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## LATIN IN MEDIEVAL KYIV: THE OUTLINE OF HISTORY OF A ROYAL FAMILY IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

**Radvan D.V.**

Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University (Kyiv, Ukraine),  
University of Verona (Verona, Italy)  
ORCID ID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4227-3878>  
[d.radvan@kubg.edu.ua](mailto:d.radvan@kubg.edu.ua)



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*Kyivan Rus' had extensive political, economic and cultural connections with other European states. Knowledge of foreign languages, the Latin language in particular, was in demand to maintain these connections. The article outlines the context in which literature, written in the Latin language, emerged in medieval Kyiv in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and identifies the spheres in which Latin was used. The history of one ruling family, Prince Iziaslav of Kyiv, Princess Gertruda of Kyiv, their son Prince Yaropolk and daughter-in-law Cunigunda, is preserved in texts and artefacts. Primary and secondary sources as well as the sphragistic data, related to international contacts of the family with Pope Gregory VII, the Papal legates, Duke Boleslaw II the Bold of Poland and King Heinrich IV of Germany, provide facts that the Kyivan royals used Latin in foreign relations and literature. The article analyzes these facts and states that the Latin language was used in Kyivan Rus' in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in literature (prayers, religious poetry and chants), votive inscriptions, in administration (seals) and foreign correspondence.*

*Key words: Latin, Kyivan Rus', medieval, Codex Gertrudianus, international contacts, Princess Gertruda of Kyiv, Holy Roman Emperor Heinrich IV, Pope Gregory VII, Saint Peter the Apostle*

**Радван Д.В. Латина у середньовічному Києві: нарис історії князівської сім'ї у контексті її міжнародних контактів**

*Київська Русь мала широкі політичні, економічні і культурні зв'язки з іншими європейськими державами. Володіння іноземними мовами, зокрема латиною, було необхідним для підтримання цих зв'язків. Метою статті є окреслити контекст, в якому виникла латиномовна література у середньовічному Києві, а також визначити сфери використання латинської мови. Історія однієї князівської сім'ї,*

*київського князя Ізяслава, київської княгині Гертруди, їх сина Ярополка і невістки Кунігунди, збережена у текстах і артефактах. На основі дослідження первинних і вторинних джерел, що стосуються міжнародних контактів князівської сім'ї з Папою Григорієм VII, папськими легатами, польським князем Болеславом II Сміливим та германським королем Генріхом IV, а також залучення даних сфрагістики, проаналізовано та інтерпретовано факти використання латини у зовнішніх відносинах Києва і в літературі другої половини 11 століття. Визначено такі сфери використання латини у Київській Русі другої половини 11 століття: література (молитви, релігійна поезія, канти), вотивні написи, адміністрація (написи на печатках), зовнішньополітична кореспонденція.*

*Ключові слова: латинська мова, середньовічний, Київська Русь, Codex Gertrudianus, міжнародні контакти, київська княгиня Гертруда, імператор Священної Римської імперії Генріх IV, Папа Григорій VII, Святий Апостол Петро*

**Introduction.** Multilingualism of the Ukrainian Renaissance literature, where Old Ukrainian, Old Polish, Greek, Latin, Church Slavonic and all its modernized versions met as equal voices, is considered a defining characteristic of the period, a lifestyle and a ubiquitous way to exchange ideas and communicate globally, Pan-European. Multiculturalism and consequently multilingualism was blooming in the literature of Baroque. Ivan Kotlyarevsky signaled connections with cosmopolitan past in the initial Latin verses of “Eneida”. Was multilingualism in literature and in social life a Renaissance invention? Were medieval inhabitants of Kyiv also accustomed to speaking and reading literature in different languages? Kyivan Rus’ had extensive political, economic and cultural connections with other European states. We presume therefore that the knowledge of foreign languages, the Latin language in particular, was in demand to maintain these connections.

**Theoretical background.** Lexical borrowings from Latin in the Old Ukrainian texts written in Kyivan Rus’ give evidence that contemporary Ukrainians were acquainted with Latin (Myronova et al., 2021, p. 8). The purpose of this article is to outline the context in which the Latin literature in Kyiv emerged and the spheres where Latin was used. The linguistic analysis of Latin texts is not in focus of this essay.

**Methods.** Primary and secondary sources as well as the sphragistic data were analysed to find and interpret the facts of usage of the Latin language in Kyiv’s foreign relations and in literature in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

**Results and discussion.** The history of one ruling family, Prince Iziaslav of Kyiv, Princess Gertruda of Kyiv, their son Prince Yaropolk and daughter-in-law Cunigunda, preserved in texts, artefacts and objects, gives an idea of how Latin was used in Kyivan Rus’. A brief examination of family tree tells about foreign

alliances of the Kyivan dynasty. Iziaslav (baptismal name Demetrius) was the son of Prince Yaroslav of Kyiv and Ingegerd of Sweden. Gertruda was the daughter of King Mieszko II Lambert of Poland and Queen Rycheza, and the granddaughter of Holy Roman Emperor Otto II and Empress Theophano, on the maternal side.

Prince Izyaslav inherited throne in Kyiv in 1054 after death of his father in February and was expelled from Kyiv twice, in 1068-1069 (to Poland) and 1073-1077 (to Poland and the German Empire). He returned from both exiles with the support of his Polish relative, cousin Duke Bolesław II the Bold (King of Poland from 1076), although to ensure his second return he had to ask in turn Duke Bolesław, German King Heinrich IV and Pope Gregory VII. His family members followed him on his “wandering through foreign lands” (Hazzard Cross, S., Transl., Laurentian text, 1953). On 3 October 1078 he was killed in a battle.

The very beginning of Iziaslav’s rule coincided with the aftermath of the summer events in Constantinople, known as the Great Schism of 1054. Despite neutrality in the bilateral Rome-Constantinople dispute, Kyiv was involved in its settlement, most probably due to kinship with the Monomachos family, whose member got married to Prince Yaroslav’s son Vsevolod ca 1053, and its international status. The main 11<sup>th</sup> century source on discord between the Western and Eastern churches, “Brevis et succincta commemoratio eorum quae gesserunt apocrisarii Sanctae Romanae et Apostolicae Sedis in regia urbe” (“The Commemoration”), written by Cardinal bishop Humbert, the head of the Papal legates to Constantinople and the participant of the events, contains an episode of significance for Kyiv. The Byzantine emperor, “after sending his messengers to the Romans, received the truest model of excommunication sent to him by the city of Rus’, and exhibited it to the citizens, and at last he discovered that Michael had falsified the letter of the ambassadors and convicted him” (translated from: Acta, 1861, p.152). The Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (ruled 1042-1055) obtained from the city of Rus’, obviously from the capital, the original text of the excommunication, declared by the Papal delegation, and discovered that the text of its Greek translation had been falsified by Patriarch Michael Caerularius. W.Abrahams suggested that the Papal delegation went from Constantinople to Kyiv to brief about disputes in Byzantium and that they spent some time in Rus’, participating in meetings and waiting for the developments in Constantinople (Abrahams, 1904, p. 22-23). “The Commemoration” also informed about a coup attempt organized by Patriarch against the Emperor in course of the visit of the Papal legates, a major internal event of international significance (Acta, 1861,

pp.150-152). The Papal delegation consisted of the French cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida, who was a Benedictine theologian, expert in Latin and Greek and an author of works on canon law, archbishop Pietro of Amalfi, and deacon and chancellor Frédéric de Lorraine (future Pope Stephen IX in 1058-1059). Both Humbert of Silva Candida and Frédéric de Lorraine became implementers of the ecclesiastic reforms of the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. We have no recorded evidence of their contacts with Prince Iziaslav (“The Tale of Bygone Years” informs of his ruling in Kyiv starting from 1055, which can also be the Byzantine *anno mundi* starting in September and therefore we can refer to autumn 1054) apart from the abovementioned successful dispatch of diplomatic correspondence. The Emperor’s messengers, the Byzantine Varangian guards, who handled the task, were the Rus’ people, who had been enrolled according to the Rus’ – Byzantine agreements of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

Visit of legates reflects the status of Kyivan Rus’ and its church, briefly led from 1051 by metropolitan Ilarion, a native intellectual preacher elected by bishops in St Sophia cathedral in Kyiv and nominated by Prince Yaroslav. Disagreements on dogmatic issues between Constantinople and Rome had no impact on domestic and foreign policy of Rus’ during the 11<sup>th</sup> century, even with the Greeks dominating the highest ecclesiastical positions. The foreign marriages of members of princely family and their participation in multilateral military alliances reflected the contemporary European state of affairs: “there was little sense of alienation, let alone of separation, between Latin and Greek Christianity” (Cowdrey, 1998, p. 481).

Viewed in this context, the decision of the expelled Prince of Kyiv to try and obtain Papal support to return to Kyiv seems well motivated. Meanwhile, he had to leave Poland to Germany (by Easter 1074 Bolesław had made peace with Sviatoslav, his father-in-law, and Vsevolod) and addressed King of Germany Heinrich IV.

The 11<sup>th</sup> century German chronicler Bruno records in “*De bello Saxonico*” an episode that took place between March 1065 and 1070. Heinrich IV sent to the King of Rus’ an embassy led by his former favourite. The ambassador broke a seal on a secret letter from King Heinrich IV to the King of Rus’ and found out that the King was asking his foreign counterpart to either kill or imprison the ambassador. Having burnt the letter, the ambassador continued his journey, completed the mission successfully and brought royal gifts to his King (*Brunonis liber de bello Saxonico*, 1864). This is the first recorded mention of contacts between

Heinrich IV and the ruler of Rus'. Although we do not know the name of the ruler, who received that reasonable German Ambassador and avoided a dramatic diplomatic controversy requested by Heinrich IV, we have the evidence of further bilateral relations.

In 1074 or in early 1075 Iziaslav, Gertruda and Yaropolk came to Margrave Dedi of the Saxon Ostmark. Dedi had recently reconciled with King Heinrich IV upon failure of the Saxon uprising and arranged Iziaslav's meeting with him in Mainz in January 1075. A contemporary historian Lampert of Hersfeld in his *Annales* retells that Iziaslav ('Ruzenorum rex Demetrius') brought a gift to the King, gold and silver vessels and precious clothes, and asked him to help against his brother, who seized the kingdom with tyrannical cruelty (*Lamperti Monachi Hersfeldensis Opera*, 1894, p. 219). Heinrich sent Burchard, who was a presbyter of the church of Trever and the brother of Sviatoslav's wife Oda von Stade, to Kyiv. The mission had to convince Svyatoslav to leave the throne and avoid confrontation with the Teutonic kingdom, although Germany's neutrality in this conflict had been negotiated with Heinrich IV prior to departure by the ambassador himself. Iziaslav was supposed to stay with Margrave Dedi until the embassy's return. According to the *Tale of Bygone Years*, "Ambassadors from Germany came to Svyatoslav <...>, and in his pride, he showed them his riches. They beheld the innumerable quantity of his gold, silver and silks, but remarked, "This is nothing, for it lies dead. Servants are preferable to this treasure, for vassals <...> can win still greater wealth.'" (Hazard Cross, S., Transl., *Laurentian Text*, 1953, p. 164). C. Raffensperger suggested that the meaning of this metaphorical dialogue was to discuss prospective of a certain family connection (Raffensperger, 2015). The embassy returned in July, bringing Sviatoslav's request of neutrality and a gift of gold, silver and precious clothes. Never before had the Teutonic kingdom received such a gift, remarked Lampert. Heinrich IV was preoccupied with internal problems (the gift from Kyiv filled the empty treasure and was used to pay his soldiers) and abandoned any further mediation attempts.

Sigebert of Gembloux, the 12<sup>th</sup> century Benedictine monk from Brabant, recorded under the year 1073 that one of two brothers, Kings of Rus', contending for the throne, came to Heinrich IV offering to submit himself and his kingdom to the King if the latter would help to restore him to his kingdom. Heinrich IV had to deal with the Saxon uprising and therefore was not able to provide any help to a foreign state (*Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis monachi*, 1844).

Nevertheless, Heinrich IV developed interest in Kyiv affairs and riches, and in 1089 he, then the Holy Roman Emperor, married widow of Margrave von Stade Eupraksia, the daughter of Kyiv's ruler Vsevolod and the niece of Izyalsav and Sviatoslav, and crowned her Empress of the Holy Roman Empire, giving the new name, Adelheid.

In spring 1075 Iziaslav and Gertruda sent their newlywed son Yaropolk and daughter-in-law Cunigunda von Orlamünde (a stepdaughter of Margrave Dedi) to Rome to negotiate support with the Pope. Results of the visit are described in the letter from Pope Gregory VII of 17 April 1075 and in the miniatures in Codex Getrudianus.

In the letter, addressed to King Demetrius and Queen, his wife (the first paragraph is: "Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei. Demetrio regi Ruscorum et reginae uxori eius, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem" (Documenta, 1953, p.5-6)), the pope tells that he received their son who had given evidence of due fidelities ('fidelitas') to the prince of apostles, and had asked to obtain the kingdom of the Rus' from the Pope's hands as a gift of St Peter, claiming his father's consent to the act. The Pope granted his petition and transferred to him governance of the kingdom. Gregory VII promised Iziaslav his assent to all his rightful petitions. He said that he was sending two legates, one of whom was well known to Iziaslav as his friend. In the letter of 20 April 1075 to Duke Bolesław of Poland, handling the complaint of Yaropolk, Pope asked Bolesław to return to Iziaslav the property of which the latter had been deprived earlier.

Pope Gregory VII (years of pontificate 1073-1085) conducted proactive policy of openness for dialogue with the European rulers. His extensive epistolary and in person contacts with kings and queens were aimed at asserting the overlordship of St Peter the Apostle and had definitive coordinating impact on developments in Europe. His unprecedented decision to support exiled Kyivan royals reflected his vision of Europe united under the realm of St Peter, the ideas that had been promoted in his ecclesiastic reforms. Remarkably, there are no mentions of attempts to launch theological discussions with Kyiv in the context of the encounter in Rome, and apart from the diplomatic and ecclesiastic formula of transferring the kingdom as a gift of St Peter, the negotiations were political. The twelfth thesis of the document known as "Dictatus papae" of March 1075 (pope may depose emperors) was in fact tested in practice by Gregory VII when a suitable model was elaborated to legitimately reinstall the expelled legitimate ruler of Rus'. Thus, Iziaslav, Gertruda, Yaropolk and Cunigunda joined the pro-papal

group, making a far-sighted and remembered move, if we bear in mind strong support that Pope Urban II and the staunch adherer of Papal policy Countess Mathilde of Canossa provided to Empress Adelheid (Iziaslav's niece Evpraksia Vsevolodivna) two decades later, in 1092-1095, in separation from her husband Heinrich IV.

The Papal letters as well as chronicles (*Brunonis liber De bello Saxonico*, *Lamperti Hersfeldensis Annales*, *Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, *Annalista Saxo*) use terms 'rex', referring to Iziaslav or Sviatoslav, 'regina' to Gertruda, and 'regnum Ruscourm' (kingdom of the Rus' people) to define their realm.

At the time of Yaropolk's travel to Rome in 1075 Gertruda started to compose and write down prayers to St Peter the Apostle and Virgin Mary revealing her concerns and asking to support her son, her husband and herself.

The Princess of Kyiv formulated her thoughts, feelings, fears and concerns in the Latin language. Queen Rycheza, Gertruda's mother (daughter of Count Ezzo of Lothringia), left Poland to Cologne together with the little daughter and upon death of the husband became a nun in the Brauweiler nunnery. Gertruda grew up and received education in one of the nunneries in Cologne (all her six aunts were abbesses), where in addition to her native Polish and German she mastered Latin. British scholar Richard Ashdowne provided a valuable insight into the medieval educational background: "many medieval Latin users were impressively familiar with the classical texts as readers if not writers or copyists. Those who recorded business accounts or who wrote about optics or theology would nevertheless still have encountered Latin from earlier eras during their education. While much of this must have been the language of the Christian church found in liturgy and the Bible (both of which were in turn affected by the earlier classical language), their own use of Latin was both directly and indirectly influenced by the prestigious classical Latin and works written in it, either when they tried to emulate it or because they had an awareness of themselves using the language differently. Thus, their writings require the medievalist to keep in mind the writers' full familiarity with Latin – not only what we see in their writing but also their experience in reading, speaking, and hearing" (Ashdowne, 2018).

The Egbert's Psalter (the masterpiece of the Ottonian art, named after Egbert, Archbishop of Trier, who commissioned the book in Reichenau in 977-993) was Gertruda's family heirloom that she got from her mother Rycheza and then passed to granddaughter.

On the margins and additional pages of the Psalter Gertruda wrote down more than one hundred Latin prayers, and several chants to be performed by the choir at the court of Prince of Kyiv. She reflected on dramatic events and acts of violence inevitably embedded into life of her family members and put reflections in the formulas of prayers begging Virgin Mary and St Peter the Apostle for salvation. “Her continuing reverence for St Peter and solicitude for the pope” (Cowdrey, 1998, p. 453) was recorded in the manuscript.

In addition, a calendar with predictions for the days of the year was copied and attached to the Psalter (the calendars of that kind were unusual for later periods although quite customary for the 11<sup>th</sup> century).

Gertruda’s manuscript contains miniatures depicting, i.a. St Peter the Apostle, Yaropolk, Cunigunda and Gertruda. The pictures were most likely commissioned by Gertruda to the scriptorium of St. Dymytri monastery, founded by Iziaslav. The Kyivan artist, Master of Codex Gertrudianus, depicted Jesus crowning Yaropolk and Cunigunda, supported by St Peter the Apostle and St Irene respectively. The composition of coronation scene is modelled on the Byzantine style and was typical for representations of royal couples of the Byzantine and the Holy Roman empires. Two ivory plaques of the 10<sup>th</sup> century show this composition: “Christ crowns Emperor Roman and Empress Eudokia” (possibly a book cover, Bibliothèque Nationale de France) and “Christ crowns Emperor Otto II and Empress Theophano” (binding of the Magdeburg codex, Musée de Cluny, France), the latter depicts the great grandparents of Yaropolk. The early 11<sup>th</sup> century Reichenau artist painted the miniature “Christ crowns Emperor Henry II and his wife Cunegunda supported by St Peter and St Paul” for the Evangeliary of Henry II (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München).

Gertruda of Kyiv was the first Latin language writer in the medieval Ukrainian literature and one of the few female authors among the European royals and aristocracy of the period. Codex Gertrudianus is a unique handwritten illuminated book in Latin, made by the Kyivan Princess or, to follow the contemporary terminology, Queen, and, from our perspective, is a rare representation of both Kyivan Latin literature and Kyivan art of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is also Gertruda’s autobiography (a meticulous comparison of her prayers and events in the chronicles was made by A.Andrzejuk (2006)) and a Christian mystical poetry.

The last royal owner of Gertruda’s book was Elizabeth of Thuringia (1207-1231), saint patron of the German Order of the Teutonic Knights of Christ in



Jerusalem. Her uncle Berthold, patriarch of Aquileia, according to the tradition, gave the psalter to the Chapter of Cividale. The illuminated manuscript Codex Gertudianus is now in Cividale del Friuli, in the collection of Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Archivi e Biblioteca, it is also available online at <https://www.librideipatriarchi.it/en/books/egberts-psalter-codex-gertrudianus>.

On Christmas 1076 Bolesław the Bold was crowned King of Poland in Gniezno, a city strongly connected with veneration of Saint Wojciech (St Adalbert), the first Polish saint, and the saint patron of Poland (Emperor Otto III came here in 1000 to visit his tomb). Papal legates, sent to Bolesław, restored the metropolitanate in Gniezno (founded in 1000) and an archbishop was appointed. M. Hrushevskyi (1992) and C. Raffensperger (2015) suggest that Papal legates sent to Iziaslav worked towards reconciliation of the two rulers, which was stated as one of the preconditions for Duke's coronation. Iziaslav and Gertruda attended the ceremony of coronation. It is most likely in these circumstances that Iziaslav could have made a gift of pallium to the archbishop of Gniezno with the inscription in Latin. A record about an ancient pallium of Saint Adalbert with the inscription on it was made in the manuscript of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Kopiarusz listów i dokumentów z czasów Kazimierza Jagiellończyka, Biblioteka Kórnicka, Poland, [https://platforma.bk.pan.pl/pl/bib\\_records/256014](https://platforma.bk.pan.pl/pl/bib_records/256014), P.36). According to Anatol Lewicki, who discovered the inscription, the attribution of pallium to St Adalbert (St Wojciech) was misleading because the Saint had never been an archbishop, and it was actually a gift of Iziaslav given in the years 1073-1077 to a contemporary archbishop. The text of the inscription is: "*Oracionibus sancti Demetrii concedas omnipotens multos annos seruo (servo) tuo Izaslaw duci Russie ob remissionem peccaminum et Regni celestis Imperium amen. Fiat domine in nomine tuo.*" (Lewicki, 1893, p. 447).

Translation into English: "*Through the prayers of St. Demetrius, Almighty, grant many years to your servant Izaslaw, Duke of Rus', for the forgiveness of sins and the Kingdom of Heaven, amen. Let it be done, Lord, in your name.*"

Translation into Ukrainian: "*Молитвами святого Димитрія, Вседержителю, даруй многая літа рабу Твоєму Ізаславу, князю Руському, на відпущення гріхів і Царство Небесне, амінь. Нехай станеться, Господи, в Ім'я Твоє.*"

After the death of Sviatoslav, Iziaslav returned to Rus' accompanied by King Bolesław. Iziaslav confirmed to Vsevolod, then ruler in Kyiv, the succession

order, established by Yaroslav, and Vsevolod left Kyiv. Yaropolk had never got the chance to exercise the power as a King.

Yaropolk founded the first and as it appears the sole medieval church in Kyiv dedicated to Saint Peter the Apostle in 1080 in the monastery of St. Dymytri (the monastery was later incorporated into the new St. Michael's of the Golden Domes Monastery built by Iziaslav's other son Sviatopolk). Ruins of the church have survived to the present below the ground. The founder's baptismal name, Petro, reflected devotion of Gertruda to St Peter the Apostle (Cowdrey, 1998, p.453). Yaropolk was assassinated in December 1087, his body was transported to Kyiv and laid honourably in the Church of Saint Peter. "The Tale of Bygone Years" recorded, that "all the people of Kyiv raised great lamentation for him" (Hazzard Cross, S., Transl., 1953, p.169).

A seal with Cyrillic letters ('Gabriel') and depiction of a winged saint on the obverse side and Latin letters 'PA' (Petrus Apostolus) and depiction of St Peter the Apostle on the reverse side was described and attributed by V.Gavrylenko (2014) as produced between 1073 and 1077 in Germany and belonging to Yaropolk. Yaropolk's lead bulla with depiction of St Peter the Apostle and the Saint's name in Cyrillic on the obverse side and depiction of Saints Borys and Glib on the reverse side, was most likely produced before his travel to Rome (Gavrylenko, 2014, pp.129-130). The choice of saints was a statement both of family history and its values. The ruling family has recently got its first members canonized. The ceremony of transporting of relics of the holy martyrs Borys and Glib to the newly built church, their final resting place in Vyshhorod, in 1072 was one of the first major internal events arranged by Izyaslav as ruler of Kyiv. All family members gathered and the commoners witnessed their condemnation of the Cain's sin and their unity of the in defense of Christian values. Not surprisingly, the tragically deceased saint relatives were regarded as the family's mystical connection with the God and the role models for other members. "The Tale of Bygone Years" cites Yaropolk as saying that he strived to follow in his saint granduncles footsteps even in the entire circumstances leading to death, which eventually was the case. Yaropolk was canonized in the 14th century.

Let us consider the time of the creation of these Latin prayers, miniatures, pallium and seals, the years 1070s-1080s. The practice of direct (metaphysical, as it can be described in modern terminology) conversation with God, Virgin Mary, angels and saints was common in the period. Monks and abbots, authors of "The Tale of Bygone Years", often engaged in mystical dialogue with the verses of Holy

Scripture. These written down reflections echoed the recorded events and provided a moment of contemplation both to the chronicler and the reader. In the view of the forthcoming end of the century, the first century after the milestone Anno Domini 1000, the expectations of the approaching Kingdom of Heaven in Kyivan Rus' were as strong as in times of Prince Volodymyr, who famously gave up his jovial way of life to embrace strict asceticism (the fact was meticulously recorded by Tietmar of Merseburg, his contemporary (*Thietmari Merseburgensis episcopi Chronicon*, 1889)). As the Finnish scholar M.Isoaho observed, indications of anticipation of the Apocalypses that were systematically noted and interpreted in "The Tale of Bygone Years" (celestial events indicated future disasters or forthcoming Apocalypse, angel's interventions decided the outcome of the battles etc.) had also been in centrum of centennial and millennial Western European ideas, based on "Revelation" of Pseudo-Methodius (Isohao, 2017). Yaropolk's belief that the secular way to live a life of a saint was a preparation for the meeting with God is the evidence of *Zeitgeist* of the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Neither Iziaslav was a stranger to this vision, engaging in the defense of his brother Vsevolod, in which he eventually lost his life.

The expelled rulers were not a rare phenomenon in the 11<sup>th</sup> century Europe. Iziaslav and his family navigated through internal and external political tensions, managing to overcome constraints imposed by their exile status and maintain a lifestyle of intellectual Christian rulers. They funded development of Kyivan art, both by commissioning objects to foreign masters abroad and making them acquainted with the symbolism of Kyivan insignia, and by introducing Western art, the *Psalter of Egbert*, to scriptorium in Kyiv. The act of oblation of Rus' to Saint Peter the Apostle was commemorated in the miniatures, architecture and in royal seals. The primary sources (*Brunonis liber de bello Saxonico*, *Lamperti Hersfeldensis Annales*, *Chronica Sigeberti Gemblacensis* and the *Chronicle of Annalista Saxo*) contain records of family activities and meetings in exile, that tell of the status of the rich Kyivan dynasty and an important power to deal with.

Iziaslav's bold decision to seek support from the two contesting European powers, the German King and the Pope, and his final joining the group of Papal supporters, leads to the conclusion that he shared his wife's knowledge of languages, Latin in particular. These skills were also indispensable for his son, who married a German aristocrat and successfully negotiated in Rome (the 12<sup>th</sup> century chronicler known as *Annalista Saxo* recorded the continuation of the family tree: "Cunigunda was married to King of the Rus', and had a daughter,

whom a certain nobleman from Thuringia named Gunterus took, and from her he had a son”). All the family members wrote texts in Latin: the manuscript with prayers and chants, the votive inscription on pallium, the initials on seal. We can therefore conclude that the Latin language was used by the royal family in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century Kyivan Rus’ in literature (prayers, religious poetry and chants), votive inscriptions, administration (seals). Latin was also used in foreign correspondence (the copy of excommunication of Patriarch, mentioned in “The Commemoration” by Cardinal Humbertus, the letter from Pope Gregory VII).

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