuchen herausentstanden wären.

Folgende Fakten gelten heute als unumstritten: 1. Ol'ha war eine Frau. 2. Sie war Großfürstin von Kyiv. 3. Sie war die Ehefrau von Großfürst Ihor von Kyiv. 4. Sie hatte einen Sohn namens Svjatoslav. 5. Als Ol'ha Witwe wurde, übernahm sie den Thron ihres Ehemannes und damit die Kontrolle über das gesamte Gebiet der Kyiver Rus' (solange ihr gemeinsamer Sohn heranwuchs). 6. In der Geschichte der Rus' war Ol'ha die erste unabhängige Herrscherin. 7. Sie führte administrativ-territoriale und 'steuerliche' Reformen durch. 8. Sie kümmerte sich um ihre Enkelkinder Jaropolk, Oleh und Volodymyr. 9. Sie nahm den christlichen Glauben an (konnte ihren eigenen Sohn aber nicht zu ihrem Glauben bekehren). 10. Bei der Taufe erhielt sie den Namen Elena. 11. Sie wird sowohl von der orthodoxen als auch von der katholischen Kirche als Heilige verehrt. 12. Ihr Gedenktag ist der 11. Juli.

Alle weiteren Einzelheiten aus Ol'has Leben, wie wir sie in Chroniken und Hagiographien finden, sind Gegenstand zahlreicher wissenschaftlicher Diskussionen.

Die Tatsache, dass Großfürstin Ol'ha eine echte historische Person war und nicht nur eine Figur, die mit den literarischen Erinnerungen der Kyiver Rus' geschaffen wurde, wird durch folgende moderne Quellen bestätigt: 1. Der Vertrag zwischen den Rus' und den Griechen von 944, in dem ein Gesandter der Großfürstin Ol'ha erwähnt wird. 2. Das Werk "De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae" des byzantinischen Kaisers Konstantin VII. (auch Constantin Porphyrogenetos genannt), das eine Beschreibung von zwei Empfängen einer Ol'ha aus der Rus' in Kons-

tantinopel enthält. 3. Berichte aus der “Fortsetzung der Chronik der Reginon Prümsky” über die Gesandten, die Ol’ha 959 an König Otto I. in Frankfurt am Main mit dem Anliegen entsandte, dass dem russischen Volk ein Bischof und mehrere Priester gesendet werden sollen. Der König kam dieser Bitte nach und entsandte 960 Bischof Libucy, der jedoch auf der Reise verstarb. Dann wurde als neuer Gesandter Ottos I. Adalbert Magdeburg, ein Mönch aus dem Kloster St. Maximilian in Trier (Cvetkov 2016; Žylenko 2002, Prymitka 447) entsandt. Dieser Bericht findet sich auch in anderen, westlichen Chroniken wieder, u.a. in der *Annales Hildesheimenses* (Ende des 10. Jhs), der *Saxonicae Annales Quedlinburgenses* (erste Hälfte des 11. Jhs), der *Annales Ottenburani*, der *Annales Lamperts von Hersfeld*, der *Annales Althaensis*, *Res gestae Saxonicae* (Widukind von Corvey) und der *Chronicon* von Thietmar von Merseburg (Nazarenko 1993, 112; Žylenko 2002, Prymitka 447).

Die ältesten Quellen aus der Kyiver Rus’, in denen Großfürstin Ol’ha erwähnt wird, sind das *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* (“Predigt über das Gesetz und die Gnade”, 1037–1050) von Metropolit Hilarion und *Pam”jať i pochvala knjazju Vladimiru* (“Erinnerung und Lobrede an Fürst Volodymyr”, zweites Drittel des 11. Jhs) von Jakov Mnich.

Das literarische Werk mit den bedeutendsten Informationen über Ol’has Leben ist *Povist’ mynulych lit* (“Die Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre” oder “Die Nestorchronik”, verschiedene mögliche Datierungen; wahrscheinlich Ende 11.– Beginn 12. Jh). In dieser Chronik gibt es sechs Handlungsmotive, deren Inhalt immer noch von Wissenschaftlern zu entschlüsseln versucht wird, indem sie den Kern der historischen Fakten von den Stilmitteln der Chronikerzählungen und den folklorischen Überlagerungen zu trennenversuchen.

Das erste Motiv ist die Rache der heidnischen Ol’ha für den Tod ihres Mannes, Großfürst Ihor von Kyiv, der von den Derevljanen getötet wurde. Das zweite Motiv ist die Reformtätigkeit der Großfürstin. Das dritte ist Ol’has Annahme des christlichen Glaubens in Konstantinopel. Das vierte Motiv sind Ol’has Bemühungen, ihren Sohn Svjatoslav zum Christentum zu konvertieren. Das fünfte Motiv: Ol’ha, die nun bereits Großmutter ist, kümmert sich um ihre Enkel und vertritt ihren Sohn, den Großfürst von Kyiv, während dessen Aufenthalts in Perejaslavec’, ebenso die Rettung Ol’has und ihrer Enkelkinder aus der Belagerung

der Pečenigen. Das sechste Motiv ist Ol'has Tod und ihr Lobgesang als Heilige, die als erste aus der Kyiver Rus' in das Himmelreich eintrat.

Das Rachemotiv der heidnischen Großfürstin ist eines jener Motive, die am meisten Zweifel an deren Historizität aufkommen lassen. Es ist eng mit dem Motiv einer rituellen Verlobung und dem einer blutigen Hochzeit verflochten.

In der wissenschaftlichen Literatur wird weitgehend die Meinung vertreten, dass die Handlung von Ol'has Rache nichts anderes als eine literarische Darstellung der Stadien eines heidnischen Bestattungsrituals ist, das (abgesehen von einigen Unterschieden) so von verschiedenen indogermanischen Stämmen vollzogen wurde. Für den Verstorbenen wurde ein Begräbnisboot vorbereitet, ihm zu Ehren wurden Opfer (auch Menschenopfer) erbracht, eine rituelle Einäscherung durchgeführt und ein Grabhügel aufgeschüttet. Zum Gedenken an den Verstorbenen wurden ein Fest und Heldenkämpfe abgehalten.

Zu einer Zeit, in der in immer mehr historischen Publikationen geschrieben wird, dass Ol'has Grausamkeit durch die heidnischen Bräuche des Mittelalters motiviert war, ist es angebracht, folgende Bemerkung Lev Prozorovs zu erwähnen: Nach den Gepflogenheiten der Heiden hatte Ol'ha gar kein Recht auf Rache, denn nur männliche Verwandte, d.h. der Sohn, Bruder oder Vater des Ermordeten oder der Sohn des Bruders oder der Schwester durften Rache verüben, aber keinesfalls eine Frau (Prozorov 2013).

In der Forschung wird zudem die folkloristische Färbung der Geschichte vom Niederbrennen der Stadtfestung mit Hilfe von Vögeln diskutiert, und es herrscht keineswegs Einigkeit in den Interpretationsansätzen. Es wird vermutet, dass es sich hierbei um eine volkstümliche Überlieferung gehandelt haben könnte, die in der Kyiver Rus' unter dem Einfluss ähnlicher Geschichten anderer Völker verbreitet wurde. Es könnte sich dabei um ein weit verbreitetes Sujet mittelalterlicher Literatur handeln. So fanden Wissenschaftler ähnliche Legenden von Städten, die von Vögeln verbrannt wurden, bei dem dänischen Geschichtsschreiber Saxo Grammatikus in dessen Werk "Taten der Dänen" (lat. "Die Gesta Danorum", 12. Jh) und in "Heimskringla", einer Sagensammlung über norwegische Könige, die angeblich von Snorri Sturluson verfasst wurde (Cvetkov 2012). Die plausibelste Hypothese

scheint jedoch zu sein, dass dies eine allegorische Darstellung einer für die Rus' neuen Waffe ist, die Ol'has Armee bekannt war und deren Geheimnis den Kriegern der Derevljanen nicht bekannt war. Daher kommt das sogenannte 'griechische Feuer' oder 'byzantinisches Feuer' (Zinuchov 1985).

Viele Forscher zweifeln die Datierung von Ol'has biografischen Informationen an. Nach der "Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre" ("Nestorchronik") heiratete sie Ihor im Jahre 903 und brachte 942 seinen Sohn Svjatoslav zur Welt.

Umstritten ist die Frage, welche Stellung Ol'ha nach dem Tod ihres Mannes innehatte: War sie nur eine Regentin mit einem kleinen Sohn, wie es in der "Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre" heißt, oder war sie immer noch vollwertige Innehaberin des Kyiver Throns? Seltsam ist auch die Tatsache, dass Ol'ha in dieser Chronik als die einzige Witwe von Ihor betitelt wird und seine anderen Frauen und Konkubinen, die es nach den damals üblichen Bräuchen gegeben haben sollte, unerwähnt bleiben (die sogenannte Jakym-Chronik berichtet im Jahre 903: "Ihor hatte damals auch andere Frauen, aber dank ihrer Weisheit respektierte er Ol'ha mehr als alle Anderen") (Beljakov 2018). Dies bedeutet, dass es also noch andere Erben geben sollte. Wie viele Kinder hatte Ol'ha? Nur ihren Sohn Svjatoslav, oder gab es noch weitere Kinder? Bezüglich dieser Frage sind sich die Wissenschaftler derzeit uneins.

In letzter Zeit sind Hypothesen immer beliebter geworden, die besagen, dass Ol'ha direkt oder indirekt an der Ermordung ihres Mannes beteiligt war. In der Interpretation der Ereignisse durch Lev Prozorov ist das Motiv der Rache bei Ol'has Verhalten völlig unangemessen. Ol'ha tötet die Derevljanen als ihre Komplizen in einer Verschwörung gegen Ihor, da sie als überflüssige Zeugen zu viel über sie wussten (Prozorov 2013).

Der russische Forscher A. Koroljov betrachtet Ol'ha als jemanden, der am Tod von Großfürst Ihor interessiert war. Er nimmt an, dass Ol'ha eine unter mehreren Ehefrauen des Großfürsten war und der Großfürst die Beziehungen zu ihr beendet hatte, sich scheiden ließ und Ol'ha die Stadt Vyšhorod schenkte (Koroljov 2002).

Als Ihors Autorität nach einem erfolglosen Feldzug gegen die Griechen erschüttert war und die Opposition stärker wurde, schloss sich

Ol'ha diesen Oppositionskräften an (Koroljov 2002). Laut Koroljov kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass Großfürstin Ol'ha mit Unterstützung des Woiwoden Sveneld und der russischen Fürsten einen Staatsstreich in Kyiv durchführte und die Leiterin der Fürstenunion wurde (Koroljov 2002). Das Motiv für Ol'has Rache an den Derevljanen wird von dem Forscher als Unterdrückung des Aufstands, der die Einheit der Rus' bedrohen könnte, gewertet (Koroljov 2002).

Jede Darbietung des Bildes der Großfürstin Ol'ha trägt natürlich die Tendenzen jener Zeit in sich, die durch die religiös-konfessionelle Situation, die staatliche Ideologie und die Begründung der Manifestationen des nationalen Bewusstseins hervorgerufen werden.

In Schriften aus dem 17. Jh finden sich einerseits traditionelle Reproduktionen der Figur der hl. Ol'ha-Olena, so z.B. in den Chroniken und in hagiographischen Werken, und andererseits grundlegend neue Interpretationsansätze. Das Bild der Großfürstin wurde als Argument in der interkonfessionellen Kontroverse zwischen Orthodoxen und Unierten verwendet und war Bestandteil des Konzepts mehrerer Stufen der Taufe der Rus'. Ol'has poetisches Bild ist in Jan Dombrowskis historischem Gedicht "Camoenae Borysthenides" (1618 oder 1620) dargestellt. In "Teraturgema" (1638) von Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj wird die Großfürstin von Kyiv als Wohltäterin und Hüterin des Kyiver Höhlenklosters erwähnt. Die kirchliche Tradition verbindet mit dem 17. Jh das Bild des zweiten Auffindens der Reliquien der heiligen Großfürstin.

Großfürstin Ol'ha in den ukrainischen Chroniken des 17. Jahrhunderts

Die Analyse der Darstellung der Großfürstin Ol'ha durch die ukrainischen Chronisten des 17. Jhs soll mit der Chronik des polnischen Historikers Maciej Strykowski beginnen. Die 1582 in Krolevec (Königsberg) in lateinischer Sprache veröffentlichte Chronik hatte in den folgenden Jahrhunderten einen erheblichen Einfluss auf die historischen Werke polnischer, ukrainischer, litauischer und russischer Schriftgelehrter. Die Chronik wurde 1668–1680 am königlichen Hof von Moskau übersetzt. Zudem wurde sie in der Zeit zwischen dem späten 16. bis zum frühen 17. Jh ins Ukrainische übersetzt (Toločko 1996; Ul'janovs'kyj, Jakovenko 1993; Šustova 2008).

Maciej Strykowski Arbeit zeichnet sich v.a. dadurch aus, dass hier viele verschiedene Quellen herangezogen und miteinander verglichen wurden. Bei der Rekonstruktion der Ereignisse, die mit Ol'ha, ihrem Sohn Svjatoslav und dem Großfürsten Volodymyr von Kyiv verbunden sind, betont der Historiker stets, dass die Informationen aus verschiedenen russischen, polnischen, griechischen, Moskauer und deutschen Chroniken stammen. Er bezieht sich hier im Speziellen auf M. Mechowski, B. Wapowski, M. Bielski, J. Dlugosch, M. Cromer, J. Zonaras, Sigismund von Herberstein (*“Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii”*, 1549) und L. Aschaffenburg (*“Annales”*, 1078–1079); unter seinen Quellen nennt er zudem Werke von Helmold von Bosau und J. Carion (Strykowski 1846).

Unter den ukrainischen Chroniken des 17. Jhs wird die Großfürstin Ol'ha in der *Hustyn-Chronik*, der *Chronik* von Feodosij Sofonovyč, der *Synopsis von Kyiv* (Erstausgabe – 1674, Kyiv; mehrmals nachgedruckt) und in *Der Chronist* (Litopysec') von Leontij Bobolyns'kyj dargestellt, in der Chronik von Jan Binvil's'kyj wird sie erwähnt (Mycyk 2002).

Von den sechs Motiven des Lebenswegs der Großfürstin Ol'ha, die aus der *“Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre”* bekannt sind, liefert Maciej Strykowski nur zwei: die Rache der heidnischen Großfürstin für den Tod ihres Mannes und ihre Annahme des christlichen Glaubens in Konstantinopel. Der Versuch der christlichen Ol'ha, ihren Sohn zu ihrem Glauben zu bekehren – ein Motiv, das sich in der *“Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre”* durch häufige Verweise auf biblische Texte entwickelt – wird von dem polnischen Chronisten auf wenige Sätze reduziert. Das Motiv der Rettung Ol'has und ihrer Enkelkinder aus der Belagerung der Pečenigen wurde ebenfalls reduziert, obwohl sogar zwei Versionen der Ereignisse aus zwei verschiedenen Quellen vorgestellt werden. Das Todesmotiv der Großfürstin wird sehr kurz dargestellt, ihr Lobgesang fehlt komplett. Dafür fügt der Chronist aus anderen Quellen Folgendes hinzu: *“Dann trug ihr Enkel Volodymyr, der getauft wurde, ihre Knochen (zur Kirche) als Heiligtümer (Reliquien), und sie wurde vom Patriarch von Konstantinopel heilig gesprochen; ihr Gedenktag wird von den Rus' am 11. Juli gefeiert”* (Strykowski 1846).

Die Lebensgeschichte der Großfürstin Ol'ha wird in der *Synopsis von Kyiv* anhand vieler Informationen aus der *Chronik* von Maciej Stry-

kowski wiedergegeben. Der Autor selbst gibt an, dass er über die Ereignisse “nach den Zeugnissen von Strykowski” und “nach der Chronik von Reverend Nestor Pečerski” berichtet. Es finden sich hier zudem Hinweise auf den byzantinischen Historiker des 12. Jhs Johannes Zonaras (Žylenko 2002).

Es ist aufschlussreich, dass sowohl Maciej Strykowski als auch der Verfasser der *Synopsis von Kyiv* davon überzeugt sind, dass die Großfürstin nicht nur selbst getauft wurde, sondern auch andere Menschen dazu ermutigte, den Glauben an Christus anzunehmen.

Die Aussage des polnischen Chronisten zu diesem Thema ist inkonsistent, da sie Informationen über die Verbreitung des Christentums in der Rus’ bereits vor Ol’ha enthält; dies hindert den Autor jedoch nicht daran, Folgendes zu schreiben: “...Ol’ha bzw. Olena war die *erste* Christin unter den Russen und vielen Russen brachte sie Christus nahe” (Strykowski 1846).

Nicht weniger kontrovers äußert sich der Autor der *Synopsis von Kyiv* zu diesem Thema. Auch er bezeichnet Ol’ha als die erste Christin der Kyiver Rus’ und erwähnt, dass sie eine Kirche auf Askold’s Grab errichten ließ. Doch diese Tatsache ist offensichtlich ein Indiz dafür, dass Askold auch Christ war (Žylenko 2002).

In Bezug auf die Person, des byzantinischen Kaiser, der Ol’ha verloben wollte und ihr Taufpate war, gehen die Ansichten der Chronisten weit auseinander. “Die Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre” spricht sich dafür aus, dass es “damals Caesar Constantin [war], der Sohn der Leontes”, Maciej Strykowski hält dagegen Kaiser Johannes Tzimiskes für die wahre Person. Der Autor der *Synopsis von Kyiv* nennt beide Theorien: “Nach dem Zeugnis von Strykowski [war es] Johannes Tzimiskes und nach der Chronik von Reverend Nestor Pečers’kyj Constantin, der Sohn Leons“ (Žylenko 2002).

Welcher der Patriarchen von Konstantinopel die Großfürstin von Kyiv taufte, erwähnt der polnische Chronist nicht. Dagegen liefert die *Kyiver Synopsis* Informationen aus zwei Quellen: “Die Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre” und den griechischen Chronisten Johannes Zonaras: “...Patriarch von Konstantinopel Polijeukt und nach dem Zeugnis des Chronisten Zonari Theophilakt” (Žylenko 2002).

Im Gegensatz zu der *Chronik* von Maciej Strykowski liefert die *Kyiver Synopsis* ein detaillierteres Motiv für den Tod der Großfürstin und gibt an, dass sie von einem christlichen Presbyter begraben und vom Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Fotij zum Heer der Heiligen gezählt wurde (Žylenko 2002). Es gibt auch Textunstimmigkeiten.

Der Verfasser der *Hustyn-Chronik* gibt drei Motive der Lebensgeschichte der Großfürstin Ol'ha vollständig wieder: das Motiv der Rache der heidnischen Frau für den Tod ihres Mannes, ihre Taufe in Konstantinopel und die Rettung der Großfürstin und ihrer drei Enkelkinder aus der Belagerung der Pečenigen. Der Autor arbeitet mit verschiedenen Quellen und bemüht sich nicht immer darum, die gewonnenen Informationen miteinander in Einklang zu bringen. Daher gibt es folgende Unstimmigkeiten im Text: Zum Beispiel heißt der Fürst der Derevljanen, der am Tod von Ihor beteiligt ist, in der "Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre" "Mal" und in der *Hustyn-Chronik* "Malyj" und "Nyskyna" (Gustinskaja 1843, 243). In der Darstellung von Ol'ha wird auf den byzantinischen Chronisten Johannes Zonaras und besonders häufig auf den polnischen Historiker des 16. Jhs Martin Cromer verwiesen, obwohl es evident ist, dass die Informationen auch aus anderen Quellen stammen.

Im Jahr 945 finden wir in der Geschichte der Unterzeichnung des Friedensabkommens zwischen Konstantinopel und Kyiv Informationen zu den Christen in Kyiv, die dort während der Regierungszeit von Ihor lebten (Gustinskaja 1843, 242).

Bzgl. der Informationen zu Ol'has Taufe werden in der *Chronik* verschiedene Quellen verglichen. Im Jahr 955 wurde zuerst vom griechischen König "Constantin, der Sohn des Leon" berichtet, der Ol'ha ehrenvoll empfängt, um sie wirbt, aber dann den Tricks von Ol'ha erliegt und Taufpate der Kyiver Großfürstin wird. Am Ende der Geschichte der Taufe in Konstantinopel merkt der Autor noch an: "Der Cromer verkündet, dass Ol'ha für das Königreich Ioann Zamoskis getauft ist" (Gustinskaja 1843, 244). Es wird von verschiedenen Quellen angegeben, welcher Patriarch Ol'ha taufte. Zuerst wird behauptet, dass es Polijevkt gewesen sei, später aber heißt es, dass Johannes Zonaras sagt, dass es der Patriarch Theophilakt war (Gustinskaja 1843, 244).

Die Taufe der Großfürstin wird separat behandelt. Das Motiv von Ol'has Versuch, ihren Sohn Svjatoslav zum Christentum zu konvertieren, reduziert sich auf die kurze Bemerkung, dass die Großfürstin nach ihrer Rückkehr nach Kyiv ihren Sohn und ihre Bojaren zur Taufe überredete, der Sohn aber nicht wollte, obgleich er es denjenigen, die dies wollten, auch nicht verbot (Gustinskaja 1843, 244). Wie die Bojaren zu Ol'has Idee stehen wird nicht geklärt. Auf Ol'has Staatsführung und auf die von ihr durchgeführten Reformen geht der Autor der *Hustyn-Chronik* nicht ein.

Das Motiv des Todes der Großfürstin wird nur kurz aufgegriffen. Der Autor gibt den Lobgesang, der in der "Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre" hauptsächlich aus Aneinanderreihungen biblischer Zitate besteht, nicht wieder.

Die *Chronik* (1672) des Abtes des Kyiver Michaels Golden-Domed-Klosters, Feodosij Sofonovyč, ist bekannt für ihre Prägnanz und ihren sehr künstlerischen Darstellungsstil, mit dem Ziel, die Ereignisse aus der Zeit der fürstlichen Rus' moderner darzustellen.

Bereits im Titel seiner Chroniken gibt der Autor kurz die von ihm verwendeten Quellen an und schreibt, dass er die Schriften der alten Chronisten herangezogen habe (u.a. die von Nestor Pečers'kyj) sowie die der polnischen Chroniken über die Rus' (Sofonovyč 1672).

Die stark verkürzten Darstellungen und immens reduzierten Informationen wirkten sich nachteilig in Bezug auf den Informationsgehalt der *Chronik* Sofonovyčs aus. So werden bspw. wichtige Informationen über die Taten des Großfürsten Ihor vorenthalten. Der Autor widmet Ol'has Ehemann in seinem Werk tatsächlich nur wenige Zeilen. Ol'has Lebensgeschichte ist etwas detaillierter, aber auch nicht allzu lang dargestellt. Es werden zwei bekannte Motive des Lebens der Großfürstin dargeboten: erstens ihre brutale Rache an den Derevljanen für den Tod ihres Mannes und zweitens die Taufe in Konstantinopel. Als Kaiser von Konstantinopel, der Ol'has Taufpate wurde, nennt Sofonovyč "Ioann Zemiski". Er erwähnt jedoch nicht den Namen des Patriarchen, der Ol'ha taufte. Ol'ha war zu ihrer Taufe nicht allein, denn viele russische Bojaren waren mit ihr gekommen (Sofonovyč 1672).

Der Chronist widmet dem Motiv des Todes der Großfürstin zwei Sätze, in denen er darüber informiert, wann die Heldin gestorben ist, wo sie begraben wurde und dass ihr Gedenktag am 11. Juli zelebriert wird.

Das Werk *Chronist* von Leontij Bobolyns'kyj bietet fünf der sechs Motive aus dem Leben der Kyiver Großfürstin Ol'ha, die es hier zu analysieren gilt. Von ihm unerwähnt bleibt das Motiv der von der Großfürstin durchgeführten Reformen. Zudem wurden folgende Motive verkürzt dargestellt: Ol'has Versuch, ihren Sohn zu taufen, und ihre Beerdigung; der Lobgesang für die Großfürstin als Heilige fehlt komplett. Die Rettung Ol'has und ihrer Enkelkinder vor der Pečenig-Bedrohung wird ebenfalls nur stark verkürzt wiedergegeben.

Die Bemühungen des Autors, die Erzählungen über entfernte historische Ereignisse für den zeitgenössischen Leser verständlicher zu machen, sind stark spürbar. Zu diesem Zweck modernisiert Leontij Bobolyns'kyj den Wortschatz, nennt die Fürsten Herren, Fürstentümer bzw. Herrenhöfe, ein Woiwode ist bei ihm ein Het'man, und er erwähnt auch Adel, Rittertum, und Bürger. Svjatoslav wird zudem als der große Monarch der russischen und weiterer Länder dargestellt (Pavlenko 1984, 232–240).

Der *Chronist* enthält Informationen über Ol'has Herkunft, Leontij Bobolyns'kyj reproduziert die These von Pskov als mögliche Heimatstadt der Großfürstin und sieht in ihrem Urgroßvater den berühmten Hostomysl (Pavlenko 1984, 232).

Es kommt zu einer Verwechslung des Namens des Woiwoden, der zuerst Ihor und dann Ol'ha diente. Tatsächlich, stoßen wir an mehreren Stellen auf verschiedene Schreibweisen ein, und desselben Namens. Es gibt zwei Varianten des Namens des Fürsten von Derevljanen, der Ol'ha heiraten wollte, "Maldid oder Nyzkynja." Nach Angaben des Chronisten hat er kurz zuvor in dem Gebiet nahe der Stadt Korosten' ihren Ehemann getötet (Pavlenko 1984, 233).

Im Motiv der Taufe der Großfürstin heißt es, dass sie mit einem großen Gefolge nach Konstantinopel segelte, unter dem viele Bojaren und Adlige waren, dass sich der Grieche Caesar Ioann Zemiski mit ihr traf und sie vom Patriarch Polijevkt gemeinsam mit mehreren ihrer Bojaren getauft wurde (Pavlenko 1984, 238).

Das Bild Ol'has als Täuferin der Rus' wird in den Berichten über ihre Handlungen in Kyiv weiter beschrieben. Als Ol'ha aus Konstantinopel zurückkehrte, konvertierte sie "viele Russen" zu Christen und ließ die erste Nikolakirche auf dem Askol'd-Grab in Kyiv erbauen (Pavlenko 1984, 239).

Die vorliegende Chronik gibt das Jahr 977 als Ol'has Todesjahr und das Jahr ihrer Bestattung an, während diese Ereignisse laut den meisten anderen Chroniken aus dem Jahre 969 datieren. Begraben wird die Großfürstin an dem in ihrem Testament angegebenen Ort, zusammen mit dem Christen Presbyter. Bereits traditionell werden Informationen über die heiligen Reliquien der Großfürstin gegeben, über die Bestattungszeremonie durch den Großfürsten Volodymyr und über Ol'has Heiligsprechung, die laut dem Autor von Patriarch Photius von Konstantinopel durchgeführt wurde. Die Darstellung der Großfürstin Ol'ha endet mit der Erwähnung ihres Gedenktages, dem 11. Juli (Pavlenko 1984, 241).

Viele Forscher stellten bereits fest, dass die Darstellungen der Großfürstin Ol'ha, wie sie in Chroniken und hagiographischer Tradition anzutreffen sind, nur wenige weibliche Merkmale aufweisen. Stattdessen wird sie Männern gleichgestellt, wobei ihre Männlichkeit sogar noch betont wird. Sie weist weitaus mehr männliche als weibliche Charaktereigenschaften auf. Zudem wird sie von den Chronisten oft nicht allein dargestellt, sondern oft in Verbindung mit männlichen Figuren, zuerst ihrem Ehemann, dem Großfürsten Ihor, und dann mit ihrem Sohn Svjatoslav.

Bereits in einem der ersten Werke über das Leben der Großfürstin, in der "Erinnerung und Lobrede an Fürst Volodymyr" ("Pamjat' i pochvala knjazju Vladimiru") von Jacov Mnich, konzentrieren sich die Forscher auf die Aussage, dass Ol'ha "im Körper einer Frau ist, aber die Weisheit eines Mannes hat". Dieser Satz wurde später von "fast allen Chronisten und Hagiographen der folgenden Jahrhunderte, die sich dem Bild der Großfürstin zuwandten..." wiederaufgenommen und weiterentwickelt (Ščerbak 2016, 77).

Es ist bezeichnend, dass sogar ihr Name "Ol'ha" in einer der Chroniken (natürlich nur, wenn man die Jakym-Chronik als zuverlässige Quelle betrachtet) als ursprünglich männlicher Herkunft definiert wird, dessen weibliches Pendant zu Ehren Olehs eingeführt wurde: "Als Ihor herangereift war, heiratete ihn Oleh. Er gab ihm eine Frau aus Izborsk, aus dem Stamm der Hostomyśl. Ihr Name war Prekrasa und Oleh benannte sie um und nannte sie "Ol'ha" (Beljakov 2018).

Im "Stufenbuch" ("Stepennaja kniga", 16. Jh) steht über die Einzelheiten der Bekanntschaft von Ol'ha mit ihrem zukünftigen Ehemann Ihor, dass Ihor das Mädchen zuerst für einen jungen Ruderer hielt und

erst, als er sich in ihr Boot setzte und vom Ufer wegsegelte, zu seiner Überraschung feststellte, dass es sich um eine junge Frau handelte.

Der polnische Chronist Maciej Strykowski folgt dieser Tradition und betont Ol'has Mut und ihr Talent als Staatsmann: "Nach der Ermordung ihres Mannes Ihor Rjurykovyč durch die Derevljanen übernahm Großfürstin Ol'ha mit ihrem einzigen Sohn Svjatoslav die Herrschaft über VelykoNovhorod und die Kyiver russischen Fürstentümer und regierte nicht als schwache Frau, sondern als höchst anständige Monarchin..." (Strykowski 1846).

Eine ähnliche Passage findet sich auch in der *Kyiver Synopsis*, deren Autor ebenfalls die Stärke der Staatsführung der Großfürstin betont und bemerkt: "...Nicht als Frau – ein schwaches Gefäß, sondern als die mächtigste Monarchin oder Autokratin regierte sie alle russischen Fürstentümer auf umsichtige Weise" (Žylenko 2002).

Feodosij Sofonovyč und Leontij Bobolyns'kyj geben dieses Fragment auf ihre eigene Weise wieder: Letzter ersetzt in seiner Interpretation die Aussage, dass Ol'ha "nicht als Frau" regiert durch die korrektere Version "nicht als weiser Kopf" (Pavlenko 1984, 234).

Anhand dieser Zitate ist es natürlich möglich, ganz verschiedene Hypothesen über das Bild der Großfürstin aufzustellen. Am überzeugendsten ist wohl die Ansicht, dass die Chroniken tendenziös sind. Die Chroniken wurden in einer klösterlichen Umgebung mit deren traditionell erniedrigenden Haltung gegenüber Frauen, dem weiblichen Körper und seinen Reizen verfasst. Um Ol'ha beeindruckender darzustellen, verglichen die Chronisten sie deshalb mit einem Mann. Für das klösterliche Umfeld des 17. Jhs waren zwei Antinomien bei der Darstellung der Großfürstin Ol'ha relevant: Die heidnische Großfürstin und die christliche Großfürstin. Dementsprechend haben das Rache-Motiv und das der Taufe die größte Aufmerksamkeit der Chronisten auf sich gezogen, d.h. exakt jene Motive, die für moderne Gelehrte hinsichtlich ihrer Historizität am zweifelhaftesten sind. Es ist auch bezeichnend, dass der Darstellung des Ehemanns der Großfürstin Ol'ha, der ein Heide war, in der ukrainischen Chroniktradition des 17. Jhs keine besondere Aufmerksamkeit zuteil wird.

Das Bild der Großfürstin Ol'ha als Argument in der interkonfessionellen Polemik

Im 17. Jh entsteht ein grundlegend neuer Ansatz zur Interpretation des Bildes der Großfürstin Ol'ha, der allgemein als Bildakt (Handlung, Tat) und Bildargument definiert werden kann. Die Entstehung dieser Variante der Darstellung der Großfürstin wurde durch den Zustand der interreligiösen Beziehungen verursacht, der nach der Vereinigung der Union von Brest im Jahre 1596 stattfand. In der Tat herrschte der Zustand einer interreligiösen Polemik und dementsprechend die Suche auf beiden Seiten nach starken und unwiderlegbaren Argumente in diesem Kampf. Zu solch einem Argument wurde die Darstellung der Großfürstin Ol'ha. Darüber hinaus haben sowohl die Befürworter der Union von Brest als auch ihre Gegner diese Darstellung angesprochen. Es erschien im Rahmen eines neuen, von den Schriftgelehrten des 17. Jhs eingeführten Konzeptions der mehrstufigen Taufe der Rus'.

Die Entwicklung dieser Konzeption in der polemisch-publizistischen, hagiographischen und chronischen Literatur des Barock wird im Werk von S. Golubev umfassend analysiert. In Bezug auf die moderne wissenschaftliche Forschung haben P. Sas, M. Brajčevs'kyj, O. Pritcak, O. Nemens'kyj und T. Oparina intensive Untersuchungen durchgeführt und sich mit dieser Theorie befasst. Von N. Sinkevyč wird sie aktiv untersucht und von J. Zatylyuk und P. Stefanovyč aktualisiert und andere Wissenschaftler interessieren sich auch für diese Konzeption (Golubev 1898; Sas 1993; Brajčevskij 1989; Brajčevs'kyj 1991; Pricak 1993; Nemenskij 2003; Nemenskij 2006; Nemenskij 2016; Oparina 2007; Sinkevič 2012; Sinkevič 2018; Sinkevyč 2013; Sinkevič 2017; Zatylyuk 2014; Stefanovyč 2018).

Es wird allgemein die Ansicht vertreten, dass die Konzeption der mehrstufigen Taufe der Rus' zum ersten Mal in der polemischen Abhandlung des unierten Archimandriten Lev Krevza "Obrona jedności cerkiewney" (1617, Wilno) vorgestellt wurde. Tatsächlich schlägt der Publizist aus der Rzeczpospolita die unierte Version der Geschichte der Kyiver Kirche vor und begründet dies damit, dass die russische Kirche seit Beginn ihrer Existenz mit Rom verbunden war.

Weder die Hauptidee von Krevza – die Zugehörigkeit der russischen Kirche zum päpstlichen Thron – noch die Tatsachen der Taufe der Rus'

vor Volodymyr waren dabei grundlegend neu, sondern das originelle Schema: historische Informationen wurden hierbei mit Methoden ihrer Interpretation kombiniert (vgl. zu der Methode von Krevza: Zatylyuk 2014, 76–80; Sinkevyc̆ 2012).

Nach der Konzeption von Lev Krevza hat die Kyiver Rus' drei Stufen der Taufe durchlaufen, von denen nur die erste vom Autor eindeutig definiert wird: "Unter Basilius von Mazedonien, König der Griechen, und unter dem Fürsten der gesamten Rus', Rjuryk, und unter den Fürsten von Kyiv Askold und Dir und unter dem Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, Ignatius" (Kreuz 1617, 223–224). Offensichtlich sollten wir als zweite Stufe eine weitere Erzählung des Publizisten über die Bildungsaktivitäten von Cyril und Methodius betrachten, die "zum Segen nach Rom gingen, zu Beginn des Patriarchats des heiligen Ignatius unter König Michael in die slawischen Ländern gesendet wurden, um sie zum Glauben zu konvertieren" (Kreuz 1617, 225–226). Was die dritte Stufe betrifft, so haben wir nur eine Erwähnung: Um 1000 wurde die Rus' von seinem ersten Metropoliten Michael getauft, der der Schützling des Patriarchen Nikolaj Chryzoverg war (Kreuz, 1617, 227). Jede der erwähnten Taufen sollte als Beitritt zur christlichen Kirche unter der Herrschaft des Papstes verstanden werden, da die erste (Krevza erklärt, dass, obwohl der Patriarch von Konstantinopel damals der schismatische Fotius war, als wahrer Patriarch Ignatius betrachtet werden sollte) und die dritte Taufe von den Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, die mit Rom einverstanden waren, und die zweite vom Papst selbst initiiert wurden (Kreuz, 1617, 224–225).

Lev Krevza erwähnt weder die Großfürstin Ol'ha noch den Großfürsten Volodymyr als Vertreter verschiedener Stadien der Taufe der Rus', aber seine Anhänger – Unierte und orthodoxe Gegner – führen die Namen dieser historischen Figuren in der Konzeption der allmählichen Verbreitung des Christentums klar auf.

Unter den Unterstützern der Union haben neben Lev Krevza auch andere Autoren ihre Interpretation der Herausbildung der unierten Kirche erläutert (Nemenskij 2006, 58–60). Meletij Smotryc'kyj, der wegen der Verfolgung von den Orthodoxen zur Union konvertierte, bot in seiner Arbeit "Paraenesis abo napomnienie" (1628, Krakau) eine andere Methode der Einigung der Tatsachen aus den Chroniken und

der unierten Ideologie. Er verband zeitlich weit entfernte Ereignisse der Taufe der Rus' mit ihren verschiedenen Gebieten (Nemenskij 2016; Sinkevič 2012). Nach Meletij Smotryč'kyjs Überzeugung hatte die Rus' zwei Taufen: Laut dem Autor wurde erstens Galizien 872 unter dem Patriarch Ignatius, der ein gutes Verhältnis mit Papst Nikolaus I. hatte, getauft, und zweitens wurde 980 die Kyiver Rus' von Patriarch Nikolaus von Konstantinopel getauft, der die Einigung der Rus' mit Rom unterstützte geschah (Nemenskij 2016).

Jedoch war es letztendlich Lev Krevzes Konzeption, die sowohl unter den Katholiken als auch unter den Orthodoxen die meiste Aufmerksamkeit bekam. Das dreistufige Schema zur Verbreitung des Christentums in der Rus' wird in der Arbeit "O krzyżu i ukrzyżowanym" (Zamość, 1620) des Dominikaners Andrij Wargocki verwendet (Sinkevič 2012). Es wird vom unierten Schriftsteller Jan Dubowicz erwähnt, wenn er in der polemischen Abhandlung "Hierarchia albo o zwierchności w Cerkwii Bożej" (L'viv, 1644) Erzählung von der Taufe der Rus' von Askold, Großfürstin Ol'ha und von Großfürst Volodymyr wiedergibt (Zatylyuk 2014, 80; Dovbyščenko 2018, 185; Golubev 1898, 355).

Die Strategie, die Lev Krevza gewählt hat, wird auch von seinen orthodoxen Gegner angewendet, natürlich mit dem Unterschied, dass sie in jeder Phase der Konversion der Rus' zum Christentum den Namen des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel wählen, der seine Zuneigung zur römischen Kirche nicht gezeigt hat. Als Informationsquelle über die Patriarchen von Konstantinopel verwendeten die orthodoxen Schriftsteller die polnische Übersetzung der "Annales" von Cäsar Baronius ("Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198"; von 1588 bis 1607 wurden 12 Bände veröffentlicht). Diese Übersetzung wurde stammt von dem Jesuiten Peter Skarga und wurde unter dem Titel "Roczne dzieje kościelne" in Krakau veröffentlicht (Baronij).

In der orthodoxen polemischen Antwort auf Krevzas Abhandlung erweitert sich die Konzeption der dreifachen Taufe der Rus' zunächst auf vier Stufen, von denen die dritte mit dem Bild der Ol'ha verbunden ist. Wir treffen auf dieses vierstufige "Schema" in der "Palinodija" von Zacharija Kopystens'kyj (geschrieben von 1617 bis 1624, unveröffentlicht), in dem "Katechismus" von Lavrentij Zyzanij (1627, Moskau) und in dem "Buch über den Glauben" (1648, Moskau). So wurden von den

orthodoxen Schriftgelehrten vier Stufen eingeführt: die apostolische Taufe der Rus' durch den Apostel Andreas der Erstberufene, während der Regierungszeiten von Askol'd und Dir, die von der Großfürstin Ol'ha initiierte Taufe und schließlich die Taufe der Rus' von Volodymyr.

Bei der Schaffung des Bildes Ol'has der Täuferin beobachten wir die Gegenüberstellung von Informationen aus verschiedenen Quellen. Zacharij Kopystens'kyj schreibt: "Um das Jahr 935 unter der Herrschaft des Königs Konstantin VIII. und unter dem Patriarchen Theophilactus, wie der griechische Historiker Johannes Zonaras im dritten Band schreibt, während andere [Informationen] aus russischen Chroniken nehmen [und schreiben] unter König Ioann Cemis'ki und unter Patriarch Basilius Skamandren, [kam] um das Jahr 970 [...] die Großfürstin Ol'ha [...] nach Konstantinopel [...], die der Patriarch mit vielen Bojaren taufte, Elena nannte und sie segnete [...]. Und so führte Elena, als sie wieder in ihr Fürstentum zurückkehrte, viele Rusen zu Christus" (Kopystenskij 1878, 972–973).

Lavrentij Zyzanij gibt nicht die Chroniken an, aus denen die Informationen über die Taufe Ol'has in Konstantinopel entlehnt sind, und nennt nur einen Namen eines byzantinischen Königs, bietet aber auch zwei Versionen bzgl. des Namens des Patriarchen an: "Die dritte Taufe des russischen Volkes, die vom gesegneten Patriarchen von Konstantinopel, Theophilact, durchgeführt wurde, als Großfürstin Ol'ha [...] mit vielen ihrer Bojaren in Konstantinopel getauft wurde. Während der Regierungszeit des griechischen Königs Ioannes Cymischij. Unter dem Patriarchen des seligen Basilius Skamedrin" (Zizanij 1627, 28–29).

Die Botschaft über die dritte Stufe der Taufe der Rus' unter Beteiligung von Großfürstin Ol'ha im "Buch über Glauben" ist identisch mit Zacharija Kopystens'kyjs "Palinodija".

Die weitere Suche nach Bildern von Argumenten im interreligiösen Kampf führte orthodoxe Polemiker zu einer fünfstufigen Konzeption der Taufe der Kyiver Rus'. N. Sinkevyc, die dessen Verbreitung unter den Schriftstellern des 17. Jhs aktiv erforschte, schlug die mögliche "Existenz eines separaten Textes der Geschichte der fünffachen Taufe der Rus'" vor (Sinkevyc 2013, 137).

Nach Angaben der Forscherin existierte dieser als eigenständiger und vollständiger Text unter den Intellektuellen des Kyiver Höhlen-

klosters und wurde später zu der *Hustyn-Chronikim* "Paterikon" von Sylvester Kosov zum Leben des heiligen Volodymyr hinzugefügt. Dieser Text breitete sich dann auch über den Kyiver Schriftgelehrtenkreis hinaus aus und wurde in das Manuskript der Sammlung von S. Petruševyč aufgenommen (Sinkeyvč 2013, 137).

Im Schema des fünfmaligen Taufens tritt Ol'ha an der vierten Stelle auf. Die *Hustyn-Chronik* widmet dem Bild Ol'has am meisten Aufmerksamkeit und behält die bisherige Tendenz, Informationen aus verschiedenen Chroniken aufzureihen, bei: "Ol'ha ging nach dem Tod des Patriarchen Theophilakt nach Konstantinopel, um den Glauben vom Patriarchen Polijevkt, unter dem griechischen König Konstantin VII., anzunehmen. Dies geschah laut unserem ruischen Chronisten im Jahr 955, oder aber laut Baronius im Jahr 958. Der Patriarch lehrte ihr den Glauben und taufte sie auf den Namen 'Olena'. Er segnete sie und sagte: "Gesegnet seid ihr unter den ruischen Frauen" [...]. Und dann, als Ol'ha ins ruischen Land zurückkehrte, führte sie viele zum Glauben, nur ihren Sohn Svjatoslav konnte sie nicht konvertieren. Zonaras sagt, dass Theophilakt zu dieser Zeit der Patriarch war" (Gustinskaja 1843, 253).

Im "Paterikon" von Syl'vester Kosov wird die vierte Konversion der Rus' zum Christentum kurz dargestellt. Der Autor bietet nur eine Version dieses Ereignisses an. Er weist am Rande des Buches darauf hin, dass die "Annales" von Baronius seine maßgebliche Quelle waren. Kosov schreibt Folgendes: "Als Viertes wurden die Rusynen von den Griechen dank Ol'ha, der Frau des ruischen Großfürsten Ihor und Großmutter von Volodymyr, im Jahr 958 getauft, denn sie ging nach Konstantinopel unter Caesar von Konstantinopel Konstantin VIII. und unter Patriarch Polijevkt, nach dem Tod des Patriarchen Theophilakt. Und dort taufte der Patriarch von Konstantinopel sie und nannte sie unter den ruischen Frauen eine gesegnete Frau" (Sinkeyvč 2013, 266, 267).

Die fünf-Stufen-Konzeption der Verbreitung des Christentums wurde auch vom Verfasser der *Kyiver Synopsis* aufgegriffen. Dementsprechend ist das Bild Ol'has der Täuferin der Rus' auch eng verbunden mit der vierten Stufe, aber abgesehen vom Jahr der Taufe 955, dem Ort Konstantinopel und dem Taufnamen "Olena" werden hier keine genaueren Informationen geliefert (Žylenko Synopsys 2002).

Im katholischen Umfeld entwickelten sich eigene Varianten der fünfstufigen Konversion der Rus' zum Christentum. Der ruthenische Dominikaner Šymon Okol's'kyj, der seine Arbeit "Russia florida" (L'viv, 1646) der Geschichte des Dominikanerordens auf rulischem Territorium widmete, spricht auch die Konzeption der fünf Stufen der Taufe der Rus' an. Nach seiner Interpretation bezieht sich die erste Stufe auf den Namen des Apostels Andreas, die zweite verläuft während der Amtszeit des byzantinischen Kaiser Basilius, die dritte wird von Großfürstin Ol'ha (Hal'ska; die laut Okol's'kyj katholisch war und zur polnischen Familie der Wappen von Seljava gehörte) vertreten, die vierte Stufe ist die Taufe der Rus' durch Großfürst Volodymyr, und die fünfte ist die Missionstätigkeit des Heiligen Jacek (Sinkevič 2019).

Neben den oben genannten gibt es noch andere Schriftsteller, die über die Geschichte der stufenweisen Verbreitung des Christentums geschrieben haben. Aber auch diese, die das Bild von Großfürstin Ol'ha als überzeugenden Beweis, als Hinweis auf die nächste Stufe verwendeten, blieben wenig informativ und zielten nicht auf eine tiefere Offenlegung dieses Bildes ab.

Die Darstellung des zweiten Findens der Reliquien von St. Ol'ha-Olena (1635)

Die Informationen über den Lebensweg der Großfürstin Ol'ha wurden in den mehr als tausend Jahren, die seit Ihrem Tod vergangen sind, durch zahlreiche wissenschaftliche Hypothesen ständig weiter ergänzt. Die Informationen über die posthume Herrlichkeit der Großfürstin und ihre Verehrung als Heilige und vor allem als gleichberechtigter Apostel werfen viele Fragen auf. Wir haben keine eindeutige Antwort auf die Frage, wann sie genau offiziell heilig gesprochen wurde. Nach den Annahmen des Metropoliten Ilarion (Ohijenko) fand dieses Ereignis relativ spät statt, irgendwann im 17. Jh (Ilarion 1965, 126).

Es ist jedoch wahrscheinlich, dass die lokale Volksverehrung der christlichen Großfürstin als Heilige bereits früher begann. Wissenschaftler verbinden den Beginn ihrer Verehrung mit dem Erwerb der Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol'ha und ihrer Verlegung in die Kyiver Muttergotteskirche Desjatynna (Cerkva Bohorodyci Desjatynna), die von ihrem Enkel, Großfürst Volodymyr, initiiert wurde; Volodymyr ließ die

genannte Kirche kurz vor der Verlegung der Reliquien errichten (Ilarion 1965, 126; Karpov 2014, 316–317; Vereščahina 2017, 387).

Es gibt Versuche, den Zeitpunkt dieses Ereignisses genauer zu bestimmen. A. Karpov vermutet, dass dieser in etwa um 999/1000 liegt (Karpov 2014, 314–315). Als mögliches Datum für die Verlegung der Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol'ha in die Desjatynna Kirche wird auch das Jahr 1007 genannt, da bzgl. dieses Jahres in der "Erzählung der vergangenen Jahre" der folgende Eintrag geschrieben steht: "Die Heiligen wurden in die Muttergottes[-kirche] verlegt" (Polnoe 2001, T. 1, stb. 129; Polnoe 2001, T. 2, stb. 114). In der Geschichtsschreibung hat diese Nachricht der Chronik eine Reihe von Interpretationen erhalten, darunter auch eine Version, die sich auf die Verlegung der Reliquien von Großfürstin Ol'ha bezieht. Eine entsprechende Stellungnahme wurde insbesondere von V. Vasil'jev, Makarij (Bulhakov), A. Nasonov, M. Tichomirov und anderen abgegeben (Vasil'jev 1893, 74; Makarij (Bulhakov) 1868, 86–87; Nasonov 1969, 22; Tichomirov 1979, 63–64; Vereščahina 2017, 387). Es wird angenommen, dass die Desjatynna Kirche von Anfang an von Großfürst Volodymyr als Pantheon rusischer Heiliger konzipiert worden war (um die "Mutter aller russischen Kirchen" zu werden), und aus diesem Grund initiierte er die Verlegung von Ol'has Reliquien hierher. Der Erwerb und die Verlegung der Reliquien von Ol'ha zielten darauf ab, sie als Heilige weiter zu kanonisieren (Golubinskij 1903, 56; Vereščahina 2017, 387; Golubev 1898, 425).

Der Metropolit Ilarion machte darauf aufmerksam, dass ein Autor aus dem 11. Jh, Jakov Mnich, in seiner "Erinnerung und Lobrede an Fürst Volodymyr" ("Pamjat' i pochvala knjazju Vladimiru") die Großfürstin noch nicht als Heilige betitelte. Seine Geschichte über die Krypta mit Ol'has unvergänglichem Körper in der Desjatynna Kirche in Kyiv zeugt jedoch davon, dass die Kyiver Großfürstin auf lokaler Ebene bereits als Heilige verehrt wurde (Ilarion 1965, 126).

N. Vereščahina gibt an, wo sich die Krypta der Großfürstin Ol'ha genau befand. Offensichtlich war die Forscherin eine der ersten, die auf das Kyiver Kupfer-Enkolpionskreuz (12. – frühes 13. Jh) aus der Sammlung von B. und V. Chanenko aufmerksam machte. Auf der Rückseite dieses Kreuzes sind eine Kirche, wahrscheinlich die Desjatynna Kirche, und zwei Heilige abgebildet, über deren Köpfen geschrieben

steht: ‘Олга’ und ‘Нкол’. Auf der Grundlage der Analyse dieses Befundes wurden folgende Schlussfolgerungen getroffen: Erstens “zeigt die ikonografische Komposition, die Ol’ha zusammen mit dem heiligen Nikolaus darstellt, dass sich die Krypta der Großfürstin in der Nikolauskapelle der Desjatynna Kirche befand”; zweitens “bestätigt das Bild von Ol’ha mit dem Nimbus die Tatsache, dass sie als Heilige verehrt wurde” (Vereščahina 2012, 56; Vereščahina 2017, 389; Vereščahina 2019).

Gleichzeitig stimmen wir auch der Aussage von N. Vereščahina und anderen Wissenschaftlern zu, dass, obwohl Großfürstin Ol’ha offensichtlich sehr früh als Heilige verehrt wurde, es keinen offiziellen Prozess ihrer Heiligsprechung gab, weil “die ostgriechische Kirche im Gegensatz zur lateinischen kein formalisiertes Heiligsprechungsverfahren kannte”. Dieses Verfahren “in einer entwickelten Form erscheint [erstmalig] in der Ära der Konzile des Metropoliten Makarij, die zwischen 1547 und 1549 stattfanden“ (Vereščahina 2017, 387–388; Serebrjanskij 1915, 56–58).

Auch können wir folgende Hypothese nicht unerwähnt lassen, die zuerst von N. Nikitenko begründet und dann von N. Vereščahina unterstützt wurde. Laut dieser Hypothese wurde Großfürstin Ol’ha als Heilige verehrt, war aber den Aposteln niemals gleichgestellt. Dieser Titel gehörte, wie ukrainische Forscherinnen beweisen konnten, der Frau des Großfürsten Volodymyr, Anna, die bei ihrer Taufe genau wie Ol’ha den Namen Elena erhalten hatte (Nikitenko 2017; Vereščahina 2017; Vereščahina 2019).

1240 wurde während der tatarischen Invasion in Kyiv die Desjatynna Kirche zerstört, und nach einer weit verbreiteten Version der Geschehnisse blieben die Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol’ha unter den Ruinen der Kirche begraben (die Leichen des dort begrabenen Großfürsten Volodymyr und seiner Frau Anna-Olena blieben ebenfalls unter den Trümmern der zerstörten Kirche liegen). Es gibt allerdings auch noch eine andere Hypothese. So ging D. Ajnalov davon aus, dass die Reliquien von Ol’ha zu diesem Zeitpunkt in die nördlichen Länder der Rus’ gebracht worden sein könnten (Ajnalov 1918, 34; Vereščahina 2017, 393). Das Bild des zweiten Auffindens der Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol’ha gehört zum 17. Jh. Die kirchliche Tradition verbindet dieses mit der Person des Metropoliten von Kyiv, Halizien und der gesamten Rus’ Petro

Mohyla (1597–1647). Es wird angenommen, dass er 1635, als er die Ruinen der Desjatynna Kirche wegräumen ließ, um an ihrer Stelle einen kleinen Tempel aufzubauen, die Reliquien der Heiligen fand. Diese wurden bis zum Beginn des 18. Jhs in dem wiederaufgebauten Tempel aufbewahrt (Karpov 2014, 316). Heute gelten die Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol'ha als verloren.

Es gibt keine Quellen, die für Klarheit bzgl. des zweiten Auftauchens der Reliquien sorgen könnten. Die Forscher sind auch überrascht, dass weder Petro Mohyla selbst noch seine Zeitgenossen diese Entdeckung jemals erwähnt haben, während es über das Finden der Reliquien des Großfürsten Volodymyr sehr wohl Informationen gibt.

M. Berlins'kyj, M. Karamzin, der Kyiver Metropolit Jevhenij (Bolchovitinov) und S. Holubev waren die ersten Forscher, die die noch erhaltenen Materialien mit den Informationen über das Auffinden der Reliquien des Großfürsten Volodymyr analysieren. Folgende Wissenschaftler unserer Zeit ergänzten diese Informationen: I. Žylenko, Ja. Zatylyjuk, V. Djatlov und Je. Archypova (Golubev 1898, 426–428, 433–435; Žylenko 2002, *Istorija...*; Žylenko 2003; Zatylyjuk 2015; Zatylyjuk 2017; Djatlov 2015; Archypova 2015).

Die erste der bekannten Quellen des 17. Jhs, welche das jüngste Auffinden der Reliquien erwähnt, ist die polnischsprachige Sammlung von Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj "Teraturgema" (1638, Kyiv). Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj berichtet in dem an Fürst Svjatopolk-Četvertyns'kyj gerichteten Vorwort von den berühmten Fürsten von Kyiv und als er auf den heiligen Volodymyr zu sprechen kommt, gibt er in Klammern Auskunft darüber, dass 1635 in der Desjatynna Kirche unter den Ruinen seine heiligen Reliquien ausgegraben wurden (Kal'nofojs'kyj 1638, 10; Zatylyjuk 2017, 47; Zatylyjuk 2015, 166).

Die zweite Erwähnung der gefundenen Reliquien des heiligen Volodymyr gibt der Autor in einem anderen Teil des Buches, im "Katalog der Wohltäter und Wächter des Heiligen Höhlenklosters" wieder. Diesmal geht die Entdeckung der Reliquien auf das Jahr 1636 zurück (Kal'nofojs'kyj 1638, 53; Zatylyjuk 2015, 166). Abgesehen von noch einer anderen Datierung des Ereignisses, kommen die Forscher nicht umhin sich darüber zu wundern, dass hierüber so sparsam und ohne Einzelheiten berichtet wird. In den beiden Textfragmenten gibt es Informationen

über Volodymyr, und auch seine Frau Anna wird erwähnt (sie wurde neben Volodymyr begraben), aber es gibt keine Hinweise über das Auffinden ihrer Reliquien. Großfürstin Ol'ha ist auch im "Katalog" vertreten, aber auch Afanasij Kal'nofojs'kyj erwähnt ihre Reliquien nicht (Kal'nofojs'kyj 1638, 53).

Das nächste Dokument, in dem sich Informationen zum Finden der Reliquien des Großfürsten Volodymyr finden lassen, ist die "Petition des Metropoliten von Kyiv Petro Mohyla an Zar Michail Fjodorovič über Almosen für den Bau von Kirchen, die von den Unierten verwüstet worden waren" (1640, 29. Oktober).

1640 sandte Petro Mohyla mehrere Boten an den Moskauer Zaren, in der Hoffnung, großzügige Hilfen vom König zu erhalten. Jene Boten brachten ein Geschenk mit: Teile der Reliquien des Großfürsten Volodymyr (Akty... 1861, 29; weitere Details: Zatylyuk 2015, 167–184).

1658 wurden erneut Boten mit weiteren Teilen der Reliquien des Großfürsten Volodymyr vom Archimandriten des Kyiver Höhlenklosters Inokentij Gizel' an den Moskauer Zaren Aleksej Michajlovič geschickt (Zatylyuk 2015, 186–190).

1674 wurde die erste Ausgabe der *Kyiver Synopsis* veröffentlicht, deren Abschnitt "Über das Sterben von Volodymyr" die Leser darüber informierte, dass der Kopf des Großfürsten Volodymyr in der Kirche Mariä Himmelfahrt des Kyiver Höhlenklosters aufbewahrt wurde. Spätere Ausgaben gaben dieselbe Information wieder (Zatylyuk 2017, 47).

Eine vollständigere und detailliertere Geschichte über die Entdeckung der Reliquien von Großfürst Volodymyr und seiner Frau Anna findet sich in dem Manuskript des Kyiver Höhlenklosters aus dem 18. Jh "Die Legende über das Auffinden des ehrenhaften und heiligen Kopfes des heiligen und gleichberechtigten apostolischen Großfürsten Volodymyr..." (Žylenko 2002, Istorija).

Laut der "Legende" fand Metropolit Petro Mohyla an einem Samstag des Jahres 1632 tief im Boden an der Stelle der zerstörten Desjatynna Kirche ein Marmorgrab (Žylenko 2002, Istorija). Als er dieses Grab öffnete, sah er darin einen ehrenhaften, heiligen Kopf sowie heilige Knochen. Es gab auch eine silbervergoldete Tafel mit folgender Inschrift darauf: "In dieses Grab wurde der Leichnam des heiligen gleichberechtigten apostolischen Großfürsten Volodymyr gelegt, der bei der heiligen

Taufe Vasylij genannt wurde; und mit ihm in dieses Grab wurde seine Frau, die Griechin und fromme Prinzessin Anna, gelegt [...]. Diese Tafel wurde vom frommen Großfürst Jaroslav Volodymyrovyč beigelegt...“ (Žylenko 2002, Istorija).

Aus dem 18. Jh ist eine weitere, diesmal gedruckte Version der Darstellung dieses Ereignisses bekannt. Diese Version ist in der “Kurzen historischen Beschreibung des Kyiver Höhlenklosters”, deren Autor Samujil Myslavs’kyj sein soll (die zweite Ausgabe stammt aus dem Jahr 1795, die erste ist nicht auffindbar; spätere Nachdrucke stammen aus den Jahren 1805 und 1817). Die Geschichte ist ähnlich, es gibt nur bzgl. einiger Kleinigkeiten Unterschiede (Kratkoe 1817, 105–106; Žylenko 2002, Istorija).

In derselben Ausgabe wird Großfürstin Ol’ha mehrmals erwähnt, etwas ausführlicher im Abschnitt “Nachricht über die in Kyiv begrabenen Fürsten der Familie Rurik” sowie in den Geschichten über Askol’d’s Grab und die Desjatynna Steinkirche, hier lassen sich jedoch keine Informationen über das Auffinden Ol’has Reliquien finden (Kratkoe 1817, 287, 276, 279).

Die Geschichte des Findens der Reliquien des Großfürsten Volodymyr und seiner Frau Anna wurde dank der Werke der Historiker des frühen 19. Jhs, in nahezu unveränderter Weise weitergegeben und so weit verbreitet und populär. An dieser Stelle sei insbesondere auf “Eine kurze Beschreibung von Kyiv” von M. Berlins’kyj und die “Geschichte des russischen Staates” von M. Karamzin verwiesen (weitere Details: Zatylyuk 2017, 50–51).

Neben einigen anderen Historikern interessierte sich der Kyiver Metropolit Jevhenij (Bolchovitinov) für diese Geschichte, doch seine Darstellungen wurden im Laufe der Zeit immer kritischer. Die ersten Bemerkungen veröffentlichte er in seiner Arbeit “Beschreibung der Kyiver Sophia Kathedrale und der Kyiver Hierarchie” (1825), und noch kritischer äußerte er sich in der nächsten Ausgabe “Beschreibung des Kyiver Höhlenklosters” (1826), (Evgenij (Bolchovitinov) 1825, 7–8; Jevhenij (Bolchovitinov) 1826, 91–92; Zatylyuk 2017, 53).

In dieser Situation konnten nur noch archäologische Ausgrabungen für Klarheit sorgen. Deshalb begann Jevhenij (Bolchovitinov) bereits im Oktober 1823 damit, Ausgrabungen der Fundamente der Desja-

tynna Kirche zu organisieren, um einen Bauplan der Kirche, als diese noch intakt war, entwerfen zu können. Unter den Teilnehmern an den Ausgrabungen befand sich auch der Historiker M. Berlins'kyj (Zatylyuk 2017, 52). Der Kyiver Metropolit war mit dem weiteren Verlauf der Ereignisse jedoch unzufrieden, insbesondere mit den unzureichend fundierten Ergebnissen der Ausgrabungen, über die ihre Teilnehmer an den Veröffentlichungen zu berichten begannen.

In einem solchen Artikel mit dem Titel "Plan der primitiven Kyiver Desjatynna Muttergottes Kirche mit ihren Erklärungen" (veröffentlicht im März 1825) erscheint zum ersten Mal aus uns bekannten Quellen das Bild des zweiten Findens der Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol'ha (Plan 1825).

Den Forschern zufolge gelang es ihnen, drei Gräber auszugraben. Das erste Grab enthielt keine Leiche, sondern nur Trümmer. Es wurde daher vermutet, dass es Großfürst Volodymyr gehörte, dessen Leiche von Petro Mohyla ausgegraben wurde und von dem nur sein Kopf zum Kyiver Höhlenkloster gebracht wurde (Plan 1825, 390–391). Diese Information wird von einer Notiz begleitet, die die Geschichte aus der "Kurzen historischen Beschreibung des Kyiver Höhlenklosters" über das Finden der Reliquien von Großfürst Volodymyr und seiner Frau Anna wiedergibt (Plan 1825, 391–392). Das Folgende ist eine mündliche Überlieferung, auf deren Grundlage die Teilnehmer der Ausgrabungen die Annahme machten, dass das erste Grab Großfürstin Ol'ha gehörte: "Der Überlieferung nach sagen Alteingesessene, dass die Reliquien der seligen Ol'ha angeblich hier waren, [...] die ihr Enkel, der Großfürst Volodymyr Svjatoslavyč, nach der Legende des Stufenbuches (Stepenaja kniha) in diese Kirche verlegte und in einen Steinsarg legte, und Metropolit Petro Mohyla verlegte sie angeblich in seine neu erbaute kleine Kirche [...], aber danach versteckte er diese Reliquien vor den feindlichen Invasionen [...] in der Erde unter der Kirche. Wenn die oben erwähnte erste der drei Grabstätten Ol'ha gehörte, dann lässt sich vermuten, dass die beiden anderen Grabstätten [...] Großfürst Volodymyr [...] und seiner Frau, Großfürstin Anna, gehörten..." (Plan, 1825, 391–393; Zatylyuk 2017, 52).

Zusammenfassend stellen wir fest, dass die Wissenschaftler allen Grund dazu haben, die Echtheit der Geschichten über Petro Mohylas Auffinden der Reliquien des Großfürsten Volodymyr von Kyiv

anzuzweifeln. Noch komplizierter ist die Situation bei der Forschung des zweiten Findens der Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol'ha. Wir kennen immer noch keine Quelle des 17. Jhs, die diese zweite Auffindung erwähnt. Wahrscheinlich erscheinen diese Informationen zum ersten Mal in der eben zitierten wissenschaftlichen Publikation von 1825.

J. Zatylyuk stellte die Hypothese auf, dass die sogenannte Kirchenüberlieferung über das zweite Auffinden der Reliquien der Großfürstin Ol'ha von den Teilnehmern an den Ausgrabungen der Desjatylna Kirche geschaffen wurde. Die Teilnehmer zweifelten die Echtheit der Geschichte der von Petro Mohyla gefunden Gräber des Großfürsten Volodymyr und seiner Frau Anna nicht an, und sie schrieben dem Metropoliten von Kyiv auch noch weitere Entdeckungen zu (Zatylyuk 2017, 53).

Die Refektoriumskirche des Nationalreservats "Sophia von Kyiv" beherbergt heute einen Schiefersarkophag, von dem angenommen wird, dass er einst der Großfürstin Ol'ha gehörte (Vereščahina 2017, 393; Archypova 2002; Toločko 2016).

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THE IMAGE OF PRINCESS OL'HA IN UKRAINIAN TRADITION AND CULTURE

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This article reveals the image of Princess Ol'ha in Ukrainian culture. The following thematic topics are highlighted and analysed in the article: 1) the image of Ol'ha as a wise ruler of the state; 2) activities of the Princess for the Christianization of Ukraine-Rus'; 3) the political component; 4) the respect and memory of the princess in Ukraine and in the diaspora.

Key words: Princess Ol'ha, Ukrainian culture, tradition, Middle Ages.

ОБРАЗ КНЯГИНИ ОЛЬГИ В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ТРАДИЦІЇ ТА КУЛЬТУРІ

Дмитро Гордієнко

Стаття розкриває образ княгині Ольги в українській культурі. У статті порушено такі теми: 1) образ Ольги як мудрої правительки держави; 2) діяльність княгині щодо християнізації України-Русі; 3) політична складова діяльності; 4) пошанування й пам'ять про княгиню в Україні та за кордоном.

Ключові слова: княгиня Ольга, українська культура, традиція, Середньовіччя.

The understanding of the figure of Princess Ol'ha in the context of Ukrainian culture was conceptualized by Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj in his monumental work "History of Ukraine-Rus'" and by the scholars of the Ukrainian emigration. Among them, the book by Ivan Nahajevs'kyj "Equal to the Apostles St. Ol'ha" (1955) was one of the first. At the same time, a number of articles by Natalija Polons'ka-Vasylenko (1955, 1969 etc.) were published, followed by Oleksa Povstenko (1970), Teodor Mac'kiv (1989) and others.

Hruševs'kyj determines Ol'ha's attractiveness for Ukrainian history by the image of a princess, which was created by a chronicler. The scholar notes that in the Ukrainian tradition Ol'ha appears "as an avenger for her husband, a leader in the national struggle of the Poljanians against the Drevljans, a wise ruler of the state, a skilful diplomat" (Hruševs'kyj-1 1994, 381). Similarly, Mychajlo Brajčevs'kyj characterizes Princess Ol'ha as a person of "masculine temperament, unrestrained energy, sharp mind, breadth of views and infallible will, which sometimes bordered on cruelty" (Brajčevs'kyj 1999, 39).

For the political emigrés, the significance of Princess Ol'ha in the history of Ukraine was determined by the fact that she stood at the origins of Ukrainian statehood, thus her image gave historical legitimacy to the state struggle of the Ukrainian nation in the 20th century. In addition, as Natalija Polons'ka-Vasylenko emphasized, "the alluring image of the Princess attracts and shows the way to follow her both by those who seek the Truth and by those who love Ukraine and want to raise its dignity and glory" (Polons'ka-Vasylenko 1969, 79, 12). In the medieval context, Natalija Polons'ka-Vasylenko equates the significance of Princess Ol'ha for Ukrainian statehood with the figure of Charlemagne and his significance for Western Europe (Polons'ka-Vasylenko 1969, 80, 22).

The millennium anniversary of Princess Ol'ha's death was in 1969. In Soviet Ukraine, the anniversary was ignored, while the memory of the princess was widely commemorated by Ukrainian emigrants. As Oleksa Povstenko emphasized, "there seems to be no emigration magazine, journal, no annual collection or calendar published in 1969, which would not have at least one article about the genius ruler of our Grand Prince's state. Of course, there was not a single emigration center, school or youth group without meetings, lectures, evenings or so-called «Academies»" devoted to Ol'ha (Povstenko 1970, 11).

Instead, the figure of Ol'ha was pushed out of Ukrainian culture in Ukraine during the Soviet occupation. At the same time, Ol'ha's greatest guilt "before the Soviet state" was her Christian policy. The atheistic USSR presented Ol'ha as a cruel and insidious feudal lady. Even in fiction, for example, in Semen Skljarenko's novel "Svjatoslav" (1958), Ol'ha is presented as a cruel exploiter of the masses and a spokeswoman for

Byzantine politics in Rus' (Skljarenko 1959). Ol'ha and Volodymyr, as the Christianizers of Ukraine-Rus', turned out to be secondary heroes of the Kyivan Rus' era in the Soviet Union. They were to be replaced by the Prophet Oleh and Jaroslav, to whom the nickname 'Wise' was consistently and persistently applied in the Soviet humanities, which was to "block" the wisdom of Princess Ol'ha and her grandson Volodymyr. However, for the author of the 11th century, as Volodymyr Ryčka noted, the image of Princess Ol'ha combined Oleh and Volodymyr – pagan and Christian Ukraine-Rus' (Ryčka 2004, 12).

On the other hand, Soviet historiography sought to show Ol'ha as a Russian princess. Therefore, only Russian historians had the opportunity to write freely and positively about Ol'ha¹, in particular to cover the role of the princess as the Christianizer of Rus' (Prosvirnin 1969). The film "Legend of Princess Ol'ha", shot at the Dovženko Film Studio in Kyiv (1984, directed by Jurij Illjenko, as Princess Ol'ha – Ljudmyla Jefimenko) is significant in this regard. It was the only film produced at a Ukrainian film studio in the USSR that did not have Ukrainian dubbing, but only a Russian-language version (Ukrainian dubbing was created only in 2015).

Thus, the first monograph dedicated to Princess Ol'ha by Volodymyr Ryčka (Kyiv, 2004) was published only in independent Ukraine, although it was written according to the old methodological principles, from the standpoint of the "common heritage" of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. Following the Ukrainian, a monograph on Princess Ol'ha was created in Russian historiography (Karpov, 2012). In 1995, the brilliant novel "Poison for the Princess" by Raisa Ivančenko was published for the first time, which presents a "diasporic" image of Princess Ol'ha as a wise ruler of the powerful state of Ukraine-Rus'.

Today, in Ukrainian historiography, Princess Ol'ha enjoys less popularity only than the holy martyrs Borys and Hlib among the Ukrainian medieval rulers. In the perception of descendants, her image was not overshadowed even by her grandson – the Christianizer of Ukraine, Prince Volodymyr the Great, and by her great grandson Jaroslav the

1 The official Soviet position on the study of the history of Kyivan Rus' was mentioned by Anna Pankratova in the "Communist" magazine (Pankratova 1953).

Wise, and recently it competes with the image of Anna – Queen of France, daughter of Jaroslav the Wise. Such attention of descendants to the image of Princess Ol'ha is conditioned primarily by the fact that her reign, the ruling of a woman, for the early Middle Ages was not a typical phenomenon, which was already understood by the scribes of the 11th century. Contemporaries and descendants also well understood the importance of her personal visit and reception by the Byzantine emperor, which was also an exceptional phenomenon for Ukrainian history. Kyiv legends and tradition about the princess, especially about her revenge on the Drevljans for the death of her husband Ihor made her more vivid. However, despite her popularity in historiography, in Ukrainian culture and tradition, the attitude towards Ol'ha was uneven, with waves of ups and downs. Unfortunately, the reign of Princess Ol'ha in Kyiv dates back to the pre-written period of Ukrainian history, so we cannot reproduce the image of the princess in the perception of her contemporaries. Written fixation on Princess Ol'ha begins only in the 11th century and it refers to the events of the precedent century.

Only foreign sources of the time recorded the activities of Princess Ol'ha. Among these sources are the treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenitus “De ceremoniis aulae Byzantine” and the Chronicle of Regino of Prüm. Although these sources do not provide any description of the princess, they are important for distinguishing the tradition in later Ukrainian written records. Thus, Princess Ol'ha belongs to the real figures of Ukrainian history of the 10th century, but almost completely shrouded in legend, created by oral and written traditions. As Martin Homza showed, there were similar situations in other Eastern European countries of the 10th century (Homza 2017), unfortunately, the scholar only briefly touched upon the name of Princess Ol'ha. Cyril of Turov (12th century) glories Ol'ha and calls her “Mother of Rus’ princess” (Nikol'skij 1907, 90).

Despite the fact that the chronicler created the image of Princess Ol'ha using various church texts dedicated to John the Baptist, Empress Elena and the celebration of Orthodoxy (Griffin 2020), not all of these meanings were perceived and spread in the culture of medieval Ukraine. Princess Ol'ha's texts acquired other meanings in the perception of the recipients, which corresponded to their cultural code and experience.

Today Ol'ha is venerated as a saint and co-Apostle princess of Kyiv. However, the question on when exactly she was canonized is still open. Concerning this date, Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj proposed a wide period of time before the Tatar invasion, that is, before 1240 (Hruševs'kyj-1 1994, 468, note 6). Nadija Vereščahina attributes the canonization of Ol'ha as a local saint to the reign of Volodymyr, that is, the Christianization of the Kyiv state (Vereščahina 2013, 74; 2019, 420). Soon after that, the first text of Ol'ha's Hagiography was created at the Desjatylna Church (Church of the Tithes), (Šachmatov 1908, 116–117). Subsequently, Jacob the Monk in “Memory and Praise to Prince Volodymyr” (11th century) calls Ol'ha “Saint Elena” (Zimin 1963, 69), this is the baptismal name of the princess. At the end of the 14th century the cult of Princess Ol'ha was spread throughout the Kyiv Metropolia and included in church prologues with the date of her veneration July 11 (Loseva 2001, 89–90). Thus, Princess Ol'ha “opens the pantheon of Kyiv saints” (Vereščahina 2019, 420).

In “The Tale of Bygone Years”, Ol'ha's name is mentioned about fifty times, regardless only eight years of the princess's life were reflected in the pages of the Chronicle (PSRL-2 1998). In this case, we can attribute to reliable information only the episode with her baptism, which is confirmed by other contemporary sources. All other messages are framed in the outline of tradition and legend.

It is not known for sure when Ol'ha was born. The “Ol'ha's Prologue Life” notes that the princess died at the age of 75 (Serebrjanskij 1915, 8). If we take the Chronicle date of the princess's death in 969, then the year of her birth will be 894. However, a number of researchers rightly attribute the birth of the princess to 920 (Karpov 2012, 41; Rybakov 1982, 369), which is more acceptable.

The tradition of the 11th century put the activity of Volodymyr in connection with the activity of his grandmother, Princess Ol'ha. Hilarion the Metropolitan of Kyiv, the 11th, who was the first to draw this parallel in his “Sermon on Law and Grace”, took Volodymyr's genealogy as far as possible to Prince Ihor. Naturally, the tradition was to connect Ihor, nicknamed ‘the Old’ at the time, with Princess Ol'ha. No details of Ihor's and Ol'ha's marriage at the beginning of the 11th century were known, in particular, the date of this event was unknown, that's why in the chronicles there is presented a chronological range from 881 to 912.

About this important event for the medieval ruler, the chronicler mentioned under 903: “When Ihor grew up, he took cues from Oleh and listened to him, and [Oleh] brought him a wife from Pleskov named Ol’ha” (PSRL-2 1998, 20–21). The episode with the marriage was necessary for the logic of Ol’ha’s next revenge on the Drevljans for the murder of her husband Ihor; without this entry the revenge of the princess lost its ancestral basis. However, this story, in which Ol’ha’s name is first mentioned in the Chronicle, is purely literary, created by a Kyiv scribe in the 11th century.

Defining Ol’ha’s significance for Ukraine, the medieval chronicler emphasized: “She will be the first to enter the Kingdom of Heaven from Rus” (PSRL-1 1997, 68). This idea was developed in the hagiographic tradition. Ol’ha is equated with the sun, and even exceeds it, because “the sun hides its light many times, obscured by clouds”, and the light of Christ’s faith emanating from Ol’ha does not dim even after her death (Serebrjanskij 1915, 6).

Forming the image of Princess Ol’ha as a forerunner of Volodymyr, the chronicler had a real basis, because Volodymyr apparently spent his childhood at the court of his grandmother Ol’ha – at that time she was already a Christian (Hruševs’kyj-1 1994, 513), while Svjatoslav spent most of his time in military campaigns. Therefore, the reference of the bojars to the example of Ol’ha, supposed to have evoked Volodymyr’s real memories of his own childhood.

“The wisest of all people”

Mychajlo Hruševs’kyj noted that in the Ukrainian medieval tradition “Oleh and Ol’ha is a legendary pair of wise and cunning rulers who were able to stand up for themselves and achieve their goals with the primitive cunning that is so valued by primitive society” (Hruševs’kyj-1 1994, 447). Even in the act of baptism of the princess, the chronicler shows how wise Ol’ha was, that even in dogmatic matters she was able to outwit the Byzantine emperor himself: “The wise princess successfully fools the cunning Greeks, as she deceived the benighted Drevljans” (Hruševs’kyj-1 1994, 450).

Jacob the Monk, the Kyiv author of the second half of the 11th century, begins his eulogy to Princess Ol’ha and emphasizes: “She had a

female body and man's wisdom, she was enlightened by the Holy Spirit, she knew the true God, the creator of heaven and earth, she went to the Greek land, to Constantinople, where there are Christian kings, and she established Christianity" (Zimin 1963, 69).

Thus, *the first text* of Princess in the culture of Ukraine was the image of Ol'ha as "the wisest of all people". If we accept Šachmatov's opinion that the text about Ol'ha's baptism and the text about revenge on the Drevljans were entered in the Chronicle only in 1093 (Šachmatov 1908, 113), that is, a hundred years after the events, we have a purely book tradition of perception / formation of the image of the princess in the culture of Medieval Ukraine. This supernatural wisdom was manifested in Ol'ha's adoption of Christianity long before the introduction of Christianity as the state religion under the reign of Prince Volodymyr.

The parallel between Ol'ha and Volodymyr was clearly outlined in Metropolitan Hilarion's "Sermon": "As the great Constantine, who with his mother Elena transported the Cross from Jerusalem, You (Volodymyr) did likewise with your grandmother Ol'ha - transported the Cross from the New Jerusalem, from the city of Constantine" (Moldovan 1984, 97). This idea permeates the hagiographic tradition of Ol'ha. Thus, Jacob the Monk in "Memory and Praise to Prince Volodymyr" describes how Ol'ha "after receiving holy baptism, returned to the Rus' land, to her home, to her people, with great joy, enlightened in spirit and body carrying the sign of the Holy Cross" (Fet 1987, 289–290). At the same time, Ol'ha's parallel to St. Elena is most clearly traced in the "Ol'ha's prologue Life": "having accepted the cross and having taken the presbyter, she came to her land in Rus' to Kyiv, and that cross stands in St. Sophia in the altar on the right side" (Karpov 2012, 352). Thus the mystical, spiritual cross is transformed into a real cross, and just as St. Elena brought the Lord's Cross from Jerusalem to Constantinople, so Ol'ha brings the cross from Constantinople, the New Jerusalem, to Kyiv. The Ukrainian hagiographer of the 17th century clarifies that Prince Jaroslav, while building St. Sophia in Kyiv, took the cross of Princess Ol'ha and placed it in the altar on the right side (Peretc 1962, 72). Thus Ol'ha is glorified as Equal to the Apostles, her Kyiv became the New Jerusalem, and Ukraine-Rus' became the new Israel.

Equating of the ruling dynasty with the sacred pair of Elena and Constantine was an important ideological attribute of the medieval monarchies of Europe. This idea was especially clearly emphasized in the ideology of the Ottonians, as well as in the Volodymyr's dynasty. For the latter, it is relevant during the reign of Jaroslav the Wise. At the same time, Olena Syrcova dates the actualization of the image of Solomon in the culture of medieval Kyiv, which is a symbol of wisdom, first of all – a ruler as a wise man. Olena Syrcova even suggests that the passage about Ol'ha's baptism was written and entered into the Chronicle by Jaroslav the Wise himself (Syrcova 1997, 161). According to the Ol'ha's Hagiography, she consciously seeks wisdom and this search leads her to Christ-Wisdom: "Blessed Ol'ha, seeking wisdom in the whole world, and found the precious pearl that is Christ". In the 17th century, the political meanings of the pair "Elena – Constantine" were forgotten, and Dmytro Tuptalo emphasizes femininity in the Life of Princess Ol'ha, draws a parallel with myrrh-bearing wives and thus with Empress Elena, then he names Ol'ha the 'Second Elena' (Rostovskij 1999, 311).

The second text of the Princess's wisdom is the well-known story of Princess Ol'ha's revenge on the Drevljans for the death of her husband Ihor. This episode reflects the pre-Christian, chivalrous ethics of the Kyiv socio-cultural space of that time, it was a sacred duty of the whole family and the widow in particular (Nikol'skij 2001, 168). Why did the Christian author pay attention to it? It is obvious that the revenge of the Princess impressed her contemporaries and became a legend, a fable that was remembered even in a hundred years. On the other hand, the remnants of paganism were kept in the urban culture of medieval Ukraine at least until the middle of the 14th century. Moreover, they were more influential in the first century after the introduction of Christianity. The author of the Chronicle lived in the categories of that era. For him, this was normal behavior for a widow, she could not act any other way, so it was required by the custom of blood revenge, the remnants of which are available in the "Rus' Justice".

The chronicler does not explain how Ol'ha was able to keep power in her hands. For the chronicler, the overall authority of Ol'ha's power is self-evident. She appears as an epic, extra-historical person endowed with supernatural abilities. The chronicler describes the princess's

revenge according to the requirements of the epic genre, folklore, and it does not matter whether they really took place as the chronicle narrates. This is important how tradition shaped the image of the princess in those distant events.

The tradition to marry the widow of a prostrate enemy is inherent in many archaic societies. The case of the marriage proposal from Prince Mal to the widow of Ihor killed by him shows that this tradition existed in early medieval Ukraine. However, Ol'ha adopted a different tradition, and brutally retaliated against Prince Mal for the murder of her husband.

Ol'ha's three revenges are known, in which the Princess demonstrates her wisdom, defeating the enemy not with her courage but with abstruseness.

To enhance the contrast, the chronicler emphasizes that the twenty best men of the Drevljans' land came to Ol'ha (PSRL-2 1998, 43–46). Ol'ha had a verbal discussion with the ambassadors. The ambassadors reported that the Drevljans killed Prince Ihor because “your husband was like a wolf, he ruined and plundered, but our princes are good, they protect the Drevljans land. Marry our prince Mal...”. The Drevljans had the right to kill Ihor, who violated the agreement reached with the Drevljans. Ol'ha understood this well and verbally agreed, emphasizing that “she will not resurrect her husband yet” (PSRL-2 1998, 44). Dmitrij Lichačev sees in this phrase the princess's renouncement of tribal revenge (Lichačev 1947, 133). I think contemporaries understood it the same way, in particular Kyivans and Drevljans. However, as Alexej Karpov notes: “the wisdom of the princess praised by the chroniclers, was manifested in the fact that she was able to «play» on words, intending another meaning in them that could not be caught by her less intelligent counterparts” (Karpov 2012, 90).

Such revenges of Princess Ol'ha are known: 1) burying the Drevljans' ambassadors alive in the ground, while the people of Kyiv carried them in a boat to the grave, 2) the second Drevljans' embassy was burned alive in the bath: “the steam bath was heated properly, and the Drevljans went into it and began to wash, and the bathhouse was closed behind them, and Ol'ha ordered to burn it from the door, and all burned there” (PSRL-2 1998, 45), and 3) the ritual murder of the Drevljans at Ihor's grave.

All the 'reverages' are followed by the obsequies rite, with a solemn funeral, thus the princess really showed high honor for the ambassadors. It is strange that the ambassadors and the Drevljans in general could not see through this pitfall of the princess. For the chronicler, this was a manifestation of the wisdom of Ol'ha, who was able to outwit the ambassadors. However, as Ihor Frojanov noted, Ol'ha's wisdom was manifested in the fact that she protected the land of Kyiv from desecration by envoys of another, hostile world (Frojanov 1995, 65–66). In the first case, the ambassadors did not even set foot on Kyiv's land, in the second – the Kyiv's space was cleared by water and fire, due to the burning of ambassadors in the steam bath.



Ol'ha's bloody revenge led to the Drevljan War. Ol'ha's son Svjatoslav is mentioned only once (PSRL-2 1998, 46). Ol'ha was waging war alone and she was winning not so much by military means as by her wisdom. So, having laid siege to Iskorosten', Ol'ha had starved the Drevljans, and when they agreed to obey, the princess asked for a light tribute – three pigeons and sparrows from each home. The Drevljans agreed and gave the princess what she asked for. Ol'ha moved away from the city, ordered her soldiers to tie fuses to the birds' tails, to light the fuses and set the birds free. The birds flew to their houses and burned the wooden city. This is a common medieval plot. Iskorosten' was indeed burned, but without the help of birds. This plot is purely epic, folkloric. Asking for tribute not by domestic birds, Ol'ha set a claim to the Drevl-

jans' whole vital space, and not only a part of their household. As Alexej Karpov notes, "Ol'ha appears in this legend as a truly cosmic figure, able to rule the forces of nature at her will. Moreover, she essentially creates this force by herself: after her will, a man-made fire descends from the sky, engulfing the city that is hostile to her" (Karpov 2012, 107).

Notably, if the plot with the destruction of the city by such an epic method passed to the people from the book tradition, the depth of the original understanding of the plot was lost (Korobka 1908). Thus, for the author of the "Kyiv Synopsis", in this plot the Drevljans accept the offer of the princess for an easy tribute, suspecting the foolishness of the princess as a woman (Žylenko 2002, 101).

Indeed, Ol'ha is not only the wisest of all people, she is a woman. Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj emphasizes, that "as a woman, Ol'ha zealously defends her female honor – at first maiden (in the later legend of Ihor's courtship), then widow's honor (courtship of Mal and the Greek emperor) – she is attractive and desirable to all, and at the same time inaccessible, knowing how to resist appropriately: the highest compliment for her as a woman" (Hruševs'kyj-1 1994, 447).

Christianization of Ukraine-Rus'

In the 17th century the memory of Ol'ha was part of the Kyiv book tradition. Ukraine had its own hagiographical tradition about Ol'ha, while the specific iconography of the Princess was created only in early modern times, in the time of Het'man Mazepa. It is noteworthy that the author of the Ukrainian *Life of Ol'ha* quite accurately compares the Chronicle topography with the contemporary one. So, he clearly notes that the Drevljans' war took place in Polissja, clearly localizes the Chronicle Iskorosten' "near Ovruch" (Peretc 1962, 69). Later, in the 19th century, Ihor's tomb was found around Iskorosten', "Princess Ol'ha's baths" which are actually of natural origin were located, and a place called 'Holy', where a church built by Princess Ol'ha allegedly stood (Hruševs'kyj-2 1992, 287).

If in the medieval Ukrainian tradition Princess Ol'ha was perceived primarily as a forerunner of the Christianizer of Ukraine Prince Volodymyr the Great, then the Ukrainian author of the 17th century "is interested in the question – to create a story about how a beautiful

and intelligent girl who was able to ingeniously resist the impudent prince, grew into a wise and militant princess, with a passionate temperament, who eagerly indulges in revenge, and later – in Christian humility” (Peretc 1962, 27–28). Thus, early modern Ukrainian hagiography and historiography interpreted her baptism as *the fourth stage in the spread of Christianity in Ukraine*. According to Syl’vester Kosiv (1635):

“The Ruthenians were baptized for the fourth time by the Greeks under Ol’ha, the wife of the Ruthenian prince Ihor, Volodymyr’s grandmother, in 958, because she went to Constantinople under emperor Constantine the Eighth², and under Patriarch Polyeuctus, after the death of Patriarch Theophylact. And there the Patriarch of Constantinople baptized her and called her blessed among Ruthenian women” (Sinkevych 2014, 267).

The story of the fourth, later the fifth Christianization of Ukraine was written by Orthodox authors to justify the independence of the Ukrainian church from Rome and its Byzantine roots. This was a polemical response to a similar concept of Leo Krevza about three baptisms of Ukraine: under Askold and Dir, Princess Ol’ha and Prince Volodymyr, during that time in Constantinople there were the patriarchs loyal to Rome (Sinkevych 2009, 286–287). Both groups of authors found their own text in the image of Princess Ol’ha. In addition to Syl’vester Kosiv’s “Patericon” and Lev Krevza’s work, the story of the repeated Christianization is reflected in the *Hustynja Chronicle*, the *Ukrainian Life of St. Volodymyr of the 17th century* (Peretc 1962, 110) and in a number of other literary monuments of that time.

While creating the national pantheon of saints, Petro Mohyla paid priority to the figure of co-Apostles Prince Volodymyr. And Iov Borec’kyj’s “Perestoroha” (“Cautions”) does not mention Princess Ol’ha. She remained within the framework of book culture for a long time. In addition to Syl’vester Kosiv, Athanasius Kal’nofojs’kyj in his “Teraturgyma” writes about Ol’ha as a forerunner of Volodymyr (Kal’nofojs’kyj 1997, 69), and Metropolitan Petro Mohyla mentions the princess in his “Lithos” (Nikitenko 2015, 59).

2 Here Syl’vester Kosiv was wrong, in fact – under Constantine VII.

The Christian chapter in Ol'ha's life begins with her trip to Constantinople in 957 and her baptism there on the night of October 17–18 (Hordijenko 2011, 45). This act of personal baptism of the Kyivan princess is often perceived in historiography as the goal of the Kyiv embassy to Constantinople. However, it is assumed that by means of personal conversion she aspired to raise the status of the state, hoping to achieve the imperial title in Constantinople or Rome with emperor Otto's support. So, Ol'ha probably intended to christianize the state (Müller 1987, 47–54), which is evidenced by the fact that she offered Svjatoslav to be baptized (PSRL-2 1998, 15).

Therefore, the only reason for the visit, according to the sources, was Ol'ha's personal conversion to Christianity. The visit of the Kyivan princess to Constantinople is connected with sending the embassy by Kyiv to the West. And regardless of the reasons for the embassy, German sources clearly call Ol'ha a Christian. It follows that thanks to the baptism of Ol'ha, Kyiv gained some recognition in the European world. In the family rank of the Byzantine court, Ol'ha gained the title of the emperor's "daughter": Constantine "let her depart, calling her his daughter" (PSRL-2 1998, 45).

However, despite the fact that Ol'ha became a 'daughter' of the emperor, the Chronicle notes her dissatisfaction with the visit. In this regard, Volodymyr Pašuto assumed that Ol'ha's dissatisfaction was caused by obstacles the by emperor in the Christianization of Rus' (Pašuto 1968, 66). Similarly, Olexander Holovko suggests that the Rus' in Constantinople did not reach acceptable conditions for the Christianization of the state (Holovko 1988, 63; Litavrin 1986). It is difficult to agree with this. Ol'ha understood the situation in Ukraine perfectly, as well as Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who was generally well informed in Ukrainian affairs. Therefore, we can agree with Alexander Nazarenko and Andrzej Poppe that Ol'ha could not ask for more than a bishop for Kyiv, as she asked Otto I later (Nazarenko 2001, 300; Poppe 1992, 275–276).

Obviously, as Oleksa Povstenko noted, Svjatoslav also showed his tolerance for Christianity at first; only after being defeated in battles with Christians, he changed his attitude to Christianity, accusing its followers among his warriors of his own failures (Povstenko 1970, 357).

The mission to Otto, reflected in the “Continuation of the Chronicle of the Abbot Regino of Prüm”, was primarily an act of political squeeze toward Byzantium (Nazarenko 2001, 266). However, some historians link Ol’ha’s embassy to Otto I with her policy of introducing Christianity in Rus³, which is directly stated in German sources. Thus, Natalija Polons’ka-Vasylenko suggests that Ol’ha could indeed negotiate with Otto on the establishment of a bishopric in Kyiv, as it is evidenced by Otto’s award to Bishop Adalbert, which he would not have received “if he had failed miserably” (Polons’ka-Vasylenko 1955, 11, 20).

However, in Ukraine the baptism of the princess, even if it was tolerated in relation to Ol’ha’s personal action, was not accepted by society. Probably the active attempts of the princess to introduce a new religion caused considerable dissatisfaction and reaction from the pagan party. As a result, in 961, Ol’ha was effectively removed from power, which completely passed into Svjatoslav’s hands (Holovko 1989, 69).

However, as Natalija Polons’ka-Vasylenko noted:

“That great Ol’ha’s deed did not die with her. Life turned out so that not the son Svjatoslav was the heir and the successor of her acts, but grandsons – Jaropolk and Volodymyr. Jaropolk, Prince of Kyiv, sought to reunite the lands torn apart by Svjatoslav among his sons; he (Jaropolk) was a Christian as Ol’ha’s follower; he continued her foreign policy; in the first year of his reign in 973 he sent an embassy to the Grand Congress of European rulers in Quedlinburg, in 979 the ambassadors from the Pope came to him in Kyiv. His successor Volodymyr continued Ol’ha’s work even more. The main deed in his life – the baptism and Christianization of the whole Rus’ happened – followed the example of Ol’ha” (Polons’ka-Vasylenko 1955, 11, 21–22).

In early modern Ukraine, the veneration of Volodymyr reached its apogee during the reign of Het’man Mazepa. The Ukrainian culture of that time conceived Het’man Mazepa as Volodymyr’s follower, the successor of his holy deeds (Ohloblyn 1960, 130). Simultaneously with the cult of Volodymyr, the veneration of Ol’ha gained its perfect development at

3 Church Politics: Historiography (Nazarenko 2001, 293–297).



that time. A large-scale reconstruction of St. Sophia in Kyiv was carried out under Het'man Mazepa and at his expense. During the restoration work, the open galleries were bricked up. The Apostolic Chapel was formed in the western part of the southern gallery; it is defined by Nadija Nikitenko as the "Chapel of Ivan Mazepa" (Nikitenko 2015, 89–113). The throne image of Jesus Christ is depicted on the altar wall of the chapel; it is flanked by images of Prince Volodymyr and Princess Ol'ha on the sides. This placement of the figures of Ol'ha and Volodymyr clearly speaks of their apostolic mission in Ukraine. This is the first image in a monumental painting that clearly conveys the idea of the equal apostolic

mission of Ol'ha and Volodymyr. In addition, the chapel has images of co-Apostles Cyril and Methodius, which, on the one hand, reflects the idea of repeated Christianization of Ukraine, on the other hand, emphasizes the mission of Ol'ha and Volodymyr as the continuation of the work of Cyril and Methodius.

Volodymyr is depicted in traditional Russian iconography. Instead, the iconographic image of Ol'ha has no analogues in the iconography of the princess. The princess is depicted in the blue and gold clothes of a Ukrainian noble woman of the late 17th – early 18th cc.

The princess does not have the usual crown on her head, instead Ol'ha's head is covered with a white maphorion, with *očipok* (traditional Ukrainian national headdress) put atop stitched up with ermine fur and decorated with precious stones. The princess does not have the usual cross but she holds a golden vessel in her left hand, and its lid in her right hand, which symbolizes spiritual healing. A similar image of

Ol'ha was in the Desjatyynna Church (Church of the Tithe), rebuilt in the 19th century (after being ruined in the 13th century) and destroyed by the Communists in 1936. Thus, it is possible to say that this image reflected a purely Ukrainian, Kyiv cult of the princess (Nikitenko 2015, 94–95). The cardinal difference between the Kyiv image of Ol'ha and traditional Russian historiography even forced Russian researchers not to recognize the Kyiv image as the image of Princess Ol'ha (Smirnov 1907, 457). According to Nadija Nikitenko, “Ol'ha in the St. Sophia's plot is a unique «Ukrainianized» embodiment of the aristocratic image of Mary Magdalene, and the image of Mary Magdalene Mazepyna – a Kyiv aristocrat”, the mother of Het'man Ivan Mazepa, clearly exuded from it (Nikitenko 2015, 95).

It is obvious that the Kyiv iconographic type of Princess Ol'ha was developed during the time of Het'man Mazepa. Nadija Nikitenko even sees a portrait resemblance between the altar image of Princess Ol'ha and the portrait of Het'man Mazepa's mother. In the compositional construction of the plot, the artist probably focused on the image of Mary Magdalene by the Flemish artist Quentin Metsis (Nikitenko 2015, 95–96). If this is true, we have in this image one of the last examples of synthesis in the Ukrainian sacred art of the Western and Eastern tradition in early modern times.

The painting of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin's Chapel of St. Sophia in Kyiv also has a “Lives Cycle” of Volodymyr and Ol'ha, which is two decades younger than the painting of the Mazepa Chapel. This is the plot of “Princess Ol'ha at the urn with the ashes of Ihor” (Nikitenko 2015, 151–152). The picture is depicted under the composition “Baptism of Kyiv's people”, which demonstrates the idea of Ol'ha as a forerunner of Volodymyr. Ol'ha is depicted in the image of the Grand Princess – in a purple royal dress, with a crown on her head, traditionally with a cross in her right hand; the left hand of the princess puts flowers in an urn with the ashes of Ihor. The princess looks like Empress Catherine I. Thus, this composition has a political, even anti-Ukrainian meaning, which was relevant to the Russian government after the Poltava catastrophe in 1709. It is possible that the Assumption Chapel was painted by a Russian artist, as indicated by the image of the three domed church in the background with elements of Russian architecture.

The defeat of Het'man Mazepa also led to the decline of Ukrainian culture, even its prohibition by the Russian government. The national Ukrainian veneration of Princess Ol'ha disappeared for two long centuries in order to revive with the revival of the Ukrainian political movement in the early 20th century.

Political dimension

The political component of Princess Ol'ha's heritage in Ukrainian culture was actualized by the state historiography of the Ukrainian emigration.

And Kyiv's scribes of the 11th century gave Princess Ol'ha an important place in the state's formation. Thus, the marriage of Ihor and Ol'ha was the first dynastic marriage in the system of Rus' political formations in Ukraine. This marriage united the so-called 'Kyiv' and 'Novhorod' Rus' into one political whole (Karpov 2012, 33). In this act Ihor most likely represented the Novhorod center, and Ol'ha – Oleh's daughter (Jevstachevyč 1984) – the Kyivan one. The dynastic, political nature of marriage led to the preservation of Ol'ha's independent political role in the future. It is no coincidence that Ihor's treaty of 944 with Byzantium mentions Ol'ha's ambassadors separately, immediately after the ambassadors of Ihor and their son Svjatoslav. Ol'ha had her own troops, and they were clearly opposed to the troops of her husband, Prince Ihor. Ol'ha directly owned the Vyšhorod city (PSRL-2 1998, 48).

After the death of her husband Ihor Ol'ha pursues an independent policy in Kyiv and in the lands conquered by Kyiv. At the same time, she introduces the first steps towards the transformation of contractual, pro-political relations with the subjugated population and the center into a regulated state. Ol'ha creates the first administrative vertical, establishes administrative centers, directly subordinated to Kyiv, which, thus, turned from a Norman outpost in Ukraine into a political center of the state. Ol'ha clearly defines the amount of tribute, in fact, the tax that was to be paid to Kyiv as the capital and directly to the princess as the ruler of the state. "Ol'ha goes over the Drevljans land with her son and troops, establishing tax points and the taxes; her stations and hunting grounds are still there", – the chronicler wrote briefly (PSRL-2 1998, 48). In fact, Ol'ha replaced the tribute with a regular tax, which

led in particular to the centralization of financial management in the territories subject to Kyiv (Vernadskij 2018, 48).

Therefore, Ol'ha finally liquidated the separate principalities, which are still mentioned in the treaties of Ihor with Byzantium (PSRL-2 1998, 35–36). The last known separate prince at that time was actually the Drevljans prince Mal. Thus, we can speak of the Kyiv state as more or less consolidated since the time of Princess Ol'ha.

In the context of domestic policy, the chronicler clearly contrasts Ol'ha with her son Svjatoslav. When Ol'ha called Svjatoslav from Bulgaria in 969 for help against the Pečenihs, the Kyiv people reproached him: “You, prince, are looking for foreign land, but do not take care of your own” (PSRL-2 1998, 55). Thus, the chronicler once again emphasizes the wisdom and greatness of Princess Ol'ha as the ruler of the state.

Despite the fragmented reports of sources about the domestic policy of Princess Ol'ha, we can fully agree with Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj that “Ol'ha undoubtedly held the Rus' state system with a strong and skilful hand. This system did not weaken and did not fall apart in time between Ihor and Svjatoslav, when the latter, as soon as the council passed to him in fact, could climb to the long campaigns that required such strength and order in the state machine ... he took the state from his mother in full force and order” (Hruševs'kyj-1 1994, 458).

Of course, Hennadij Litavrin was right that Ol'ha's domestic policy was conditioned by her interest in Christianity (Litavrin 1981, 135). The Christian factor was decisive in the foreign policy of Princess Ol'ha.

In general, Princess Ol'ha's foreign policy was successful. Unlike her predecessors and successors on the Kyiv throne, she pursued foreign policy by peaceful means. Regardless of the purpose of Ol'ha's visit to Constantinople and the embassy to Otto, the fact remains that she was the first of the Kyiv leaders to establish contacts with both – the Byzantine and the Holy Roman empires. In relations with both empires, Ol'ha skillfully played on their contradictions to achieve her own goals (Hordijenko 2008).

Memoriis



Princess Ol'ha died in 969 and was buried according to the Christian rite in a prepared place.

The exact place is unknown. Later, Prince Volodymyr reburied the remains of the princess in a sarcophagus in the Desjatynna Church (Church of the Tithe) (Loseva 2009, 423), as a burial-shrine of the Volodymyr's dynasty it was a Ukrainian analogue of the Church of the St. Apostles in Constantinople. The Chronicle has no information about the reburial of the remains of the princess, it is given by Jacob the Monk in "Praise to Prince Volodymyr". He gives the following details about the burial of the princess: "The coffin of Blessed Princess Ol'ha has a window on top, and through it the body of Blessed Princess Ol'ha, lying intact, can be seen" (Zimin 1963, 69). Besides Princess Ol'ha, there were also burials of the wife of Volodymyr the Great, the sister of the Byzantine emperors Hanna (1011), Prince Volodymyr the Great (1015), Izjaslav I and Rostyslav and in 1039 Jaroslav the Wise reburied the remains of his uncles Oleh and Jaropolk in the Desjatynna Church (Church of the Tithe). In 1169 the Desjatynna Church was looted by the troops of Prince Andrew of Vladimir-Suzdal, and in 1203 by Prince Rjuryk. During the conquest of Kyiv by the Mongols in 1240, the Desjatynna Church became the last bastion of Kyiv's defense and was destroyed by invaders, burying the princes and

princesses entombed there for the second time. At the time of these troubles, the tomb of Princess Ol'ha was also plundered.

During the union controversy of the 17th century, Kyiv intellectuals actualized the medieval heritage, thus politicizing the Ukrainian movement. Therefore, with the restoration of the legitimacy of the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Metropolitan Petro Mohyla pays important attention to the revival of medieval churches. Naturally, the Desjatynna Church came under the Metropolitan's supervision. At the same time, the Metropolitan searched for the burials of co-Apostles Volodymyr and Ol'ha, which was also to serve the same purpose – to strengthen the Orthodox Church and restore the political rights of the Ukrainian nation. It is believed that Petro Mohyla found the remains of Prince Volodymyr and Queen Hanna, as indicated by a silver plate attached to the sarcophagus with the appropriate inscription (Kučeruk 2019, 99–100).

In 1826, during archaeological research, there was discovered a stone sarcophagus with the burial of the princess and numerous gold and enamel decorations. Some researchers believe it to be the sarcophagus of Princess Ol'ha (Povstenko 1970, 14). “Princess Ol'ha's sarcophagus” was studied by a commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1919, after which it was put into a museum, later transferred to the St. Sophia Museum, where it remains to this day. Unfortunately, the skeleton has disappeared and it is impossible to check whether it belonged to Princess Ol'ha (according to DNA analysis). At least two women, Princess Ol'ha and Queen Anna, were buried in the cathedral. And “Princess Ol'ha's sarcophagus” was found outside the remains of the old church (Zakrevskij 1850, 104). However, such identification of the sarcophagus actualized the cult of Princess Ol'ha in Kyiv and the image of Princess Ol'ha was depicted in the newly built Desjatynna Church (1828–1842, architect V. Stasov), and the sarcophagus was installed near the north wall of the church with the inscription that it is a tomb “with fragments of the holy relics of Princess Ol'ha” (Povstenko 1970, 17). At the same time, Fjodor Solncev proposed to install the painting “Baptism of Princess Ol'ha” in St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv. Later, in 1882–83, the artist Pohožyn painted images of Princess Ol'ha, Volodymyr and the Saints in the western parvis of the cathedral (Linčevskij 1914, 514, 598). Together

with Volodymyr, the image of Princess Ol'ha is also depicted in St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kyiv. And since the construction of this cathedral, the icons of Volodymyr and Ol'ha, as a rule, had become paired in the church painting, for example they are in St. Sophia Cathedral in Rome. The actualization of Ol'ha's cult also affected scientific historiography. For example, Mychajlo Obolens'kyj published an article "On the two oldest shrines of Kyiv", in which he argued that the famous Lublin cross was brought to Kyiv from Constantinople not by Queen Anna, as was customary believed, but by Princess Ol'ha (Obolenskij 1850).

At the beginning of the 20th century, in order to prevent the construction of a monument to Taras Ševčenko at the expense of funds raised by the people, the Kyiv City Duma decided to create a sculptural composition "historical path" following the example of Berlin's "Siege-sallee". In particular, monuments to Princes Oleh, Ol'ha and Svjatoslav should be created. Mayor Djakov said that Ševčenko should give in to Ol'ha. According to the project (sculptor Ivan Kavaleridze), the monument was supposed to be marble, but it was built of concrete at the expense of Zar Nicholaj II in 1911. The Bolševiks destroyed the monument in the early 1920s (Ernst 1930, 358–360). After the restoration of Ukraine's independence, in 1996 the monument was rebuilt in marble according to the original project.





Among other monuments to Princess Ol'ha there is a monument in South Bound Brook (New Jersey, USA) (sculptor Petro Kapšučenko, 1987), built near the St. Andrew's church at the expense of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA. This monument has the inscription: "Saint Olha. Equal to the Apostles. Great Princess of Kiev. Sovereign of Rus'-Ukraine 945-969" (Svoboda 1987; Bljumina 2001). Another monument to Princess Ol'ha was erected in Korosten' (2008, sculptor Ihor Zaričnyj), apparently in honor of Ol'ha Iskorosten's destruction in 945.

Princess Ol'ha is commemorated in the names of streets in a number of Ukrainian cities: Kyiv, L'viv, Rivne, Dnipro, Stryj

and others. The State Order of Princess Ol'ha was founded in 1997, and in 2000 the National Bank of Ukraine issued a commemorative silver coin 'Ol'ha' in the series "Princely Ukraine".

A number of churches are dedicated to Princess Ol'ha. First of all, there is the Cathedral of St. Volodymyr and Ol'ha in Winnipeg (with beautiful stained glass windows on Ukrainian history) (Cathedral 1977), in Ukraine they are mainly the churches of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (L'viv) and the Russian Orthodox Church (Kyiv, Charkiv, Kropyvnyč'kyj, Dnipro and a number of others). The attention of the Greek Catholic Church to the figure of Princess Ol'ha is due not only to the state role of the princess, but also to the fact that the Church, following Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj (Hruševs'kyj-5 1994, 508), sees in Ol'ha's mission to Otto I the first union act with the Western Church in the history of Ukraine.

Conclusions

Thus, the Ukrainian tradition created the image of Ol'ha as a wise and authoritative ruler. To what extent the unity of the Kyiv state depended on the personality of a ruler can be judged by the fact that when Ol'ha handed over the power to Svjatoslav, no riots of the tribes conquered by Kyiv were seen. On the contrary, when Volodymyr became the prince of Kyiv, he was forced to re-conquer the tribes in the first year of his reign, in the words of Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj, to collect the "scattered structure" of the Rus' state (Hruševs'kyj-1 1994, 485).

Kyiv Princess Ol'ha not only personally received baptism, but she was also the first Kyiv ruler to introduce Ukraine to the European Christian world. Having successfully used her baptism in Constantinople, becoming the goddaughter of the imperial family, Ol'ha established diplomatic relations both with Constantinople – the Christian capital of the world at that time, and with the leading force of Western Christianity – the state of Otto the Great. Thus, Ol'ha clearly defined the geopolitical place of Ukraine in the Christian world, so Volodymyr had not only an old Christian tradition, but also at that time the traditional political vector of the Kyiv state, aimed at Byzantium and Western Europe. And if Ol'ha could not or did not dare to introduce Christianity as the state religion in Ukraine, her policy left no choice for her successors. Thus, if there was a "choice of religion" by Volodymyr, it was purely formal. At the end of the 10th century Ukraine was already part of the pan-European, Christian world, in the direction of which the wise ruler of Ukraine-Rus' – Princess Ol'ha – directed the country.

Ol'ha's memory and reverence permeate the millennial history of Ukrainian culture. Different historical epochs have actualized different aspects of the image of Princess Ol'ha. Nevertheless, her image has remained intact, and served the spiritual and political goals of Ukrainians. Therefore, it is no coincidence that with the revival of Ukrainian statehood, the cult of Princess Ol'ha has re-emerged.

Finally, it should be noted that the veneration of Ol'ha in the cultures of Russia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Serbia and other countries is another subject, which requires separate research.

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ANNA OF KYIV – QUEEN OF FRANCE: IN ANCESTORS, DESCENDANTS AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

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(Ukraine)

The article highlights the role of Anna Jaroslavna – Kyivan Princess and Queen of France, the wife of Henry I Capet († 1060) in European culture, its charitable initiatives (St. Vincent Abbey) and the role of Queen Anna in state governance.

The article sheds light on Anna's ancestry, the kinship of her pedigree with the ruling dynasties of Sweden, Poland, Bohemia and traces the line of her descendants to the modern acting King of Great Britain Charles III.

Keywords: Anna Jaroslavna, Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine, France, St. Vincent abbey (Senlis), Philip I, Hugh the Great, Emma-Edigna.

АННА КИЇВСЬКА – КОРОЛЕВА ФРАНЦІЇ: В ПРЄДКАХ, НАЩАДКАХ І ПАМ'ЯТКАХ КУЛЬТУРНОЇ СПАДЩИНИ

Олена Ясинецька

Стаття висвітлює роль Анни Ярославни – київської князівни та королеви Франції, дружини Генріха I Капета († 1060) у європейській культурі, її благодійні ініціативи (абатство св. Вінцента) та участь королеви в державному управлінні.

Стаття проливає світло на родинні зв'язки Анни, спорідненість її родоводу з правлячими династіями Швеції, Польщі, Чехії та прослідковує лінію її нащадків до короля Великої Британії Чарльза III.

Ключові слова: Анна Ярославна, Київська Русь-Україна, Франція, абатство св. Вінцента (Сенліс), Філіп I, Гуго Великий, Емма-Едігна.



Anna Jaroslavna by A. Orlionov, 2019.
Private collection, Ukraine.

...*Illa subolem procreat carnalem, ista generat adoptionis sanctum progeniem...* (Vita Lietberti 1934, 850).

For many centuries, the history of Rus'-Ukraine¹ has been closely intertwined with the canvas of European history. Since ancient times, state formations in the territory of modern Ukraine have been a part of the European world; Ukrainian history and culture have developed in the European context as an integral and very worthy component of European civilization.

The study of the lives and activities of historical persons, common and equally important for Ukraine and other European countries, as well as cultural heritage monuments in Europe related to their lives and activities, sheds light on our close affinity

with the entire European world. Such a historical figure is Anna Jaroslavna -Kyivan Princess and Queen of France (*1028/1032 – † after 1075 before 1089).

No national chronicle mentions Anna, the daughter of the ruler of Kyivan Rus' – “*saint king*” (Adam von Bremen 1917, 99) Jaroslav the Wise († 1054), nor her sisters, who, just like her, became the wives of the kings of European states. Mentions of Anna Jaroslavna have been preserved for us by Western European medieval sources: “*Deeds of the Bishops of Hamburg*” by Adam of Bremen – 1070’s (Adam Bremens’kyj 2010, 137), “*Reims Glossa*” – 11th c. (Glossa 2010, 100–104), “*The Annals of Vendôme*” – early 12th c. (Graham 1898, 695–700), “*Miracles of St. Benedict*” by Radulfus Tortaris – before 1120 (Nazarenko 2010, 102), “*The*

¹ In the 11th century, the state of Rus' (Kyivan Rus', Ruthenia) refers only to Ukraine (Hruševs'kyj 2002, 75–82). The history of modern Russia despite consonant names may not arrogate it. That's why some scholars use the term Rus'-Ukraine (Ibid).

deeds of the kings of Franks” by Hugh of Fleury – after 1114 (Hugonis 1851, 389) and others.

Scientific interest in the biography of Anna Jaroslavna arises in foreign (first of all – French) historiography as early as the 16th century thanks to Jean du Tillet (Tillet 1580, 72). In the 19th century, the paper by O. Lobanov-Rostovs’kyj was issued in France where there was published documentary evidence of Queen Anna (Recueil 1825).

Since the 19th up to early 20th century in Ukrainian historiography, some information about Anna Jaroslavna is found in the works of M. Hruševs’kyj (Hruševs’kyj 1992, 33), P. Holubovs’kyj (Holubovs’kyj 1886, 12-16), M. Kostomarov (Kostomarov 1989, 210), I. Borščak (Borščak 1925, 99-104) and others.

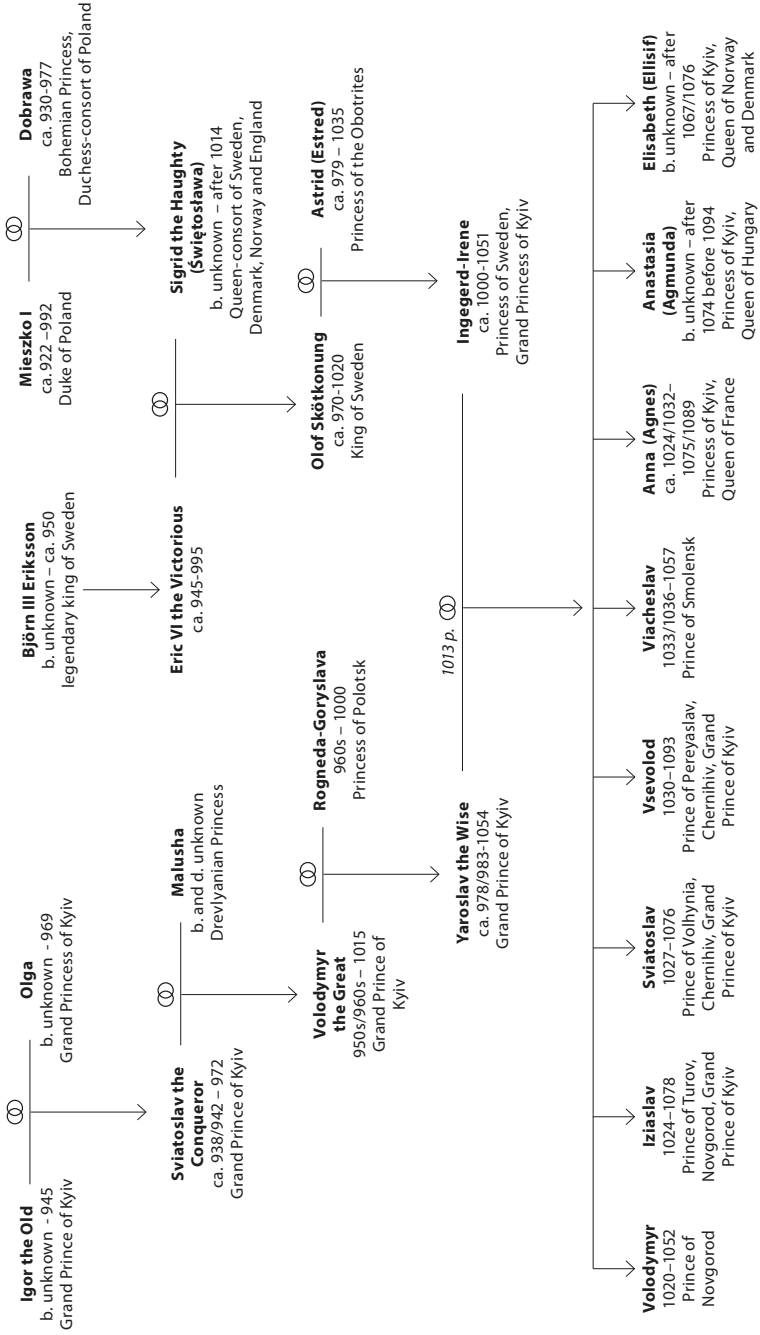
In recent decades, this interest has increased both in Ukraine and abroad, as evidenced by studies of V. Bohomolec’ (Bohomolec’ 2005, 299-323), N. Nikitenko, V. Kornijenko, (Nikitenko, Kornijenko, 2009, 93-98), J. Lunjak (Lunjak, 2010, 2012, 2019), N. Krutenko (Krutenko 2011), A. Hregorovič (Hregorovič 2011), A. Musin (Musin 2014, 145-172), F. Delorme (Delorm 2016), T. Zajac (Zajac 2016, 28-70), O. Jasyneč’ka (Jasyneč’ka 2018, 2019, 2022) and others.

Despite the large amount of historiographical literature devoted to Anna Jaroslavna (more than 200 books and articles), many questions concerning her ancestry, descendants, features of life and activities of her family members, cultural heritage monuments related to them, remain not well researched and are limited.

Grand Prince of Kyiv Jaroslav the Wise and Princess of Sweden Ingegerd were the parents of Anna. Jaroslav († 1054; the baptismal name – Heorhij, known in the historiography by the nickname ‘the Wise’, son of Grand Prince of Kyiv Volodymyr the Great and probably Poloc’k princess Rognida) was born in 978 or in the first half of 980s. Initially, he ruled Rostov, Novhorod and later Kyiv.

According to the evidence from local historical sources, it is believed that Jaroslav was married twice – to Princess Anna († to 1019, origin unknown), his son Illja († 1020) was born out of this marriage (Vojtovyč 2006, 258-260, 305), and to Swedish Princess Ingigerda (Ingegerd), ca. 1000-1050/1051; the baptismal name – Iryna, daughter of King of Sweden Olaf Skötkonung (993/995-1020) (Nazarenko 1993, 194).

Pedigree 1: Ancestry of Anna Yaroslavna



According to the Hypatian Codex, Jaroslav and Ingigerda had six sons (Volodymyr, Izjaslav, Svjatoslav, Vsevolod, V"jačeslav, Ihor) (Litopys 1989, 97–99) and other European sources also adverted to three daughters of the royal couple – Anastasija, Anna and Elizabeth.

To secure interstate alliances, Jaroslav actively used dynastic marriages as a tool of his foreign policy. Thereby, the sons of Jaroslav and Ingigerda were betrothed to foreign princesses: the wife of Izjaslav was Polish Princess Gertrude, the wife of Volodymyr – German Countess Oda von Stade, and the wife of Vsevolod – Byzantine Princess Maria-Anastasija, daughter (or niece) of Emperor Constantine IX.

All the daughters out of the marriage were engaged with the rulers of European states: Anastasija became the Queen of Hungary, wife of András I (c.1015–1060), Elizabeth – Queen of Norway, wife of Harold III (c.1015–1066), Anna – Queen of France, wife of Henry I (1008–1060). Thanks to his successful matrimonial strategy, Jaroslav is often called ‘the father-in-law of Europe’.

Most scholars consider Anna to be the middle daughter of Jaroslav and Ingigerda (Kotljář 2003, 91), some of them believe that she was the youngest of the three sisters (Lunjak 2010, 20). According to some researchers, Anna was born in 1024 (Sent-Amur 1909, 14), F. de Mézere calls 1028 to be the year of her birth, or one year later or one year earlier (Mezeray 1643, 399). The Ukrainian scientist S. Vysoc'kyj also adhered to this version (Vysoc'kyj 1991, 63). The Russian historian, V. Tatiščev wrote that the message of the Ioachim Chronicle under 1032 about the birth of a daughter in the Jaroslav's family (without mentioning her name) refers to Anna (Tatiščev 1963, 77).

There is evidence that Jaroslav planned for Anna to marry the Holy Roman Emperor Henry III, since from the beginning of his reign the ruler of the Kyiv state intended to form allied relations with the German Empire (Raffensperger 2016, 48). Around 1043, Jaroslav sent an embassy to the emperor. This is reported, in particular, by *The Annals of Lambert of Hersfeld* (Lamberti 1874, 27). However, for unknown reasons, they did not give their consent to a marriage with the Ruthenian princess, instead, the Emperor married a French bride from the Duchy of Aquitaine. Probably, due to unsuccessful engagement, information about the “vacant” Ruthenian princess reached France.



"Anne d'Esclavonnie, épouse du roi Henri I". Engraving by Jacques de Bie. Page from the "History of France" by F. Mezeray (17th c.).

F. de Mezère states that as early as in 1044 King Henry I of France had sent a marriage embassy to Kyiv (Mezeray 1643, 399). M. Karamzin suggests that the French matchmakers arrived in Kyiv in 1048 (Karamzin 1991, 24, 207–208). Other scholars consider – 1049 or 1050 to be the year of the arrival of the French embassy (Raffensperger 2016, 48; Hallu 2002, 49). The reasons for finding a bride in such distant lands were obviously complex. Firstly, the Kyiv state in the 11th century had considerable international significance and influence in the European world, was powerful in political and military relations,

rich and culturally developed, Ruthenian influence on European politics was undeniable (Musin 2014, 146). A French scholar, P.-Sh. Levesque wrote: "Ruthenia was more monolithic, happier, more powerful and more extensive than France" (Levesque 1812, 208–209). Similarly, the reasons for this marriage were evaluated by a well-known French sophist, Voltaire (Voltaire 1817, 267–268).

Another major reason is an intention of King Henry to have a healthy heir to the throne from a dynasty he was not related to (Bouchard 1981, 277), which allowed him to avoid a conflict with the Church that prohibited marriages between relatives related closer than seven generations. Some French scholars believe that taking into consideration the rich dynastic history of Kyivan Rus', this marriage was very desirable and acting as a seal that strengthened the political alliance between the states (Bautier 1985, 545; Poulet 1994, 100). Rus' was connected with close matrimonial ties with the most influential dynasties of Europe, including the Byzantine imperial house that the Capetians wanted to

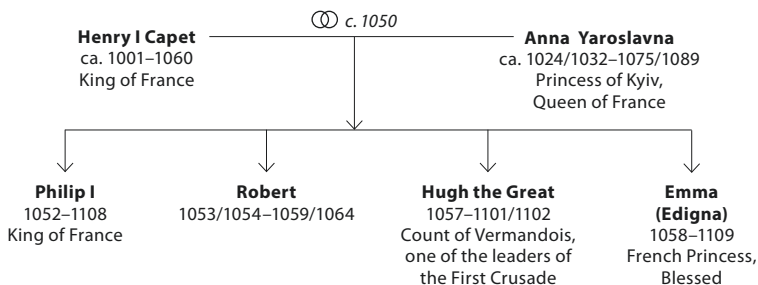
become relatives of. In addition, the reputation of Jaroslav's daughter as "extraordinarily beautiful", representing Christian values, well-educated and endowed with a deep mind who "belonged to the fertile race" (Sent-Amur 1909, 14), could go far beyond the Kyivan Rus' state. The beauty of the bride and the glories of the state were considered to be the main causes of the marriage also by A. Lobanov-Rostovs'kyj (Recueil 1825, 20, 51).

Together with Anna and numerous escorts, the embassy travelled to Paris via Przemysl, Krakow, Prague, Regensburg, Trier (Vojtovyč 2006, 321).

Some researchers believe the wedding was conducted in 1049 (Vojtovyč 2006, 321). Others are convinced that the wedding took place in 1051 (Raffensperger 2016, 50), and this date seems more reasonable. Most likely, this event took place at Easter (on March 31) or on the Pentecost (May 19) 1051. According to the source – *The Life of Saint Lietbertus* (c. 1100), Anna Jaroslavna was the first queen of the Capetian dynasty to be married and crowned at the Reims Cathedral, the residence of the head of the French Church (Vita Lietberti 1934, 850).

Subsequently, Anna fulfilled the main function assigned to the queen – making the dynasty continue, and bestowed her husband giving birth to three sons: "Philip I, who ruled after his father, Robert, who died young, and Hugo [Hugho] the Great, later Count of Crépy, the ancestor of the royal family of Vermandois" (Sent-Amur 1909, 14-15). French historiography, referring to ancient sources, also mentions daughter Emma, born in 1058 (Arnoux 2001, 165).

The sources prove Christian principles and deeds of Queen Anna as well as her influential role in the French royal power. Peter Damian acting as a papal ghostwriter wrote a famous letter to Queen Anna in the name of Pope Nicholas II and praised the queen for her generosity to the poor and underprivileged, exhorted her to influence her husband to practice justice and equity in government, and to protect and promote the rights of the Church – all in order to heal the soul of the man she loved. She should, moreover, instruct the children, with whom she was blessed, in the love of their Creator. So doing, she will merit God's generosity in this life and in the life to come (Damian 1992, 21-23).

Pedigree 2: **The Offspring of Anna Yaroslavna and Henry I**

The founding of St. Vincent Abbey of Augustinian canons in Senlis (45 km from Paris) in 1065 is associated with the name of Queen Anna (Lawrence 1997, 103). According to the legend, in the first years of her marriage, Anna Jaroslavna made a promise to build a temple if the Lord blessed her marriage with the birth of an heir.

Senlis County (modern Oise department, Ile-de-France region) was a royal property – originally the Carolingian, and later the Capetian dynasty for a long time. Some estates in the territory of Senlis County were inherited by Anna Jaroslavna as a dowry of her marriage to King Henry I. On the picturesque slope planted with vineyards, in the vicinity of Senlis, using also her possessions, Anna decided to found an abbey in honor of the “...*Holy Trinity and the pious mother of God, Mary, and the precursor of the Lord and the martyr St. Vincent*” (Recueil 1908, 329–331), a Spanish saint whose cult was very popular in France.

It is believed that already in the 9th–10th cc. a temple was built there in honor of John the Baptist, later destroyed by the Normans. Researchers claimed that Queen Anna herself “... laid the first stone on the ruins of a chapel that existed before the 10th century” (Hallu 2002, 75).

Founding of the abbey by Anna Jaroslavna is evidenced by several royal documents. First, Anna’s foundation charter, the exact date of which is unknown. It was probably issued by Queen Anna in 1060–1065, researcher Talia Zajac estimates – in 1065–1069 (Zajac 2016, 62). The original charter was not preserved. In 1069 King Philip I of France issued his own charter in which he confirmed the foundation of the abbey of

St. Vincent by his mother and guaranteed the monastic community further royal patronage, providing exclusive rights and freedoms.

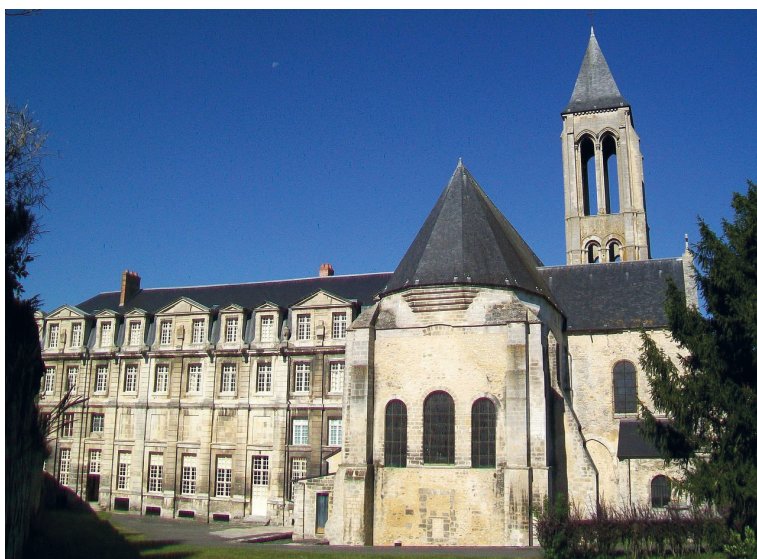
In 1072–1079/1092, Philip I issued a charter concerning the financial relations of the royal court with the monks of Saint-Vincent Abbey. The original of this document is not preserved either, but its replica of the 18th century survived. It is very valuable that the text of the foundation charter of Anna Jaroslavna was included in the charter of Philip. It states (in Latin origin) *inter alia*:

Notum est omnibus sancte aecclesiae filiis quoniam universitatis creator omnia ad ornatum compositionemque sacratissimarum nuptiarum unigeniti sui Deus pater condidit, nec solum genitor sed et ipse genitus, concordia Sancti Spiritus, sibi sponsam aptavit, sicut ipse in Canticis Cantorum eidem sponsae dicit: “Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni et coronaberis de capite Amanae, de vertice Sanir et Hermon.” Ego autem Anna, corde intelligens, mente pertractans tantam pulchritudinem tantumque decus atque recolebens illud quod scriptum est: “Beati qui ad cenam Agni vocati sunt”, et quod ipsa Christi sponsa alias “Qui elucidant me vitam aeternam habebunt”, deliberavi apud me quomodo illarum epularum illiusque beatitudinis ac vitae aeternae particeps existere possem, cumque demum sublevatum esset cor meum ad fabricandum Christo aecclesiam, ut intus incorporari et quodlibet membrum illius sanctae societatis, que fide Christo adjuncta est, connecti valuissem, in honore sanctae Trinitatis et piaae Dei genitricis Mariae et precursoris Domini et sancti Vincentii martyris, Christo eam fabricavi et dedicare precepi atque dans deputavi ibi de facultatibus meis, et de his, que in matrimonio Henricus rex, conjux meus, michi dederat, que omnia, favore filii mei Philippi, Dei gratia regis, et omnium optimatum sui regni consilio attitulari concedo, quatinus ibi quieti et tranquillis religiosi viri Deo servientes, mundo renuntiantes, regularem, id est sanctorum apostolorum et beati Augustini, que scripta est, vitam canonicè amplectentes, vivere valeant et pro peccatis Henrici regis ac filiorum et amicorum meorum atque meis die ac nocte Deum exorent, et ut sine macula aut ruga, sicut a Christo aptatur aecclesia suis precibus me Deo exhibeant: terram scilicet quam juxta aecclesiam Ivo prepositus sidebat, ab ipso pretio emptam, cum furno et omnibus consuetudinibus quas terra reddere solet; novem hospites, cum omni consuetudine, quos prius in eodem loco possidebam;

de censu monete, tres libras; pediter civitatis, in cujus suburbio prefata constructa est aeclesia, et quod ad civitatem pertinet; molendinum unum in villa que dicitur Guvils; villam unam que dicitur Mansionale Blavum; in territorio Laudunensi, alodium unum in villa que dicitur Crespis, sed ne quis deinceps eis molestus sit, concedo omnes omnino consuetudines sancto Vincentio et canonicis ejus (Recueil 1908,329-331).

In English translation:

“...It is known to all the sons of the holy church that the creator of the universe, God the father, formed all things for the construction and adornment of the holiest nuptials of his only son. . . . But I, Anna, understanding in my heart and going over in my mind such beauty and such splendor and remembering what is written: “Blessed are those who are called to the feast of the Lamb,” and what that bride of Christ [says] elsewhere “Those who light me will have eternal life,” I deliberated with myself how I might be a participant of those feasts and of that beatitude and eternal life. Then my heart was lifted to build a church for Christ, so that I might be connected, incorporated within it with any member of that holy society which is joined to Christ by faith, in honor of the Holy Trinity and the



The Abbey of St. Vincent in Senlis (France). Recent picture

pious mother of God, Mary, and the precursor of the Lord and the martyr St. Vincent. I built it and ordered it to be dedicated to Christ and as a gift from my goods and those which king Henry, my husband, gave me at our marriage, all of which, with the favor of my son Philip, by the grace of God king, and the counsel of all the magnates of his kingdom, I granted to be assigned to it, so that religious men serving God, renouncing the world, embracing the regular life, that is the written [rule] of the holy apostles and blessed Augustine, might live quiet and tranquil, and pray God day and night for the sins of king Henry and my sons and friends and my own, that they might by their prayers present me to God without stain or wrinkle, as was desired by Christ for the church..." (Recueil 1908, 329–331).

It is believed that the main abbey temple in honor of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, John the Baptist and St. Vincent was consecrated on October 29, 1065 (Hallu 2002, 79). According to the legends, Queen Anna loved to come to pray in the church that was her property and creation: "The lady who led a holy life thought more about the spiritual things of the future than previous ones, in the hope of receiving eternal life" (Hallu 2002, 85–86).

According to the legend, in the 1070's Anna lived in the monastery being a nun, and in the latter days of her life she requested her son to look after the abbey and she assumed the title of a founder of the monastery.

Since then, the patronage of the monastery of Saint-Vincent becomes hereditary in the royal family – Philip later transfers it to his son Louis VI. There is some evidence that Queen Anna was later buried in her monastery (Delorm 2016, 192–193). According to other sources, she died and was buried in Villiers Abbey (Delorm 2016, 194). Some sources indicate that the Queen "returned to Ruthenia" (Mezeray 1643, 398–399).

The exact date of Queen Anna's death is unknown. Researchers suggest she died on September 5 – her name was especially commemorated on Sunday in the church of Senlis – the canons commemorated her with a parastas (night requiem), and after the service in memory of Anna, they offered a meal to thirteen poor widows from nearby villages. The tradition continued until the French Revolution. The scholar, F. Delorme believes that Anna died in 1075 (Delorm 2016, 194), while other scholars believe, that in 1080 (Hrehorovič 2011, 103).



The monument of Anna Jaroslavna at the St. Vincent Abbey in Senlis (France). Recent picture

Most scholars agree that, at least in 1089, she was no longer alive, since this year the charter of Philip I was issued, which included, inter alia, the statement: “*pro remedio animae patris mei et matris meae*” (T. Zajac 2016,56)².

For many centuries, Saint Vincent Abbey was open and it developed. The French Revolution became the reason for its decline at the end of the 18th c. In 1791 the monks of the abbey were ordered to vacate the building, the revolutionary government began to use the premises

as a military hospital and a prison for war captives. Only in the 19th century, the abbey was redeemed again by the church. This time the famous monument to the founder of the monastery was erected therein.

The church was built near the abbey in the beginning of the 18th c.; in 2013 it was purchased by the Diocese of Saint Volodymyr of Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Paris. The temple was consecrated in the name of the martyrs (*passion-bearers*) Princes Borys and Hlib – relatives (uncles) of Queen Anna. Now the cultural centre named after Anna Jaroslavna operates there.

In foreign, mainly French, historiography a great number of works is devoted to the sons of Anna and Henry – mainly Philip I (Monod 1907; Guyotjeannin 1989, 29–48; Dunbabin 1993, 949–968; Varenne 2007). Philip, the eldest son of the royal couple, was born in 1052. His name was new and unusual not only for the French court but for all of Western Europe at that time. This name was associated with the Greek Christian tradition. We assume that the choice of the name was influenced by a fact unknown to national historiography – the inhabitants

2 “for the salvation of my father and my mother”

of the ancient Rus'-Ukraine (in the 1st century called Scythia) were preached not only by the apostle Andrew (Litopys 1989, 3; Means 1843, 662; Franko 1902, 126-155), revered as the founder of the Ukrainian Church (Ohijenko 1993, 9; Vasylevs'kyj 1877, 41-82; Malyševs'kyj 1888, 1-51; Petrovs'kyj 1897, 82) but also by the apostle Philip (Algermissen 1955, 10; Ninan 2013, 190).



Apostle Philip. The fragment of the mosaic
"Holy Communion" (11th c.).
St. Sophia Cathedral



Apostle Andrew. The fragment of the mosaic
"Holy Communion" (11th c.).
St. Sophia Cathedral

According to the Hypatian Codex, various Slavic tribes were united in a single territory called the Great Scythia (Litopys 1989, 8, 16). Both Greek and Latin sources often use the ethnonyms "Ruthenians" (inhabitants of Kyivan Rus') and "Scythians" (or "Tauroscopes") as synonyms and consider Ruthenia (Rus') and Scythia to be the same country. In particular, the *Vandome Annals* (12th c.) indicate that the wife of King Henry I, Anna Jaroslavna, was of Ruthenian, Scythian origin (Annales Vindocinenses 1903, 62). The same information is included in other texts, among others, the *Chronicles of Anjou*: "Henricus Francorum Rex uxorem duxit Scythiam & Rufam" (Andegavensi 1767, 29). The 1767 edition commented on a mistake by chroniclers who called the king's wife "rufam" (red, fair-haired) instead of "Ruffam" (Ruthenian, Rusian) and

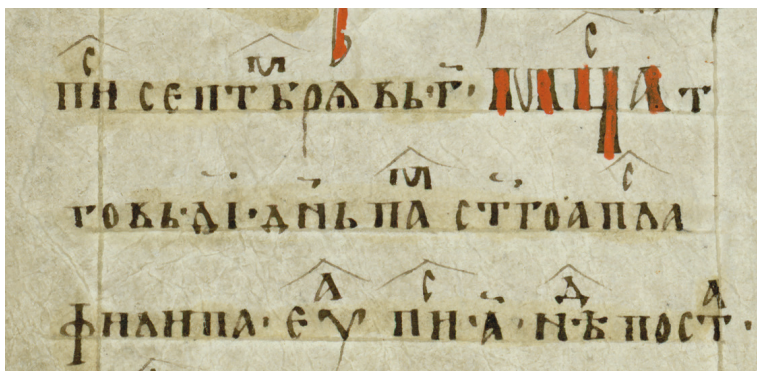
clarified that she was “a daughter of the king of Ruthenia Jaroslav, by the name Anna” (Andegavensi 1767, 29).

Roger Hallu, describing various versions of the choice of name for the firstborn of the royal married couple, noted that because of her natural devoutness, Queen Anna chose the apostolic name for her eldest son (Hallu 2002, 66).

We believe that a number of the relicts of St. Philip was brought to Kyiv from Constantinopol before the 11th c. and could be taken to France as Anna’s dowry. The list of relicts of St. Denis Abbey, among which there were included the “rib and tooth of St. Philip” (Chalons 1752, 170) confirms the presented assumption.

Some researchers assume that a small element of the relicts of the Apostle Philip was embedded in the cover of the Reims Gospel (Hanka 1846, 8-9; Hallu 2002, 66). It is not a coincidence that the name of this apostle is mentioned on the second page of the Gospel.

According to many scholars, the Cyrillic part of this Gospel was created in Kyiv at the beginning of the 11th c. The paleographical and codicological study of the text confirms this presumption (Hnatenko 2019, 31-67; Moisejenko 2019, 68-91). They believe the Gospel was brought by Anna Jaroslavna to France (Lunjak 2019, 27). It became the *Coronation Gospel* and many French kings sworn an oath on it during the coronation ceremony (Paris 1837, 40-52).



Element of the page from the Reims Gospel

Philip – the oldest son of Anna and Henry – became the heir of the throne of France. Following the example of his predecessors, he was crowned during the lifetime of his father at the age of seven in 1059, thus securing the right of him and his descendants to inherit the throne.

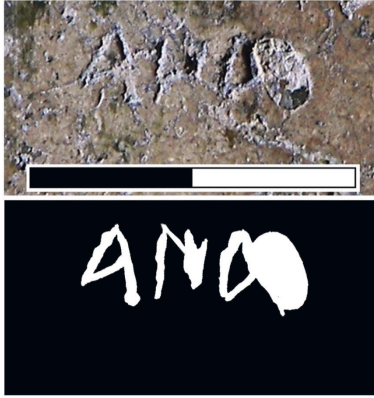
As early as in 1060, King Henry I died and young Philip ascended the throne. As Philip was still an infant, his mother was appointed as a regent together with their relative Baldwin V, Duke of Flanders (Poulet 1994, 106). Queen Anna was the first queen of France performing such a role and in fact ruling the country (Hallam 1980, 50–51). Later Anna acted as an advisor to young Philip and practically as a co-ruler of the state (Bertholdi 1844, 264–326; Lewis 1982, 46). The above-mentioned facts are confirmed by a number of royal charters of the time signed jointly by King Philip I and Queen Anna (Zajac 2016, 28–70). Moreover, the charter of the Bishop Agobert of Chartres, in which Philip and Anna are jointly named “king” (Recueil 1908, 329–331; Raffensperger 2016, 51) constitutes a unique testimony.

In the summer of 1061, the Queen remarried Count Raoul de Crepi de Valois, but remained an active participant in the public life of the state, as evidenced by numerous royal documents (Zajac 2016, 28–70). There are personal signatures of Anna preserved both on the French royal documents (Charter 1063) and on the walls of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kyiv, Ukraine, left by her before leaving for France (Kornijenko 2010, 35–36, 40–41, 254, 263).

After Raoul’s death († 1074), Anna probably returned to the court. The documents did not mention her name after 1075. There are no proper shreds of evidence about her life since that period.

The reign of her son Philip I was unusually long – he held the throne of France for 48 years. The state gradually strengthened, Vexin and Bourges became the royal possessions because of Philip (Hallam 1980, 50–51). The King made Paris his main residence and built up Paris (De Planhol 1994, 252–253).

Philip I became the ancestor of many generations of the kings of France. The apostolic name *Philip* became one of the most beloved in the French royal family – in the history from the 11th to the 19th centuries there were eight ruling kings of France with this name, excluding the contenders.



Signature of Anna Jaroslavna. Graffito on the wall of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv.

The second son of Anna Jaroslavna and Henry I – Robert was born in 1053 or early 1054. The Chronicle of Alberic de Trois-Fontaine mentions three sons of Henry and Anna – “*Philippum, Robertum et Hugonam*” and notes that Robert died being an infant (Albrici 1846, 792). Similar information is contained in other French medieval sources (Hugonis 1851, 389). The chronicles testified that in memory of his son, King Henry built a temple and

founded the priory in honor of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in front of the city walls (Albrici 1846, 631-950). It is also probable that the abbey was established during the lifetime of Robert, and after his death received large donations from the royal family to commemorate the young prince. We assume that Queen Anna also participated in such a charitable initiative (Jasynec’ka 2019, 39-46). The Charter on the re-foundation of the abbey dated 1060 was also signed by Anna Jaroslavna (Zajac 2016, 59).

Today, the building of the former Saint-Martin-de-Chans Abbey, together with the related extensions of later centuries, is one of the most prominent buildings of the medieval architecture of Paris and is now used as the premises of the Museum of Arts and Crafts (the oldest technical museum in Europe).

The youngest son of Anna and Henry I – Hugh the Great (Count of Vermandois 1057–1101/1102) is named after Henry’s grandfather, the first king of France of the Capetian dynasty (Guibert 1996, 313). His birth in the royal family is mentioned by a number of French medieval sources (Hugonis 1851, 389). The chroniclers of William of Tyre (William of Tyre 1943, 121), Orderic Vitalis, Albert of Aachen, and others call him Hugh the Great and associate this nickname with the Prince’s participation in the First Crusade as one of its leaders (Albert of Aix 1879, 304-305 ; Orderic Vitalis 1838-1855, 159).

Historians note that Hugh assisted Philip in ruling the state (Hallu 2002, 91). There is evidence that in 1085 Hugh, together with Wilhelm the Conqueror, resisted the Danish invasion of England (Tyerman 2015, 134). Hugh was one of the first who responded to the appeal of Pope Urban II (Runciman 1951, 111–112) and became one of the leaders of the First Crusade (Flori 1999, 232). The most extensive testimony of Hugh's participation in the campaign is "Alexiad" by Anna Komnene (Komnene 1965, 279–280). In 1101, Hugh was wounded in the battle with Turks and later died of wounds in the city of Tarsus (now Mersin Province of Turkey), where he was buried in St. Paul temple.

Thanks to his marriage to Adellé de Valois and Vermandois, the granddaughter of Raoul de Crepi de Valois, the second husband of Anna Jaroslavna (Bautier 1985, 539–564), Hugh is known as the founder of the Vermandois House of the Capetian Dynasty. Eight children were born out of this marriage.

The birth of the daughter Emma ca. 1058 in the French royal family of Anna and Henry is evidenced by the chronicles: of William of Jumièges († after 1070) "*The Gesta Normannorum Ducum*" (The Gesta 1995, 152), of Hugh of Fleury († after 1122) "*The deeds of modern kings of France*" (Hugonis 1851, 389) and others. But there is no evidence of her adult life in France. However, ca. 1074–1075, a unique foreign girl appears in Bavarian Puch town. Her education and noble upbringing testified her royal origin and her pious life – her Christian values. The people called her Edigna, which means "Deserving".



Blessed Edigna by A. Orlionov, 2019. Private collection, Ukraine.

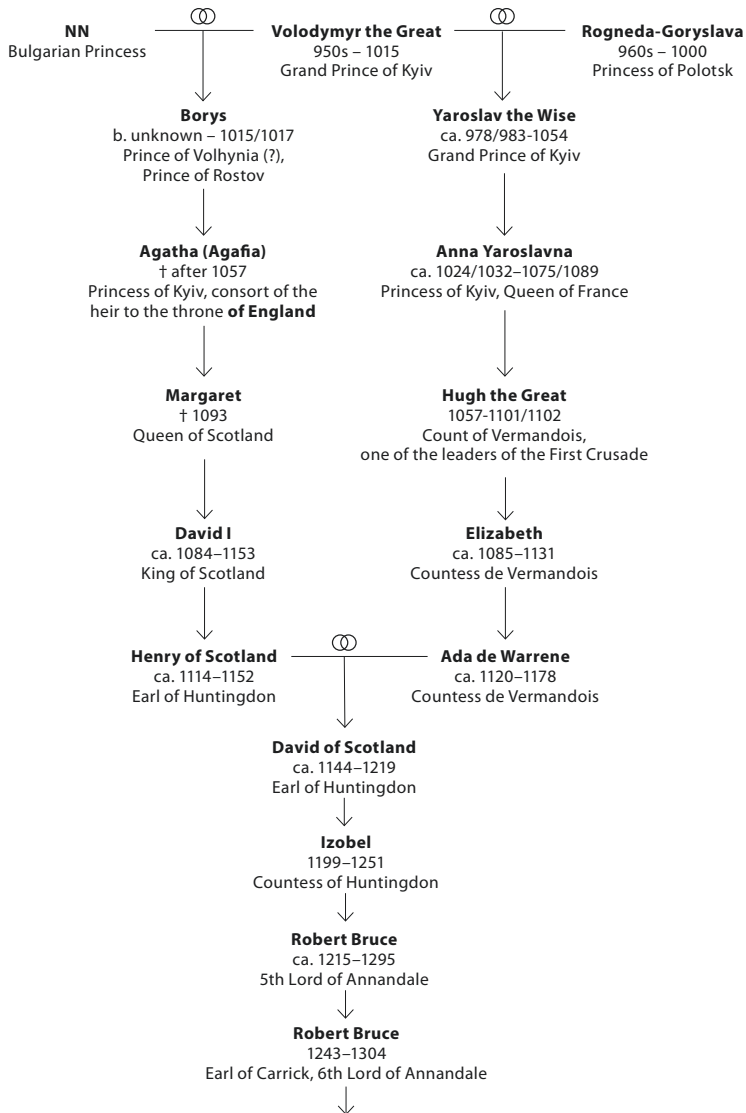
Local legend traditionally considers her to be French Princess. Some scholars treat her as the daughter of the King of France Hugh († 996), the first representative of the Capetian

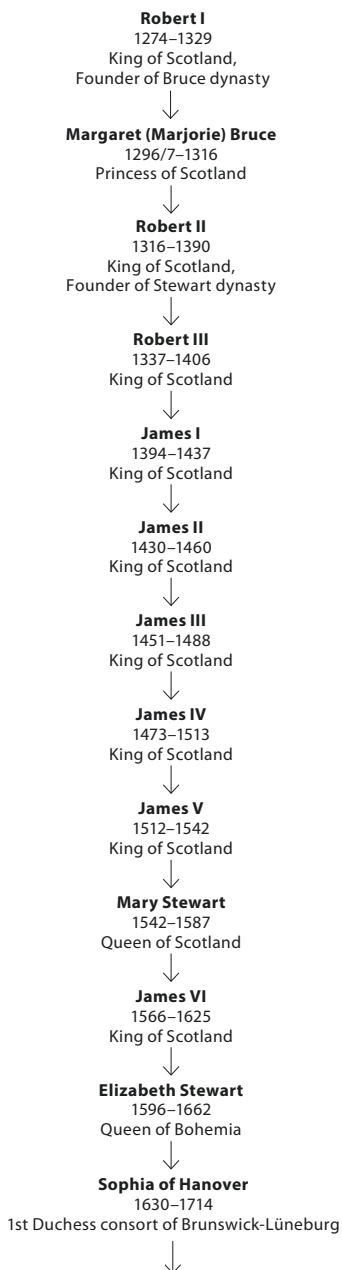
dynasty (Dunbar 1904, 251). Matthew Rader in his work “The Bavarian Saints” proposes two alternative versions of Edigna’s origin: he suggests Edigna could be the daughter of Henry I († 1060), or Philip I (1052–1108) (Rader 1624, 237–240). We believe that her birth in the family of Queen Anna and Henry I is the most chronologically substantiated and we support the hypothesis about her kinship with the Kyivan royal family on her maternal lineage (Jasyneč’ka 2019, 141–152; Jasyneč’ka 2019, 106–143).

The legend tells Edigna distributed all her possessions to the poor, settled in the trunk of an old linden tree and lived there like a nun in a cell for about 35 years. She led a godly lifestyle, taught children to read and write, preaching Christian values. She possessed a gift of healing. For many years, she treated local people, assisted them in overcoming illnesses and troubles. She died on February 26, 1109. During the life of Edigna, a temple was built near the linden tree, where she was later buried.

Since 1600 she was adored as Blessed Edigna. On February 26, the day of Blessed Edigna is celebrated to commemorate her. The main place of worship is the church of St. Sebastian in Puch. The left side-altar of the temple is dedicated to Blessed Edigna. The paintings on the walls and the ceiling of the church depict scenes from Edigna’s life. In 1988, the Ukrainian Church community from Bavaria placed in the church the latest image of Edigna with the inscription in Ukrainian and German, confirming her origin of the family of Kyivan Grand-Prince Volodymyr the Great: “*Blessed Edigna, the great-granddaughter of St. Volodymyr, the daughter of Anna Jaroslavna, prayed for all of us and our people.*” (Jasyneč’ka, <https://st-sophia.org.ua>).

Examining the line of Philip I’s descendants, Anna – Kyivan Princess and French Queen – became an ancestor of a number of generations of kings who ruled France for many centuries. And due to the line of the descendants of Hugh the Great, Anna of Kyiv is a remote ancestor of modern rulers of Great Britain. Thus, one of the daughters of Hugh the Great, Elizabeth of Vermandois (c. 1085–1131), was married to William de Warren, Earl of Surrey († 1138). The daughter, born out of this marriage, Ada de Warren (c. 1120–1178) (Oram 2011, 430), became the wife of Henry (c. 1114–1152), Earl of Huntington and Northumbria, the son and the heir of King David I of Scotland (c. 1082–1153)

Pedigree 3: **Close and Remote Descendants of Anna Yaroslavna**





(Stevenson 1991, 12). A remarkable fact is that David was a descendant (grandson) of another Kyivan Princess – Agatha (Agafia), who, as we believe, was a daughter of Borys Volodymyrovyč, the martyr, one of the first Ruthenian holy princes (Jasyneč'ka 2018, 17). Ada de Varen and Henry of Scotland became the parents of seven children, including two succeeding kings of Scotland – Malcolm IV (1141-1165) and William I Leo (c. 1142-1214). And through the geneological line of their son, David of Scotland (c. 1144-1219), Earl of Huntington, one can trace the line of descendants - the rulers of Scotland, England and Great Britain, including the currently acting King Charles III and his grandchildren (Jasyneč'ka 2019, 139-142).

Consequently, the family tree of the great princes and princesses of Kyiv reached faraway distances, countries and times spaces, uniting Rus'-Ukraine genetically and culturally with the whole European world.

The former President of France Jacques Chirac in one of his public speeches said: “In the 11th century, Queen Anna of France, daughter of Jaroslav the Wise, was the first to introduce into the French minds the evidence of such a perfect Ukrainian culture” (Discours 1998, 64). The shreds of evidence concerning Anna Jaroslavna and her family members are the strong evidences of their active cultural and state activities and are a clear testimony to the millennial reciprocity of Ukrainian-European history and culture.

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INGIGERD – PRINCESS OF SWEDEN, GRAND PRINCESS OF KYIV IS NOT ANNA OF NOVHOROD

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The article covers the peculiarities of the origin, life, and activities of Ingigerda-Irena as Jaroslav the Wise's second wife. The sources and the data of anthropological expertise prove her non-identity with St. Anna of Novhorod and substantiate that the burial of Ingigerda-Irena is still preserved in the sarcophagus of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv.

Keywords: Kyivan Rus', Sweden, Ingigerda-Irena, Saint Anna of Novhorod, genealogy, dynastic relations, anthropological expertise, St. Sophia of Kyiv Cathedral.

ІНГІГЕРДА – ПРИНЦЕСА ШВЕДСЬКА, ВЕЛИКА КНЯГИНЯ КИЇВСЬКА, А НЕ АННА НОВГОРОДСЬКА

Олена Ясинецька

У статті висвітлено особливості походження, життя та діяльності Інгігерди-Ірини як другої дружини Ярослава Мудрого. На основі джерел і даних антропологічних експертиз доведено її нетотожність св. Анні Новгородській та обґрунтовано, що поховання Інгігерди-Ірини й досі зберігається у саркофазі собору Софії Київської.

Ключові слова: Київська Русь, Швеція, Інгігерда-Ірина, свята Анна Новгородська, генеалогія, династичні відносини, антропологічні експертизи, собор Софії Київської.

The Saga of Ingvar the Traveler testifies that the tradition of Ruthenian-Swedish marriages could have been started by Volodymyr the Great in the 10th century. According to the hypothesis of Halyna Hlazarina, based on the data of this saga, the first wife of Volodymyr Svjatoslavych was a Swedish princess, daughter of King Eric VI the Victori-

ous, father of Olof Ericsson (Hlazyrina 1998, 16–21). Probably her name was Allogia (Džakson 2012, 39). Swedish scholars suggest that in the 970's, Volodymyr the Great visited the new capital of Sweden, Sigtuna (founded near old Uppsala) in search of military support from King Eric VI (Tesch 2004–2005, 35).

There is also some evidence about an unsuccessful marriage proposal to the widow of King of Sweden and Denmark Eric the Winner – Sigrid the Haughty, one of the sons of Volodymyr the Great, probably Vsevolod (Braun 1924, 157–167) or Vyšeslav (Voitovyč 2006, 246, 273), known in Scandinavian sources under the name “Vissivald” (Snorri 1980, 126). The proud princess burned him together with other unwanted grooms in the house where they feasted (Ibid), following the cruel example of Princess Ol'ha of Kyiv (Litopys 1989, 32).

Adam of Bremen also testifies about the marriage of Princess Estrid (the founder of the Estridsen dynasty) – sister of Knut the Great, King of Denmark, England, Norway, and Sweden, with the “son of the King of Rus” (Adam von Bremen 1917, 99). According to M. Sverdlov's assumption, he was another son of Volodymyr the Great – Hlib (Sverdlov 1970, 84), and according to O. Nazarenko – Illja Jaroslavvyč (Nazarenko 2010, 135).

According to historical sources, it is believed that Jaroslav Volodymyrovych (*the Wise*) was married twice (Hruševs'kyj 1992, 32; Dryhalkin 1970, 93–96). According to some reports, the first wife of Jaroslav named Anna (Makarij 1860, 74; Janin 1988, 139) died before 1019, origin unknown, most likely – Northern European (Hinzburh 1940, 57–66), with whom the prince had a son Illja who died in 1020 (Litopys 1989, 84; Vojtovyč 2006, 258–260, 305). Probably, she was mentioned by Thietmar of Merseburg as a captive of Boleslaw the Brave (Thietmar 1935, 531). After 1018, the sources did not mention her. She probably died in 1018–1019, which made the second marriage of Jaroslav possible.

The second wife of Jaroslav Volodymyrovych was Ingegerd (*Ingi-gerd* or *Ingigerda* in Ukrainian usage), born c. 1000, died in 1050 (Litopys 1989, 95; Kelembet 2009, 249–260) or 1051 (Hruševs'kyj 1992, 32) – the Swedish princess, the Grand Duchess of Kyiv). *Ingegerd*, *Ingigerd*, *Ingrid*, in ancient Scandinavia – *Ingigerðr*, *Ingigærðr*, in some sources – *Inged*, *Ingrad* (Adam von Bremen 1917, 99) – daughter of King of Swe-

den Olof Skötkonung (993/995–1020) (Nazarenko 1993, 194). After the marriage, she was known as Irena (Iryna) (Mytropolyt Ilarion 2011, 102–103). In the Middle Ages when dynastic marriages were arranged, there was a widespread practice of renaming brides, if a marriage caused a change of the ethnocultural environment (Thoma 1985, 169–200). According to researchers Andrij Lytvyn and Fedir Uspens'kyj, when choosing a new name for the Swedish bride of the Kyivan Prince, obviously the “euphonic proximity of the names of Iryna and Ingegerd” were taken into account (Litvina 2006, 38).

In the foreign policy of Jaroslav the Wise, the Scandinavian direction was one of the priorities. The Grand Prince of Kyiv needed the Scandinavian mercenaries and himself actively intervene in the Scandinavian affairs, supporting the Swedish and Norwegian opponents of the Anglo-Danish king Knut the Great (Kotljarskyj 2013, 760). Varangian troops inevitably participated in all important military campaigns of Jaroslav, starting with the rebellion against his father until the march on Byzantium in 1043 (Hruševs'kyj 1992, 32).

In addition, some scholars argue that the period from 1018 to the mid-1020s was marked by an increase in Ruthenian-Swedish and Ruthenian-Danish interactions caused by Jaroslav's efforts to form an anti-Polish coalition in his fight for the throne of Kyiv (Nazarenko 1984, 13–19; Melnikova 1988, 47). Exactly in the tideway of this policy, one should consider Jaroslav's marriage to the Swedish princess. This marriage consolidated the Ruthenian-Swedish political union (Rydzevs-kaja 1978, 42). Norwegian Jarl Ragnwald (Hlasyryna 1994, 240–244), a relative of Ingegerd (Džakson 2012, 342), brought his military troops to secure Jaroslav's rule (Vojtovyč 2006, 253).

Local (Kyivan) records do not provide any information about whom and when Jaroslav was married to. The Hypatian Codex indicates only the year of her death – 1050: “В лѣтѣ . ѕ̄ . . ф̄ . . њи [6558 (1050)] Престависѧ жена Ѧрославла. кнѧгинѣ феврала . въ . і̄ .” (Ipatjevs-kaja 1908, 137–151) (“*The Princess, wife of Jaroslav, died on February 10*”). M. Hruševs'kyj believed she died in 1051 (Hruševs'kyj 1992, 32), according to the old Julian calendar.

The same Chronicles mention the names of six sons born in the marriage of Jaroslav and Ingegerd. Specifically, in the description of the scene of parental pre-death instruction, he gives the names of five of them:

6562 (1054). “Jaroslav, Great Prince of Rus’”, passed away. While he was yet alive, he admonished his sons with these words: “My sons, I am about to quit this world. Love one another, since ye are brothers by one father and mother. If ye abide in amity with one another, God will dwell among you, and will subject your enemies to you, and ye will live at peace. But if ye dwell in envy and dissension, quarrelling with one another, then ye will perish yourselves and bring to ruin the land of your ancestors, which they won at the price of great effort. Wherefore remain rather at peace, brother heeding brother. The throne of Kyiv I bequeath to my eldest son, your brother Izjaslav. Heed him as ye have heeded me, that he may take my place among you. To Svjatoslav I give Chernihiv, to Vsevolod – Perejaslav’, to Ihor – the city of Volodymyr, and to V’jačeslav – Smolens’k” (The Russian 1953, 142).

The eldest son of Jaroslav and Ingegerd died several years earlier:

6560 (1052). “Volodymyr, Jaroslav’s eldest son, died at Novhorod, and was buried in the Church of St. Sophia, which he himself had founded” (Ibid).

“Sermon on Law and Grace” by Metropolitan Ilarion of Kyiv written in ca. 1037–1050, calls the name of Jaroslav’s wife: “Behold, too, your devout daughter-in-law Irina!” (Ilarion of Kyiv 1991, 24; Ilarion Kyivs’kyj 1992, 195–214, 626–628).

The foundation of a monastery in honor of St. Irena by Jaroslav (and, more likely, by the Princess Ingegerd) also testifies her second name, obtained in Kyiv, the name of her heavenly patroness: 6545 (1037). “Jaroslav built the great citadel at Kyiv, near which stands the Golden Gate. He founded also the metropolitan Church of St. Sophia, the Church of the Annunciation over the Golden Gate, and also the Monastery of St. George and the convent of St. Irene” (The Russian 1953, 137).

The name of Ingegerd is mentioned by a great number of foreign sources: Adam of Bremen in *Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church* (11th c.), Theodoric the Monk in *The History of Ancient Kings of Norway* (12th c.), *Review of the Sagas of Norwegian Kings* (late 12th c.) and a number of 13th-century sagas and annals including a collection of kings’ sagas “*Heimskringla*” by Snorri Sturluson, including “*Saga of Olaf*

the Saint”, royal compendia on Norwegian rulers “*Morkinskinna*” and “*Fagrskinna*”, “*Legendary Saga of St. Olaf*”, “*The Saga of Cnut’s Descendants*”, “*Eymundar Saga*”, “*The Saga of Yngvar the Traveller*”, *Icelandic Annals*, etc. These Western sources made it possible to reconstruct the picture of the life of the Swedish princess, beginning with her stay at the royal paternal court.

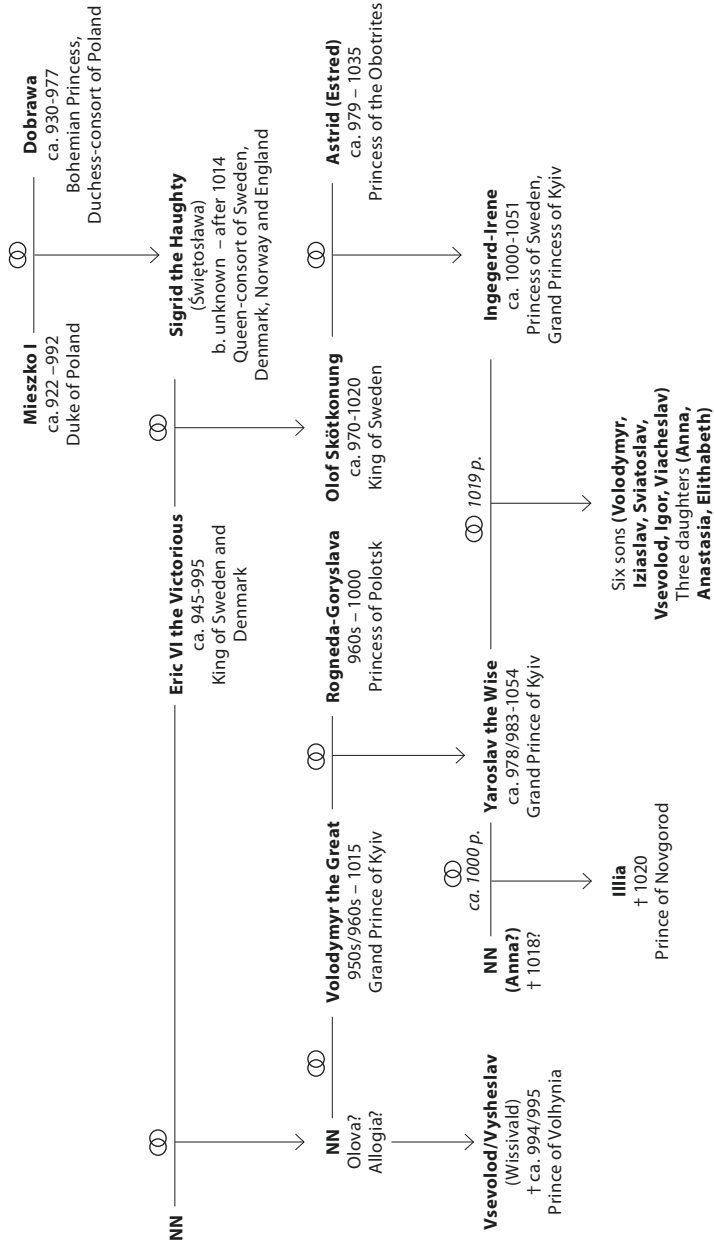
The sources describe the daughter of King of Sweden Olof Skötkonung as a noble princess with a stern temper. Snorri Sturluson in *The Saga of St. Olaf* wrote about Ingegerd: “she was of all views of royal descent and of the Swedish family of Uppsala, the noblest in all the lands of the North, for this kinship originates from the gods themselves” (Snorri 1980, 238).

Some researchers, describing the strong-willed personality of Ingegerd, emphasize that it is related to the Scandinavian roots of the princess (Raspail 2004). However, there is a very significant Slavic component in the lineage of the Swedish Princess Ingegerd. The wife of King Olof Skötkonung and the mother of Ingegerd was the Slavic princess Astrid (Estred, Estrid) of Obotrites, the princess from family of Mecklenburg rulers (Adam von Bremen 1917, 99). The mother of Olof himself and the grandmother of Ingegerd, according to one of the most common views, was the Polish princess Svjatoslava, probably the daughter of the ruler of Poland Mieszko I, known in Scandinavia under the name of Sigrid the Haughty (Balzer 1895, 44–52; Jasienica 2009, 113; Jasiński 2004, 94–100).

Adam of Bremen in his second book (scholium 37) states that the Swedish Christian King Olof had the Slavic wife of Estred of Obotrites who gave birth to his son Jacob (Iacobus) and daughter Ingegerd (Ingrad), later betrothed to the King of Rus’ Jaroslav (Gerzlef): “*Oloph rex Sueonum christianissimus erat filiamque Sclavorum Estred nomine de Obodritis accepit uxorem. Ex qua genitus est filius Iacobus et filia Ingrad, quam rex sanctus Gerzlef de Ruzzia duxit in coniugium*” (Adam von Bremen 1917, 99).

According to some sources, except his brother Jacob (Anund-Jakob – King of Sweden in 1022–1050), Ingegerd had her half-brother Emmund, King of Sweden in 1050–1060, nicknamed ‘the Old’, and half-sisters Holmfried and Astrid – the children of his father’s second wife (or concubine) – Princess Edla of Obotrites (Edberg 2001, 7).

Pedigree 1: Ancestry of Ingegerd and Ruthenian-Swedish Dynastic Ties in the 10th-11th cc.



Snorri Sturluson notes that King Olaf's children were all intelligent and handsome, while other Icelandic sources further described Ingegerd as "charming and sweet" (Ibid).

The researchers believe Ingegerd was born ca. 1000. There is no documented evidence of her place of birth, but there is a reason to believe that the royal family lived in Västergötland (Southwestern Sweden) at that time (Edberg 2001, 7). This region of Sweden was converted to Christianity before others. There is the evidence according to which King Olof, the first Christian king of Sweden and the baptizer of the state was converted together with his family at Husaby Church, near Skara, shortly after the year 1000. Consequently, Ingegerd could have been baptized in her infancy or early childhood. Adam of Bremen also notes that Olof was the King-baptizer of Sweden and converted his wife and two daughters together with the people of Sweden (Adam von Bremen 1917, 99). Obviously, his sons were born after the baptism.

The sources contain no information concerning what kind of education Ingegerda received, but it is known that Christian priests and missionaries visited the King of Sweden and could have taught Christian values as well as secular knowledge to his children (Edberg 2001, 8). It is also likely that the family lived in Sigtuna, a new town near Uppsala, founded, evidently, in the 970s by Ingegerd's grandfather, Eric the Victorious. Archaeological evidence shows that Eric built a royal palace in the centre of Sigtuna (Tesch 2016, 115–139), Ingegerd could have lived together with the family in her infancy (Ibid, 33). According to the assumption of the Swedish historian and museum expert Stan Tesch, the Grand Duke of Kyiv Volodymyr Svjatoslavyč could have visited this palace in 970 while searching for Eric's military support; the scientist pointed out that from this period one can observe the influence of the Ruthenian traditions of timber construction upon the wooden architecture of Sweden, in particular, in regard to the Sigtuna churches of St. Olaf and St. Nicolaus (Ibid, 35). So, it can be assumed, that some Ruthenian construction masters could come from Kyiv to Sweden together with Volodymyr.

Only Icelandic royal annals attest to exact dating of Ingegerd's marriage to Jaroslav – 1019 (Annales Islandorum 1888, 106; Džakson 1987, 126). Although there are other alternative versions of historiography

in the dating of the alliance (P. Toločko proposes 1014 (Toločko 1987, 55), A. Ljaščenko – 1016 (Ljaščenko 1926, 1067–1071), E. Rydzevskaia – 1020 (Rydzevskaia 1940, 66–72), S. Kelembet – 1022 (Kelembet 2009, 249–260), we consider the date 1019 to be substantiated to the greatest extent. The date is also indirectly pointed out by the *Saga of St. Olaf*, and is scientifically accepted by the scholars O. Nazarenko, T. Jackson, and others (Nazarenko 1990, 185–186; Džakson 2012, 337). In addition, new conclusions have emerged in the findings of modern Swedish scholars who testify the impossibility of the marriage before 1019 (Edberg 2001, 7).

Various Western sources provide different amounts of information about Ingegerd. Thus, the monk Theodoric reports only that the Ruthenian Prince married a princess “...whom [Olaf] himself asked in marriage but could not wed” without revealing the reasons for the failure of the marriage (Theodricus 1880, 1–68), then Snorri Sturluson and the author of *Review of the Sagas of Norwegian Kings* explains that Ingegerd “was promised earlier for Olaf Haraldson”, but “her father broke that promise because of his anger” (Snorri 1980, 228).

More comprehensive data concerning Ingegerd is contained in a number of sagas of “Heimskringla” by Snorri Sturluson. The author describes not only events of Ingegerd’s life but also the features of her character – peaceable disposition, wisdom and courage, the efforts to reconcile her father with King of Norway Olaf the Thick (later known as Saint Olaf). In a conversation with her father, she says, “*What do you think about your feud with Olaf the Thick? Many consider it a disaster. Some say they have lost goods, others – relatives because of confrontation with the Norwegians. And none of your people can now ride through Norway. For you personally, it is only worse because of your will to hold Norway. This country is poor, it is difficult to pass through it and people cannot be relied on there; they want any konung, but not you. If I were you, I would leave Norway alone... And let Olaf the Thick be allowed to keep his own country and make peace with him...*” (Snorri 1980, 210).

The saga repeatedly mentions Ingegerd’s effort to reconcile the Scandinavian rulers – she “...often started talking to the king of Swedes about peace with Olaf the Thick” (Snorri 1980, 217). The supporters of the Norwegian king negotiated with Ingegerd secretly about the reconciliation between Sweden and Norway, which could have been secured by the

marriage of Ingegerd and Olaf the Thick. They recommended it to her strongly, and reckoned up numerous excellent achievements of King Olaf. The compliments in honor of the qualities of a prospective groom impressed Ingegerd. She was also sure that the best way to make peace between konungs was her marriage with Olaf of Norway.

At the royal council (the scientists date it back February 15, 1018) (Edberg 2001, 7) the bondes (magnates) strongly demanded that the King of Sweden made peace with the King of Norway and secured it with the marriage of Ingegerd and king Olaf of Norway and threatened Olof of Sweden with death in case of rejection. Olof Skötkonung promised to reconcile and make Ingegerd get married to the king of Norway. After the council, Ingegerd sent the gifts to her bridegroom - *“...a long cloak of fine linen richly embroidered with gold, and with silk points”* (Snorri 1980, 220). The wedding was to take place on the east bank of the River Elf. But when, on the agreed day, Olaf, a Norwegian, arrived at the borders of his state with Sweden on the Gotha-Elf River to receive his betrothed Ingegerd, there was no Swedish bride there (Edberg 2001, 334). The King of Norway stayed at Konungahella for a long time in the summer (A.D. 1018). He waited and hoped for the marriage with Ingegerd. But nobody could have foreseen Olof Skötkonung's true ideas, few believed in his words and the reconciliation with Norway, somebody asked Ingegerd, but she did not presume to argue with her father (Snorri 1980, 228).

One day after a successful hunt, Skötkonung returned cheerful and said to his daughter, *“...Dost thou know of any king,”* said he, *“who made so great a capture in so short a time?”* *“It is indeed,”* replied she, *“a good morning's hunting, to have got five black-cocks; but it was a still better when, in one morning, the king of Norway, Olaf, took five kings, and subdued all their kingdoms”*. When the king heard this he sprang from his horse, turned to Ingegerd, and said, *“Thou shalt know, Ingegerd, that however great thy love may be for this man, thou shalt never get him, nor he get thee. I will marry thee to some chief with whom I can be in friendship; but never can I be a friend of the man who has robbed me of my kingdom, and done me great mischief by marauding and killing through the land”* (Snorri 1980, 229).

Ingegerd was completely sure of the King Olof's intention, and immediately sent men to West Gautland to Earl Ragnvald, and let him know how it was with the Swedish king, and that the agreement made with the king of Norway was broken; and advising the earl and people of West Gautland to be upon their guard, as no peace from the people of Norway was to be expected. Ingegerd informed that the ambassadors from King *Jarisleif of Rus'* (Jaroslav the Wise of Kyiv) came to Olof Skötkonung to ask her in marriage and the konung of Sweden had given them hopes that he would agree to it (Ibid, 233). A famous skald Sigvat wrote:

*"...For messengers from far Rus' land
Had come to ask Ingegerd's hand..."*

Then the supporters of king Olaf of Norway suggested him to marry another daughter of Olof Skötkonung – Astrid. Sigvat skald wrote "*...spoke a great deal about Astrid; how beautiful she was, how agreeable in her conversation; and that all declared she was in no respect behind her sister Ingegerd*". The marriage was agreed behind Skötkonung's back: "*Thereupon an eke was made to the feast, and King Olaf and Queen Astrid's wedding was drunk in great festivity*" (Ibid, 234).

Next spring (A.D. 1019) the ambassadors from king Jaroslav came to bring Ingegerd to Ruthenia. Swedish Princess took earl Rangwald, her staunch friend and relative, to accompany her in the journey to Ruthenia (Ibid, 235).

The marriage is reported in numerous sources including Adam of Bremen's *Deeds of Bishops of the Hamburg Church*. It should be emphasised that in this work the chronicler calls Jaroslav "the saint king" ("*rex sanctus Gerzlef de Ruzzia*") (Adam von Bremen 1917, 99).

The marriage of Jaroslav and Ingegerd was shown in a number of royal sagas dated back to late 12th–early 13th cc. in particular "*Heimskringla*" of Snorri Sturluson. The sources report about Ingegerd's

1 Saga of Olaf Haraldson. In: *Snorri Sturluson Heimskringla*. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1598/1598-h/1598-h.htm>

beauty, wisdom and her influence upon the husband (Džakson 2012, 119; Hlazyrina 1996, 99–100; Melnikova 1997, 151–153).

In the *Saga of Olaf the Saint*, Snorri Sturluson retells about later years and reports the exile of King Olaf of Norway and his arrival to Kyiv together with his young son Magnus (later – king of Norway *Magnus the Good* (1035–1047) to the court of Jaroslav and Ingegerd (c. 1029). An interesting excerpt of the saga depicts Ingegerd as a healer – people asked her to treat them. In the case with a small sick boy the princess sent the baby with his mother to Olaf and said “*he is the best healer here*” (Snorri 1980, 341–342).

“The rulers of Kyivan Rus’ invited Olaf to remain in their state and even to take control of one of the regions of Rus’. However, Olaf returned to Norway and died shortly (July 29, 1030) at the battle of Stiklestad (central Norway). Young Magnus was brought up at the court of Jaroslav and Ingegerd. Later, in 1035, an embassy of the Norwegian bonds came after him with a proposal to take the vacant throne of Norway (Larsen 1950, 110).

It is believed that the marriage with Ingegerd made Jaroslav happy (Vojtovyč 2006, 261). We can assume that *the King of Rus’* loved and respected his wife as he heeded her counsel on international and domestic issues (Snorri 1980, 378). Ingegerd as the first adviser to Jaroslav, whose word was often the last, is also described by the *Eymundar Saga* (Eymundar 1834, 1–72). The author of the saga clearly sympathizes with Ingegerd and portrays her as a “*resolute in affairs, generous*” and “*wise*” ruler. During the internal strife of the princes, Ingegerd was captured by the warriors of Wartilav (the scholars considered him to be Brjačyслав of Poloc’k), but thanks to her prudence and influence, she was released and reconciled the relatives (Ibid, 44).

In honor of the heavenly patron saint of his wife, Jaroslav founded a monastery of St. Irene in Kyiv and at the same time and nearby the monastery in honor of his own heavenly patron – St. George, as the chronicle recounts in 6545 (1037). We believe that Ingegerd-Irena participated in the foundation, since traditionally fratrics were founded by princes, and nunneries (convents) were founded by princesses. The main church of the convent was built in Byzantine style.

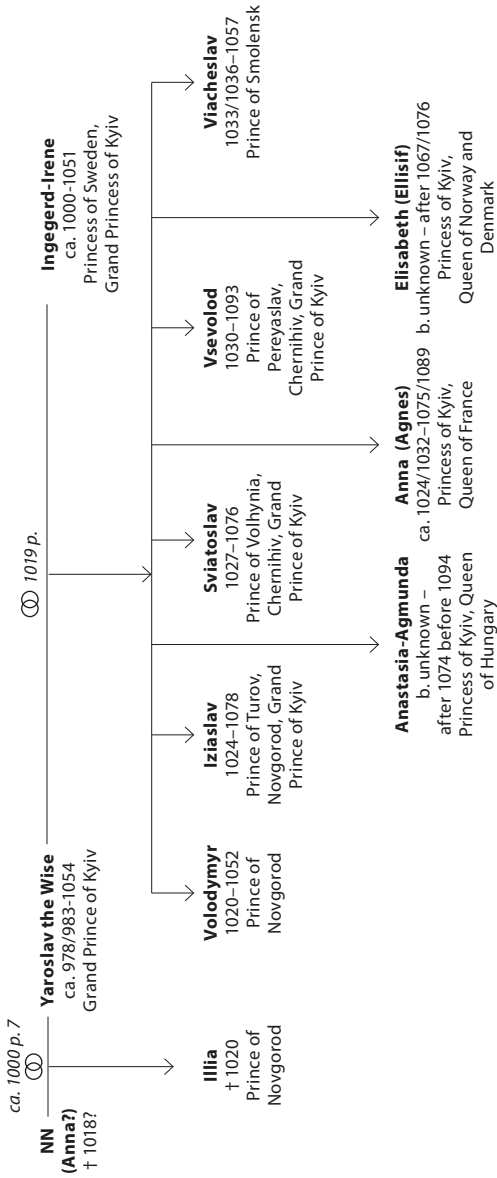
St. Irene's church suffered significant damage during the Batu Khan invasion. In the 1850's, the ruins of the church were dismantled. However, to perpetuate the memory of this outstanding building, it was decided to preserve one of the main pillars of the temple (northeast); it was decorated with the bricks from the Church of the Tithes (Ščerockij 1918, 26–27) and topped with a small dome and a cross. Since then, it was known under the name “Pillar of St. Irene” or “Irene's monument” (Kyiv 1930, 291). In 1932 it was demolished in an atheistic campaign.

In general, during the reign of Jaroslav and Ingegerd in Kyiv, monumental construction projects were carried out – St. Sophia Cathedral, the Golden Gate with the Gate Church of the Annunciation, and the city fortifications were completed. A scriptorium and a book-collection were established at the Sophia Cathedral. The name of Jaroslav the Wise is connected with drawing up the legal code “Rus' Justice”, the appearance of first church statutes and the flowering of the state, its culture and art in broader terms (Sahajdak 1982, 68–69).

According to the chronicles, six sons (Volodymyr, Izjaslav, Svjatoslav, Vsevolod, V"jačeslav, Ihor) (Litopys 1989, 99) were born in the marriage of Jaroslav and Ingegerd. In the *Saga of Olaf the Saint*, Snorri Sturluson, recounting Ingigerd's life in Kyivan Rus', names only three of them: “... Waldamar, Vissiwald, and Holti the Brave...” (Snorri 1980, 235). In the scholia 62 (63) of Book III, Adam of Bremen also attests the existence of three daughters of Jaroslav and Ingegerd, although he does not call their names, but indicates whom they were married to: “*Haroldus a Grecia regressus filiam regis Ruziae Gerzlef uxorem accepit; alteram tulit Andreas, rex Ungarum, de qua genitus est Salemon; terciam duxit res Francorum Heinricus, quae peperit ei Philippum*” (Adam von Bremen 1917, 153). Their names – Elizabeth, Anna and Anastasija we learn from other sources – “*Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland*” of Jan Długosz (Ščaveleva 2004, 107, 256), “*Reims Gloss*” (Hlossa 2010, 102), “*The Saga of Harald Sigurtharson (Hardruler)*” (The Saga 2009, 577–664; Snorri 1980, 411), “*The Saga of Cnut's Descendants*”, royal compendia on Norwegian rulers “*Morkinskinna*” (Džakson 1987, 48–49) etc.

Elizabeth, Anna and Anastasija are considered to be daughters of Jaroslav and Ingegerd also by modern Ukrainian and foreign scholars (Vojtovyč 2006, 305–322). Some researchers treat Dobroniha-Maria and

Pedigree 2: **Descendants of Yaroslav and Ingegerd**



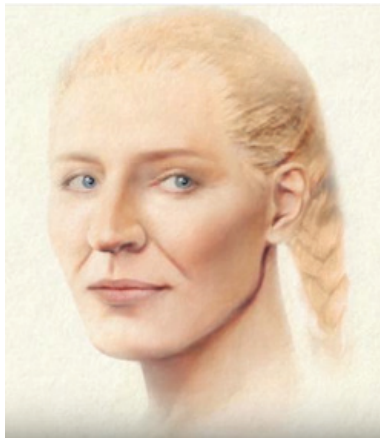
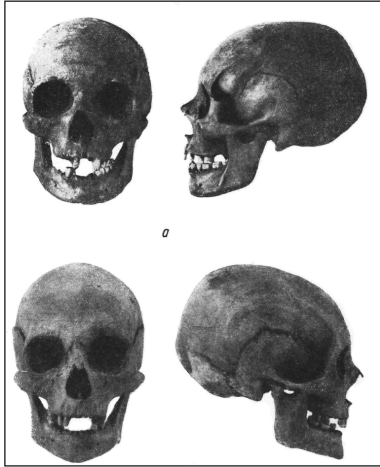
Agaphia (Agatha) as daughters of Jaroslav and Ingegerd (Džette 1996, 417–432; Nazarenko 2001, 579–580; Raffensperger 2016, 36). But we believe – they are the offspring of Borys – a brother of Jaroslav the Wise – one of the first Ruthenian (Ukrainian) princes – saints and passion-bearers (Jasynec’ka 2016, 175–193; Jasynec’ka 2018, 145–167; Jasynec’ka 2018, 11–27).

To secure interstate alliances, Jaroslav actively used dynastic marriages as a tool of foreign policy. Thus, the sons of Jaroslav and Ingegerd married foreign princesses: Izjaslav married the Polish princess Gertrude, Volodymyr – the German Countess Oda von Stade, and Vsevolod – the Byzantine princess Maria-Anastasija, daughter (or nephew) of Emperor Constantine IX. All the daughters of the marriage were married to the rulers of European states: Anastasija became the queen of Hungary – the wife of Andras I, Anna – the queen of France, the wife of Henry I, Elizabeth – the queen of Norway, the wife of Harald III. Thanks to his successful matrimonial policy Jaroslav is often called the ‘father-in-law of Europe’.

Ingegerd-Irena died on February 10 in 1050/1051, and Jaroslav died on February 19 in 1054. Grand Prince of Kyiv was buried in St. Sophia Cathedral on February 20 (March 5 in a new style) in 1054, as evidenced by the graffiti inscription on the mural with the image of St. Panteleimon the Healer where Jaroslav is called *a king (zar)* (Tajemnyci 2013, 11; Vysoc’kyj 1988, 120–123; Rybakov 1984, 59–61; Ziborov 1988, 80–93; Kornijenko 2014, 22–23). According to *St. Jaroslav’s Life*, the prince ordered to bury himself in one sarcophagus with his beloved wife, in order to keep together with her even after death (Sambor 2009, 615). During the German occupation (1943) the relics of Jaroslav the Wise were taken out and now they are located outside Ukraine (Tajemnyci 2013, 59–65). The sarcophagus with the remains of Ingegerd is still located in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv.

However, there is a late Novhorod tradition according to which the eldest son of Jaroslav the Wise, Volodymyr, and his mother, named Anna, were buried in the Novhorod Cathedral of St. Sophia.

The tradition to give the wife of Jaroslav the Wise the name Anna could have appeared in Novhorod only in the 15th century during the archiepiscopacy of Euthymius († 1458, canonized by the church in 1549).



It was first recorded in one of the letters of Ivan the Terrible dated 1556 (Makarij 1860, 82); it is also reflected in the Novhorod annals of the 17th century (Novgorodskije 1879, 271–272). Almost identical record without the name of the princess, one can also find in the Sofia First Chronicle, the Novhorod Chronicle after the Synod Scroll, and others (Novgorodskaja 1888, 419). However, the “Lives of the Saints” by St. Demetrius of Rostov († 1709) does not include any hagiographical stories of Volodymyr or Anna among the venerated saints of Novhorod. Till the 18th century, therefore, we can assume they could have been remembered as the locally venerated (Svt. Dimitrij 1764, 1146). What is more, the name Anna is mentioned as a baptismal name (Russkije 1882, 194), not a conventual one and until the 19th century it was not associated with Ingegerd.

The presented above interpretation of such a contradiction according to the Russian imperial historiography was suggested by M. Karamzin in his “*History of the Russian State*” (written in 1816–1829). The author declares that at the end of her life Ingegerd-Irena took the monastic vows in Novhorod and obtained a new name – Anna (Karamzin 1816, 19). Nowadays she is venerated as Saint Anna of Novhorod. For the first time in the hagiographical literature, such a version appeared after M. Karamzin’s publications (Russkije 1882, 191–94).

The modern Russian church figures also insist on a false version of the identity of Anna of Novhorod with Ingegerd-Irena. Numerous contemporary hagiographical stories about Anna of Novhorod erroneously contribute to such an interpretation (Dubljans'kyj 1962, 25; Sambor 2009, 4–57; Svjata Anna 2016, 482–484). Unfortunately, articles by many contemporary Ukrainian and foreign scholars still include this unsolved contradiction (Kotljarskyj 2005, 461). However, numerous facts prove the Karamzin's hypothesis to be false:

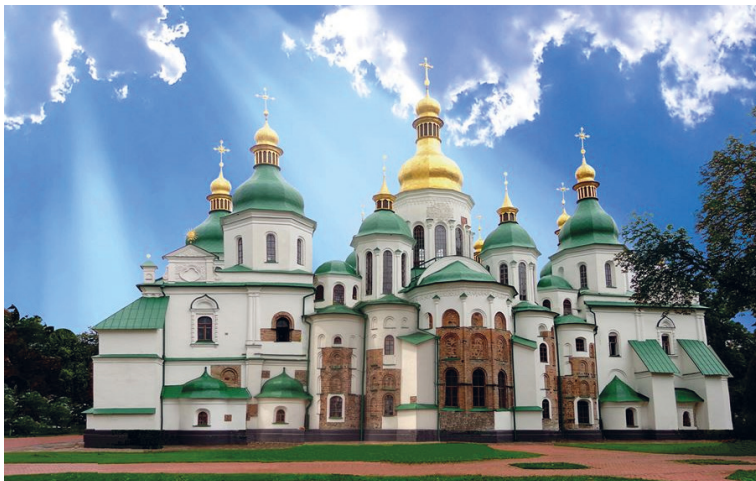
1. When Volodymyr Jaroslavyč, the prince of Novhorod, died (1052) and was buried in the cathedral of St. Sophia of Novhorod, “built by him” (Litopys 1989, 98), the chronicle does not include any information according to which his mother had already been buried there.
2. The burial of Anna of Novhorod as the wife of Jaroslav the Wise is described in later documents dating from the 15th and 16th centuries. What is more, for several centuries she was not considered Ingegerd. Setting a commemoration date – October 4, different from the date of Ingegerd's death that appears in the annals, testifies this.
3. The identification of Anna of Novhorod as Ingegerd-Irena was proposed only in the 19th century (probably invented by Karamzin) – almost 800 years after the events.
4. The sources clearly indicate that Ingegerd-Irena died in 1050/1051 – a few years earlier than Jaroslav († 1054). It is unacceptable to claim that when the husband, the Grand Prince of Kyiv, was alive she could have taken a monastic vow, and what is more, not in Kyiv but in Novhorod.
5. The monasteries and convents founded by Jaroslav and Ingegerd, including monasteries dedicated to their patron saints were exactly in Kyiv. The royal couple was supporting them during their lifetime and it is more reasonable to assume that a grand Princess could have taken the vows at the convent dedicated to her patron saint, and that was founded by her.
6. According to the *Life (Vita) of St. Jaroslav*, he ordered to bury himself in one sarcophagus with his beloved wife (Sambor 2009, 615).
7. An Austrian diplomat, E. Lassota who visited Kyiv in 1594, testified that “the son of Volodymyr, Prince Jaroslav, together with his

wife are buried in a beautiful tomb of white alabaster [marble] at the narthexes” of the Cathedral of St. Sophia of Kyiv (Dnevnik 1890, 137–190).

8. A double princely burial dated back to the 11th century was discovered in the sarcophagus of Kyiv St. Sophia Cathedral. Numerous scientific examinations (from 1939 to 2016) carried out by Ukrainian and foreign anthropologists, confirm that the skeletons belong to a man of local (Slavic) anthropological type who died at the age of about 70 and to a woman of North European (Scandinavian) type who died at the age of more than 50 years old, which is completely consistent with the age of Jaroslav and Ingegerd proved by the sources (Hinzburh 1940, 64; Antropolohičeskaja 2013, 40–51; Tocka 2002, 512–523).
9. Instead, a study of a burial of a woman named the wife of Jaroslav, Anna in the cathedral of St. Sophia of Novhorod shows that the skeleton belongs to a woman who died at the age of 30–35 years old (Hinzburh 1940, 64) and therefore could not belong to Ingegerd.

Professor V. Ginzburg, who examined both women’s burials in Kyiv and in Novhorod in 1939, proved that all anthropological data testified that the burial of Ingegerd-Irena was preserved in the Kyiv sarcophagus. At the same time, in the cathedral of St. Sophia of Novhorod, there are buried the relics of a younger woman, which may be proved by the condition of the teeth and cranial sutures (which were open from the outside and only began to obliterate from the inside). They are the relics of a woman who died before age 35. The scientist clearly testifies that the woman’s burial in Novhorod cannot belong to Ingegerd who died at the age of 50–55. V. Ginsburg agrees with the assumption that Jaroslav the Wise was married twice. In his expert reports Ginzburg provides the photos of both craniums with the captions: “*a: cranium of Anna - the first wife of Jaroslav; b: cranium of Ingegerd - Jaroslav’s second wife*” (picture on the left).

Some modern scholars, including O. Nazarenko and V. Janin, also point out that the last above mentioned burial in Novhorod can belong only to the first wife of Jaroslav and the mother of his eldest son Elijah. It is also probable that the burial belongs to one of the later represen-



Cathedral of St. Sophia (Kyiv, Ukraine). Exterior. Modern photo.



Sarcophagus of Jaroslav the Wise and Ingegerd-Irena in the interior of St. Sophia Cathedral (Kyiv, Ukraine). Modern photo.

tatives of the dynasty, possibly the wife of Volodymyr Jaroslavych (Janin 1988, 139). It is also stated that the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Novhorod was completed and consecrated only in 1051/1052 (Hors'kyj 2009, 290; Žytije 1916, 253) – after the death of Ingegerd-Irena.

Contemporary Polish anthropologists from the Karol Marcinkowski Medical Institute in Poznań (D. Lorkiewicz-Muszyńska, M. Richlik) conducted a detailed study of a female skeleton from the sarcophagus of St. Sophia of Kyiv Cathedral in 2016 and reaffirmed its belonging to a representative of the North European peoples, who died in the 11th century at the age of more than 50 years. Cranium analysis allowed scientists to reconstruct a feasible portrait of Ingegerd-Irena (Ukrajina 2016) (picture on the right).

Consequently, a female burial in Novhorod, known as the relics of Anna of Novhorod, cannot belong to Ingegerd-Irena, Princess of Sweden and Grand Princess of Kyiv. The wife of Jaroslav the Wise Ingegerd-Irena was buried and is still reposed in Kyiv, inside the sarcophagus of St. Sophia Cathedral, a monument of the beginning of the 11th century, nowadays a UNESCO World Heritage site (Kyiv: Saint-Sophia Cathedral and Related Monastic Buildings. UNESCO World Heritage Centre).

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IMAGE OF ANNA JAROSLAVNA – QUEEN OF FRANCE IN MUSICAL CULTURE OF UKRAINIAN DIASPORA

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The article is dedicated to the image of the queen of France Anna Jaroslavna in the context of the musical culture of the western Ukrainian diaspora. The survey of Ukrainian and foreign authors' historiography about Anna Jaroslavna as a historical figure is reviewed. The author depicts the process of writing and production of opera "Anna Jaroslavna" by the composer Anton Rudnytskyj (USA) in the USA, Canada and Ukraine. The importance of Anna Jaroslavna's figure in establishing Ukrainian-French cooperation was emphasized.

Key words: Anna Jaroslavna, France, queen, musical culture, opera, western Ukrainian diaspora, A. Rudnytskyj, woman, state, Kyivan Rus'.

ОБРАЗ АННИ ЯРОСЛАВНИ – КОРОЛЕВИ ФРАНЦІЇ У МУЗИЧНІЙ КУЛЬТУРІ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДІАСПОРИ

Ганна Карась

Стаття висвітлює образ королеви Франції Анни Ярославни у контексті музичної культури української діаспори. Здійснено огляд історіографії українських та зарубіжних авторів про Анну Ярославну як історичну постать. Автор змальовує процес написання та реалізації задуму опери "Анна Ярославна" композитором Антіном Рудницьким (США) у США, Канаді та Україні. Наголошено на значенні постаті Анни Ярославни у розбудові україно-французької співпраці.

Ключові слова: Анна Ярославна, Франція, королева, музична культура, опера, західна українська діаспора, А. Рудницький, жінка, держава, Київська Русь.

In today's globalized world to build up international politics, Ukraine should rely on the support of the world's leading powers, in particular, on France. One of the first knot that united France and Ukraine was an amazing woman, Anna Jaroslavna or as she is rightly called Anna Kyivs'ka (of Kyiv). According to the Executive Director of the French Institute in Ukraine, Mathieu Arden our two nations drawing upon this millennial tradition are now building a common future (Delorm 2016, 9).

From the perspective of the gender issue the review of the life of this remarkable individual and her image in the twentieth century literature and music can provide a basis for renewed consideration of women's social status in the society.

In the context of contemporary gender approaches, the role of women in the life of the nation, the creation of the state, the development of culture and the arts can hardly be overestimated. This issue started to be actively and objectively covered in Ukraine only after the declaration of its independence, whereas it was often mentioned by the Ukrainian Western diaspora researchers. The researchers within the scientific diaspora, a historian Martha Boháčevs'ka-Chomjak from the USA (Boháčevs'ka 1993; Boháčevs'ka-Chomjak 1995), a journalist from Canada Oleksandr Luhovyj (Luhovyj 1994), a historian Ivan Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj from the USA (Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj 1994) often highlighted the role of the womanhood in the public life of Ukraine, women's artistic achievements, and their links with emigration. The works of Ukrainian historians Illja Borščak (Borščak 1925), Jevhenij Lunjak (Lunjak, 2010) and a French scientist Philippe Delorme (Delorm 2016) are dedicated to Anna Jaroslavna.

Jevhenij Lunjak traces the evolution of French historical sources, as well as the development of Ukrainian, Russian and French historiography about Anna Jaroslavna (Anna Russkaja, Anna of Kyijv), the Queen of France (Lunjak, 2010) in his monograph study. The author reconsiders her biography and argues against some historical myths amassed in historiography regarding this figure.

Ivan Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj (1903–1985) a native of Nižnij Berezov (now Kosivs'kyj district of Ivano-Frankivs'k region) who emigrated from Ukraine after the Second World War to Canada and later to the USA was among the first researchers who started to study the ancient

and modern history of Ukraine in a new way. “Woman and State” was important as it represented one of the first attempts to objectively cover the role of the Ukrainian woman as a state and political figure. The main task set by the author was exemplified by such rulers of Rus'-Ukraine as Ihor's wife Olena-Ol'ha, Jaroslav the Wise's wife Ingegerd and the French Queen and Regent Anna to reveal the role of women in the nation formation and creating a new sovereign state. While analyzing biographical sources, Ivan Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj has done a great deal of the research not only to refute the falsifications against these eminent persons but also to show their great personalities in their entirety. In the introduction, the author writes: “We do not live in the world of fairy tales anymore. We struggle to be a mature nation with our own national history worthy of great cultured people”, “a nation with such bright traditions should get to know itself, be aware of its radiant historical figures and show them in the light of historical facts” (Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj 1994, 7, 8).

One of nine parts of the book is dedicated to the French Queen and Regent Anna Jaroslavna (Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj 1994, 151–184). He writes about her in connection with social and historical events in Kyivan Rus', France and in other parts of Europe. Ivan Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj emphasizes that when the French Embassy arrived in Kyiv, searching for a wife, Anne, a daughter of Grand Prince of Rus' Jaroslav a son of Volodymyr named the Wise by his descendants, was twenty years old (born around 1024). At that time the Kyiv Empire was in the prime of its strength and glory, and therefore it was well known throughout Europe (Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj 1994, 151).

Vasyl Turkevič emphasizes: “Although ruled by Jaroslav, Rus'-Ukraine was smaller than the Byzantine Empire, it was much bigger in its territory and population than France, England, and some German states. At that time, it was a politically influential country with a high level of culture, a strong economy, and powerful army” (Prohrama-buklet 1995).

A French historian and writer, Philippe Delorme, who shared the same opinion, writes in his monograph dedicated to Anna “at that time Kyiv was one of the largest cities in Europe with a population of about thirty thousand people that made it larger than Paris and London” (Delorm 2016, 40).

Being an “exquisite intellectual” Prince Jaroslav (978–1054) was nicknamed the “Wise” for his interest in religious and secular writers (Delorm 2016, 42). He took care of education, opening schools for boys and girls. His children including Anna also received a good education. “The future Queen of France ... had a wonderful opportunity to develop her skills. Moreover, women had independent status in the life of the Ruthenian aristocracy” (Delorm 2016, 59). Anna is known to have used Slavic letters in her correspondence. It is testified by the signature “ANA PЪHNA” (“Anna Regina” – “Anna Queen”) in Cyrillic in a French royal charter she put in the background of the crosses left by an illiterate French nobility (Lunjak 2010, 48):



The issue of daughters getting married at that time was always decided by the parents, and therefore Anna’s marriage was motivated by political needs. As the name of Prince Jaroslav the Wise was well known in Europe of those days, he was nicknamed the “the father-in-law of Europe”. Thanks to his ancestors and successfully arranged marriages for his children, Jaroslav became known as the ruler of one of the most powerful monarchic families in Europe. Jaroslav himself married Ingegerd Olofsdotter, the daughter of the Swedish King. His sisters married Polish Princes. His son Izjaslav married the sister of the Polish King Casimir, Gertrude. Another son Svjatoslav married a sister of a rather influential Catholic priest of Burchard – Countess Stadt. Vsevolod brought a bride from Byzantium, the daughter of the Emperor Constantine XII Monomach. The German princesses became the wives of his younger sons – V’jačeslav and Ihor. Jaroslav arranged marriages for his daughters, too. Anastasija married the Hungarian King, Elizabeth the Norwegian King. And his daughter Anna married Henry I of France.

Philippe Delorme believes that “the idea to arrange Henry’s marriage to Anna Kyivs’ka should be considered within the framework

of the ... policy of holding down the Holy Roman Empire” (Delorm 2016, 108). At that time Jaroslav the Wise maintained good relations with the Holy Roman and the marriage of his daughter with the French king allowed “Kyivan Rus to expand friendly relations undermining the exclusive influence of the Eastern Empire” (Delorm 2016, 109). Therefore, it is not surprising that “the princess of Kyiv was crowned” (Delorm 2016, 109).

On the basis of the performed research, Illja Borščak (1892–1959) gives the names of the ambassadors who having overcome three thousand kilometers of rather dangerous roads arrived in Kyiv in 1048. They were Bishop of the city of Liu Gauthier Saveyr and Royal Court minister de Chalignac (Borščak 1925, 99). According to Philippe Delorme Gauthier Saveyr was a Bishop of the city of Meaux and Goslin de Shawnee was a Picardy senior, a vassal of Henry I and the embassy arrived in Kyiv in 1049 (Delorm 2016, 109).

Thus, their wedding took place on May 19, 1051, Holy Trinity Day. Archbishop Guy I performed a marriage ceremony in the Cathedral of the city of Rheims where later Anna was crowned, which allowed her to sign herself as “Anna Reina – Queen Anna” (Delorm 2016, 130). Anna Jaroslavna was a godly woman. Grand Chronicle of France wrote about her: “She was a lady who lived a godly life and thought more about spiritual things to which she had only been blessed hoping to gain a place in the eternal life...” (Delorm 2016, 145).

However, the young queen couldn’t produce an heir for a long time, “She is said to have spent long hours in prayer, pledging to found a monastery if she would successfully give birth to a son” (Kuzyč-Berezovs’kyj 1994, 158–159). When the prayer was heard and son Philip I (1052), the future king, named after Philip of Macedon, was born, the queen built the promised monastery of St. Victoria in Senlis in 1062, which is still there today as a monument to the Queen.

Afterwards Anna gave birth to two more sons: Robert who died in adolescence and Hugh the Great, who became a leader of the First Crusade. Hugo Vermandois started the younger line of Capetians – Orleans. So, Anna of Kyiv, as Philip Delorme points out, is “an indispensable part of the long-lived Capetian dynasty. Moreover, she started not only the French royal dynasty. Today, Anna’s blood flows in the veins of almost

all monarchs of Europe: from Philip of Edinburgh to Philip I of Belgium through Philip IV of Spain” (Delorm 2016, 13).

Since 1057 a young energetic queen started to perform many of the state duties because of King Henry I illness. Her signature can be found in the official documents of that period. “After her coronation in Reims, she became a member of the Curia Regis, the royal council where Anna’s voice was heard more” (Delorm 2016, 156).

After the coronation of her seven-year-old son Philip in 1069, Anna took the burden of ruling the state. Ivan Kuzyč-Berezovs’kyj refers to the Pope Nicholas letter to the Queen in which he “praises Anna for her faith and piety, goodness and virtue in ruling the country” (Kuzyč-Berezovs’kyj 1994, 160). Philippe Delorme cites the full text of this message (Delorm 2016, 160–161).

Having become a young widow with sons in 1060, Anna governs the state as a regent, and subsequently, to retain the royal dignity and to maintain order in the state, delegates these responsibilities to the Regulatory Council.

Queen Anna brought to France not only a precious dowry but also high culture and she was highly respected and appreciated for that (Kuzyč-Berezovs’kyj 1994, 176–177). Her name is associated with the earliest records of Russian writing due to the Slavic Gospel which she brought from Rus’ and sworn allegiance to France. This book had been left in the cathedral, and with time it became known as the famous Reims Gospel, used by all French kings during their oath of allegiance ceremonies for the next 400 years. However, Philippe Delorme believes that the Slavic Gospel, “which is now kept at the Carnegie Library under the code Ms 255 was not among the things Anna brought from Rus’”, and that the manuscript the kings used to make an oath to was purchased by Cardinal Charles de Guise in Constantinople and donated to the Reims Cathedral Chapel (Delorm 2016, 133).

The conclusions made by Kuzyč-Berezovs’kyj highlighting the role of the Capetians, the descendants of Queen Anne in the history of France seem to be particularly important. With Anna and her son Philip, and especially her grandson Louis VI called the ‘Great’ the Capetian’s power “is strengthening, France is consolidating, and it is becoming the most powerful state of Europe for the next century. The Capetians gave rise to the use of

Roman Law in France and formed the Parliament on the pattern of the Roman Senate. They were deeply interlocked with the French Church. France was developing economically and culturally. Anne's great-grandson Philip II called «August» established a university in Paris that became the Western European centre of science" (Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj 1994, 181–182). Anna Jaroslavna's grandchildren and great-grandchildren raised the state's economy to a high level of development. "The Valesian dynasty inherited a strong, consolidated France from the Capetian dynasty, the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Ukrainian Anna Jaroslavna" (Kuzyč-Berezovs'kyj 1994, 182).

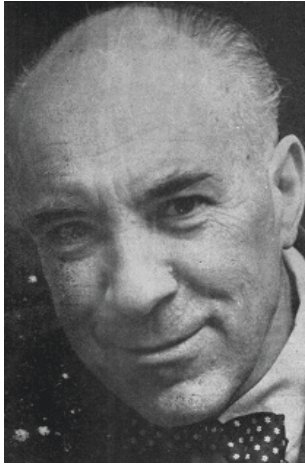
Anna Jaroslavna's image is widely covered in literature, fine arts, and cinema. The only example of Ukrainian musician's attention to the figure of this glorious woman is the opera "Anna Jaroslavna" by a notable diaspora composer Antin Rudnyc'kyj (1902–1975)¹.

Since other composers have not addressed this issue and the extensive analysis thereof has not yet been performed, it seems relevant to dwell on this image in opera.

Main objective of the study is to analyse the Anna Jaroslavna's image through the prism of the synthesis of arts of the Ukrainian diaspora – literature and music.

The sources to cover the image of Anna Jaroslavna in the Ukrainian Western diaspora in the context of musical culture were libretto of the opera (Poltava 1969), opera booklets (Anna Jaroslavna 1969; Prohrama-buklet 1995), the publications of an author of the opera (Rudnyc'kyj-191 1969; Rudnyc'kyj-86 1969), critical articles (Vytvyč'kyj 1970; Tereščenko 1995; McLean 1969; Wollman 1969), S. Kon-

1 Rudnyc'kyj Antin – composer, pianist, conductor musicologist, teacher. Graduated from the Lviv Conservatory in 1920, where he studied piano with W. Kurz and Ie. Lialevič. Continued his music studies at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin from which he graduated in 1926 (piano with E. Petri and A. Schnabel; composition with F. Schrecker). He also studied musicology with K. Sachs. Conducted at the State Opera in Charkiv (1927–30) and the State Opera in Kyiv (1930–32) where he also taught at the Conservatory. In 1932 moved to Lviv where he conducted at the City Opera and taught at the Szymanowski Conservatory. From 1937 Rudnyc'kyj lived in the USA., where he concertized, taught in several music schools, conducted the "Kobzar" Choir in Philadelphia and devoted his time to composing. A member of Ševčenko Scientific Society from 1959. Among Western Ukrainian composers, Rudnyc'kyj was one of the first to initiate the modernistic trend in Ukrainian music (Sonevyč'kyj 1997, 231).



Antin Rudnyc'kyj

(Anna Jaroslavna (1969): 15, 16)



Leonid Poltava

draťjeva's article on the libretto of the opera (Kondraťjeva 2013). The history of the staging of the opera "Anna Jaroslavna" was first covered in our monograph (Karas' 2012). The director of the opera Michel Volkovyc'kyj (Volkovyc'kyj 1996) and the chief conductor Ivan Hamkalo wrote about the peculiarities of its performance (Hamkalo 1995).

Methodology. To achieve this goal, the following scientific approaches were used: historiographic (for studying historical research on this issue), bibliographic (for compiling a list of sources and books, their scientific description), analytical (for the theoretical analysis of the musical form of composition), comparative (for the comparative analysis of poetic and musical texts and to observe interrelation of these two art forms).

The image of the famous Ukrainian Anna Jaroslavna provided the basis for the opera "Anna Jaroslavna" by a notable diaspora composer Antin Rudnyc'kyj, written for the libretto by a poet and playwright Leonid Poltava² in 1966 (piano) – 1967 (instrumentation). A diaspora music

2 Poltava Leonid (1921–1990) is a talented Ukrainian poet, playwright, exiled writer after the World War II, emigration publication editor, member of the Immigrant Writers and Ukrainian Cultural workers Association. He was a victim of Stalin's terror, as his father was killed by the NKVD and his mother was subjected to persecution. He studied at the Nižyn Teachers

expert Vasyľ Vytvyč'kyj believed that opera libretto, its plot, construction, and text were performed at the level of famous operas of the world repertoire. As it is unusual for an opera libretto to combine the harmony of a poetic form with the profound content, logic, and context justifications (Vytvyč'kyj 1970, 59).

Svitlana Kondrat'jeva describes in her article complex vicissitudes of writing the opera libretto, the relationships between the libretto and music were, by their authors, established on Leonid Poltava's epistolary stored in the Manuscript and Textual Taras Ševčenko Institute of Literature of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Kondrat'jeva 2013). The author also clarifies some plotlines and controversial issues of the libretto authorship, since in some cases the Leonid Poltava's name was not mentioned in the opera programs.

Having studied the collection of letters, Svitalana Kondrat'jeva, points out that “the problem of authorship emerged almost immediately after the work was written. Anton Rudnyc'kyj refused to pay the author's royalty for the libretto, moreover, he forced to make some script changes against the author's will. Leonid Poltava was deeply concerned about his inability to influence the opera's future, as well as the dishonest appropriation of author's royalty” (Kondrat'jeva 2013, 360). Since drafts of the libretto are not available, the analysis of the opera will be based on the printed version of the opera (Anna Jaroslavna: opera 1969).

For his libretto Leonid Poltava chose the marriage of Anna Jaroslavna with French King Henry I. The work of Leonid Poltava consists of 3 acts.

The first act is set in the court of King Henry I. The main antagonist of the play – Countess Louise Montmorency, the king's cousin and mistress appears on the stage and reminds the king about the promise to marry her. When the king refuses, the Countess snatches a dagger from his belt to commit suicide. However, at this moment the ser-

Training Institute (1940). During World War II he first performed forced labor in Germany, and then he was incarcerated in the concentration camp. The postwar years he spent in refugee camps in Germany. He lived in Paris, Madrid, and Munich. In 1958, he moved to the United States, where he worked for Ukrainian Service of the Voice of America and edited blog “Freedom”. Poltava Leonid is an author of poetry collections, plays, novels, short stories, works for children, and several librettos.

vant announces the arrival of the Cardinal. The Cardinal, who had just arrived from Rome, informed the King of the Pope's prohibition on consanguineous marriages up to the seventh degree of relatedness and his wish according to which Henry I should marry the daughter of Jaroslav the Wise, the Grand Duke of Kyivan Rus'. The king agrees and gives the news to the nobles who happily accept the Pope's decisions. The Countess promises to take revenge on the King.

The second act is set in the summer palace of Prince Jaroslav, in Vyshhorod near Kyiv. The prince informs his daughter Anna of the arrival of French ambassadors who have come to ask for her hand on behalf of King Henry I. Anna agrees but bojar Ihor who is in love with her is dead set against this marriage. Countess Louise Montmorensi that came with the French ambassadors to Vyshhorod persuades him to go to a wedding in France and kill King Henry.

In the third act, Ihor feels like giving up the idea, but the Countess finding out about his hesitation, threatens to tell the King that Ihor came to meet secretly with Anna, his former mistress. The bojar has no choice but to try to kill Henry at the wedding. However, he does not succeed as Anna covers the king with her body. Henry wants to kill Ihor and the Countess, but Anna dissuades him saying that there is no death penalty in her homeland and the King agrees to replace the punishment with the exile.

The composer wrote a deeply neo-romantic opera based on historical events of the beginning of the 11th century, when young princess Anna, the Grand Duke of Kyiv Jaroslav the Wise's beloved daughter married the French King Henry I.

This is the story about the love of two very distant people with different education, mentality, and inner worlds. Philippe Delorme denied the possibility of romantic relationships between them: "there was neither love nor passion or tender relationship between a young woman, who has just come out of age and a forty-year-old king who treated women with disdain and who married her due to diplomacy issues" (Delorm 2016, 145).

Dr. Vytvyč'kyj's favorite opera is neo-romantic. He remarks that he does not employ 20th century atonal techniques and explains, "I do not

feel that composers can sincerely express emotion by means of formulas arising, from atonal systems, such as serial technique” (Wollman 1969). In general, neoromanticism is defined as a return to the emotional expression of the artistic traditions associated with the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tamila Jacenko emphasizes “Neoromanticism made provision for the original modification of the type of romantic creativity with a distinctive interest to an individual spiritual life (Jacenko 2011, 39). In Ukrainian music, “neoromanticism” is marked by the theme of immersion into the sphere of a person’s emotional upheaval, memories of the past, secret dreams, stealthy desires determining the boundaries of solitary existence (Kul’turolohija 2009, 513).

As to the music in the opera, it is sustained in separate closed and almost symmetrically constructed solo (16 arias), ensemble, and choral parts (11 elements) without an overture or a pathos finale. Being a piece of art somewhere in between a full symphonic and a chamber orchestra, it, in some parts, performs an important role in executing an independent function. Nevertheless, the parts in the opera are few and they are mostly very short. Analyzing the melody of the opera, Vasyľ Vytvyč’kyj noted that Antin Rudnyč’kyj “has the ease of producing the melody” (Vytvyč’kyj 1970, 59), although he did not manage to avoid the similarity in male roles. The harmony of the work is purely functional. As to the use of Ukrainian folk melodies, the maidens singing and performing ring-dancing during the second act to the female choir make Ukrainian spring melodies interesting. A musicologist, Alla Tereščenko thinks this is “one of the most successful parts of the opera score” (Tereščenko 1995).

However, according to Vasyľ Vytvyč’kyj, the music of the opera “emphasizes neither national nor local features” (Vytvyč’kyj 1970, 60). The author himself noted that the opera “does not have any «French» or «Ukrainian» music, or any other musical themes. But overall, the music is of the same style and character I usually use” (Rudnyč’kyj-86 1969).

Listening to the opera performance in Montreal in 1969 a Canadian musical critic, Eric McLean noted that its musical language reminds him of Michail Glinka and Caesar Cui music and that the composer managed to master the other era music traditions (McLean 1969). At the same time, an American critic, William Wollman saw the reminis-

cences of Richard Strauss therein (Wollman 1969). O. Procidym writes that the “traces of the late-romantic German opera are noticeable” (Procidym 1991, 51) there. The composer continued to work on the opera even after the premiere, writing additional arias, slightly improving the already written ones.

The elements of a socio-political drama are clearly expressed in the opera. The significance of the opera is conditioned by the symbolic message of the past to the present. The author expresses it by the Grand Duke Jaroslav’s words in which he calls for a dialogue between states, peoples, and different cultures in a spirit of respect and understanding. In the final aria, promising the people of France to be a good and reasonable queen, Anna, at the same time recalls her native land, Ukraine, which she will remember for all her life “as a magical dream” (Rudnyc’kyj-86 1969).

The production director of the opera in Ukraine, Michel Volkovyc’kyj³ (a French of a Ukrainian descent on his father’s side) wrote: “Beautiful Anna brings the culture and the light of the Kyiv churches golden domes to gloomy medieval France. She comes from the East like the sun that warms and illuminates the kingdom and Henry’s I heart with its wisdom” (Prohrama-buklet 1995).

Noting two main weak points of the opera – excessive religious devoutness and unduly accented patriotism, Vasyľ Vytvyč’kyj appeals to artists in an attempt to clarify the realities of life “...less lofty words

3 Michel Volkovyc’kyj was born in France in 1953. His mother was French and his father was a Ukrainian whose family moved to Europe after the Bolševik revolution of 1917. After the graduation from the University of Toulouse, majoring in philology and art history, he received his music education at the Toulouse State Conservatory in singing, opera, drama, and art theory. Studying the art of dance, he simultaneously performed some productions for ballet, where he acted as a choreographer and ballet artist. During next three years he perfected his musical and singing skills at the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music in Rome (Italy) and worked as a teacher at the Private French Lyceum in Rome. Alongside with the participation in numerous performances, tours, concerts, solo concerts as a singer, he puts on his first performances and operas. Since 1988, he has become CEO of the world-renowned Center for Culture Meetings at Sylvanas Abbey. In 1991, 1992, he was the artistic director of the Papert Association (Le Parvi) in Rodez, where he staged Guillaume de Perr, St James’s Way, which was recognized as one of the most spectacular performances of folk theater in Europe. In 1993, Michelle’s dream of creative contacts with Ukrainian artists came true. He staged Giuseppe Verdi’s “Traviata” at The Mykola *Lysenko Charkiv Academic Opera and Ballet Theatre*. He is an expert in Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe programme.

and statements, less proud poses, more truth, sincerity, and simplicity” (Vytvyč’kyj 1970, 59). Analyzing the opera against the background of contemporary trends in the world of music at that time, the critic along with the conservatism of the musical concept noted some of its innovations: instead of a big overture – a short twelve-strokes one; instead of a spectacular but at the same time stereotyped and common ending with the entire team performance on the stage – the lead actress’s muffled singing. At the same time, Antin Rudnyc’ky’s work did not meet the current trends of world opera music.

Vasyl’ Vytvyč’kyj discovers that in the course of a former active musical modernist artist Antin Rudnyc’ky’s evolution as a composer under the influence of his surroundings, the “re-modernization” of his idioms took place. Unfortunately, his efforts to turn for something more traditional went too far. Thus, “being unduly conservative in their music tastes our community is drawing our musicians into its orbit,” as it not only dwells on the past but “what is worse – lives in the past” (Vytvyč’kyj 1970, 60). And the composer himself admitted that “I decided to write this opera in the form of the operas of the old, good times” (Rudnyc’kyj-86 1969).

The premiere of the opera “Anna Jaroslavna” by Antin Rudnyc’kyj represented by the Ukrainian Singing Society “Kobzar” took place on May 24, 1969, in New York (Carnegie Hall) and Philadelphia (Town Hall) (Rudnyc’kyj-86 1969). The opera was organized by the Ukrainian National Association which celebrated the 75th anniversary of its operations in the USA. The premiere was set to be held shortly before William Wollman provided the information about the composer, his opera, and performers in the New Jersey evening newspaper “Asbury Park evening press” (Wollman 1969).

The main opera performers were the soloists of the New York Opera. Among them, there were famous singers: a baritone, Leo Rejnarovyč, a mezzo-soprano, Alicia Andreadis, a bass-baritone, Andrij Dobrjans’kyj from the Metropolitan Opera, a baritone, George Boháčevs’kyj, a soprano, Marta Kokol’s’ka from the New York City Opera Company (the first actress to perform Anne), a tenor Ivan Hoš, a tenor Petro Zacharčuk, a soprano Orysja Hevko, a soprano Jevhenija Vasylenko, Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, Miss Roma Pryma-Boháčevs’ka’s

School of Dancing students. Interestingly, a future famous pop singer Kvitka Cisyk was among these dancers.

Having many years of experience as a conductor in the opera houses, the composer conducted the opera and directed it. The opera was performed in other cities of the United States (Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago) and Canada (Toronto, Montreal) in October 1969 (Rudnyc'kyj-191 1969). The Montreal production, which took place in the Place des Arts, one of the finest concert halls on the continent, was directed by Ray Stevens, a Canadian of a Ukrainian origin. Ukrainian and English critics wrote about this performance (McLean 1969; Wollman 1969). The premiere in Toronto was played by the Toronto symphony orchestra.

In more than a quarter of a century, in 1995, the opera was staged at the Taras Ševčenko National Opera in Kyiv. As the Ukrainian music experts wrote, “the performance was a particularly solemn occasion. As the premiere must be” (Tereščenko 1995).

The premiere was attended by honorary guests from the USA. Among them, there were the composer's sons, Roman and Dorian, who are famous musicians now, and his 93-year old widow, a famous opera singer Marija Sokil. She was very popular in Ukraine in 1930s for singing at the Kyiv, Charkiv, L'viv opera houses, and later in many European and US theaters. Their father's music gathered them in Kyiv. The preparation for the premiere of the opera took a lot of time as it was a completely new music piece for Ukraine. Maria Sokil, who was the initiator of the project, corresponded with the management of the National Opera of Ukraine.

Levko Kolodub, one of the best orchestra experts was asked to make the opera music edition and a new orchestration with the capabilities of a big orchestra. An opera director, Michel Volkovyc'kyj and a stage designer, Alexander Hérault were invited from France. Lavish theatrical costumes that impress spectators with their beauty and abundance were produced financed by Maria Sokil. They strike imagination even today when the opera video is watched (Anna Jaroslavna 1995).

Michel Volkovyc'kyj wrote that the main task of the producers to: “uncover the beauty and power of feelings, passions that had driven a person at all times. The glitter of the costumes, the originality of the stage scenery, the magnificence of many scenes, and what is most

important the great acting of singers and ballet dancers contribute to a deep understanding of the subject of the story which was so beautifully revealed by the composer through bringing the scent of ages music and historical romance” (Volkovyc’kyj 1996, 2). The text of the opera was edited by Vasyl’ Turkevyc’ who also wrote the programme and historical reference (Prohrama-buklet 1995).

The ensemble of the best leading singers, a choir, an orchestra, and a ballet group took part in the performance. The famous Ukrainian conductor, Honoured Artist Ivan Hamkalo, the pupil of the eminent Mykola Kolessa, was responsible for the musical content. Halyna Stepančenko notes: “Ivan Hamkalo’s work is characterized by his ability to provide insight into the depth of the author’s message, its historical significance as he is reputed to be a conductor with the extraordinary philosopher thinking. Every conductor’s gesture carries great emotional and intellectual strain” (Stepančenko 2019).

On the eve of the premiere, Ivan Hamkalo wrote that the opera “Anna Jaroslavna” captivated him “with its melodiousness and sense of vocal power ... An opera premiere can be considered a world event. It also attracted us by the fact that the presented historical material is acquiring relevance due to the intention of our country to enter the European community. The idea of the unity of different peoples sounds now with renewed power, and it echoes both on the banks of the Seine and on the shores of the Dnieper...” (Hamkalo 1995, 2).

A musicologist, Alla Tereščenko wrote, that the conductor “directed intelligently, creatively, without suppressing anyone’s initiative trying to find the way to follow the composer’s plot of a historical opera full of romantic tones. Kyiv’s performance was lush, colorful, crowded, glittering with gold and all the colors available on the palette” (Tereščenko 1995). The critic thought that the divertimenti were poorly thought-out. Although the court servant’s dances were well performed, they were too mannered and almost absorbed the melodic female choirs. Yet Alla Tereščenko noted the harmonious ensemble, the beautiful sound of the choir (choirmaster – Honoured Artist of Ukraine, Lev Venediktov), the orchestra, and the good acting of a young soloist Irina Dac’ who created a wonderful image of the Kyiv princess (Tereščenko 1995).

Illustrated above the opera's estimation by Alla Tereščenko and Halyna Stepančenko, who happened to be present at the premiere, are consonant with our impressions after watching the video, and therefore we can rely on them.

The inspiring atmosphere of the opera premiere is transmitted by the music video that can be found on the internet. ["Anna Jaroslavna – koroleva Franciji" Prem"jera (1); Opera "Anna Jaroslavna – Koroleva Franciji" Prem"jera (2); "Anna Jaroslavna – Koroleva Franciji" Prem"jera (3); Opera "Anna Jaroslavna – koroleva Franciji" Prem"jera (4)].

The main roles in the opera were performed by the Honored Artists of Ukraine Valerij Paščenko, Ivan Černeĵ, Taras Štonda (Jaroslav the Wise), Iryna Dač, Ol'ha Nahornaja, Iryna Semenenko (Anna Jaroslavna), Honored Artist of Ukraine Stepan Ficyč, Pavlo Pryjmak, Andrij Romanenko (Bojar), V"jačeslav Bazyr, Mychajlo Kyryčev, Mykola Koval', Petro Pryjmak (Henry I, King of France), Honored Artist of Ukraine Valentyna Kočur, Ljudmyla Jurčenko (Louise Montmorency, Countess, courtier of Henry I), Honored Artists of Ukraine Bohdan Hnyd', Leonid Tyščenko (Cardinal) and others. Subsequently, the opera was performed at the National Opera of Ukraine for three years.

As the Ukrainian National Opera General Director, Anatolij Mokenko noted, it was an international premiere that could rightly be considered the result of teamwork of Ukrainian, French, and American artists (Pirogov 1996). Antin Rudnyc'kyj's Philadelphia foundation, the composer's widow, a group of American businessmen who worked in Kyiv, a filmmaker and scene designer from France took part in the project implementation.

The artistic image of Anna Jaroslavna artistic image is created in the second and third acts of the opera. On hearing the news of King Henry I ambassadors' arrival to ask her hand in marriage from her father, Prince Jaroslav the Wise, Anna, as an obedient daughter, agrees with her father's decision. And not wanting to hurt anybody's feelings she asks, "Will it not offend the bojar Ihor Rusyč?" Being not engaged to him Anna lets the father persuade her to accept the king's proposal. Anna's emotional pathetic aria "I am like in dreams..." conveys her reflections on the life and the awareness of her duty towards the Motherland. Singing in a duet with the bojar Ihor, she firmly convinces him

that there was nothing but friendship between them and asks him to forget about her. In the next scene Anna is among her friends remembering her childhood and youth, and her aria “Beyond the Sula river” is full of sadness and anxiety about the future. In the Scene with the Countess de Montmorency Anna projects the hospitality and willingness to carry out the Countess’s request as to Bojar Oleh.

In the third act Anna’s character is expressed in new ways. In the aria “There is everything...” she sings about her pride for her homeland and expresses feelings of joy and happiness for her future role in the history. In the duet with King Henry I “We met” the feelings of her personal happiness are enhanced by the awareness of the friendship between two Nations. In the scene of the marriage ceremony during the assassination attempt on the king, Anna covers him with her body. It gives the evidence of her willingness to defend the king as her husband and thus dismiss rumors of her marrying against her will. Anna shows mercy to the Countess of Montmorency and the bojar Ihor who planned the king’s assassination and asks him to pardon them. The opera ends with Anna’s aria “People of France” in which she expresses her respect to France and her willingness to serve its people, as well as her love for her Rus’ Land which she will never forget.

The performance of this part by Ol’ha Nahorna (soprano) is marked by a deep penetration into the author’s idea, a sense of style, temperament, insightful emotiveness, as well as musicality and artistry. The singer possesses a strong wide range voice equal in all registers, beautiful timbre, technically well-placed. If to provide insight into the Anna’s artistic image as a synthesis of the Ukrainian diaspora various arts and as a phenomenon of interaction of word and music, one can see its patriotic background. The interpretations of this image in the interaction of words and music in the historical, national, aesthetic perspectives contrast somewhat with one another, sparked by the inaccuracy of historical evidence. The authors placed the major emphasis of the opera on the aesthetic and national components. The active interaction of these components creates a composition being an important means of revealing the ideological and emotional content of the analysed opera. The literary text sparks the composer’s creativity to create

musical intonations and rhythms consonant with the meaning of words and verbal constructions.

After reviewing the video recording of the opera, the following conclusions can be drawn: 1) the famous Ukrainian conductor, Honoured Artist Ivan Hamkalo in his work provided the revelation of the depth of the author's interpretation and its historical significance; 2) the leading soloists of the National Opera of Ukraine were involved in the performance of the main roles, and they managed to create highly artistic images and demonstrated the exquisite vocal skills of Ukrainian performing arts; 3) the director, Michel Volkovyc'kyj and the stage designer, Aleksandr Ero created an original production and set design, which, on the one hand, astound with the conciseness and moderateness of the background, and, on the other hand, with the luxury of costumes, magnificence, picturesqueness, the shine of gold.

The artistic image of Anna Jaroslavna is the image of a patriot of her native land, ready to fulfill the mission of the Queen of France, an obedient daughter, and a brave woman. From a gender perspective, the role of this woman in the society of that time is somewhat exaggerated, but in the opera her artistic image corresponds to the new trends of the twentieth century.

The currently important Ukrainian musical dramaturgy attempt to refer to the topic of the princely era by the means of a romantic opera of the 19th century did not allow the composer to create a masterpiece that could become a new word in the modern opera and be recognized in the same light as the best known operas like "Natal'ka Poltavka", "Zaporozec' beyond the Danube" and "Catherine". However, this opera turned out to be the most significant monument to the Grand Duke of Kyiv and the French Queen.

It is worth mentioning that in the ranking of the most famous women of the modern and ancient Ukraine, Anna Jaroslavna ranks the ninth. Researchers have counted as many as 43 thousand links about her life on the Internet (Stražnyj).

Jevhen Lunjak rightly emphasizes that in the 19th–20th centuries Anna Jaroslavna's figure was convenient for political manipulation in the public awareness. In the context of the Russian–French alliance, it gained notoriety in the Russian Empire and, consequently, in Ukraine,

where it was hardly mentioned. With the birth of the Ukrainian statehood, the image of Anna Jaroslavna began to be used to emphasize the important European role of Ukraine, the heir of Kyivan Rus' (Lunjak 2010, 76).

In a French town Senlis there is a marble monument to Anne with a temple model in her hands. It had a French epigraph "Anne de Russie, reine de France, 1060" (Anne Jaroslavna 1969). On September 29, 1996, at the request of the Ukrainian Community of France with the assistance of the then Ukrainian Ambassador, Jurij Kočubej the original inscription under the statue was changed to "Anne of Kiev, Queen of France" (fr. "Anne de Kiev Reine de France").

The different inscriptions are visible in the pictures provided by Jevhen Lunjak (Lunjak 2010, 15, 75):



The official opening ceremony of the new inscription took place in the presence of the then Ukrainian Ambassador, Jurij Kočubej and local authority. In June 2005, a monument to Queen Anna was installed in Sanlis. It was designed by Valentyn Znoba in collaboration with Mykola Znoba (picture on the right).



On October 2, 2018, the monument to the daughter of the Prince of Kyivan Rus' Jaroslav the Wise, Anna Jaroslavna the wife of French King Henry I was opened in France. Ukraine presented this monument to France. The then-President of Ukraine Viktor Juščenko took part in the opening of the monument (Anna Jaroslavna. In: Wikipediija).

In 2017, Anne of Kyiv Museum was opened on the premises of the Ukrainian Borys and Hlib Church in Sanlis.

So today, many centuries later, this mysterious figure of the ancient Ukrainian and French history sparks the interest of historians and artists, becoming the object of historical research and a character of works of art, a link between the two nations located in various corners of Europe.

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PRINCESS OL'HA FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE BAROQUE PERIOD

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The article focuses on the study of the “text on Princess Ol’ha” in baroque hagiographies. The author has come to the conclusion that the 17th century handwritten hagiography creates the ideal of a strong Christian princess, whose activities are aimed at building up the state and the Church. The hagiographic text is rich in Sarmatian myth codes; it takes on the characteristics of deliberative speech and aims at a wide public audience using the persuasion-by-analogy principle. The panegyric text composed by Dymytrij Tuptalo includes Russian cultural and social monarchist contexts. The hagiography is complete and perfect from the artistic point of view, and it meets the needs for mass reading and introduces the baroque style to the Orthodox reader.

Key words: hagiography, Princess Ol’ha, baroque, deliberative eloquence, panegyric.

КНЯГИНЯ ОЛЬГА: ВІД СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧЧЯ ДО БАРОКО

Олена Матушек

Стаття присвячена вивченню “тексту княгині Ольги” в барокових житіях. Автор дійшла висновку, що рукописне життя XVII століття пропонує ідеал сильної княгині-християнки, діяльність якої спрямована на розбудову держави і церкви. Житійний текст пронизаний кодами сарматського міфу. Він набуває ознак дорадчої промови і розрахований на широку суспільну аудиторію, з якою працюють за принципом переконання за допомогою аналогії. Панегіричний текст Димитрія Туптала містить російський культурний і суспільний монархічний контекст. Житіє було цілісним і досконалим з художнього боку, а відтак задовольняло

потреби масового читання і знайомило православного читача зі стилем бароко.

Ключові слова: життє, княгиня Ольга, бароко, дорадче красномовство, панегірик.

According to the observations of Volodymyr Peretc, the literary creation of the “text on Princess Ol’ha” began from the mid-12th century, when there in the Rus’ lands appeared an old church story about the Princess which had been lost during the Mongol invasion. Scholars believe that the story became a source both of chronicle stories about Ol’ha as well as hagiographic texts. At the beginning of the 17th century, the canonization of the Princess took place (Peretc 1962, 9) and warranted her hagiography. Mykola Serebrjans’kyj found a number of its handwritten texts, namely, the hagiographic text from the South Slavic Calendar, the Slavic-Rus’ Calendar hagiography of the 15th century, the Calendar hagiography of the first half of the 16th century, and the hagiography from the Book of Degrees of the mid-16th century.

The baroque sequence of the “text of Princess Ol’ha” consists of the 17th century handwritten hagiography of Ol’ha published by V. Peretc in 1926 and a printed version of “The Life of Princess Ol’ha” edited by Dymytrij Tuptalo and published in 1705 in volume 4 of the books “Lives of the Saints”. The representation of Princess Ol’ha’s image in literature has already been the object of research: M. Serebrjans’kyj compared the Russian copies of Ol’ha’s hagiography and made general conclusions as concerning their sources and artistic merit (Serebrjans’kyj 1915). The last text that he examined was “The Life of Ol’ha” from *the Book of Degrees*. V. Peretc concentrated his attention on the artistic representation of Princess Ol’ha’s image in the 17th century handwritten hagiography (Peretc 1964). Hanna Pavlenko followed in V. Peretc’s footsteps and published and commented on the Princess’s hagiography which she found among manuscripts and old printed books of the 17th and 18th centuries (Pavlenko 1984).

The objective of our work is to find out what the “text on Princess Ol’ha” looked like in baroque hagiographic texts. Our interest is to examine how baroque authors developed or unfolded the above topic, what text strategies they applied, and how much their texts interacted

with and depended on the social context. At the same time, we suggest considering hagiographic works as successive statements on a single topic and apply a discursive approach to their analysis. According to Ihor Ševčenko, the intellectuals from Petro Mohyla's circle "established historical continuity between the beginnings of Kyivan Rus' and Ukraine of the early 17th century" (Ševčenko 2014, 219). The Ukrainian Church of the 17th century took great care of the cult of Kyivan ascetics as well as Old Rus' saints in general. It was important for the representatives of the church elite to demonstrate that the Kyiv Mountains were consecrated by God's grace. During the 17th century, a number of handwritten versions and printed editions of *Pečers'k Patrology* appeared; collections of miracle stories about the miracles of local saints and miracle-working icons were compiled or published. In Petro Mohyla's day, The Old Rus' churches began to be restored. It was at that period that during the restoration of the Church of the Tithe (Desjatynna Church) the relics of Saint Ol'ha and Volodymyr were rediscovered.

Therefore, the image of the Princess 're-entered' the literary discourse in the genres related to church life and practices.

The object of our research is "The Life of Princess Ol'ha" from the Kyiv- Pečers'k Lavra manuscript dating from the 1670s. The following conclusions by V. Peretc as to the above text have become basic to our research:

1. "in the 17th century Ukrainian author wrote an interesting story which has a historical content" (Peretc 1962, 26);
2. it is the text, where the compiler presents Ol'ha's secular life rather than the missionary one (Peretc 1962, 26);
3. the changes in the representation of Princess Ol'ha are explained by necessarily "put on the old material in new forms in order to meet the literary and aesthetic requirements of the period" (Peretc 1962, 9).

We proceed from the assumption that agiography is constructed as an 'oratio' text rather than a 'narratio'. Therefore, we deal with a rhetorically ordered text featuring panegyric and deliberative strategies rather than a story.

The handwritten hagiography of Princess Ol'ha consists of two parts, the watershed of which is the main character's baptism. If the main strategies for this text are hagiographic ones, then we have two opposing parts. If we consider it to be the text with broader rhetorical objectives, then the text is single and complete.

The first part tells about Ol'ha the pagan. The plot here is arranged according to the rhetorical scheme of the biography, which includes information about the place of birth and the family Ol'ha comes from, her appearance, meeting with Ihor, marriage, the death of the Prince and her reign. All stages of the Princess's life are rich in virtues. That is to say, the chronological sequence of Ol'ha's life and its rhetorical arrangement is an organizing principle of the text. The second part begins with the rebirth of Ol'ha as a Christian, followed by the description of her marriage to the Emperor Constantine, the Princess's activities aimed at building up the state and spreading Christianity, her death, burial, and posthumous honor. Therefore, we deal with two almost consistently compositionally symmetrical, but semantically juxtaposed parts, based on the rhetorical principles of the biography of a secular person and the hagiography of a saint. The question is, why the hagiographer requires such pronounced rhetoric?

The author of the paper believes that the genre peculiarities of "The Life of Princess Ol'ha" are explained by the communicative situation and the social context of the period and the type of the reader for whom the hagiography was written.

The opposition 'pagan-Christian' determines the selection of the material, the means of its representation and its artistic setting. Medieval hagiographers successfully omit certain annoying elements of Ol'ha's biography from their texts. For example, "The Life of Ol'ha" from the handwritten *Russian Calendar* of the 16th century is focused on the Princess only with a succinct description of the main stages of her path to Christ (Serebrjans'kyj 1915) while the South Slavic *Calendar* hagiography begins the story with Princess Ol'ha's baptism doesn't mention her pagan past (Serebrjans'kyj 1915). According to V. Peretc, in the hagiography from *the Book of Degrees*, "the increase in secular episodes is presented together with the strengthening of the elements of

the church-panegyric style” (Peretc 1962, 12). This very text is the main source for the Ukrainian hagiographer.

It would be appropriate for us to draw attention on Ju. Lotman’s observations about canonical art texts. The researcher noted that when reading or listening, we decode only one structural layer of such texts. However, each text is strictly arranged and can become an information trigger for the recipient’s personality’s self-organization (Lotman 2002, 319). It is obvious that the hagiography was aimed at the environment for which the princely cult or the cult of Old Rus’ saints was relevant.

The erstwhile authors of the 17th century were skilled in the art of persuasion by analogy. They often make well-known images and plots lose self-sufficiency and gain relevance and importance for readers. It stands to reason that a hagiography primarily fulfills the tasks of the Church; however, it also implicitly presents an ideal of a Prince or an authority representative for early modern society. In our opinion, this is the very intention that binds this very diverse text material.

According to Ju. Lotman, the categories of ‘beginning’ and ‘end’ are rhetorically marked in the text (Lotman 2000, 188). At the very beginning of the text its sacred and political character is declared, which indicates the dual purpose of the message. On the one hand, the introduction calls for worshipping the Lord and praising him and the Holy Princess Ol’ha.

On the other hand, the text describes the situation in Rus’ before statehood was acquired, a situation similar to the early modernist one with its civil strife, chaos, envy, hatred, and depopulation. Only the varangian Prince Rjuryk managed to change the situation. It was important for the author of the text to recount the beginning of the statehood of the Rus’ land and mark its starting point of historical reference. The author also explains the meaning of the name Rus’ in three versions and introduces the reader to the family of Princess Ol’ha’s future husband.

This part is completely alien to a hagiographic text since it digresses from the main character. However, this journey into history and etymology enables the author to introduce a Varangian legend into the text, and hence suggests that the princess is descended from the Rjurykids (the Rjuryk dynasty) who represents the continuity of the dynastic

tradition and, accordingly, the authority on this territory. In the 17th century, this piece of information added authority to this branch and strong support to the Orthodox Church.

According to Natalija Jakovenko, in the 17th century, the Rjuryk dynasty in Volyn' and Central Ukraine was represented by princes Ver-ejs'kyj, Žyžems'kyj, Kropotka Jalovyc'kyj, Kurbs'kyj, Lyk, Lukoms'kyj, Masal's'kyj, Osovec'kyj, Prons'kyj, Puzyn, and Četvertens'kyj (Jakovenko, 2008, 99–100). The Ostroz'kyj princes also considered themselves to belong to the Rjurykids (Jakovenko 2008, 92). The importance of Ol'ha's descendants to the author of the text is evidenced by the prophetic words of the Patriarch: “The sons of Rus' shall bless thee to the last generation of thy descendants” (Žytije 1987, 398).

The first part of the hagiography represents a strong ruler whose image is formed according to ancient rhetorical norms. There are several rulers in the text. They consistently shape the reader's idea concerning the functions of authority, its actions and virtues. The supreme authority vested in all princes is monarchy which is realized either through kingship or tyranny (Aristotle 2007, 105). The moral image of the ruler is determined by the goals conditioned by the form and purpose of the rule. Both kingship and tyranny aim at protection which is the task that binds the collective image of the princely power.

All the princes are represented from the perspective of 'politics'. Rjuryk comes to rule, judge, and protect from enemies (Žytije 1987, 394). Ol'ha, who belonged to Rjuryks and was entrusted by Rjuryk to take care of his young son Ihor after his death, fights neighboring states, conquering many of them – including Zarhorod (Constantinople) and the Greeks – and making them pay tribute to Rus' (Žytije 1987, 395). Prince Ihor is an individual ruler who wages great wars and conquers lands (Žytije 1987, 396). Prince Svjatoslav is shown as a conqueror of lands, a tribute collector, and a staunch pagan “like a beast” (Žytije 1987, 400).

The ideal of princely behavior is presented through Ol'ha's speech to Ihor in a boat: “Thou art a Prince and the Prince has to be a bearer of light” (Žytije 1987, 395). This comparison is a significant addition of the hagiographer to Ol'ha's lengthy speech from *the Book of Degrees*, which uses sacred symbolism to shape the image of the Prince. Ol'ha insists

that a prince cannot simultaneously “do wrong” and “deliver justice” (Žytije 1987, 395). This speech of young Ol’ha is also aimed at the reader. The Princess of the first part of the hagiographic text is a generalized image of the ruler, whose task is to build up, provide for the land, found cities and villages, and build roads and bridges. Given the consistently militaristic activities of the male princes, it is Ol’ha’s image that reflects building up and regulating the state. During her final days Ol’ha, the Christian, reproaches Svjatoslav for “going and seeking others while leaving your own” (Žytije 1987, 401). This juxtaposition of one’s own and someone else’s refocuses power from conquering someone else’s to preserving one’s own. Moreover, this phrase reminds of the common sense important in politics.

Princess Ol’ha’s man-like behavior is symbolically indicated in the story about her first encounter with Prince Ihor who takes her for a young man at first, and only then does he realize that there is a girl in the boat. The ‘inverted image’ enables the author to demonstrate generalized princely qualities through the image of the Princess. For example, in Constantinople, she behaves quite confidently, reminding the Emperor Constantine of the tribute to her son Svjatoslav. In the text, it is the third reminder of the tribute of Constantinople to the Rus’ people. It testifies to the Rus’ state being one of the largest military powers of the time. In Ol’ha’s conversation with Constantine, her request to be baptized sounds more like a list of recommendations as to what he should do: “now try and have me baptized by his Holiness the Patriarch. And you will be my godfather. And if you do not do this, I will leave unbaptized” (Žytije 1987, 398). The speech of the self-confident Princess helps the narrator demonstrate her status and authority over Byzantium. Otherwise, her speech would have been an impropriety.

The author represents the Princess as an agent of justice with the right to judge (Žytije 1987, 398). The Princess’s justice is demonstrated by numerous examples corresponding to the pagan world view and models. According to Aristotle, the manifestation of justice is revenge on enemies, which should be praised in panegyrics as a fair deed (Aristotle 2007, 109).

The text contains a record of Prince Ihor’s murder by the Derevljans. Ol’ha’s revenge on the Derevljans is illustrated by four scenes show-

ing the gradation of the scale of the vengeance, as a result of which twenty Derevljans' ambassadors were buried alive, fifty noblemen were burned to death in a bathhouse, five thousand people were killed after a funeral feast for Ihor, the Derevljans' land was occupied, their capital was burned down, and its inhabitants were either enslaved or killed (Žytije 1987, 396–397). Such information is very discordant with the hagiographic discourse. The revenge itself does not acquire any negative characteristics or assessment in the text; in other words, it is presented as a fair deed to avenge the murder of Kyiv Prince. The scenes of revenge fulfill a twofold purpose in the text: on the one hand, they demonstrate Ol'ha's impetuosity in anger, and on the other hand, they are a warning to those who may turn against noblemen: "Wipe off from the face of the earth all the rebels and murderers of my husband. Let them not live opposing their noblemen since they laid a hand on their lord. So that other self-willed people in Rus' learning about their death shall take fright and shall not dare to kill their lords, but shall serve and obey them with fear" (Žytije 1987, 397). These Princess Ol'ha's warning words were not present in the source texts that the author of the hagiography uses; they are found only in the 17th century handwritten hagiography. This fact indicates special relevance of the added fragments for the social situation of their time, in which noblemen as a layer of the well-to-do gentry carried a lot of weight.

It is of interest that it is due to the universality of characteristics that the ideology of Sarmatianism was adapted to the Ukrainian realities and time can be spotted in the text. It manifests itself in certain details and motifs that are either absent in the precedent texts, or strongly emphasized:

1. Ukrainian baroque authors foster the cult of the past, prove the antiquity of families and their certain members. The authors of the 16th century *Calendar hagiography* and "The Life of the Princess" from *the Book of Degrees* as representatives of the Novhorod-Pskov land emphasize the local origins of the Princess. Therefore, there appears information about her Varangian ancestry and pagan parents from a simple family. In the text from *the Book of Degrees*, the hagiographer underlines that the Princess was from a family of nei-

ther princely nor noble origin: “from a family neither princely nor noble, but from simple folk” (Serebrjanskij 1915, 9). The author of *the Ukrainian Life of the 17th century* emphasizes that “Ol’ha was not born into a princely family; however, she did come from a noble family since Truvor was Rjuryk’s brother” (Žytije 1987,395). V. Peretc believes that this fact from Ol’ha’s biography is an infelicitous fiction of the Ukrainian author (Peretc 1962, 26). However, it is this very fact that emphasizes the nobleness of Ol’ha’s origin, thus focusing on the antiquity and authority of princely families with Old Rus’ roots. These facts provide certain moral advantages to the dynasty representatives of the time as well as allowed securing their class privileges (Demčuk 2011). Another insight into the Rjurykids emphasizes the authority of the dynasty: the author of *the Life* deduces the origin of the Varangians from the Prussians (Žytije 1987,394).

2. Ol’ha’s courage and ruthlessness towards her enemies fully correspond to the lifestyle of an Amazon, who, according to a legend, was the progenitress of the Sarmatians.
3. Princess Ol’ha personifies the idea of similarity of ‘Rus’ and ‘Orthodox’. More than once these two concepts are used in *the Life* in the same context. Ol’ha’s prophetic words about the future of her people add special persuasiveness to such combinations: “The Lord God shall not let the Rus’ people perish in impiety, but shall turn their hearts to the wisdom of Orthodoxy the way he did with me” (Žytije 1987, 400). According to the author of the text, the Orthodox faith for the Rus’ people is God’s will (Žytije 1987,398). V. Peretc finds the situation in the Lamentations of Ol’ha before Svjatoslav, when she insistently urges him to be baptized, typologically similar to the historical and cultural reality of Ukraine in the 16th–17th centuries, when religious disputes broke families up into two opposing parties (Peretc 1962, 28). This circumstance further convinces us of the social relevance of the hagiographic text.
4. Ol’ha is represented as a transmitter of traditional values; her behavior is intensely ritualistic which results from both the etiquette in the description and the correspondence of certain scenarios of her behavior to folk ideas and customs first and Christian norms and traditions later on. The folk character of certain events is repeat-

edly emphasized in the first part: Ol'ha is "taken to Ihor ... with due honor and given in marriage to him with due respect to people's customs" (Žytije 1987, 396). Ol'ha "wept heavily over the coffin of her husband Ihor and had a funeral feast according to her custom" (Žytije 1987, 397). Ol'ha's further behavior is based on ritual Church patterns: she asks the Patriarch for a blessing and prayer for traveling mercies (Žytije 1987, 399), gives generous gifts "for the needs of the Church" (Žytije 1987, 398). Moreover, the Patriarch's instruction in faith and Ol'ha's behavior after baptism do coincide, thus demonstrating the effectiveness of the Patriarch's speech and, therefore, the prescriptive character of Princess's behavior:

"Instructed her well in the faith and in prayer, in almsgiving and in fasting, and in the maintenance of chastity, and fostering other Christian virtues" (Žytije 1987, 398).

She lived following his Holiness the Patriarch's instructions and directions: fasting, praying day and night, generously almsgiving, maintaining chastity, and being wary of sin" (Žytije 1987, 399).

Ol'ha's last words to Svjatoslav confront pagan and Christian funeral rites; she consistently rejects the former and bequeaths to have herself buried according to the Christian rules. As compared to *The Tale of Bygone Years* / "The Rus' Primary Chronicle" (henceforth *The Tale of Bygone Years*), her death is shown as an ideal and exemplary end for any Church-bound person: she shrove and received the sacrament, and was anointed (Žytije 1987,402).

The second, hagiographic, part of the text begins with the Princess's journey to Constantinople to be baptized, which became the main event in this part of the hagiography. At this point, the chronicle plot becomes increasingly ritualistic in terms of paying due honor to the Rus' Princess. "The Emperor and the Patriarch met her with great honor" (Žytije 1987, 398), "the Emperor invited her together with his Holiness the Patriarch to his palace and treated her generously" (Žytije 1987, 399). This event abounds in indicators of place ("go to Constantinople") and time ("did in the year of 955") as well as its social indicators ("during the rule of

Constantine, the son of Leon, under the Patriarch Polyeuktos”). For the sake of credibility and reliability: “according to Kromer – John (Ioann) Tzimiskes, and according to the Patriarch Theofilaktos, and according to others – Photios” (Žytije 1987, 398). Her baptism is presented through a description of the key stages of the rite and the verbal ritual formulas that accompany it: “Christened her in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy spirit, and with the baptismal name Elena, and blessed her” (Žytije 1987, 398).

Here, the main character is shown as equal-to-the-apostles. They as Apostles of peoples (*imitatio apostoli* or *imitation Constantini*) imitate Christ’s disciples in their life and activities and are portrayed by an established topic which is used in accordance with etiquette and the principle of imitation (Rudi 2005).

In the handwritten *Life*, Ol’ha’s baptism is understood as the reasons and grounds for a larger-scale deed – the fulfillment of God’s will for the baptism of the Rus’ people, which is conveyed in the text by the prospective movement of opposite metaphors from “the blindness of impiety” to “the light of grace” (Žytije 1987, 398). For this purpose, as was the case with the Apostles, “the divine grace came over her” (Žytije 1987, 398).

The Apostles’ primary mission consisted in preaching and bearing witness to the Resurrection of Christ, teaching and praying. The Rus’ context is typologically similar to that in Saint Paul’s time; therefore, Ol’ha’s mission is to bring faith to pagans, which is repeatedly emphasized in the text by various light metaphors or the opposition of light and darkness: “She lived in the midst of a large number of pagans, blinded by idolatry and darkness, and afraid of nothing” (Žytije 1987, 400–401). Ol’ha’s missionary activity is represented by a sophisticated metaphor, which in many sermons means the arrival into the world of the Virgin Mary followed by Jesus Christ. In *the Life*, Ol’ha is characterized as “the day-spring preceding the sun” (Žytije 1987, 400). It is obvious, that through these traditional comparisons the hagiographer wants to represent Ol’ha as a person who preceded Volodymyr, whose contribution the Christianization of the Rus’ people was much bigger. Moreover, this baroque metaphor is complicated by the third part, which clarifies the parameters of the Princess’s activity: “presenting the

bright day of Orthodoxy to the Rus' people" (Žytije 1987, 400). Princess Ol'ha's task was "to proselytize all pagans by her Christian faith" (Žytije 1987, 400).

The Patriarchal blessing to Ol'ha is conveyed through the poetics of the Virgin's prayer: "Blessed art thou among the women of Rus', for thou hast loved the light, and quit the darkness" (Žytije 1987, 398). The connection with the Virgin Mary is not accidental here, since the topos *imitatio Mariae* is among the possible ones in creating images of equal-to-the-apostles saints. One of Ol'ha's main characteristics shared with the Virgin Mary is chastity. The chastity of Ol'ha is mentioned in the text more than once. This very trait shows the Princess as a Christian even before she was baptized. Moreover, she addresses her prayers to the Virgin Mary along with God and the Saints. The hagiographer also states that the Virgin Mary rendered Ol'ha her help in every cause (Žytije 1987, 402). Therefore, the relocation of Ol'ha's relics to the Church of the Tithes, that is, the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin was by no means accidental.

The motif of wisdom is among those that organizes the text vertically. Wisdom is represented as Ol'ha's God-given talent. It is related to both the Princess's convincing image and the illocutionary force of the hagiographic text. Almost every mention of Ol'ha's wisdom is accompanied by an illustration confirming this virtue. Throughout the text, the epithet 'wise' is revealed through the episodes where the Princess speaks. Owing to her wise speech, Ol'ha managed to avoid being raped by Ihor in the boat. Ol'ha's words were not only potentially convincing, but also effective: "the wise words made Ihor come to his mind and keep chastity from this time onward" and "he remembered the wise words and had them unforgotten in his heart" (Žytije 1987, 396).

The Drevljans believe her promises. Her wise response and behavior strategy let her avoid a marriage with the Byzantine Emperor. Both a rhetorical question reminding of a new status (the Emperor's as a godfather, and Ol'ha's as his goddaughter) and a proof in the form of a concept: "I am not willing to become queen to you, a mortal king, since I am already wedded to Christ, the Heavenly King, so that I can reign with him forever" (Žytije 1987, 399) are the arguments in Princess's favour in her speech to the Emperor. The Queen's keen mind is also

reflected in her life goal which is to achieve eternal joy in the Kingdom of Heaven and “be content ... with the great Rus’ land” in her earthly life (Žytije 1987, 399).

The forceful character of Princess Ol’ha’s words is emphasized in the Christianization of Rus’. Her speeches were highly effective in contributing to the spread of the faith among bojars and retainers, since “some of them, believing her, were baptized” (Žytije 1987, 400). In order to show the magnitude of the changes in the Princess after baptism, the hagiographer who compiled the *Life*, resorts to a graded expansion of the functions of the Princess’s speech, since her words acquire sacred power. *The Life* shows Ol’ha as a person who is no stranger to the divine grace: her vision over the river Plyhova (elsewhere, the river is called Ploskov) initiates her prophecy about building a church in honor of the Holy Trinity. Later on, the Princess makes the prophecy come true by financing the construction of the church. The foundation of the city of Pskov is also mentioned in *the Life*. The power of Ol’ha’s prayer is demonstrated during the siege of Kyiv by the Pečenihs, who failed to take the city (Žytije 1987, 401).

Ol’ha’s son whom she “continuously taught so that he might know Christ” (Žytije 1987, 400) would not listen to her words. Ol’ha’s efforts were in vain; however, she did manage to achieve some results, because “no one was forbidden to be baptized” among retainers (Žytije 1987, 400). And even Svjatoslav, a staunch pagan, heeded his mother’s words and remained in Kyiv until her death; then he executed her will for burial.

Ol’ha’s preaching and teaching the faith is represented as an activity that imitates the deeds of Queen Elena and the Apostles. The Princess is called “another Queen Elena”, “a true disciple of Christ and zealous towards the Holy Apostles” (Žytije 1987, 400). The comparison of Ol’ha with them consists in the apostolic function of converting pagans, since “going around the cities and villages in her land, and preaching to all her people, she taught them the faith of Christ” (Žytije 1987, 400).

It is important to focus our attention to the form of Ol’ha’s missionary speeches. One of them is addressed to the sons of Rus’. Its main intention is to convert the pagan Ruthenians to Christianity. The speech begins with a description of the target audience: “O sons of Rus’”. The author constructs the Princess’s speech on the basis of appeals to know

God. In order to make the wording of the creeds and her speech precise and persuasive he addresses the audience with an appeal: “Know the true God, the three part and yet singular Creator of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible” (Žytije 1987, 400). Through imperative sentences, he further unfolds the theme of the harmfulness of faith in pagan idols. Contrasting the two faiths, Princess Ol’ha presents the specifics of Christianity and paganism in the categories of ‘usefulness-harmfulness’. The opposition unfolds throughout the whole speech on the basis of the contrast between the true God and idols. Paganism is described as an anti-world represented by lifeless, deaf and dumb idols, who “can’t give the necessary help, but only cause eternal destruction to your souls” (Žytije 1987, 400). Princess Ol’ha emphasizes herself as an example for imitation in the knowledge of the true God.

Ol’ha spreads the faith in her family: “She taught her grandchildren the Holy faith, but did not dare to baptize them for her stubborn son Svjatoslav” (Žytije 1987, 401).

The path of Ol’ha the Christian unfolds from an obedient performer of the rite to a conscious activity. She acts as a Christian ruler reducing or cancelling tribute for Christians, destroying the pagan cult, putting crosses and building churches in place of pagan idols. The hagiographer enumerates the deeds of the Princess in accordance with the catechetical list of alms-deeds: “was generous in almsgiving and provided all those who embraced Christianity with everything necessary” (Žytije 1987, 401). Moreover, her good deeds are also extended to pagans, which allows the author of the text to use the *imitatio Christi* technique, developing it by the means of expanding: “being guided by her master, the Lord Jesus Christ, who sets the sun on evil and good and the rain on righteous and sinful” (Žytije 1987, 401).

The image of Ol’ha the ruler is enriched by activities for building up the Church. Back in Constantinople, she asks the Patriarch to give her a priest who could officiate and instruct her in faith. Of Byzantine origin are the sacred items presented by the Patriarch: “the cross, holy images, books, and other items required for officiation” (Žytije 1987, 399). These items are separate details that form the image of the whole, namely, the Church as a place of officiation. They ensure the officiation itself and render it a proper setting. Later on, the Patriarch’s gifts become relics

of the Rus' Church. The continuity of the tradition is demonstrated by prospective inserts in the plot: the narrator introduces the fact of placing the donated cross in the altar of St. Sophia Cathedral by Prince Jaroslav Volodymyrovyč.

The baptism of Rus' is an event that, according to the hagiography, resulted from Ol'ha's prophecy. Volodymyr is shown as the successor to the Princess's activity, which is conveyed through the baroque metaphor: "the good seed of holy instruction fell to fertile soil and cropped hundredfold" (Žytije 1987, 402). The text ends in a brief testimony to numerous miracles and healings from the relics of St. Ol'ha, which is typical of hagiographies.

The text contains certain elements that do not fit into the hagiographic poetics. 'Appearance' as a category of biography is typical of the laity biographies. In the first part, the beauty of Ol'ha, who is "very beautiful of appearance" (Žytije 1987, 395), tempts Ihor, who, contemplating her, "was seized by lascivious lust" (Žytije 1987, 395). The situation in Constantinople mirrors the above episode with "the Emperor being impressed by Ol'ha's beauty and desiring to take her for his wife" (Žytije 1987, 398). In both cases the reference is made to physical beauty; Ol'ha demonstrates her wisdom in answering males; however, she becomes Ihor's wife, but refuses Constantine, emphasizing that "she came for other purposes" (Žytije 1987, 398).

In general, the two parts of the text are structurally similar; however, they often oppose each other in meaning. They are filled with different pathos: the first part features a sense of revenge, while the second one demonstrates common sense.

The omissions made by the 17th century hagiographer as compared to the main source text, that is the *Book of Degrees*, are also of importance to us. The Ukrainian text of the 17th century is by far better-composed since it does not contain lengthy verbal passages like the Russian one. In particular, Ol'ha's speech to Ihor in the boat, her response to the Emperor (where she addresses him as Tzimiskes, not as Constantine), the Patriarch's prayer, the Patriarch's blessing, Ol'ha's speech to the sons of Rus' are all shorter and clearer in the Ukrainian hagiography. The hagiography from the *Book of Degrees* has a much lengthier sequence 'Ol'ha – Emperor', which contains more information about the military

activities of Ihor and Svjatoslav, inserts about St. Afanasij Afons'kyj, the history of Volodymyr's baptism, and the discovery of Princess Ol'ha's relics. Therefore, it is obvious that the author of the Ukrainian hagiography follows the path of rhetorizing and structuring the already known material, but not the path of increasing the artistry and fictionalization.

The Life of Princess Ol'ha by Dymytrij Tuptalo corresponds to the genre of laudatory hagiography more than the 17th century handwritten text. This type of text usually consists of a title, introduction, main part, and conclusions.

Ol'ha's hagiography is clearly structured. It begins with a title that contains a maximum of information about the Saint, namely the day and the month when the Saint died, epithets that characterize her status, her secular and baptismal names: "The Life and Assumption of Holy and Righteous Grand Princess of Rus' Ol'ha, Christened with the Name Elena, Grandmother of Great Prince Volodymyr". It was important for the hagiographer to point out the family link between Ol'ha and Volodymyr.

According to Chrysanth Loparev, the main part of the laudatory hagiography should contain information about parents, the native country, the name of the Saint, their commitment (to the world or the Church), social and property status, education, attitude to marriage, historical information, dying instructions, death and miracles (Loparev 1914, 21–31).

Volume 4 of *Lives of the Saints* was published at a time when "the arsenal of theories about the glorious past of Kyiv were turned to the benefit of the new rulers of Kyiv" (Ševčenko 2014, 220), that is, Russian monarchs. Dymytrij Tuptalo cannot be reproached for trend chasing, namely he had, like other authors, to praise Russian Zars. He worked for the needs of the Church, writing hagiographic texts for reading. At the same time, hagiography always aims at certain readers and listeners, providing them with a model to follow. It is important to note that Dymytrij Tuptalo finished his work on *Lives of the Saints* in Russia, where he moved in 1702. The change in the environment and a different cultural context also affected the texts he wrote. Obviously, the new surroundings of the hagiographer explain the clarification that the author puts in Ol'ha's mouth. When refusing the Greek Emperor, she says "the

Russian monarchy is enough for me” (Tuptalo 1705, 424), although this very phrase in the handwritten hagiography is written as “the great Rus’ land is enough for me” (Žytije 1987, 399). However, it was important for Dymytrij Tuptalo to show a spiritual connection with Kyiv; therefore, he demonstrates knowledge of Kyiv’s sacred places, even though his attention is withdrawn from the main character: “These things are no longer there since many a time Kyiv and its Holy churches were laid waste” (Tuptalo 1705,425).

The hagiography is built according to the ‘oratio’ strategy since it serves as an illustration of an ideal ruler. It is characterized by the integrity of the object; in other words, the hagiographer consistently removes everything that prevents him from keeping the image of Princess Ol’ha in focus. The text gains artistic integrity through the omission of the preface which traditionally included the hagiographer’s self-presentation through self-deprecation formulas. To this end, the author rearranges the hagiographic material, making the preface element part of the title complex. Therefore, the enumeration of the sources becomes the last line of the title: “Compiled and abridged from various ancient handwritten Chet’ji-Minei and chronicles” (Tuptalo 1705, 419).

The hagiographer does not invent any information about the Princess, but takes it from certain sources, including the Life from the Book of Degrees and numerous Ukrainian chronicles of the 17th century. Thus, he calls Ol’ha “the great-granddaughter of Hostomysl, a well-known person” (Tuptalo 1705,419). Hostomysl is mentioned as Ol’ha’s ancestor in the “Chronicle” by Feodosij Sofonovyč (Sofonovyč1992, 213). The family links of Princess Ol’ha with him are also pointed out by Leontij Bobolyns’kyj in the “Chronicles” (Rozpovid’ 1984, 232). According to Dymytrij Tuptalo, it was Hostomysl who initiated the invitation of the Varangians to reign in Novhorod (Tuptalo 1705, 419). The above-cited detail from Ol’ha’s biography adjusts the origin of the Russian monarchical dynasty both to Varangian and local origins, that is, foreign and Pskov-Novhorod accordingly. In reality, the Romanov dynasty had nothing in common with the Rjurykids (the Rjuryk Dynasty); however, as early as in the second half of the 17th century, Ukrainian intellectuals contributed very much to symbolically linking it with the rule of Prince Volodymyr.

The author keeps the presence of other princes in the text to a minimum, idealizing their images at the same time. Dymytrij Tuptalo does not say anything about Ihor's greed, which accounts for his death by the hand of the Drevljans. Instead, the hagiographer explains the Prince's visit to the Drevljans with the need to "get the usual tribute from them" (Tuptalo 1705, 420), while ascribing the increase in the tribute for the Drevljans to their treachery at the beginning of Ihor's reign. To this end, the author carefully examines the source material, and, having probably found in the annual article dated 914 a mention of the war of the Drevljans against Ihor that followed Oleh's death, and uses it as a soft argument to justify the Prince (Povist' 1990, 62). Prince Svjatoslav explains his reluctance to be converted to Christianity by the inability to fulfill his main duty to protect the Motherland: "If I accept Christianity and am baptized, then my bojars, vojevodas and all people will renounce me and there will be no one for me to fight the foe and defend our motherland with" (Tuptalo 1705, 425).

It stands to reason that this text is an adaptation of diverse material adjusted to the social and aesthetic needs of the time. It implements the baroque principle of diversity in unity: the Princess appears first as a pagan, and then as a Christian. She consistently realizes various behavior patterns – a wise maiden, a severe Princess, a militant ruler, a loving mother, and a Christian devotee.

The bias of baroque authors towards rhetorical flourish and the love of the Ukrainian community for speeches are revealed through the development of Ol'ha's dialogues with the Drevljans and the Emperor. She is usually eloquent, which can be explained by the expectation that the reader should also give preference to live persuasion. Moreover, Ol'ha's decision to be baptised looks perfect from the rhetorical point of view. This main event for the construction of Ol'ha's image is presented in the handwritten hagiography as God's will only. Here, in comparison with the previous text, this very situation is explained by providing another (internal) reason: Ol'ha goes to Byzantium through her desire for knowledge of God, which is conveyed by means of a symbolic analogy: "Like a good merchant whole-heartedly seeking precious pearls" (Tuptalo 1705, 423 reverse).

This text aims at the mass reader, and, therefore, the author – just the way he did in the previous hagiography – adds to the hagiographic scheme a biographical part and provides description of Ol'ha's appearance and beauty. It broadens the representation of the theme of marriage by adding two dimensions 'Ihor – Ol'ha' and 'Ol'ha – the Greek Emperor'. The former has a happy ending, while the latter enhances the motif of the Princess's wisdom. However, in: one coming from the Drevljans Prince, who following the early modern chronicles, is called Mladyt Nyzkynja, and the other one from an unnamed Greek zar.

The hagiographer shows mass scenes including the battle between the Rus' and the Drevljans' armies at the city of Korosten', burning down and taking the Drevljans' capital. Ol'ha constantly surpasses the reader's expectations: the young woman has the "mind of an old person" (Tuptalo 1705, 419), utters "the words of wisdom typical of a wise man" (Tuptalo 1705, 420), and rules the state "like a man who is strong and reasonable, but not like a woman" (Tuptalo 1705, 423). Ol'ha evokes various emotions: "terrible for enemies, but loved by her own people" (Tuptalo 1705, 423). The hagiographer rouses the reader's interest through the discrepancy between the heroine's declared and true goals: the Princess goes to the Drevljans "with many a man, seeking battle rather than marriage" (Tuptalo 1705, 422). It is of interest that hagiographers consistently show Ol'ha as a Christian even before her baptism: "and all her deeds even those performed under pagan impiety were acceptable before God and worthy of Christian grace" (Tuptalo 1705, 423).

The Life by Dymytrij Tuptalo gives concrete expression to Ol'ha's apostolic activity: she built the Church of St. Nicholas on Askol'd's Grave; her activity resulted in many ordinary people and some noblemen accepting Christianity. Her missionary activity expanded as far as Novhorod and her native village ("Vybuc'ka village" (Tuptalo 1705, 425)).

It is noteworthy that there are several hagiological models that Princess Ol'ha is likened to. They are mentioned in the text as consistent with the context. At the beginning of the second part of the hagiography, God becomes the main character. He chooses Ol'ha to perform a mission, which is "to enlighten with the Holy spirit of faith, bring to learning the truth and lead in the path of salvation" (Tuptalo 1705, 423). The hagiographer compares Ol'ha to other women who fulfilled God's

will – the Myrrh Bearers who preached the Resurrection of Christ, and Queen Elena who found the cross on which Jesus was crucified. The ‘translatio imeni’ technique is used in the hagiography: Ol’ha is named “a new Elena”. This comparison opens an account about her missionary activity to spread the Holy faith.

The technique of imitating the Virgin is implicit in the text. Researchers Myroslav Labun’ka and Martin Homza considered it as exemplified by *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *Calendar* hagiographies, connecting it with the topos of *mulier suadens* (persuading woman), that is, a woman who persuades others of what she herself is convinced of (Homza 1997; Labun’ka 1988–89). Dymytrij Tuptalo pays attention to the primacy of women in relation to men in matters of faith calling Ol’ha “a weak female vessel ... to disgrace hard-hearted men” (Tuptalo 1705, 423). In the same sense, the Princess is designated as “a vessel chosen for our Most Holy Lord” (Tuptalo 1705, 423).

In our opinion, the Virgin’s poetics is a universal source for depicting Holy women in general. In addition, the Virgin Mary and Ol’ha are connected by the status of both Queen/Princess and disciple of Christ. Moreover, the connection between Ol’ha and Volodymyr is typologically similar to the connection between the Virgin and Christ. Strengthening the parallel ‘Mary/Ol’ha’ occurs by expanding and clarifying the phrase from the prayer to the Virgin. In *The Tale of Bygone Years* it is formulated as follows: “Blessed art thou among the Princes of Rus’, for thou hast loved the light, and quit the darkness” (Povist’ 1990, 92). The author of the handwritten hagiography widens the circle in which Ol’ha is the chosen one to the Rus’ people, writing “Blessed art thou among the the Rus’ people, for thou hast quit the darkness and loved the light” (Žytije 1987, 398). Dymytrij Tuptalo clarifies the address and expands the Patriarch’s speech to Ol’ha by explicating the metaphor: “Blessed art thou among the women of Rus’, for thou hast quit the darkness and loved the light of truth: thou hast hated the idolatry and loved the one true God. Thou hast evaded eternal death, and thou hast betrothed thee to eternal life. From hence the sons of Rus’ shall bless thee” (Tuptalo 1705, 424). In the hagiographic text Ol’ha acquires the status of “the preacher of Christ” (Tuptalo 1705, 425).

The Life of Ol'ha looks like a complete literary text. The hagiographer compiles information from numerous sources; however, he works hard to make a perfect hagiographic narrative. Chronicle passages lose dates and sometimes names, prayers unfold, actions assume motivations and picturesqueness, the prophecies come true and unfold into interesting stories.

At the end of the text, Dymytrij Tuptalo presents evidence of Ol'ha's sanctity, mentioning the relocation of the Princess's relics to the Church of the Tithes. The text contains a time indicator: this happened twenty years after the burial of the Princess, as well as a mention of numerous healings. According to Dymytrij Tuptalo, the most convincing one is the miracle of opening the window of the shrine with the Holy relics. The hagiographer emphasizes that only a faithful Christian could see them and observe the glow. The hagiography ends with a traditional eulogy.

Thus, the authors of this certain period, the 17th century, select the necessary material and use it as a basis for their texts. It is obvious that their ideas are in tune with their time and discuss the issues and problems important for certain circles. Focusing on such virtues as wisdom, justice, chastity, and activities aimed at building up the state and the Church, the text of the 17th century handwritten hagiography offers the ruling elite of the 17th century the ideal of a strong Christian Princess. The hagiographic plot accordingly takes on the characteristics of a deliberative speech; it is addressed to a wide public audience which explains the use of the persuasion-by-analogy principle. The panegyric text by Dymytrij Tuptalo includes Russian cultural and social monarchist contexts. The hagiography is more complete and perfect from the artistic point of view than the medieval chronicles because it meets needs for mass reading and introducing the baroque style to the Orthodox reader.

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"A LIFE-CRUCIFIED SOUL": THE LITERARY DIMENSION OF THE PORTRAYAL OF PRINCESS OL'HA IN R. IVANČENKO'S NOVEL *POISON FOR THE PRINCESS*

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This paper explores the portrayal of Grand Princess Ol'ha in the novel "Poison for the Princess" by R. Ivančenko. The novel reflects the social and political upheavals of the 10th century, in the midst of which Princess Ol'ha of Kyiv found herself. The analysis of the historical and literary reception of the portrayal of the main heroine will make it possible to improve our understanding of the manners in which women asserted their power in the Middle Ages as well as the mythological dimensions of the historical context. It will also expand the knowledge about the overall impact of the medieval period on the further development of the European cultural space.

Key words: Kyivan Rus', princess, novel, portrayal, power.

"РОЗІП'ЯТА ЖИТТЯМ ДУША": ЛІТЕРАТУРНИЙ ВИМІР ОБРАЗУ КНЯГИНИ ОЛЬГИ В РОМАНІ Р. ІВАНЧЕНКО "ОТРУТА ДЛЯ КНЯГИНИ"

Валентина Ніколаєнко

Об'єктом дослідження статті є роман Р. Іванченко "Отрута для княгині", присвячений суспільно-політичним перипетіям X ст., у вирі яких опинилася княгиня Ольга. Аналіз історико-художньої реценції образу головної героїні твору розширить уявлення не лише про шляхи самоствердження жінки в середньовічному світі, а також його міфологічні виміри та роль і вплив Середньовіччя на подальший розвиток культурного європейського простору.

Ключові слова: Київська Русь, княгиня, роман, образ, влада.

The Grand Princess Ol'ha's personality never ceases to draw the attention of humanities scholars. Besides the mystery of her origin, the true secret was how a medieval woman could maintain the political power in her own country and become a highly regarded international figure as well.

The first hagiographical works about the Grand Princess of Kyiv were written as early as the first quarter of the 11th century, soon after her death in 969. That could be explained by the fact that "people had a strong faith in the Grand Princess as their saint patron just after her death" (Svjati 2012). Being her grateful descendant, Volodymyr the Great also contributed to the glorification and commemoration of his grandmother by transferring her relics into the Church of the Tithes (Desjatylna Church).

Despite the fact that Ol'ha was not canonized until 1547, she was mentioned by the Kyivan Metropolitan Ilarion in his *Sermon on Law and Grace* as a person involved in the christening of Rus' (Ilarion 2009, 127).

The baptism of Grand Princess Ol'ha was an inspiration for Volodymyr the Great. This was highlighted by Jakiv Mnych who wrote, "[Volodymyr] found and accepted his salvation from his grandmother Ol'ha, who had been christened and lived the good life for the glory of God ... hearing about it, Grand Prince Volodymyr's heart sparkled with Holy Spirit and a strong desire to be baptized" (Mnych 2009, 136–137). According to Dymytrij Tuptalo, Ol'ha was "like the morning dawn that had been darkened by the night of pagan devildom but started shining brightly before the light day of the Holy Faith..." (Tuptalo 2007, 16). These characteristics of the Grand Princess show that she followed both her heart and mind when she took the decision to convert to Christianity, which, in accordance with clergy, is a manifestation of her holiness (Hors'kyj).

However, the hagiology concerned with Grand Princess's biography (a short *Life of Saint Princess Ol'ha* (12th–13th century), Serbian *Prologue* (13th–14th century), *Prologue Life of Saint Ol'ha* (14th century), *Life of Saint Ol'ha* (from *The Book of Degrees of Royal Genealogy* (16th century), *The Great Collection of the Lives of the Saints* by Dymytrij Tuptalo (from 18th century), etc.) leaves out her contribution to the foundation of the Kyivan State. Instead, the focus is on Ol'ha being the first Christian in the Rjuryk dynasty and her role in the Christianization of

the country, “Hagiographers were concerned with those qualities and actions of the Grand Princess that defined her place in the pantheon of the Old Russian saints (intransigence and unwillingness to reconcile with enemies, godliness, wisdom, mercy, loyalty to her husband and her state, devotion to the faith in Christ), which provided grounds to consider her to be ‘equal to the Apostles’ and ‘saint’” (Nikolajenko 2016, 119).

Historians, unlike hagiographers who are not interested in Grand Princess’s origin as well as her place of birth, are greatly concerned with these issues. Their debates have given rise to numerous scientific theories. Thus, there have been many different viewpoints on Ol’ha’s heritage so far, such as the Scandinavian, Halycian, Tmutarakanian, Kyivan, Pskovian and Bulgarian hypotheses.

Without claiming to be exhaustive, we will outline some of the most popular speculations about Grand Princess’s ancestry. According to the first, so called Oleh’s or the Scandinavian hypothesis, Ol’ha was an adopted daughter of Oleh the Varangian. Supporters of this theory base their argument on the old Scandinavian tradition to give children (especially daughters) their fathers’ names. They also rely on such sources as the *Typographical Chronicle* (PSRL–24, 9) and the *Pyskarev’s’kyj Chronieler* (PSRL –34, 36).

I. Myc’ko, referring to A. Petruševyč’s studies, argues that the Halycian theory of Grand Princess Ol’ha’s heritage has not received appropriate scholarly attention. However, there is enough evidence from archeological findings, old chronicles, folk traditions and the Plisnens’k legend of Saint Ol’ha to suggest that the Grand Princess was born in Plisnens’k (now the village of Pidhirci, Brody Rajon (district), L’viv Oblast’ (region)) and was the granddaughter of the East Slavic Prince Budymyr and the great-granddaughter of the Danish King Helge (also Helgi, Halga) (Myc’ko 2006).

According to the Tmutarakanian hypothesis, Ol’ha was the daughter of “the tarokan, the Cuman prince” (Chalanskij 1903, 56). As for the Kyivan scenario, it suggests that the Grand Princess was the descendant of the Kyivan princely dynasty who was taken to Pskov soon after the Askold’s assassination. It is worth mentioning though that there is another version of this theory that derives its name from the village of

Plysky in Pohrebyšče Rajon, Vinnycja Oblast', which has a long history and used to border with the Poljanian, Drevljanian and Ulyčian lands.

Nevertheless, the Pskovian and Bolgarian theories are the two most widely accepted explanations of Grand Princess Ol'ha's descent. The Pskovian hypothesis stems from the *Primary Chronicle* which says that Oleh brought the wife for Ihor from Pskov (PSRL–I, 28; II, 36; III, 6; IV, 137). The same information can be found in the Laurentian, Hypatian and Synodal Codices as well as other copies of the *Chronicle*, except for the Volodymyr chronicles which states that Oleh arranged for Ihor to marry a Bolgarian woman (Tychomyrov 1951, 209).

As a historian, R. Ivančenko agrees with Archimandrite Leonid (Leonid 1888) regarding the Grand Princess's Bolgarian origin (Ivančenko 1995, 2005, 2007). She explains that "Oleh's aggressive policy" towards such powerful states as the Byzantine Empire dictated the need to have strong allies and, in this respect, Danubian Bolgaria was the best geopolitical and military ally. The marriage of the future successor to the throne to the Bolgarian princess contributed to deepening political ties between the two states, since the routes of the Rus' People to Constantinople went through the Bolgarian territory, with Byzantium and Bolgaria being in the long-running conflict over the Balkan Peninsula (Ivančenko 2005, 105). Moreover, there were not only political but also legal reasons behind the aspirations of Svjatoslav Ihorevyč, Ihor and Ol'ha's son, to the Bolgarian throne as he was of Bolgarian descent (Ivančenko 1995, 38–39; 2007, 128–129).

R. Ivančenko's scientific views found literary expression in the historical narrative of her novel *Poison for the Princess* (1995), considering that in the preface, the author herself admitted "I have always ... wanted to write about her" (Ivančenko 1995, 5).

There was a good reason why the Old Rus' chroniclers gave considerable attention to Grand Princess Ol'ha compared to other prominent women of the 10th–13th centuries. Ol'ha was a mysterious person indeed. She was the only woman in the medieval history (and beyond) who 'independently' ruled the country for 20 years. During Ol'ha's ruling, Kyivan Rus' was strengthened by social and political reforms. She also exerted all powers to lay the foundation for the subsequent religious transformation by converting to Christianity, building churches

and promoting the policy of religious tolerance. What is more, she was an authoritative figure in the international political arena. Finally, Grand Princess Ol'ha, after all, is a typical representative of the age which in itself is promising in terms of artistic, including literary, representation. It was intriguing and enigmatic, heroic and treacherous, cruel and unpredictable time when men of power were waging wars, while their wives were limited to minor social roles. It was the epoch of dramatic shift in political, economic, cultural and religious dimensions of the world. On the other hand, for a writer, this is the period characterized by the lack of credible sources of information which they have to overcome (with ease and grace), especially when it comes to a historical figure.

Ol'ha's literary depiction, that goes back to hagiographic literature, has been elaborated in the works of different kinds and genres. For instance, I. Franko, in his unfinished poem *Ol'ha* (Franko 1976), delves into Ol'ha's revenge on the Drevljans for the murder of her husband; O. Oles', in the short poems *Grand Princess Ol'ha*, *The Drevljan Ambassadors to Ol'ha*, *Ol'ha's Campaign against the Drevljans* (Oles' 1900) from his cycle *Princely Ukraine*, features a story of an ordinary girl who married a prince and also depicts the well-known acts of her vengeance against the Drevljans; M. Humil'jov, in his ballad *Ol'ha* (Humil'jov 1989), first published in the collection of poems *The Pillar of Fire*, glorifies the pagan times marked by "a skull cup and some home brew" (Humil'jov 1989, 433). Fictional versions of the story of Grand Princess's life, love and revenge have been implemented by I. Pavljuk in his dramatic poem *The Queen Regnant* (Pavljuk 2005), in short stories by K. Malyc'ka *The Girl Who Became a Princess* (Malyc'ka) and L. Zacher-Mazoch *Bloody Wedding in Kyiv* (Zacher-Mazoch 2000), in the novel by B. Lepkyj *Vadym* (Lepkyj 1969), in novels by O. Antonov *Grand Princess Ol'ha* (Antonov 1999) and M. Apostolov *Grand Princess Olena-Ol'ha* (Apostolov 2009) and others.

Other forms of art like cinema, ballet, pictorial art, icon-painting and sculpture all include the works which represent different versions of Holy Equal-to-the-Apostles Ol'ha's life (e.g., Ju. Illjenko's film *The Legend of Princess Ol'ha* Je. Stankovyč's ballet *Ol'ha*, S. Krylov's painting *Baptism of St. Princess Ol'ha*, a sketch to M. Rerich's mosaic *Saint Ol'ha*,

the monument to the Grand Princess by the sculptor I. Kavaleridze, the graphic novel *Princess Ol'ha. The Painted Ribbon* based on the poem *Princess Ol'ha* by M. Morozenko, which is a collective work of twenty artists of the creative group *Mystkyni* (J. Bilčuk, N. Zajceva, N. Rasp, A. Taranenko, T. Tokareva-Asmolova and others, etc.).

The purpose of this research is to analyse the historical and literary reception of the portrayal of Grand Princess Ol'ha in R. Ivančenko's novel *Poison for the Princess*, which will make it possible to improve our understanding of the ways in which women asserted their power in the Middle Ages as well as the mythological dimensions of the historical context. This will also expand our knowledge about the overall impact of the medieval period on the further development of the European cultural space. This study will contribute to the current research on prominent women who have set the priorities in the development of their nations, and what is more, have laid a foundation to the development of democracy in the European community.

R. Ivančenko is a writer, a poet, a columnist, a member of the National Writer's Union of Ukraine, a PhD in History, a professor, the Laureate of the Ševčenko National Prize (1996), the author of more than a hundred of scientific publications on the Ukrainian history, the creator of the series of radio programmes *On History of the Ukrainian Sovereignty* and *History without Myths*, the screenwriter for the documentaries *Drahomanov*, *Titan*, *From the History of the Black Sea Fleet*, etc. (Jas' 2005, 406–407). She has always been interested in controversial and 'inconvenient' historical periods, breaking ideological stereotypes (as reflected in the publications about M. Drahomanov, novel *The Premo-nition of Spring* (1970), monograph *Mychajlo Drahomanov in the Socio-political Movement of Russia and Ukraine (the second part of the 19th century)*, novel *The Oath* (1971)) and being criticized by the Party and Soviet leadership. She finally received proper recognition after Ukraine had gained its independence.

R. Ivančenko's literary and scientific reception of the history of Kyivan Rus' of the 9th–13th centuries is in harmony with her belief that knowledge about psychology, social genetics and customs of the ancient people is essential for understanding modern sociopolitical, mental and psychological processes. (Akumuljator 1990, 7). This is even

more important due to the fact that the historical studies of that period have been long-established and traditional. More than one generation has grown up believing that Kyivan Rus' was the initial period of the history of Russia, while the history of Ukraine was just a bleak shadow of the remarkable historical development of its 'elder sister'. The epoch of Kyivan Rus' was predominantly in the focus of Russian researchers from Moscow and Leningrad schools of thought whose studies were concerned with the period after 14th–15th centuries. "Over 70 years of the Soviet power there hadn't been a single historically accurate monograph on any aspects of the history of the Old Rus' state and what happened as a result was that our history was taken away and mutilated" (Akumuljator 1990, 7), the writer thinks.

Therefore, R. Ivančenko has broken stereotypes yet again and concentrated on the research into the history of Kyivan Rus'. This resulted in the artistic reflection about that epoch, which found its realization in her quadrilogy of historical novels (*Treason, or How to Become a Ruler, Poison for the Princess, Perun's Anger* and *Gold Stirrups* (1982–1995)).

Writing the novel devoted to Grand Princess Ol'ha was a challenging and time-consuming task since R. Ivančenko, as a novelist, uses history to reveal the depths of human nature and inner parts of her own soul. It is the substantial sources of personality that make it possible to save real human values in people. Basic among these are self-awareness, self-esteem, self-actualization, genetic and national memory. Along with emotions and social needs, these sensory substances are the driving force behind the life of the heroine of the novel *Poison for the Princess* and its author's life as well.

The writer had been working on the novel for almost twenty years, more than ten of which were spent gathering and processing the information about the Grand Princess. R. Ivančenko explains why this process took so much time by admitting that princess Ol'ha's personality "was so incomprehensible, so tightly she has been wrapped in scrolls of legends, myths and biographies of the saint's life by competent and incompetent monastic chroniclers and different most recent annalists for more than a thousand years that I gave up every time" (Ivančenko 1995, 5). The writing itself was quite a lengthy process (of six years) that required from the author to find the answers to the questions that puz-

zled her. This was a stimulus to work harder to comprehend the story of life and reigning of the first queen regnant in the medieval Europe, “Grand Princess Ol’ha tormented my soul with her wisdom, her mercy and cruelty, her rationality and mysteriousness. Why did these all co-exist in her? What makes this woman so great?” (Ivančenko 1995, 6). The novel *Poison for the Princess* presents a literary model of the historical type of a female member of the royal family that by the end of the 12th century would have matrimonial ties with almost “all ruling dynasties of Europe” (Plachonin 2012, 407).

The reader first meets Olenka, who will soon become Ol’ha, when she, accompanied by ambassadors, makes her journey to the land of Drevljans, where she is going to marry Prince Malomyr. However, the future regent of Kyivan Rus’ appears in the novel not before the author has outlined the socio-political situation in the country, which, actually serves as a direct exposition in Ol’ha’s storyline.

Kyiv is under the rule of Oleh, who has never been fully accepted, notwithstanding that he has a power de-facto and has usurped it de-jure by killing Prince Askol’d. Moreover, he has not put Ihor, the son of Rjuryk on the throne as promised. As a result, he has to oppose Jefanda (Ihor’s mother), who is dreaming of a kingdom for her son; he is also forced to deal with Sveneł’d, who has been called upon to help by the Urman queen, not to mention treacherous and cunning bojars and magi as well as wild steppe-dwellers. He is obliged to pay to them and flatter. In addition, he has to fight with Drevljans and Ulyčes.

Deceit and a double-edged sword are Oleh’s favourite weapons. In the middle of this mayhem, sotnyk Derevjaka intercepts the bridal cortege of the Drevljan prince’s fiancée, who, as Oleh hopes, will “unite Kyiv and Preslava” (Ivančenko 1995, 91) by marrying Ihor, an heir to the throne of Kyiv. This marriage will also guarantee the support for the troops of Kyivan Rus’ in their campaign against the Byzantines who have breached Askol’d’s charter and stopped paying tribute to Kyivan Rus’. Finally, as it turned out, she would become Oleh’s weapon against Sveneł’d’s unprecedented greed and ambition to reign in Kyiv.

“A wise... proud blue-eyed girl” (Ivančenko 1995, 91), the granddaughter of Zar Symeon the Great, the daughter of his elder son Mychail, who had thought that her role was in supporting Bolgaria by making an

alliance with the Drevljan prince Malomyr, very soon realized that “she was just hastily sent from Preslava before Mychail Symeonovyč could marry her off to someone of the Constantinople (Zarhorod) princes thus gaining support for himself” (Ivančenko 1995, 92), that the great deal of attention that she receives from the Kyivan noblemen does not come from their interest in her as a person, but as a royal descent who could aggrandize any of her suitors.

The heterodiegetic narrator relieves young Ol’ha from the anguish when she accepts her fate and feels triumphant about the main victory, the victory over herself, “He (Ihor – V. N.) was happy as he had finally won her heart! Olenka was happy too since she had overcome herself. Nonetheless, if they wanted to rule, they would have to win the Kyivans’ hearts” (Ivančenko 1995, 143).

Honesty, sincerity, erudition, natural intelligence, women’s intuition and patience are the main of Ol’ha’s means in her fight for herself, for the place not only in her husband’s heart, but also on Knjaža Hora, for her children and, finally, for power. The important point of that combat was transferring of the name, Oleh’s name, given to her by Oleh at the wedding ceremony, the name which “...smelled to her like freedom and power...” (Ivančenko 1995, 158). Naming Olenka for Ol’ha was not just a manifestation of love, because “the only person who really loves him was Ihor’s wife Olena” (Ivančenko 1995, 158), but also the initiation of Ol’ha, recognition of the woman as “a successor to his power and his life” (Ivančenko 1995, 158).

Despite having a warm personal relationship with Oleh, Ol’ha had to assert herself as both the wife of Ihor and the Grand Princess of Kyiv all alone. First of all, Oleh himself was not in a hurry to hand over his authority to Ihor, “...Young Rjurykovyč was kept close to the throne, but he was not on the throne; the country was still under Oleh’s rule, as it had been before” (Ivančenko 1995, 167). What is more, clinging to the throne, he relies on a time-tested strategy of living his opponents without any guidelines on how to exercise particular powers. By doing so he simulated rivalry between them and sowed the seeds of suspicion, which prevented the bojars from uniting against him. Thus, setting off on his military campaign against Constantinople, Oleh did not make any statements regarding the person who would be in charge of

Kyiv while he was away. Secondly, the bojars, the Varangians and the supreme magus, unwilling to lose their influence on Ihor and their personal benefits, were trying to salvage their power by disposing of Ol'ha as a wife of Rjurykovič, and from Rjurykovič himself as a legitimate ruler, by bringing in a pagan wife Prekrasa for him.

Under such circumstances, Ol'ha found solace in the Christian faith and ordinary people, whereas the affairs of the state kept her busy and distracted.

Ol'ha's long and perilous ascent to power was accompanied by malice and treachery, riots and assassination attempts. The nobles refused to recognize Ol'ha's economic activities and educational efforts, which were aimed to make up for the shortfall policies of her husband, who "had more physical strength in his body than common sense in his head" (Ivančenko 1995, 220). She was trying to turn her husband's populist sociopolitical choices like making the Drevljans to pay tribute (poljuddja) to Svene'd to the benefit of the country, if possible. Otherwise, she strived, at least, to minimize their negative effects. The Kyivan bojars had other reasons to complain, including the fact that Ihor allowed Ol'ha to rule the country even when he was not away at war, "never contradicting the princess" (Ivančenko 1995, 233), as well as the growing support of Christianity among the Poljanians. Finally, they were certain that Ol'ha, being a woman, would not be able to suppress riots and protests. The attempted coup in her husband's absence tested Ol'ha's strength and stamina and ended up in the victory over her insolent opponents, "The country of Poljanians is peaceful and quiet now, with the snobby bojars being disciplined" (Ivančenko 1995, 252).

Tiredness and alert, which can be seen in Grand Princess's eyes, are evidence of the past troubles in the life of an ordinary woman, a mother, who has lost two of her children and cherishes the hope that the other two, the children of a renowned Bulgarian Zar Symeon whose country now "is lying flat and weak under the feet of the Byzantine emperors..." (Ivančenko 1995, 255), will be spared; a ruler, who is dreaming of the Zardom of Bulgaria for her sons. A sad example of her ancestral land makes her realize that her own country should be governed by "the strength of law and custom" (Ivančenko 1995, 255), it should not be ruled by the sword, but wisdom.

The appearance of Ol'ha the ruler reflects her inner tension, "There is nothing left in her that would resemble a kind and sweet girl she used to be. It looks as if she has grown taller, her voice is firm, although it is even and quiet. Her mindset is similar to that of a powerful man, not a weak woman. She is capable of looking into the future, through years... through ages..." (Ivančenko 1995, 255). "There is neither fear nor flattery on her face" (Ivančenko 1995, 398), which proves her "mental maturity and readiness for power, self-control and flexibility in governing the state" (Černyš 2015, 226) as well as the acquisition of masculine qualities, specific to the authoritarian personality.

Grand Princess Ol'ha's choice of priorities is obvious. She thinks that the Kyivan state should be independent in developing its strategies in socioeconomic, political, educational and religious spheres, "Her Slavic soul, which is akin to that of the Rus' people, revolted against the attempts to force her into the shackles of someone else's will and faith, especially when this coercion came from the Greek, the old enemies of the Danubian Bulgarians. For this reason, literacy and booklore associated with Christianity were meant to be embraced by the Rus' people happily and eagerly. The way it once had been in Bulgaria under the rule of Symeon the Great... There are neither great rulers nor great states without people's good will" (Ivančenko 1995, 258).

Ol'ha's ambitions are not limited to her sociopolitical status in the hierarchical system of Knjaža Hora. She thinks big and progressively, making critical judgements based on her grandfather's experience and acknowledging Zar Symeon's political blunders. The latter were due to the trust to the sly Bulgarian bojar George Sursubul, whose sister Symeon had married, and who pursued a pro-Byzantine policy which resulted in overthrowing Symeon's direct heirs, Sursubul himself acting as a regent for his nephew Peter, who later married the Byzantine princess. "The Byzantine Greek language and booklore displaced Bulgarian" (Ivančenko 1995, 260). As a result, Bulgaria "was conquered without bloodshed" (Ivančenko 1995, 262) by the Byzantine Empire. This explains why Ol'ha's clear and intentional goal "to rise to power" by "raising the state and these people" (Ivančenko 1995, 258) involves following the algorithm of educating the nation. This entails building churches by the Poljanian architects who should be allowed to do it

by the principles of the Slavic aesthetic instead of the Byzantine rules; putting the Rus' clergymen in charge of churches and cathedrals; organizing schools and sending the most promising pupils to study abroad, because "Kyiv and other towns desperately need scribes and mentors... To become wise, we need to educate ourselves" (Ivančenko 1995, 258); begging the Patriarch to appoint the Rus' Metropolitan so that the Rus' language and books might thrive. To become rich, the country also needs to expand its economic ties, "I want to see big market places in all the towns, with overseas guests coming to trade at them" (Ivančenko 1995, 325).

Being aware of ambiguity of the religious and political situation in the country where the majority of the population are pagans and the warrior prince himself preaches the faith of the elders, Ol'ha has to act in accordance with her husband's aspirations and state interests. This means that she has to suppress her maternal instinct, reconsider her parenting strategies like accepting the fact that her younger son Svjatoslav has been sent to the pagan-worshipping Varangians to get his education instead of going to school like his older brother Hlib; to put up with her sons being of different faiths (Hlib is a Christian, whereas Svjatoslav is a pagan) and therefore having different life ambitions (Hlib is an educator, while Svjatoslav is a warrior). This difference in their upbringing will deepen a gap between the princes, leading to fratricide. The terrible incident will leave an open wound in the princess's mother's heart that loved her elder son, who was just like her, with her soul, and her younger son, who was like his father, with her mind.

As regards Ol'ha's and Ihor's descendants, researchers seem to avoid this controversial topic. In the preface to her novel, R. Ivančenko indicates that old chronicles "unfairly glorified only one of her sons, Svjatoslav... However, they didn't mention Hlib, the other son, at all" (Ivančenko 1995, 7). There is only one short story by an unknown chronicler that tells about Svjatoslav ravaging churches and killing large numbers of Christians, including his brother Hlib, whom he blamed for his defeat in the second Bulgarian campaign (Ivančenko 1995, 7).

The tragic events that took place when Ihor was gathering tribute from the Drevljans unfold in the novel in accordance with the *Primary Chronicles*. However, the main focus is on the mental state and feelings

of the Grand Princess which are described in great detail, providing the insight into her inner world. It is this good understanding of Ol'ha's deep feelings, hopes and aspirations that allows the author to create a realistic portrayal of her legendary character.

After her husband's death, Ol'ha is swept away by devastating emotions. She feels despair ("she was running to presbyter Hryhorij. She was running, blind and oblivious..." (Ivančenko 1995, 334)), guilt ("Because I've sinned against my husband. I've considered him as a small-minded ruler and a roisterer" (Ivančenko 1995, 334)), hopelessness ("...no one would understand the depths of desperation and anguish that were tearing her soul apart" (Ivančenko 1995, 335)), frustration, fear and distress triggered by unhappy events ("The soul got tangled in the net of distrust to the world and fear of being left alone with it. Her dignity was smashed and her wisdom had failed her. She felt small and tired of struggling and fighting so much, of following the narrow curves on the perilous road of governing the country, of striving to reach for her unreachable earthly love" (Ivančenko 1995, 335)) and to pass an endurance test by "taking up the reins of the Rus' country in her own hands... and rebuild this land with faith and law" (Ivančenko 1995, 336).

Having omitted the tale of the death of the twenty Drevljan ambassadors and the bloody Ihor's funeral feast, the writer speaks through the mouth of the Chief Swordsman Peretyč who reveals the requirements of the pagan law, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth!" (Ivančenko 1995, 339), which Ol'ha obeyed with the silent consent of the Christian presbyter Hryhorij.

The next stage of Ol'ha's revenge is described in detail, without a meaningful aposiopesis of the previous and the final episode. At the great Kyivan viče (council) the Grand Princess burns the respected Iskorosten' ambassadors alive.

The writer interprets this fact in her own way, dissecting her heroine's soul by means of the internal monologue and author's philosophical digression: "Why is her revenge for Ihor's killing so cruel? She has thrown some of those who were responsible in the pit, and the others are being eaten by fire now... A different feeling, a different strength has been entering her soul, a feeling of power... The new life has begun, the life of the Queen Regnant of the great Rus' State. She will reign until

Svjatoslav comes of age. Thus, everyone must see that... she will rule with a firm hand” (Ivančenko 1995, 349).

Her elder son’s Christian mercy that made him rush to rescue the ambassadors from fire, reveals a complex range of the woman’s emotions, “Ol’ha was looking at that scene with frightened eyes. Her eyes hurt as well as her heart... Hlib!.. Son!.. he was kind even to the enemies... She used to be like him... Before she became a ruler...” (Ivančenko 1995, 336).

In spite of all the cruelty that Grand Princess shows during the execution of the Drevljans, her other actions display true statesmanship and practical wisdom in making decisions based on the norms of the Old Rus’ law (according to which, a widow, unless she remarries, is authorized to perform the household and social functions of her late husband), leading her to become the rightful ruler of the state.

In contrast to Ihor, who was a warrior and therefore based his state policy on the force of arms, Ol’ha approaches national problems as an economist and implements the first financial reform in the history of Ukraine, introducing a unified system of tributes and pogosts (administrative and territorial districts). To strengthen her own power as well as the country’s international standing, she arranges for her son Hlib to marry the Magyar princess Sfandra and is making plans of marrying Svjatoslav off to a Byzantine princess. However, when Constantine VII Porphyrogenytus refused his daughter’s hand on the ground that the law of the Byzantine Empire prohibited “marriages with barbarian rulers” (Ivančenko 1995, 363), she chooses a Hungarian princess as a wife for her younger son to defy Constantynople by “this marriage and the double kinship with invincible Horde warriors!..” (Ivančenko 1995, 410).

A visit to Constantynople, mentioned in historical sources, did not live up to her expectations. Apart from the lavish reception and vain promises, very little had been achieved. As a result, only one agreement about tribute payments had been signed along with Ol’ha having been given the titles of the Archoness of the Kyivan Rus’ people and the emperor’s daughter at a christening. It did not take long before Ol’ha ‘paid back’ to the emperor by refusing to keep her promises to send servants, wax, leather and troops to fight with Saracens, “She took her

revenge on the supercilious Caesar for his contempt, although she pretended then that she hadn't taken any offence..." (Ivančenko 1995, 422).

As regards Ol'ha's baptism in Constantynople, which was an important political act, the author approves it, because paganism, at that point in time, set limits on the economic, political and cultural ties with the Christian countries. The active 'implantation' of the new Christian faith, which was conducted in the Kyivan Rus' with proper care and tolerance, on the other hand, led to broadening of the country's cultural and political horizons.

R. Ivančenko shows another side of Ol'ha's life, her loneliness. The Grand Princess envies lowborn women and maids because she "just cannot live the way they do..." (Ivančenko 1995, 323). She cannot laugh so easily and heartily, run so springily and she cannot even dare to think about love, "She always had to bear herself royally ...even when approaching her husband, the prince. She had to walk firmly, with her head held high... the most difficult thing was that she could not reveal her feelings. Nobody knew what she felt" (Ivančenko 1995, 323). Her husband was away most of the time, leaving her behind with her loneliness, their children and the state. Thus, daily cares made her forget about loneliness and sadness. She banned herself from thinking about her inner turmoil and tried not to notice the devotion of such men as Stepko the Scribe, feeling that there was something more to it.

The author achieves a realistic portrayal of Grand Princess Ol'ha. She does not idealize the heroine, although, being a woman, she shares and understands her emotional pain and fears. The writer does not focus solely on Ol'ha's achievements, she pays equal attention to her failures as well. Thus, Ol'ha makes mistakes as a woman (hiding deep inside her love to Vojevoda Ščerbylo, "burnt the last bridge" between her and ambitious Ščerbylo by letting him know that she is his superior, while he is like a beggar to her, to whom she is "giving handouts..." (Ivančenko 1995, 326); as a mother (she realized that her children were deprived of mothering love, because they had been raised by other people: Hlib was entrusted to Stepko the Scribe, whereas Svjatoslav was brought by Asmund the Varangian; her resistance to see a captive slave Maluša as her daughter-in-law nearly resulted in severing ties with her son Svjatoslav, etc.); as a ruler (loss of ability to listen to the ordinary

people's common sense); as a Christian (double baptism; participation in the ritual sacrifice to the pagan god Perun; the betrayal of the 'Byzantine God', which she was unaware of, when inviting the Latin priest Adalbert to Kyiv).

Being a wise person, Ol'ha admits to making mistakes and tries to right the wrongs. Nonetheless, as a real ruler, she cannot afford to look weak and show her feelings. Therefore, the author reveals her emotional state by means of an internal monologue and the description of external character traits.

Thus, having fit Grand Princess's life story into the well-known factual frame, R. Ivančenko puts major emphasis on a psycho-emotional construct of Ol'ha's character with an active use of an internal monologue. The author's plan to convey the grandeur of the Grand Princess's personality is so complex that the tangle of the plot lines and various simulated situations serves as a springboard for implementing a creative idea. Owing to the fact that the events in the novel are viewed through the prism of a woman's perception and that of an omniscient narrator, the reader can see the world through Ol'ha's eyes. Overall, the author's accentuation, the evaluation by other characters and the external characteristics through depiction of actions, behavior and body language are all equally important for understanding the main heroine's personality.

Thus, R. Ivančenko's novel *Poison for the Princess* depicts the vivid scenes of life in the 10th century, whose fictional aesthetic ideal is expressed in the category of choice. This category is realized in different aspects, dimensions, nuances of the context, actions of the characters and their psychological states in diachronic and synchronic cross-sections. Grand Princess Ol'ha is faced with the problem of choice. The way she tackles this problem reveals the depths of her personality and provides an insight into her perception of her own role as well as the judgment of other people, her moral and ethical signposts for everyday situations and emergencies, when the decision is dictated by circumstances, rather than common sense. Under such conditions a person has to make a choice which might not be in favour of big universal values (like the aim to make your state strong and powerful), but very basic personal ones (like a mother's instinct to protect a child, which

was responsible for the murder she committed by throwing a magus into fire), which becomes a milestone in a person's existence or non-existence. By using such borderline situations to portray a character in the extreme dimensions of life, the writer shifts the entire focus to the aesthetic aspects of life, determined by the context and defined by the necessity to make a choice, which are realized in the novel through different literary perspectives.

Ol'ha's inner life is defined by the 'man vs power' dilemma. Her choice of the second element in this opposition, determined by domestic and foreign policies of Kyivan Rus' of that time, has a great impact on the development of her personality and its spiritual dimensions. The evolution of her character reflects her mental anguish, despair and ambivalence which accompanied her rise to power.

The Queen Regnant is completely aware of the perils of her life. Ol'ha realizes how dangerous her mission is and her awareness is confirmed by R. Ivančenko's most favourite literary device of free indirect speech, "...Wherever the man of power goes, he is followed by the writhing snake of treachery" (Ivančenko 1995, 115). "There is no ruler who will escape its poison as soon as he comes into power!.. a human soul will be forever stained with the venomous traces of power. The centuries will pass, but that poison will never go away..." (Ivančenko 1995, 388).

It is remarkable that in the epoch when aggressive strategies were considered by statemen as the only means of settling domestic and international conflicts, the ruler of Kyivan Rus' relied on humaneness, tolerance and forward-thinking, which earned her worldwide recognition. Moreover, she voluntarily ceded power to her son, "Everybody should understand when their time is over... This is even more so for a ruler, who should hand over the wheel before it's too late" (Ivančenko 1995, 457).

Grand Princess Ol'ha, as a historical figure and a fictional character, remains quite mysterious, because there is a lack of reliable sources of information about her life and political career. This also explains why writers and scientists are fascinated with Grand Princess, of whom legends are made, putting forward new interpretations of an enigmatic Queen Regnant who "managed to become a saint despite her massacre of the Drevljans" (Ščerbak 2016, 75). In addition, the Grand Princess's

biography along with the literary portrayal of this legendary woman in works of fiction and in R. Ivančenko's novel *Poison for the Princess* in particular make it possible to speak of the first well-known manifestation of feminism in the Middle Ages, which had positive implications for the progressive developments of Kyivan Rus' and other countries of Medieval Europe. Grand Princess Ol'ha set an excellent example of women's political participation by demonstrating her extraordinary intelligence, organizational talent and managerial skills to the world. Her tolerant domestic and foreign policies based on the principle of non-interference caused a shift from expansionism to promoting education for national development and humanistic advancement.

In fact, a significant number of artworks depicting Grand Princess Ol'ha show the recognition of her contribution to the development of the country and provides a foundation for further intracultural research into the portrayal of the first female leader in the Ukrainian literary works and works by other European authors.

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THE MYSTERIOUS HALICIJA PRINCESS ANNA AND HER ROLE IN HISTORY

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For a modern understanding of historical processes in the Middle Ages, which formed the political map of modern Europe, it is important to interpret historical figures in fiction. The enigmatic image of the princess, the wife of Prince Roman Mstyslavych, the mother of Danylo Romanovych attracts the attention of contemporaries. The role of this woman for the Halicija-Volyn' principality, for the further development of European states is undisputable. The image of Anna is artistically interpreted in the texts of the Halicija-Volyn' chronicle, the works of I.F. Fylypčak, K. Hrynevychova and D. Chyžnjak.

Key words: Princess Romanova, history, Halicija-Volyn' principality, image.

ТАЄМНИЧА ГАЛИЦЬКА КНЯГИНЯ АННА ТА ЇЇ РОЛЬ В ІСТОРІЇ

Ольга Новик

Для сучасного розуміння історичних процесів Середньовіччя, які формували політичну карту сучасної Європи, важливою є інтерпретація історичних осіб в художній літературі. Загадковий образ княгині, дружини князя Романа Мстиславовича, матері Данила Романовича привертає увагу сучасників. Безперечною є роль цієї жінки для Галицько-Волинського князівства та подальшого розвитку європейських держав. У статті художньо інтерпретовано образ Анни в текстах Галицько-Волинського літопису, творах І. Филипчака, К. Гриневичевої, Д. Хижняка.

Ключові слова: княгиня Романова, історія, Галицько-Волинське князівство, образ.

The second wife of Prince Roman Mstyslavych, who in the political arena of the Middle Ages forced not only Kyivan Rus', but also a number of Western powers to reckon with him, remains a haunting aura of mystery. Currently, there are several versions about the princess's name and origin. Nevertheless, all scholars and authors of the works of art are unanimous about the importance of this woman's role in the history of the Middle Ages. The mother of the young princes Danylo and Vasyl'ko was able to preserve them and the right to reign. The fate of the Halicija-Volyn' principality after the death of Prince Roman Mstyslavych, depended precisely on Jefrosynija-Anna.

The artistic interpretation of Anna's image is reproduced in the chronicle as well as by the authors of historical novels. The outstanding monument of the medieval chronicle "Halicija-Volyn' Chronicle" (Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys 2002) rarely mentions women of the principality, after all, like other monuments of the Middle Ages. O. Ščerbak, examining the typology of female images in ancient Ukrainian literature, writes that "the increased attention to women in this work of the late Middle Ages is explained by the increasing role of women in political history or when they became heads of the state, or even as full heirs" (Ščerbak 2016, 16). The researcher rightly noted that the most careful attention of the chronicler of the Halicija-Volyn' chronicle was given to two women: mother of Danylo Halyc'kyj, and Ol'ha Bryjans'ka, wife of Volyn' prince Volodymyr Vasyl'kovych. In the chronicle, Princess Romanova is not called by the name, apparently because the author sought to focus on the mission she performed, not on the personality of the woman. It describes how the princess rescued her children after the betrayal of the bojars, how she seeks refuge and protection in foreign lands (Halyc'ko-volyns'kyj litopys 2002, 77-78). In this case, events occur in various countries, and the princess influences the political map of medieval Europe, solving problems together with the Polish and Hungarian kings.

One of the most detailed historical works about Danylo Halyc'kyjs life is the work of M. Kotljar "Danylo Halyc'kyj: biographical sketch" (Kotljar 2002). In the section "Mothers" there appears the information about the origin of Princess Romanova. The scientist looked at different versions of her origin and name. According to his opinion Prince

Roman's second wife named Anna, had a bojar origin: "marriage with the Volyn' bojar was a logical and useful step" (Kotljář 2002, 70). The question of the origin and name of the princess has been considered by many scholars (Čuhuj, 2016). Therefore, there are several theses on the princess's origin: the daughter of the bojars, the Byzantine origin (the daughter or niece of the emperor), the Hungarian origin, and even the thesis that she was a commoner. The names are also assumed by the researches: Anna, Jefrosynija, Marija, even regarding the religion and monasticism of the princess, there are controversies. It is no wonder, then, that the artistic texts also contain various theses of the origin and name of the princess.

In the book "Jefrosynija Halyc'ka. The daughter of the Byzantine emperor in Halicija-Volyn' Rus': princess and nun" O. Majorov supports the thesis according to which the name of the princess is Jefrosynija. The scientist establishes several personal names of Roman Mstyslavyc's, second wife, believes that this situation is in line with the tradition of Christian diversity, characteristic of Rjuryk. "Her baptismal name, under which she was known in Byzantium as well as in Germany, was the name Jefrosynija, and the monastic name received in Rus' was one of the names related to Our Lady – Marija or Anna. It is noteworthy that not only the monk but also the secular name of the princess became dynastic and was repeatedly reproduced by her descendants. This confirms our assumption about the formation of the family cult of Jefrosynija-Anna as the ancestor of the Romanovyč family" (Majorov 2013, 64–65).

It refers to the work of a Byzantine origin, as well as the assumption that the girl was in John's monastery for some time. Such conclusions come from the study of a synodist: "In the synodic of Speyer Cathedral, which for several centuries was the tomb of the German kings, and where Philip of Swabia and his wife Irene (Iryna) (the younger daughter of Isaac II) were found to have eternal rest, the latter is mentioned by her father, mother, sister and brother. The sister of Queen Irene (who appears here under the name of Marija) mentioned in the synodics could only be her sister, Isaac's eldest daughter, who had been sent to the monastery in childhood. However, contrary to expectations, she is remembered in the church synod without mentioning a monastic act, that is, as a lay person" (Majorov 2013, 27). It also concerns the family

relations of the princess with the wife of German King Philip of Swabia, Iryna-Marija, which proves the political relations and the influences of European, Byzantine rulers on the fate of Princess Romanov.

O. Majorov also writes that Princess Romanov was also associated with the spread of Stylitis cults in Rus' (Majorov 2013, 165). A separate page of this woman's biography is also the family ties that influenced the struggle for the Austrian throne: "Thus, if our records are true about the wife of the Austrian Duke Leopold VI Theodore being a niece of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II the Angel then her family connection with the Halicija-Volyn' princess Jefrosynija, mother of Danylo Romanovyč, becomes clear. Theodora and Jefrosynija were cousins and their sons – Friedrich Warrior and Danylo Halyc'kyj – second cousins. The consanguinity with Babenberg along the lines of the Byzantine emperors undoubtedly put Danylo Romanovyč and his son Roman among the most significant contenders for the Austrian throne. In any case, Roman Danylovyč had the same reason to fight for the «Austrian heritage» as his other rivals did – the Hungarian king Bela IV and the Czech prince Przemysl Ottokar" (Majorov 2013, 178).

The important influence of the princess on Danylo is also explained by the son's consent to the coronation. This is mentioned in the Halicija-Volyn' chronicle and in the work by O. Majorov. She was a princess who, according to the chronicler, was able to persuade Danylo Romanovyč, who had repeatedly rejected offers to be crowned, to accept the royal crown from the pope: "However, he did not want to be crowned and was persuaded by his mother, Boleslaw and Semowit, and Polish bojars...". Majorov, thinking that this encouraged the Grand princess of Roman (Romanova), "who quietly lived out her age in the monastery, to finally enter the political scene and raise her voice loudly after many years of complete silence?" He gives a number of opinions of various scholars: M. Hruševs'kyj, I. Hralja and others, but emphasizes that the decision on the coronation was influenced by both the Catholic West and the Orthodox East, and mentions the Nicene Creed influence (Majorov 2013, 182), and the possibility of union.

In addition to the political influence of Princess Romanova, scholars also write about cultural influence. It is about the appearance of several well-known Christian relics in Halicija-Volyn' Rus'. O. Majorov believes

that “along with the liturgical, they also had great political importance as the insignia of supreme power” (Majorov 2013, 201). It is a precious cross-relic with a part of the Tree of the True Cross of the Lord, which is now stored in the Notre-Dame cathedral. The scientist believes that “mentioned in the Greek inscription on the reliquary of the Reverend Manuel Komnin which should be identified with the Byzantine emperor Manuel I. Relics of this importance could only get to Rus’ as the troupeau, which Roman Mstyslavych, received together with the Byzantine princess Jefrosynija who later became his wife. She, as a child, was assigned to monasticism for the eternal memory of Emperor Manuel. In the middle of the fourteenth century the cross appeared in the treasury of the Polish kings, and in the second half of the seventeenth century it was secretly taken to France” (Majorov 2013, 201). The creation of the Haliczja-Volyn’ Gospel of Aprakos at the beginning of the 13th century is also associated with Princess Jefrosynija (Majorov 2013, 202).

Few chronicles mention the prince’s stirred interest in Anna and her role in Ukrainian history. Ukrainian writers of the 20th–21st centuries tried to reproduce the course of events in the life of the princess, not only by chronicle, but also by other sources. Now we have both historical and artistic interpretations of Anna’s image.

The story by Ivan Fylypčak (1871–1945) “Princess Romanova” (1927) artistically describes the role of the princess in the preservation of the principality, her figure, feelings and relations with the European rulers of the late Middle Ages. The work was co-authored with Ivan Zubenko, and, as P. Soroka rightly points out, “it is difficult to say today what contribution each author made, what was written by the hand of one writer, and what by the other. But the textual analysis suggests that the main role in the writing of the book belonged to I. Fylypčak, since it preserves the main principles of his creative method and peculiarities of style, namely: simplicity and clarity of the presentation of the material, reporting events, facts and the characteristics of the era of paramount importance, a realistic portrayal of characters, instructive motivation of story structures” (Soroka 2001, 259). The high appreciation of Ivan Fylypčak’s skill in writing historical stories is motivated, and this is discussed in the writings of many scholars. In particular, N. Maftyn, when characterizing Western Ukrainian prose, writes about

this author as well: “Among the authors who have successfully worked in the genre of a historical tale, Halician criticism distinguished Ivan Fylypčak, appreciating his prose, as the literary columnist Fylypčak wrote for the magazine “Bells” for “construction technique” and “interesting narration” [5, p. 203–204]. The chronotope of his works covers ancient times and times of the Cossacks: “Princess Romanova” (1927), “Over Sjan” (1928), “Builder of State” (1935), “Ivanko Berladnyk” (“The Missing Power”, 1936), and “Kulčyc’kyj – the hero of Vienna” (1937). These stories, in fact, are perceived as one cycle, constituting an artistic chronicle of the history of the western lands of Russia. In some of them there are the same characters, the basis of the plot is based on the same model – the struggle for their land and its freedom. It is noteworthy that I. Fylypčak’s prose clearly testified to the evolution of the genre of historical tale from romantic tendencies to documentalism” (Maftyn 2008, 227).

Among other incarnations of the image of the wife of Prince Roman Mstyslavych, in artistic texts, this figure is most fully reflected in Ivan Fylypčak’s novel “Princess Romanova”. Essentially, the text presents a biography of a great woman from the moment she acquainted with Roman to her departure to the monastery. Despite the fact that the princess is an artistic image, in the story the authors (Ivan Fylypčak and Ivan Zubenko) sought to maintain the historical authenticity of the image. Actually, Ivan Fylypčak studied the history of Western Ukrainian lands and sought not only to reproduce the history of the Middle Ages, but also to interpret it through the prism of ideological needs of the present and his own world outlook. Writers relied on both chronicle sources and the work of historians about the 13th century.

The princess’s portrait is already seen on the front pages of the story. The author vividly depicts the girl’s appearance. It is precisely the affection of this woman that will then be fought by the lords of Europe, and it is this woman who will have an undue influence on Eastern European politics of her time: “tall, slender, with a charming face. The big black eyes in each look spoke of her extraordinary mind. Her whole figure was similar to that of the sculptor Praxiteles. Her mouth is full as red rose petals. A light pink tunic wrapped her slender figure and her breasts were clasped with gold, with a large ruby brooch. Gorgeous,

wavy, dark blond hair was chained with red roses. It was Princess Anne who, in her honor, troubadours composed songs and knights completed heroic deeds” (Fylypčak 1984, 12).

The duel during the tournament in Constantinople, when the Polish Lešek competed with the Halician Roman, which ended with the defeat of a Pole, the author in vain presents as the starting point of the relationship of the Emperor’s niece and the prince. The romantic story of the first meeting of the future spouse ends with love: “Flowers fell on the knight. He rode up to the king’s place, bowed to the emperor, and then got off his horse and bowed to one knee to kneel Princess Anne. And in this way, he, the winner of the knightly competitions, made it clear that he was fighting in honor of the princess and that she was the queen of the tournament. Princess Anna lifted a ruby buckle from her breast and gave the knight a pair of roses as a reward for the feat. At the same time, she knew this knight – this is the one... This is Varang Romuald, the chief of Halician ambassadors” (Fylypčak 1984, 16). The fight was presented as the one that had a global political implication. In this work having the features of an adventurous novel, there appears the information on how the desire to win a beautiful woman influenced political intrigues (from the very first pages the author introduces the image of the Polish ruler Leško who concealed the anger, hate and sought revenge for losing the tournament) (Fylypčak 1984, 19–20).

In the Halician-Volyn’ chronicle several events of the life of the princess are presented. And above all, these are the events of the fate of her children, the future princes Danylo and Vasyl’. So in the book of Ivan Fylypčak there is an attempt to show the personality of Anna as a beloved wife and like-minded person for her husband. This piece of the text where the writer describes the princess’s memories of shared dreams with her husband is eloquent: “Sometimes, as the sons were already asleep, she sat next to them and plunged into the idea, when she saw in reality how she and Roman had plans for the future: for the first time, to connect all Ukrainian lands – from the Pinsk bogs to the Oka bog, from the New Suteč to Tmutarakan’. And then Halyč’ll shine in the crown of Ukraine-Rus’ ... She recalls how state reforms were built: the ultimate was to give more rights to commoners so that the field could develop the best. Trade also should be strengthened, and this

would require an increase in the Black Sea fleet to bring the fruits of Ukraine-Rus' to Greece and Rome in exchange for valuables. She recalls how the prince, her Roman, told of his intentions to make the nomads hordes of sedentary life, to work in arable land. Yes, the princess sees in the world of memories, as at the same time as her husband, planned that Rus' would become a great power, that neighbors should respect and fear her, and subjects would bless them for a good and just rule" (Fylypčak 1984, 37–38). Such an idyllic picture of respect and understanding in Prince Roman's family characterizes Anna and her views on the principality politics.

The princess exhibits prudence and wisdom not only in conversations but also in actions, gestures, and language. She urges the bojars council to refrain from retaliating Roman, because the state is weakened, a war "may lead to internal disorder" (Fylypčak 1984, 30). The author considers the princess a far-sighted politician, ignoring her own emotions: "Wise council, no war can be started now. Because the Polish princes have united, our war may be prolonged, and we are in bad relations with the princes of Kyiv" (Fylypčak 1984, 30).

Political wisdom is evidenced by the princess's reasoning over the answer given to the request of the ambassador of Kyiv, when the princes of Kyiv asked for help in the campaign against the Suzdal' princes. The author puts his own thoughts in the mouth of the ruler about the situation on the territory of the former mighty state: "Ah, these strife and shedding of blood: once the punishment of God is coming! I do not know, vojevoda, what can we answer him? Our principality must now live in harmony with all its neighbors, be strengthened in prosperity. It is necessary to overcome enmity between different states of society so that all bojars, burghers, merchants, people feel as free sons of the motherland and work for its power and glory" (Fylypčak 1984, 36).

For the readers of the 20th–21st centuries the author's perception of historical events and their political background is important. Ivan Fylypčak, while depicting the life of Princess Romanova, writes about the state structure of the principality. The wise management of the state is based, above all, on the rule of law and justice, of which Anna says: "In the name of Prince Danylo, and to my thanks for your willingness to help me in my responsible work, to govern the state. I ask that all

matters be resolved with the demands of the Russian Truth, in the spirit of justice and brotherly love. The bojars do not hurt the commoners, because they are the «salt of the earth», the welfare of the state depends on them. Enable the development of land and water trade. Keep a good relationship with your neighbors, and please inform me about any hostile plans against us” (Fylypčak 1984, 37). The historian I. Fylypčak, using artistic speculation, forms in the minds of his contemporaries an idea of the Halician-Volyn’ principality, and in particular, of its ruler.

Another hypostasis of the princess in the story of Ivan Fylypčak is a nun. Anna becomes a nun after completing her mission: preserving the Halician-Volyn’ principality for the children. At the end of the work the writer depicts an idyllic picture of the prosperity of the Halician state under the reign of Danylo: A new star of a young Prince Danylo began to descend on the Halician prominence. In brilliant rays native shattered fields began to revive. Spruce-stubborn rattles have been spreading their tormented backs. The fields were green, the gardens were blooming. Settlements began to be rebuilt and decorated with new chambers, churches. Markets were full of merchant people, both local and foreign guests” (Fylypčak 1984, 162).

And as the highest praise to the princely family, the service of God is described, where Bishop Jurij in Sjanok gives a sermon in which he draws attention to the activities of the young princes and their mother. The tears of joy in the eyes of the nun Theodora (Princess Anne), the author adds, “Now I will rest in peace, because I will not see more happiness on earth than the happiness of my children and the happiness of my dear state ...” (Fylypčak 1984, 163).

Unlike the Halicija-Volyn’ chronicle, the story of “Princess Romanova” is not about the death and the burial of a princess. In the chronicle, as N. Fedorak rightly points out, at the beginning there is a story about the death of Roman, and there is a story about the construction of his wife’s tomb at the end (Fedorak 2005, 89). Obviously, it was more important for the writers of the historical story to emphasize the happy life and success of the Roman Mstyslavych family than to present all the details of Anna’s life until the burial of the princess.

Katrja Hrynevychėva also contributed to the reign of Roman Halyc’kyj’s reign in works of art, including “Šestykrylec” and “Helmets

in the Sun". While more has been written about the image of Roman in Katrja Hrynevyčeva's works, including the work of Ol'ha Charlan "Katrja Hrynevyčeva" (Charlan 2000), then there is little said about the image of Roman's wife, Danylo's mother.

In the text "Before Prince Roman's Funeral", Katrja Hrynevyčeva describes the suffering of a princess who had just lost her husband, her thoughts and memories. "Before her eyes there flew the long forgotten images: her father's house, youth, green gardens, where she walked with her hair loosen until the brave Roman took her to Halyč to share the Rus' throne with him... She dreamed of the quiet weather of family happiness, cheerful little children in the arms of their father ... And then under the crimson cloak on the cart, lined with a spruce, the prince's body was slaughtered by an enemy's spear" (Istorija Ukrajiny v kazkach ta lehendach 2001, 81). These thoughts of an ordinary burned-out woman who lost her husband ebbed into another line after the words which the writer put into the mouth of the priest Barlaam: "Call upon all the noble pride of the Roman's family, and lean on it for an hour. You are the heir to a great man, and no one, not you, realize his immortal dream. You are the mother of the Romanov orphans who, in little hands, will once preserve the scepter of all the lands of Rus', now spread out in the midst of the brotherhood's misery. Look at Kyiv, the hearth of knowledge and high culture, which Andrij Boholjubs'kyj made in his mad barbarity a cemetery, a wasteland! Aren't Halyč and Volovymyr the same? And what, then, did all the efforts of Romanov's energy, the work of his spirit, which kept him from making Kyiv the heart of Ukraine?" (Istorija Ukrajiny v kazkach ta legendach 2001, 83). The conversation with the priest is described in the text as a turning point for the decision of the princess to defend the state ruled by her husband and the inheritance for her children.

There is also an emphasis on the fact that Anna had to combine different personalities, and she acted as a princess, mother, politician. So successfully was depicted the princess's hesitation in running away from danger. The princess's pride must give way to the mother's desire to save her children: "The dark flush covered the princess's cheeks, and immediately the naked pallor flooded them with pain. The proud laughter slid across the feisty mouth, faded away.

- Or is it worth running away for princess?
- The mother is worth it” (Hrynevyčeva 1990, 260).

Anna must seek asylum and politically ally with the Polish authorities. At the same time, the decision was significantly influenced not by the phrase of the messenger “Rus’ princes over the hung council” (Hrynevyčeva 1990, 260), but by a symbolic gift from the Kyiv princess Olena, mother of Leško (an old psalter).

In historical writings about princely days, Antin Lotoc’kyj also mentions the widow of Roman, Princess Anne, and also mentions another woman who had a substantial influence on politics – Olena, the mother of the Polish ruler Leško. So in the stories “Prince’s Glory” there are such titles as “Prince Roman Msty-slavyč,” “Orphan Princes,” “Danylo – King”, “Danylo again Halician Prince”, and also Princess Anne is mentioned there. It is about the glory of Roman as an autocrat of all Rus’, who was able to fight against different enemies, was in reverence: “The glory of the brave and powerful prince of the rich Halicia-Volyn’ state was widely and far. Everywhere: in Constantinople, in Rome, in Germany, and in France, they praised Prince Roman Mstyslavyč, his courage, his mind” (Lotoc’kyj 1948, 148).

Roman’s wife is mentioned in the episode about Roman’s help to the Greeks in resisting the Polovcians and Pečenihs. One of the decisive factors why the Greeks sought help from him, according to the writer, was his marriage to Anna. That is why one of the advisers addresses the following question to Zar Alexei: “There is one mighty prince, brave and chivalrous, is the Prince of Halicia-Volyn’, Roman Mstyslavyč. We send ambassadors to him, help us to ask. He, through his wife, Princess Anne, your relative, will not refuse help” (Lotoc’kyj 1948, 149). The picture of Roman’s campaign is described in detail. Antin Lotoc’kyj uses the details of the biography, artistic means to depict the picture. What is more, there was mentioned the flag on which St. George is embroidered, punching a serpent’s spear (in fact, Heorhij Pobidonosec’ (St. George) is known in princely Rus’ due to the stories of Saints translated from the original stories and became very popular both in literature and in icon painting, and in heraldry). The prince’s armor is described: shiny weapons, a gold pointed helmet. In the dialogue between the prince

and the princess, who escorts her husband with one-year-old Danylko, the author constantly uses expressions and blessings. At the same time, Slavic conversations and words such as “my goodness” and prayer words are combined: “Find you, my dear goodness, the Lord Jesus Christ and His Holy Father have in their care!” (Lotoč'kyj 1948, 150).

Anton Chyžnjak's novel “Danylo Halyc'kyj” (Danylo of Halicija) contains a description of the princess's actions (she is called Marija here). A romantic image of a princess waiting for her husband coming after the war, chasing after him in a tall tower. The description of the tower attracts the author in order to put the figure of the princess in an artistic context: “It seems that she was crying sometimes in the last moment, when she said goodbye to Halyč, Jaroslavna, going north to Novhorod-Sivers'kyj to become a wife of Prince Ihor (Chyžnjak 1975, 9). Although the work is dedicated to Danylo, his mother is also given a significant place. There are details of the characterization of this woman, for example, through a comparison with another heroine: “How different they are – Roman's wife Marija and the bojar Semen Olujevič's daughter. Impetuous, like a bird in the forest, Svitozara cannot stay in one place for long. She made Marija laugh with her shrill laughter. And Roman made no mistake by taking Semen's daughter to his palace. Silent, harsh, like a nun, his wife needed such a friend to entertain her” (Chyžnjak 1975, 10). Comparison of the character of the princess with the silent queen is an artistic speculation of the author, apparently provoked by her monasticism on the slope of years.

Considering the significance of the Princess Anne's image in the dissertation on women images in ancient literature, O. Ščerbak draws attention to the proportionality of this figure with the figure of Princess Ol'ha: “The image of this princess cannot be exaggerated as the image of St. Ol'ha of Kyiv, because no other woman in all three chronicles of Kyiv is given as much attention as these two, and none (in any case, of those who had at least some real power), did not enjoy such respect and reverence for the chronicler. The only difference between them is that, unlike Ol'ha, Anna was not canonized. However, her image pervades the entire chronicle, she is mentioned even after her death, which testifies to its great influence on the state affairs of the Halicija-Volyn'

principality, and later the kingdom, and contemporaries' love to her" (Ščerbak 2016, 57).

Ivan Fylypčak portrays the image of Anna as the woman, whose affection was fought by several European powers, which influenced the deployment of political forces in medieval Europe. The story of "Princess Romanova" (Princess of Roman) clearly expresses the author's aspirations to project the political views of the Halician intellectuals of his time (20–30 years of the 20th century). Roman Holyk writes about this phenomenon: "Unrealized political projects of Roman Mstyslavych are submitted by Fylypčak and Zubenko through the lens of constructed reminiscences of his widow. In fact, not the hypothetical aspirations of the medieval ruler, but the dreams of Halician Ukrainians and categories of their [Fylypčak's and Zubenko's] historical imagination during the liberation struggle of the early twentieth century were hidden in the form of memoirs of Princess of Roman. This is how the image of Utopia «Great Ukraine» of Roman Mstyslavych appears – this is an economically strong peasant state, dominated by democracy and «social justice», the country where even warlike nomads become peaceful farmers" (Holyk 2010, 191–192).

Therefore, comparing the various interpretations of the Princess of Roman's image in the chronicles, historical stories and novels of the twentieth century, it can be assumed that the role of this woman has a great importance. Both historians and authors of artistic texts, despite the mysteries that remain around the princess figure (origin, name), seek to play a role in the history of Ukraine and world history. Anna, Marija, Jefrosynija – no matter what her name was, if she was the wife and the mother of powerful princes, she had family and political ties with the powers of Europe. The influence of the princess on the political decisions of her husband, her son, the attempt to regency – all these in turn had geopolitical consequences. Even the artistic image of the princess in the works of Ivan Fylypčak, Katrja Hrynevyčeva, and Antin Lotoc'kyj was already iconic. These works, on the territory of other countries, acquainted the reader with the history of Ukraine through the reception of such an image of a woman-owner who can love and be a sacrificial and wise ruler.

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DIE HEILIGE MARGARETA VON SCHOTTLAND. EINE ENGLISCHE ROSE MIT UKRAINISCHEN WURZELN

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Der Artikel befasst sich mit dem Leben und den Aktivitäten einer der bedeutendsten ukrainischen Frauen – der Enkelin von Jaroslav dem Weisen, dem Großfürsten der Kyiver Rus’ – Margareta, die Königin von Schottland und heiliggesprochen wurde. Er befasst sich auch mit dem starken Einfluss der schottischen Königin Margareta auf ihre Zeit – geistig, aufklärerisch und kulturell, ihrem Beitrag zur Schaffung königlicher Dynastien im mittelalterlichen England und mit der historischen Bedeutung ihrer Tätigkeit.

Schlüsselwörter: Kyiver Rus’, Schottland, Margareta, Jaroslav der Weise, Dynastie.

СВЯТА МАРГАРИТА ШОТЛАНДСЬКА. АНГЛІЙСЬКА ТРОЯНДА З УКРАЇНСЬКИМ КОРИННЯМ

Лариса Підгірна

Стаття освітлює життя та діяльність однієї із найвеличніших українок – онуки Ярослава Мудрого – князя Київської Русі, Маргарити, яка стала королевою Шотландії та була канонізована як свята. У статті йдеться про потужний вплив королеви Маргарити Шотландської на свою епоху – духовний, просвітницький та культурологічний, її внесок у творення королівських династій Середньовічної Англії та історичне значення її діяльності.

Ключові слова: Київська Русь, Шотландія, Маргарита, Ярослав Мудрий, династія.

Im Laufe der Geschichte wurde eigentlich alles dafür getan, dass die Menschen, die heutzutage in den Gebieten der alten Ukraine-Rus' leben, ihrer eigenen Geschichte, Kultur und Sprache sowie ihrer nationalen Zugehörigkeit und ihrem bewussten Empfinden als Nachkommen und Nachfolger der alten adeligen Geschlechter der Kyiver Rus' hätten gleichgültig gegenüberstehen können.

Die Zerstörung der Staatlichkeit, der Heiligtümer, die Ausrottung des Geistes der Rus', der Freiheitsliebe und der nationalen Identität, die Vernichtung schriftlicher Quellen, das Verbot der Sprache, der Geistlichkeit und selbst des Rechts, sich als Ukrainer zu fühlen, auch die Besetzung der Territorien der Ukraine, die Vernichtung der ukrainischen Intelligenz, der blutige Terror gegen ganze Städte, Regionen und später, zu Beginn der 30er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts gegen das ganze Land in der Form des grausamen Holodomors, führten dazu, dass für die Ukrainer eine reale Gefahr bestand, ihr historisches Gedächtnis für immer zu verlieren und zu einem Volk ohne Herkunft und Stamm zu werden.

Unter Zar Peter dem Ersten, Zarin Katharina der Zweiten und vor allem nach der bolschewistischen Revolution während der Sowjetzeit versuchte der Kreml immer wieder, die Geschichte der Ukraine zu modifizieren - jedoch ohne Erfolg. So befasst sich auch dieser Beitrag mit einer der bis jetzt wenig bekannten Seiten der ukrainischen Geschichte, die auf die Zeiten des Großfürsten der Kyiver Rus' Jaroslav des Weisen zurückgeht.

Neusten wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen zufolge weist die Lebensgeschichte der Heiligen Margareta von Schottland – einer englischen Rose mit ukrainischen Wurzeln – interessante Verbindungen zur Geschichte der Ukraine auf. Die Heilige Margareta hatte in jenen Zeiten gelebt, die das sogenannte 'dunkle Zeitalter' vom Mittelalter trennten.

Ich möchte zunächst kurz auf den Titel verweisen. Was hat es mit der Bezeichnung der Heiligen Margareta, der ehemaligen Königin von Schottland, als 'englischer Rose mit ukrainischen Wurzeln' auf sich? Was verbindet die englische Prinzessin und mittelalterliche Königin eines fernen Berglandes im Norden des nebligen Albion, die im Jahr 1250 kanonisiert und vom römischen Papst als himmlische Schirm-

herrin Schottlands anerkannt wurde, mit der ukrainischen Geschichte? Dies ist die erste Frage, derer ich mich widmen möchte.

Es ist wissenschaftlich belegt, dass das ruthenische (ukrainische) Blut die Vertreter der aristokratischen, monarchischen Familien Großbritanniens (der Dynastie von Wilhelm dem Eroberer) mit der Familie von Jaroslav dem Weisen – einem Kyiver Fürsten – vereinen. Für ein breites Publikum unter den ukrainischen und europäischen Historikern ist die Figur der Heiligen Margareta von Schottland im Gegensatz zur Figur ihrer Tante, der legendären Anna Jaroslavna – auch bekannt als die Rote Agnes und als Königin von Frankreich – kaum bekannt.

Die Abstammung der Heiligen Margareta ist umstritten. Einige, wie zum Beispiel die Autoren der katholischen sozio-religiösen Internetzeitschrift *KREDO*, vertreten die Ansicht, dass die Heilige Margareta die Tochter einer ungarischen Prinzessin sei: “Die Heilige Margareta wurde im Jahr 1046 in Ungarn geboren und lebte dort mehrere Jahre, obwohl sie eine Prinzessin des englischen Thrones war” (*KREDO*). Es wird hier kein Wort über die historischen Quellen erwähnt, die belegen, dass Margareta sowie ihre berühmte Tante Blutsverwandte des Fürsten der Kyiver Rus, Jaroslav des Weisen, waren. Tatsächlich war sie die Tochter der ruthenischen Fürstin Ahafija (Ahata) Jaroslavna. Ahata Jaroslavna heiratete den englischen König Edvard, der mit dem Beinamen “Exil” in die Geschichte einging.

Eine detaillierte Betrachtung der Frage nach der Herkunft und der Nationalität der Mutter von Margareta von Schottland ist äußerst wichtig, da diese bis heute ein Mysterium der Geschichte darstellt. Dabei können die mittelalterlichen Quellen, die aus weit vergangenen Jahrhunderten über die Herkunft der Frau von Eduard Exil – Ahata (Ahafija) – berichten, nicht als vertrauenswürdige Informationsquellen angesehen werden.

So liest man zum Beispiel in der angelsächsischen Chronik sowie in den Werken Florence von Worcesters “*Chronicon ex chronicis*” und “*Regalis prosapia Anglorum*”, Symeon von Durham und Ailred von Rievaulx, dass Ahata mit Kaiser Heinrich verwandt war. Revolks, die Schottische Melrose Chronik und Matthäus von Paris folgten seinem Beispiel und sahen in ihr die Tochter des Kaisers Heinrich.

Žeffren Hajmar berichtet in seiner “Geschichte der Engel”, dass sie die Tochter des Königs und der Königin von Ungarn war. Diese Ehe wurde jedoch zu einer Zeit geschlossen, als Edvard Exil noch in Kyiv war. Diese Aussagen lassen also Zweifel in bezug auf ihre Wahrheit aufkommen. Daher ist es durchaus möglich, dass Edvard am Hofe von Ahatas Vater, Jaroslav dem Weisen, dessen Tochter kennengelernt haben könnte und sich mit ihr, als Tochter eines der erfolgreichsten Herrscher der damaligen mittelalterlichen Welt, verlobt haben könnte. Den Wert einer solchen Ehe wusste Jaroslav der Weise sowohl aus politischen Gründen als auch wegen der Vorteile der dynastischen Beziehungen zu schätzen. Unter Berücksichtigung der europäischen Staatsbestrebungen und Visionen des Fürsten wäre die Heirat nicht nur möglich, sondern tatsächlich vollkommen logisch gewesen. Bekanntermaßen versuchte Jaroslav der Weise nicht das erste Mal, seine Töchter in die angesehensten königlichen Familien einzuheiraten. Dafür wurde er ‘der Schwiegervater Europas’ genannt.

Orderika Vitalij ist in seinen “Istoriji cerkvy” (Geschichte der Kirche) konkreter und er identifiziert König Šalamon als Vater von Ahata. Dieser hatte in Wirklichkeit jedoch etwas später gelebt.

William von Malmesbury behauptet in “De Gestis Regis Anglorum”, dass Edwards Frau die Schwester der Königin von Ungarn war (eine weitere Tochter von Jaroslav dem Weisem) – und dies gilt als Indiz dafür, dass Margaretas von Schottland Mutter ruthenischer Herkunft sein könnte.

Der Sachverhalt wird auf identische Weise von Albèric de Trua-Fonten dargestellt. Daher ist es wahrscheinlich, dass dies zur Entstehung der ‘ungarischen Version’ der nationalen Identität der Mutter der Heiligen Margareta beitrug, die die Autoren von KREDO strikt als die einzige wahre Auffassung präsentieren.

Im Gegensatz dazu schreiben Roger von Hoveden und der Autor der “Gesetze von Edvard dem Beichtvater” (Zakony Edvarda Spovidnyka), dass Edvard während seines Lebens am Hof des Kyiver Königs Maleskloda eine edle Frau heiratete. Außerdem fügte der Autor des Werks “Gesetze von Edvard dem Beichtvater” hinzu, dass die Mutter der Heiligen Margareta aus der königlichen Familie von Ruthenien (der Großfürsten von Kyiv) stammte.

Der französische Historiker Rene Jetté berichtet, dass William von Malmesbury sowie eine Reihe späterer Chronisten überzeugt davon sind, dass es sich bei der Schwester von Ahata um die Königin von Ungarn handelt.

Aus der Biographie von Edvard Exil ist bekannt, dass er den ungarischen König Andraš I unterstützte und ihn 1046 auf einer Reise von Kyiv nach Ungarn begleitete. Danach blieb er lange Zeit an seinem Hof. Die Frau des ungarischen Königs war Anastasija. Sie war die Tochter von Jaroslav dem Weisen und der schwedischen Prinzessin Ingegerda, die Ahatas Schwester war.

Demensprechend ist Ahata, wie Jetté feststellte, die Tochter des Fürsten Jaroslav. Diese Annahme stimmt mit den Aussagen von Žeffren Hajmar und Roder von Hoveden überein, denen zufolge Edvard, als er in Kyiv lebte, eine Frau einer bodenständigen Adelsfamilie heiratete, und dass Edwards Schwiegervater ein 'ruthenischer König' war.

Einer anderen Theorie zufolge könnte es sich bei Ahata aber auch nicht um die Tochter, sondern um die Schwester von Jaroslav dem Weisen handeln. Die letzte Ehefrau von Volodymyr Svjatoslavyč – Jaroslavs Vater – war wahrscheinlich eine deutsche Prinzessin. Dies stimmt mit den Zeugnissen der Chronisten über die deutschen Wurzeln von Edvard dem Beichtvater überein. Außerdem wurde, ungefähr zu der Zeit, als Edvard Ahata heiratete, die Ehe des polnischen Prinzen Kazimierz I und der anderen Tochter des Fürsten Volodymyr, Dobronega, geschlossen. Diese Theorie bestätigt erneut Ahatas Verbindung zum ungarischen Königshaus: Die andere Tochter Volodymyrs war die Frau des ungarischen Prinzen Laslo des Mutigen, der wiederum der Onkel von König Andraš I war.

Die Namen von Ahatas Kindern und Enkelkindern – Margareta, Chrystyna, Davyd und Oleksandr, die dem modernen Großbritannien kaum bekannt sind – können ebenfalls die byzantinisch-russische (altukrainische) Herkunft von Edvard Exils Frau bezeugen. Davyd war der Name, der bei der Taufe des ersten Kyiver Heiligen und des jüngeren Bruders von Jaroslav dem Weisen, Gleb (im Jahr 1073 kanonisiert), gegeben wurde. Dieser Name wird auch in der berühmten Predigt von Bischof Ilarion von Kyiv verwendet, der Volodymyr den Ersten mit dem biblischen David und Jaroslav mit Salomon dem Weisen verglich.

Die Kinder des ungarischen Königs Andraš I wurden auch Davyd und Šalamon (Salomon) genannt.

Oleksandr geht mit Sicherheit auf den Namen Alexanders des Großen aus Makedonien zurück, dessen Werke und Biographie im 11. Jahrhundert in Kyiv sehr beliebt waren. Die Namen Margareta und Chrystyna stammen mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit aus dem Schwedischen. Die Frau von Jaroslav dem Weisen war eine schwedische Prinzessin.

Die eingangs erwähnte KREDO-Veröffentlichung berücksichtigt die soeben genannten Theorien zur Herkunft der Königin Margareta nicht. Bereits eine oberflächliche Analyse der oben genannten historischen Fakten gibt uns allen Grund zur Annahme, dass Königin Margareta von Schottland mütterlicherseits zur Familie des Fürsten von Kyiv, Jaroslavs des Weisen, gehörte.

Aber zurück zur Margareta von Schottland. Da der Norweger Harold III Sigurdsson Anspruch auf den englischen Thron hatte, wurden ihre Eltern gezwungen, in Schottland Zuflucht zu suchen. Dort heiratete die junge englische Prinzessin im Jahre 1069 den König von Schottland, Malcolm III. So nahm sie den Platz als Königin von Schottland ein. Auch wenn über diese Frau meist nur kurz und flüchtig berichtet wird, ist ihre Biographie reich an uns bekannten historischen Namen und herausragenden Ereignissen.

Die wohl bedeutungsvollste Aufgabe der Königinnen im Mittelalter war das Gebären des Thronfolgers, wodurch der Fortbestand des Königsgeschlechts gewährleistet wurde. Die schöne Margareta brachte acht Kinder zur Welt, von denen vier nacheinander König von Schottland wurden. Einer der Söhne Margaretas, Davyd, wurde, genau wie seine Mutter, von der katholischen Kirche heiliggesprochen. Königin Margaretas Tochter, Prinzessin Matilda, wurde dank ihrer Vermählung mit König Heinrich I von England zur Urgroßmutter des legendären englischen Königs Richard Löwenherz. Auf diese Weise verband sich das ruthenische Blut, das in den Adern der Enkelkinder Jaroslavs des Weisen floss, mit dem Blut der königlichen Dynastie von England.

Doch Margareta war nicht nur achtfache Mutter. In einer Veröffentlichung des oben genannten Online-Magazins KREDO erscheint Margareta als eine Frau, die ein äußerst einfaches und klösterliches Leben führte: Sie besuchte die heiligen Mitternachtsmessen, wusch den

Armen die Füße, gab den Bettlern Almosen und lebte ein sehr bescheidenes, ganz und gar nicht königliches Leben.

Zu den frommen Riten der schottischen Königin gehören zum Beispiel folgende: Sie nahm oft gegen Mitternacht an der Heiligen Messe teil und wusch auf ihrem Rückweg den Armen die Füße. Dabei wurde ihre Teilnahme an der Messe oft beobachtet, und über das Waschen der Füße wurde von sechs Bettlern berichtet. Außerdem setzte sich die Königin erst dann an den Tisch, wenn sie den neuen Waisen und vierundzwanzig erwachsenen Bettlern etwas zu Essen gegeben hatte. Margareta lebte ein bescheidenes Leben, das mehr an das Leben einer Nonne als an das einer Königin erinnerte. Vier Tage vor ihrem Tod erlitt Margareta schreckliche Schmerzen, weil ihr Mann und der ältere Sohn während eines Kampfes gestorben waren. Die Königin von Schottland kann als Vorbild dafür gesehen werden, wie man eine traurige Nachricht hinnehmen sollte. Sie betete: "Danke Gott, der du mir so viel Kummer geschickt hast, um mich von meinen Sünden zu reinigen." (KREDO <https://credo.pro/2019/11/72524>).

Zweifellos war Frömmigkeit eine obligatorische Tugend der gekrönten Weiblichkeit jener Zeit. Tatsächlich wurde Margareta von Schottland von Rom für ihre Frömmigkeit und Barmherzigkeit heiliggesprochen. Sie gründete wie ihre Tante, Königin Anna von Frankreich, die Dunfermline (Danferlin) Abtei (Schottisch: Dunfaurlin, Dùn Phàrlain), die später zum Aufbewahrungsort ihrer Asche werden sollte. Ihre Reliquien zogen Pilger aus ganz Schottland und England an.

Aber welche Art von Frau steckte hinter all diesen religiösen Riten, Bräuchen und der für das Mittelalter traditionellen Frömmigkeit und Demut? Wie wahrscheinlich ist es, dass Margareta von Schottland mit ihrer bemerkenswerten Mischung aus ruthenischem, skandinavischem und normannischem Blut eine ganz normale Monarchin ihrer Zeit war, die nur ihre Ehepflicht erfüllte, Kinder zur Welt brachte und Almosen gab?

Einige würden zu Recht darauf hinweisen, dass ein derartiger Lebensstil viel Stärke und innerliche Kraft erfordert. Dem stimme ich zu. Historisch gesehen hat die Religion die weibliche Persönlichkeit rücksichtslos eliminiert. Traditionell wurden ihr nur zwei mögliche Verhaltensmodelle erlaubt: als sündenfreie Heilige oder als Sünderin.

Dabei ignorierte die Religion die persönlichen geistigen und seelischen Bedürfnisse einer Frau, ihre innere Welt und ihre Talente. Das erste Modell sah für eine Frau vor, eine fromme Lebensweise zu führen, um anschließend eventuell heiliggesprochen zu werden, was sie zu einem Objekt religiöser Verehrung machte. Das zweite Modell machte sie dementsprechend in Zukunft zur „Kundin“ der Heiligen Inquisition.

Wie musste nur die Königin Margareta in der Zeit, in der sie lebte, zwischen diesen Optionen balancieren! Sie wurde zu ihren Lebzeiten zu einem tadellosen Vorbild bescheidener Frömmigkeit, Demut, Gehorsamkeit und Heiligkeit modelliert. Sie wurde später nach ihrem Tod auch heiliggesprochen. Die echte Königin Margareta von Schottland war, wie aus historischen Quellen bekannt ist, eine sehr interessante, allseitig begabte und sogar exzentrische Frau. Es ist ihr gelungen, die Unterstützung sowohl von Kirchenmännern als auch von weltlichen einflussreichen Personen zu gewinnen. Dadurch hatte sie einen gewissen Spielraum für ihre eigene Selbstentfaltung, auch für die Umsetzung von zu jener Zeit großen weltlichen kulturellen und künstlerischen Projekten, ebenso von Projekten zur Aufklärung.

Margareta entsprach allerdings nicht dem Frauentyp, wie ihn uns die katholische Kirche präsentiert hat. Das Symbol der heiligen Margareta von Schottland war nicht nur ein Kreuz, sondern auch ein geöffnetes Buch – ein Symbol der Aufklärung.

Mit den gesellschaftlichen Kultur- und Bildungsaktivitäten der Königin Margareta ist das Eindringen der ritterlichen anglo-französischen Kultur in Nordeuropa verbunden, die das Terrain ganz Europas eroberte und diese Position bis zum 16. Jahrhundert beibehielt. Tatsächlich war Margareta deren erste Förderin und Meinungsbildnerin. Margareta förderte auch den Handel. Zu diesem Zweck lud sie Händler nach Schottland ein, um die Sicht ihrer Untertanen auf die Welt zu erweitern und um ihnen zu zeigen, wie die Welt funktioniert.

Des Weiteren förderte und unterstützte Margareta den Benediktinerorden des Mönchtums stark. Ihre Aktivitäten waren vor allem: Missionsarbeit, intellektuelle Aktivitäten und religiöse Kunst. Diese Tätigkeiten können nicht übersehen werden, und diese Merkmale fügen sich perfekt in das Bild dieser weisen, vielseitigen und harmonischen Frau ein. Eine ähnliche Charakterisierung gibt ihr persönlicher Beichtva-

ter Turgot. Er beschreibt die Königin Margareta als eine mitfühlende, fromme und hochgebildete Frau. Jaroslav dem Weisen werden dieselben Eigenschaften zugeschrieben.

Aber das ist noch nicht alles. In den historischen Chroniken sind nur sehr wenige, aber äußerst wertvolle Informationen darüber erhalten, dass Margareta, selbst wenn sie in einem fernen Land geboren wurde und ihre Vorfahren mütterlicherseits nie besucht hatte, alles über diese wusste.

Sie fühlte das ruthenische Blut ihres Großvaters, Jaroslav des Weisen, in sich, und ihr Herz kam wegen der Unruhen nach dem Tod des Fürsten Jaroslav nicht mehr zur Ruhe. Außerdem wünschte sich Margareta von Schottland, dass die Kyiver Rus' weiterhin als europäisches Land anerkannt wird. Das war damals nur auf eine einzige Weise möglich – mit der Hilfe des Protektorats des päpstlichen Throns.

In den Aufzeichnungen des Beichtvaters der Königin, Turgot, gibt es ein paar Zeilen über die finanzielle Unterstützung, die Margareta von Schottland ihrem Blutsverwandten, dem Fürsten Izjaslav Jaroslavyč, sandte. Er wünschte, dass die Rus' nicht unter den Einfluss von Byzanz fällt, sondern sich in die von seinem Vater festgelegte europäische Richtung bewegt und ein katholischer Staat werden sollte, was aber andere Jaroslavyč nicht unterstützten. Fürst Izjaslav wurde im Bürgerkrieg getötet, offenbar, ohne das Gold, auf das er gewartet hatte, von seiner Nichte zu bekommen.

Wenn die Kyiver Rus' damals ihren Vektor der historischen Entwicklung und des kirchlichen Protektorats geändert hätte, wäre ihr vielleicht ein anderes Schicksal zuteilgeworden. Dann hätte das ukrainische Territorium nicht das Leid und die Schrecken erlitten, die es in der historischen Zukunft zu einer Moskauer Kolonie gemacht hat – säkular und kirchlich. Vielleicht hätten sie dann nie den Missbrauch der Staatlichkeit, den Baturyn Kampf und den roten Terror, die Dieberei und die Zerstörung der Kirchen, die Stalinistischen Säuberungen und den Holodomor erlebt.

Vielleicht entstand unser heutiges Streben, nach dramatischen Begebenheiten und dem ständigen Kampf, in unserem eigenen, souveränen und unabhängigen Staat zu leben, genau in dieser Zeit. Alle diese historischen Herausforderungen stammen aus dem fernen, grauen Zeitalter, als eine zerbrechliche Frau mit ruthenischem Blut, die Enkelin von

Jaroslav dem Weisen, die Notwendigkeit für die ukrainischen Gebiete sah, zu Europa zu gehören. Doch ihre Bemühungen waren vergebens. In meinem historischen Roman aus der Serie "Die Abenteuer von Mark Schwed", im zweiten Teil: "Das Siegel der heiligen Margareta", beschreibe ich dieses Ereignis. Lassen Sie mich diese Episode kurz zitieren. Natürlich ist dies nur eine literarische Fantasie, die auf einigen historischen Begebenheiten basiert. Es handelt sich um eine romanisierte Darstellung, und ihr Zweck ist es, dem Leser verständlich zu machen, wovon ich spreche:

"... Das Leben der heiligen Margareta, der Königin von Schottland, abgeschlossen von ihrem Beichtvater, Turgot, auf den Wunsch ihrer Tochter, Prinzessin Edit, der Frau des Engländers Heinrich I, Boklerka, sowie Rogers Chronik aus Chouden, erzählen uns, dass Margareta von Schottland, die fromme Königin und die treue Tochter der Kirche von Rom, im Jahr 1078 beschloss, heimlich im Kampf um das Großherzogtum ihres Verwandten, ihres Onkels Izjaslav Jaroslavyč, des dritten Sohnes des Fürsten von Kyiv, Jaroslav, zu helfen. Er war zu dieser Zeit ein Heiratsvermittler aller berühmten europäischen Höfe.

Natürlich war die Königin Margareta, die im nebeligem Albion geboren und aufgewachsen war, mehr daran interessiert, den Einfluss ihres lieben Herzens auf die römische Kirche auszudehnen, als um die Macht eines Onkels zu kämpfen, den sie nie gesehen hatte ... Aber der Fürst Izjaslav befürwortete die Vereinigung seiner Besitztümer mit Rom, und Margareta erklärte sich auf geheimen Wunsch des Klerus bereit, ihrem Verwandten zu helfen. Im Jahr 1078 schickte Margareta in Begleitung bewaffneter schottischen Ritter und Benediktinermönche, die sie in Schottland auf jede erdenkliche Weise förderte, eine Kutsche gefüllt mit Truhen aus reinem Gold und allerlei Wertsachen. Dieses großzügige Geschenk sollte ihrem Onkel helfen, gegen seine eigenen Brüder zu kämpfen, die Gegner der Aufnahme von Kyiv unter die Gerichtsbarkeit von Rom waren. Als ihre Gesandten jedoch in der Heimat der Vorfahren der Königin Margareta ankamen, erfuhren sie, dass der Fürst Izjaslav im Kampf gestorben war. So waren sie selbst in Lebensgefahr.

Nach dem schwierigen und langen Weg konnten die Boten zusammen mit dem Schatz nicht mehr nach Schottland zurückkehren. Sie erreichten gerade noch die Siedlung Rozmatynča auf Zbruč, die sich am östlichen

Rand der unerforschten wilden Gebiete befand – heute ist es die lebhafteste Handelsstadt Tarnoruda an der Grenze zu Polen. Sie hielten dort an, bauten die Kirche des Heiligen Skapuljarij der Gottesmutter, und die von der Königin Margareta für ihre Verwandten gesammelten Schätze wurden bis zur heutigen Zeit geheim gehalten. So begründeten sie mit denen, die doch über das Geheimnis des Schatzes wussten, den Orden der Weißen Rose, ihrer Lieblingsblume. Nur die Brüder des Ordens, örtliche hochrangige Gottesdiener und geweihte Machthaber, wussten über das Geheimnis. Aber im Laufe der Zeit ist das Geheimnis in der Dicke der Jahrhunderte gestorben...“.

Zuletzt möchte ich noch anmerken, dass Königin Margareta von Schottland immer sehr bekannt war und stets vereehrt wurde. Die schottischen Könige und Königinnen respektiert sie. So gibt es das Wappen der Königin von Schottland, Maria Stewart (1562), das uns auf einer der Seiten das Ehepaar der Monarchen, den König von Schottland, Malcolm III und die Königin Margareta von Schottland präsentiert. Ich möchte darauf hinweisen, dass hier die Königin selbst in einem sehr weiblichen, fürstlichen Kleid dargestellt ist, das auf keinen Fall den Interpretationen moderner Kirchenmänner über das fast klösterliche Erscheinungsbild der heiligen Margareta entspricht. Auf jeden Fall wurde Königin Margareta in den Zeiten von Maria Stewart nicht als Nonne beschrieben oder vorgestellt.

Margareta von Schottland starb am 16. November 1093 im königlichen Schloss von Edinburgh. Sie wurde in der von ihr gegründeten Danferlin Abtei begraben. Margaretas Sohn, König David I, baute und schmückte die Hauptkirche der Abtei und verewigte damit die Erinnerung an seine Mutter. Die Beerdigung der frommen Königin wurde, laut einer Veröffentlichung in KREDO, schnell zu einem Pilgerort für gläubige Schotten, die stets die Unterstützung der Königin genossen.

Im Jahre 1250 erlaubte Papst Innozenz IV das öffentliche Gedenken an die Reliquien der Königin Margareta, was in jener Zeit einer Heiligsprechung gleichkam. Leider wurden fast alle Reliquiare der Heiligen Schirmherrin von Schottland zerstört. Zur Zeit der Reformation, im Jahre 1560, zerstörten Protestanten die Abtei von Danferlin und das Grab der katholischen Königin, das sich in der Nähe des Grabes von König Malcolm III befand.

Viele geschmückten Reliquiare mit dem Kopf der heiligen Margareta wurden auf den Kontinent gebracht und in Belgien versteckt, aber im Rahmen der Französischen Revolution wurde 1793 auch dieses Denkmal zerstört. Nur ein kleiner Teil der Reliquien der Königin Margareta wurde im Escorial aufbewahrt, dort wurden sie vom spanischen König Philipp II untergebracht.

Im Jahre 1683 proklamierte Papst Clemens X die heilige Margareta zur Schirmherrin von Schottland, und 1692 verbreitete sich die Verehrung dieser Heiligen auf die gesamte Kirche. In Schottland wird Königin Margareta noch heute vereehrt. Nach ihr wurde das älteste Gebäude in Edinburgh und die königliche Schlosskapelle benannt. Die Hochschule in Edinburgh wurde ebenfalls nach ihr benannt. Der 16. November ist der Todestag Margaretas und wird von den Schotten als St. Margaret's Day (Heilige Margareta Tag) gefeiert.

Auch viele Jahrhunderte lang hatte die Stadtregierung in Tarnoruda in Wološčyna (in der Westukraine) eine eigene Symbolik. Es gab ein Siegel, das eine weibliche Figur mit einem Kreuz in der Hand darstellt. Höchstwahrscheinlich handelte es sich hierbei um die heilige Margareta von Schottland.

Der Abdruck dieses Siegels, der aus dem Jahre 1870 stammte, befindet sich noch heute in einer Sammlung von Dokumenten des renommierten lokalen Historikers Antonij Šnajder in der nationalen wissenschaftlichen Stefanyk-Bibliothek in L'viv (Lemberg).

Die Erinnerungen und Legenden über diese unglaubliche Frau, die zu einer weiteren Brücke zwischen der Ukraine und der westeuropäischen Welt geworden ist, sollten keinesfalls in Vergessenheit geraten.

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THE IMAGE OF PRINCESS OL'HA IN MEDIEVAL BOOKISHNESS: THE SAINT AND THE RULER

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The article investigates the peculiarities of the interpretation of the image of Princess Ol'ha in medieval chronicles and hagiography as a symbol of the Rus'-Ukrainian ruler and one of the first Christians, who made a big contribution in the development of Kyivan Rus' and its integration into the European context.

Keywords: Princess Ol'ha, religion, interpretation, hagiographic literature, chronicle, saint, Kyivan Rus'-Ukraine.

ОБРАЗ КНЯГИНИ ОЛЬГИ В СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧНІЙ КНИЖНОСТІ: СВЯТА І ВОЛОДАРКА

Оксана Сліпушко

У статті досліджено особливості інтерпретації образу княгині Ольги в середньовічних літописах і агіографії як символу русько-української володарки й однієї з перших християнок, яка зробила великий внесок у розвиток Київської Русі та її інтеграції в європейський контекст.

Ключові слова: княгиня Ольга, релігія, інтерпретація, агіографічна література, літопис, свята, Київська Русь-Україна.

In the Kyivan Rus' literature, the image of Princess Ol'ha is a symbol of the Rus'-Ukrainian ruler – one of the first Christians, wise 'wife', which made a big contribution in the development of Kyivan Rus' and its integration into the European context. The image of Ol'ha is a basic for the formation of a new type of a European woman – strong and independent, a state ruler and religious reformer.

One of the Middle Age main ideas is to discern the mission of the elite as a historical, political, legal and religious phenomenon in creating

statehood. At the same time, the scribes adopt the position to take into account the viewpoint of ecclesiastical, religious and confessional authorities. In fact, these two main branches of the state represented a single organism, whose harmony was the guarantor of prosperity and progress of both branches. Ol'ha of Kyiv is the personification of Rus'-Ukrainian elite in medieval book writing (chronicles and hagiography). Her image is a basic for the formation of the modern European elite, in which a woman plays an important and independent role. Her life is a description of existence and mission of the ruler who was enlightened by Christianity and gained insight into the proven faith. She is the only woman of Rjuryk dynasty that, at the same time, possessed tremendous strategic thinking and deep historical intuition.

The medieval chronicles present images of individuals who have become symbols of the most important events in Kyivan Rus' history. Personology (the way of character assessment) of chronicle synthesized the words of praise for princes and stories about experiences they had. It served to the creation of the image of a chronicle character. Particular characteristics of any given ruler's image tells us about dominant social and political, church-religious, cultural-literary tendencies as well as about the attitude of a chronicler because the concept of an individual is one of the most important things. A person in medieval chronicles includes both intellectual and emotional being of a person, in particular his/her religiosity as a manifestation of two mentioned aspects. L. Zadorožna emphasizes, that the chronicler differentiates "type of behavior and character" (Zadorožna 2006, 43), the combination of which represents the uniqueness and specificity of a particular image.

The image of Princess Ol'ha was created in "The Primary Chronicle". In general this image integrated in the context of the European power elite. Here, it is original, and then it gradually turns into a mythological one with artistic speculation and a sacred aureola. The stories about Ol'ha of Kyiv are based on folk poetical background, and over time, they are completed with new facts of various book origins in the chronicles. As a result, a story about a saint woman ruler was created. Ol'ha's "biographical" time very quickly became identified with the hagiographic time because of the scribes of a canonized Princess, which were created based on historical facts.

M. Hruševs'kyj believed, that Ol'ha was “the figure of a harsh heroine, inhuman, vile avenger for her husband, later obscured in the book tradition by the image of the «ancestor of the Rus' sons» in Christianity, the religion of love and forgiveness, which so little corresponds to the legendary character” (Hruševs'kyj 1994, 449).

According to V. Hors'kyj, all sources dedicated to Ol'ha of Kyiv, “suggesting quite reliable historical information are at the same time filled with fantastic, sometimes anecdotal fiction” (Hors'kyj 1994, 27).

In fact, the image of Princess Ol'ha is contaminated because of a synthesis of historical, epic, mythological, in particular pagan and biblical elements. It was finally approved in accordance with the requirements of the Christian life; therefore, it became the embodiment of the moral and ethical ideal of a wise ruler and a true Christian.

In “Primary Chronicle”, the chronicler synthesized controversial historical material, the state ideology of his time, and the church-religious vector. The main character trait of Ol'ha is wisdom – “clever”, “the wisest of all”. This is not only heavenly wisdom, but also life experience, deep faith in the true Christian God.

In the chronicle, it is stated that in the year 903 Ol'ha was brought from Pskov as a wife for Ihor, thus emphasizing her Slavic origin. However, “Ol'ha of Kyiv is a Valkyrie, and that is not only in a figurative, but also a historically determined meaning. She, like the Varangian Oleh, belongs to helgi – (female hypostasis of the wolf)” (Pricak 1997, 184).

Probably, Ol'ha came of the Varangian race, which could take root in the Pskov land. Until the death of Ihor in 945, she was in the shadow of her husband. It is possible, that in these years Ol'ha jockeyed for the power, therefore, more than once, the researchers had a question: who actually killed Ihor – Varangians or Drevljans? They were the Varangians, who could support Ol'ha's coming to power. However, there is another aspect. Perhaps, Ol'ha was originally from Bulgaria and arrived to Rus', already being a Christian. I have elaborated on this matter in detail in my book “Priestesses of Power and Love” (Slipuško 2004). Therefore, her coming to power in Rus' was determined by God, because it was Ol'ha who became the ancestor of the Christian dynasty of rulers, raised Volodymyr, the christianiser of Kyivan Rus'.

A. Šajkin emphasizes, “being Ihor’s wife, based upon the chronicles, Ol’ha of Kyiv did not show herself to be anyone. Here she is completely obscured by the figure of her husband, a formidable ruler and a relentless warrior. Her own story begins with the death of her husband, and it begins with hastily. Ol’ha has the role of the «queen», the widow and the bride at the same time” (Šajkin 2012, 90).

Actually, Ol’ha’s character is created in revenge. The matchmaking of the Drevljans Prince Mal to the Kyiv Princess immediately after the murder of Ihor highlights his plans for Kyiv. Ol’ha opposes them, defending her female honor and the priority of Kyiv as the heart of the Rjryk dynasty and the capital of Rus’. She emerges victorious both with respect to her mental power, intuition, and with regard to the strength of Kyiv as a great city. Ol’ha asserts authority, proving her right and ability to possess it. In revenge of the Princess, the Drevljans have many parallels with the ancient Scandinavian epic literature.

Ol’ha immediately condemns the first embassy of Drevljans-matchmakers to death, inviting them to be carried in boats. According to ancient ideas, only dead people are brought this way. However, the ambassadors did not understand the deep meaning of the Princess’s words, full of Byzantine cunning and sophistication. Looking at the ambassadors in the pit, Ol’ha asks: “Is there any kindness?” Her words are filled with irony and contempt for those, who could not understand her allegories, her mental power. This way, the first ambassadors were covered with sod, and the second ones were burned in a bathhouse. In the first revenge, the embodiment of punishment is land, in the second one – water and fire. In accordance with the ideas of the Eastern Slavs, with their cults of the Sun (fire) and Water, both of them were considered as forces capable of purifying a person.

The third revenge – bloody funeral feast – is an apogee. It is committed at the crime scene which also symbolizes Drevljans’ funeral feast and not just Ihor’s one. In fact, Princess Ol’ha’s secrets are vivid characteristics of her personality.

Compared to her, Drevljans seems to be less wise, they are like jesters. The cunning of the Rus’ ruler is consonant with the image of the fabulous “wise virgins”. In all three cases of revenge, Princess Ol’ha appears to be a cruel and a cunning person. The chronicler does not

find her a grieving wife who is in sorrow because of her husband. In his stories about Ol'ha's revenge, she is a vengeful Valkyrie who commits bloody acts of revenge one after another. She thinks that Drevljans are enemies to whom the princess proves the strength of her authority.

The last cycle of revenge was a weapon when Ol'ha marched into Iskorosten', the capital of the Drevljans, in 946. The chronicler speaks with sympathy of Ol'ha's tricks when taking the city; his story, in essence, is the revision of well-known written sources. For example, the motive of birds is found in the Bible, when Samson burned the fields of the Philistines, in the stories about Alexander the Great, in the sagas about the King Harald. In view of the above, the scribe emphasizes the wisdom of the Princess. In general, the chronicle of Ol'ha's revenge is obviously a legend. She is filled with epic instructiveness, and the chronicle interprets the Princess's cruelty and meanness as the highest fair court, because she acts in the name of affirming centralized Rus'. However, the march into Iskorosten' is a very real act. Therefore, one can state, that the history of this campaign, which actually continues the legends of revenge, shows certain socio-political positions. The author maintains the position, that the actions of the Rus' ruler confirm the idea of the unity of the Rus' land, the strength of Princely nature, these actions are quite acceptable for the Middle Ages when the punishment was mandatory for everyone who committed a crime. In the interpretation of the scribe, the Drevljans were villains, because when they killed Ihor, they put Rus' in the danger of decay. The chronicler does not actually give an estimate of the murder of ambassadors, the burning of Iskorosten' and other actions of Ol'ha. He stands on the fact, that Princess Ol'ha acts in accordance with the tribal custom of a blood feud. This right was recorded in "Rus' Law". L. Zadorožna emphasizes that "Princess Ol'ha, in fact, consistently proves not only Kyiv's right to be the leader among the tribes, but also its exclusiveness in the tribal union in the essential aspect that it overlaps its role as a community of sovereign tribes" (Zadorožna 2006, 9).

Estimating the activities of Ol'ha, the chronicler does it from the state's point of view. That is, he justifies what was useful to the Rus' land, even if there were victims. Ol'ha is the representative and ruler of the Russian ethnic group; therefore, when creating her image, the

state-building role of the princess is put in the first place. After the revenge on the Drevljans and Ol'ha's nomination to the great Kyiv throne in 947, the princess marched to Novhorod, setting a tribute to Kyiv. In 955, she marched into the Greeks, the city of Zarhorod (Constantinople) where Konstjantyn ruled those times. Her wisdom and cunning were demonstrated again. Her character already shows holiness, she began to think deeper and feel more. "I can see goodness and intellect" (Jaremenko, Slipuško 2002, 523), the Christian ruler first noted such Ol'ha's traits as kindness, beauty, intelligence, "the king wondered her wisdom", saying, "It's like she can reign in the city with us" (Jaremenko, Slipuško 2002, 523).

Ol'ha replied, that she was a pagan, and asked him to be baptized. The Greek patriarch told her: "You are blessed among the Rus' princes, because you have loved the light and left the darkness. Rus' sons will bless you in the last generation of your grandchildren" (Jaremenko, Slipuško 2002, 523). The chronicler emphasizes, that Ol'ha dutifully listened to and absorbed Christian teachings into her mind and heart. In baptism, she was named Elena after the mother of Konstjantyn. When the Greek ruler wanted to marry Ol'ha, she said, that he was her godfather, to which he replied: "You have outsmarted me, Ol'ha" (Jaremenko, Slipuško 2002, 524). This way, the Byzantine ruler admitted, that the Rus' princess outwitted him; she was wiser and more far-sighted. This plot with the elements of the legend did not arise by chance, but because of Ol'ha's matrimonial plans. It is possible, that she was negotiating the marriage of one of the princesses of the imperial house with her son Svjatoslav. The chronicler emphasizes strongly the wisdom of Princess, calling her "blessed", because she found out the wisdom of God; he also emphasizes that Ol'ha was beautiful. The spiritual beauty and good behavior of the ruler determine the general image of the Princess. The chronicler does not forget Ol'ha's particular feminine traits, because she actually does not take part in battles, but only talentedly negotiates, always staying at the height of her power.

When Ol'ha returned to Kyiv, the Byzantine emperor sent ambassadors to her. Ol'ha made them wait for as long in Počajna as she waited the date in the Court. This emphasizes the pride and high status of the Rus' Princess who considers herself being on a par with a Byzantine autocrat.

An important feature in the character of Princess Ol'ha is her desire to convert her son, Svjatoslav to Christianity. Although he did not listen to his mother, at the same time, he did not forbid others to be Christians, to accept the new religion. The chronicle of 968 refers to the fact that Ol'ha was in Kyiv with her grandchildren, and Svjatoslav marched into the Danube, emphasizing the maternal image of the Princess. Ol'ha died in 969, bequeathing to be buried according to the Christian tradition. The chronicler writes: "She was a forerunner of the Christian land, like a morning star before sunrise and like a star before the world, so she shone like the moon at night, and among unfaithful people she shone like beads in the mud" (Jaremenko, Slipuško 2002, 532–533).

As one can assume, Ol'ha's major contribution seems to be that she became the forerunner of Christianity in Rus'. She integrated her Motherland with the European Christianity context. It is said, that Ol'ha washed herself with the holy font, threw off the sinful clothes of Adam and put on the ones of the Christ. She was the first in Rus' who entered the Kingdom of Heaven, so the chronicler glorifies Ol'ha as the ancestor of the Christian faith in Rus'. The proof of Ol'ha's holiness is (it is believed) that, according to a testimony, her body did not decay for many years. Creating the image of Princess Ol'ha, the chronicler reinterprets the biblical subjects and creates Rus' parallels for them. Indeed, Ol'ha's visit to Constantinople has a pronounced parallel with the visit of Queen of Sheba to Jerusalem in order to test King Solomon with riddles. In this regard, I. Danylevs'kyj emphasizes: "In contrast to the legendary ruler of Jerusalem, Patriarch of Constantinople was unable to explain to the new «queen» (and to himself) her questions. Without guessing the true meaning of Ol'ha's proposals, against his will, he is forced to fulfill all her wishes and acknowledge her wisdom" (Danylevs'kyj 2004, 16).

As a result, the emperor and the princess actually swapped the roles. Interestingly, this parallel is quite intentional, since the chronicler emphasizes the similarity of Ol'ha and the Queen of Sheba. The chronicler considered the main feature of Princess Ol'ha not cruelty, cunning and meanness, but her state talent, strategic thinking, desire to establish Rus' in the world, partly in the Europe, to enlighten it with the new Christian religion. Therefore, the apostolic act of moral cour-

age of Ol'ha is of primary importance. She also knows and understands various rites and customs well, using them to confirm the honor and glory of the Kyiv princely throne. The chronicler emphasizes Ol'ha's state mind, her fulfillment of the requirements of princely honor and morality. She made an important contribution in the formation of the image of Rus' rulers as equal to the European rulers.

We agree with the thesis of A. Demin that the chronicler's personal position did not change depending on whether he spoke of Ol'ha the Pagan, or Ol'ha the Christian. He proceeded from the way the prince adheres to the adopted laws and rites, "the honor of the prince is the honor of the country" (Demin 2003, 34).

In fact, the chronicler does not juxtapose the Pagan Ol'ha and the Christian Ol'ha. She outwitted the Drevljans, and then – the Byzantine emperor – her godfather. In fact, she is still the same "wise damsel", in the character of which there are the features that are deeply Christian, and those that are difficult to be compatible with them. Moreover, she is holy.

The genesis and development of the system of images of Rus' hagiography represents the process of forming the paradigm of the image of holiness. It was Rus' holiness in the European context. Its nature is determined by the presentation of a special Rus' religious type of holiness, which is genetically related to common Christian principles, the Byzantine heritage, but it also has a number of individual features. For example, as for the Byzantine heritage, they are characterized by sacred splendor, the festive beauty of the rites, which reflect indestructible reality. The ethical element is in the background, and the aesthetic moment as a kind of source of "heavenly hierarchy" in the foreground. In Rus', Christian spirituality is characterized by strengthening the gospel element; there is love, mercy, service to people in the center. Hagiography mostly reflects the inner world of men of the Middle Ages. In fact, life synthesized a canonical way of presenting material, and focused on the instructiveness, sacrifice and tragedy of images. Given the literary tasks of life, the biographical facts are only ready-made forms for expressing the ideal image of an ascetic, because from the real life of a saint, the hagiographer presents the elements that contribute to the achievement of the goal – the proof of holiness. The selected traits are generalized, so the individuality of the saint is hidden behind the traits of the ideal type.

The hagiographer always finds the reflection of the abstract ideal and individual historical features in the saint. They are not biographical facts that matter, but the image of the saint, the bringing of his/her holiness.

Life is considered only as a way to achieve holiness. There is the church-moralistic view of a man and his/her activities are in the focus. In hagiography, history is used as a basis, material for instruction, and the biographer's attitude to reality is determined by the search for an image of an ideal world.

The system of images of Russian hagiographic works consists of real historical images of princes and church ascetics who were distinguished by their important contribution to the establishment of Christianity in Rus' and the integration of their Motherland with the European context. In Kyivan Rus', special attention was paid to the possession of the gift of miracles during life or after death (miraculous relics). There were the following types of saints in Rus': Equal of the Apostles (Volodymyr, Ol'ha), passion bearers (Borys and Hlib), reverends (holy monks, for example, Anthony, Theodosius). Hagiographic works also had an important public role, since the right of the Rus' metropolitan to canonize meant the certain level of independence of the Rus' church. The ideological and thematic spectrum of the Rus' hagiography is determined by the description of the saints' lives, emphasizing the fact that they are worthy of canonization (although some hagiographic works were written before the official canonization of their heroes, like Prince Volodymyr), a description of the miracles they performed, the desire to create the worth of praise for them. Hagiography performed a number of functions, in particular ritual, communicative, and memorial, connecting all the others. A man who has undergone the process of canonization is a saint. Obtaining the rank of a saint actually provides for the canonization of his life path and experience, which is reinterpreted from certain positions. In fact, hagiography created a new Christian ideal.

V. Hors'kyj writes that the image of holiness "provided for a certain spatio-temporal characteristic, orientation to a specific point in space and time, where the highest action of the life force – holiness – was embodied" (Hors'kyj 1994, 8).

The image of a saint necessarily contains an apophatic aspect, which is embodied in his alien world. The saint denies the sinfulness of the

world, therefore it is the embodiment of a cataphatic, positive beginning, affirming the reality of “another world”. The picture of the world in Rus’ hagiography is exclusively theocentric, where God is the center of everything, and the temple is the embodiment of holiness on the Earth. In contrast to Western European hagiography with a tendency towards the Absolute, Kyivan Rus’ hagiography is based on the path to the inner essence of a man. The role of a saint in medieval socio-cultural life was put very high because the worldview of that time required the examples to be followed. These were moral and ethical guidelines for the society. The image of a saint actually played the role of a connection between the earthly world of people and the otherworldly, heavenly. Saints were chosen among people, they belonged to the world of the Divine. The Kyivan Rus’ tradition is based on the Christian understanding of holiness, which is the embodiment of a moral ideal and sacrifice. Each saint was the embodiment of a certain trait, and his or her system creates a common image of the moral ideal of the times of the Kyiv-Rus’ state. The translated hagiographic literature was distributed in Rus’ since the 11th century. In particular, they knew the lives of Saint Nicholas, Anthony the Great, Jurij Zvytjažec, St. John Chrysostom, Sava the Sanctified, Oleksij the man of God, etc.

They also knew the “Sinai Paterik”, dedicated to the lives of Syrian monks, “Egyptian Paterik” (“Tales of the Egyptian Montenegrins”), later the “Roman Paterik” came to Rus’. In the abovementioned literature, hagiographic ideal has already been formed and was perceived as a canon in Rus’.

At the same time, the perception of this canon took place in accordance with the Rus’ realities of that time. Therefore, the Rus’ hagiography contained both the elements of reinterpreting of the general Christian ideal of holiness and its own understanding. Hagiographic literature represents the ethical ideal of that time, because the main goal was to instruct to live the way the saints do. The hagiographer tried to depict moral paradigms in biographical features. The hero of his work is actually an image of holiness, which is an example, an ideal. H. Fedotov emphasizes, that it was there, where “the way for everyone, indicated by the direction signs of the heroic asceticism of the few was affirmed” (Fedotov 1990, 150).

The representations of the world and a moral ideal in describing the life of a saint are decisive. At the same time, the desire to describe precisely the ideal led to certain blurriness of the image of a person in hagiographic literature.

The lives of the saints are mostly based on liturgical, not historical, examples; they represent not a portrait, but an image, an icon. At the same time, the Rus' hagiography was distinguished by the clarity and the sense of proportion. The Rus' authors not only represented the moral ideal, but also showed the path to its achievement, trying to understand the inner world of the heroes. The pantheon of the saints perceived by Rus' was replenished with its ascetics. The moral perfection and miracles became the defining features of the images of saints in the interpretation of Rus' scribes.

Most Kyivan saints are masculine. Among women, only four were canonized: Holy Princess Ol'ha, Holy Princess Anna, Holy Princess Anna (Janka) Vsevolodivna and Holy Princess Jefrosinija of Poloc'k. Two of them are dedicated to life – Ol'ha and Jefrosinija. The image of Princess Ol'ha, Equal of the Apostles, appears after her canonization, obviously, before the Mongol-Tatar invasion, as evidenced by the Serbian "Prologue" of the 13th–14th centuries, rewritten from the lost Russian original of the 13th century. There is also a "Praise word" in Ol'ha's name, which is found in manuscripts next to the work "Memory and Praise to Prince Volodymyr" by Jacob Mnych. Ilarion writes about the princess in "Sermon on Law and Grace". Several episodes are most interested in the creators of the lives of Ol'ha and the form of the image of a saint. The first episode concerns the years of her girlhood, the second – the revenge for the death of Ihor, the third – her visit to Constantinople and Christianizing. In hagiographic stories about the first period of Ol'ha's life, the place and time of her birth are not indicated. Actually, this is not important for the hagiographer. The scribes tried to prove that their heroine was chosen by God, so her being is timeless and spaceless. Hagiographers focus primarily on the instructive nature of the saint's earthly deed, proving that her being embodies the ideal of a righteous life. In Ol'ha's lives, attention is focused on the motive for meeting Ihor and their marriage. It is emphasized that Ol'ha, transporting Ihor across the river, responds to his proposal that she would

rather die than lose her honor. An important feature of the future saint is virginity before marriage.

In fact, the authors of the hagiographies, as well as the chronicler, do not condemn the revenge of Ol'ha to the Drevljans for Ihor's death, because in the times of a tribal life, blood feud was considered a feat and an obligation. Despite all bloody details, this episode is present in hagiography. Hagiography reflected the revenge of Ol'ha, glorifying her as holy and blessed, because of the fact that for the ancient Rus' people, revenge was a matter of honor. The biblical Samson burned the Philistines' wheat, catching three hundred foxes and tying lighted torches to each their tail, and setting them free. There are many similar plots. Therefore, hagiographers showed interest not in the episodes that testify the cruelty of the reprisal of Ol'ha, but in the stories that give reason to enter the image of Ol'ha in the pantheon of the Rus' saints.

In particular, her loyalty to the husband, wisdom, and cunning are underlined. Her visit to Constantinople is described as the ultimate in hagiographies. The reputation of Rus' Princess as well as the illustrated success of religious mission of Ol'ha are emphasized and specific political mistakes are ignored as they have no relevance to Ol'ha's activities as a future saint. Indeed, holiness was determined by the grandeur of works committed as the evidence of service to God, which contributes to the establishment of Christian morality and ethics.

Ol'ha's apostolic feat is that she came to the Christian religion with her own mind. This is a strategically significant, well-judged action and the demonstration of the wisdom of St. Ol'ha. The Ol'ha's baptism in Constantinople is doubtful. As it seems the patriarch blessed Ol'ha, and she had already been a Christian when she came to Kyivan Rus'. The authors of hagiographies show the wisdom in St. Ol'ha's character as the knowledge of truth and living in the truth. In fact, holy and artistic Ol'ha's image-building was determined by the chronicle. The image was deeply explained and filled with their own views in hagiographies. In general the image of Ol'ha is the first type of an independent state woman in the Kyivan Rus' literature. For modern Europe she is an example of the formation of a woman state type of behavior.

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“THE HAUGHTY QUEEN”. QUEEN SVJATOSLAVA (SIGRID) PRESENTED IN ELŻBIETA CHEREZIŃSKA’S NOVELS

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The subject of the article is an analysis of the figure of Queen Sigrid in the novels of Elżbieta Cherezińska “The Haughty Queen” and “The Queen”. The heroine is an extraordinary woman, very strong and intelligent, having a significant impact on political events in medieval Europe. The author combines the myth-creating potential of the Middle Ages with the modern tendency to highlight the importance of women in history.

Key words: woman, Middle Ages, queen, Polish literature.

“ГОРДА КОРОЛЕВА”. КОРОЛЕВА СВЯТОСЛАВА (СІГРІД) ЯК ГЕРОЇНЯ РОМАНІВ ЕЛЬЖБЕТИ ХЕРЕЗІНСЬКОЇ

Марта Замбжицька

У пропонованій статті проаналізовано образ королеви Святослави як персонажа романів Ельжбети Херезінської “Горда” та “Королева”. Героїня – це незвичайна жінка, дуже сильна й розумна, яка мала значний вплив на політичні події в середньовічній Європі. Авторка поєднує міфотворчий потенціал уявлень про Середньовіччя з сучасною тенденцією висвітлення значення жінок в історії.

Ключові слова: жінка, Середньовіччя, королева, польська література.

Introduction

The analysis of a literary character of Queen Sigrid, presented in the series of novels *Harda (The Haughty)* and *Królowa (The Queen)*, written by Elżbieta Cherezińska, a Polish author of historical fiction, (both nov-

els published in 2016) is the main subject of the article. Sigrid or Świętosława (Svjatoslava) was most probably a real historical figure, although in the past her identity, origin and even her name were a subject of disputes among researchers¹. In Elżbieta Cherezińska's novels, falling in the category of popular literature, Sigrid is depicted as the daughter of Mieszko I, sister of Bolesław the Brave, through marriages she is the queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, mother of Kanut the Great (King of England, Denmark, and Norway). The protagonist is an extraordinary woman, very strong and intelligent, exerting significant impact on political events in medieval Europe, though the influence is indirect, extended mainly via her husbands and male descendants.

The author combines the myth-creating potential of imagery and beliefs about the Middle Ages with the modern tendency to highlight historical roles and the importance of women, with added curiosity about the distant past, a tendency clearly noticeable in Poland and throughout Central and Eastern Europe. The interest in the past is one of the most powerful tools used to mould and reconstruct national identities after the political transformation. The demand for national mythology, recently supported by the focus on historical policy, is quite clearly visible in Poland, which is why the literature within the framework of popular genre "writing the nation's history", novels targeted at a general audience, have been gaining wide recognition. This is even more so because Cherezińska's novels, in a rather paradoxical but charming manner, combine the allure of ancient times and the national ideology with the concept of liberal feminism. The author places the plot of *The Haughty* and *The Queen* in the tenth century, when the Piast dynasty was coming to power, building up the image of Poland as a nascent power, and depicts her rulers as imposing, bold and daring heroes who do not hesitate to confront enemies in a battle or negotiate

1 Some researchers, for instance Jakub Morawiec, believe that, basing on historical sources, it can be assumed that Świętosława indeed existed; she was the daughter of Mieszko I and Dobrawa while other experts, for example Rafał Prinke, challenge this thesis, claiming that known sources do not allow such conclusions, and that it is probably true about several other women. More info, see: J. Morawiec, *Anonimowy poemat Lidsmannaflokkur i problem jego odbiorcy. Ślad pobytu córki Mieszka I, matki Knuta Wielkiego, w Anglii?* In: *Studia Źródłoznawcze*, XLVII, 2009, 17 - 34; R.T. Prinke, *Świętosława, Sygryda, Grunhilda. Tożsamość córki Mieszka I i jej skandynawskie związki*. In: *Roczniki historyczne*, LXX, 2004, 81–110.

with the greatest powers of those times, e.g. with the German Empire. In this almost heroic picture, the main character stands out, depicted as an imperious, brave queen with a sharp tongue, great courage and, to complete this heroic image, with two inseparable lynx, always at her side.

The Middle Ages seem to be an epoch especially suited to the role of a myth creator, which is particularly noticeable in the area of popular literature, as this historical period appeals primarily to imagination and emotions, not to genuine knowledge or intellect. Its potential has long been exploited, primarily by European and American literature and cinema, using the Middle Ages either directly, turning entire dynasties into protagonists and using events as the canvas of plots or basing the script solely on past events or beliefs. A recent example has been, of course, the all-time popular saga *Game of Thrones*, whose author George R.R. Martin claims to have been drawing inspiration from the Middle Ages, reading sources and learning about medieval conflicts (Michalska-Lankosz www.polityka.pl). Elżbieta Cherezińska is also sometimes referred to as the author of the *Polish Game of Thrones*, the significance being that she is the author of the Piast dynasty trilogy *Odrodzone królestwo* (vol. 1 *Korona śniegu i krwi*, vol. 2 *Niewidzialna korona*, vol. 3 *Płomienna korona*) (*The Revived Kingdom: (vol.1 The Crown of Snow and Blood, vol. 2 The Invisible Crown, vol. 3 The Flaming Crown*). The author seems to be using something more than the potential offered by the use of medieval motifs, nonetheless, shows them in a highly modernized form, embedding them in the context of a currently dominant discourse on “other stories”, i.e. those told using voices previously absent or marginalized (the voices of children, the ailing, the minorities, the excluded or women). This strategy makes her novels present the past from a rather interesting perspective. Although it is difficult to classify her prose into the genre of high literature, and some fragments of her novels strike as clumsy and naive in showing feelings and emotions, and are stylistically awkward, she goes beyond the convention of “writing stories to console and encourage”.

“Other Voices” in storytelling

The two-volume novel about Queen Sigrid begins with a dedication: “*To all nameless, forgotten Piast princesses. To nuns, wives, mothers, rulers*

about whom history says nothing. To maidens marked in the dynastic annals by the sad inscription 'Unk'". These words, as noted by Mirosław Gołuński, are proof that the author “sets the goal of restoring the memory of those whose names nobody often remembers, recording them as ‘sisters’ of their more famous brothers or ‘daughters’ of eminent fathers. It seems that in this way ... the author addresses a trend in historiography, which has been in fashion in the West of Europe for several decades, attempting to invoke the perspective of the ‘excluded’ from recorded history, creating their feminine version” (Gołuński 2017, 181).

The tradition of understanding history as polyphonic, and admitting narratives that had been so far absent and ignored, categorized as ‘non-historical’ aspects of life goes back to French historiography of *Annales* (Jaskułowski 2011, 128), as well as general changes in European and American historiography of the sixties and seventies, which resulted in the proposition of introducing a concept of “new history”, strongly intertwined with social sciences (Wislicz 2004, 78–100). This “new history”, in keeping with the assumptions of the so-called third generation of the *Annales* School Movement, including Jacques Le Goff, Philippe Aries and others, was supposed to present a new outlook on the past, rejecting the concept of history as a purely political process, and focusing on various aspects of everyday life, on the development of ideas, changes in mentality, customs, sex life (Zysiak <http://www.kulturalhistoria.umcs.lublin.pl>). At the same time, along with the development of women studies, i.e. research focused on the everyday life of women (Kępa 2012, 22), and postcolonial research, the concept of history as a multiplicity of individual experiences is strengthened. Its motto, in a nutshell, might be a quote from Wilhelm Dilthey: “Understanding history is understanding life, and understanding life is possible only as a part of individual experience” (Kępa 2012, 22).

The story told in a woman’s voice, principally depicted from an individual perspective, showing all that used to be admittedly private concealed and untold, considered “unworthy of narrating”, surfaced primarily with the second wave of feminism in the US, and gained its popularity in the 70s–80s. (Kania 2011, 51–61). It was when the notion of “herstory” was coined, a negation of an accepted standard of historical records. Clearly, it is not a new concept or a novel approach in globally

understood humanities. Nonetheless, due to the fact that it appeared much later in Poland – only during the period of the political transformation, i.e. at the turn of the 1980s – it still remains quite an attractive perspective, well-rooted not only in historical research but also in fiction. In general, literature reacts quickly and boldly to changes in cultural, social and scientific discourse, leaving its own impact. Krzysztof Witczak notes that although historians more and more often evoke the voices of those who “in the past found themselves beyond the mainstream of research, nonetheless, literature, especially contemporary literature, daringly opens new perspectives and builds new narratives, engaging in a dialogue and in a polemic with a traditionally understood historical narrative” (Witczak 2016, 63).

The medieval feminist

This method of historical analysis, popular nowadays, is one of the structural foundations of *The Haughty* and *The Queen*. The motto quoted above, opening *The Haughty*, is undoubtedly an invitation to reflect on the scope of issues in regaining memories about women and their influence on historical events. Although women often had a significant share in deciding the fate of countries and societies, their traces are scarce absent, or rudimentary. Missing information about women in history is quite obviously related to the centuries-old cultural context, identifying femininity with the sphere of the body and all that was private, i.e. with those aspects of culture which usually remain hidden and never became the object of historical narrative. Ewa Kępa writes: “The interests of historians and researchers focus on the private sphere of life where the role played by women was not less important than that played by men. Writing down and reconstructing historical facts about women, referred to as women’s historiography, is not an easy task. There are few sources which might facilitate the reconstruction of the history of women in the early centuries. Archival shortcomings result also from the fact that women remained at the margin of public life, right next to peasants, beggars, children, urban plebs, and criminals. For centuries, women have been subject to legal, religious and moral discrimination” (Kępa 2012, 23). Of course, total silence embraces primarily women from lower classes, nonetheless, information about female rulers occu-

pies a far less significant place in the sources than recorded deeds of their husbands, brothers, and sons.

Elżbieta Cherezińska chooses one of these characters, mentioned in the sources, though basically unknown. Svjatoslava (Świętosława) or Sigrid (Storrada) is “a half-legendary daughter of Mieszko and Dobrawa (or perhaps Oda) ... the mother, among others, of Canute of the King of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and England. She is mentioned by several sources, e.g. in Thietmar, Adam of Bremen, in Scandinavian sagas. In the sources, she comes up under the name given to her after she married Eric, the King of Sweden, while her Slavic name Świętosława is purely hypothetical” (Tetrycz-Puzio 2012, 14). As the heroine of the Norwegian sagas, Sigrid was portrayed “as a warrior woman, on the horseback, with a sword” (Tetrycz-Puzio 2012, 14). Scarce and uncertain information about this character gives the author freedom to use her imagination and broadens the scope of creativity.

The author not only gives the Piast princess and other female characters their voices back, but goes a step further, i.e. she makes the female protagonist a symbol. Her attitude, intelligence, strength, and power constitute a kind of ideological foundation for the contemporary reflection on the role and significance of women in culture, politics, and society. She is, therefore, an “ideal heroine of modern liberal feminism” (Szybowicz <http://wyborcza.pl>). Despite historical realities making her a “bargaining chip” and a “guarantor of political alliances”, *Harda* thinks and acts observing today’s standards. Jakub Pożarowski remarks: “It is not a coincidence that the title of the novel is *Harda* [*fearless, dauntless, haughty*]. It emphasizes Sigrid’s personality: she is strong, stubborn, and tenacious. The Piast princess, despite what may be called determinism resulting from the generally accepted position of women in the political and social order of the time, commands respect, she is even adored by her subjects, whoever they might be. Sigrid, despite the role superimposed by her father, Mieszko I, tries to make her own destiny and to change reality the way she wants to see it, striving not to be just a guarantor of the alliance between her father and the king of Sweden” (Pożarowski www.gloskultury.pl/).

Jacques le Goff noted that the Middle Ages usually defined a woman only as a wife, a widow, or a virgin (le Goff 1996, 35). Therefore, a woman

was either sent to live in a monastery or to get married. The latter takes on special significance in the case of women from higher classes, and especially from princely and royal families who used to build political alliances through a network of marriages. The protagonist of the novel herself talks about the way her life is predetermined. She says that although she never wanted to get married, since childhood she had only been hearing about good and worthless alliances which could be forged through her prospective marriage. Sigrid declares that she had always known that there was no other destiny for her but a marriage arranged by her father (Cherezińska 2016, 75). According to Artur Lis, the marital status guaranteed women a stable social position in the Piast dynasty era (Lis 2016, 114), so marriage was the only form of functioning outside a monastery. “The woman who was a mother had a privileged position in the family, at her husband’s side, she was respected and her opinion was taken into account” (Lis 2016, 116). Mirosław Gółński writes: in Cherezińska’s series of novels as well as in other novels by the same author, she expresses a belief that the higher position a woman holds in the social hierarchy, the narrower is the margin of her freedom and the stronger is her objectification as a body, guaranteeing peace and providing heirs. The researcher writes that women in Cherezińska’s novels “are well aware that they mean something to others only insofar as they are able to give birth to children of men chosen for them by other men” (Gołński 2017, 187). However, it must be remembered that this is literary fiction, and although it may have much in common with reality, the novel remains primarily the creation of an author. Researchers of the Middle Ages indicate that unambiguous and categorical opinions about the role and place of women in the hierarchy of historical societies are unjustified due to huge diversity of moral norms between epochs, geographical and cultural locations, states and principalities (Karras 2012).

Elżbieta Cherezińska creates a picture of a society dominated by men, showing the female space (woman-queen) as limited to court intrigues, and to the influence gained by using her sexuality (numerous important scenes take place in the bedchamber). Nonetheless, the protagonist of the novel remains an impressive woman. Although forced to perform the roles imposed on women of her time, Sigrid has an extremely strong, brave and tenacious character. We learn about her

attitude, or even insolence, from the first pages of the novel, when the young heroine is referred to as a person who “either did not speak at all or said bluntly what was on her mind” (Cherezińska 2016, 69). Sigrid had been called ‘fearless’ since her childhood, and the nickname was reflected in her actions and the way she behaved. Although in keeping with the modern belief in female independence, a conduct is quite unlikely in the early Middle Ages. This is especially true in the scenes where the young princess dares to publicly undermine the authority of her father, Mieszko I, or to argue, often in a rather abrupt manner, with emissaries of foreign rulers invited to the court, or to insult her newly married husband in the presence of his subjects. Her brother, her father and her subjects say that “she could use her tongue to sharpen knives” (Cherezińska 2016, 130), her insolence is almost proverbial, and her courage humbles seasoned warriors. Moreover, Sigrid clearly uses modern rhetoric, sensitive to discrimination against women and perceptive of male chauvinism. Even in her early youth, during a conversation with her father about Princess Teofano, she says haughtily: “Am I really hearing it ... When you talked about Mściwoj, Bolesław or Sven, you never used offensive words, and you managed to find so many about Teofano! That she was vengeful, unforgiving, and mean. Perhaps even haughty?”, “If anyone is haughty, it is you my daughter!”, he barely restrained his anger (Cherezińska 2016, 115). During the ceremonial engagement to the ruler of Sweden, she embarrasses her future husband’s official delegation, and when they are already married, she insults him personally during the feast saying: “I have learned your language, my husband. You can learn my name at least. ... Is your pagan throat going to choke on a holy name? Rinse it with water, not mead and try again.” And he indeed choked on hearing that, and his men began to hoot with delight: “Sigrid! Sigrid Storrada!” (Cherezińska 2016, 183). It is perhaps worth noting, it was the King of Sweden Eric the Victorious.

The author creates her character in clear opposition to the notions of femininity recorded in the cultural discourse. From an early age, basically from the day she was born, Sigrid denies the ideal of a girl and a woman, characterized primarily by submission and humility. Both in the past and today, a person who is “submissive, agreeable, charming and protective remains, after all, the ideal of a woman” (Bielak 2015,

106). Jolanta Malinowska, analysing the images of women in a Wincenty Kadłubek's chronicle concludes that a dualistic concept emerges from this literary relic. On the one hand, there is a positive image of a woman who is: "Quiet, gentle, incredibly beautiful and wise, which leaves men bewildered. She is either an adviser to the ruler, hidden in his shadow, or she is the ruler herself, though ruling on behalf of her sons and with the consent of noblemen, whose advice she takes into account. There is also "a villain woman", a violent person, stubborn, hungry for power, and ready to commit crimes to come to power (Malinowska 1999, 24). "The heroine created by the Polish author is in opposition to the accepted ideal and locates herself firmly on the side of what Wincenty Kadłubek defined as 'a villain woman'". She does so from early childhood – her servants and guardians call her "a little devil, an imp, a half-devil" (Cherezińska 2016, 125).

In her adult life, Sigrid is a confident and very powerful woman (Cherezińska 2016, 159). She is also calculating, cunning and definitely hungry for influence (if not for herself, than it is for her sons). The protagonist is not biased by emotions, another traditional attribute of women (Wodzick 2012, 9–29) – she can plan in advance, regardless of her feelings and desires. In order to implement her political plans, because of her pride and anger, she gives her great love and decides to marry again, this time the ruler of Denmark, Sveyn Forkbeard. He cheated on her husband, building an alliance against him in the course of so-called Three Kings battle, and then banished by him, she skilfully manoeuvred in the difficult male world of politics, staying afloat even in the role of an exiled and dishonoured wife.

Her authority and extraordinary confidence are qualities that her social situation forced to develop in this powerful and influential queen, whose responsibilities are equally extensive. One's social position determines choices and attitudes but also limits freedom. This tangle of strength, power, personal suffering, social enslavement and pride in the achieved position is perfectly expressed in the following quote, in the words the protagonist chooses to address her late father: "You wanted me to be the queen of Sweden. I said "I will be the queen, Father"; not knowing that the first throne would bring the second in its trail, and the second would overthrow the third. I took over the Norwegian crown

from the cadaver of the one with whom I wanted to wear it. No, I am not being sentimental because I know you didn't shed a tear for my suffering in the Otherworld. You would have sooner proposed a triumphal toast to the queen of three kingdoms. We were not born free, but sometimes we are entitled to feel happy because we were born into this world. And today ... I am proud to be a Piast descendant, the daughter of Mieszko and the sister of Bolesław. Świętosława. Sigrid Storrada. *The Queen of Three Northern Thrones*" (Cherezińska 2016, 159).

The mythologized past

Cherezińska combines the image of a strong woman with the image-myth of a strong state, i.e. Poland ruled by the Piast dynasty, an important power on the European arena. The author, who has greatly contributed to the revival of the Polish historical novel, does not use a widespread concept that the whole knowledge is relative, allowing writers to fantasize and disregard historical facts in favour of their literary imagery. Cherezińska humbly "bows to the knowledge of historians" (Tomczok 2018, 67), and while working on the book she consults such medieval experts on the Middle Ages, as Professor Przemysław Urbańczyk. (<https://histmag.org>) In numerous statements, the author emphasizes her close cooperation with historians who provide her with materials, check the facts, and sometimes suggest solutions to fictional problems. The involvement of history researchers is so significant that sometimes one can even talk about their co-authorship in writing novels (<https://ciekawostkihistoryczne.pl>).

At the same time, it is hard to ignore the fact that her imagery of medieval Poland is definitely a variation of the "Sienkiewicz's geopolitical imagery" (Szybowicz <http://wyborcza.pl>). Cherezińska replaces the 17th-century state, in principle peripheral, described by the author of *Potop* (*The Flood*) with "the vision of the central European power worthy of a rival of the Reich" (Szybowicz <http://wyborcza.pl>). *The Haughty* and *The Queen*, as well as other novels making up the so-called "Piast dynasty series" are primarily designed to emphasize the uniqueness of the history of the nation and its importance in the international arena. The author herself defines this strategy as taking care of the "PR of Polish history" (Tomczok 2018, 69), which she regards to be primarily a poten-

tial “living tissue for mass imagination” (Cherezińska <https://kultura.dziennik.pl>). Consequently, she wants to turn her novels into “fiction one can identify with” (Tomczok 2018, 64). The identification is primarily targeted at the contemporary searches for identity. The image of the developing Piast dynasty power is an important motif, especially in the second volume of Sigrid’s story, as exemplified in the following quote: “Going to war with Henry, Bolesław [the Brave M.Z.] is fighting for the Great Polania. For a country which will unite all Slavic power under its wings and will not bow to the Empire” (Cherezińska 2016, 269).

It is generally accepted that identity (national or individual) is the result of negotiations with the past and creating a version of history which will meet contemporary expectations. Identity, therefore, is a derivative of an interpretation of the past, while the past/history itself can perform various functions: from mitogenic to compensatory (Jakubowska-Krawczyk 2015, 39–57). It seems that these two are the backbone of Elżbieta Cherezińska’s narrative strategy, as her novels constitute a simplified synthesis of the history of Poland (Kofta, <https://www.polityka.pl>), emphasizing her strength and power. The author herself declares that she intended her novels to be the entertainment which evokes patriotic sentiments. She says: “pride cannot be learned by obligatory participation in patriotic gatherings or reciting poems. You have to bet on something attractive” (Cherezińska, <http://wyborcza.pl>).

Literature, whose purpose is not only telling tales, but also stirring patriotic feelings – and this definitely is what Cherezińska does in her books – could not fulfil its function without having a direct reference to the present. Narratives about the past are functional insofar as they suggest analogies to contemporary contexts. Cherezińska points at these similarities, saying, for instance, that: “The Empire and congresses of the Lords of the Reich may resemble meetings of the leaders of the European Union” (Cherezińska, <https://kultura.dziennik.pl>). Apart from similarities, in order to stir emotions and attitudes, a tale of yore must be as universal as possible. The author complies with this principle, granting her medieval characters modern motivations and feelings, and emphasizing the fact that political mechanisms have fundamentally not changed for hundreds of years. She states, for example, that “the mechanics of politics have remained the same. The mighty

and powerful, when choosing a ruler, support the weaker candidates so that to be able later to control them. We support the enemies of our enemies to wage wars, not in our own territory” (Cherezińska, <https://kultura.dziennik.pl>).

This modernization is also noticeable in the choice of language, in the absence of Old Polish language stylization and the absence of archaisms in the text. The use of contemporary Polish both in the descriptive parts and the dialogues makes Cherezińska’s novels extremely easy to connect with; they give the impression of “closeness”, “familiarity” of the characters, their motivation and feelings are easy to understand but, at the same time, which cannot go unnoticed, the characters lack authenticity. The 10th century queen, using modern language, thinking in contemporary categories, is undoubtedly an attractive character appealing to mass consciousness, an excellent tool choice to popularize history, perhaps also a script material for a historical film about a strong woman, a kind of ‘medieval feminist’, but she leaves an impression of inauthenticity, the translation of the past into contemporary ideological, psychological and language categories seems too simple.

As Eliza Szybowicz rightly notes, the goal of popular historical literature is often to show analogies to modern phenomena, even if in reality these analogies may not be obvious at the first sight. Cherezińska’s Piast dynasty series, as well as her two-volume saga about Queen Sigrid, clearly appeals to a modern version of ambitious nationalism with concessions to feminism. It is also a kind of attempt to use history to compensate for national traumas and complexes (Szybowicz <http://wyborcza.pl>). Nonetheless, it seems to be a successful attempt, given that the popularity of Elżbieta Cherezińska’s novels in Poland is huge.

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SELIGE EDIGNA VON PUCH

Birgitta Klemenz
Hans Mösenlechner †

1. Edigna von Puch – Gestalt und Verehrung



Legende

Edigna war der Legende nach eine Tochter Heinrichs I. von Frankreich (1031–1060), der mit Anna, der Tochter des Fürsten Jaroslav von Kyiv (978–1054), verheiratet war. Es heißt, sie habe sich einer geplanten Heirat durch Flucht entzogen haben und sei nach Bayern gelangt sein, wo sie ein Bauer auf seinem Ochsenkarren mitnahm. Auf dem Karren befanden sich auch ein Hahn und eine Glocke. Unterhalb des Dorfes Puch

sollen die Tiere angehalten, der Hahn gekräht und die Glocke geläutet haben. Edigna blieb, lebte bis zu ihrem Tod in einer hohlen Linde (neben der heutigen Kirche) und wurde bald als Wundertäterin verehrt. Nach ihrem Tod soll heilige Öl aus der Linde geflossen sein, das jedoch versiegte, als man es aus Gewinnsucht verkaufen wollte. Soweit die Legende.

Das älteste schriftliche Zeugnis für die Verehrung Edignas in Puch findet sich in den „Annales Ducum Boiariae“ des Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534), der von Edigna im Zusammenhang mit dem Tod Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern berichtet. Ludwig war am 11. Oktober 1347 bei Puch auf der Jagd nach einem Bären an einem Schlaganfall gestorben. Aventin vermerkt dabei, dass an diesem Ort Edigna begraben sei, die viel verehrt und besonders bei Verlust und Diebstahl angerufen werde.

Erhebung der Gebeine

Eine erste Blüte der Verehrung Edignas in Puch begann mit der Erhebung der Gebeine um 1600. Seitdem werden sie auf dem ihr geweihten linken Seitenaltar verwahrt. Ein 1978 in der Kirche entdecktes Grab könnte zuvor ihre Grablege gewesen sein. Bei der Entfernung des barocken Plattenbodens im Altarraum war ein mit zwei Lagen Ziegelsteinen markiertes Feld zum Vorschein gekommen, das sich als früheres Grab erwies. Es war mit losem Erd- und Schuttmaterial aufgefüllt und grenzte an das Fundament einer gotischen Altarmensa. Der gestrichene Mörtelboden, auf dem die Ziegelumrahmung lag, dürfte zur Apsis eines romanischen Kirchleins gehört haben, das seit der Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts beurkundet ist. Das Grab muss sich ursprünglich hinter dem Altar an der Innenseite der Apsismauer befunden haben. Parallelen zur Beisetzung von Toten an dieser hervorgehobenen Stelle gibt es im altbayerischen Raum mehrere – als Ausdruck eines schon zu Lebzeiten begründeten hohen Ansehens des hier Beigesetzten in der Bevölkerung. Es könnte sich bei diesem Grab also durchaus um die Begräbnisstätte der Seligen handeln, die damit aus dem Bereich der Legende in den geschichtlich greifbaren Raum treten würde.

Überlieferung

So haben es wohl auch die damaligen Zeitgenossen um 1600 im Zusammenhang mit der Erhebung der Gebeine verstanden.

Matthäus Rader etwa reiht im 1624 erschienenen 2. Band seiner „Bavaria Sancta“ Edigna bereits unter die bayerischen Heiligen ein. In seiner Beschreibung von Leben und Wirken der ‚Seligen Edigna, Jungfrau zu Buchen in Bayern‘ beruft sich Rader auf eine Tafel, die er in der Pucher Kirche vorgefunden hatte, und von der abzulesen ist, dass „Edigna aus Frankreich nach deutschland gekommen – aus königlichem Blut entsprossen – für ihren Bräutigam Christum den Herren in freiwilliges Elend gezogen – an diesem Ort ruhet – mit Zeichen und Wunderwerken berühmt“. Am 26. Februar sei sie schließlich aus der Fremde und der Verbannung in das himmlische Vaterland gelangt.

Doch wie war sie nach Puch gekommen? Rader erwähnt „Jahrschriften“, die erwähnen, dass ihr im Bild „eine Glocken und ein Gockelhahn zugemalet“ seien. Die Glocke habe ohne menschliches Zutun geläutet,

als Edigna, die “digna” (lat. die Würdige), in Puch anlangte. Für Edigna war dies ein Zeichen, dass Gott diesen Ort für sie auserwählt hatte. Auf einem Gemälde über der Sakristeitür der Pucher Kirche, auf dem das Jahr 1650 vermerkt ist, ist diese Ankunft Edignas in Puch dargestellt. Als Vorlage diente dem Maler der von Raffael Sadeler (1560–1632) wohl nach der Zeichnung Johann Mathias Kagers (1575–1634) gearbeitete Kupferstich aus Matthäus Raders “Bavaria Sancta”. Maximilian Raßler, der das Werk Raders 1714 mit dem Titel “Heiliges Bayerland” ins Deutsche übersetzte, fügt hinzu: “Ihr Leib wird heute aufbehalten in einem gläsernen durchsichtigen Kasten, und sie ist in natürlicher Größe unter den hl. Jungfrauen Walpurga und Ursula allda abgemahlet!”

Die frühesten bildlichen Darstellungen und zugleich ein Zeugnis für die Verehrung der Seligen über die nähere Umgebung Puchs hinaus sind zwei Altarflügel, die sich heute im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum in München befinden. Beide entstanden um 1420/30 im Raum Ulm oder München und zeigen Edigna in Nonnentracht mit einem Buch in der Hand und einem Gockel darauf. Auf ihrem Haupt trägt sie eine Krone als Zeichen ihrer königlichen Herkunft.

Der eine Flügel gilt als Werk der Münchner Schule und befand sich ursprünglich in der Frauenkirche. Vor goldenem Hintergrund sind die heilige Margarete mit dem Wurm, der heilige Papst Silvester mit der Tiara, einem Pokal und einem Ochsen zu seinen Füßen und die selige Edigna mit Buch und Hahn dargestellt.

Der zweite Altarflügel zeigt Edigna mit einem Bischof. Dieses Bild befand sich früher wahrscheinlich in der Kirche zu Puch. Der Ort der Entstehung und die allgemeine Verehrung des hl. Ulrich in dieser Gegend legen die Vermutung nahe, dass es sich bei dem zusammen mit Edigna dargestellten Bischof um Ulrich von Augsburg handeln könnte, der 973, rund 100 Jahre vor Edignas Ankunft in Puch, gestorben war.

Wallfahrt und Verehrung

Der Jesuit Matthäus Rader, der Edigna in seine Sammlung von kurzen Lebensbeschreibungen aller mit Bayern in Verbindung stehenden Heiligen und Seligen eingereiht hatte – dem bereits genannten insgesamt vierbändigen Werk “Bavaria sancta et pia”, gehörte zum Gelehrtenkreis der Münchner Residenz. Auf der Titelseite des 1615 erschienenen ersten

Bandes wird Herzog Maximilian als Auftraggeber genannt, Matthäus Rader als sein Verfasser. Das ist kein Zufall, sondern, im Hinblick auf Maximilians persönliches und politisches Selbstverständnis, Programm: im Zeitalter von Reformation und Gegenreformation eine unübersehbare Abgrenzung von Lutheranern und Calvinisten und ein Festhalten an der katholischen Religion. Peter B. Steiner nennt in seinem Aufsatz "Der gottselige Fürst und die Konfessionalisierung Altbayerns" (erschienen 1980 in Band II/1 der Wittelsbacher Ausstellungskataloge) als Punkte dieses Programms u. a. Maximilians fromme Stiftungen, den Reliquienkult, die Förderung von Bruderschaften und Wallfahrten und sein "Marianisches Staatsprogramm", das sich u. a. in der Namensgebung seines Sohnes Ferdinand Maria und der Errichtung der Mariensäule in München 1638 dokumentierte. Die Muttergottes wird zur Schutzfrau Bayerns. All das war auf öffentliche Wirksamkeit ausgerichtet, ebenso jedoch Ausdruck persönlicher Frömmigkeit. Maximilian propagierte nicht nur Wallfahrten, sondern unternahm sie auch selbst, er förderte die Bruderschaften nicht nur und gründete einige von ihnen, sondern war auch in mehreren Mitglied. Die ganze Region sollte nichts sein als Religion, so steht es nicht von ungefähr in der Vorrede Raders zum ersten Band der "Bavaria sancta". Und weiter heißt es: "Mit Fug und Recht handelst du, Herzog Maximilian, wenn du dir die Schar der Heiligen, die einst im bayerischen Land geboren oder dorthin gezogen oder dort gestorben sind, angelegen sein lässt, damit sie dir und dem Volk Schutz verleihen; denn niemals lassen sich die Heiligen vergeblich verehren..." (zitiert nach Steiner).

Das gilt auch für die selige Edigna. Elisabeth von Lothringen, erste Gemahlin Kurfürst Maximilians, wallfahrtete jedes Jahr nach Puch und stiftete einen kostbaren Sarg, der beim Überfall der Schweden 1632 geraubt, doch 1661 von Maria Anna, der zweiten Gemahlin Maximilians, ersetzt wurde. Eleonore, die Witwe Kaiser Ferdinands II., verlobte sich 1654 nach dem Verlust eines wertvollen Schmuckstücks zur seligen Edigna. Ein Kelch, eine Messgarnitur und eine Votivtafel geben davon Zeugnis. Auch heute noch wird Edigna angerufen, um verlorene Dinge wieder zu finden.

Die älteste der noch vorhandenen Votivtafeln stammt übrigens aus dem Jahr 1639 und berichtet von einem an der "Roten Ruehr" erkrank-

ten Kind aus Mammendorf, das über Nacht wieder “gesund und frisch” geworden ist. Die meisten anderen datieren ins 18. und 19. Jahrhundert und dokumentieren durch ihre Herkunftsorte die weit über Puch hinaus gepflegte Verehrung der Seligen. So finden sich zwei Votivtafeln in der alten Hofkapelle des Straßerbauern bei Bad Tölz, und in Hofdorf bei Bogen an der Donau wird in der dortigen Edigna-Kirche ein Handreliquiar der Seligen verehrt, das 1765 von Abt Martin II. Hazi von Fürstenfeld (1761–1779) dem Abt des nahe gelegenen Prämonstratenserklusters Windberg übergeben worden war. Das Altarbild der Kirche zeigt Edigna inmitten von Hilfesuchenden, und auch Glocke und Hahn fehlen nicht.

Als Helferin in vielerlei Nöten wird sie bis heute angerufen – als Viehpatronin, in den Problemen des Alltags, bei Unglücksfällen, zur Wiedererlangung verlorener oder gestohlener Sachen oder bei Krankheit und in der Sterbestunde.

Ihre Verehrung ist nach wie vor in zahlreichen Gemeinden der näheren und weiteren Umgebung bezeugt und dokumentiert sich in alljährlichen Wallfahrten z. B. der Gemeinden Dachau, Mitterndorf, Oberpfaffenhofen oder Fürstenfeldbruck St. Bernhard.

Der überlieferte Todestag der Seligen am 26. Februar wird alljährlich festlich begangen und der 1969 gegründete Edigna-Verein nimmt sich ihrer in besonderer Weise an, u. a. durch die seit 1959 alle zehn Jahre stattfindenden Edigna-Spiele.

Und: Die “Tausendjährige Linde” steht immer noch vor der Pucher Kirche...

2. Die selige Edigna im Bildprogramm der Pucher Kirche

Geschichte

Nach ältester Überlieferung besaß Puch bereits im 8. Jahrhundert eine eigene Kirche. Sie wird in einer Urkunde von 758 erstmals erwähnt: “Ich David von Mamindorf ... habe zum Heil meiner Seele dem <Gottes> Haus des hl. Michael ... und aller Heiligen, deren Reliquien dort ruhen und verehrt werden, im dem Ort genannt Poah zwei Teile meines Erb-sitzes überlassen... Diese zwei Teile übertrage und übergebe ich in die Hände des Bischofs Josef!” Dieser Bischof Josef (748–764) war der

zweite Nachfolger des hl. Korbinian. Er soll 751 auch die erste Kirche in Puch geweiht haben.

784 übergab der "Edle Gotahelm von Pohhe" seinen Besitz samt Kirche dem Hochstift Freising, das die Pfarrei Jesenwang, zu der als Filiale auch Puch gehörte, 1314 in Form einer Schenkung des damaligen Bischofs Gottfried von Hexenagger dem Kloster Fürstenfeld übertragen sollte. Die Wittelsbacher Besitzungen in Puch waren dem Kloster durch Herzog Ludwig den Strengen bereits 1266 im Gründungsprivileg zugesprochen worden, es unterhielt in Puch einen Wirtschaftshof, das heutige Staatsgut.

Den Diözesanmatrikeln von 1524 (Sunderndorffer'sche Matrikel) und 1739 (Schmidt'sche Matrikel) zufolge scheint bis ins 18. Jahrhundert der hl. Michael Kirchenpatron gewesen zu sein, erst eine Jesenwanger Pfarrbeschreibung von 1794 spricht vom Patrozinium des hl. Sebastian. Im Zusammenhang mit der Verehrung der seligen Edigna wurde die Pucher Kirche Ziel einer Wallfahrt mit einer ersten nachweisbaren Blüte im 17. Jahrhundert.

Nach der Aufhebung des Klosters Fürstenfeld 1803 wurde Puch 1806 von Jesenwang nach Bruck umgepfarrt. Bis heute ist es Filiale der Stadtpfarrei St. Magdalena von Fürstenfeldbruck.

Das 1863 durch den Pucher Bauern Korbinian Penzl gestiftete Schulbenefizium, das mit dem Bau eines Schulhauses verbunden war, bedeutete für die Gemeinde erstmals auch einen eigenen Geistlichen, für den 1927 ein Pfarrhaus gebaut wurde. 1958 wurde Puch Kuratbenefizium.

Heute liegt die seelsorgliche Betreuung in den Händen eines Ruhestandsgeistlichen. Seit 1978 ist Puch eingemeindeter Ortsteil der Stadt Fürstenfeldbruck.

Baugeschichte

1978 brachten Ausschachtungsarbeiten während der Innenrenovierung im Altarraum zwei aus Nagelfluh- bzw. Ziegelsteinen bestehende Fundamente eines Chorbogens und einen daran anschließenden Mörtelboden zutage, die auf den Chor einer frühromanischen Kirche aus dem 8. Jahrhundert schließen lassen. Auch im Langhaus fanden sich unter dem gotischen Pflaster Reste eines solchen Mörtelstampfbodens. Die unteren Teile des Mauerwerks auf der Nordseite entstanden dagegen



um 1200, zu einer Zeit, als der Zustrom zum Grab der seligen Edigna begonnen haben dürfte.

Heutige Größe und bauliche Gestaltung stammen von 1453, wie eine mittlerweile wieder zugetünchte Inschrift an der Stirnseite der Apsis bezeugt. Unter Abt Paulus Herzmann von Fürstenfeld (1451–1454) wurden an die dreijochige, flachgedeckte Saalkirche ein gotischer, leicht eingezogener und dreiseitig geschlossener Altarraum

über zwei Joche sowie die Vorhalle im Süden angebaut. Auch die drei unteren Stockwerke des Turmes stammen aus dieser Zeit, der obere Teil wurde 1765 aufgeführt. Die beiden Wappen am Chorbogen, das obere des Fürstenfelder Abtes Liebhard Kellerer (1714–1734) und das untere des zu dieser Zeit amtierenden Hofmarkrichters Georg Rott (1687–1724) verweisen auf einen teilweisen Neubau des Langhauses zwischen 1714 und 1724 und eine sich anschließende Neugestaltung im Stil des Rokoko.

Langhaus und Altarraum sind durch eine Chorbogenwand mit weiter Spitzbogenöffnung voneinander getrennt. Der um 1724 datierte Stuck könnte von *Jacopo Appiani* stammen, dessen älterer Bruder Pietro Francesco damals gerade den Chorraum der Fürstenfelder Klosterkirche stuckiert hatte. Jacopo selbst sollte ab 1729/30 das dortige Langhaus ausgestalten. Die Wände des Pucher Langhauses sind mit Pilastern mit roter und grüner Marmorierung geschmückt, die in Stuckvasen übergehen, die Decke mit Blattranken auf gelb-, rosa-, grau- und türkisfarbenem Grund. Die Fresken werden dem Brucker Maler *Joseph Krenauer* (gest. 1738) zugeschrieben, der hier um 1730 arbeitete. Trotz der gemeinsamen Amtszeit von Abt und Richter in den Jahren 1714 bis 1724 ist die Ausschmückung der Kirche in die späteren Amtsjahre des Abtes zu datieren, zumal Kellerer als Gestalter des Programms zu gelten hat.

Nach Außenreparaturen in den Jahren 1843/44 und einer Instandsetzung der Kirchturmkuppel 1848 folgte von 1850 bis 1853 zunächst die Restaurierung des der Gottesmutter geweihten Hochaltars und der Einbau neuer Seitenaltäre (nördlich: selige Edigna, südlich: heiliger Sebastian). Auch die Kanzel stammt wohl aus dieser Zeit. 1867 wurde durch den Brucker Maler und Vergolder *Jakob Angermair* ein neuer Hochaltar geschaffen. Die Stuckaturen wurden übertüncht und die Fresken teilweise übermalt. Die Restaurierungen von 1908 und 1936 entfernten diese Übermalungen. 1936 wurde das Langhausfresko, das unter der entfernten Ölfarbschicht weitgehend zerstört war, durch *Michael Gottschalk* aus Taufkirchen/Vils rekonstruiert und erneuert. Als Vorlage diente ein Kupferstich des Münchener Stechers Franz Joseph Mörl (gest. 1732), der sich seinerseits am Deckenbild der Pucher Kirche orientiert haben dürfte. Außerdem wurde die Raumschale gereinigt, getüncht und farbig abgetönt, die Vergoldung des Hochaltars erneuert und Seitenaltäre und Kanzel neu gefasst. Zur 850-Jahrfeier des Todestages der seligen Edigna wurde 1959 eine neue Orgel geweiht.

Gründlichen baulichen Reparaturmaßnahmen 1976/77 mit Trockenlegung, neuem Außenputz und Schindeleindeckung des Daches von Kirche und Turm schloss sich 1978 eine erneute Innenrestaurierung an. Stuck und Fresken wurden gereinigt und von Übermalungen befreit, so dass sich die Kirche heute zum größten Teil in ihren Originalfarben präsentiert. Der *Hochaltar* von 1867 wurde durch einen um 1690 entstandenen und neu erworbenen Altar ersetzt, der im unteren Teil ergänzt und neu gefasst wurde. Die spätgotische Madonna im Mittelschrein aus der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts ist eine Stiftung, die beiden Seitenfiguren der Apostel Petrus und Paulus (um 1690) werden dem Landsberger Bildhauer Lorenz Luidl zugeschrieben.

Im Sommer 1998 wurden Raumschale und Stuckaturen der Kirche durch den Brucker Kirchenmaler Josef Hausch einer Reinigung unterzogen, an deren Begleitarbeiten sich die Pucher Gemeinde mit einer Unzahl freiwilliger Arbeitsstunden beteiligte, um ihre Kirche wieder in neuem Glanz erstrahlen zu lassen. In den Jahren 2007 und 2008 erhielten Kirche und Turm ein neues rotes Ziegeldach. Die äußere Farbgebung wurde in Abstimmung mit der Eindeckung des Daches in die Grundfarbe Weiß mit roter Gliederung abgeändert. Das neue Dach

wurde durch viele großzügige Spenden aus der Bürgerschaft finanziert. Ansprechpartner vor Ort war Kirchenpfleger Franz Ostermeier, der sich dieser Aufgabe in unzähligen Stunden widmete. Das Architekturbüro Zeh leitete die Baumaßnahme, die damit einer der letzten ist, die Alexander Zeh begleiten konnte. Er ist im September 2007 völlig unerwartet verstorben und hat das Ende der Renovierung nicht mehr erlebt.

Das Bildprogramm der Kirche

In ihrer heutigen Ausstattung ist die Pucher Kirche trotz ihres Sebastian-Patroziniums ganz auf die Gestalt der seligen Edigna ausgerichtet. Die Entwicklung des Bildprogrammes wird dem *Fürstentfelder Abt Liebhard Kellerer* (1714–1734) zugeschrieben, dem es im Zusammenhang mit der Darstellung der Edigna-Legende nach Auffassung von Brigitte Sauerländer (Corpus der barocken Deckenmalerei) auf zweierlei Dinge ankam: die wechselseitige Liebe zwischen Gott und der menschlichen Seele und das richtige Beten im Geist, in Einsamkeit und Stille. Dabei spielt die Emblematis des Herzens, das auch in seinem persönlichen Wappen erscheint, eine besondere Rolle. Auftakt zu diesem erzieherischen Bildprogramm sind die biblischen Szenen an der Emporenbrüstung: Jesus und die Samariterin am Jakobsbrunnen (Joh 4,1–42: Den Vater im Geist anbeten) und die kanaänäische Frau (Mt 15,21–28: Hartnäckiges Bitten). Auf dem zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts durch den Einbau einer Orgel zerstörten mittleren Fresko lehrte Jesus seinen Jüngern das Vaterunser (Mt 6,9–13; Lk 11,1–4).

Mittelpunkt des zentralen, 1936 erneuerten *Langhausfreskos* ist die *selige Edigna als Überwinderin alles Irdischen*, die im Pilgergewand in der hohlen Linde sitzt, den rechten Fuß auf die Schlange, den linken Fuß auf die gestürzten Figuren von Superbia und Amor profanus gesetzt: Hochmut, Besitz, Eitelkeit und weltliche Liebe, die für sie keine Bedeutung haben, weil sie sich der göttlichen Liebe geweiht hat. Die um das Fresko angeordneten ovalen Medaillons beziehen sich auf Edignas Lebensweg: a) Der Ochsenkarren auf dem Weg zum Bestimmungsort am Horizont mit Frau Welt und dem Teufel am Wegesrand; b) die Sonnenblume, in deren Gestalt sich Edigna vom Palast des Vaters ab- und dem Licht Christi zuwendet; c) Jesus und Edigna als Braut und Bräutigam des Hohenliedes und d) das Buch des Lebens, in das Edignas Name



Buntglasfenster in der Frauenkirche in München mit dem Bild der seligen Edigna (Mitte). Photo von Nelja Kukoval's'ka, 2019.

eingeschrieben ist und das überleitet zum Bildprogramm des Altarraumes mit der *Aufnahme Edignas in den Himmel*: Christus und seine Mutter Maria thronen auf Wolken, überhöht vom Symbol der Dreifaltigkeit, der Erzengel Michael mit Seelenwaage und Richtschwert und ein weiterer Engel mit dem Palmzweig der Seligen kommen Edigna entgegen, deren Figur von einer großen Stuckamphore über dem Choraltar, Teil der reichen Stuckierung des Altarraumes, getragen wird. Die Herzembleme zu beiden Seiten der Darstellung unterstreichen die Sehnsucht

nach einer mystischen Vereinigung der Seele mit Gott, zumal Edigna nie heiliggesprochen wurde: Das Herz im Vogelkäfig, den die Hand Gottes öffnet und diesem so die Befreiung in der Überwindung des Fleisches schenkt, und das Herz, das zwar mit einer Kette an die Welt und einen Gefängnisturm gefesselt ist, aber dennoch von Gottes Hand geführt wird. Die Herzemblematik der acht Stuckreliefs an der Leibung des Chorbogens fasst den Lebenslauf Edignas noch einmal in knapper und abstrakter Form zusammen. Wie in der unter Abt Liebhard Kellerer ausgemalten Klosterkirche Fürstenfeld steht also das Zurücklassen der irdischen Güter und die Loslösung von der Welt – in Fürstenfeld durch die Mönche, in Puch durch Edigna – im Vordergrund, notwendige Voraussetzung für das von allem Irdischen befreite Gebet als höchster Form der Zwiesprache des Menschen mit Gott.

Aus: Edigna zu Puch. Festschrift aus Anlass der 6. Edigna-Spiele im März 2009. Fürstenfeldbruck 2009. Herausgegeben von Birgitta Klemenz im Auftrag des Edigna-Vereins Puch e. V. in Zusammenarbeit mit Edigna Kellermann und Marcus Everding.

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wenn wir in diesen Spiegel schauen, so kommt uns
ein großes treffliches Bild von uns selbst daraus entgegen*
Friedrich Schiller

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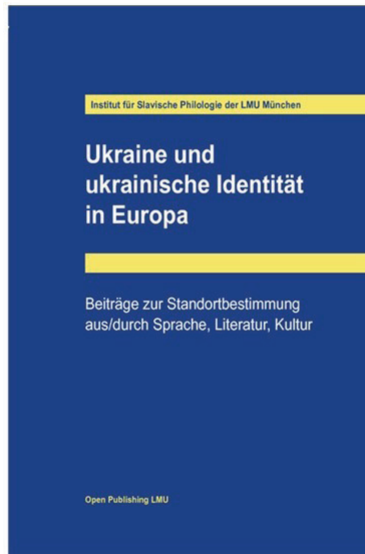


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УКРАЇНА ТА УКРАЇНСЬКА ІДЕНТИЧНІСТЬ В ЄВРОПІ
КРІЗЬ ПРИЗМУ МОВИ, ЛІТЕРАТУРИ ТА КУЛЬТУРИ



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**Institut für Slavische Philologie
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Die Beiträge des Sammelbands *Starke Frauen des Mittelalters* und das Bild des neuen Europa stellen die europäische Dimension in den Vordergrund und zeigen, wie starke Frauen in alten, jedoch neu gedachten Legenden und Mythen ihren spezifischen Beitrag zum Aufbau einer neuen europäischen Identität leisteten. Ziel ist es, die Rolle uns teilweise auch noch nicht so bekannter starker Frauen in Geschichte und Literatur gerade auch aus dem ukrainischen Kontext heraus aufzugreifen und zu verdeutlichen. Die Lebensaktivität dieser Frauen zeigt sich als unverzichtbarer, teilweise revolutionärer Bestandteil der kulturellen, sozialen und politischen Werte eines Europas, wie wir es heute kennen und schätzen.

Der Band will verstärkt ins Bewußtsein rufen, wie in der mittelalterlichen Kultur Mittel- und Osteuropas Erfolgsgeschichten möglich wurden, in denen starke Frauen zu 'Agentinnen' des kulturellen Dialogs zwischen Ost und West werden konnten. Ihre Stärke beruhte stets darauf, daß sie bestehende Sozialsysteme und Lebensbedingungen nicht mehr ertragen wollten, sondern sie mit Mut und persönlichem Engagement revolutionär, aber friedlich zu verändern suchten. Die historischen Leistungen der starken Frauen des Mittelalters sind gerade heute von ungeahnter Aktualität und von mehr als vitaler Bedeutung für ein friedliches Verhältnis zwischen Ost und West.

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