

## Poland–Ukraine: a thousand years of reciprocity. The Kyivan Princess Dobroniega-Maria, wife of Kazimierz the Restorer: a new hypothesis of her pedigree

**ABSTRACT:** This paper outlines the peculiarities of the genealogy of the Kyivan Rus (Ruthenian) princess Dobroniega-Maria (ca 1015/17–1087), wife of the Polish duke Kazimierz I the Restorer (1016–1058). It reviews the existing theories of Maria’s origin and propounds a new hypothesis of her genealogy as well as considers the circumstances of the dynastic marriage between Maria and Kazimierz I. The genealogical reconstruction represented in the article adduces arguments in favour of the origin of Dobroniega-Maria being connected with Bulgarian, Byzantine, German, English and Ruthenian ancestry.

**KEYWORDS:** Poland, Kyivan Rus, Polish-Ruthenian dynastic marriages, Kazimierz I the Restorer, Dobroniega-Maria

**ABSTRAKT:** Artykuł przedstawia osobliwości genealogii księżniczki ruskiej (Rusinki) Dobroniegi Marii, (ok. 1015/17–1087), żony polskiego księcia Kazimierza I Odnowiciela (1016–1058). Przedstawione zostały istniejące teorie na temat pochodzenia Marii oraz wysunięto nowe hipotezy na temat jej genealogii. Poruszono także kwestię okoliczności małżeństwa dynastycznego Marii i Kazimierza I. Zaprezentowana w artykule rekonstrukcja genealogiczna powołuje się na argumenty przemawiające za bułgarskim, bizantyjskim, niemieckim, angielskim i ruskim pochodzeniem Dobroniegi Marii.

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** Polska, Ruś Kijowska, polsko-ruskie małżeństwa dynastyczne, Kazimierz I Odnowiciel, Dobroniega Maria

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According to the data of the sources, more than a thousand years ago (in 1016) the outstanding Polish ruler Kazimierz (Karol) I the Restorer was born [BALZER 1895: 81; JASIŃSKI 2004: 130]. He went down into the annals of Polish history as a great state leader who not only united the kingdom — fragmented, exhausted by wars — but also restored it. Regenerating the Christian culture of Poland, he established numerous churches and monasteries. Renewing the Old-Polish state he “...odzyskał wiele kraiów za Oycza iego odpadłych, i Tron szczęśliwie wskrzesił i przywrócił”<sup>1</sup> [KRONIKA LECHITÓW 1822: 61; VELIKAYA KHRONIKA 1987: 70] and this is why he gained the name “Restorer” from his descendants.

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<sup>1</sup> The original text in Old Polish language [KRONIKA LECHITÓW (*The Lechites Chronicle*) 1822: 61], translation according to the contemporary language lesson: “... (he) regained many countries which were lost during his father’s reign, and he happily resurrected and reinstated the throne”.

About the year 1040 he married the Kyivan Rus (Ruthenian) princess Dobroniega-Maria, linking a long chain of dynastic marriages arranged between the Polish and Ruthenian ruling dynasties. From this time on, the descendants of Bolesław the Brave and Volodymyr the Great were strongly connected and related. During the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cc fifteen Kyivan princesses became wives of Polish dukes, and ten Polish princesses married Kyivan rulers. The reciprocity of Polish and Ruthenian dynastic history lasted for centuries and thanks to this some scholars asserted that both states were governed by the same ruling family [KUCZYŃSKI 1965: 18].



FIG. 1. Cazimir the Restorer. Drawing by Jan Matejko, 1890/1892, pencil on paper; after POCZET KRÓLÓW POLSKICH 1893: 8–9  
 RYC. 1. Kazimierz Odnowiciel, rysunek Jana Matejki, 1890/1892, ołówek na papierze; za POCZET KRÓLÓW POLSKICH 1893: 8–9

The relations between the two kingdoms comprise about a thousand years of close interaction in the political, military, commercial-economic, cultural and dynastic spheres. The research endeavours often lay stress on the special importance of matrimonial alliances in the interaction of states in the Middle ages. Except for their great political importance, they promoted more active economic cooperation, and encouraged close cultural communication, influence and interchange. Dynastic marriage served as “a sill” for political alliances, aiming to attract a more active participation of the states in each other’s fate.

In the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cc, the Kyivan ruling family established matrimonial alliances with many states, which included in the circle of its political interests — the Byz-

FIG. 2. Dobroniega-Maria. Painting by Vasyl Vasylenko, 2015, oil on wood, 2015, private collection

Рис. 2. Добронієга Марія, образ Василя Василенки, 2015, олія на дошці, колекція приватна



antine Empire, Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, France, Denmark, England, Norway, Sweden etc — but Poland occupied a very special place.

One thousand years ago Poland was, already, the nearest neighbor of Kyivan Rus, and had the longest border that existed between the countries as well as the closest relations, including dynastic ones.

Matrimonial alliances between the Piasts and the descendants of Volodymyr the Great served as special landmarks in the Poland and Rus interaction and being subordinated to political targets played a significant role in interstate cooperation, especially in 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cc.

Dobroniega-Maria (circa 1015/1017–1087) was the first Kyivan princess legally given in marriage to Poland in 11<sup>th</sup> century. Dobroniega's alliance with Kazimierz I (1016–1058) is acknowledged both by Kyivan Rus annals and Polish chronicles.

Most modern scholars and researchers in reliance on the sources state that Dobroniega was a daughter of Volodymyr the Great († 1015) and his Byzantine wife — Anna Porphyrogenita († 1011) [GUSTINSKAYA LETOPIS' 1843: 267; IL'IN 1957: 114–115; TATISHCHEV 1963: 227; SZCZUR, OZÓG 1999: 534; PLAKHONIN 2003; VOYTOVICH 2006: 277]. The year of her birth is not known with certainty. But based on the date of death of Anna Porphyrogenita, the researchers agreed Dobroniega was born before 1011. The date of her death is recorded by *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej* — as 1087 [ROCHNIK KRAKOWSKOGO KAPITULA 1990: 148, 150–151]. In this case the princess would have lived a long life of more than 76

years — a fortunate exception in those times. But we believe that the dating of Dobroniega's life as well as the details of her origin are still not ascertained and require additional careful examination.

Kyivan chronicles, in particular the Hypatian Codex, call Kazimierz's wife "a sister of Yaroslav the Wise" [LITOPYS RUS'KYI 1989: 94], and some researchers have tried to ascertain Dobroniega's identity as a daughter of Yaroslav (Aleksander Brückner, Stanisław Kętrzyński, Andrzej Poppe and others) [NAZARENKO 2001: 579–580]. But this version was denied after the analysis of the further matrimonial alliances of Yaroslav the Wise's descendants [NAZARENKO 2001: 579–580].

Some historians beginning with Nicolas Baumgarten, basing on *Genealogia Welforum* and the indirect records of Thietmar of Merseburg, considered Dobroniega's mother to be the last wife of Volodymyr the Great, married to him after Anna's death. The famous genealogist believed she was a daughter of Kuno (Konrad) von Öhningen, duke of Swabia [BAUMGARTEN 1930; BAUMGARTEN 1932: 121; KOROLYUK 1964: 227; BERTINSKIE ANNALY 1989: 81–93; LITOPYS RUS'KYI 1989: 49; NAZARENKO 1993: 192; LAMPERT KHERSFEL'DSKIY 2010: 190]. According to Thietmar, she was brought to Poland after Bolesław the Brave's Kyivan campaign of 1018, together with many other captives [PASHUTO 1968: 326].

In our opinion, however, the actual likelihood of Volodymyr the Great's marriage to the daughter of Kuno is doubtful. After Anna's death (1011) he was about 60 years old and described as "being an old infirm man" [NAZARENKO 1993: 141] who died a few years later. It's hardly probable that he could have begot a daughter in his senility. It's also hardly probable that Dobroniega could be a daughter of Anna Porphyrogenita. Dating Dobroniega's birth to 1011, the researchers had not taken into consideration that Anna was about 48 years old at that time.

It's also impossible to accept that Dobroniega was born long before this date as we know the exact date of her death (1087) and the year of her husband's birth — 1016. If she was born in Anna's "fertile period" (end of the 980s–990s), Dobroniega would have lived about 90–100 years, married her husband at the age of about 50 (after which she gave birth to five children) and would have been much older than her husband — all of which is rather unbelievable.

This is why it's reasonable to suppose that Dobroniega was born somewhat later — about 1015–1017 — and was not a daughter but a granddaughter of Volodymyr the Great. And her genealogy could include not only the Kyivan princes and Byzantine emperors but also the tsars of Bulgaria, kings of England and emperors of the Holy Roman Empire.

We believe that Dobroniega is a daughter of Borys, a son of Volodymyr, who was later canonized by both the Orthodox and Roman Churches as one of the first Kyivan Rus martyrs. According to St. Borys hagiography he entered into marriage at a young age at his father's bidding [BOGUSLAVS'KYI 1928: 1–43; SAMBOR 2009: 372; DENISENKO, KUZYK 2005: 19; NIKITENKO 2009: 63–79]. But neither sources nor researchers indicate whom he was married to.

*Kronika Wielkopolska* (*Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 13<sup>th</sup> c.) contains a unique record concerning Casimir: "...poiął w małżeństwo Dobrochnę, czyli Maryą córkę Romana Xiążęcia Ruskiego Syna Odonowego (50), z którą spłodził Synów czterech..."<sup>2</sup> [KRONIKA LECHITÓW 1822: 61; BOGUPHALI 1872: 485; VELIKAYA KHRONIKA 1987: 70]. According to a number of sources, it is certain that the baptismal name of Borys is Roman and we assert that *Kronika Wielkopolska* narrates exactly about Borys-Roman Volodymyrovych. We consider Roman to be called "the son of Odon" because he was married to Odon's daughter (descendant, a member of Odon's family). In the Middle Ages it was often the case that the father-in-law could be called "father" and the son-in-law could be called simply "son". Thus, for example, the *Novgorod Book of Royal Degrees* narrating about Sviatopolk the Accursed, records: "he makes the way toward his father Bolesław", as Sviatopolk was the son-in-law of Bolesław the Brave, king of Poland [TATISHCHEV 1963: 239].

We consider "Odon" of *Kronika Wielkopolska* to be the most famous Odon of those times — Otto the Great, Holy Roman emperor (912–973). *Genealogia Welforum* (12<sup>th</sup> c.) reports about the marriage of the "king of Rus" to Otto the Great's descendant. In particular it is mentioned that duke Kuno von Öhningen (Konrad of Swabia) in his marriage with emperor Otto's daughter (*filia Ottonis Magni imperatoris*) had four sons and four daughters and that one of the maidens married "a king of Rus" [GENEALOGIA WELFORUM 1881: 733–734].

Modern researcher Donald C. Jackman ascertained that the maiden's name was Regelindis (Richlind Otona) [JACKMAN 1997: 72] basing his conclusion on the data of *Historia Welforum Weingartensis* [BERTINSKIE ANNALY 1989: 199–200; HISTORIA WELFORUM 1868: 454–471]. According to some scholars' opinions, the word *filia* in this case should be viewed in a wider meaning — not a *daughter* but *descendant, family member*. Thus, the modern European scholar Armin Wolf proved that *Genealogia Welforum* omitted one branch, namely — Regelindis was not a daughter but a granddaughter of Otto the Great and the daughter of his son Liudolf, born into the first marriage of the emperor with the English Princess Eadgith [WOLF 1980].

*Genealogia Welforum* has not indicated the name of "the king of Rus". But from this passage a famous Russian genealogist, N. Baumgarten, concluded that the source narrates about Volodymyr the Great. However, later, Alexander Nazarenko substantiated in a well-argued manner that the "king of Rus" mentioned by *Genealogia Welforum* could not be Volodymyr and considered, rather, under this title Volodymyr's brother Yaropolk [LAMPERT KHERSFEL'DSKIY 2010: 190; DREVNAYA RUS 2013: 300–304].

<sup>2</sup> The original text in Old Polish language [KRONIKA LECHITÓW (*The Lechites Chronicle*) 1822: 61], translation according to the contemporary language lesson: "...he married Dobrochna, that is Maria the daughter of Roman, the Ruthenian prince (the son of Odon), who would give him four Sons..."

To our mind, the version of this authoritative scholar, nevertheless, is also not correct chronologically. According to modern findings, the marriage of Kuno and Regelinidis (born about 950) was arranged in 968 [JACKMAN 1997: 34]; the couple had at least four sons and four daughters and their daughter who married the “king of Rus” was mentioned as a fifth child, so she could have been born no earlier than the 970s and more evidently in the 980s.

According to the Hypatian Codex, Yaropolk perished in 980 [LITOPYS RUS’KYI 1989: 46], and due to other sources even earlier, in 978 [KOTLYAR 2013], so he couldn’t have married a daughter of Kuno and Regelinidis. Assuming that the “king of Rus” mentioned in *Genealogia Welforum* was Volodymyr (Baumgarten’s supposal) or Yaropolk (Nazarenko’s supposal), Borys Volodymyrovych has never been considered under this title before.

In accordance with St. Borys hagiography, his first kingdom was Volynia [VOYTOVICH 2006: 273]. Its proximity to Poland, fighting against the German empire, stipulated the necessity of Rus-German relations that could be fastened with the marriage of Borys and the German princess as we suppose.

Our version is supported by the conclusions and speculations of other researchers who substantiated the hypothesis about a Rus-German alliance concluded in the heat of the Polish-German war of 1007–1013 [KOROLYUK 1964: 231].

Evidently the marriage arrangement could have been supported by the missionary bishop Bruno (Boniface) of Querfurt who came to Rus about 1008 with a mission of baptizing Pechenegs and who acted like a conciliator between Volodymyr the Great and the Pechenegs. Herewith one of Volodymyr’s sons stayed with the Pechenegs as a hostage. Most research supposed it was Sviatopolk [VOYTOVICH 2006: 248], but we believe it could be Borys, a successor of the Kyivan throne [NIKITENKO 2009: 77], who was later actively supported by the Pechenegs in his struggle against Yaroslav [NIKITENKO 2009: 77].

Missioner Bruno was not only the relative of the emperors of the Holy Roman empire but also an envoy of Otto III (grandson of Otto the Great and cousin of Regelinidis). What is more — the mother of Otto III was Theofano — a close relative of Anna Porphyrogenita — the wife of Volodymyr the Great [LAMPERT KHERSFEL’DSKIY 2010: 116].

Obviously the marriage between Borys and the descendant of the Ottonian dynasty could have been arranged between 1009 and 1015, more likely about 1013 — after Sviatopolk’s revolt against his father and the break in Polish-Rus relations — or about 1015 when the Polish-German conflict resumed. What is more, *Kronika Wielkopolska* called upon the son-in-law of Otto to be the “king of Rus”, and Borys could have been acclaimed a successor of the Kyivan throne about 1015.

Consequently, according to our hypothesis, Borys-Roman was “a son” of the emperor Otto in a wide meaning, connected in marriage with the descendants



of the Ottonian family and was a father of Dobroniega-Maria, that is, this corresponds with the data of *Kronika Wielkopolska* and *Genealogia Welforum*. Now prince Borys under the name “Roman of Rus” belongs to the sainthood of both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches [KHRISTIANSTVO 1995: 747]. Maybe because of the prohibition of interdenominational marriages in the Middle Ages and later the alliance of the Orthodox Church, the martyr Borys was carefully concealed.

The fact that Dobroniega’s husband by his mother’s origin belonged to the Ottonian dynasty serves as an additional argument in supporting our hypothesis — marriages between far relatives were very often welcomed.

Most researchers accept 1015 as the date of Borys’ demise, but some scholars relying on the data of *Eymundar þátt hrings* (Eymundar Saga) assume that this tragic event could have happened later — in 1017 [SAGA 1978: 99; IL’IN 1957: 168; GOLOVKO 1988: 25], and accordingly Dobroniega-Maria could have been born about 1017.

The discussions on the genealogy of Borys-Roman Volodymyrovych are still ongoing. Domestic sources do not clearly indicate the name and origin of Boris’ mother, calling her only a “Bulgarian woman”. Most researchers agree with the Bulgarian roots, but her name and true origin still remain unclear.

According to our hypothesis — outlined in the paper by Olena Yasynetska “On the issue of the pedigree of the Ruthenian princess Dobroniega, the wife of the ruler of Poland (ca. 1040–1058 gg.)” [YASYNETSKA 2016] — Borys Volodymyrovych on the maternal line is a descendant of the Bulgarian kings and Byzantine emperors, namely, the grandson of the Bulgarian king Boris II.

We also have another daring conjecture — Dobroniega was not the only daughter of Borys. At about the same time, another Kyivan princess — Agatha (Agafia) — was married to a descendant of the English throne, who lived in exile at the court of the Grand Prince of Kyiv, Yaroslav the Wise. There are many versions of her origin from the kin of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, as it is evidenced by the European medieval chronicles and chroniclers: John of Worcester [DARLINGTON, MCGURK, BRAY 1854: 133], Matthew of Paris, Ailred of Rievaulx [AELRED OF RIEVAULX 2005] and others. If our assumptions are true and she is the second daughter of Borys-Roman and a representative of Otto the Great’s family, this explains such connections. It is also confirmed by the data of onomastics — in the pedigree of Byzantine emperors (Borys’ ancestors) the name “Agatha” (Agafia) is often found. And among the grandchildren of Agatha is the King of Scotland, named David (the name expanded in Byzantium and Bulgaria and was a baptismal name of Glib Volodymyrovych — a brother of Borys-Roman) — it was the first time when this name appeared in England and Scotland. Agatha became the mother and grandmother of future kings and queens of Scotland, and her descendants created a spriggy family tree of the kings of England, which can be traced to the modern Queen Elizabeth II [YASYNETSKA 2013].

Medieval chronicler William of Malmesbury (12<sup>th</sup> c.) calls Agatha “a sister of the Queen of Hungary”. In the middle of 11<sup>th</sup> c. the throne of Hungary was obtained by Andrew I and the Ruthenian princess Anastasia Yaroslavna, who was really a sister (cousin) of Agatha and Dobroniega [ANNALES SILESIACI 2012: 196]. In the historiography there are several existing versions of Agatha’s origin: German, Hungarian, Kyivan and Bulgarian. Our hypothesis combines them as it includes elements of all of them.

Thus, the emperors of Byzantium, princes of Kyivan Rus, tsars of Bulgaria, kings of England and emperors of the Holy Roman Empire are all the members of Dobroniega’s genealogy.

Dobroniega-Maria is mentioned by the Hypatian Codex (without calling her by name) only once in the year 1043: “These times Yaroslav gave his sister [Dobroniega-Maria] in marriage to Kazimierz, [Prince Lyadsky]. And Casimir instead of ‘vino’ (bridewealth) delivered eight hundred folks captured earlier by Bolesław” [LITOPYS RUS’KYY 1989: 94].

The *Alexander Guagnini Chronicle* dates this marriage back to 1042 [HVAN’YINI 2007: 86], *Annalista Saxo* records — 1039 [ANNALISTA SAXO 2005: 43–45]. *Annales Silesiaci compilati* indicate a still earlier date even of 1031 [ANNALES SILESIACI 2012]. Oswald Balzer believes — not later than 1039 [BALZER 1895: 89]. Basically, the researchers refer this marriage to the period between 1038 and 1043 [KOROLYUK 1964: 316; JASIŃSKI 2004: 134].

Kazimierz the Restorer (1016–1058) — the son of Mieszko II Lambert, the king of Poland, (990–1034) and Richeza of Lotharingia (ca. 995–1063) — came to power at a time when Poland was in a difficult crisis, after the reign of Mieszko II, who was disunited and exhausted by military conflicts. The struggle between seigniors and peasants erupted inside of the country, the Christian faith, recently introduced, began to decline, the population suffered from robbery and lawlessness, and state power was preserved only in the major towns. The peasants’ uprising of 1037–1038, in its range, belonged to one of the greatest revolts of the times. Pomerania and Mazovia had separated from Poland, and local dynasties consolidated their grips over power.

The final blow was delivered by the Bohemian duke Břetislav I’s invasion (1038). His troops seized Gniezno, plundered the shrines of Gniezno Cathedral and annexed Silesia in favour of Bohemia’s crown.

Polish chronicles record that after his father’s death Kazimierz was exiled to Hungary [GALL ANONIM 1961: 49–50] and Germany. His mother Richeza entered the monastery in Saxony [VELIKAYA KHRONIKA 1987: 69]. According to the chronicles, Kazimierz received a good education at the monastery and already planned to devote himself to an ecclesiastic career [VELIKAYA KHRONIKA 1987: 69]. But due to a number of research endeavours of Polish scholars, Kazimierz “nigdy mnichem nie był” (“never was a monk”) [DRÓDŹ 1999].

Because of the difficult situation in the Polish state, the influential lords came to Kazimierz and asked him to accede to the throne of Poland — being the only



rightful heir. With the authorization of Pope Benedict IX, Kazimierz returned to Poland “where he was welcomed with a great joy” [HVAN’YINI 2007: 86].

About 1039, relying on the support of German troops Kazimierz managed to restore state power in the country, subdue the revolt and restrain disobedient lords. In exchange for the help of the Holy Roman empire, Kazimierz had to conform to its suzerainty over Poland.

*Kronika Wielkopolska* records about Kazimierz: “...Pokonawszy walecznie, odważnie i mężnie wszystkich nieprzyjaciół, dzierżał Królestwo w pokoju: nazwany wskrzesicielem, bo odzyskał wiele krajów za Oycza jego odpadłych, i Tron szczęśliwie wskrzesił i przywrócił”<sup>3</sup> [KRONIKA LECHITÓW 1822: 60–61; VELIKAYA KHRONIKA 1987: 70]. Having the state restored he “...poiął w małżeństwo Dobrochnę, czyli Maryą córkę Romana Xiążęcia Ruskiego Syna Odonowego (50), z którą spłodził Synów czterech...”<sup>4</sup> [KRONIKA LECHITÓW 1822: 61]. Gallus Anonymus calls her the “noble maiden of Ruthenian origin” [GALL ANONIM 1961: 51].

According to some sources, the bride of Kazimierz had the name Maria, but when she arrived in Poland, “she left the Greek faith and was baptized again [...], taking the name Dobroniega” [HVAN’YINI 2007: 86; STRYKOVSKYY 2011: 228]. According to the source, this event took place in Kraków, but the coronation of Maria as well as her husband was arranged in Gniezno (Gniezno Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin and St. Adalbert). Researchers doubt the fact of the coronation — Kazimierz had the title of “Duke of Poland” (książę Polski), but not “a king”. It is also unlikely that Maria was rebaptized in the Latin faith — the Great Schism (1054) has not occurred yet, and A. Guagnini after Jan Długosz [SHCHAVELEVA 2004: 253] wrongly explained the existence of two names of the princess. It was the usual practice for the Kyivan Rus dynasty — princes and princesses had two names — secular (official) and baptismal — Volodymyr-Vasyl, Olga-Olena, Glib-Davyd etc. This fault of the Polish chronicles was pointed out by Ivan Linnichenko [1884: 48–49]; the researcher denoted that, evidently, the princess’ secular name was Dobroniega and baptismal — Maria [LINNICHENKO 1884: 48–49].

Kazimierz obtained a great dowry for his bride and mustered the military support of his new relative — the great prince of Kyiv, Yaroslav the Wise. Yaroslav executed a number of military campaigns in support of Kazimierz (1041, 1043). Again in 1047 Yaroslav helped him to overcome the revolting Mazovian duke

<sup>3</sup> The original text in Old Polish language [KRONIKA LECHITÓW (*The Lechites Chronicle*) 1822: 60–61], translation according to the contemporary language lesson: “Having gallantly, bravely and valiantly beaten all foes, he ruled the Kingdom in peace: he was named the reviver, as he regained many countries which were lost during his father’s reign, and he happily resurrected and reinstated the throne”.

<sup>4</sup> The original text in Old Polish language [KRONIKA LECHITÓW (*The Lechites Chronicle*) 1822: 61], translation according to the contemporary language lesson: “...he married Dobrochna, that is Maria the daughter of Roman, the Ruthenian prince (the son of Odon), who would give him four Sons...”.

Miećław. The Ioachim Chronicle records that by Kazimierz's request Yaroslav "went against the Mazovians" whom he defeated in a sharp battle, "killed their duke Moislav" and "conquered their land for Kazimierz" [TATISHCHEV 1963: 79].

Evidently the marriage of Maria and Kazimierz was successful. In compliance with her name, Dobroniega (Dobrogniewa) obviously had a good temper ("dobry gniv"), kind character, she was merciful and rightful, virtuous and beautiful [SHCHAVELEVA 2004: 253]. Polish chronicles state that after Kazimierz's and Dobroniega's marriage the international relations of Poland strengthened not only with Kyivan Rus but with other states, and "peace and quiet" were established over the Polish lands [KRONIKA LECHITÓW 1822: 61–63; VELIKAYA KHRONIKA 1987: 253]. Maria and Kazimierz gave birth to the next heirs of the throne of Poland.

Kazimierz in history records is called the "Restorer" because of his fruitful restorative activities on the Polish state's renewal.

According to the records, this married couple is known as church construction donators as well as art and education benefactors. Kazimierz relocated the capital of the state from Gniezno to Kraków — the only big city that survived after the invasion. The diocese was also restored in Wrocław. From this point onwards the city of Kraków became not only the center of Lesser Poland but a symbol of the Polish statehood.

Kazimierz acted as a good reformer, and he implemented a key-feudal element — granting land allotments to his warriors that transformed them into medieval knights.

Kazimierz the Restorer died in 1058, and according to J. Długosz was buried in Poznań, but according to other sources — in Kraków [SZCZUR, OŻÓG 1999: 54; JASIŃSKI 2004: 131]. Maria survived him by almost thirty years and when their elder son Bolesław acceded to the throne of Poland, he heeded the advice of his mother — Dobroniega exerted much influence on him. The date of Dobroniega's death (1087) is recorded in *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej* [ROCZNIK KRAKOVSKOGO KAPITULA 1853: 3–115; ANNALY KRAKOVSKOGO KAPITULA 2010: 345]. Her burial place is uncertain [JASIŃSKI 2004: 139].

Dobroniega gave birth to five children, but two younger sons died before their parents — Mieszko (1045–1065) and Otto (about 1046–1048). Two elder sons became the next rulers of Poland, known under the names — king Bolesław II the Generous or the Bold (duke of Poland from 1058, king — 1076–1079) [BALZER 1895: 95] and duke Władysław I Herman ("the Pious", reign 1079–1102) [BALZER 1895: 99–101]. The daughter named Świętosława (before 1048–1126) [BALZER 1895: 107–108] became the first queen-consort of Bohemia [HVAN'YINI 2007: 87].

The marriage of the Kyivan princess Dobroniega-Maria and the prince-governor of Poland Kazimierz the Restorer became one of the first of the so called "cross-marriages" in the Polish-Ruthenian dynastic history of the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cc. —

when at the same time two marriages were arranged — often a son and a daughter of one dynasty engaged to a daughter and a son (or close relative) of another dynasty. Thus, about 1040–1043 the marriage between Kazimierz's sister Gertrude (1025–1107) and the Kyivan prince Iziaslav (1024–1078), the son of Yaroslav the Wise, was concluded.

The first Polish-Ruthenian marriage alliances became an important factor of the international relations of Poland and Ukraine (Kyivan Rus) in the 11<sup>th</sup> c., fastening the political union and starting the period of friendly cooperation between the two states.

The tradition of matrimonial alliances between the Piast's dynasty representatives and the descendants of Volodymyr the Great were carried on by the son of Kazimierz and Dobroniega — Bolesław the Generous, who married the Kyivan princess Vysheslava († 1089), and by the granddaughter of Iziaslav and Gertrude — Euphraxia of Turiv, who married Mieszko (ca. 1069–1089) — son of Bolesław the Generous.

The descendant of Iziaslav Yaroslavych ruled Kyivan Rus, and one of his granddaughters — Zbyslava (1085/90–1114) was given in marriage to Bolesław III the Wrymouth (1086–1138) — grandson of Kazimierz I and Dobroniega. For these marriages it was necessary to obtain a special permission from the Pope [GALL ANONIM 1961: 84] — the engaged couple were third-degree relatives [NAZARENKO 2001: 559–584; PASHUTO 1968: 46]. And in 1106 Volynian duke Yaroslav (ca. 1072–1123) married Bolesław's III sister.

The famous cross-marriages were continued with the matrimonial alliances of the son and daughter of Polish duke Bolesław III the Wrymouth (Mieszko III and Agnieszka) to the son and daughter of the Kyivan prince Iziaslav Mstyslavych (Eudoxia and Mstyslav). In the marriage of Mstyslav and Agnieszka, the founder of the Galicia-Volhynia kingdom was born — Roman the Great (ca 1152–1205) [VOYTOVICH 2006: 470–471].

Thus, all of these marriage alliances contributed to the cohesiveness of the two dynasties and encouraged close cooperation between them. “Dalsze związki małżeńskie książąt polskich i ruskich pokrewieństwo to umacniały i rozszerzały<sup>5</sup>” [KUCZYŃSKI 1965: 18–19].

The dynastic relations of the Piasts and representatives of the family of Volodymyr the Great were so close in 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cc. that some researchers asserted: both states were governed by the same ruling family [KUCZYŃSKI 1965: 18–19].

The family trees of Volodymyr the Great and Boleslav the Brave have interlaced firmly and produced numerous descendants glorified in European cultural history.

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<sup>5</sup> Further matrimonial unions of Polish and Kyivan ruling families descendants fastened and expanded this kinship.

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Dobroniega Maria księżniczka kijowska, żona Kazimierza Odnowiciela:  
nowa hipoteza dotycząca jej pochodzenia

#### Streszczenie

W artykule przeanalizowano rodowód kijowskiej księżniczki Dobroniegi Marii (ok. 1015/17–1087), żony władcy Polski Kazimierza I Odnowiciela (1016–1058). Omówiono istniejące teorie genealogiczne odnoszone do Dobroniegi Marii i zaproponowano nową hipotezę jej pochodzenia, przeanalizowano także okoliczności dynastycznego małżeństwa Marii i Kazimierza I. Przedstawiona w artykule wersja genealogiczna ukazuje argumenty na korzyść związków rodowodu Dobroniegi Marii z rządzącymi dynastiami Bułgarii, Bizancjum, Niemiec, Anglii i Rusi.

W artykule została uzasadniona hipoteza pochodzenia Dobroniegi z rodu św. Borysa, który był synem i spadkobiercą wielkiego księcia kijowskiego Włodzimierza I Wielkiego i jego bułgarskiej żony. Na podstawie średniowiecznych źródeł (*Kronika wielkopolska*, *Genealogia Welfów*, *Historia Welforum Weingartensis*), a także współczesnych badań [JACKMAN 1997], uzasadniono wersję narodzin Dobroniegi z małżeństwa Borysa syna Włodzimierza z germańską margrabinią, potomkinią rodu Ottona I Wielkiego (912–973), cesarza Świętego Cesarstwa Rzymskiego, i angielskiej księżniczki Edyty (910–946).

Ślub Dobroniegi i Kazimierza jako jeden z pierwszych polsko-ruskich sojuszy dynastycznych stał się ważnym czynnikiem w stosunkach międzynarodowych Polski i Rusi Kijowskiej w XI wieku, wzmacniając sojusz polityczny i zapoczątkowując okres przyjaznej współpracy między państwami.

Przykłady innych polsko-ruskich małżeństw dynastycznych z tego okresu świadczą o aktywnych związkach matrymonialnych i ścisłej współpracy między Polską a Rusią Kijowską w XI–XII wieku.

Streszczenie z j. ukraińskiego tłumaczyła dr Olena Gomeniuk