

**PRINCE SVYATOSLAV VSEVOLODOVICH
OF CHERNIGOV, «KINGMAKER»
IN SUZDALIA (1174-1179)**

Prince Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov (1164-1177) had Monomashichi blood in him since his mother Maria was Prince Vladimir Monomakh's granddaughter. The genealogical bond between him and the Yur'evichi dynasty of Suzdalia therefore may have been a strong factor in influencing him to foster friendly relations with them. Svyatoslav gave four Yur'evichi sanctuary in Chernigov and after Prince Andrey Bogolyubskiy's assassination in 1174 he helped Mikhalko and after him Vsevolod, as the most senior Yur'evich in the Monomashichi family in Suzdalia, to attain control of Suzdalia. By backing their claims to the throne of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma Svyatoslav showed that he supported the ladder system of princely succession, the system that Yaroslav the Wise had advocated.

Key words: Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, Yur'evichi, Monomashichi, Vladimir-Suzdal' land.

On 29 June 1174 a number of Prince Andrey Bogolyubskiy's disgruntled boyars assassinated him in his residence at Bogolyubovo. His body was taken to Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma and laid to rest in the golden domed Church of the Mother of God (Cathedral of the Assumption) that he himself had built [1]. He was the first prince of Suzdalia to be interred in Vladimir. His father Yury Dolgorukiy, the progenitor of the Suzdalian dynasty of Yur'evichi, had died as prince of Kiev and was buried there. Andrey's violent and untimely death had an unprecedented consequence for Yury's dynasty: it initiated a succession crisis.

According to genealogical seniority, the two most senior candidates for succession to Suzdalia were Andrey's brothers Mikhalko and Vsevolod. Next in line were the sons of Andrey's eldest brother Rostislav, these were Mstislav and Yaropolk. At the time of Andrey's death all four princes were refugees in Chernigov as the guests of Prince Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich. He had offered them a safe haven after Yaroslav Izyaslavich of Lutsk in Volhynia occupied Kiev. In 1168, when Andrey's alliance had attacked Mstislav Izyaslavich in Kiev, the latter's younger brother Yaroslav had been his staunch supporter. To judge from the information that the four princes of Suzdalia sought sanctuary with Svyatoslav in 1173, it appears that Yaroslav, as prince of Kiev, remained hostile to Andrey's relatives and refused to give them domains in the Kievan lands.

Since the four princes were Svyatoslav's guests, he took it upon himself to arrange the installation of Andrey's successor. According to V.N. Tatishchev, Svyatoslav took the preliminary measure of persuading the two uncles and their two nephews to pledge loyalty to each other. After that, significantly, he made them acknowledge the genealogically eldest, Mikhalko, as their senior prince and, by implication, as Andrey's successor [2]. Although Tatishchev's *Istoriya* must be

used with caution, its information agrees with subsequent developments. The observation that Svyatoslav made the princes acknowledge Mikhalko as their senior prince shows that he believed Andrey's successor should be selected according to the traditional system of lateral succession.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Suzdalia, fearing that they might be attacked by the princes of Murom or Ryazan' while they had no prince decided to select a prince. The towns of Rostov, Suzdal', and Pereyaslavl' Zalesskiy sent their delegates to Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma for this purpose. They rejected Andrey's junior son Yury who was in Novgorod, and opposed installing one of Andrey's brothers. Rather, they asked Gleb Rostislavich of Ryazan' for assistance in making their selection. They requested that he support them in inviting Mstislav and Yaropolk, who were his brothers-in-law (Gleb had married their sister), to assume rule in Suzdalia [3]. The chronicler comments that in rejecting Yury's sons in favour of his grandsons, the townspeople broke their pledges to Yury Dolgorukiy who had directed that Andrey's younger brothers should succeed him. This was the order of succession to Kiev according to genealogical seniority that Yaroslav the Wise had advocated. It was the one that Yury Dolgorukiy had championed for Kiev but also prescribed for his own descendants in Suzdalia. Furthermore, it was the one that Svyatoslav of Chernigov now advocated.

After the four Yur'evichi arrived in Suzdalia the citizens of Rostov invited Yaropolk Rostislavich to be their prince. They allowed Mikhalko Yur'evich to occupy Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma but not for long. The brothers Yaropolk and Mstislav, accompanied by troops from Rostov, Pereyaslavl' Zalesskiy, Ryazan', and Murom attacked Mikhalko in Vladimir. During the seven week siege that followed, the food supplies of the town grew dangerously low. The citizens, fearing starvation, reluctantly entreated him to flee to Chernigov to seek military aid from Svyatoslav [4]. After Mikhalko departed the citizens of Vladimir were pacified with those of the other Suzdalian towns and the two Rostislavichi were welcomed as the new princes: Mstislav occupied Rostov and Yaropolk occupied Vladimir [5].

Meanwhile, while Svyatoslav was attempting to arrange a peaceful succession in Suzdalia, he encountered opposition at home from his cousin Oleg Svyatoslavich and the Rostislavichi of Smolensk. Oleg invited the Rostislavichi, his brothers-in-law, to help him wage war against Svyatoslav in an attempt to win additional territories from him. The time for Oleg appeared to be opportune after the death of Svyatoslav's most powerful ally Andrey Bogolyubskiy. For the Rostislavichi, Andrey's death meant that the return to Kiev of Roman their senior prince no longer depended on Svyatoslav's approval since his alliance with Andrey had become defunct. Andrey's death therefore spurred

on the Rostislavichi to attack Svyatoslav in retribution for his part in evicting them from Kiev in the previous year. Thus, Oleg and his brothers besieged Starodub, which belonged to Svyatoslav's brother Yaroslav, pillaged its environs, but failed to take the town.

While Oleg and his brothers were attacking Yaroslav's lands, the Rostislavichi and Yaroslav Izyaslavich came from their Kievan domains to plunder Svyatoslav's towns of Lutava and Moroviysk. It is noteworthy that Yaroslav Izyaslavich of Kiev joined the Rostislavichi against Svyatoslav, presumably to avenge himself against Svyatoslav who had plundered his possessions in Kiev. Svyatoslav retaliated against Oleg by setting fire to his town of Novgorod Severskiy and by killing many of his troops [6]. It is useful to note that whereas the Yur'evichi of Suzdalia were working hand in glove with Svyatoslav of the senior branch of Ol'govichi, the Rostislavichi of Smolensk were allied to Oleg of the cadet branch of Ol'govichi. Moreover, we see that the Mstislavichi of the Volyn' line and of the Smolensk line united in attacking their erstwhile enemy Svyatoslav. At the beginning of 1175 the Rostislavichi successfully reasserted their rule in Kiev. We are told that Roman departed from Smolensk to assist his brothers in their Kievan domains. Yaroslav Izyaslavich sensibly vacated the capital and returned to his patrimony of Lutsk despite, the chronicler claims, the protests of the Rostislavichi who wanted him to remain in Kiev. After Yaroslav departed Roman reoccupied the vacant throne [7].

Meanwhile the people in Suzdalia discovered that they had made a bad choice in selecting Mstislav and Yaropolk as their princes. After they were installed in their towns the two brothers fell under the sway of avaricious advisers and used heavy-handed tactics to accumulate riches. In desperation the harassed citizens sent envoys to Mikhalko requesting him to come and be their prince [8]. Accordingly, on 21 May he set out from Chernigov with his younger brother Vsevolod and Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich's troops. On reaching Moscow they were joined by the militia of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma. Soon after they engaged the two Rostislavichi in battle but, we are told, Mikhalko was so critically ill that he had to command the fighting from his stretcher. Despite his infirmity, on 15 June the two Yur'evichi were victorious forcing the vanquished brothers to flee. Mstislav escaped to Novgorod [9], Yaropolk sought safety in Ryazan'. After the Rostislavichi deserted the battlefield Mikhalko and Vsevolod entered Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma and Mikhalko sat on the throne therewith assuming rule over Suzdalia [10].

Thus it is noteworthy that although Andrey Bogolyubskiy had expended much energy in manipulating the appointment of princes to Kiev, he lacked the foresight to make arrangements for his own successor in Suzdalia. Ironically, it fell to his former ally Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov to secure his succes-

sor's rule in Vladimir. Accordingly, the two Yur'evichi became indebted to the Ol'govich for helping them to obtain control of their patrimonial domains in Suzdalia. This debt would persuade them and their descendants to pursue in the main amicable relations with the princes of Chernigov in the future.

In the south, Roman faced a crisis in his own dynasty so that his rule in Kiev was once again of short duration. On this occasion a quarrel with his brothers was his undoing. In May of 1176 the chronicler reports that the Polovtsy raided towns along the Ros' River in the Kievan lands [11]. Roman ordered his brother Ryurik and his sons Yaropolk and Mstislav to drive off the tribesmen. Roman's brother David, however, quarrelled with his brothers over some unexplained issue and refused to go with them at first but joined them at a later date. Evidently, however, he came too late to offer any effective assistance. As a result the nomads inflicted a humiliating defeat on the Rostislavichi [12]. David's quarrel prompted Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov to challenge Roman. He cited a clause of the agreement that Roman had concluded with him after the former occupied Kiev. It stated that if a prince committed an offense (the nature of the offense is not specified) he was to be deprived of his domain. According to Svyatoslav, David's offense deserved that punishment (it has been suggested that refusing to join the campaign when instructed to do so by Roman was David's offense) [13]. Roman, however, refused to impose such a severe penalty on David. Svyatoslav treated this refusal as a breach of their agreement and attacked.

Svyatoslav's force consisted of Ol'govichi contingents, the *Chernye klobuki*, and surprisingly, the Kievans who were traditionally hostile to the Ol'govichi. Also noteworthy is the news that Mstislav Vladimirovich, who had succeeded his father Vladimir Mstislavich to Dorogobuzh in Volyn', joined the attacking force. Even though he was a Mstislavich he was also Svyatoslav's son-in-law. He evidently considered the latter relationship to be of greater importance. Accordingly, Svyatoslav ordered Mstislav to break off his alliance with his cousins the Rostislavichi [14]. At Vitichev, where Svyatoslav crossed the Dnepr with his troops, Kievans joined him and informed him that Roman had fled to Belgorod. Consequently, on 22 July Svyatoslav occupied Kiev temporarily because later, when Roman's brother Mstislav arrived with reinforcements, he withdrew to Chernigov. Before departing from Kiev, however, he sent for the Polovtsy who attacked Torchesk and took many captives. According to the chronicler, it was the merciless intervention of the nomads that allegedly prompted the Rostislavichi to finally surrender Kiev to Svyatoslav. We are told that they ceded control of the capital to prevent inflicting further bloodshed on the Christians of Rus' [15].

Nevertheless, there may have been another reason

why Roman surrendered control of Kiev without a fight. On 20 June, a month before Svyatoslav occupied Kiev, Mikhalko Yur'evich of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma died. He was buried in the golden domed Church of the Mother of God that had been built by his brother Andrey *Bogolyubskiy*, and where the latter was also buried. The citizens of Vladimir, remembering their pledge to Yury *Dolgorukiy* that they would install his sons as princes of Vladimir, kissed the Holy Cross to Mikhalko's only surviving brother Vsevolod Yur'evich. They installed him on the throne of his father. Soon after, however, he was challenged by his nephew Mstislav Rostislavich whom the citizens of Rostov had invited from Novgorod to come and be their prince. Vsevolod, the chronicler notes, sought to avoid war by proposing that Mstislav rule Rostov, that he rule Vladimir, and that the citizens of Suzdal' be allowed to choose whichever of the two princes they preferred to rule them. Mstislav, however, wished to be the sole ruler and refused to accept a compromise. Therefore he attacked. On 27 June 1176 Vsevolod, who became known as 'Big Nest' (*Bol'shoe Gnezdo*) because of his many offspring, defeated Mstislav [16]. He fled to Novgorod but its citizens rejected him because he had deserted them. He therefore sought sanctuary with his brother-in-law Gleb in Ryazan' [17]. Svyatoslav of Chernigov, who had given Vsevolod safe haven in the past, formed an alliance with him. Accordingly, their combined military force became the most powerful in the land. Svyatoslav's alliance with the new senior prince of the entire House of Monomakh would have been a strong incentive for Roman Rostislavich to cede control of Kiev to him.

As Svyatoslav's ally, Vsevolod *Bol'shoe Gnezdo* wanted to follow up his victory over Mstislav Rostislavich by eliminating once and for all the two Rostislavichi because they were rival candidates for Suzdalia. He assembled troops from Rostov and Suzdal' and marched against Gleb Rostislavich of Ryazan' who was sheltering Mstislav and Yaropolk. Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich sent reinforcements from Kiev and Vsevolod's nephew Vladimir Glebovich of Pereyaslavl' also brought troops. On reaching Kolomna Vsevolod was informed that Gleb and the Polovtsy, having come by another route, were pillaging his lands, slaughtering his people, and desecrating churches around Vladimir. He therefore hastened back to defend his domain. He confronted the raiders on 7 March 1177, routed them, and took Gleb, his son Roman, and Mstislav Rostislavich captive [18]. When he brought them to Vladimir its citizens demanded that he blind the princes. Vsevolod however refused to maim the captives but, instead, incarcerated them in a pit. After that he also commanded the people of Ryazan' to hand over Yaropolk Rostislavich whom he threw into the pit with his brother.

Mstislav Rostislavich, with his sister the wife of

Gleb Rostislavich, appealed to Svyatoslav in Kiev to intercede on behalf of the captives. Taking seriously his moral responsibility of prince of Kiev as mediator, Svyatoslav sent two prelates to intercede with Vsevolod *Bol'shoe Gnezdo*. Instead of requesting that Vsevolod release Gleb and allow him to return to Ryazan' where he could continue to wage war on Vsevolod, Svyatoslav asked Vsevolod to dispatch the captive to Rus' where Svyatoslav would grant him a domain. Gleb however refused to live in Rus' and on 30 June died in the pit. Roman, his son, however, pledged allegiance to Vsevolod who allowed him to return to Ryazan'. Vsevolod was not as generous to his two Rostislavichi nephews. The townspeople of Vladimir were adamant that the brothers be blinded. Unable to pacify the mob, Vsevolod had Mstislav and Yaropolk blinded and expelled them from Suzdalia. They travelled to Smolensk. There, we are told, they miraculously regained their sight at the Church of St Gleb on Smyadyn' hill [19]. From Smolensk they proceeded north to Novgorod where the townspeople made Mstislav their prince and to Yaropolk they gave Torzhok. To their cousin and ally Yaroslav Mstislavich they gave Volok Lamskiy [20].

Mstislav's reign was short-lived. On 20 April 1178 he died and was buried in the Cathedral of St Sophia. The Novgorodians replaced him with his brother Yaropolk. Vsevolod, however, objected to the appointment. He ordered the Novgorodians to evict Yaropolk and to pledge allegiance to him. They, however, rejected his overlordship. In retaliation he pillaged their lands and razed Volok Lamskiy. The Novgorodians therefore invited Roman Rostislavich of Smolensk to replace Yaropolk. He arrived on 18 February of the following year [21]. Thus we see that Vsevolod, in imitation of his brother Andrey *Bogolyubskiy*, attempted to assert his overlordship over Novgorod. Unhappy with his rule, the townspeople invited Roman Rostislavich whose policies were acceptable to them. Contrary to their customary practice of asking the most powerful prince in the land, usually the prince of Kiev, to send them a prince, they did not invite Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich an Ol'govich to send his lieutenant. Instead, they continued to favour the princes from the House of Monomakh. Their choice evidently did not antagonize Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich against the Monomashichi and Vsevolod.

This is confirmed by the news that in the following year, 1179, Vsevolod *Bol'shoe Gnezdo* buttressed his political alliance with Svyatoslav of Kiev with two marriage alliances. He invited Svyatoslav's eldest son Vladimir to Suzdalia and gave him his niece, the daughter of Mikhalko, as wife [22]. This marriage alliance would bind Vladimir closer to the prince of Suzdalia, and Vsevolod could call upon him for military assistance. On 8 November 1179 Vsevolod's nephew Vladimir Glebovich of Pereyaslavl' married the daughter of Svyatoslav's younger brother Yaroslav of Chernigov [23]. The match was important for Vladimir

because Yaroslav's principality was contiguous to his. Consequently, it was expected that their family bond would help them to cooperate in defending their domains against the Polovtsy.

The chronicler reports that in 1179 Maria, the mother of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, died and was buried in the Church of St Cyril in the Kievan suburb of Dorogozhichi [24]. The willingness of the Kievans to permit a member of the hated Ol'govichi family of Chernigov to be interred in Kiev, albeit in a suburb, was most unusual [25]. Significantly, she was not an Ol'govich by birth but a Monomashich who had married Vsevolod Ol'govich of the Ol'govichi. To be sure, at her death Maria was the genealogically eldest member of the House of Monomakh. She was Monomakh's granddaughter and the last surviving child of Mstislav Vladimirovich [26]. She was an aunt to the Izyaslavichi of Volyn'; she was an aunt to the Rostislavichi of Smolensk; and she was an aunt to the Vladimirovichi of Dorogobuzh. Moreover, she was senior to Vsevolod *Bol'shoe Gnezdo* as his eldest first cousin. Consequently, there is good reason to believe that her dynastic credentials persuaded the Kievans to make an exception in her case and allow Svyatoslav to bury his mother in a Kievan monastery. What is more, the family bond between Svyatoslav and the Yur'evichi of Suzdalia was undoubtedly a factor in motivating him to pursue friendly relations with his Monomashichi relatives.

In conclusion, we have seen that Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov had Monomashichi blood in him. Consequently, the genealogical bond between him and the Yur'evichi of Suzdalia may have been a strong factor in influencing him to foster friendly relations with them. He gave the four Yur'evichi sanctuary in Chernigov when they were refugees from Suzdalia. After Andrey's assassination he helped Mikhalko and after him Vsevolod to obtain control of Suzdalia. By backing their claims to the throne of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma he demonstrated that he supported the ladder system of succession, the system advocated by Yaroslav the Wise. After Svyatoslav helped Vsevolod *Bol'shoe Gnezdo* to consolidate his rule in Suzdalia, the two princes formed a political alliance and strengthened it with marriage ties.

Endnotes

1. See under the year 1175: "Lavrent'evskaya letopis'" (Lav.) in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* (PSRL) 1, second edition (Leningrad, 1926), column (col.) 369; "Ipat'evskaya letopis'" (Ipat.), PSRL 2, second edition (St. Petersburg [Spb.], 1908), columns (cols) 580, 593-594. Concerning the date, see N. G. Bereztkov, *Khronologiya russkogo letopisaniya* (Moscow, 1963), pages (pp.) 78-79, 190-192.

2. V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* (Tat.) 4, page (p.) 286; 3, pages (pp.) 107-108.

3. N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Orientalia Christiana), (Baum.) volume 9, number 35 (Rome, 1927), Table, VI, 17.

4. See, for example, under the year 1174: "Ermolinskaya letopis'" PSRL 23 (Spb., 1910), p. 50; under the year 1175:

"Tverskaya letopis'" PSRL 15 (Spb., 1863), col. 256.

5. Concerning the succession dispute, see under the year 1175: Ipat., cols 595-598; compare Lav., cols 371-374, and "Moskovskiy letopisniy svod kontsa XV veka" (Mosk.) PSRL 25 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), pp. 84-85.

6. Concerning Oleg's attack, see under the year 1175: Ipat., cols 599-600. Concerning the date, see Bereztkov, p. 193.

7. See under the year 1175: Ipat., col. 600; compare under the year 1174: A. N.

Nasonov (ed.), *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov* (NPL)

(Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), pp. 34, 223. Since the chronicler placed the entry at the end

of the March year 1174, Roman probably occupied Kiev in January or February of 1175.

8. See under the year 1175: Ipat., cols 598-599; under the year 1176: Lav. cols 374-375; Mosk., p. 85. Concerning the date, see Bereztkov, p. 193.

9. According to the Novgorod chronicler, after Mstislav occupied Rostov the Novgorodians expelled Andrey's son Yury and Mstislav appointed his son Svyatoslav to the town. (NPL, pp. 34, 223).

10. Ipat., cols 600-602.

11. Concerning the date, see Bereztkov, p. 194.

12. "Gustinskaya letopis'" (Gust.) PSRL 2 (Spb., 1843), p. 316.

13. See P. P. Tolochko, *Drevnyaya Rus', Ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskoy istorii* (Kiev, 1987), p. 220.

14. For Mstislav, see Baum., Table V, 41.

15. See under the year 1177: Ipat., cols 603-605; Gust., pp. 316-317. Concerning the dates, see Bereztkov, p. 194.

16. Historians also refer to him as Vsevolod III Yur'evich (see for example, A. E. Presnyakov, *Knyazhoe pravo v drevney Rusi* [Spb., 1909], p. 143; Baum., Table VI, 14; J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200-1304* [London and New York, 1983], p. 205; and others).

17. See under the year 1177: Lav., cols 379-382; Mosk., pp. 87-88. Concerning the date, see Bereztkov, pp. 79-80.

18. Concerning the date, see Bereztkov, p. 194.

19. Tatishchev offers practical explanations for the miraculous cure. In the first redaction he states that Vsevolod ordered his men to smear the brothers' eyes and faces with blood. In the second redaction he is more specific and claims that Vsevolod's men cut the skin under the eyebrows so that blood flowed over the eyes making it look as if the eyes were gouged out (Tat. 4, p. 292; compare Tat. 3, p. 119).

20. Concerning Vsevolod's rivalry with the Rostislavichi, see Mosk., pp. 88-89; Lav., cols 383-386; Ipat., cols 605-606; NPL, pp. 35, 224-225. Concerning the dates, see Bereztkov, pp. 79-80, 194-195.

21. NPL, pp. 35-36, 225; Lav., cols 386-387. Concerning the dates, see Bereztkov, pp. 80-81, 245-246.

22. Ipat., col. 612.

23. See under the year 1178: Ipat., col. 613; Gust., p. 317. For Vladimir, see Baum., Table VI, 23.

24. Ipat., col. 612. See also M. Dimnik, "Dynastic Burials in Kiev before 1240," *Ruthenica*, Tom VII (Kiev, 2008), p. 88.

25. Until then the Kievans had permitted only one prince of Chernigov, Svyatoslav Davidovich or Svyatosha the prince-monk, to be buried in the Caves Monastery (d. 1143). He however had not been a son of Oleg but a son of David, Oleg's younger brother (see Dimnik, "Dynastic Burials," pp. 83-84.)

26. Baum., Table V, 22.

Дімнік М. Чернігівський князь Святослав Всеволодович як покровитель князів суздальської землі у 1174-1179 рр.

Чернігівський князь Святослав Всеволодович (1164-1177 рр.) був споріднений з Мономашичами через свою мати Марію, онучку князя Володимира Мономаха. Його генеалогічний зв'язок з суздальською династією Юр'євичів міг сприяти розвитку дружніх відносин з ними. Святослав надав притулок чотирьом Юр'євичам у Чернігові. Після вбивства кн. Андрія Бого-

любського 1174 р. він допоміг старшим в їх роді Михалку та пізніше Всеволоду здобути князівську владу на Суздальщині. Через підтримку цих претендентів на стіл Володимира-на-Клязьмі Святослав виявив себе прихильником родової системи престолонаслідування, що запровадив Ярослав Мудрий.

Ключові слова: Святослав Всеволодович, Юр'євичі, Мономашичі, Володимиро-Суздальська земля.

Димник М. Черниговский князь Святослав Всеволодович как покровитель князей суздальской земли в 1174-1179 гг.

Черниговский князь Святослав Всеволодович (1164-1177 гг.) имел кровное родство с Мономашичами через свою мать Марию, внучку князя Владимира Мономаха. Его генеалогическая связь с суздальской династией Юрьевичей могла способствовать развитию дружеских отношений с ними. Святослав предоставил убежище четырем Юрьевичам в Чернигове. После убийства кн. Андрея Боголюбского в 1174 г. он помог старшим в их роде Михалку и затем Всеволоду вокняжиться в суздальской земле. Поддержав этих претендентов на стол во Владимире-на-Клязьме, Святослав проявил себя сторонником «лестничной» системы престолонаследования, установленной кн. Ярославом Мудрым.

Ключевые слова: Святослав Всеволодович, Юрьевичи, Мономашичи, Владимиро-Суздальская земля.

23.03.2015 р.

УДК 94:929.6(477):-043.86«08/09»

А.Л. Сокульський

ТРИЗУБ – КНЯЖИЙ КЛИЧ РЮРИКОВИЧІВ І ГЕРБ КИЇВСЬКОЇ РУСІ: ВИНИКНЕННЯ, ЕВОЛЮЦІЯ, ЗНАЧЕННЯ

Державний герб України – Тризуб – графічно символізує трисуття, зображене на головах левів золотої пекторалі зі скіфського кургану другої половини IV ст. до Р. Хр. Тризуб також міг еволюціонувати зі скандинавських букв рунічного алфавіту, двох «r» і однієї «a» посередині, що означало приблизно «РАР». Всі відомі досі символи Тризуба засвідчують, що він еволюціонував на українських землях і був княжим кличем, а пізніше – гербом Київської Русі.

Ключові слова: Тризуб, руни, скіфи, герб, трисуття.

Щодо виникнення, еволюції і значення Тризуба як символу державної влади, військової емблеми чи церковного геральдичного знаку, монограми, геометричного орнаменту нагадує, на перший погляд, поєднання двох скандинавських рун «R», що передають звук «r», а посередині – руну «A», що виглядало як «RĬA». Таке сполучення мало б передавати слово «РАР». Проте різні автори під тризубом вбачали форму тавра, як символу власності, а деякі порівнювали їх з якорями – символами віри в спасіння тощо.

Перечисленні теоретичні побудови Тризуба досліджувала значна шеренга науковців – М. Грушевський, І. Гуржій, В. Модзалевський, Г. Нарбут, О. Пастернак, Г. Скотинський,

В. Січинський, М. Міллер, М. Андрусак, Б. Рибаків та ін. [4, 3257]. Однак досі жодна із теорій і версій не дає остаточних пояснень. Але, попри всі проблеми дешифрування складного геральдичного знаку, його скандинавське походження, і, можливо, династичне, не викликало сумнівів в українських дослідників [5, 60–62].

Перші композиційні ознаки Тризуба, за нашою версією, знаходимо на клейноді царської влади – золотій пекторалі (діадемі) з кургану Товста Могила, розкопаного археологом і поетом Борисом Мозолевським у 1972 р. Фахівці датують цю курганну пам'ятку другою половиною IV ст. до Р. Хр. Кінці пекторалі завершуються об'ємними головками левів, що слугували замикальним пристроєм. Зверху, в стилі високохудожньої графіки, вони орнаментовані зооморфним рельєфом, зробленим графічним різцем. Композиція графічних малюнків у вигляді Тризуба трьохчлена. Трисуття мовби зростає поміж двох кущів ковили. Тризуб утворюють два бокові пелюстки тюльпана степового з центральним пророслим стрижнем. Композиційний малюнок врівноважений вмілою рукою торева в просторі і часі [6, 76].

Прочитання основного змісту геральдичного символу на скіфському золоті надзвичайно важливе ще й тому, що воно передає уявлення про скіфський світ, ототожнений через трисуття (три яруси пекторалі, Тризуби на головках левів) реалістичними і поетичними засобами синонімічних текстів художньо-осмислених образів. Дві головки левів замикали місяцевидну діадему – відзнаку царської влади, можливо, володаря трьох скіфських царств, які в апогей розвитку Степової Скіфії займали домінуюче становище серед племен Північного Причорномор'я. Сутність трьох пекторальних ярусів (триденне) символізувало трисуття земного, реального, потойбічного життя. Автор дослідження пам'ятки Б. Мозолевський схилився до думки, що даний скіпетр влади міг належати царю Атею [6, 230–232].

У початковому епосі на українських теренах (скіфо-сарматська доба) найважливіші впливи йшли з Орієнту через сарматів, хозарів, арабів, персів [3, 98]. Наступною археологічною знахідкою, після скитської пекторалі, знахідки Триденса відносяться до I ст. по Р. Хр. Цей Триденс найімовірніше був знаком влади, символом племені, яке пізніше стало складовою українського етносу. Вплив Скандинавії позначився на еволюції української державності, організації військової справи. Звідти прийшла владна династія Рюриковичів і була організована давньоруська державність, яка пізніше придбає назву Київська Русь. Отже, владна еліта, державна організація, ім'я держави еволюціонували під впливом скандинавських чинників. Словом руси, русь (в однині) новгородські словени називали