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# Бачинская О.В. Исследование предыстории создания образа Богоматери Оранты Нерушимая Стена из Софийского собора в г. Киеве

В статье рассматриваются источники возникновения образа Богоматери Оранты; история формирования образа и религиозных представлений, связанных с ним в Византии; выдвигается версия относительно появления именно такого образа на алтарной стене храма Софии Киевской.

**Ключевые слова:** храм Софии Киевской, Оранта, Киев, Константинополь, история, религия, традиции.

#### Bachynska O.V. Research of the previous history of creation of an image of the Mother of the God Oranta an Indestructible Wall from the St. Sofia Cathedral in Kyiv

Sources of occurrence of an image of the Mother of the God Oranta; a history of formation of an image and religious representations connected to it in Byzantium; the version concerning occurrence of such image on a wall of an altar of the St. Sofia Cathedral in Kyiv is considered in clause.

**Keywords:** the St. Sofia Cathedral, Oranta, Kyiv, Konstantinopol, history, religion, tradition.

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Martin Dimnik

### THE DAUGHTERS AND SONS OF PRINCE MIKHAIL VSEVOLODOVICH OF CHERNIGOV (1179-1246)\*

According to the sparse information that is available concerning the offspring of Prince Mikhail Vsevolodovich of Chernigov (1179-1246), he had two daughters and five sons. The daughters moved to Suzdalia where the elder one became a nun in Suzdal' and the younger one lived as the princess of Rostov. Of the five sons the eldest, Rostislav, deserted his father after the Tatar invasion and entered the service of the Hungarian king. The four younger sons Roman, Mstislav, Simeon, and Yury ruled domains in the Chernigov lands as vassals of the Tatars.

**Key words**: Mikhail Vsevolodovich, daughters and sons of the prince, Chernigov land, Vyatichi lands, Suzdalia, Tatar invasion.

The Tatar invasion of Rus' during the middle of the thirteenth century sounded the death knell for the political fortunes of the Ol'govichi of Chernigov. Nevertheless the conquerors did not eradicate the dynasty. Having satisfied his need for vengeance against the dynasty's senior prince Mikhail Vsevolodovich for his insubordination by having him executed in 1246, Khan Baty took no punitive action against his family [1]. This consisted of two daughters and five sons. The chronicles give us varying amounts of information concerning their fate after Mikhail's execution.

While Mikhail was still alive, the two princesses moved from Chernigov and lived out their lives in Suzdalia. His eldest offspring was the daughter Feodula whom the chronicles never mention. Nevertheless, according to the «Life» (*Zhitie*) of St. Evfrosinia written in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, in 1227, at fifteen years of age, she was betrothed to a certain Prince Mina Ivanovich. Before she arrived in Suzdal' for the marriage, however, he died. Rather then return to her parents in Chernigov she entered the convent dedicated to the Deposition of the Precious Robe of the Mother of God at Blachernae (*Rizpolozhenskiy monastyr'*). There she adopted the religious name Evfrosinia. She died on 25 September 1250 and was interred in her monastery [2].

As a nun she became renowned for her piety, healing powers, and apparitions. Among these she had visions of Mary, the infant Jesus, and the Holy Cross. Moreover, it was reported that through her intervention fire from heaven prevented the Tatars from attacking her monastery. As her reputation for sanctity grew many women came to her to be instructed in the life of holiness. According to the *Zhitie* when Mikhail was in Saray being cajoled by the Tatars and by his grandson Boris of Rostov into apostatizing, Evfrosinia sent him «books' (*knigi*) which she herself had written, to help him defend the Orthodox precepts [3]. After her father's martyrdom she also advanced his cult to judge from a seventeenth-century account which reports the

existence of a wooden chapel in Suzdal' dedicated to the Miracle-Workers of Chernigov, as Mikhail and his boyar Fedor who was put to death with him came to be known [4]. Feodula was the first princess of Chernigov to renounce her worldly privileges and to dedicate herself to a life of holiness. Moreover, she was the only princess of Chernigov to be canonized. Accordingly, the Orthodox Church honoured her with a *Zhitie*, a canon (*kanon*), canticles (*stikhiry*) and created her Feast Day on 25 September [5].

In 1228, Mikhail's younger daughter Maria married Vasil'ko Konstantinovich the prince of Rostov. She was one of a few princesses who kept a chronicle. Her close ties to her family in Chernigov are reflected in the entries that she had recorded concerning that town's fate at the hands of the invaders. Moreover, since she employed a chronicler it is not surprising that he mentions here seven times before her death on 9 December 1271 [6]. Accordingly, we learn that in her role as matriarch Maria participated in the formal events that required the presence of members of the princely family. These occasions included the marriages of princes, their deaths, the visits of neighbouring rulers, the installation of bishops, and the consecration of churches. Moreover, in 1246, after the Tatars had devastated Suzdalia and Chernigov and killed her husband Vasil'ko, Maria sent their son Boris to accompany his grandfather Mikhail to Baty's court in Saray. After the khan's courtier Eldega failed to cajole Mikhail into worshipping an idol, Boris also attempted unsuccessfully to persuade him to do so in order to save his life [7].

After the deaths of Mikhail and Vasil'ko, Maria demonstrated her loyalty to her family by propagating the cults of her father and husband. Thus, her chronicler recorded Mikhail's martyrdom and Vasil'ko's death [8]. She commissioned her father's «Life» (*Zhitie*). Maria and her sons also inaugurated the Feast of the Miracle-Workers of Chernigov on 20 September and built a church dedicated to them [9]. She died on 9 December 1271 and was laid to rest in the Monastery of St. Saviour that she herself had built [10].

Mikhail had five sons. The chronicles mention only the eldest, Rostislav, for the period before the Tatar invasion. He is reported helping his father in the 1220s in Novgorod and later in Mikhail's quest to assert his authority over Galich and the Galician domains [11]. Around 1242, after marrying Anna the daughter of King Béla IV, he deserted his father and defected to Hungary. The Ol'govichi therefore ostracized him and he disappeared from the history books of Rus'. Rostislav, for his part, severed all ties with his family. He lived out his life in the kingdom of Hungary where his father-in-law granted him various titles and lands [12]. Rostislav had two sons and four daughters [13]. Not one of them, however, came to live in the principality of Chernigov.

In addition to Rostislav four other sons survived Mikhail. Only the Ermolinskiy Chronicle gives their names and identifies their domains in the Chernigov lands. Under the year 1246, after reporting Mikhail's death, it states: «The sons of Grand Prince Mikhail of Chernigov were: Grand Prince Roman of Chernigov, who was childless and left no heirs; the second was Mstislav of Karachev and Zvenigorod; the third was Simeon of Glukhov (Hlukhiv) and Novosil'; the fourth was Yury of Bryansk and Torusa.» Thus we see that the chronicler deleted Rostislav's name from the genealogical chart of the Ol'govichi. Instead he recorded the names of the four remaining sons as if they were Mikhail's only sons and listed Roman as the eldest [14].

The Lyubetskiy sinodik edited by R. V. Zotov seemingly corroborates this information. Basing his order of seniority on lists given by later sources, Zotov identifies the brothers in the following order: Roman 'the Old' (Staryy) prince of Chernigov and Bryansk; Simeon prince of Glukhov and Novosil'; Mstislav prince of Karachev; and Yury prince of Torusa [15]. Writing in the second half of the nineteenth century, Archbishop Filaret of Chernigov observed that in his day many branches stemming from Mikhail flourished. He listed nine: the Boryatinskie, the Gorchakovy, the Dolgorukie, the Eletskie, the Zvenigorodskie, the Kol'tsovy-Mosal'skie, the Obolenskie, the Odoevskie, and the Shcherbatovy [16]. Thus both Zotov and Archbishop Filaret confirm that Mikhail had other sons in addition to Rostislav even though the sources, aside from the Ermolinskiy Chronicle, never mention them.

Mikhail's wife most likely persuaded him to name their second son, Roman, after her father, Roman Mstislavich of Vladimir in Volyn'. According to the same source Roman married a certain Anna [17]. The Ermolinskiy Chronicle, as noted above, claims that they had no offspring, but other chronicles testify to the existence of six children. Under the year 1264, the Hypatian Chronicle reports that Roman of Bryansk sent his eldest son, Mikhail, to escort Olga, one of Mikhail's four sisters, to her betrothed, Vsevolod Vasil'kovich of Volyn' [18]. Ten years later the same chronicler states that Khan Mangu Temir ordered a number of princes, including Roman of Debryansk (i.e. Bryansk) and his son Oleg, to campaign against the Lithuanians [19]. Thus the chronicler informs us that Roman had a second son named Oleg and confirms that Roman's patrimony was Bryansk. Located on the river Desna at the mouth of the river Bolva, it controlled the water routes from Chernigov to Smolensk and across the Vyatichi lands to Suzdalia.

Significantly, the *Lyubetskiy sinodik* and the Ermolinskiy Chronicle identify Roman as the prince of Chernigov. In the light of Baty's directive that only those princes who submitted to him would receive a *yarlyk*, Roman obviously visited the khan after his father's execution. The chronicles do not report his visit, but John de Plano Carpini alludes to it. He recounts how, in 1246 or 1247 when he was returning from the Golden Horde,

he met a certain Prince Roman who was travelling to Saray [20]. If, as is most likely the case, this reference was to Roman Mikhaylovich, Baty gave him the *yarlyk* not only for his patrimonial domain of Bryansk, but if the information of the Ermolinskiy Chronicle is correct, also for Chernigov [21].

Surprisingly, other chronicles never refer to Roman as the prince of Chernigov but call him the prince of Bryansk [22]. Available evidence suggests that, even though he held the *yarlyk* for Chernigov, the town was probably occupied by Baty's official (*baskak*), who requisitioned it for himself [23]. Roman's physical association with the patrimonial capital was undoubtedly limited to the visits he made to the *baskak*. He was, therefore, merely the titular prince of Chernigov. Unlike his father Mikhail, he lacked the power to initiate campaigns and to allocate domains to junior Ol'govichi [24]. Nevertheless, Roman was probably instrumental in having the bishop of Chernigov transferred to Bryansk [25].

With Roman's submission, the last of the major dynasties of Rus' formally acknowledged Baty as its overlord. He seemingly allowed the Ol'govichi to follow the customary practices of succession and territorial allocations. This is supported by the news that he let Roman, Mikhail's eldest son in Rus', replace his father as prince of Chernigov in keeping with the system of lateral succession. Baty also allowed Mikhail's sons to remain in the regional centers that Mikhail had evidently assigned to them as patrimonies. In like manner, to judge from the testimony of genealogical books, when Roman's sons Mikhail and Oleg came of age Roman gave them districts from his patrimony. Mikhail therefore became prince of Bryansk and the progenitor of the Osovetskie princes, named after the town of Osovik in the Bryansk region [26]. Oleg, however, allegedly renounced his inheritance to become a monk [27].

The Lyubetskiy sinodik gives Roman the sobriquet 'the Old' (Staryy) [28]. In 1288, according to an account of the foundation of the Uspenskiy Svenskiy Monastery in Bryansk, when Roman was living in that town he became blind and was cured through the intervention of an icon of the Mother of God. In thanksgiving for his cure, he founded the Uspenskiy Monastery near the Desna, where the river Svin' flows into it. According to some accounts, the Tatars killed him at the Golden Horde after that date [29]. Roman's father Mikhail had married not long before 1212 [30]. Since Roman evidently had three elder siblings (Feodula, Maria, and Rostislav), he would have been born around 1215 at the earliest. If he died after 1288, he would have been over 70 years of age. Thus he merited the sobriquet 'Staryy'.

We know much less about Mikhail's third son, Mstislav. The *Lyubetskiy sinodik* fails to give his baptismal name and that of his wife. According to the Ermolinskiy Chronicle, the couple had two sons, Tit and Andrey (Ondreyan) [31]. Mstislav's patrimonial domain

was Karachev, but he also controlled Zvenigorod. The latter town was located on the high left bank of the river Moskva west of Moscow. The written sources mention it for the first time in the 1330s when it formed part of the Moscow domain. The chronicles never identify Zvenigorod as belonging to the Vyatichi lands of the Ol'govichi. Nevertheless, archaeologists have established not only that the town existed as early as the eleventh century, but also that princely stamps found on pots in that town from the twelfth century resemble those of the princes of Chernigov. Consequently, it has been suggested that Zvenigorod was the northeasternmost point in the lands of Chernigov on the border with Suzdalia [32]. Karachev and Zvenigorod probably marked the southern and northern limits of Mstislav's domain. This is supported by the information that Mstislav's grandson Ivan, the son of Tit, later ruled Kozel'sk located between Karachev and Zvenigorod [33]. The location of Ivan's domain also suggests that Mstislav allocated towns within his patrimony to his two sons. The Lyubetskiy sinodik confirms this observation when it reports that Mstislav's second son Andrey ruled Zvenigorod [34].

We have only snippets of information about Simeon. His baptismal name and the identity of his wife are unknown. Although the Ermolinskiy Chronicle does not list Simeon's sons, other sources name three: Mikhail, Aleksandr, and Vsevolod [35]. Simeon was prince of Glukhov in the Posem'e region, and Novosil'. The latter was a town south of Mtsensk on the river Zusha in the southeastern frontier of the Vyatichi lands. Evidently, in 1238 the Tatars did not raze Novosil' after they withdrew from Kozel'sk. Significantly, Simeon was the only son to whom Mikhail gave a town in the Posem'e district, the region traditionally ruled by the junior branch of Ol'govichi.

Details concerning Yury's life are also sparse. As Mikhail's youngest son, he was born around 1220. He and his unidentified wife had several children, but their number is disputed. The most extensive list claims the couple had six sons. They were: Simeon of Torusa and Kanin, who fathered the Kaninskie and Spasskie princes; Vsevolod of Torusa, who fathered the Mezetskie and Baryatinskie princes; Mikhail of Myshaga (Myshega), who fathered the Myshetskie princes; Ivan 'the Elder' of Torusa, who had no children; Konstantin of Obolensk, who fathered the Obolenskie princes; Ivan 'the Younger' of Volkon, who fathered the Volkonskie princes. Their one daughter, Ksenia, married Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich of Tver' [36].

Although the Ermolinskiy Chronicle identifies Yury as prince of Bryansk and Torusa, a town located in the northeastern region of the Vyatichi lands, [37] the available evidence suggests that he ruled only Torusa. [38] Since the Ermolinskiy Chronicle made an error in claiming that Roman had no children, it may well have made another error in calling Yury

prince of Bryansk. As he did not allocate Bryansk to one of his sons, he most likely did not rule it himself. This is supported by the observation, as has been noted above, that it was Mikhail who most likely succeeded his father Roman to Bryansk.

In conclusion we have seen that according to the sparse information available concerning the offspring of Mikhail Vsevolodovich, he had two daughters and five sons. The daughters moved to Suzdalia where the elder Feodula became the nun Evfrosinia in Suzdal' while the younger Maria was the princess of Rostov. Of the five sons the eldest, Rostislav, deserted his father after the Tatar invasion and entered the service of the Hungarian king. The four younger sons Roman, Mstislav, Simeon, and Yury ruled domains in the Chernigov lands as vassals of the Tatars.

#### **Endnotes**

- \* This article is a revised and expanded version of material published in M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 374-380.
- 1. Concerning Mikhail's execution, see M. Dimnik, *Mikhail*, *Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev 1224-1246* (Toronto, 1981), pp. 130-135.
- 2. V. T. Georgievsky, «Zhitie pr. Evfrosinii Suzdal'skoy, s miniatyurami, po spisku XVII v.,» Trudy Vladimirskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii, bk 1 (Vladimir, 1899), pp. 73-172; V. O. Klyuchevsky, Drevnerusskiya zhitiya svyatykh kak istoricheskiy istochnik (Moscow, 1871), pp. 283-286.
- 3. Georgievsky, «Zhitie,» pp. 95-105, 116-8; Dimnik, *Mikhail*, p. 151.
- 4. «Arkhivnye materialy (opisi, gramoty, ukazy, i pr.), prilozhenie k opisaniyu Rizpolozhenskago monastyrya,» *Trudy Vladimirskoy uchenoy arkhivnoy komissii*, bk 2 (Vladimir, 1900), p. 7. Concerning the chapel, see also Dimnik, *Mikhail*, p. 149.
- 5. Georgievsky, «Zhitie,» pp. 132-142; M. Dimnik, «The Princesses of Chernigov (1054-1246),» *Mediaeval Studies*, vol. 65 (Toronto, 2003), pp. 204-206.
- 6. She is mentioned under the years 1227, 1231, 1237, 1238, 1249, 1258, 1259, and 1271 (R. V. Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh po Lyubetskomu sinodiku i o Chernigovskom knyazhestve v Tatarskoe vremya* (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. 286-287). Concerning her death, see «Suzdal'skaya letopis': Prodolzhenie po Akademicheskomu spisku,» *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* (abbreviated PSRL) 2nd ed., (Leningrad, 1928), col. 525.
- 7. Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov, ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow-Leningrad, 1950), pp. 300-301.
- 8. D. S. Likhachev, Russkie letopisi i ikh kul turno-istoricheskoe znachenie (Moscow-Leningrad, 1947), pp. 282-286; John Fennell, «The Tale of the Death of Vasil'ko Konstantinovič: a Study of the Sources,» Osteuropa in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Festschrift für Günther Stökl zum 60. Geburtstag (Vienna, 1977), pp. 34-46.
- 9. N. Serebryansky, *Drevne-russkie knyazheskie zhitiya (Obzor redaktsiy i teksty)*, (Moscow, 1915), Texts, pp. 51, 110-111; Dimnik, *Mikhail*, pp. 141-142.
- 10. Lav., col. 525; see also Dimnik, «The Princesses of Chernigov,» pp. 201-204.
- 11. See Dimnik, *Mikhail*, pp. 15-51 for Novgorod, and pp. 95-129 for Galich.
  - 12. Dimnik, The Dynasty of Chernigov, pp. 364-365.
- 13. «Ipatevskaya letopis',» PSRL, 2, second edition (St. Petersburg, 1908), col. 794; N. de Baumgarten, *Génealogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, Orientalia Christiana, vol. 9, nr. 35 (Rome, 1927), XII, 6-11; compare

- Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 289-290.
- 14. «Ermolinskaya letopis',» *PSRL* (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 81. See also Dimnik, *Mikhail*, p. 123.
  - 15. Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 285-286.
- 16. Filaret, Archbishop of Chernigov, Russkie svyatiye, 3rd ed., vol. 3, (St. Petersburg, 1882), p. 101, and V. V. Krasheninnikov, «Potomki Mikhaila Vsevolodovicha Chernigovskogo i Bryanskiy kray,» Sviatyi kniaz' Mikhailo Chernihivs'kyi ta ioho doba (Chernihiv, 1996), pp. 33-36.
- 17. Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, p. 82. According to the account of the Uspenskiy Svenskiy Monastery, however, Roman's wife was named Anastasia. Perhaps, as Zotov suggests, Anastasia was the name of Roman's second wife (Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, p. 85).
- 18. Ipat., cols. 861-862; Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 290-291.
- 19. Ipat., col. 872. Concerning Oleg, see Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 83-86, 291.
- 20. C. Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* (New York, 1955), p. 71; John de Plano Carpini, *Istoriya Mongalov*, ed. and trans. A. I. Malein (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 61-62. Zotov points out that the only other prince in Rus' named Roman was the son of Daniil Romanovich of Galicia-Volyn'. According to the chronicles he remained at home at that time (Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, pp. 197-198).
- 21. Zotov suggests that a certain Vsevolod Yaropolchich, reported in the *Lyubetskiy sinodik* but not mentioned by the chronicles, preceded Roman as prince of Chernigov from 1246 to 1263 (Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, pp. 80, 281). According to Zotov, Vsevolod was the son of Yaropolk Yaroslavich of the senior branch (see Baumgarten, *Génealogies*, IV, 41). According to tradition, since Yaropolk never ruled Chernigov his son was debarred from ruling the town.
- 22. See, for example, under 1263: Ipat., col. 860; under 1264: Ipat., cols. 861-862; under 1274: Ipat., col. 872; and under 1285: «Lavrent'evskaya letopis',» PSRL 1, 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1926), col. 482.
- 23. A Ryazan' charter of 1257 reports that Baty appointed a certain Ivan Shayn the commander of Chernigov (see C. J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde* (Bloomington, 1985) p. 34.
- 24. Concerning Roman, see V. V. Mavrodin, «Levoberezhnaya Ukraina pod vlast'yu Tataro-mongolov,» *Uchenye zapiski*, nr. 32, Seriya istoricheskikh nauk, vyp. 2 (Leningrad, 1939), pp. 52-53, and G. P. Polyakov, «Knyaz' Roman Mikhaylovich bryanskiy,» *Sviatyi kniaz' Mikhailo Chernihivs'kyi ta ioho doba* (Chernihiv, 1996), pp. 28-33.
- 25. A. N. Nasonov, *Mongoly i Rus* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1940), p. 28; Makary, Mitropolit Moskovskiy, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi v period mongol skiy* (St. Petersburg, 1886; Slavica-Reprint nr. 16, The Hague, 1968), vol. 4, bk. 1, p. 108. Concerning Roman's measures to make Bryansk the new episcopal see of the Chernigov lands, see V. N. Gur'yanov and G. P. Polyakov, «Novye issledovaniya drevnego Bryanska,» *Rol' rannikh mis'kykh tsentriv v stanovlenni Kyivs'koi Rusi*, Materialy pol'ovoho istoryko-arkheolohichnoho seminaru. Serpen' 1993 r., s. Zelenyi Hai Sum'skoho r-nu Sums'koi obl., general ed. O. P. Motsia (Sumy, 1993), pp. 27-28.
  - 26. Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 290-291.
  - 27. Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 82-86, 291.
- 28. Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, pp. 82-86, 196-201, 285.
  - 29. Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 84, 197-198.
  - 30. Dimnik, Mikhail, p. 11.
  - 31. Erm., pp. 81-82.
- 32. B. A. Rybakov, «Raskopki v Zvenigorode (1943-1945 gg.),» *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, nr. 12 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), p. 125; T. N. Nikol'skaya, *Zemlya Vyatichey. K istorii naseleniya basseyna verkhney i sredney Oki v IX-XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 155-157.
  - 33. Erm., p. 82.

- 34. Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, p. 292.
- 35. Mikhail ruled Glukhov, Aleksandr ruled Novosil', and Vsevolod ruled Usty, a town located northeast of Bryansk (Zotov, *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh*, pp. 286, 291).
  - 36. Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, pp. 293-295.
- 37. Torusa lies at the confluence of the rivers Tarusa and Oka, south of Lobynsk located at the confluence of the rivers Protva and Oka.
  - 38. See Zotov, O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh, p. 286.

# Дімнік М. Доньки та сини чернігівського князя Михайла Всеволодовича (1179-1246 рр.)

Згідно обмеженої інформації наявних джерел про спадкоємців чернігівського князя Михайла Всеволодовича (1179-1246 рр.) він мав двох доньок та п'ятеро синів. Доньки перенеслись до суздальської землі, де старша постриглась у черниці в Суздалі, а молодша стала ростовською княгинею. Старший з п'яти синів Ростислав після татарської навали залишив свого батька і став на службу до угорського короля. Чотири молодші сини Роман, Мстислав, Симеон та Юрій управляли своїми уділами в чернігівській землі як васали татар.

**Ключові слова:** Михайло Всеволодович, доньки та сини князя, чернігівська земля, землі в'ятичів, суздальська земля, татарська навала.

# Димник М. Дочери и сыновья черниговского князя Михаила Всеволодовича (1179-1246 гг.)

Согласно ограниченной информации в имеющихся источниках о наследниках черниговского князя Михаила Всеволодовича (1179-1246 гг.) он имел двух дочерей и пять сыновей. Дочери переселились в суздальскую землю, где старшая постриглась в монахини в Суздале, а младшая стала ростовской княгиней. Старший из пяти сыновей Ростислав после татарского нашествия оставил своего отца и поступил на службу к венгерскому королю. Четверо младших сыновей Роман, Мстислав, Симеон и Юрий управляли своими уделами в черниговской земле как вассалы татар.

**Ключевые слова:** Михаил Всеволодович, дочери и сыновья князя, черниговская земля, земли вятичей, суздальская земля, татарское нашествие.

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### К ВОПРОСУ ОБ АТРИБУЦИИ СВЯТИЛИЩ ПОЛОВЦЕВ

Атрибуты погребальных памятников половцев определяются по захоронениям. Каменные скульптуры, которые связаны с сакральными обрядами, являются одинаковым признаком для святилищ.

Комплекс вещей из святилища у с. Каменка уточняет аналогии, реконструирует обряды, уклад жизни половцев восточноевропейских степей XII-XIII вв.

**Ключевые слова:** половцы, каменные скульптуры, святилиша, сакральные традиции.

При изучении камнерезного искусства тюркютов необходимо учитывать сакралитет тюркских народов Центральной Азии VI-X вв., откуда в XI веке племена кыпчаков переместились в степи Восточной Европы. В условиях новой «родины» их признаки, в пространстве от Поволжья до Подунавья, определены в основном по погребениям [21, 217]. Исследователи половецких древностей, ссылаясь на артефакты из захоронений, выделили характерные для кыпчаков обряды и инвентарь, что позволило на их основе определить внутриэтнические группы в границах Половецкой земли. Не менее важную информацию о географии расселения половцев предоставили созданные ими каменные статуи [16, 19, рис. 5; 17, 273-297]. Однако, несмотря на то, что в работах, касающихся половецких изваяний, обобщены данные об их сакралитете, в теме семантики не лишними будут новые источники [16, 72-74], так как имеющиеся в литературе данные, касающиеся верований и обрядов, зачастую, воссозданы благодаря исторической интуиции и археологоэтнографическим исследованиям статуй Центральной Азии VI-X вв. Причиной тому - недостаточная изученность святилищ как сакральных мест, где в обрядах задействовались каменные изваяния [1, 73-82; 4, 18-20; 104-115; 25, 55-64].

В данном материале изложены сведения о закрытом комплексе, в котором находились статуи воинов, наборы вооружения, инвентаря, жертвенники, следы поклонения огню. В этой связи вызывают интерес не столько факты скульптурного искусства, сколько назначение изваяний, их хронология, содержание обрядов, связанных с сакральностью и использованием статуй.

География распространения половецких каменных скульптур в степном Подонцовье свидетельствует о том, что все учтенные нами 120 экземпляров изваяний изготовлены и утилизованы в пределах Донецкого кряжа [9, 50-53, 68-88, табл. I]. Здесь же обнаружены и раскопаны памятники сакрального содержания.

Первые святилища на кряже исследованы в 1974 г. у с. Астахово на Луганщине [24, 199-209].