
ПОВЕРТАЄМО В УКРАЇНУ КУЛЬТУРНУ СПАДЩИНУ
RETURNING THE CULTURAL HERITAGE TO UKRAINE



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National Conservation Area
"Saint Sophia of Kyiv"

THE REIMS GOSPEL

Studies

Kyiv 2026

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As part of the project "Returning the Cultural Heritage to Ukraine", launched by the Gorobets Publishing House in 2009, and in cooperation with the National Conservation Area "St. Sophia of Kyiv", a scholarly edition of the unique Cyrillic-Glagolitic manuscript known as *The Reims Gospel* (named after its current repository) was published in 2019.

The book is an 11th- and 14th-century convolute. This ancient manuscript is linked to the Kyiv scriptorium and likely originates from the library of the Grand Prince of Kyiv, Yaroslav the Wise. The book's fate is intricately intertwined with the medieval history of Rus', Bohemia, and France; thus, it is rightfully regarded as a shared monument of historical and cultural book heritage.

The original Ukrainian edition was published in two volumes. The first volume is a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript's pages, while the second comprises studies by contemporary Ukrainian scholars. These studies explore the codicological, palaeographic, artistic, and linguistic (for the Cyrillic section) features of the codex, as well as the history of its creation, provenance, and scholarly reception.

This publication is an English translation of the second volume, specifically focusing on the studies of the *Reims Gospel*. It aims to make these scholarly findings more accessible to Western audiences — both to specialists and to anyone interested in the history and language of the Ukrainian medieval religious manuscript book — thereby encouraging further academic research into written monuments of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition.

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THE REIMS GOSPEL: THE WAY HOME

As far back as May 2010, I visited *The Holy Rus'* exhibition at the Louvre Museum in Paris and discovered an old Cyrillic manuscript, which was displayed ina separate showcase at one of the most prominent places in the exhibition. The inscription near it showed it was *The Reims Gospel of Anna of Kyiv*.

Soon after that, on October 20, 2010, a facsimile edition of the Cyrillic part of this Gospel was presented in St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, most likely originating from the library founded in St. Sophia by Kyivan Prince Yaroslav the Wise. This edition was issued with the support of our benefactors, the Ivanus family from Canada.

Researchers surmise that the Gospel was taken by Yaroslav's daughter, Anna, in her long journey to France. She took her coronation oath on it in the Cathedral of Reims, the ancient capital of France, when she got married to King Henry I Capet of Franks about 1050. Following Anna, French monarchs also began to swear on the *Reims Gospel* during their coronation.

The next several hundred years were not favourable to the book. During its lengthy "travels" about Europe, the book lost a number of its pages, got an extra Glagolitic part instead, and later returned to France – the city of Reims, where it is kept at the Municipal Carnegie Library to this day.

The Reims Gospel is a sacred relic for us as the oldest monument of native literacy and an integral part of St. Sophia of Kyiv. While the facsimile edition was presented in St. Sophia, we dreamed about organizing an exhibition so that Ukrainians would be able to see this manuscript with their own eyes, as it has not only scientific but also great cultural identity and national value for us. Unfortunately, and due to reasons beyond our control, we did not manage to create the exhibition. However, our dream to exhibit the manuscript remained.

During all the years of Ukraine's independence, no edition of such kind has been released. So our team started looking for a way to produce a facsimile reproduction of the entire manuscript. We negotiated with the Carnegie Library of Reims to get

high quality copies of all the pages of the Gospel and to gain permission for their independent reproduction in a separate edition.

At the same time, we asked the Gorobets Publishing House, a company with extensive experience in publishing acsimile editions of medieval Ukrainian manuscripts located outside of Ukraine, to cooperate with us within the framework of the publishing project "Returning the Cultural Heritage to Ukraine". In fact, this project, in its spirit and embodiment, was in line with our desire to bring back the *Reims Gospel* to its homeland.

Our project was widely supported. After our appeal, the Embassy of Ukraine in France and personally Oleh Shamshur, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, took care of the entire process of preparing the trilateral agreement between the National Conservation Area "St. Sophia of Kyiv", the municipality and the library of Reims for providing copies and permission to reproduce the Gospel. The Embassy of the French Republic in Ukraine willingly joined the process too. The appropriate agreement was concluded in 2018. The Ukrainian community in France actively responded and also provided comprehensive support for the work of Ukrainian scholars with the Gospel original. The Ukrainian Cultural Foundation supported the project by providing a grant that covered part of the costs for the publication. Considerable assistance with fundraising was provided by the world-famed opera singer, Viktoria Lukyanets, who gave benefit concerts in St. Sophia Cathedral. Other contributors were attracted at various stages of the project. I am very grateful to all of them!

And finally, on October 22, 2019, the presentation of the two-volume edition of the *Reims Gospel* took place within the walls of St. Sophia Cathedral — the manuscript returned home, to the temple where it originated nearly a thousand years ago.

Shortly after, on October 26, 2019, this edition was presented at the Carnegie Library in Reims, the current repository of this priceless artifact. The publication made a profound impression on our colleagues, especially the studies by scholars who convincingly proved the Kyiv origin of the manuscript and its direct connection to Anna, the daughter of Prince Yaroslav and wife of King Henry I of France.

Even then, the need to make the scholarly component more accessible to a Western audience became clear. Thus, the decision was made to translate the research volume into English. Although the preparation of this edition was delayed — first by the pandemic, and later by Russia's unprovoked war of aggression against Ukraine — the book has been published, despite all the challenges of our time.

This edition of the results of studies on the *Reims Gospel* is proof that we, the Ukrainians, are a nation that values its heritage and does everything possible to bring it back to Ukraine.

Nelia Kukovalska, Director General
of the National Conservation Area
"St. Sophia of Kyiv"



Monument to Anna Yaroslavna in Senlis, France. Sculptors: V. Znoba and M. Znoba. 2005

Nadiya Nikitenko, Viacheslav Korniienko

THE REIMS GOSPEL: A UNIQUE MONUMENT OF UKRAINIAN–CZECH ECCLESIASTICAL BOOK CULTURE[1]

In the modern world there is a growing interest in the figure of Anna (c. 1032 – after 1075), daughter of Grand Prince of Kyiv Yaroslav Volodymyrovych (the Wise), especially amid the backdrop of recent political events and related controversies concerning the historical heritage of Rus'-Ukraine. In regards to modern international events and the search for the European identity of Ukraine, the figure of this Kyivan Princess arouses great interest again not only in the academic community[2], but also in mass culture. Many scientific popular works and novels have already been written about this Queen of France by French, Ukrainian and Russian writers; an opera is dedicated to her, and movies about her are produced. Annual celebrations in honour of Anna take place in France and Ukraine, and thematic exhibitions are opening. In recent years, two monuments devoted to Anna Yaroslavna have been erected in Kyiv. A street was named after her, and a postage stamp and a commemorative coin of two hryvnya nominal value have been issued in honour of the Kyivan Princess and Queen of France.

Considering the growing public interest in this prominent figure, historical artifacts that can be directly related to the name of Anna Yaroslavna become especially topical. The most famous among them is the French Reims Gospel which is used during coronation and is now kept in the municipal library of Reims in France. Questions about Anna's connection to the Reims Gospel have been the subject of intense scholarly debates for two centuries[3].

[1] The article is based on the authors' Introduction to the second edition of the Menologium of the Reims Gospel: Нікітенко Н., Корнієнко В. Реймське Євангеліє та Анна Ярославна. Реймське Євангеліє Анни Ярославни. Торонто: Фундація Енциклопедії України, 2018. С. 7–15.

[2] See the article by O. Yasynetska in this edition.

[3] See the article by Ye. Luniak in this edition with more detailed research of the manuscript history.

The reason for this is the fact that the history of the manuscript can be more or less reliably traced only since the late 14th c., when this codex was donated to the Emmaus monastery (Prague, Czech Republic) by Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg. At that time the manuscript consisted of two parts – Cyrillic and Glagolitic. Both parts were combined into a unified codex in 1395 in the Emmaus monastery. In this monastery the second Glagolitic part of the Gospel was written. The structure of the manuscript remains unchanged till now.

In the centuries that followed, the history of the manuscript is not known. It is believed that in the middle of the 15th c. the Reims Gospel was brought to Constantinople by the Hussites, and after the decline of the city in 1453 the manuscript was brought to Italy by Constantine Paleokappa. About a hundred years after these possible events, the manuscript was purchased in Italy by the Archbishop of Reims, Charles de Guise, who donated it to the Reims Cathedral in 1574.

It was then that the manuscript was adorned with a precious binding, which enshrined the pieces of holy relics and the Life-giving Cross of Lord the Saviour. Because of this, the Gospel acquired the name *Texte du sacre* and during the coronation ceremony the French kings took their oaths on it. In the time of the French Revolution, the cover was damaged and looted, but the Gospel itself survived and was transferred to the municipal library of Reims, where it is kept to this day.

Because the Glagolitic subscript itself narrates about the time and place of the manuscript creation, there is no doubt about its origin. However, there is no consensus about the origin of the older Cyrillic part. Consequently, scholars' views concerning the Reims Gospel's links to Anna Yaroslavna are opposing, from total objection to absolute support. In fact, the question is about the possibility of a "double" journey of the manuscript to France – in the 11th c. with Anna Yaroslavna, and in the 14th c. with Charles de Guise.

In our opinion, the hypothesis that the manuscript may have been part of the dowry of Anna Yaroslavna is quite probable, although indeed, in order to prove or disprove it, new precise academic research of the manuscript must be conducted. We hope this edition will also serve this purpose.

The daughter of Yaroslav Volodymyrovych (the Wise), Anna, married King Henry I Capet of France about 1050. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider that it was she who brought the Cyrillic Gospel to her new motherland and took the queen's oath upon it. This tradition was preserved in France henceforth, thus the Reims Gospel is a valuable relic of the French people. However, the evidence that Anna brought this particular manuscript (or any other) to France is not yet confirmed and the association of the manuscript with her name follows from the study of the monument itself and the historical context of the marriage of a Rus'ian princess to a French king.

A study of the original Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, carried out by Dr. Lidiya Zhukovskaya[4], concluded that this manuscript is the oldest recorded Rus'ian monument of the 11th c. (next to the *Ostromir Codex* dated 1056–1057, and the

[4] Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское Евангелие: история его изучения и текст. М., 1978. 64 с.

Izborniks of 1073 and 1076). Zhukovskaya's research was continued and broadened by a Russian researcher Elvira Bikinina[5] who proved that the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel reflects the peculiarities of Rus'ian script monuments of the first half of the 11th c. Moreover, the most probable place of its creation is Kyiv. These observations were supported and developed by the research works of Ukrainian scholars Liudmyla Hnatenko and Viktor Moisiienko. Kyivan art expert Poulina Yanitskaya's study[6] of the illuminations in the manuscript show that peculiarities of design of the initial letters of the Reims Gospel and the graffiti scratched on the walls of St. Sophia Cathedral are similar. By studying the linguistic features of the Cyrillic part of the Gospel, we can quite confidently connect its origin with the scriptorium at St. Sophia. There is no evidence about the existence of other scriptoriums in Kyiv in the first half of the 11th c.

As the new researches attest, the cathedral was founded by the grandfather of Anna, Volodymyr Sviatoslavych (the baptizer of Rus'-Ukraine), in 1011 and completed by Anna's father, Yaroslav, in 1018; it had a great importance as a temple-memorial of the Baptism of Rus'[7]. In all the elements of the cathedral's decorative system we observe glorification of the Rus' baptizers, the royal couple — Volodymyr and Anna, a Byzantine princess. Anna Yaroslavna evidently was named after her[8]. Obviously, it could attach particular holiness to the manuscript collection of the St. Sophia Cathedral, as well as to the Reims Gospel. It is notable that on the fresco depicting St. Pantaleon in the middle pace of the St. Sophia Cathedral two graffiti inscriptions were discovered. Most likely they were left by Anna before the journey to her fiancé, Henry. It should be noted that the old age of the manuscript is confirmed by the monks of the Emmaus monastery, who attributed the authorship of the Cyrillic part of the manuscript to St. Procopius (d. 1053), as the inscription at the end of the Glagolitic part testifies.

Thus, modern studies of the linguistic peculiarities of the Cyrillic part of the manuscript prove that it was created in Kyiv in the first half of the 11th c. when Anna still stayed there. From what we know about Anna's autographs from the sources (graffiti inscriptions in the St. Sophia of Kyiv[9], her signatures on the charters[10]) and about her devoutness[11], it is no wonder that the precious personal Gospel was part of the rich dowry of the noble bride of King Henry I of France.

[5] Bikinina E. La lengua del Evangelio de Reims. Tesis doctoral. Granada, 2009. 686 c.

[6] See the articles by L. Hnatenko, V. Moysiienko and P. Yanitskaya in this edition.

[7] Никитенко Н. Н. Русь и Византия в монументальном комплексе Софии Киевской: Историческая проблематика. К., 1999. 294 с.; Никитенко Н., Корниенко В. Древнейшие граффити Софии Киевской и время ее создания. К., 2012. 232.

[8] Никитенко Н., Корниенко В. Собор святых Софии Киевской. К., 2014. 336 с.; Никитенко Н. София Киевская и ее создатели: тайны истории. Каменец-Подольский, 2014. 248 с.

[9] Нікітенко Н. М., Корнієнко В. В. Анна Ярославна та її автографи на стіні Софії Київської. Сіверщина в історії України: Зб. наук. пр. К.: Глухів, 2010. Вип. 3. С. 93–98.

[10] See, e.g., Мельников Е. И. О языке и графике подписи Анны Ярославны 1063 года. Славянское языкознание. Сборник статей. М., 1959. С. 113–119.

[11] See, e.g., Letter of Pope Nicholas II to Anna (1059) in: Висоцький С. О. Княгиня Ольга і Анна Ярославна – славні жінки Київської Русі. К., 1991. С. 92–93. See also the article by O. Yasynetska in this edition.

A similar story can be cited about another famous manuscript – a so-called *Codex Egberti*, or *Gertrude Psalter*. This book was brought to Kyiv by its owner, Polish princess Gertrude, wife of Grand Prince Iziaslav I Yaroslavych of Kyiv. It was created in the late 10th c. for Archbishop Egbert of Trier. Later the Psalter was passed to the mother of Gertrude and then to Gertrude herself, and after that it was complemented with a Latin prayer book (about 90 prayers) and a number of illuminations. In 1103 the manuscript was brought to Poland by Zbyslava Sviatopolkivna, wife of Duke Bolesław III the Wrymouth of Poland [12].

The story of Gertrude Psalter clearly demonstrates that precious church manuscripts were often part of a regal bride's dowry. They were revered as family holy relics and were used during prayer, and passed from generation to generation. Together with such books, the owners adhered to their usual traditions associated with their kinship, which asserted its legitimacy and sanctity. Gertrude, for example, despite marrying the Rus'ian Orthodox Prince Iziaslav, continued to say her prayers in Latin as it is evidenced from the Gertrude Psalter. Therefore, it would not be unusual to consider that Anna of Kyiv took her oath not on the Latin Bible, but on the Cyrillic Gospel brought by her.

In view of this, there is an interesting hypothesis suggested by Bulgarian historian Volodymyr Topencharov, who in his work *Constantine the Philosopher* (Sofia, 1970)[13] indicated that the Bishop of Reims confirmed the use of the Cyrillic Gospel during coronations since 1044 (this year was earlier considered as the date of marriage of Henry I and Anna Yaroslavna). However, it should be noted that no confirmation of this hypothesis was found in medieval sources. Although, it is not implausible that the memory about the Gospel's use in coronations was continued for a long time, as evidenced by what happened to it upon its return to France, when the manuscript was richly decorated with an ornate cover containing precious stones and particles of relics of saints, and the French kings – Henry III of Valois (1574–1589), Louis XIII of Bourbon (1610–1643) and Louis XIV of Bourbon (1643–1715) – began to swear on it again.

The Cyrillic-Glagolitic manuscript was highly valued by the French people, not only for its ornate and valuable cover, but because of its historical significance and meaning. Any other older Latin Bible that could be easily found in France at that time was more appropriate for coronation oaths. However, the title *Texte du sacre* was given to the ancient Cyrillic manuscript, donated by Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg to the Emmaus Monastery and supplemented there with the Glagolitic part at the end of the 14th c. History is silent on how the manuscript fell into his hands and there are several contemporary hypotheses about this. The hypothesis related to Anna states that the future emperor Charles IV found this manuscript in Paris, where he spent his childhood and adolescence. As Charles was Czech by origin with a birth-name *Václav*, he spoke and read perfect Czech and could easily understand

[12] See: Запаско Я. П. Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва. Українська рукописна книга. Львів, 1995. С. 143–148.
[13] The book itself by the Bulgarian researcher remained inaccessible to us. This work is quoted by L. Zhukovskaya.

the text written in Cyrillic script. Or it's most likely that the codex fell into Charles' hands after his marriage to Blanche de Valois, the youngest daughter of Charles, Count de Valois, a remote descendant of the son of Henry I and Anna Yaroslavna, Philip I. Obviously, as a valuable family heirloom, the pages of the manuscripts were kept in the families of their descendants. Quite possibly it's the reason why the pages were scattered and, as a result, only part of the menology was preserved – the calendar readings from late October to early March.

These manuscript pages were later transported by Charles IV to Prague. Before his own coronation in 1346, Charles IV concentrated his efforts on the development of Bohemia. His era is often called the 'Golden Age'. He also founded the Emmaus Monastery, where divine services were conducted in the Slavic language. Maybe that's why he transported and donated one of the most valuable royal relics, the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, to Emmaus Monastery as he and the monks believed it was written by the hand of St. Procopius, the highly venerated saint in Bohemia.

In view of the above mentioned, the Reims Gospel can be considered a unique artifact of the Rus'-Ukraine era, a precious relic both for Ukrainians and for the French and Czech people, being directly related to the medieval Kyiv and the names of Anna Yaroslavna, Queen of France, and Charles IV, German emperor and King of Bohemia.

For the first time in independent Ukraine, a facsimile of the text of the Reims Gospel Menology was published in 2010[14]. Because of its limited quantity, this edition remained inaccessible for Ukrainian readers. To meet this need, a new edition was issued in 2018[15]. However, both editions were devoted only to the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, while its Glagolitic part, created in Bohemia in the late 14th c.[16], was left without consideration, although it constitutes an organic addition for Cyrillic text of 11th c.[17] Taking into account the public interest in the Reims Gospel and the long debate over its origin, there was an objective need to publish the full text of this manuscript. To achieve this goal with the support of the Embassy of Ukraine in France, an agreement was reached with the municipal government of the city of Reims to receive the photocopies of the pages of the Reims Gospel and permission for its facsimile reproduction in Ukraine.

A two-volume edition, consisting of the facsimile, and the studies, was published in 2019. This current English-language edition presents the findings of the research on the Reims Gospel, conducted by scholars at that time. These insights will foster a deeper understanding of the manusript's significance for Ukrainian, French, and Czech history, as well as stimulate its further study.

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[14] Реймське Євангеліє Анни Ярославівни / Александрович В. С. Львів: Вид-во «МС», 2010. 100 с.

[15] Реймське Євангеліє Анни Ярославни. Торонто: Фундація Енциклопедії України, 2018. 84 с.

[16] The Glagolitic part was recently researched and published by O. Strakhova: Страхова О. Б. Глаголическая часть Реймского евангелия: история, язык, текст. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2014 (Palaeoslavica. Supplementum, 3). 261 pp.

[17] In 2017, under the leadership of Hieromonk Alexander (Sinyakov), the complete edition of the Reims Gospel in two volumes (facsimile edition, and research) was published. However, this publication remains inaccessible to researchers; in addition, the quality of the published photocopies is not very high.



Yevgen Luniak

THE REIMS GOSPEL: THE MYSTERIES OF ITS ORIGIN

The parchment book with dimensions of 23 x 17.5 cm has several names. In France, where it has been preserved and displayed during the last half a millennium, it is called the Slavic or Slavonic Gospel *(Évangéliaire slave, Évangéliaire slavon)*, or simply the Coronation Text *(Texte du sacre)*. However, most often this old manuscript is referred to as the *Reims Gospel (Évangéliaire de Reims)*, named after the city in France where it is kept permanently. Today this is the name most commonly used by historians who study the Gospel.

The manuscript itself contains a note in French, made in the18th c.: "The Gospel in the Esclavonian language *(Evangiles en langue esclavonique)*. The first part in the Eastern-Greek language is to be used by monks". Below is a note in other hand: "The Vice-Chancellor of the King [this refers to Pyotr Pavlovych Shafirov (1669—1739)—Ye.L.], who came to Reims in June 22, 1717, staying here until June 24, could easily read the first part of the manuscript together with two seigniors who accompanied him. They said it was written in their mother tongue. But they couldn't read the second part of the manuscript".

So what do we know about this codex?

The document consists of two parts, one written in a Cyrillic uncial script peculiar to the codices of Kyivan Rus' period, and the other written in so-called 'angular' Croatian Glagolitic script, which was uncommon in the Rus' lands. In general, the text is written on 47 parchment folios, in two columns on both sides.

The Cyrillic part (16 folios) is made up of excerpts from the Gospels, with markings on the days of important religious holidays when a certain passage is to be read. It covers the period from late October to early March. Taking into consideration that traditionally in Rus' the year began with the vernal equinox, when light prevailed over darkness, one could assume that there was an initial part of this text that covered the period from April to September. Therefore, we must assume that several folios with a relevant text are missing.

There is no doubt that the folios written in Cyrillic are only a part of the whole text. It begins with the words «великꙋ оу҃вещи же оуждиша сѧ гл҃ще • какосъ есть • ако и к҃ѣ трꙋ и море послоуша его • ⸗». At first sight, the lack of a traditional introduction is evident. The initial letter is not highlighted in accordance with tradition of medieval codices. However, the defining of liturgical days is followed by excerpts of Gospel narrations about Christ from the time of His birth to the height of His ministry. The end of the Cyrillic part is literally broken off mid-word: «вечероу же бывшꙋ • г҃ла г҃днъ винограда • къ строи...» as it concerns the New Testament parable about the vine dresser and his workers. Considering that this passage should be followed at least by a retelling of the main events in Christ's life (His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the betrayal of Judah, the Passion, and, finally, His death on the cross and the resurrection from the dead) and basing on the logic of the work's composition, we can conclude that these 16 Cyrillic folios represent about a third or a quarter of the entire text.

The Glagolitic part of the manuscript consists of 31 folios and is a kind of continuation of the Cyrillic one. Its arrangement is similar to the structure of the first part. The second part brings the Gospel narratives to a logical end — the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ. The most important liturgical days are marked when the relevant passages of the New Testament should be read — from Palm Sunday to Annunciation.

There are many Czechisms in the Glagolitic text, and towards the end of it there is a note that the manuscript was created in 'the year of our Lord' 1395. One part of the book is written in the 'Slavonic language', another one in Rus'ian. Here is what's written in the conclusion of the text: «ⱘ ⰊⰑⰓⰻⱁⱘ Ⱃⰿⱐⰽⰻⱘ ⰿⰳⰵⱑⰿⰵ ⱛⰻⰳⰶⰵⱛⰻ · Ⱁⰵⰻⰶ Ⰵ ⰻⰵⰾⰾⰰⰾⰻⱁⰵ ⱐⰻⰳⰶⰵⱛⰻⰵ ⱁ҃ⱛⰻⰽⱘ · ⰿⰳⰵ Ⰵ Ⱃⰿⰵ ⱊⰱⱑⰻⰺ ⰻⰿⰿ Ⱃⱐⰻⰳ ⱐⰳⰻⰳ · ⱘ ⰿⰵ ⰿⰳⰓⰳⰻⰳ ⰿⰳⰓⰓⱐⰵ Ⰺⱘⱘⰳ ⰻⰶⰓⰵⰳⰵⰿⰳⰻ ⱛⱘⰵⰳⰳ · ⱁⰿⰵⰿⱐⰿⰳ ⱗⰱ҃ ⱐⰳⰳⰿⰳⰳⰻⰳ ⸗〈 ⱛⰵ Ⱃⰳⱘⰿⱐⰻⰶⰻⰳ ⰿⰵⰵⰳⰳⰿⰵ ⱛⰳⰻⰳⰿⱐⰳⰳ · ⱘ ⱛⰵ ⱗⰿⰳ Ⱃⱐⱘⰿⰵⰵⰳⰳ Ⰼⱐⰵⰶⰳⰳⰳ · ⰳ Ⱃⱐⱘⰿⰵⰵⰳⰳ ⱊⱘⱘⰳ ⰳⰳⰻⰳⰿⱐⰳⰳ ⱘⰳⰵⰶⰻⰶⰳ ⱘⰳⰳⰶ · ·»[1].

Based on the above, the Cyrillic part of the manuscript was authored by the reverend Procopius of Sázava (circa 970—1053)[2]. This saint is particularly venerated

[1] «А друга страна тіех-то книжек, єнж єст подлє русскего закона, ту псал єст свати Прокоп Опат сву руку, а то писмо русске дал нєбожтик Карел чтврти цар рзимски к ославєни тому-то кластеру, а ке цти Сватему Єрониму і Сватему Прокопу. Господине рач му дати покой віечни. Амн»: Ганка В. Сазаво-Эммаузское святое благовествование. Ныне же Реймское. Прага: Книгопечать сынов Богумила Гааза, 1846. XXXII+201 с. С. 186–188.

[2] Ukrainian historian Petro Kurinny proposed the hypothesis that Procopius of Sazava lived in Vyshgorod and Kyiv in the early 11th c. during the reign of Volodymyr the Great or Yaroslav the Wise and created the Gospel at the request of the Grand Prince of Kyiv. See: Курінний П. Реймська Євангелія – найдавніша пам'ятка письма Київської Русі. Золоте слово. Науково-навчальне видання. В двох книгах. К.: Видавництво «АКО-НІТ», 2002. Книга перша. С. 194–211. However, Kurinny's assumption is not sufficiently substantiated. It is worth noting that the views on the Kyiv origin of the Reims Gospel are supported by such researchers as Vasyl Putsko, Lidiya Zhukovskaya, Elvira Bikinina, Volodymyr Aleksandrovych, Nadiya Nikitenko and Viacheslav Korniienko: Пуцько В. Г. Київський рукопис французької королеви Анни. Рукописна та книжкова спадщина України. 1998. Вип. 4. С. 93–99, Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие: история его изучения и текст. Предварительные публикации. М., 1978. Вып. 114. С. 1–58. (Институт русского языка АН СССР. Проблемная группа по экспериментальной и прикладной лингвистике), Bikinina E. La lengua del Evangelio de Reims. Tesis doctoral. Granada, 2009. 686 s., Александрович В. Київські аркуші Реймського Євангелія // Реймське Євангеліє Анни Ярославівни. Львів: Видавництво «МС», 2010. С. 11–32, Нікітенко Н., Корнієнко В. Реймське Євангеліє та Анна Ярославна. Реймське Євангеліє Анни Ярославни. Торонто: Фундація Енциклопедії України, 2018. С. 7–15, and others.

in Czech lands: in 1204 he was the first Czech (Bohemian) officially canonized by the Roman-Catholic church under the supremacy of Pope Innocent III. According to a folk legend, Saint Procopius of Sázava wielded such a divine power that he was able to yoke the devil to a plow and till the soil, urging him on with a cross.

The Emperor Charles IV of the Holy Roman Empire donated this Cyrillic codex to the monks of the Emmaus Monastery founded by him in Prague (Sázava-Emmaus Monastery, or Monastery Na Slovanech) to honour the memory of St. Jerome and St. Procopius. The monastery got its name due to the fact that on the day of its consecration — November 21, 1347, the chapter of the Bible about the meeting of Jesus with his disciples on the road to Emmaus was recited.

This old architectural complex is one of the landmarks of modern Prague today. Many tourists visit *Emauzy*, as it is called by modern Czechs, with pleasure. Here you can see the sights of original frescoes and mosaics, quite similar to the decorations in Orthodox religious buildings. Across the centuries, this medieval monastery has been repeatedly rebuilt. Its most recent major reconstruction occurred after World War II, after the roof was destroyed by aerial bombing. The two former gothic towers were replaced with an extravagant reinforced concrete roof in the form of two intersecting sails. Currently the monastery serves as premises for the Czech Academy of Sciences.

This religious centre became famous again because of special permission granted by the Pope Clement VI to conduct the divine service in the Slavonic language[3]. It immediately made the monastery very popular among the people. As from the end of the 11th c., the divine service was no longer conducted in Slavonic in Bohemia. In 1097, in the final abode of the traditions of St. Cyril and St. Methodius, the Sázava Monastery was inhabited by Benedictine monks, and the divine service started to be conducted in Latin. The monks who prayed in their mother tongue were forced to leave the holy shrine and seek refuge in the east and south, mainly in Slovakia and Croatia. In order to conduct services in Slavonic, Charles IV invited monks predominantly from Dalmatia, known today as Croatia.

Thus the fate of the manuscript has been more or less traced since the middle of the 14th c. For the conventual community of the Emmaus Monastery, the codex presented by Emperor Charles IV had a sacred character — because of the antiquity of the manuscript and its association with the holy name of Procopius of Sázava. The monks adorned the manuscript cover with precious gems and particles of the holy relics. The Sázava-Emmaus Gospel, as an invaluable antiquity, was preserved at the monastery till the early 15th c. and was used in divine services only during the most important feast days.

For the next century and a half, the fate of the manuscript was cloaked in the shroud of mystery again. Only the fact that in 1574 the Gospel was found at the Reims Cathedral is documented. The description of the cathedral relics for 1669 states: "Also a book, in which the Gospels are written in Greek and Syriac (next to it there is a later note: "according to some — in Sclavonian"), presented as a gift by

[3] Ганка В. Op. cit.

the Lord Cardinal of Lorraine on the eve of Easter in 1574. It is covered with gilded silver, one side is decorated with precious stones and five crystals, under which many relics are preserved, including a wooden cross from the True Cross (i.e. from the wood of the cross Jesus was crucified on – *Ye. L.*) and the particles of the holy relics of St. Peter, St. Philip, St. Pope Sylvester, St. Cyril, St. Martha, St. Margaret of Spain. There is also the image of Our Lord. On four sides there are silver figures covered with enamel, with an eagle. The person, who delivered this manuscript from the treasury of Constantinople, testified that it originated from the monastery of St. Jerome. It weighs six marks and six ounces"[4].

However, how this book travelled from Prague to Reims during this time, one can only guess. According to one of the famous researchers of the Reims Gospel, Václav Hanka, in 1419, the Hussites, led by Jan Žižka, took this sacred book out of the monastery they had seized and kept it for themselves, using it for divine services in their native tradition. In the middle of the 15th c., the Gospel was found to be in Constantinople. Obviously, it is connected with the Bohemian mission to the Orthodox Patriarch in 1451–1452. The Hussite movement declined when Bohemia was attacked by the crusaders who mercilessly killed the heretics and destroyed everything that contradicted the dogmas of official Catholicism. Under the circumstances, special envoys left for the capital of Byzantium to seek support of the Patriarch of Constantinople and to negotiate on the transition of the Hussite church under his patronage. The envoys brought precious gifts, including the extremely valuable Gospel, according to Hanka's hypothesis[5].

However, it is known that an alliance between the Hussites and the Orthodoxy was not concluded because of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. In the next century, the old manuscript reached Western Europe again. It was probably brought along with other shrines by the Constantinople emissary, Costantino Paleocapa, to northern Italy, where in 1545–1563 the famous Council of Trent took place. Here the Gospel was purchased by one of the Council participants, the Archbishop of Reims, Charles de Guise of Lorraine. He brought the book to France, and later transferred it to the Reims cathedral[6].

As for how the Gospel got from Prague to Reims, the opinion of Václav Hanka was not entirely original, largely repeating the assertion made shortly before by Polish archivist and palaeographer Ludwig-Corwin Jastrzębski[7].

Both scholars believed that the Gospel's arrival in Reims from Prague via Constantinople and Northern Italy is quite logical and probable, but there is no sufficient evidence of such.

Since its arrival in Reims, it has been referred to as the *Reims Gospel* and was used during royal coronations up to the time of the French revolution. There is

[4] Ганка В. Op. cit. P. VIII–IX.
[5] Ibid. P. VII–VII.
[6] Ibid. P. VIII–X.
[7] Jastrzebski L. C. de. Notice sur le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Reims, connu sous le nom de Texte du Sacre. Rome: Imprimerie Salviucci, 1845. 16 p.

evidence given by the aforementioned Jastrzębski that every new king, laying his right hand on the Gospel in the Reims Cathedral, pronounced the following words of the oath: *Ainsi le jurons, vouons et promettons sur la sainte et vraie Croix et le saint Évangile touché* ("Thus by this we swear, promise, and take an oath with touching the Holy and True Cross and the Holy Gospel"). The Latin version of this solemn ritual formula is given as follows: *Sic me Deus adjuvet, et haec sancta Dei Evangelia*[8].

However, there is no strong evidence that during the coronation of the French monarchs this particular Gospel was used. Furthermore, there are doubts about the use of it in the anointing of Bourbons. It can only be assumed, although it looks quite probable. This hypothesis is supported by the traditional French title *Texte du sacre* (Coronation Text) of the holy book and its ornate decorations, as well as by its preservation in the Reims Cathedral, a sacral place.

One of the first researchers of the Reims Gospel, French historian and archivist Antoine-Louis Paris (1802–1887), worked at the Reims Library for several years and effectively introduced the manuscript to the broader scholarly public. He clearly stated that this book was used during the coronation ceremonies of French monarchs. It should be noted that he began to study the Reims Gospel when recollections of the Bourbon coronation were still fresh. His work was called *The Slavonic Manuscript on Which the Kings of France Took Their Oath at Their Coronation* (1837)[9]. The same idea was also repeated soon after that by the Russian researcher of the Reims Gospel, Sergey Mikhailovich Stroyev, who borrowed the title for his own work about the manuscript from Antoine-Louis Paris[10].

On the title page of Václav Hanka's book dedicated to the Reims Gospel, published in Prague in 1846 in Russian, the author gave it the following title: *The Sázava-Emmaus Holy Gospel. Now the Reims Gospel, on Which the French Kings Were Swearing During the Coronation Anointing*[11]. According to Ludwig-Corwin Jastrzębski, the Reims Gospel could have been used for the first time in the coronation of Henry III, which took place on February 13, 1575[12].

We should note that there were still vivid memories of royal coronations in France at that time and the Orleans Monarchy was still predominate, but no one contradicted the beliefs of Paris, Stroyev, Jastrzębski or Hanka.

It is also important to note that the first mention about the use of the Reims Gospel in the coronation of French kings came in the 18th c., during the reign of the Bourbon dynasty[13].

[8] Jastrzebski L. C. de. Op. cit. P. 15–16.

[9] Paris L. Manuscrit slavon, sur lequel les rois de France prêtaient serment à leur sacre. La Chronique de Champagne. Reims, 1837. T. I. P. 40–52.

[10] Строев С. М. Славянское евангелие, на котором присягали короли французские при своем короновании. Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения. 1839. Ч. XXI, янв., отд. II. С. 78–103.

[11] Ганка В. Op. cit. XXXII+201 p.

[12] Jastrzebski L. C. de. Op. cit. P. 3, 14.

[13] Строев С. М. Op. cit. P. 79; Léger L. Notice sur L'Évangéliaire slavon de Reims, dit: Texte du sacre. Reims: F. Michaud Prague: F. Řivnáč, 1899. 4+47 p. P. 21–23.

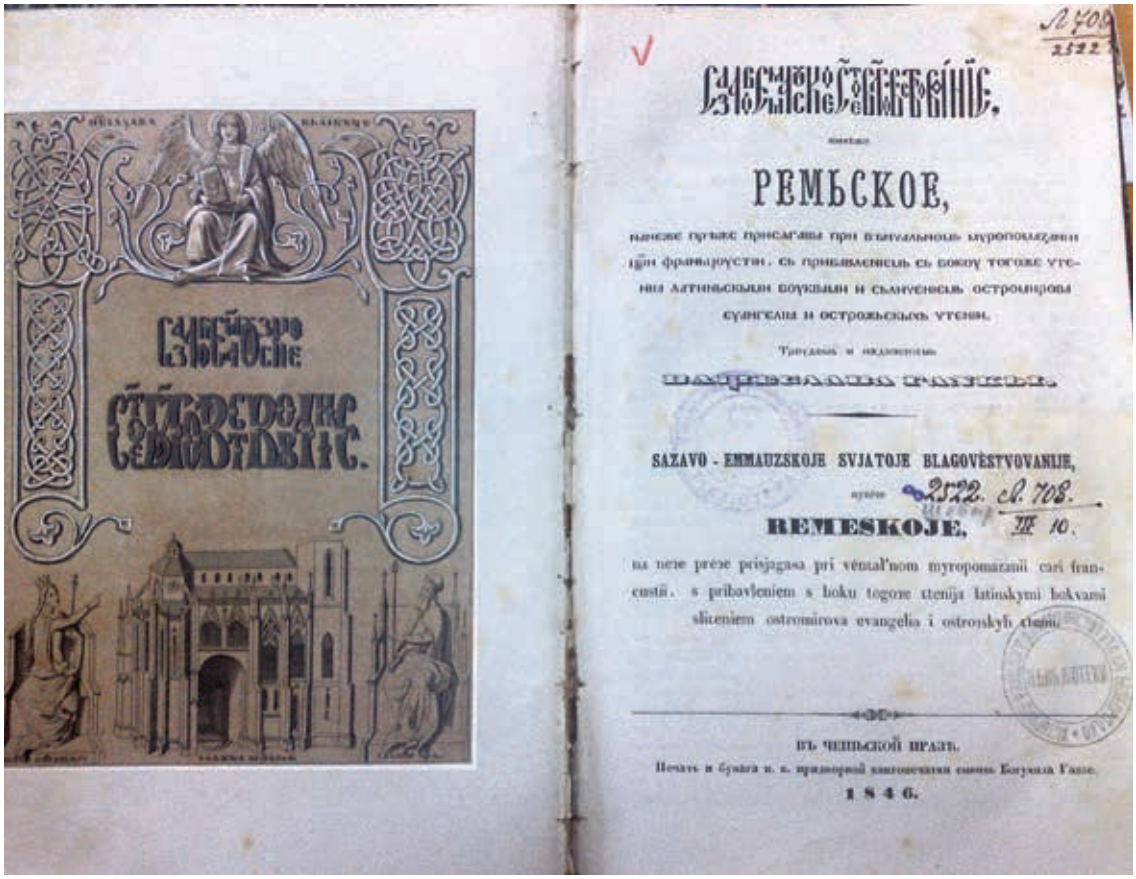


Fig 1. Title page of Václav Hanka's book *The Sázava-Emmaus Holy Gospel. Now the Reims Gospel, on Which the French Kings Were Swearing During the Coronation Anointing* (Prague, 1846)

Frenchmen of that time could not understand the text of the Reims Gospel, so they suggested different hypotheses concerning its origin: Greek, Syriac, Slavic, and Indian[14].

For a long time, no one in France was able to read this text created in a strange eastern script. In the historiography, there is a belief expressed by Paris and repeated by many others that in 1717, the Russian Tsar Peter I visited France, saw the Reims Gospel and easily began to read its Cyrillic part, but could not understand the second part of the manuscript at all[15].

The idea that the Reims Gospel was created with the use of Glagolitic script was expressed for the first time by the English historian Thomas Ford Hill in 1789. It was he who saw the Glagolitic books in the Vienna Library and noted that the letters in them were very similar to the letters of the Reims Gospel[16].

[14] Jastrzebski L. C. de. Notice sur le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Reims, connu sous le nom de Texte du Sacre. Rome: Imprimerie Salviucci, 1845. 16 p. P. 6.

[15] Paris L. Préface Évangéliaire slave, dit Texte du sacre, de la bibliothèque de Reims. Paris: Didron et Techner, 1852. XIX+62 p. P. 11; Jastrzebski L. C. de. Op. cit. P. 6; Ганка В. Op. cit. С. X.

[16] Строев С. М. Op. cit. С. 79–80.

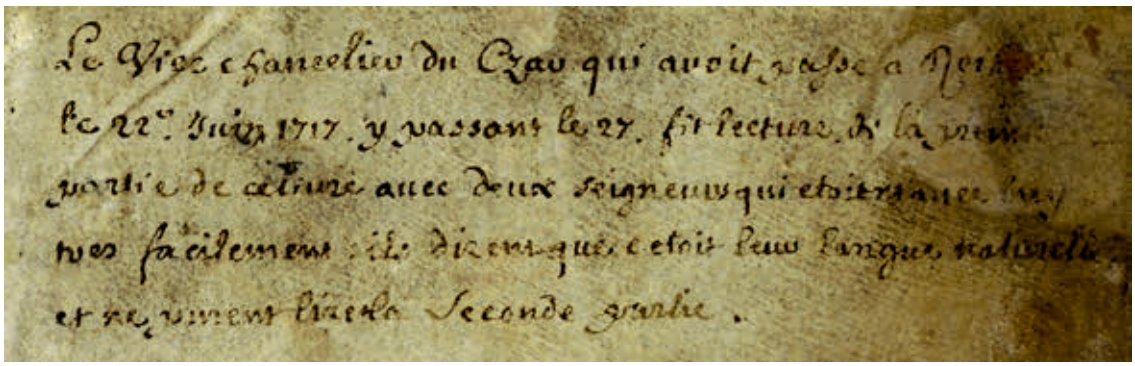


Fig 2. Record of the inspection of the Reims Gospel by the Vice-Chancellor of Tsar Peter I (Pyotr Pavlovich Shafirov) on June 22, 1717

Other Russian representatives in Paris also got acquainted with the old manuscript, those were father and son, Boris Ivanovich and Alexander Borisovich Kurakins[17]. They maintained a close contact with the local intellectual elite and were interested in historical artifacts. Aleksandr Kurakin even donated several Russian books of the 17th c., including the 1663 Bible, to the Sorbonne Library[18].

It is probable that the Russian monarch and his retinue became acquainted with the Reims Gospel. But there is some doubt because of the lack of sources with contemporary testimonies. One of the first Russian researchers of the manuscript, Sergei Mikhaylovich Stroyev, had to admit, "I have searched through all the significant records that we have about Peter the Great and his visit to France: Golikov, Tumansky, Theophan Prokopovich, Shcherbatov — all of them keep silent about this fact. As well as Bergman, Feodozi and others"[19].

His doubt concerning Peter I's acquaintance with the Reims Gospel was also expressed by French Slavist Louis Léger who noted, "There is nothing to prove that this manuscript was shown to Peter the Great during the travel of this ruler through Reims on June 22, 1717"[20].

However, the record on the book states that the Tsar's Vice-Chancellor, Pyotr Pavlovich Shafirov, definitely held it in his hands (Fig. 2).

During the French Revolution, the Reims Cathedral was plundered. The wonderful Gospel disappeared and for some period of time it was considered lost. Czech Slavist Josef Dobrovsky even wrote in 1808 that it was burned on the altar of the Goddess of Reason when her adherents seized the cathedral.[21]

Fortunately, however, the Gospel was not lost. The barbarians only stripped it of its precious cover, keeping the text undamaged. The Reims Gospel was transferred to the city library, where it has been kept since then.

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[17] Строев С. М. Op. cit. С. 88–89.

[18] Description historique de l'empire russien. Traduit de l'ouvrage allemande de M. le Baron de Strahlenberg. T. 2. Amsterdam: Chez Desaint & Saillant, 1757. XI+406 p. P. 64–65.

[19] Строев С. М. Op. cit. С. 90.

[20] Léger L. Op. cit. P. 18.

[21] Léger L. Op. cit. P. 25.

From the 19th c., the manuscript was meticulously studied by many Slavists. The scientific discovery of this document dates to 1836. The Gospel was found in the Library of Reims by the French historian Antoine-Louis Paris, who worked there as a librarian and archivist. Before that, he lived for several years in Russia, where he studied local chronicles. Upon return to his homeland in 1832, he published his research on the *Nestor Chronicle* along with a translation of this document. When he saw the Reims Gospel, Paris immediately realized that an ancient Slavic manuscript of the times of Kyivan Rus' had fallen into his hands. Paris wrote an article about his discovery, entitled "The Slavic Manuscript on Which Kings of France Swore at Their Coronation", which was published in the magazine *Chronicle of Champagne* in January 1837[22].

It was then that the French scholar introduced the Reims Gospel to his Russian colleague, Aleksandr Ivanovich Turgenev, a historian and archivist, who had lived in France for many years, researching manuscripts and incunabula in local book collections. He immediately reported his finding to the newly founded Archaeographic Commission in St. Petersburg[23].

In 1837, the Secretary of the Archaeographic Commission, Sergei Mikhailovich Stroyev, was sent on an official trip to Germany and France to study old Slavic manuscripts at local book collections and archives. One of the missions for Stroyev was to review the Reims Gospel.

During this time, the manuscript was studied by other Slavists: the Slovene Jernej Bartol Kopitar, the Czech Václav Hanka, the Poles Ludwik Korwin Jastrzębski and Jan Łoś, the Croat Vatroslav Jagić, the Russians Sergey Mikhaylovich Stroyev, Aleksey Ivanovich Sobolevsky, and Aleksandr Khristoforovich Vostokov, the Frenchman Louis Léger, and others.

Almost all the researchers of the ancient manuscript considered the 11th c. as the period when the Cyrillic part of the Gospel was created. That is, the era of Queen Anna Yaroslavna.

Stroyev, however, believed that the whole Reims Gospel was a product of the late Middle Ages and was created at the turn of the 14th c.[24]

In 1843, by wish of Russian Emperor Nicholas I, a splendid facsimile edition of the *Slavic Gospel* was published in Paris, prepared for print by the renowned French copyist artist Jean-Baptiste Silvestre[25]. Unfortunately, the Frenchman did not understand the text and the meaning of the letters at all, and so committed certain inaccuracy in depicting the symbols.

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[22] Paris L. Manuscrit slavon, sur lequel les rois de France prêtaient serment à leur sacre. La Chronique de Champagne. Reims, 1837. T. I. P. 40–52.

[23] Древнее известие об Анне Ярославовне и Славянское евангелие в Реймсе. Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения. 1836. Ч. IX, янв. С. 229–230; Мильчина В. Французы «полезные» и «вредные»: надзор за иностранцами в России при Николае I. М.: ООО «Новое литературное обозрение», 2017. С. 36–49; Строев С. М. Op.cit. С. 83–87.

[24] Строев С. М. Op.cit. С. 96–98.

[25] Evangelia Slavice. Paris, 1843. 62 p.

In 1846, Hanka prepared a new edition of the work with commentaries in the Czech and Russian languages, segmenting the whole Old Slavonic text into separate words and providing transliteration of Glagolitic texts in Cyrillic and Latin scripts[26]. For his work in the field of Slavonic studies, in particular the participation in the research of the Reims Gospel, Hanka was awarded the Order of Saint Anna[27] by Tsar Nicholas I. This award is quite symbolic, considering that this work at that time was associated with the figure of Anna Yaroslavna.

In 1852, the "Slavic Gospel" of Silvestre was republished with an introductory note and comments by Paris, the "discoverer" of the manuscript in the Reims library[28].

For a long time, Silvestre's inaccurate copy served researchers as a source for study of the Reims Gospel. Only in 1899, thanks to the efforts of the famous French Slavist Louis Léger, a new corrected facsimile edition of the Reims Gospel was prepared[29].

In the 19th c., many Russian officials who visited France made special trips to Reims to hold the sacred rarity in their hands. A similar mission was performed by the last Russian Emperor, Nicholas II, together with his wife Alexandra Fedorovna during their visit to France on September 19, 1901, when the Tsar arrived in France to participate in military maneuvers. On that day, during the festive reception of the Russian delegation in Reims, French archivist Henri Jadart presented this precious book to Nicholas II and his suite at the local city hall.

However, while the fate of the Reims Gospel since the middle of the 14th c. has been more or less explored, still it remains a mystery how the ancient Cyrillic document fell into the hands of Charles IV. There is a whole range of speculation on this matter. To better understand the hypotheses, we need to refer to the figure of the Holy Roman Emperor. He was the son of John the Blind, King of Bohemia from the House of Luxembourg, and Elizabeth of Bohemia, sister of the last Přemyslid king of Bohemia, Wenceslaus III. Initially, the boy was named Václav, in honour of his maternal grandfather, but later this name was changed to a more imposing one — Charles. In the veins of this young man ran a mixture of French, German, Hungarian and Rus'ian blood (his great grandmother Kunigunda Rostyslavna was a granddaughter of Prince Mykhailo Vsevolodovych of Chernihiv, the Saint, and Prince Roman Mstyslavych of Galicia-Volhynia). He was related to almost all the royal families of Europe. Having a perfect command of the Czech language, which was the native tongue of his mother, he spent almost all his childhood and youth in Paris, where he acquired a sound education. His aunt Mary, father's sister, was the French Queen in 1322—1324. Later the elder sister of Charles, Bonne (or Jutta), also became Queen of France. In 1332, she married the French King John II the Good.

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[26] Ганка В. Op.cit.

[27] Тимошик М. Історія видавничої справи. К.: Науково-видавничий центр «Наша культура і наука», 2003. С. 88.

[28] Évangéliaire slave, dit Texte du sacre, de la bibliothèque de Reims. Paris: Didron et Techner, 1852. XIX+62 p.

[29] Léger L. Op. cit.

In 1346, after becoming the King of Bohemia and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles developed a plan aimed at uplifting the cultural, political, and economic level of his country. He tried to establish good neighborhood relations with other countries. One of the practical steps of his reform plan, as mentioned above, was the founding of the Emmaus Monastery with the Slavic divine services.

Among the probable ways the ancient Cyrillic document could have reached Charles IV, several stand out: 1) the manuscript, which authorship is attributed to Procopius of Sázava, since the 11th c. could be permanently preserved at the library of Bohemian kings and came to Charles IV from his mother Elizabeth (Eliška Přemyslovna); 2) Charles IV had friendly relations with Hungary and could have obtained the old manuscript in one of the monasteries which had close contacts with Rus' and Orthodox culture; 3) the valuable manuscript could have come to Charles via the Balkans – from Serbia or Croatia, where many old Cyrillic books were stored; 4) the work came to the Bohemian king from Rus' through the mediation of Kunigunda Rostyslavna, granddaughter of Prince Mykhailo Vsevolodovych of Chernihiv and Prince Roman Mstyslavych of Galicia-Volhynia. She married King Přemysl Otokar II of Bohemia in 1262, thus becoming the great-grandmother of Charles IV.

These represent just some of the hypotheses about how the Cyrillic gospel ended up in the hands of Charles IV. However, it is quite possible that the manuscript was brought by Charles from France where he spent his childhood and youth – before he ascended the Bohemian throne.

A Slavic manuscript, which was preserved in a fragmentary form and was completely incomprehensible to Frenchmen, might have attracted the prince's interest (who himself was half Bohemian). And as he left for Prague, he might have taken it with him. The more so, provided he knew that the authorship of the manuscript was attributed to a Bohemian saint, Procopius of Sázava.

We should also note that the first wife of Charles IV was Blanche, daughter of Charles, Count of Valois, the founder of the royal dynasty, about whom the French people said, "The son of a king, the brother of a king, the uncle of three kings, the father of a king, but not a king himself". Blanche was of a royal lineage and, consequently, a remote descendant of Anna Yaroslavna and Henry I (in fact, Charles IV himself was a remote descendant of this couple too). So Blanche could bring the Slavic Gospel to her husband as a dowry.

The French version is quite logical, though it is unproven as are all the others. Moreover, one can propose several possible ways the Cyrillic manuscript came to this country: 1) it was brought by Ingeborg of Denmark, daughter of Waldemar I the Great and Rus'ian princess Sophia of Polotsk, who became the wife of King Philip II Augustus in 1193 (it's noteworthy that all mentioned persons were descendants of Yaroslav the Wise); 2) the manuscript was brought to France by the Crusaders from Constantinopole in the early 13th c.; 3) the book was brought to the country by Rus'ian archbishop Peter Akerovych who participated in the Council

of Lyon in 1245 and tried to persuade the Roman Catholics to participate in the crusade war against the Tatars, promising concessions in religious issues from the Orthodox Church; 4) the most common and logical hypothesis: the Gospel belonged to Anna Yaroslavna who brought it from Kyiv to Paris. This very queen might have been practically the only reader in medieval France who could understand the Slavic script.

Concerning the first three above-stated versions, it should be noted that after 1204, when Procopius of Sázava was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church, the value of this manuscript had risen even more, significantly increasing the cost of the relic. Therefore, if the owners of the manuscript knew about the authorship of this Slavic text, they could keep the Gospel as a valuable church rarity, even without understanding the contents. Of course, in this case, the information about the authorship of the text could have been transmitted by word of mouth, from generation to generation, until the Gospel fell into the hands of Charles IV.

The hypothesis of arrival of the Gospel in France, connected with Anna Yaroslavna, is the most logical and plausible. Yaroslav the Wise, being a great lover of culture and knowledge, could have commissioned Procopius of Sázava to create a valuable sacral codex and later could have given this manuscript to his intelligent daughter for her comfort and consolation, as she was leaving for a journey to a faraway country on the other side of Europe.

Let us consider the most common historiographical hypothesis that the manuscript belonged namely to Anna Yaroslavna. This version is clearly logical.



Fig 3. Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor (1316–1378)



Fig 4. Blanche of Valois (1317–1348)

Table 1

The kinship of Emperor Charles IV and his wife Blanche of Valois with Anna Yaroslavna (yellow highlights the spouses)

Anna Yaroslavna, Queen of France (1024/1032–1075/1079)		
son	Philip I, King of France (1050–1108)	
grandson	Louis VI the Fat, King of France (1081–1137)	
great-grandsons	Robert I the Great, Count of Dreux (1123–1188)	Louis VII the Young, King of France (1120–1180)
great-great-grandsons	Robert II of Dreux (1154–1218)	Philip II Augustus, King of France (1165–1223)
great- great-great-grandsons	Robert III of Dreux (1185–1234)	Louis VIII the Lion, King of France (1187–1226)
great-great-great-great-grandchildren	Yolande of Burgundy (1212–1248)	Louis IX the Saint, King of France (1214–1270)
great-great-great-great-great-grandchildren	Alice of Brabant (1233–1273)	Philip III the Bold, King of France (1245–1285)
great-great-great-great-great-great-grandsons	John I the Victorious, Duke of Brabant (1253–1294)	Charles of Valois (1270–1325)
great-great-great-great-great-great-great-granddaughters	Margaret of Brabant (1276–1311)	Blanche of Valois (1317–1348)
great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandson	John the Blind of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia and Poland (1296–1346)	
great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-great-grandson	Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor (1316–1378)	

There are several arguments in its favour. The fact that the pious princess could have had a liturgical book, which the Reims Gospel actually is, as she left for a foreign land, is quite probable. The way of writing letters in the so-called Reims Gospel is very similar to the uncial script used in the early Cyrillic codices. If the Cyrillic text was really authored by Procopius of Sázava, who died in 1053, then this completely coincides with the era of Yaroslav the Wise who, as we know, created a large library, founded schools, churches, monasteries, and invited scholars to Rus' from other Slavic countries. It's clear that Kyiv could have had close relations with Sázava Monastery, one of the most prominent vanguards of Slavic culture at that time. Procopius of Sázava could have conveyed one or even several books, including the Gospel, to Yaroslav the Wise who later presented it to his daughter upon sending her to distant France.

The Cyrillic part is very old and was written before the era of Charles IV. If the Gospel was created in the 14th c., it would have had a cohesive character. Meanwhile, here the Cyrillic portion is presented without a beginning and ending. What is the reason to create one part of a work in Cyrillic, and another one in Glagolitic? The missionaries from Dalmatia were more accustomed to Glagolitic script which they used to continue the Cyrillic part. The fragment of the codex, written "in Rus'ian script", had an extreme sacredness for the monks of Sázava-Emmaus Monastery, who complemented it with the Glagolitic text and created a precious binding.

The Glagolitic text is a later supplement to the Cyrillic one. In fact, both parts are separate works, as evidenced by the repeated Gospel topics in the Glagolitic text. The Cyrillic text passages are a collection of all four canonical Gospels that are composed into a coherent story about Christ. However, the story stopped in the middle. Therefore, the Glagolitic part was supposed to be a specific continuation of the Cyrillic one.

In those times, books were extremely expensive. To create one copy of a parchment book, a whole herd of cattle or sheep was needed. The leather had to be subjected to complex preprocessing: tanning, bleaching, flattening, cutting, and lining the animal skins. After that the scribes tackled the job, slowly performing their diligent and painstaking work, tracing out the letters of the text and illuminating the pages with miniatures. Each letter was written according to a strict canon. The first letter was usually highlighted by being coloured in red and decorated with traceries, images of plants or animals. The Russian language still preserves the notion "to write from the red line", that is to start a new paragraph.

The process of creating a book could take many years. Only after the text was completely written, the parchment folios were bound and placed between two boards. Hence an expression "to read a book from board to board". As a rule, a book had a cover decorated with precious metals and gems. Sometimes it was fitted with church accessories: crosses, icons, particles of holy relics, etc.

The daughter of a rich Rus'ian ruler, while leaving for a faraway country with precious gifts, could take such a book with her. A modern expression "The book is



Fig. 5: Mention of the name of the Apostle Philip on the pages of the *Reims Gospel*

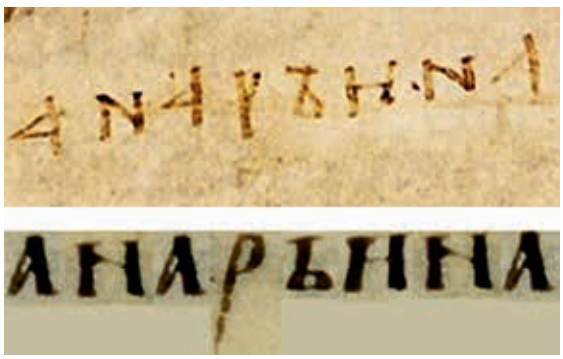


Fig. 6: Above: Anna Yaroslavna's authentic signature. Below: text created by extracting individual letters from a randomly selected page of the *Reims Gospel*

the most valuable present" had a literal sense in the past because of considerable cost of manuscripts. Moreover, a book written in Slavonic could serve as a consolation and comfort for the princess, retaining the warmth of an ancestral home and being a small bridge between her and her homeland.

If the Reims Gospel really belonged to Anna Yaroslavna, she would have read it from time to time, thinking of her motherland. We should note that on the second page of the manuscript is mentioned the name of the apostle Philip (Fig. 5), although it's quite natural for the Gospel and proves nothing remarkable. This name, not usually found in France at that time, was given to the first-born child of Anna and Henry. According to Christian legends, Apostle Philip performed his preaching ministry in Scythia. Those were the lands Anna had left for France. In one of the chronicles she is even called "a Scythian".

If the Gospel was with Anna, it played a role of a pattern for scribing letters. We can state that the letters of this manuscript are very similar to the letters used by Anna herself. An example of this is Anna's famous two-word signature dated 1063, which corresponds to the words composed on the basis of the letters in the Reims Gospel (Fig. 6).

It's evident that Anna did not have the penmanship of professional scribes, but the similarity of the letters in her signature and the letters on the pages of the Reims

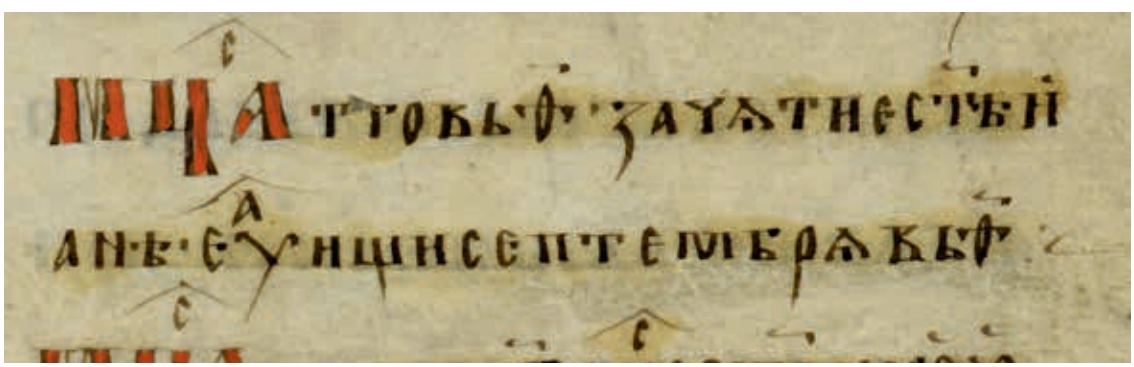


Fig. 7: Mention of the Conception of St. Anne in the *Reims Gospel*

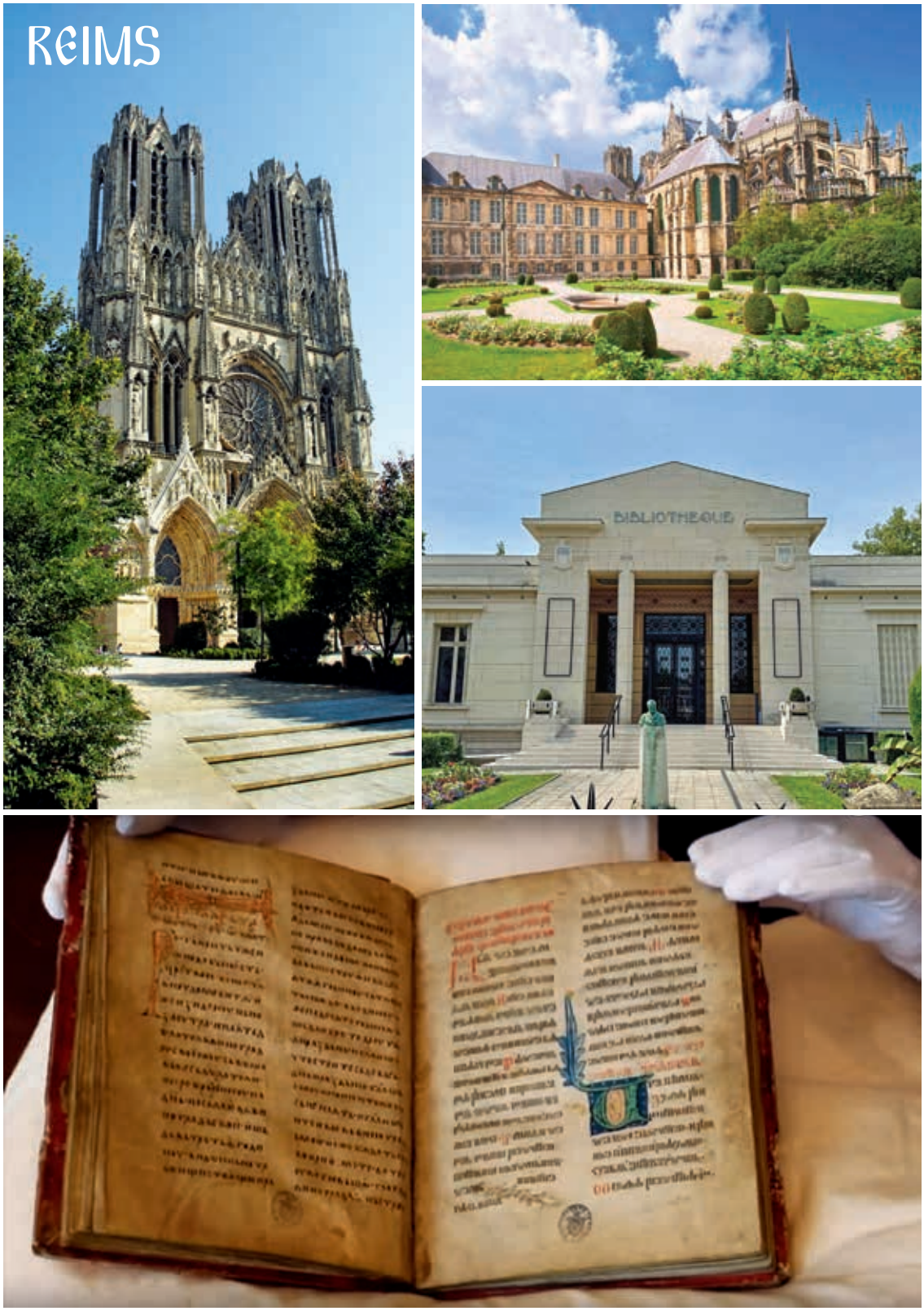
Gospel is evident. The only difference is the way of writing the letter "ѕ" and the angle of slope of the letter "ѧ".

It also should be taken into account that Anna's famous Cyrillic signature refers to 1063, that is 12–14 years after she left her motherland. She was separated from her native language environment and, in fact, had to write very seldom.

It's noteworthy that in the Reims Gospel, at the mention of commemoration of St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary (Fig. 7), the name Anne is spelled with one "*N*" — *ANA*, like in the famous signature of Anna Yaroslavna, but not with two as was done in the then documents written in Latin.

In conclusion, we can note only one thing about the origin of the Reims Gospel: there is neither absolute proof nor refutation of its connection with Anna Yaroslavna, although the link between them may be quite probable. We know very little about the origin of the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, though a version about Procopius of Sázava's authorship looks pretty convincing. We have no idea of how a fragment of this Cyrillic manuscript reached Prague in the mid-14th c., and what the fate of the rest of the document was. Nor do we really know about the way to Reims of the Glagolitic part created in Prague in the late 14th c.

We can only hope that the future will be able to shed more light on the origin and fate of this unique document.



The original *Reims Gospel*. France, Carnegie Library of Reims, September 2019

Liudmyla Hnatenko

THE REIMS GOSPEL: A UNIQUE CYRILLIC–GLAGOLITIC WRITTEN MONUMENT

(A Palaeographic and Codicological Study)

The Reims Gospel is a unique handwritten Cyrillic-Glagolitic monument which includes the Cyrillic manuscript of the 11th c., written in the Old Kyivan Rus', and the Glagolitic manuscript of the 14th c., created in Bohemia. The monument combines two Christian worlds, Cyrillic and Glagolitic religious book cultures. It reflects both Eastern Slavic Orthodox liturgical tradition and Western Catholic one; the first is embodied in the Cyrillic part of the manuscript, the second – in the Glagolitic.

The Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel[1] is a fragment of the Gospel Lectionary, an artifact of the times of Christian unity, written before the division into Western Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches (Great Schism of 1054). It is a religious artifact of Old Rus', the closest to the conception of Slavonic writing system and the oldest of the known manuscripts, which was created in Kyivan Grand Prince's scriptorium and probably belonged to the library of Yaroslav the Wise, founded by the Grand Prince of Kyiv in 1037, as is mentioned in the *Tale of Bygone Years*. According to the researchers' calculations, the Prince's collection of books reached 950 manuscripts[2], including the earliest Christian religious codices written in Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts. It is the RGc that can head the Old Rus'ian (Old Ukrainian) heritage of manuscripts preserved to this day. According to L. Zhukovskaya's convictions, the Gospel was written in the Kyiv scriptorium in the first half, possibly even at the beginning of the 11th c., i.e.

1 Hereinafter, the Reims Gospel is abbreviated as RG, its Cyrillic part as RGc, the Glagolitic as RGg.

2 Запаско Я. П.Українська рукописна книга. Львів: Світ, 1995. (Сер.: Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва). С. 15.

shortly after the Baptism of Rus' in 988[3]. RGc was created in one of the first scriptoria of Rus' – most likely in the princely scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise[4]. We can talk about two stages of development of this scriptorium. RGc belongs to the manuscript-writing school of the Kyiv scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise (1025—1054), which is characterized by the production of codices illuminated, according to V. Putsko, in line with the Greek-Orthodox artistic tradition inherited from the Bulgarians. Its most conspicuous example is the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel. Stylistically, this codex belongs to the group of such illuminated codices as the Chudov Psalter[5] of the first half of the 11th c., the Pandects of Antiochus, and the Turov Gospel — both of the second half of the 11th c. As the scholar notes, all of these monuments of book culture represent the hand of scribes of the same circle, and the Turov Gospel is also a connecting link between the Reims Gospel (before 1044), and the Ostromir Codex (1056–1057)[6]. The codex itself testifies that the scriptorium was quite vast; transliterators from Glagolitic to Cyrillic, transcribers from Cyrillic codices, translators, editors, artists, parchment masters and bookbinders worked on the creation of manuscripts.

Codices from various Christian countries were brought to the literary centre in Rus', and due to this, Kyiv's scribes mastered the spelling features of different writing schools. During the formation of old bookmaking system, there were three spelling schools in Rus': two one-*yer* schools, using only one ъ or ь, and one two-*yer* school using both (ъ, ь). The Old Rus'ian (Old Ukrainian) writing tradition traces back mainly to the Eastern Bulgarian — Preslav school[7], and accepts the way of writing books according to the norms of this school. The initial spelling of the Cyrillic codices of this school of writing is two-*yer* (ъ, ь) and four-*yus* (ѧ, ѩ, ѫ, ѭ) orthographic norm, codified in the Preslav scriptoria during Simeon era (893—927).

According to the norms of this book school, in Kyiv was created one of the oldest and precisely dated survived manuscripts – the Ostromir Codex of 1056—1057. Other orthographic schools either reflect a simple Cyrillic transliteration of Glagolitic monuments, or are hybrid, and accordingly younger, as a researcher A. Turilov assumes, although the chronological gap may be minimal[8]. Both one-*yer* schools were known, according to I. Tóth, initially only in the south of Rus' and from that

[3] Жуковская Л. П. Архангельское Евангелие 1092 года – уникальный памятник древнерусской славянской письменности. Архангельское Евангелие 1092 года. Исследование. Древнерусский текст. Словоуказатели / Изд. подгот. Л. П. Жуковская, Т. Л. Миронова. М.: Скрипторий, 1997. С. 5.

[4] See a separate work by T. Mironova, which was based on the main graphic and spelling features of the Reims Gospel: Миронова Т. Л. Графика и орфография рукописных книг киевского скриптория Ярослава Мудрого. Москва: РГБ, 1996.

[5] Hereinafter see the List of handwritten sources.

[6] Пуцко В. Г. Иллюминированная древнерусская книга XI–XIII в. Древняя Русь: вопросы медиевистики. 2001. № 3 (5). С. 45.

[7] Турилов А. А. Две забытые даты болгарской церковно-политической истории IX в. (К вопросу формирования болгарского варианта церковного месяцеслова в эпоху Первого царства). Турилов А. А. Межславянские культурные связи эпохи Средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры славян: Этюды и характеристики. М.: Знак, 2012. С. 103.

[8] Флоря Б. Н., Турилов А. А., Иванов С. А. Судьбы кирилло-мефодиевской традиции после Кирилла и Мефодия. СПб.: Алетейя, 2000. С. 113.

area spread to other cultural centres of old Rus'. The Novgorod birch-bark Charter № 109 and others allow to observe in them the northern application of the one-*yer* school with ъ,... which was used in Novgorod not only in ecclesiastical but also in secular writing[9]. The Novgorod Psalter can be considered a prominent representative of this school[10], simultaneous, according to attribution data, with the RGc.

At the beginning of the 11th c., it was precisely in the Kyiv scriptorium (scriptoria) that the orthographic norms of the one-*yer* writing school (ь) were adopted. Ivan Gălăbov estimates the spread of one-*yer* spelling with ь (= ь, ъ) as a result of the orthographic reform carried out in Simeon's palace, which found support in the person of the Bulgarian tsar[11]. It follows from I. Gălăbov's hypothesis that one-*yer* monuments are older in their origin than it was previously believed by researchers[12]. Among the rewritten codices dated back to the middle of the 11th c. (before 1054) only the Cyrillic part of the RG has survived in the original[13], which is an invaluable illustration of the existence of a separate scribal school, the main feature of which was one-*yer* (ь) and two-*yus* (ѧ, ѫ) spelling with no iotated letters. This school was one of the earliest, which probably ceased to exist before the middle of the 11th c. The RGc is also wondrous because it contains a lot of Rus'ian (Old Ukrainian) elements, compared to other survived monuments of the time.

One-*yer* schools (ь or ъ), which did not correspond, to such an extent, to the Old Rus'ian phonetic system of the two-*yer* school, were gradually replaced by manuscripts that belonged to it[14]. The complete and consistent transition from one-*yer* to two-*yer* schools was conscious and one of the most important factors in the formation of Old Rus'ian (Old Ukrainian) orthography, the development of the specific characteristics of its own editing of manuscripts.

The scholarly established title of the book, the *Reims Gospel*[15], given after the place

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[9] Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. София: Болгарская академия наук, 1985. С. 142. T. Myronova believes that the one-*yer* writing school with ъ was developed in the literary centre of Novgorod and only after that was spread over the Kyiv scriptoria: Миронова Т. Л. Хронология старославянских и древнерусских рукописных книг X–XI вв. Москва: Русская книга, 2001. С. 205, 206, 207–208; Миронова Т. Л. Графика и орфография рукописных книг киевского скриптория… С. 55–56.

[10] Зализняк А. А., Янин В. Л. Новгородский кодекс первой четверти XI в. – древнейшая книга Руси. Вопросы языкознания. 2001. № 5. С. 3–25; Соболев А. Н. Новгородская псалтырь XI века и её антиграф. Вопросы языкознания. 2003. № 3. С. 113–143.

[11] Gălăbov Iv. La rotonde de Syméon dans l'histoire du vieux-bulgare littéraire. Byzantinoslavica 18. 1967. P. 108. Cited after the work: Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка...

[12] In acelaşi mod. P. 114–116.

[13] In 1047, the Book of Prophets was rewritten by Upir Likhy for the Novgorod prince Volodymyr Yaroslavych, which has survived to our time in the copies of the late 15th – early 16th cc. See: Столярова Л. В. Свод записей писцов, художников и переплетчиков древнерусских пергаментных кодексов XI–XIV веков. М., 2000. С. 10–13, № 1–4.

[14] Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка... С. 143.

[15] The manuscript is known in historiography under different names: "Coronation Text", "The Book of Angels", "The Slavic Gospel", "The Sázava-Emmaus Good News, Now the Reims…". The facsimile edition of 2017 was published under the title "The Reims Slavic Gospel", and the introduction to it states (?!) that the manuscript has an amazing title: "Liber evangeliorum et epistolarum, ad usum ecclesiae SS. Hieronymi et Procopii Pragensis, vulgo "Texte du sacre" [The Book of Gospels and Epistles for use in the Prague Church of Sts. Jerome and Procopius, or usually the Coronation Text]. There is no such name in the codex, only an archeographic description in the catalogue is presented under this title.: Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothéques publiques de France. Départements.

of its preservation in the French city of Reims, does not correspond to its content. The monument is a small convolute of 4°, on 54 parchment folios, which consists of two manuscripts of different genres and different periods: parts of the menology of the short Gospel Lectionary written in Cyrillic uncial (hereinafter *ustav*) in the 11th c., and readings from the Old and New Testaments, written in Croatian angular Glagolitic script with Czechisms in 1395. After the completion of work on the Glagolitic manuscript, both codices were combined into one book, encased in a precious cover-reliquary, the decoration of which is lost now. The basic data about the manuscript and its existence in everyday life, and directly about the decoration of its cover, are evidenced by the 1669 inventory record of the Cathedral of Our Lady of Reims: "...a book, in which the Gospels are written in Greek and Syriac, or, according to some, in Slavonic, was presented as a gift by the Cardinal of Lorraine on the eve of Easter in 1574. It is covered with gilded silver, one side is decorated with precious stones and five crystals, under which many relics are preserved, including a cross fashioned from the wood of the True Cross, and the relics of the Apostles Peter and Philip, St. Pope Sylvester, St. Cyril, St. Martha, St. Margaret, fragments of the Holy Sponge and the Girdle of our Lord. In the four corners, there are silver, enamelled figures of an eagle, man, lion and ox – the symbols of the four Evangelists. This book comes from the treasury of Constantinople, it is believed that it is from St. Jerome himself. It weighs six marks and six ounces[16]". The decorations from the cover were taken away after the French Revolution, probably in 1793[17]. Their fate is unknown.

At the end of the manuscript, there is a colophon of 1395, written in Czech in Croatian Glagolitic script. The record applies to the entire codex, it first provides information about the Glagolitic manuscript, and then – about the Cyrillic one. The text of the colophon was rendered into Ukrainian by I. Ohienko, preserving its textual features: "In the Year of God 1395, this Gospel and Epistles are written in the Slavonic language; it is not allowed to sing on them, because a *mäša* (the Mass) is celebrated after them by abbot during coronation. And the second part of those books, which is according to the Rus'ian rite, was written by St. Procopius with his own hand. And this Rus'ian script was given by the late Charles IV, the Roman emperor, to the glory of that cloister, and in honour of St. Jerome and St. Procopius. O Lord, grant him eternal rest. Amen[18]".

T. XXXVIII. Reims. T. 1. Paris, 1904. C. 239–242, № 255, as well as in the description provided with the electronic copy of the book on the website of the Carnegie Library (See the note below).

Синяков А. Введение // Реймсское славянское Евангелие. Новое факсимильное издание / под. рук. иером. Александра (Синякова): в 2-х т. Эпине-су-Сенар, 2017. Т. 2. С. 5. The edition has a high-quality and informative scholarly section, but it seems that its compilers worked exclusively on the electronic copy of the manuscript and historiography.

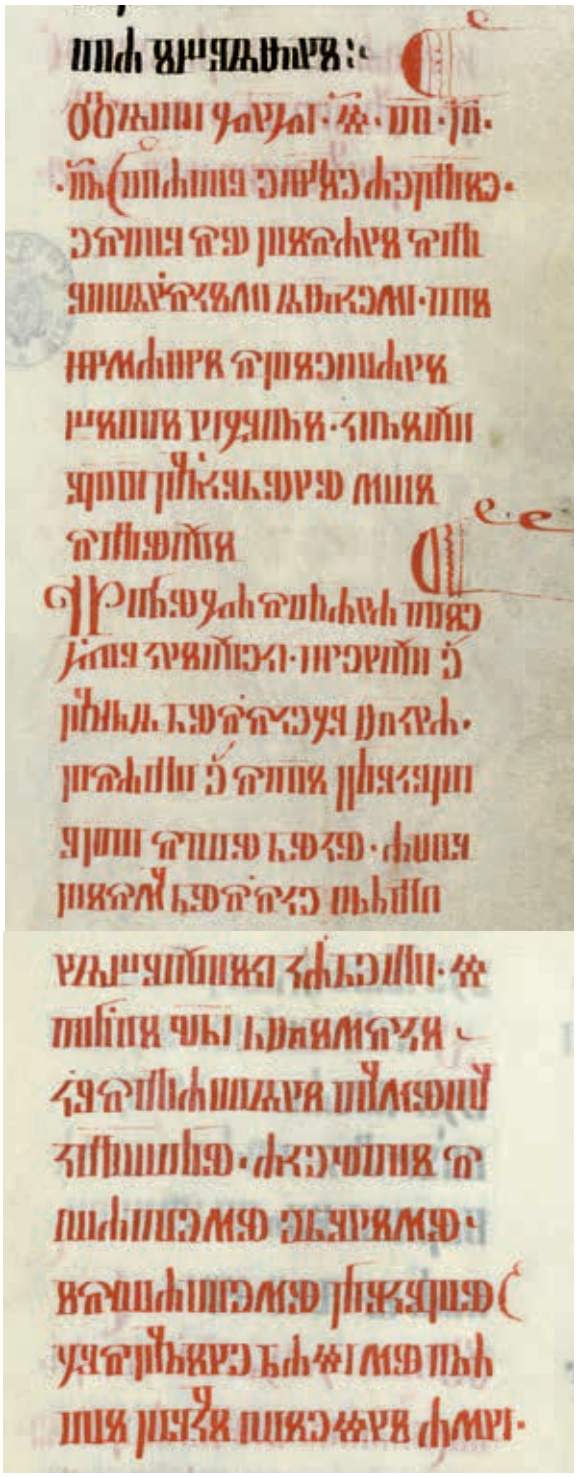
This edition greatly helped us (L. Hnatenko and V. Moisiienko) in preparing to work with the original, we thank for that everyone involved.

[16] Reims Municipal Library, Manuscripts Department, Cathedral Documents, Treasury Inventory: Tarbé P. Tresors des églises de Reims. Reims, 1843. P. 59; Also: Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Reims. 1898. № 255. P. 239.

[17] Страхова О. Б. Глаголическая часть Реймского евангелия: история, язык, текст. Palaeoslavica. Supplementum, 3. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2014. С. 3.

[18] Огієнко І. Реймська Євангелія // Огієнко І. Історія церковнослов'янської мови: Найважніщі пам'ятки церковнослов'янської мови. Пам'ятки старослов'янські X–XI віків. Т. 5. Варшава: Друкарня Синодальна, 1929. С. 144.

Then we present the text of the colophon in the original and in Cyrillic transliteration, and our own critical consideration of its content is presented in the conclusions of the work.



Ꙗ

лѣть гн҃хь • ѵ҃ • т҃ • п҃ •

д҃ • ⁜ тато е҃ллие а е҃плие •

есто соуписани сл

овѣ́нскимь ѣзы́кемь • ти

ѣ мачи спиевани

бити нь годи • кдижь

о҃пть под҃ короуноу мши

слоужи.

⁜

А дроуга страна тие

хто книжекь • ѣенжь е҃

подлѣ роу́сскаго зы́кона •

псаль е҃ сти прокопь

о҃пть своу роукоу • а то

писмо роу́сске даль

нѣбожтикь карель • ѵ

тврдти цр҃ь рзимски ~

к҃ ославѣни томоуто

каштроу • а ке цти с

ватемоу еронимоу ~

и сватемоу прокопоу ⁜

господине рачь моу да

ти покои виечни амнь •

The manuscript is kept in France, in the Carnegie Library (Bibliothèque Carnegie) of Reims under the code MS 255[19].

The Reims Gospel is one of the most important and not yet scientifically appreciated monuments of the Middle Ages, despite the almost 200 years of its study and the immensity of its historiography; neither historical Slavic studies nor dictionaries, to say nothing of encyclopedias and manuals, can do without a brief overview or mention of the manuscript. The monument is preserved in France and is limited to direct work with the original, mainly studied by lithographs (not quite accurate), photocopies, and only in recent times – by facsimile editions and digital copies, freely available on the Internet, using numerous historiographical data. Only a few scholars, mostly publishers, have studied the monument by the original[20]. This resulted in differences between scholars in regard to the attribution of the Cyrillic part – its dating (11th –14th cc.) and origin (Kyivan, Bohemian, Serbian, etc.)[21]. The Glagolitic part is unanimously attributed to the end of the 14th c. and is localized of Bohemian origin.

Despite the vast historiography, there is no complete archaeographic description of the monument. Among the most significant catalogues of descriptions of manuscripts created in the 19th – early 20th cc. are the following: "Description of monuments of Slavic-Russian literature stored in public libraries of Germany and France", made by S. Stroev[22], and "Catalog général des Manuscrits des Bibliothéques publiques de France"[23]. In the study of L. Jastrzębski, in the first of the most authoritative works, is shown the affiliation of this text to Procopius of Sázava, and it is noted that the writing of the book was completed around 1030[24]. In modern Slavic studies, the authoritative attribution of the Cyrillic manuscript by L. Zhukovskaya to the first half of the 11th c. has been accepted, as well as its affiliation with the Rus'ian recension of canonical book monuments. In 1978, the scholar described the Cyrillic part directly after the codex, metagraphed the text, conducted its textual research, which allowed to establish its genre as a short Gospel Lectionary, using the method of proportional ratios[25]. Scholars in the field utilize the results of this research. In one of the recent works, L. Zhukovskaya emphasized that the time

[19] The electronic copy and description of the monument under the title "Liber evangeliarum et epistolarum ad usum ecclesiae SS. Hieronymi et Procopii Pragensis, vulgo "Texte du Sacre" is on the library website: https://www.bm-reims. fr/PATRIMOINE/doc/SYRACUSE/1866490/.

[20] See: Bibliography of the Reims Gospel. Publications. C. 58.

[21] The main data on this are given in the work: Запаско Я. П. Євангеліє апракос короткий «Реймське» (кирилична частина). Запаско Я. П. Українська рукописна книга. Львів : Світ, 1995. (Сер.: Пам'ятки книжкового мистецтва). С. 15, 24–26, 151–154, № 6 [Description].

[22] Строев С. М. Описание памятников славяно-русской литературы, хранящихся в публичных библиотеках Германии и Франции. М., 1841. С. 6–30.

[23] Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothéques publiques de France. C. 239–242, № 255.

[24] Jastrzebski J. L. Notice sur le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Reims, connu sous le nom de Texte du sacre. Rome: Imprimerie Salviucci, 1845.

[25] Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие: история его изучения и текст. Предварительные публикации / Институт русского языка АН СССР. М., 1978. Вып. 114. 64 с.; Жуковская Л. П. Евангелие Анны Ярославны – королевы Франции в текстологическом отношении. Тезисы докладов и сообщений конференции по итогам научно-исследовательской работы ГБЛ за 1990 г. М. 1991. С. 84–87.

of RGc creation in the Kyiv scriptorium may even refer to the early 11th c.[26] The scholar planned to conduct a separate philological study of the Cyrillic part, which was later carried out by I. Tóth[27], T. Rot-Zhebrovskyi[28] and in a special dissertation research by E. Bikkinina[29]. I. Tóth believes that the monument was rewritten in the 11th c. in the southern part of Rus' (or Ukraine), not in Kyiv, but on the periphery, and E. Bikkinina supposes that it was copied by a Rus'ian-speaking person, most likely in Kyiv before 1041; in her very first study, the scholar pointed also the Serbian protograph of the early 11th c.[30] G. J. Shevelov considers the Cyrillic part of the RG to be one of the main written monuments of the old Ukrainian era and considers the late 11th or the early 12th c. to be the time of its creation, emphasizing its prominent Serbian nature[31].

The overview of major works on the Serbian and Bohemian nature of the RGc was conducted by I. Tóth[32]. In a 1995 study dedicated to the Ukrainian manuscript book, Ya. Zapasko provided a brief yet substantial archaeographical description of the RGc, with a presentation of the bibliography known to the author at the time, providing data on its dating, location, genre, language[33]. A comprehensive study of the Glagolitic part was conducted by O. Strakhova[34].

In our work, we will focus on the archaeographic, codicological and palaeographic description of the monument directly after the original, for which we truly thank the colleagues of the Carnegie Library in Reims[35]. We'll try to approach the monument impartially, look at it "with a fresh eye", without setting the task to conduct a full analysis of both the monument and its historiography, to consider all the hypotheses of its origin and existence[36] — in this direction much has already been done by the

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[26] Жуковская Л. П. Архангельское Евангелие 1092 года... С. 5.

[27] Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка...

[28] Рот-Жебровский Т. Кирилловская часть Реймского евангелия / Лингвистическое исследование. Lublin, 1985.

[29] Bikkinina E. La lengua del Evangelio de Reims. Tesis doctoral. Granada, 2009. 686 p. The study was conducted after a digital copy, so the archaeographic description of the manuscript is given on historiography, that's why certain codicological, palaeographic and graphic-orthographic features were disregarded.

[30] Биккинина Э. И. Особенности функционирования надстрочных знаков в Реймсском евангелии XI века // Русская и сопоставительная филология. Взгляд молодых. Казань, 2003. С. 14.

[31] Шевельов Ю. Історична фонологія української мови: пер. з англ.; пер.: С. Вакуленко, А. Даниленко. Харків: Акта, 2002. (Класика Української Науки). С. 285. (Shevelov G. J. A Historical Phonology of the Ukrainian Language. Heidelberg: Winter, 1979. P. 193). In the monograph, the scholar identifies the RGc with Old Ukrainian monuments, in contrast to the work: Shevelov G. J. The Gospel of Reims and the History of the Serbo- Croatian Language. Xenia Slavica. Papers presented to Gojko Ružićić on the Occasion of his 75-Birthday. Mouton the Hague-Paris, 1975. P. 185–192.

[32] Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка... С. 55, 56.

[33] Запаско Я. П. Євангеліє апракос короткий «Реймське» (кирилична частина). С. 15, 24–26, 151–154, № 6 [Description].

[34] Страхова О. Б. Глаголическая часть Реймского евангелия: история, язык, текст // Palaeoslavica. Supplementum, 3. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2014. 261 p.

[35] The latest full facsimile edition of 2017 does not present an archaeographic description of the monument, conducted directly after the original: Реймсское славянское Евангелие. Т. 2: 336 с.

[36] Geronimi V. L'évangéliaire slavon de Reims mythes, (re)découverte historique et perspectives // Revue des йtudes slaves. LXXXIX/1–2. Paris, 2018. P. 133–142. See the article compiled for this edition: Luniak Ye. The Reims Gospel: The Mysteries of Its Origin, pp. 15–29.

scholars[37]. We will mostly focus on the Cyrillic part – only the data that will help to clarify the time of its creation and localization of the manuscript will be considered. First, we'll present a general archaeographic, palaeographic and codicological description of the entire codex, and then move on to the description of each component, focusing on the attributive palaeographic features of the Cyrillic part and the data of the colophone record of the codex.

Thus, the Reims Gospel is a small book in quarto, the dimensions of the cover are 245 x 177 mm, of the folios – 233 x 174 mm. It consists of 54 parchment folios [A, B + 16 + 31 + C (numbered blank folio of the last quire), D, E, F, G] written in two columns of 20 lines per page. On the first 16 folios of the text, pp. 1–32, the Cyrillic part of the manuscript is placed; on the folios 17–47, pp. 1–62, C – the Glagolitic part.

The codex does not have a continuous numbering of folios, each part has a separate page numbering, made in Arabic numerals, in ink, in the upper right corner (See the table of correspondence between the codex folios and the pagination of the parts). The endpapers and blank protective sheets are marked with Latin letters. In 1884, a library inventory entry was written in French with black ink on the back of the upper lid of the cover. The date of the library's manuscript holdings verification, specifically of the RG, is also indicated below as 1935. The numbering of the Glagolitic part was carried out by the librarian, who made an inventory record in the manuscript; the numbering of the Cyrillic part was made a little earlier. The numbering on the flyleaves at the beginning of the codex, as well as on the first six folios of the Cyrillic part, was corrected over erased numbering before the inventory entry was inscribed.

The codex was set into a cover in 1395, immediately after the completion of the Glagolitic part. The oak boards are overlaid with dark pink (crimson) morocco leather. It is resistant to mechanical damage and moisture; this explains the physical preservation of the old cover to our time. The importance of the manuscript and the way it was respected also contributed to its preservation during centuries. The upper lid had an expensive adornment (as mentioned above), but only the fastening apertures remained. The jewels were removed carefully, without significant damage of the cover. The manuscript was closing with two fasteners, which were also lost. The inner side of the upper board was pasted with paper before the ornaments were attached to it; the lower lid was not sealed with paper. Both lids on the back were glued up with parchment flyleaves; they are currently detached with traces of glue on them. The flyleaves, protective sheets of the upper and the lower lids are dirty, in spots; parchment is cockled with traces from the attachment of ornaments; there are holes on the folio D; the folios D – G are damaged by woodworm.

An examination of the physical condition of the flyleaves, protective parchment sheets (A, B – the upper lid of the cover; C, D, E, F, G – the lower lid of the cover),

[37] See Bibliography of the Reims Gospel, pp. 58–67.

Table of correspondence between the codex folios and the pagination of the parts*

Codex folios	Cyrillic part	Codex folios	Glagolitic part	Codex folios	Glagolitic part
	Pagination		Pagination		Pagination
A					
B					
1	1	17	1	33	33
	2		2		34
2	3	18	3	34	35
	4		4		36
3	5	19	5	35	37
	6		6		38
4	7	20	7	36	39
	8		8		40
5	9	21	9	37	41
	10		10		42
6	11	22	11	38	43
	12		12		44
7	13	23	13	39	45
	14		14		46
8	15	24	15	40	47
	16		16		48
9	17	25	17	41	49
	18		18		50
10	19	26	19	42	51
	20		20		52
11	21	27	21	43	53
	22		22		54
12	23	28	23	44	55
	24		24		56
13	25	29	25	45	57
	26		26		58
14	27	30	27	46	59
	28		28		60
15	29	31	29	47	61
	30		30		62
16	31	32	31	C	
	32		32	D	
				Б	
				E	
				G	

* The Codex is not numbered by folios.

and quires directly after the original gave unexpected results and new information regarding the provenance of the manuscripts which currently comprise the codex: 1. First of all, three parchment softcovers, which are older than the book cover, are used as flyleaves and protective sheets. 2. Two quires of the Cyrillic part were enclosed in their own softcovers, respectively – A, B and D, E; the second softcover is inserted upside down in the cover, the numbering should be E, D. Heavy soiling of the softcovers, as well as the first and last folios of the quires, testify to their long-term use. It can be assumed that they have been used separately since their preservation at the Emmaus Monastery; and they could later be combined with the book cover, which is testified by the presence of glue on the folios A and D. It could last up to 50 years. 3. The first quire of the Glagolitic part was put into the third softcover (F, G), which corresponds to the time of its filling with the text on pages 1–15; at that time, no text had yet been entered on the final page 16. The first quire was used for several years – perhaps by its scribe; and later the work was continued by another scribe starting from page 16 and completed in 1395. It is possible that the use of the pericopes from the first quire during the liturgy is mentioned in the colophone (See the conclusions).

Such practice of using the available parts of manuscripts in worship was common for the Bohemia at that time, and for Europe in general – for example, the use in Prague's St. Vitus Cathedral of two sixteen-folio quires (similar to the Reims Gospel) of the Latin Gospel of St. Mark. Just like the RG, it was brought to Prague by King Charles IV in 1354, who issued the instruction: "Every year, on Easter, the above-mentioned manuscript of St. Mark's Gospel should to be solemnly carried in procession; and from this Gospel, on the same holiday, the prelate or canon of the church should read in the church [from] what is contained in these two quires during [the time of] the great Mass [38]". Similar orders could be made also concerning two quires of the Cyrillic codex – the RGc, gifted by Charles IV for the Emmaus Monastery founded by him in 1347.

In regard to the time of decoration, information is contained in the reference on the Reims Gospel, prepared for the Russian Empress Catherine II: "...quite skilful workmanship, matching the style and materials typical of the 16th c."[39]

On the flyleaf of the upper lid of the cover, folio A, the title of the book is indicated in French as *Evangiles en langue esclavonique* (Gospels in the Slavonic language), probably written in the 18th c. Below are the earlier records made in French in the early 18th c., which contain the following information: "The first part is written in Eastern Greek, which is used by Greek monks"; and the one added later: "The Vice-Chancellor of the Tsar, who was in Reims on June 22, 1717, and revisiting the city on the 27th, quite easily read the first part of this manuscript with the two gentlemen

[38] Страхова О. Б. Глаголическая часть Реймского евангелия… С. 109.

[39] Полевой Н. Любопытное дополнение к известиям о Славянском Евангелии, находившемся в Реймсе. Сын Отечества. Санкт-Петербург, 1839. Т. 8, раздел 6. С. 70–71.

who accompanied him. They said it was their everyday language, but they couldn't read the second part". Below these records is a washed note; the preserved parts of the letters and the colour of the ink suggest that it could have been made at the same time as the title of the manuscript was put down, and just his text is given in the description of the codex by S. Stroev: "de la main de Perseval, ecrivain et vigneron à Sacy, en 1782" (by the hand of Perseval, writer and winemaker in Sacy, in 1782)[40].

On the back of the lower lid of the cover, on the library sticker, there is information about two editions of the codex, of 1897 and 1899: the first was made in a photocopy by the librarian of the Reims Library V. Charlier in a limited quantity; the second was published in the technique of heliogravure under the direction of L. Léger[41].

The leaves of the manuscript bear, in blue ink, a 'Bibliothèque de Reims' stamp (fols. A, 1, 16v, 17, 47v, Gv), a 'MANUSCRIT № 255' stamp, the number in brown ink (fol. 1), and a small 'BM REIMS' stamp (fol. 15). On the lower lid of the cover, there are the torn off labels with old shelfmarks, under which the manuscript is also mentioned in historiography: A. 29 (31)[42]; № 91[43].

THE CYRILLIC PART

The Cyrillic part consists of two complete eight-folio quires (16 folios in total), which are numbered in Cyrillic by the scribe at the beginning of the quires in dark brown ink, in the upper right corner of the folio: :ѳ҃ı:, folio 1, :к҃:, folio 9. The quire numbering :к҃: is highlighted, as well as the heading texts, in yellow paint, and, probably, the numbering of the quire is recorded the same way :ѳ҃ı:, but because of soiled margin it is not visible; the same way indications of pericopes are highlighted on the folios 4 and 5. The numbering of quires is supplied by the scribe who wrote the texts of the Gospel readings. On the same folios, the numbering of the quires is duplicated with Roman numerals in the middle of the lower margin in brown ink; herein, the number of the quire :ѳ҃ı: is given as XVIIII (?!). This numbering was completed later, while making editorial alterations to the text, after the time of writing the manuscript, over the washed off letters, for example, on the folios 3г, 7б, 9г.

According to the numbering of the quires, it can be assumed that the complete manuscript of the Cyrillic Gospel Lectionary consisted of 184 folios: 160 (20 quires) + 24 (3 quires with the text of menology for March-August and, probably, an index of 11 Sunday Matins Gospels, as well as readings for various occasions).

RGc is written on smooth thick parchment, in two columns of 20 lines per page. The text block, measuring 175 × 120 mm, is ruled on the recto side of the folio and

[40] Строев С. М. Описание памятников славяно-русской литературы… С. 15.

[41] Léger L. L'Évangéliaire slavon de Reims dit: Texte du Sacre. Reims–Prague, 1899.

[42] E.g.: Строев С. М. Описание памятников славяно-русской литературы… С. 6–20, № 2.

[43] E.g.: Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие: история его изучения и текст; Запаско Я. П. Євангеліє апракос короткий «Реймське». С. 15, 24–26, 151–154, № 6 [Опис]; Лосева О. В. Русские месяцесловы XI–XIV вв. М.: Памятники исторической мысли, 2001.

divided into two columns of unequal width: the left column is 175 × 55 mm, the right one – 175 × 50 mm. 21 lines are observed in the column on the folio 26, at the end of which the title is written — probably when work on the main text was completed. The state of preservation of both quires of the manuscript is satisfactory. The parchment yellowed and darkened, and is soiled in the margins; at the beginning of the codex there are water stains, there are some wax stains inside; the folios are unevenly trimmed along the bottom margin. For work was used the folio 7 with a piece of leather cut from the edge, on the recto side of the folio the text is inscribed before the edge, on the verso side — after the edge; the folio is wavy and dirty.

The codex is written in the *ustav* type of script, its graphic and orthographic peculiarities comply with the 11th c. Working on it were two scribes: one wrote the texts of the readings, another — the titles and liturgical instructions (see further, at the end of this part, on the protograph, as well as graphic and spelling peculiarities of the RGc).

The artistic design of the codex[44] corresponds to the Old Rus'ian (Old Ukrainian) tradition of the 11th c. Months are separated by headpieces-dividers (5). The headpieces are of different types: 1) tight plait interlacing, painted with red lead[45] and blue paint, decorated on both sides with stylized flowers (folios 1а, 2в, 8г); 2) geometric, composed of squares, with a cross-shaped weave and stylized flower buds on both sides; executed in red and blue paint, decorated with white dots (folio 14в); 3) stylized-floral, with flowers on the sides, made in red lead (folio 16в). The headings of the liturgical instructions for feasts and readings are covered with yellow paint, as well as the reference зᲐ͡ on the folios 4б, 5г. This type of decoration was used in the Slavic monuments of the 11th c.: the Sinaitic Psalter, the Sinaitic Euchologium, and the Menaia of 1095—1096. The readings open with large contoured initials of the Old Byzantine type (25), five lines long, on a folio 16в in six lines; contoured with floral elements, not very carefully written with dark brown ink, mostly decorated with red lead and blue paint, or partially decorated only with paint. The letters of the first lines of the months' titles, the beginnings of commemorations, readings and the capital letters of the double contour are written in dark brown ink, painted in red or blue paint. The large initials and beginnings of the commemorations, as well as the contour letters in the words мᲐ͡ца, on the folios 13v and 14, remained undecorated; these folios form the middle of the second quire – they were probably accidentally turned over by the decorator and were not painted.

The Cyrillic part gives a reading of the festive Gospels according to the Orthodox rite. The saved text of the Menology begins from the end of the reading to the commemoration of St. Demetrius[46], the Great Martyr, on October 26, folio 1a, from

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[44] See the article submitted to this edition: Yanitskaya P. The Illumination of the Reims Gospel.

[45] Red lead is also used in Sava's Book: Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. 2-е фототип. изд. М.: Наука, 1979. С. 132.

[46] The spelling of the name «Дмитрій» is given after the Commemoration in the Menology of Sava's Book: Срезневский И. И. Древнейшие славянские памятники юсового письма с описанием их и с замечаниями об особенностях их правописания и языка. СПб., 1868. С. 10.

the words «велика · ѵлв҃ци же ѵж|диша сѧ гл҃це · како сь|есть · ако и вѣтри и море| послоуша его · » (Mat. 9:26–27), and breaks off with the reading for 9 March on «м҃ : ст҃хъ» (the 40 Martyrs who suffered in the Lake of Sebaste), with the words on folio 16г: «вечер|оу же бывьшж· гл҃а г҃дь | винограда ·кь строи...» (Mat. 20:1–8).

The readings are not indicated for every day, but for the feasts of the Lord, the Mother of God and the days of commemoration of especially revered saints. There are 24 readings available: October, folio 1a [k̃г]. [St. Demetrius of Thessalonica, the Great Martyr] (Mat. 9:26-27); November, folio 1а–б а҃ Holy Unmercenaries and Wonderworkers Cosmas and Damian of Asia and their mother St. Theodota (Mat. 20, 1:5–8); December 2а–б д҃ Great Martyr Barbara (Mark 5:24–34), 2б–г е҃ St. Nicholas the Wonderworker, Archbishop of Myra in Lycia, (Luke 6:17–23), 3а–в к҃ St. Ignatius the "Theophoros" (God-bearer) (Mark 9: 33–41), 3в–4г Sunday before the Nativity of Christ, Holy Fathers (Mat. 1:1–25), 4г–6г Christmas Eve (Luke 2:1–40), 6г–7в At the Liturgy (Mat. 2:1–12), 7г–8б At the Matins of the Nativity of Christ. Synaxis of the Most Holy Theotokos (Mat. 2:13–23), 8б–г Saturday after the Nativity of Christ (Mat. 12: 15–21); January, 8г–9г а҃ The Circumcision of Christ. St. Basil the Great (Luke 2:20-21, 40-52), 9г–10а The Forefeast of Epiphany (Mat. 3:1-6), 10а–в Sunday after the Nativity of Christ, before the Epiphany (Mark 1:1-8), 10в–11г Epiphany Eve (Luke 3:1–18), 11г The Holy Epiphany. Matins (Mark 1:9–11), 11г–12а. At the Liturgy (Mat. 3:13–17), 12б–в Feastdays after the Epiphany. Synaxis of John the Baptist, the Precursor (John 1: 29–34), 12в–13б Saturday after the Epiphany (Mat. 4:1–11), 13б–в Sunday after the Epiphany (Mat. 4:12–17), 13в–г к҃ St. Euthymius the Great (Mat. 11:27–30), 14а–в кѐ St. Gregory the Theologian (Mat. 4:25; 5:1–12); February, 14в–15в ѕ҃ The Candlemas (Luke 2:22–40), 15г–16в кд҃ The Finding of the Head of St. John the Precursor (Mat.11:2–15); March, 16в–г ѳ҃ The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Mat. 20:1–8).

The Menology part is important for ascertaining the time and localization of the Cyrillic Gospel Lectionary it belonged to. In some cases, the analysis of later commemorations or the absence of those commemorations in the monuments of a certain time and tradition contributes to more accurate attribution. According to O. Loseva, a researcher of the Old Rus'ian menologies of 11th–14th cc., notably this Menology can play a significant role in the codicological study of the monument[47]. Thus, the scholar found that the Assemani Gospel could not have been written before the middle of the 11th c., because its menology includes a Rus'ian holiday on November 26, the Consecration of the Church of St. George, the Great Martyr in Kyiv, 1051–1054. This fact points at the use of the manuscripts written in Glagolitic in the middle of the 11th c., which is also important for our study. In this regard, we drew attention to the lack in the RGc of commemoration on January 30 of the Finding and Translation of the Relics of St. Clement, the Pope (861). Part of the relics was taken to Rome by Saints Cyril and Methodius, and the holy head was later

[47] Лосева О. В. Русские месяцесловы XI–XIV вв. С. 6.

brought to Kyiv by the Holy Equal-to-the-Apostles Prince Volodymyr († 1015) and together with the relics of St. Phoebus was placed in the Tithes Church, where an altar was arranged in the name of St. Clement. That is, the Gospel was written at a time when the translation of the relics of the saint in Rus'-Ukraine was not yet included in the commemorations of the Menology. This commemoration already exists in the Ostromir Codex of 1056–1057.

The remoteness of creation of the manuscript is evidenced by certain textual features of the menology part, which were pointed out in the *Menologies* by I. Sreznevsky: in the text of the statute indication of the service on November 21, folio 1г: «вьнесение сѣ҃ти | вц҃и · в. црк҃вь», according to the scholar, since the 13th c. is used the lexical form въведение (въходъ); it's analogous to menology of Sava's book concerning the instructions for the reading on January 16, p. 26a: «поклонение оужемь сѣ҃го ап҃ла петра» ("Veneration of the Precious Chains of the Holy Apostle Peter"), where the word оужемь stands for веригы, and as the researcher found in no other monument, except RGc, the word жжа is used instead of веригъı[48].

In the process of textual research and grouping of old Rus'ian menologies of the 11th–14th cc., O. Loseva came to the conclusion that some fragments of the menologies of the Reims Gospel and the Pantaleon Gospel are difficult to subsume to any category, but they are very close in composition to the menology of the Archangel Gospel of 1092, which has been preserved entirely[49]. According to our research, the menology of the Reims Gospel is the most similar to the Serbian menology of the Miroslav Gospel from the 1180s.[50], its protograph could be the manuscript of the older Zeta-Hum recension based on the Old Slavonic texts and Glagolitic tradition[51].

O. Loseva also made a very valuable and interesting observation that all the preserved Old Rus'ian menologies of the 11th – early 12th cc. (and those are menologies from the mid-11th c. – L.H.) except the fragment of the Reims Gospel menology, contain so-called Latin commemorations, i.e. the feasts which are known only in the Western Church and were not celebrated in Byzantium. This allowed the scholar, while analizing components, reasons and possible sources of the loans of Latin feasts to talk about a significant Western influence on the Rus'ian book-writing tradition in the 11th c.[52], and this confirms our supposal concerning earlier dating of the manuscript creation.

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[48] Reviewing the Menology of Sava's book, I. Sreznevsky notes that no monument he has already studied contains the word жжа instead of веригъı. Vide: Срезневский И. И. Древнейшие славянские памятники юсового письма… С. 12.

[49] Лосева О. В. Периодизация древнерусских месяцесловов XI–XIV в. // Древняя Русь. 2001, № 2 (4). С. 17.

[50] Мошин В. А. Палеографическо-орфографические нормы южнославянских рукописей. Методическое пособие по описанию славяно-русских рукописей для Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР. Вып. 1. Москва, 1973. С. 61.

[51] Мошин В. А. К датировке рукописей из собрания А. Ф. Гильфердинга Государственной Публичной библиотеки. Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института Русской литературы АН СССР (Пушкинский Дом). Т. 15. М.–Л., 1958. С. 410.

[52] Лосева О. В. Праздники западного происхождения в русских и южнославянских месяцесловах XI–XIV веков. Вестник Московского Университета. Сер. 8. История. 2001. № 2. С. 17–32.

Palaeographic analysis of writing and orthographic features of the Cyrillic transliterated text provide the most data for dating and localizing the RGc. According to T. Mironova's research, the similarity to the RGc, as a model book on graphics and orthography, is revealed by a number of features of such manuscripts that belong to the scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise, and these are excerpts of the 11th c. from Bychkov's Zlatostruy, the Viktorov Leaves, and the Chudov Psalter; the most similar in pattern are the Pandects of Antiochus [53]. These manuscripts have a common graphic feature that makes them related to RGc, namely, each of the monuments to some extent uses a system of one-*yer* graphics, i.e. uses one letter ь instead of two ъ and ь, as it is regular in Cyrillic script in accordance with the phonetic originality of the Slavonic languages[54]. Later, the scholar added the Life of Saint Kondrat, emphasizing that the palaeography of this group of Old Rus'ian monuments, the technology of their manufacturing, as well as the style of decoration of the Reims Gospel and the Pandects of Antiochus indicate, firstly, their mutual kinship and even common location; secondly, their genetic connection with a group of Old Slavic manuscripts, which represent the graphic and orthographic system of archaic Cyrillic script[55]. According to orthographic data, RGc is close to the Macedonian Leaf of the 11th c. The manuscript, or its protograph, could get to Rus' at the early stage of the emergence of Rus'ian writing system in the early years of the 11th c. It could have been brought to Kyiv or copied in the Kyiv scriptorium, after the decline of the Macedonian kingdom of Samoil in the early 11th c.[56]

The Gospel Lectionary was written in Cyrillic, probably in the Kyiv scriptorium, directly from a Glagolitic one-*yer* (ь) manuscript by transliteration. The scholars believed that RGc is a South Rus'ian recension copy from the West Bulgarian original[57]. I. Ohienko also emphasized the Glagolitic protograph of RGc, noting the confusion of ѧ and ѣ, i.e. the incompetent transfer of the Glagolitic ѧ: врѧма 7а, ѿ назарѧфа 11г, крститѧлѧ 12б. This can only be the result of transliteration, because ѣ and ѧ are denoted in the Glagolitic alphabet by one letter. Regarding the origin of the Cyrillic manuscript, the scholar noted the names of peoples, rendered in East Slavic manner: иерсл҃млане 10б, наза|ранинь 8б, изльтан|и 13[58]. T. Mironova also tends to believe that RGc had a Glagolitic prothograph[59].

Researching RGc, L. Zhukovskaya noted that the medieval legend about the creating of the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel in the Sázava Monastery by St. Procopius is not confirmed by linguistic and palaeographic analysis of the manuscript; the place

[53] Миронова Т. Л. Графика и орфография рукописных книг киевского скриптория… С. 13, 18, 27.
[54] Ibid. P. 19.
[55] Миронова Т. Л. Хронология старославянских и древнерусских рукописных книг… С. 183.
[56] Мошин В. А. О переодизации русско-южнославянских литературных связей // Из истории русской культуры.
[57] Турилов А. А. Реймсское Евангелие. Древняя Русь в средневековом мире. Энциклопедия / Под ред. Е. А. Мельниковой, В. Я. Петрухина. 2-е изд. М.: Ладомир, 2017. С. 677.
[58] Огієнко І. Реймська Євангелія. Огієнко І. Історія церковнослов'янської мови: Найважніщі пам'ятки церковнослов'янської мови. Пам'ятки старослов'янські X–XI віків. Т. 5. Варшава: Друкарня Синодальна, 1929. С. 146.
[59] Миронова Т. Л. Графика и орфография рукописных книг киевского скриптория… С. 21.

of creation of the codex was most likely Kyiv[60]. Exactly, it was the Cyrillic manuscript created in Kyivan Rus'. In our opinion, probably St. Procopius wrote the Gospel in Glagolitic and made a note about it at the end of the manuscript, and a Kyiv scribe transliterated the text into Cyrillic and kept a colophon record of the model book.

RGc is not a copy from the Cyrillic manuscript, but it is a Cyrillic transliteration of the Glagolitic text, performed according to the orthographic norms of the protograph, while preserving its graphic usage[61]. At the same time, it is very important, as V. Moisiienko emphasizes, that despite the orthographic influence of the protograph (protographs), the writing of the RGc reflects the living language of Kyiv at that time[62].

The script of the manuscript can be characterized by the same description as it was given by I. Sreznevsky to the script of Sava's Book of the 11th c.: it was written in a careless, slightly inclined *ustav* script[63]. Two scribes took part in the work on the RGc: the first created texts of readings, the second wrote the titles and liturgical instructions. The first scribe wrote with a medium-sized *ustav* script (3 × 3–4 mm) with a slight incline of lettering to the right, and the second scribe wrote with a small-sized *ustav* script (2 × 2–3mm), more carefully and relatively evenly, some letters with a slight incline to the left, sometimes to the right. Thus, the texts for reading the manuscript are written in larger letters than the liturgical instructions; the same principle of text design is observed in the Ostromir Codex of 1056–1057.

In the drawings of the scribes and the graphic-orthographic methods of writing used by them, there is almost an identity, which testifies to the same scriptorium. Only the first scribe consistently writes the digraph оу, and the second – the diphthong у.

The graphics of the ancient Cyrillic part of the RG correspond to the book script of Rus' of the 11th c., which, as V. Shchepkin notes, has much in common with that of the 12th c.; they are combined mainly with the geometric style of drawings and – as far as possible – with a symmetry of their parts. And only some certain sign drawings sharply distinguish two centuries: *yat*, *omega* and *psi*. The scholar does not consider the last two signs to be absolute distinguishing features and therefore states that they should be taken into account when dating only together with other features[64]. RGc is also characterized by these sign drawings.



[60] Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие: история его изучения и текст… С. 16–17.

[61] Вечерка Р. Фонетико-фонологическая и правописно-графическая характеристика старославянских рукописей. Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI вв.). / Под ред. Р. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерки, Э. Благовой. М.: Русский язык, 1994. С. 32.

[62] On the language peculiarities of the RGc, see the article submitted to this edition: Moisiienko V. M. The Cyrillic Part of the Reims Gospel: An Important Monument of Early Rus'ian-Ukrainian Book Culture.

[63] Срезневский И. И. Древнейшие славянские памятники юсового письма… С. 5.

[64] Щепкин В. Н. Русская палеография. Москва: Наука, 1967. С. 110, 112–113.

Yat is written whole in a line, with an incline to the left and right, the horisontal bar is placed at a distance of one third from the top of the line; the letter does not extend with its vertical bar beyond the upper level of the line, which is characteristic of the 11th c.: лѣть 2а, бѫдѣте 11в, благовѣстѧть 16а.

Omega has a high middle part and is used in the letter combination от: wтидоша 7в, more often is the letter combination of от with capital Ѳ, with a dot inside: Ѳтроуа 7в, Ѳтиде 8б. The way of writing wт, Ѳт is typical for old manuscripts. The use of omega is common in the ligature ѿ: ѿврьзьш|е 7в, ѿ 3в, 8б, 14в.

Psi is available only in a cruciform shape, similar to the old way of writing of the Glagolitic letter ⰱ; the horisontal bar is slightly above the middle of the line, the vertical bar and the foot go beyond the edge of the line: на†ание 4г, †ано есть 12г, †ано 13а. Such way of writing is intrinsic to the oldest monuments, in particular the Sava's Book, sparsely the Ostromir Codex of 1056–57, Sviatoslav's Izbornik (Lectionary) of 1073, and Menaion of 1096. E. Karsky notes that in the Ostromir Codex, along with this way of writing, there is already ѱ, the further development of this sign will be ѱ[65]. This ascertains that in the RGc there are no such graphic innovations yet.



In the handwriting of the second scribe, a very old way of writing is recorded, which is found in Old Slavic monuments, – similar to the small *yus*, with a cross-shaped middle and an underlining at the bottom: Ѳчищениѧ 5г.

Similar to the way of writing of  in the RGc was observed by E. Karsky, for example, in Sava's Book. At the same time, the scholar notes that and are not intrinsic to the Rus'ian monuments, but there are some, very rare cases of their use, in particular of the second one in the Orations of St. Gregory the Theologian of the second half of the 11th c.; it is also clearly read in the postscript to the Mstislav Gospel of the 12th c.: кнѧ ю новъгородьскоуѳмоу 213а[66]. This observation of the scholar does not deny the affiliation of our manuscript to the old Rus'ian scriptorium of the 11th c., but testifies to the existence of one more writing school, of different graphic-orthographic style, at the beginning of the formation of Old Rus'ian written language.

The letter ж is written in three steps, the upper part is slightly smaller than the lower one; the letter ь is written whole in a line; the letter є is narrow with a long tongue; the letter м has a wide rounded loop that lies on the line; the tails of the letters р, у, ц, ф, х fall under the line; the letter ф has a small flattened head that reaches only to the middle of the line.

The reviewed ways of writing have dating features, which in the opinion of I. Tóth do not contradict to consider the RGc a monument of the 11th c.[67]

The titlo has the left edge raised and the right one lowered.

[65] Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. С. 209.
[66] Ibid. С. 208.
[67] Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка... С. 58.

The dot is used as a connecting and artistic element. The letter ь·ı is written with a connecting dot (E. Karsky pointed to the placement of a dot on the connecting line[68], there is no line in the manuscript): вѣсь·ı 1б, Ѳбь·ıчаѫ 9а, дроугь·ı|а 16г. As an artistic element, the dot is consistently used to decorate the wide letter Ѳ and sporadically for ф. The wide letter Ѳ with a dot in the middle is used consistently in the manuscript at the beginning of words and after vowels: Ѳкт̈омьвра 2г, Ѳчи 1в, Ѳтроча 7в, Ѳц̈а 8а, вифлеѲмъ 7г, иѲсифоу 8а. We should note that in relation to the graphics of the RGc, it is inaccurate to call this letter 'ocular O', as is common in historiography. Also, two dots as decorative elements are filled in the letter ф: фарѣса 3г, вифлеѲмъ 7г, наза|рефь 9в.

Narrow variants of the letters у, ї are sometimes placed at the end of lines, which will later be accepted by orthographic usage and will enter the practice of old scribes: ї – ї|даахѫ 4г, вжӥ| 12г, послѫжиші| 13а, прı̂чї| 15г; у – дру|гѫ 5в, высоку| 13а, прѣму|дрости 15в. The use of a narrow variant of the letters by a scribe, when there is no space for a wide one, is clearly visible in one column in the following example: ѥму| – емоу| 13а.

In the RGc, while preserving the graphic usage of the Glagolitic protograph, there is a selective use of specific letters (by which the Cyrillic alphabet differs from the Glagolitic one), which do not have a graphematic equivalent in the Glagolitic alphabet[69]. The iotated letters ѩ and ѭ. are not used at all. The graphics of the manuscript are also not intrinsic to write with the letter ю. It occurs in the text only twice: поустити□ю 4в (ю is written after the wiped out letter), вьпрашаю̑щьꙗ 9б (when corrected, probably from the letter ѥ). This was earlier noted by I. Tóth[70]. The sporadic use of the letter ѥ occurs at the beginning of a word, after vowels and after palatal л' (in old monuments after palatal р', л', н') – ѥ̑гда 6а – егда 5г, ѥ̑же 2б, ѥ̑|зрома 3г, и̑|ѥремиемь 8а, нбсноѥ̑ 14а, в|олѥ̑ 11б. P. Lavrovsky counted 16 cases of using the letter ѥ[71]. The letters ѯ, ѱ are used (transmitted as a Glagolitic ѳ – †), in place of which, in the Glagolitic manuscripts the same words contain only the digraphs кс, пс: маѯимоу 1г (it was found once in the writing of the second scribe, probably instead of the wiped out digraph кс, because its space corresponds to two letters); на†ати 4г, на†а|тиса 4г, †ано 10г.

The Glagolitic letter ı = ь, transferred from the protograph, is recorded once: вı̈же 11а, вı̈жии 12б.

Letters are consistently written above the line, with a cap atop: декеᷣ̂бра 2а, глаᷤ̂ 5в, выᷤ̂ 12б. This method was later widely used: a consonant standing between two identical vowels, is put above the line, and the vowel is not repeated: реᷝ̂ 3б.

Only the ligatures ѿ and Тъ are used: ѿ – племе̑ни 15б, ѿ дн̑и 16б, та Тъ – можеТь 11а, поѧТь 13а. There are slightly more words with ѿ than with от, there are also dou-

[68] Карский Е. Ф. Славянская кирилловская палеография. С. 203.

[69] Вечерка Р. Фонетико-фонологическая и правописно-графическая характеристика… С. 29.

[70] Тот И. Х. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка… С. 106.

[71] Лавровский П. О Реймсском евангелии. Опыты историко-филологических трудов студентов главного педагогического института шестого выпуска. СПб.: Тип. имп. АН, 1852. С. 6.

ble spellings: ѿ 2а, ѿ|идоу 5б–в – ѡтидоша 7в, Ѳ ѿвѣтѣхь 9б, ѿц҃а 9в, ѿкрыти 13г, ѿврьзь оуста 14а, Ѳтькрьвени| 15а.

In the orthography of the RGc, contracting is used — abbreviation by the first letter of the word: є = есть – ѥ̀го є 2а; ѥ = ѥго – испльниша є 5г, посьла ѥ̀ 16в. A. Strakhov rightly suggested that these and similar forms could be used in monuments to save space, i.e. they are, apparently, the earliest (and most frequent) case of word contracting by the first letter in the Slavonic writing[72].

At the time of creation of the RGc, the wordbreak rules and the division mark had not yet been developed, and in our manuscript, the words are carried over to the next line from any letter that appears at the border of the text field: запрѣ|ти 8б, ѿ мн|огь 15б; even the first letter of the word remains on the line, and the rest is carried over to the next line — в|ьсѫ 2б, а|зь 12б, п|ризьвавь 7а, or vice versa, only the last letter of the word is carried over — ськаз|а 4в, моужьм|ь 15б, град|ѫ 12а, including a word consisting only of two letters – д|а 1а, — which is evidence of the disorder of the orthography itself. According to M. Fougeron, the writing with violation of the rule to end a line with an open syllable is a serious argument to consider the text of the RGc older than the monuments dating from the second half of the 11th c.

When copying the Glagolitic original, using the Cyrillic graphics, there is always a problem of translating the numerals. In the Menology, the scribe correctly provides transnumbering[73] from Glagolitic into Cyrillic of the days of months, weeks, taking into account the difference between the numerical meaning of the letters of both alphabets. At the same time, the scribe mostly incorrectly places numerals in the category of the second ten, sometimes of the third ten. D. Likhachev noted that errors in transcribing Cyrillic numerals are among the most typical mistakes of scribes[74].

The numerals in Cyrillic numbering are written from left to right, from larger categories of numerals to smaller ones; the exception is the reproduction of the numbers of the second ten, which were written in accordance with pronunciation of the Slavonic numerals, which we find in the studied monument: дв҃ѣ на десѧ|тє 2а, Ѳсмь десать 15б. However, in the Cyrillic parchment monuments of the 11th — first half of the 12th cc., alongside with this order, there is also an opposite one: і҃а, і҃в[75], which we observe in the manuscript: ·і҃а· 1в, 13в, 15г, ·і҃в· 9а, ·і҃г· 2г (for all this, г is written on something erased; probably the editor corrected an error in Cyrillic transnumeration), 8б, 13в, ·і҃з· 13в, ·і҃и· 13в, ·і҃к· 2г, ·з҃к· 1а.

The scribe's awareness in reproduction of the ordinal numbers is testified by the following writing: і҃е҃і· 1в, in which he first wrote the number as ѥ, but then put і with titlo. Let us dwell on the illustrative shape of the figure 6. The manuscript

[72] Страхов А. Б. Об орнаментальных принципах организации строки в древнерусских текстах как основе графико-орфографического варьирования. Palaeoslavica. 2001. № 9. P. 65.

[73] Вечерка Р. Фонетико-фонологическая и правописно-графическая характеристика …С. 29.

[74] Лихачев Д. С. Текстология: На материале русской литературы X–XVII вв. Л., 1983. С. 65–66.

[75] Симонов Р. А. Об особенностях цифровой системы, употреблявшейся в кириллических рукописях X–XV веков. Методическое пособие по описанию славяно-русских рукописей для Сводного каталога рукописей, хранящихся в СССР. Вып. 1. Москва, 1973. С. 207.

uses the Old Slavonic drawing of the Cyrillic figure 6 ѕ [6]: ·ѕ҃· 1в, which origin is associated with the influence of the shape of the Glagolitic six. This drawing in Rus' replaced the Byzantine form of the six 's' due to the South Slavic influence of the 10th–11th cc.[76] Numbers on both sides are mostly separated by a dot, but often a colon is used, and sometimes they are not separated by dots at all. All these cases are available even within a single column, for example, on folio 1в.

Of the diacritical marks, only one is used – the *yerchik*, which is written from left to right (`) and is placed: almost sequentially above the letters to denote iotation: і҆ѹдѣа҆ 14а, тревжж҆ 12а, є҆ж҆ 5г, своє҆го 8а, ж҆жє҆ 7б; there are also writings without a diacritical mark, which the scribe probably forgot to put: пропⷪвѣдаа҆ 10б – про|повѣдаа 10в; a diacritic is placed over vowels at the beginning of words, over the letter и҆ at the beginning and at the end of words; above the letter **Ѳ**: **Ѳ**трочѧ 7в, **Ѳ** нє|мь12а; in place of ь: окт҆омьбра 2г, д҆ва 6а, 15г – дьва 6а.

Of the punctuation marks, there is only a dot, which is written in the middle of the line, and a colon with a dash (:—), which is placed at the end of the liturgical instruction and reading.

We'd like to note that the RGc and other manuscripts created in the early Kyivan one-*yer* (ь) writing school could have influenced the Serbian literacy.

A clear evidence that the Cyrillic text of the Gospel Lectionary was made by transliteration from the Glagolitic text is an interesting and eloquent fact: the scribe, directly in the process of work, wrote a correct letter immediately after an incorrectly used letter orthogram and then erased the wrong one, – that's why some words have a technical gap of one letter, or rarely two. The first scribe mostly worked like that. There are many such cases; we'll illustrate two from the folio 5а, в (hereinafter in the examples the place with the erased letter is denoted by a rectangle – □).



The transliteration of the text carried out by the scribe in this way directly testifies to the process of his work on the reproduction of Glagolitic spellings into Cyrillic, while preserving the graphic usage of the protograph. First and foremost, thanks to this technical work of the scribe, we have the opportunity to obtain reliable information about its origin and, probably, the location of the manuscript. While working with the original, we managed to see the erased letters in several writings, analyse their replacement, which gives grounds to claim that a Rus'ian (Ukrainian) scribe, probably a Kyivan, worked on the creation of the monument. The Rus'ian (Ukrainian) pronunciation of the scribe is eloquently testified by the use of є instead of the Church Slavonic ѣ[77]. Thus, the letter ѣ, available in the Glagolitic text, was immediately followed after the letter є,

[76] Симонов Р. А. Об особенностях цифровой системы... С. 210–211.

[77] Соболевский А. И. Кирилловская часть Реймсского Евангелия. Русский филологический вестник. Т. 18. Варшава, 1887. № 3. С. 149.

incorrectly used by the scribe, and then the wrong letter was erased, which is clearly visible in the following examples: м□ѣста 5а, про^по^в□ѣдаѧ 10б.

In regard to the graphic-orthographic replacement, the following should be noted: the digraph кс is replaced by the letter ѯ – маѯимоу 1г (in the writing of the second scribe, the digraph is probably erased, as the space of the erased signs corresponds to two letters); letter ѳ – by the letter ф – виф□леѳма 5в, виф□леѳмѣ 7а 7а. There are also some examples of mechanical insertion of the digraph оу, and then erasure of у: и|стоу□ть 2а, прикоу□сноу 2б (on this page, four lines above, the word is written correctly: прикосноу), м^оу□го 2в, ѳ□ци 2в and others. And in the word ѣуф□умиѧ 13г the letter о is erased and ı is left to denote the letter izhitsa.

Here is a number of other writings with erased letters that are mostly not visible in the original, which may be interesting for future researchers: ако□же5г (probably, the letter и was erased), чьстїи□ 6а (the letter ї is corrected in place of the erased letter (?), it is followed by another erased letter) ѳтаи□ 7а, исп□ы|таи́те 7б , па|с□тоуси 8г, блгд́ть□ж 9г (probably, the letter ѣ), голоубь □□ 12а (after the word two letters were erased), д^нь □и 2г (the letter ї was erased, only two dots remain at the top, then the letter и is used correctly to denote the conjunction).

There are also cases when a misspelled letter is not erased before the correct one; for example, this is recorded by the second scribe in the word евуи́ѣгелиѧ 10а, which testifies to the effect of the Cyrillic spelling usage on the use in this orthogram of *izhitsa*, which is transmitted by the grapheme у. There was a case when the letter was erased, and the correct one was not recorded and only when editing the text it was written above the line: и□^е 10а.

There are graphic replacements, or just corrections, of some letters into others: 1) the letter 'is corrected from the letter ф – маѳеа 1г (three different variants of the apostolic name written on this page provoke contemplations: матфѣа 1г – матѳѣа 1г, ѿ ма$\widehat{ѳ}$ | 1г, маѳеа 1г; the first two indicate that the scribe did not distinguish the letters ф and ѳ); 2) the letter о is corrected from ь – миромъ| 2б, ливано 7в; 3) the letter о is corrected from the letter є – пор|фуриа.

There are also some later corrections of the text, made on the washed off letters, for example: 1) the letter ѳ is written on the letter ф, which is evidenced from a large stain – ѳамари 3г, салаѳиила, салаѳили 4а, матѳана 4а, матьѳань 4б; 2) in the corrections of the names иоаТф^{а}ма and иѳ̇аТф^{а}мь 4а, only the endings, –ма and –мь; remained respectively from the original spelling; 3) the letter с is written in the word сѣмь 3г, the letter и is written in the word пріїмь 8б and the letter ї is inserted above the line.

To the above-considered cases of erased so-called Russisms (replacement of the letter є), we will add the existing, without corrections in words, graphic and orthographic replacements of оу by ж and vice versa, reflected in double spellings, which are intrinsic for the monuments of the Old Rus'ian recension: тоуне – тжне 1б, лоуди 4в – лжди 7а, владоуцж 4г – владоуцюу 10в, дроугоу 3а – дру|гж 5в, иж́дѣи 8а – иоудѣи 10в, зако|ноу 5г – законж 6в, голжбь 11г – голоубь 12а, град|жць 12а – гра|доуца 12б.

We'd like to note that the RGc and other manuscripts created in the early Kyivan one-*yer* (ь) writing school may have influenced Serbian writing. That is why some scholars attribute Kyiv's monuments to Serbian ones, or see in them a well-defined Serbian character. In contrast, further, we'll present in full V. Moshin's statement that the Rus'ian (Old Rus'ian, Old Ukrainian – L.H.) influence on the formation of the orthography of Serbian texts of the Raška recension was comprehensively studied by A. Belić[78], who firstly provides the characteristic for the oldest Serbian tradition on how it developed from the Old Slavonic – probably in the second half of the 11th c., and possibly, somewhat later in Zeta (Montenegro) and neighboring regions. Only here could appear the notation of the semivowel by the sign ь which was pronounced as short and obscure ѥ in these areas, as well as in the neighboring Macedonian lands, while in other Serbian regions, the pronunciation of this sound approached the pronunciation of the sound ѧ, which probably would be denoted by a hard sign ъ. In this Zeta-Hum (Montenegrin-Herzegovinian) recension, according to the system of the Glagolitic alphabet, the sign ћ (the Glagolitic *djerv*) was introduced, which was used to denote both ђ (гj), (тj) and ћ (тj); the use of ѣ was established instead of jѧ; the iotated ѩ and ѥ were lacking (ю is absent in the Glagolitic alphabet). In the second half of the 12th c., two styles of script coexisted here in parallel (administrative and ecclesiastical – L.H.), which differed in spelling and graphics. The ecclesiastical script changed its spelling more slowly: not only in the Gospel of Prince Miroslav, but also in the Hilandar Typicon we find archaisms, in particular in the use of nasals. On the basis of the Zeta-Hum recension (which later continued to exist on the territory of Bosnia), the Raška school of spelling was developed. It adopted a simplified spelling of secular Zeta-Hum state chancelleries as to replacement of *yuses* by vowels ѵ and ѥ and the use of one semivowel ь; rejected the use of the Glagolitic *djerv* and the use of ѣ for я; introduced the systematic use of iotated vowels ѩ and ѥ in addition to ю[79].

THE GLAGOLITIC PART[80]

The Glagolitic part was completed in 1395. It consists of four eight-folio, unnumbered quires (31 folios). The text is written on a thin smooth parchment in two columns of 20 lines. The text area and folios are not lined, 173 x 130 mm, in two columns (173 x 55 mm). Initially, the manuscript had much larger margins, which were trimmed during the framing, as evidenced by the catchwords, available from the versos of the last folios of quires, separated by dots ⁖ and placed on the bottom margin of the folios: on the folio 24v the margin is trimmed up to the catchword

[78] Светосавски зборник Српске Академије. Књ. 1. Белград, 1936. С. 129–276.

[79] Мошин В. О периодизации русско-южнославянских литературных связей… С. 72.

[80] Research, palaeographic and codicological description of the manuscript is carried out in the detailed work: Страхова О. Б. Глаголическая часть Реймского евангелия: история, язык, текст // Palaeoslavica. Supplementum, 3. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2014. 261 p.

любити; on the folio 32v the catchword is almost completely cut off, and on the folio 40v there is only a part of one sign from it.

The pagination is continuous (by page), carried to the end of the text in a different handwriting than the numbering of the Cyrillic part; the manuscript storage code № 255, folio 1, is evidently written into the stamp also in that handwriting. In the same handwriting, the blank folios at the end of the book are paginated with alphabetic numeral system: the last folio of the fourth quire, protective sheets, and the endpaper.

The manuscript is well preserved. On the first folio (folio 17) the text and the cinnabarine title on the second column are slightly erased, the margins are heavily soiled, in greasy and watery stains, the parchment is sewn at the bottom of the first column; the parchment is wrinkled in the lower margins of the folios 19—21; the holes made while currying the leather are visible on the folios 23, 26; the upper right corner on the folio 36 is truncated; wax stains are found. The book block of the codex is unevenly clipped. The first quire was in the softcover for some period, serving for it was a double-folded parchment sheet, which was often used.

The text is written in Glagolitic Gothic angular writing[81], the letters hang below the line, the dimensions of the letters are 4 x 3—6 mm. The script is exquisite, with a clear division of words. Two scribes took part in the work on writing the text: the first scribe began the work on the manuscript and wrote the texts of almost the entire first quire, the folios 17 (p. 1) — 24 (15); from the verso of the last folio of the quire, folio 24v (p. 16), the work was continued and completed by the second scribe on the folio 47б (p. 61); he also created a colophon record on the folio 47б—в (pp. 61—62)[82]. The similarity of the handwriting suggests that both scribes were trained in the same scriptorium, most probably in the scriptorium of the Emmaus Monastery[83]. The Glagolitic manuscript is exquisitely illuminated[84]. The text is decorated with colourful bloomers and small miniatures inset into the letters, three miniatures are enclosed within a square; the rubricator worked alone. The headings of the readings, big initials, and capital letters are written in cinnabar.

As to its contents, the Glagolitic manuscript is a collection of the Old and New Testament pericopes on the Catholic feastdays and contains the two readings of the Mass of the main festivals of Our Lord and Our Lady, and commemoration days of especially revered saints: folios 17а—17г, On the Palm Sunday (Phil. 2:5—11; Mat. 21:1—9); folios 18а—19в, On the Great Thursday (1 Cor. 11:20—32; John. 13: 1—15); folios 19в—20б, On the Great Saturday (Col. 3:1—4; Mat. 18:1—7); folios 20б—20г, On Easter Sunday (1 Cor 5:7—8; Mark 16:1—7); folios 20г—21г, On the Baptism of the Church (Rev. 21:2—5; Luke 9:1—9); folios

[81] Regarding this type of writing, A. Turilov emphasizes that it was used in the Croatian codices of the second half of the 14th c., and, as an example, gives a reference to the Missal 1386 in the collection of the Austrian National Library in Vienna, Slav. 8 (Birkfellner G. Glagolitische und kyrillische Handschriften in Österreich. Wien, 1975. Abb. 3–4). See: Флоря Б. Н., Турилов А. А., Иванов С. А. Судьбы кирилло-мефодиевской традиции… С. 117.

[82] Страхова О. Б. Глаголическая часть Реймского евангелия… P. 12.

[83] Ibid. P. 98.

[84] See the article submitted to this edition: Yanitskaya P. The Illumination of the Reims Gospel.

21г–22г, On Bright Monday (Acts 13:26–32; Luke 24:36–47); folios 22г–24a, On the Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts 1:1–11; Mark 16:14–20); folios 24a–25в, On the Pentecost Sunday (Acts 2:1–11; John 14:23–31); folios 25в–26a, In Honour of the Most Holy Trinity (Rom. 11:33–36; John 15:26–27); folios 26a–26в, The Lord's Body Mass (1 Cor. 11:23; John 6:55); folios 26в–27в, The Commemoration of St. John the Baptist (Isa. 49:1–3, 5–7; Luke 1:57–68); folios 27в–29a, The Feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul (Acts 12:1–11; Mat. 16:13–19); folios 29a–29в, of St. Procopius (Eph. 1:3–7; Luke 12:32–34); folios 29в–30в, On the Ascension of Our Lady (Sir. 24:7–17; Luke 10:38–42); folios 30в–32б, On the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (Prov. 8:22–35; Mat. 1:1–16); folios 32б–33б, The Commemoration of the Martyr Wenceslaus (Sir. 39:6–12; Luke 14:26–33); folios 33б–34в, The Feast of St. Michael the Archangel (Rev. 12:7–12; Mat. 18:1–10); folios 34в–35б, The Commemoration of Blessed Jerome (Sir. 50:6–11, 13, 22; Luke 11:33–36); folios 35в–36г, All Saints' Day (Rev. 7:2–12; Mat. 5:1–12); folios 36г–37б, The Eve of the Nativity of Jesus Christ (Rom. 1:1–6; Mat. 1:18–21); folios 37б–38б, The Nativity of Christ, after the Orthros (Titus 2:11–15; Luke 2:1–14); folios 38б–38г, The Nativity of Christ, at dawn (Titus 3:4–7; Luke 2:15–20); folios 38г–40a, The Nativity of Christ, at the main Mass (Heb. 1:1–12: John 1:1–14); folios 40a–41a, The Commemoration of St. Stephen (Acts 6:8–10; 7:54–60; Mat. 23:34–39); folios 41б–41г, The Commemoration of St. John, the Apostle and Evangelist (Sir. 15:1–6; John 21:19–24); folios 41г–42б, On the Circumcision of Christ (Rom. 8:1–4; 15:8–9; Luke 2:21); folios 42б–43в, On the Epiphany (Isa. 60:1–6; Mat. 2:1–12); folios 43в–44в, On the Feast of the Presentation of Jesus Christ in the Temple (Candlemass) (Mal 3:1–5; Luke 2:22–32); folios 44в–45б, In Memory of Sts. Cyril and Methodius (Prov. 3:17–20; Mat. 3:37–42); folios 45б–46a, In Memory of the Reverend Benedict (Sir. 65:1–4, 6, 8; Mark 10:25–31); folios 46a–47a, On the Annunciation (Isa. 7:10–15; Luke 1:26–38); folios 47a–47б, The Commemoration of the Confessor or Hierarch (Sir. 65:1–6).

On the folio 29a, there is a reading, written in cinnabar, in commemoration of St. Procopius († 1053), the founder of the Sázava Monastery near Prague: нь днь сго прокопа | оптꙋ ѵт еп҃ие | бжи й҃ а к рмл҃нмь (however, the passage is taken from the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians)[85]. His commemoration is celebrated in the Catholic Church on July 4. In the monastery he founded, the service was conducted in Slavonic, according to the books written in Glagolitic script[86].

[85] Реймсское славянское Евангелие. С. 197, прим. 2.
[86] Ibid. С. 197, прим. 1.

THE 1395 ENTRY AND CONCLUSIONS

Following the Glagolitic part, the 1395 colophon entry is located on folios 47–47v[87] (pp. 61–62), written in Czech in angular Croatian Glagolitic by the second scribe. The colophon is clearly structured, written in cinnabar, and refers to the entire codex; at first it provides information about the Glagolitic manuscript and then about the Cyrillic one. It is inserted by the second scribe immediately, from the next line, after completion of work on the text. The text of the colophon is presented at the beginning of our work after the original, in transliteration in Cyrillic script and in Ukrainian translation by I. Ohienko.

Our study of the codex and the obtained specified palaeographic and codicological data give grounds to draw certain conclusions about the basic information presented in the colophon, which are interpreted differently by scholars, and to sum up the results of our work. First, we'll consider the data presented in the colophon concerning the Cyrillic part, and then – the Glagolitic one. This should show in chronological order the history of each manuscript and the codex in general, as well as more logically present our arguments on the main basic issues.

Colophon Evidence Regarding the Cyrillic Part

"And the second part of those books, which is according to the Rus'ian rite, was written by St. Procopius with his own hand. And this Rus'ian script was given by the late Charles IV, the Roman emperor, for the glory of that klasztor[88], and in honour of St. Jerome and St. Procopius. O Lord, grant him eternal rest. Amen":

- *And the second part of those books, which is according to the Rus'ian rite, was written by St. Procopius with his own hand.*

It is indicated that part of the Cyrillic Gospel Lectionary was compiled according to the Orthodox rite and was written by St. Procopius (†1053). In our opinion, exactly the Glagolitic manuscript could have been written by St. Procopius, and his name as a scribe could be recorded in the codex inscription. The Cyrillic Gospel Lectionary was probably written in the Kyiv scriptorium, directly from the Glagolitic manuscript and, possibly, with the preservation of the colophon and the name of the scribe.

- *And this Rus'ian script...*

The RGc was written in the Old Slavonic language of the Old Rus'ian (Old Ukrainian) one-*yer* recension, its orthographic usage follows the spelling of the Glagolitic exemplar. The orthography of this recension is characterized by the use of only one *yer* (ь) and two *yuses* (ѧ, ѫ), by the absence of iotated letters; iotation is denoted by a diacritical mark – the *yerchik*; the letter ѥ is written only in certain positions in the word, rarely – the letter ѭ. The RGc is a prominent example of the early Kyivan school of book culture, which existed not long,

[87] This is the folio number according to the foliation of the codex adopted in this study.

[88] Catholic monastery.

without further development. The manuscript was probably created by Kyiv scribes and illuminators in the 1020s and 1030s, during the operation of the Kyiv scriptorium of Yaroslav the Wise (1025–1054).

- *And this Rus'ian script was given by the late Charles IV, the Roman emperor, for the glory of that klasztor, and in honour of St. Jerome and St. Procopius.*

A fragment of the Cyrillic manuscript was presented to the Emmaus Monastery near Prague by the King of Bohemia Charles IV (1346–1378), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The monastery is dedicated to the Mother of God, Blessed Jerome, Saints Cyril and Methodius, Bishop Adalbert (Wojciech) and St. Procopius of Sázava. In the monastery, each quire was set in the softcover and their texts were used during the divine services.

Colophon Evidence Regarding the Glagolitic Part

"In the Year of our Lord 1395, this Gospel and the Epistles are written in the Slavonic language; they must not be sung from, for from them Mass is celebrated during coronations".

- *1395…*

The work on the Glagolitic part was completed in 1395 in the Bohemian Emmaus Monastery[89]. The first scribe started the work earlier, he wrote the first quire (the readings on the Palm Sunday; on the Great Thursday; on the Great Saturday; on Easter Sunday; on the Baptism of the Church; on Bright Monday; on the Ascension of Our Lord; and the unfinished reading on the Pentecost Sunday, which was later, on the verso of the last folio, written by the second scribe, who wrote three more quires and completed the work). The texts from this quire were still used during services for some period, and the quire was set in the softcover.

- *The Gospel and the Epistles are written in the Slavonic language…*

The Gospel and the Epistles are written in the Slavonic language, i.e. in Glagolitic script.

- *… they must not be sung from, for from them Mass is celebrated during coronations".*

It is stated that it is not allowed to sing from these books, because Mass[90] is celebrated from them during the coronation, i.e. they are used in the ceremony of

[89] The legitimacy of the entry is evidenced, in our opinion, by the absence in the manuscript of a reading of the feast service in honour of one of the holy patrons of the Emmaus Monastery – the martyr-bishop Adalbert, who was deprived of this status after 1352. (Between 1352 and 1437): Rothe H. Das Slavenkloster in der Prager Neustadt bis zum Jahre 1419: Darstellung und Erlдuterungder Quellen. Teil I // Jahrbьcher fьr Geschichte Osteuropas. Neue Folge. 1992. Bd. 40. Heft 1. P. 23–24. Instead of this service, the scribe placed a service to the prince-martyr Wenceslaus, fols. 32v–33v (pp. 31–33).

[90] Msha — 'Catholic divine service', West, South, Ukr., Blr. msha, Czech-ChSl. mĭsha (Kyiv Folia, Legend of St. Wenceslaus), Serbo-Croatian West mäša, Czech mše, 'Mass'... Фасмер М. Этимологический словарь русского языка в четырех томах. Том 3 (Муза-Сят) / Перевод с немецкого и дополнения О. Н. Трубачева. 2-е изд., стереотипное. М.: Прогресс, 1987. С. 22.

anointing with chrism. The anointing was usually included in the complex liturgical act of coronation. The entry ends with the words: "*O Lord, grant him* [Charles IV] *eternal rest. Amen*".

It is probable that the manuscript was set in an elegant cover-reliquary and included in the rite of anointing during the coronation ceremony of the Bohemian kings. Therefore, the Hussites, having destroyed the Emmaus Monastery in 1421, kept the book for 40 years, and then, according to one version, transferred it to Constantinople, where it was kept intact for another 100 years, as it was associated with the name of the emperor of the Great Roman Empire, King Charles IV of Bohemia. It is no coincidence, therefore, that the manuscript, also called the *Texte du Sacre* (Coronation Text), was purchased by Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, Archbishop of Reims, contributed to the Reims Cathedral on the eve of Easter 1574, and later included in the liturgical rite of coronation of French kings. The King of France had to be crowned in the Cathedral of Reims and anointed with chrism from the Holy Ampulla.

In regard to the RG, we have the following evidence: "On the day of the anointing, a king takes the royal oath on this Gospel. It is primarily used for this purpose, probably because it combines gospel texts and other relics, on which it is customary to swear in the Catholic Church. In the treasury of the Reims Cathedral, we can see another Gospel, less valuable, on which our kings took the oath at the anointing rite till Cardinal of Lorraine made a gift of the exemplar we are talking about[91]".

Thus, the colophon was inscribed when the Cyrillic and Glagolitic parts were combined in one manuscript, for which a precious cover-reliquary was made in 1395 or at the close of the 14th c. The manuscript acquired the status of the *Texte du Sacre* during the liturgical coronation ceremony. This contributed to the preservation of a fragment of the Menology of the Cyrillic Gospel Lectionary written during the formation of the book scriptorium of Kyivan Rus', in the times under the Grand Prince Yaroslav the Wise.

[91] Полевой Н. Любопытное дополнение к известиям о Славянском Евангелии… С. 70–71.

Viktor Moisiienko

THE CYRILLIC PART OF THE REIMS GOSPEL: AN IMPORTANT MONUMENT OF EARLY RUS'IAN–UKRAINIAN BOOK CULTURE

Only a few obvious facts are known at present about the Reims Gospel, as probably the oldest Rus'ian[1] manuscript written prior to the Ostromir Gospels: a colophon was added at the end of the Glagolitic part in 1395; in 1574 the Gospel was presented to the Reims Cathedral by the Cardinal Charles of Lorraine; and in 1717, after the visit of a Moscow delegation led by Peter I to France, it was found out that the manuscript was written in the Slavonic language[2].

Thus, since the first acquaintance of the Muscovites P. Shafirov (1717) and B. Kurakin (1726) with the manuscript in Reims, the discussions on the attribution and codification of the Cyrillic part of the Gospel have not subsided to this day: either it was created in the Kyivan Rus' period before Anna Yaroslavna's departure to France, or it was transcribed by somebody (Procopius?), as is evidence of the entry of 1395, i.e. later.

The monument has been published several times. In the first edition, a lithographic copy by J. Silvestre (Paris, 1843)[3], some particular letters of the manuscript were not accurately reproduced, which led to different opinions of scholars concerning its origin and language. Other editions – by V. Hanka (Prague, 1846)[4],

[1] Derived from Rus' – Ed.

[2] Григорий Приходько. История Реймсской славянской рукописи. Реймсское славянское Евангелие. Новое факсимильное издание (в 2 томах, в футляре) / под. рук. иером. Александра (Синякова). Эпине-су-Сенар, 2017. С. 18.

[3] Evangelia slavice, quibus olim in regum Francorum oleo sacro inungendorum solemnibus uti solebat ecclesia remensis vulgo texte du sacre ad exemplaris similitudinem descripsit et edidit. J. B. Silvestre… Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1843.

[4] Ганка Вяч. Сазаво-Еммаускоe св. благовествование. Прага, 1846.

L. Léger (Paris – Prague, 1899[5]), L. Zhukovskaya (Moscow, 1978)[6], T. Rott-Żebrowski (Lublin, 1985)[7], V. Aleksandrovich (Lviv, 2010)[8], hieromonk Alexander (Sinyakov) (Épinay-sous-Sénart, 2017)[9] – significantly clarified a number of problematic issues concerning the Cyrillic part.

A detailed graphic and orthographic analysis of the RG in the context of other manuscripts of the 11th c. (the Viktotov Leaf, Bychkov's Zlatostruy, the Life of St. Kondrat, the Pandects of Antiochus) was accomplished by T. Mironova[10]. The researcher notes that the Reims Gospel is the most revealing for palaeographic comparisons with Old Slavic texts. It has a documented history, as it is associated with the name of Queen Anna of France, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise[11].

Not long ago, Elvira Bikkinina defended her dissertation "The Language of the Reims Gospel" at the University of Granada (Spain), which now is undoubtedly the most thorough study of the monument's language[12]. The researcher, summing up the studies of predecessors, singles out the following versions-hypotheses about the date and place of writing the manuscript:

1. Some experts date the Cyrillic part of the RG really as a manuscript of the 11th c. and associate it with the name of Yaroslav the Wise's daughter, Anna, who may have brought it with the rest of her dowry to France after her marriage to Henry I Capet. The legend appeared because during the French Revolution they learned about the library of Anna Yaroslavna, which consisted of many very old and extremely valuable manuscripts. This became known to J. Dobrovský. The idea was developed by Kopitar in the 19th c. and supported by L. Zhukovskaya in the 20th c.
2. Other researchers, mainly from the 18th and 19th cc. date the first part of the RG to the 11th c., but refer its creation to the name of St. Procopius from the Bohemian lands, who, according to the inscription at the end of the Glagolitic part, wrote this Gospel.
3. The third group of researchers believes that the RG is a Rus'ian manuscript, but of later origin (14th c.).
4. Finally, the fourth group considers the RG a Serbian text of the 11th c. (it was also proposed by Kopitar who presented several theories on the monument's origin)[13].

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[5] Léger L. L'Evangéliaire slavon de Reims dit: Texte du sacre. Édition facsimile… Reims, Prague, 1899

[6] Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие. История его изучения и текст. Предварительные публикации, вып. 114. М., 1978.

[7] Ротт-Жебровский Т. Кирилловская часть Реймского евангелия / Лингвистическое исследование. Lublin, 1985.

[8] Реймське Євангеліє Анни Ярославни. Александрович В. С. Львів: Видавництво «МС», 2010.

[9] Реймсское славянское Евангелие. Новое факсимильное издание (в 2 томах, в футляре) / под. рук. иером. Александра (Синякова). Эпине-су-Сенар, 2017. Докладніше про всі видання кириличної частини Реймського Євангелія див.: Григорий Приходько. История Реймсской славянской рукописи. Реймсское славянское Евангелие. Новое факсимильное издание (в 2 томах, в футляре) / под. рук. иером. Александра (Синякова). Эпине-су-Сенар, 2017. С. 26–33.

[10] Миронова Т. Л. Графика и орфография рукописних книг киевского скриптория Ярослава Мудрого / Москва, 1996; Миронова Т. Л. Хронология старославянских и древнерусских рукописных книг X–XI вв. Москва, 2001. С. 178-212.

[11] Миронова Т. Л. Хронология … С. 178.

[12] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims. Presentada por Elvira Bikkínina. Granada, 2009.

[13] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkínina, 2009. С. 8–9

L. Zhukovskaya was a consequent supporter of the remoteness of the Cyrillic part of the Gospel: "Meanwhile, the history of the RG seems to us in the following features. The book was written before the Ostromir Gospel, as the RG reflects to a lesser extent the East Slavonic recension of the script and text, which can be observed in the Ostromir Gospel of 1056–1057, in the Archangel Gospel of 1092, and in its classical form – in the Mstislav Gospel written at the turn of the 11th c. or at the very beginning of the 12th c.

We do not trace any dialectal features of the language in the RG. Therefore, most likely, it was copied in Kyiv ... We believe that such a manuscript as the RG could have been written in Rus' not later than the first half of the 11th c. In this case, the evident way of the RG to France – with Anna Yaroslavna, as part of her personal library, where the Gospel had to be one of the essential books at that time, or possibly arrived together with her personal priest.

It is noteworthy that in the RG the name Anna is written as **анна**. The same signature was used by Queen Anna Yaroslavna. This is an indirect evidence of the above-mentioned..."[14].

Based on the analysis of the artistic design of the oldest Rus'ian manuscripts, V. Putsko also refers the time of the RG creation to the period of Yaroslav's reign[15].

If we assume that the RG is a Rus'ian monument of the first half of the 11th c., then, of course, it is reasonable to compare its orthographic and linguistic features also with the oldest accurately dated manuscripts – the Ostromir Codex, Izborniks (Lectionaries) of 1074 and 1076, and the Archangel Gospel. Identifying the protographs of such an old monument, it is necessary to find out in more detail how accurately the scribe managed to convey the spelling and language of the original.

In East Slavonic palaeography, the idea has stabilized that the most ancient Old Slavonic recension is determined not by presence of specific, but just by absence of any local features. This is exactly what V. Shchepkin emphasized: "As for the so-called Old Slavonic recension, i.e. those few old manuscripts which language does not retain Rus'ian, Serbian or Middle Bulgarian features, the identification of this recension cannot be made quickly, on the basis of analysis of several lines of the manuscript: the Old Slavonic recension is characterized by negative features, and only after re-reading the manuscript to the end, we get the confidence that it really does not retain any Rus'ian, Serbian or Middle Bulgarian peculiarities"[16]. The Slavists rank 18 Glagolitic and Cyrillic manuscripts of the 10th–11th cc. among the oldest texts of the particular Old Slavonic canon.

Therefore, the analysis of the language of the Cyrillic part of the RG should be carried out toward revealing the presence or absence of purely Rus'ian (if the scribe was of Rus'ian origin) features in the context of the one copied from some old manuscript.

[14] Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие… С. 17.
[15] Пуцко В. Г. Славянская иллюминовая книга X–XI вв. Byzantinoslavica. XLVI. 1985. С. 149.
[16] Щепкин В. Н. Русская палеография. Москва, 1967. С. 33.

So, either the monument was copied in Kyiv in the first half of the 11th c. from an unknown Old Slavonic protograph and brought to France, not quite clear by whom and how, or later, in the 12th–14th cc., not quite clear where and by whom, from some Serbian protograph.

Both versions are hypothetical. If in Kyiv before the middle of the 11th c., then this is the oldest known book copied in Rus'. Its protograph could only be a manuscript, very close in time of creation to the era of Cyril and Methodius and their disciples. If we assume that the protograph is Serbian, then the time of its copying can be dated to the end of the 12th or 13th cc., as the oldest known Serbian monuments date just to this time.

I wish I could believe in the words of authoritative Ukrainian researchers: "According to the conclusions of the linguists, this is the oldest Kyiv recension of the translation of the Gospels, which precedes the codex of the Novgorod posadnik (governor) Ostromir, copied in Kyiv in 1056–1057. At the same time, the Menology, known as the Gospel of Reims, is the oldest original monument of Ukrainian book culture"[17], but these conclusions must be supported by concrete facts. The only thing with which it is probably worth agreeing with V. Aleksandrovych is that "the convolute, which comprises the folios of the Reims Gospel, has been little studied; as a monument of absolutely exceptional significance for the Old Kyivan tradition, it, in fact, is still outside the main sphere of scientific interests"[18].

Are there any reasons, after L. Zhukovskaya and V. Aleksandrovych, to associate the inscriptions of the name Anna in the text of the RG «и ѥ҃ѣ ана пр҃оуца» 6va, «ꙁачатие ст҃ѣ҃ї анѣ҃» 2vб with Anna Yaroslavna on the grounds that the queen used the same signature in one of the charters — ана?

The answers to these and other questions should be given by a detailed analysis of the orthographic and linguistic peculiarities of the monument.

Graphic and Orthographic Peculiarities of the Manuscript

It is clear that in the copied texts of the 11th c. a researcher will always find the features of spelling and language of the monument, depending on the place of copying and individuality of the scribe himself. These features, of course, should be consequent with the trends of the then book copying.

The oldest similar texts (11th c.) of the Holy Scripture were copied by the Rus'ians from the old Bulgarian-Macedonian protographs.

The description of graphic and orthographic features of the RG in the stream of adaptation of the old Bulgarian-Macedonian writing system for the Rus'ian ground in context of the analysis of ten Rus'ian monuments of the 11th–12th cc. was carried out by Imre Tóth[19]. Tatiana Mironova and Elvira Bikkinina also made

[17] Александрович В. С. Київські аркуші Реймського Євангелія // Реймське Євангеліє Анни Ярославни. Львів: Видавництво «МС», 2010. С. 5.

[18] Ibid. С. 19.

[19] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка в конце XI – начале XII вв. София, 1985.

a significant progress to fill the gaps in the study of spelling and language of the manuscript. These three researchers have made, probably, the greatest contribution to clarify the origin of the mysterious Cyrillic part. Unfortunately, for some reason, the list of references of two researchers did not include the last monograph by I. Tóth – in our opinion, an extremely important and unfairly ignored in the East Slavonic linguistics. That is why we carry out the analysis, taking into account the generalizations of the Hungarian Slavist's work and adding the conclusions of T. Mironova and E. Bikkinina. We should like to note that all the researchers in their studies did not take into account an obvious fact: the interpretation of the local Rus'ian lingual features attested in the manuscript in context of the formation and development of the Ukrainian language. In the monuments of the second half of the 11th c. such features are obvious. We point out this fact in the study.

Imre Tóth makes a generalization of 10 analysed manuscripts (including the RG) on the basis of description of orthographic and lingual features.

The linguist singled out 4 main orthographic features:

1) the use of letters ѫ ѭ ѧ ѩ /ѧ ѧ/ and their replacement by оу /у ꙋ/ ю ꙗ а. This phenomenon, peculiar to the Rus'ian recension, is found, first and foremost, in the manuscripts copied by Rus'ians;
2) the use of letters ь, ъ, which, despite the more correct spelling of these letters in Rus'ian monuments than in the Old Bulgarian ones, sometimes indicates a strong influence of the old Bulgarian writing system, which is difficult to explain in terms of phonetic processes occurring in the system of the Old Rus'ian language;
3) the use of iotated letters or absence of some of them dates back primarily to the Old Bulgarian originals;
4) the use or absence of diacritical marks which on the Rus'ian ground also had a number of specific functions[20].

I. Tóth notes that the RG has the most complicated way of writing in the nasal subsystem. There are many cases of confusion. The writing of nasal consonants is related to some examples that have provided the grounds to some scholars to interpret certain features as Serbian: врѧмѧ 7а, иана крьститѧлѧ 12б, ѿ назарѧфа 11в6. We believe that the Hungarian linguist's explanations of the first two examples concerning the assimilative influence of the succeeded syllable are quite reasonable[21]. Apparently, there is no need to look for another explanation for the third case. It is also noteworthy that in the Ukrainian monuments of the later period such confusions (ѣ – ѧ, ѧ – ѣ) often occur: вѣдеша оуношоу ... одѧна въ шдежю вѣлоу (instead of одѣна) 8v, жена раждаѥте дѣтѣ пеуаль имѣѥть (instead of дѣтѧ) 27 Eusebius Gospel (EG)[22]. H. G. Lunt and G. Shevelov considered the spelling

[20] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка… С. 74.
[21] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка… С. 109.
[22] Німчук В. Євсевієве Євангеліє 1283 р. як пам'ятка української мови. Євсевієве Євангеліє 1283 р. / Підгот. до вид. Г. Арполенко, З. Козирєва, Г. Лиса, В. Німчук, К. Симонова, Г. Щербатюк. К., 2001. С. 15.

ѥ/ѣ to be Serbisms in the RG in the following cases: на оученикъı своѥ 2va, ѿ нее же 4б, павлъшее сѧ звѣздъı 7vб, грѣхъı свое 10б, с оноѥ странъı 14a, посла ѣ 16a[23]. In fact, in Serbian monuments since the 13th c. such a change is often testified, but this pronunciation (*e* in place of **ě*) is also regular and longstanding for the North Ukrainian dialects, which will be discussed below.

On the basis of the analysis of the usage of *yuses*, Imre Tóth subsumes the RG under the two-*yus* ones, and consequently on the basis of a relative chronology, as this group includes the accurately dated Archangel Gospel, thus, accordingly, the Pandects of Antiochus, the Minaion of Dubrovsky, the Rus'ian part of the Sava's Book and the RG are dated by the author roughly the same period[24]. The use of only non-iotated *yuses* and the absence of ѩ grapheme became the basis in favour of the archaic origin of the monument in the conclusions of E. Bikkinina[25]. The historians of language convincingly substantiate the fact of gradual replacement of *yuses* by graphemes ѩ, ю, ѹ in the Old Rus'ian writing tradition. That is the older the Cyrillic text is, the more frequent is the usage of *yuses* and in accordance with etymology; at the same time, in due course we have more and more examples of either mixing *yuses* with ѩ, ю, ѹ, or avoiding them by scribes at all. In the case of the RG manuscript, we have the text where the graphemes ѫ and ѧ are used quite consequently and mainly according to etymology. The letter ѩ is absent at all, and ю is written by the scribe only twice. The graphic system with such a sequence of qualitative and quantitative use of *yuses* is unknown to any Rus'ian monument of the 11th c. That is, the analysed manuscript was probably created earlier than any other currently known Rus'ian texts written in Kyiv.

Among the graphic features, first of all, it is worth noting that the monument uses one-*yer* system. The absence of the letter ъ was almost the main reason for accepting the Serbian hypothesis of the RG origin. The oldest Serbian monuments, with few exceptions, before the 14th c. used a one-*yer* system (didn't know the letter ъ). E. Bikkinina rightly emphasizes that the acceptance of this hypothesis would automatically take the RG out of the 12th c., as the oldest Serbian texts are known only from the late 12th c.[26] At the same time, in the 11th c. such texts were little known in Rus'. Only in the Pandects of Antiochus of the 11th c., the Viktorov Leaf, Bychkov's Zlatostruy do we have texts with a one-*yer* (ь = ь, ъ) system and in the Life of St. Kondrat (ъ = ь, ъ) – with a graphic system. The one-*yer* Middle Bulgarian monuments date back to the Old Bulgarian ones. The predecessors with the exclusive use of ъ are the Undolsky Leaves and the Macedonian Cyrillic Leaf with predominance of the letter ь, which is a continuation of the Codex

[23] Lunt H. G. The Orthography of Eleventh Century Russian Manuscripts. Columbia University. Photomechanic reproduction. 1950/1980. P. 153; Shevelov G. The Gospel of Reims and the History of the Serbo-Croatian Language. Xenia Slavica. Papers presented to Gojko Ruzicic on the Occasion of his 75-Birthday. Mouton the Hague-Paris, 1975. P. 190.

[24] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 126.

[25] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 534.

[26] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 36.

Assemanianus[27]. Based on the way of writing the *yers*, B. Tsonev distinguishes 6 Bulgarian writing schools. The 4th one, with predominance of the letter ѣ, refers to the origin of the Codex Assemanianus and Macedonian Cyrillic Leaf; it originated in the northwestern part of Bulgaria, with its center in the Lesnovo Monastery. B. Tsonev called it the Zletovo-Kratovo school. It became especially widespread in Serbian monasteries. Therefore, it can also be called the Serbian school. B. Tsonev's classification, as I. Tóth notes, is not completely perfect. The newly discovered monuments do not fit into its parameters[28]. More appropriate is the classification by I. Gilibov who distinguished 4 early schools: the two-*yer* Cyril and Methodius school, the one-*yer* Preslav school with the use of ѣ, the two-*yer* Preslav school and the one-*yer* school with the use of ъ[29]. Based on the analysis of the works of I. Gilibov, I. Tóth concludes that "the one-*yer* manuscripts are older in origin, as it was previously interpreted in Slavic studies. The Preslav one-*yer* school with the use of ь, did not remain within the old Bulgarian capital, but was transferred to Serbia and formed the basis of Serbian script"[30]. In the Serbian writing system, this was found consequently. For example, in the Bychkov Psalter of the 11th c., the researchers consider probable the renewal of poorly preserved folios by an unknown Serbian scribe in the 13th c., who put the letter ь instead of ъ and in some cases ѥ instead of ѧ[31]. M. Durnovo, H. G. Lunt, and G. Shevelov interpret the one-*yer* script of the RG as Serbian influence[32]. But such one-*yer* script in Rus'ian monuments cannot be explained only by the influence of the Old Bulgarian or Serbian protographs on Rus'ian scribes. In the birch-bark Charters #109, 591, 778 – there is only ъ too[33]. We should also pay attention to the one-*yer* inscriptions in the graffiti of St. Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv – true, according to E. Bikkinina, also only with ъ[34]. However, recent research and dating of the oldest graffiti allow us to ascertain the following: from 1018–1022, the inscriptions with ь are known in place of those expected with ъ, for example, in the preposition вь[35]. Thus, any Serbian influence on the creation of the RG is out of the question. Rus'ians from Kyiv were familiar with the one-*yer* script with ь since the first quarter of the 11th c. Obviously, the one-*yer* Rus'ian texts could precede the two-*yer* ones – such as the Ostromir Codex, both Sviatoslav's Izborniks (Lectionaries), and the Archangel Gospel. After all, besides the RG, the one-*yer* script is used (though

[27] Цонев Б. Классификация на българските книжовни паметници от найстарото време до края на век. Годишник на Софиския університет за 1904/5 година. София. 1905. С. 12.
[28] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 133.
[29] Гълъбов И. Старобългарски език с увод в славянското езикознание. София, 1980. С. 29–33.
[30] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 134–135.
[31] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 47.
[32] Дурново Н. Рецензія на книгу Кульбакіна С. М. Палеографска и језична спитања о Мирославлевом јеванђељу. *Slavia*. №5. Praha, 1927. С. 565–571; Lunt H. G. The Orthography of Eleventh Century Russian Manuscripts… P. 153; Shevelov G. The Gospel of Reims and the History of the Serbo-Croatian Language… P. 188–189.
[33] Зализняк А. А. Древнейшая кириллическая азбука. Вопросы языкознания. № 2. М., 2003. С. 28.
[34] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 42.
[35] Никитенко Н., Корниенко В. Древнейшие граффити Софии Киевской и время ее создания. К., 2012. С. 83–89, 108.

not so consequently as in the RG) in the old Rus'ian monuments of the 11th c.: Bychkov's Zlatostruy, the Life of St. Kondrat, the Viktorov Leaf, and a fragment from the Pandects of Antiochus[36].

The Use of Iotated Letters

The RG belongs to the monuments of the Old Rus'ian writing system with a limited use of iotated letters. The letters ѩ ѫ ѭ are generally absent in the manuscript, ѥ – is used 12 times, ю – 2 times. According to the observations of I. Tóth, most likely the RG was copied from the East Bulgarian old original, to which were not peculiar iotated letters, and therefore sounds. For example, when writing є (in the protograph, obviously, there was only this letter), the scribe showed ingenuity and reflected the local South Rus'ian iotated pronunciation in two ways: a) put a diacritical mark; b) in some places he included in the text the writing of ѥ: рицѧхъ є҆го 2v, вѣдоуѧи ѥже 2v[37]. The use of є to convey both є and ѥ has led many researchers of the RG to draw conclusions about the Serbian origin of the manuscript, since the writing є in place of ѥ was typical in the old Serbian texts[38]. E. Bikkinina quite rightly admits only the similarity of the reasons for this phenomenon in the RG and Serbian monuments. The regularity of diacritical marks both in form and function, their large number, according to the researcher, point to the old age of the text and its proximity to a fairly early protograph, possibly of southwestern origin[39]. T. Mironova, emphasizing that the writing of ѣ in the texts to represent *[ja]*[40] is a characteristic feature of the old Cyrillic script, erroneously indicates that the meanings, which are expressed by the letter ѧ, in the RG are denoted either as ѣ: ѣко 12v, приѣша 7, or as ѧ: ако 9v, дивола 12v[41]. But there are no writings ѣко, приѣша in the manuscript. True, the scribe of the RG in several cases draws ѧ according to ѣ and є: врамя 7a, иана крьститѧля 12б, ѿ назарѧфа 11vб., but never ѣ according to ѧ.

Since the Cyrillic script was invented in Eastern Bulgaria, the absence of these letters was characteristic primarily of Eastern Bulgarian manuscripts. In the "primary Cyrillic alphabet", as most scholars admit, there were no iotated ѩ ѫ ѥ ѧ[42]. According to I. Tóth, the protograph in the "early Cyrillic script" convincingly indicates why there are no iotated letters in the RG. The analysis of the use of iotated letters in the RG allowed I. Tóth to draw a conclusion about the absence of iotated letters in the protograph too. The presence of ѥ and ю can indicate the iotated pronunciation of the scribe, first of all, of the initials *[je]*. According to I. Tóth, the scribe could have

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[36] Миронова Т. Л. Хронология … С. 178.

[37] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 170.

[38] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 75–76 з покликанням на: Майков А. А. История сербского языка по памятникам, писанным кириллицею, в связи с историей народа. М., 1857. С. 253.

[39] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 76.

[40] Миронова Т. Л. Хронология … С. 194.

[41] Миронова Т. Л. Хронология … С. 190-191.

[42] Селищев А. Старославянский язык. Т. 1. М., 1951. С. 38; Князевская О. Кириллица. Лингвистический Энциклопедический словарь. М., 1990. С. 222; Миронова Т. Л. Хронология … С. 190.

introduced the letter ю from the graphic system known to him earlier[43]. However, the conclusion about the early Cyrillic protograph for the RG is contradicted by other facts attested in the manuscript, which will be discussed below.

Diacritics

Many researchers believed that diacritical marks, which were borrowed from the Byzantine script and became a traditional feature of writing, rarely had any real meaning. Already in the 19th c., the scholars recognized the traditional nature of diacritical marks in later Slavic manuscripts, emphasizing their real significance in old manuscripts[44]. In the RG, the scribe puts diacritical marks both above vowels and consonants. Diacritical marks are placed inconsequently (on one folio they are either present or absent in the same positions: **мко мже** 1б, **своѥ имѣние** 2а, **ѥгда ... егда** 2vб., **имкова имковь** 3vа, **елеазара ѥльазарь** 4а, **вавилоньскааго ... вавилоноскаа̀го** 4б, **ѩ̀сифе** 4vа, **ѩ̀сифь** 4vб, **хвалмшийхъ ... гл҃хщиихъ** 5б and others), however, they are reasonable in the most cases: 1) to reflect the iotation of vowels: **кѵриакѵ ... свом̀** 1а, **м̀зъыкь ... мрьтвъым̀ ... прокаженъым̀** 1б, **ѥ̀м̀** 2а, **оубом̀вшисѧ** 2б, **блажени нищий** 2vа, **ѥгда** 2vб, **напоѩ̀ть** 3vа, **ѩ̀ехоним̀** 4а, **ѿ нѥѥ** 4б, **прьвоѥ** 4vа, **своѥмь** 5а, **женом̀** 5а, **радостьм̀** 7б, **ѩ̀ремиѥмь** 8а, **имѣ̀ше** 9vа, **ѥ̀дъı** 10б, **при корений** 11а, **исходмшиймь** 12vб, **ѥже ѥси** 15а, **вь м̀зилищи** 15vб etc.; 2) to denote *й*: **вскрѣшайте** 1б, **прийде** 2б, **ѥ̀й ... ѥ̀й** 2б, **лоудий** 2vа, **прийметь** 3б, **свой градь** 4vб, **прийдж** 5vа, **пойми** 8а, **дивий** 10б, **ѡ̀клеветайте** 11б, **нощий** 12vа, **покой** 13vб, **твой** 15а etc.; 3) above the initial or final vowel: **сепьтврм̀ ... йстоүь** 2а, **ѧ̀наним̀** 3а, **имм̀** 3б, **вьдмщѥ̀** 5а etc.; 4) above the conjunction *и*: **ѝ вьсж** 1а, **ѝ ѡ̀зирашесѧ** 2б, **ѝ дроүжинъı** 2vб, **ѝ ѕара** 3vб, **ѝ ѡ̀тьчьства** 5а, **повитъı ѝ ѝ положи** 5а, **ѝ вьзвратишасѧ** 5vа, **ѝ м̀ко** 6vа, **ѝ ѥ̀дъı** 10б, **ѝ ѡ̀ставль** 13б, **ѝ їжденоүть** 14б etc.; 5) above the initial *о*: **кь ѡ̀вьцмль** 1б, **ѡ̀ богатѣмь** 1vа, **ѡ̀ктем҃ь** 1vб, **ѡ̀брѣтьши** 2а, **ѡ̀цѫти** 2б, **ѡ̀трокь** 3а, **ѡ̀ моѥмь** 3б, **ѡ̀видь** 3vб, **ѡ̀битѣли** 5а, **ѡ̀смь** 5vб, **ѡ̀ ѡ̀троүмти** 7б, **ѡ̀нь** 7vб, **ѡ̀ хлѣвѣ** 12vб, **ѡ̀ немь** 15а etc.; 6) above the second letter which denotes a vowel: **посьлавьшаа̀го** 3б, **наа̀сонь ... роволма** 3vб, **идмаѫ** 4vб, **вьфлеѡмь** 5а, **гла̀аше** 6vа, **раа̀ждаетьсѧ** 7а, **иа̀нь** 10б, **авраа̀моү** 11а; 7) to reflect the reduced letters: **йсповѣдн҆икмь** 1vа, **дв҆ѣ** 2а, **невес҆ныхъ** 5б, **дв҆а** 6а, **дн҆им̀** 5vб, **ѿц҆а** 9vа, **ѿ дн҆ий** 16б.

Very seldom the scribe puts a diacritical mark when combining consonants: **їприкосно** 2а, **ѡктомьврм̀** 2vб., **ам҆нь** 3vа.

The scribe puts a diacritical mark also over the iotated **ѥ̀ ѩ̀**: **ѥ̀ѵстратиж̀** 2vб, **ѥ̀зрома** 3vб, **поүстити ѩ̀** 4vб, **вьпрашаѩ̀щь** 9б, **ѕнаѥ̀ть** 13vб, **нб҃сноѥ̀** 14а, **ѥ̀гда** 15а, **посла ѥ̀** 16vа even in the cases where there was no iotation **волѥ̀** 11б, which may attest to a search of graphical means for reflection of both the written in the protograph and local pronunciation.

There are some cases of putting diacritical marks above all or the most of the letters: **м̀а̀ѡ̀ѣм̀ ... йа̀нѝа̀** 1vб., 11vб, **евѵ̀нь҆їѓельм̀** 10а, **а̀в҆йѥ̀** 11vа, **а̀нѝа̀** 15б.

[43] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 170.

[44] Будде Е. К вопросу о надстрочных знаках в древнерусских рукописях. Филологические записки. Вып. 5. Воронеж, 1887. С. 5.

T. Mironova singles out another function of the diacritical mark in the RG, which is also peculiar to early Cyrillic texts – for reflection of the originally soft consonants: самар҃ѧнскъ 1, бл҃говол҃ение 5[45]. However, in the original manuscript, there are no traces of diacritical marks above the letters in these words. It means the softness of these consonants was not reflected by the scribe.

E. Bikkinina compares the use of diacritical marks instead of the dropped reduced letters with other manuscripts. The argument is that the texts of the late 11th c. contain a lot of such marks (in the Putjata Menaion – 1282 cases, in ArG – 466). The manuscripts of the 11th c. (OstrG, Izb 1073, Izb 1076, ArG) contain much more of them, as well as the marks between two consonants both in the borrowed words and native ones. The almost total absence of diacritical marks in place of inserted reduced letters in the RG speaks volumes about old age of the text[46]. That is, there are grounds based on the analysis of the use of diacritical marks in the RG to conclude that it was transcribed in the period when the tradition of diacritical marks had not yet stabilized – at least like it was in Kyiv's texts of the second half of the 11th c.

Division of Words

The inconsequence of word division (the RG clearly falls out of the number of monuments of the 11th c. by the final letter of the line because a lot of lines in it end with a consonant), in view of L. Zhukovskaya, as well as of G. Nikolaev and E. Bikkinina, may be indicated by the disorder of the then spelling: "numerous endings of lines with a consonant letter testifies not so much to the lack of competence of the scribe, as to the disorder of the spelling itself"[47]. French researcher M. Fougeron also considers the writing with nonobservance of the rule that the line should end with an open syllable a serious argument to consider the text of the RG older than the monuments dating from the second half of the 11th c.[48]

LANGUAGE PECULIARITIES

Reduced Vowels (*Yers*)

Imre Tóth tends to explain the absence of *o, e* in place of the etymologically strong ѣ and ъ by the live pronunciation of the scribe[49]. That is ѣ and ъ have not yet been vocalized. The protograph also did not contain *o, e* in place of the strong ѣ and ъ. The absence of reduced vowels in the roots дъв-, кът-, къниг-, мъног-, мьн-, уьт- is logical, because such spelling was not supported in related and other word forms,

[45] Миронова Т. Л. Хронология … С. 195.

[46] Биккинина Э. И. Особенности функционирования надстрочных знаков в Реймсском Евангелии X века. Русская и сопоставительная филология. Взгляд молодых. Казань, 2003. С.15–16.

[47] Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие… С. 17; Николаев Г. А., Биккинина Э. И. Из наблюдений над языком Реймсского Евангелия XI века. Вестник ВолГУ. Серия 2. Выпуск 4. 2005. С. 17.

[48] Марк Фужерон. О тексте кириллической части Реймсского Евангелия... С. 38.

[49] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 253.

where these reduced vowels would be in a strong position. Already in the oldest Macedonian monuments, the Codex Marianus and the Codex Zographensis, such examples without **ь** and **ъ** are quite frequent[50]. The loss of the reduced vowels for the scribe's language can be ascertained in those positions where these reduced vowels disappeared also in other monuments of the 11th c. The fate of the *yers*, according to I. Tóth, does not allow us to ascertain that the RG was written (copied – V.M.) prior to the Ostromir Gospel[51]. E. Bikkinina comes to a different opinion. Based on the analysis of the use of the grapheme **ь** (consistent preservation in etymological positions and absence of vocalization of *yers*), the researcher concludes that RG was created before the fall of the reduced vowels[52]. With the obvious sequence of writing **ь**, nevertheless several cases of mutual substitution **ь – ѣ, ь – о** are attested in the manuscript: **о** in place of **ь**: **вавилоньскааго ... вавилоноскаа̀го** 4б, **ь** in place of **о**: **роди вьоза ... воозь же роди** 3vб, **ѣ** in place of **ь**: **съмьонь ... съмѣнь** 6а, **ѥлеазара ельа̀зарь** 4а, and also in the text we have the way of writing where the scribe in a weak position draws a *yer* in **младеньцѫ** 7vб, and in the other case – **па̑ стхь младенць** 8vб, like the missed *yer* in a strong position in the word **ꙁль** 14б /CMar, MstG **зълъ**, Mat. 32/[53].

Extremely important for understanding not only the protograph but also the dialectal basis of the manuscript are the spellings of **ы** in place of **ь**. Most researchers either did not pay attention to this or commented on this change without taking into account the peculiarities of the Rus'ian (Ukrainian) writing school. I. Tóth finds parallels of the attested phenomenon in some Macedonian manuscripts: **повитъı и** 5а = **повитъ** CMar, **овитъı и** CAs; **пова̀тъı и** 12б = **повтъ и** CMar, **поıатъ и** CAs; **приатъı и роукоу** 15а = **приатъ ѥ на рѫкоу** CMar, it isn't peculiar to the CAs[54]. Let us clarify only that in the last example it must be written: **приатъı на роукоу** 15а. In the relevant fragments of Sava's Book copied in Bulgaria, such reflex is absent: **повитъ і** SB 137v, **і повтъ** SB 149, **приатъ і на роукоу** SB 138. These spellings in the RG gave grounds for the scholar to conclude that the protograph contained **ъ**, i.e. either the protograph was a two-*yer* one or one-*yer* with **ъ**. Only such prototext could comprise conditions for changing **ъ + j > ъ̂ + j**. This change is known to both the Old Bulgarian and Old Rus'ian monuments. However, in the Old Bulgarian ones, such assimilation is a relatively late phenomenon. Examples occur in the Codex Marianus and the Codex Suprasliensis[55]. Moreover, I. Tóth comes to the conclusion that a one-*yer* script could not necessarily reach some Old Bulgarian-Macedonian two-*yer* or one-*yer* **ъ**-protograph, but be a local Rus'ian orthographic phenomenon of such a writing school where **ь = ь, ъ**. M. Fougeron's explanation of this phenomenon

[50] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 254.
[51] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 262.
[52] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 536.
[53] Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. Изд. подгот. А. А. Алексеев, И. В. Азарова, Е. П. Алексеева, М. П. Бабицкая и др. Санкт-Петербург, 2005. С. 32.
[54] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 137.
[55] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 138.

(graphic reproduction of a phonetic phenomenon, well known in the Russian language as preservation of hardness of the final consonant of a preposition or prefix before the initial *u* of the root /ot̲ ₊igrat'/ > *отыграть*[56]) is out of place, as it relates to other processes and chronological periods.

The same assimilation of **ь** with the following **j**: **родитъ сн҃ь и нарекоути имѧ емоу** 4va = **нарекоуттъ имѧ** in the CAs is attested in the RG. It should be noted that only very few researchers, except I. Tóth, pointed to such a change in the RG precisely in the context of the assimilation of *yers* by the succeeded **j**.

This change, in contrast to the previous one, could occur only on the Old Rus'ian ground, as the ending **-ть** in the 3rd person singular present tense is inherent to the monuments of Rus'ian recension. The assimilations of both **ь** and **ъ** by the succeeded *j* became a characteristic feature of the Rus'ian (Ukrainian) texts of the Kyivan and Galycian-Volhynian schools. Such ways of writing are already peculiar to monuments of the 11th c.: Izbornik 1073 **потѧлъı и, приимъı и оставимъı и** 30a, **приведъı и** 77б, Archangel Gospel **потѧтъı и** 154, **примтъı и на роукоу** 156v, and become usual in the texts of the 12th—14th cc.There are many similar spellings in the texts of the Galician-Volhynian school: **вѣми и** Eusebius Gospel p. 72, Chełm Gospel 18v, **wсоудмти и** Dobrilovo Gospel p. 147, **имѧхоути и** DobG p. 160, **молѧхоути и ... слъıшахоути и** DobG p. 233, Buchach Gospel 14, ChG 65, **ѥмлѥти и** DobG p. 306, ChG 87зв., BuchG 50зв.; **видѣлъı и ѥси** EusG 80, ChG 21v, **привѣдохъı и** EusG 116, ChG 51v, **привєдохъı и** DobG p. 170, ChG 46, Lutsk Gospel 70, **поѥмъı и** DobG p. 416, **потѧтъı и** DobG p. 528, ChG 154v, EusG p. 259[57].We have attested especially many such spellings in the Lauryshava Gospel: **ь + j > ь͡ (и) + j**: **вѣми и** 29, **исповѣми и аz̑ъ** 47зв., **wсоудити и** 57, **недостоити ѥѧ, имѧхоути и** 70v, **молѧхоути и** 70v, 81, **гнетѧхоути и** 79, **слъıшати и** 81, **держахути и** 87v, **оуѕлюбити и** 95v, **ѥмлети и** 101зв., **да иждѥ͡ноути и, въдасти и** 101v, **въпрашахоути и** 109v, 111, 114, **поутети и** 137v; **ъ + j > ъ͡ (ъı) + j**: **видѣлъı и** 34, **прославихъı и** 35, **приведохъı и** 63, **wблекъı и** 156, **оубиимъı и** 68v, **приведохъı и** 73v, **ѿвѣщавъı і҃с҃ъ** 76v, **прославихъı и** 137v, **потѧтъı и** 161v, **видѣвъı и** 163, **повитъı и** 167v. O. Schachmatov even identified this change as a separate South Rus'ian dialect feature[58]. I. Tóth summed it up in the following way: "The assimilation of **tь + j > t͡ь + j** suggests to assume that in this case we are dealing with a real phenomenon, which indicates that the scribe of the RG spoke the southern dialect of the Old Rus'ian language"[59]. In the course of the given examples, numerous spellings become quite clear: *-ьj < (uj)*: **ст҃го григорьа** 1v, **поморьа** 2va, **братьа** 4, **до прѣселеньа** 4б, **марьа** 4v, **съ марьі҃ѧ** 5a, **ѻрожьі҃** 6б, **вж҃ьа**

[56] Марк Фужерон. О тексте кириллической части… С. 44.

[57] Мойсієнко В. Протографи і мова Лавришівського Євангелія. Лавришівське Євангеліє XIV століття. Видання факсимільного типу. Дослідження. К., Горобець, 2018. С. 444. See also the examples provided by Y. Shevelov: **отъ плодовъı(=плодовъ)ихъ, въı имѧ** (Izb 1073), **въı истиноу** (ArG), **видивъı и** (MG), **въı иномъ** (PA), **оубиимъı и** (HG), **молѧхомъı и** (The Chrestinopil Apostolos, 12th c.), **молихъı и** (The Uspenskij Sbornik, 12th c.). Шевельов Ю. Історична фонологія української мови. Харків, 2002. С. 354.

[58] Schachmatov A. Beiträge zur russischen Grammatik. Archiv für slavische Philologie. VII. Berlin, 1883. S. 73.

[59] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 139–140.

6vб, радостьѧ 6б, сь марьѣѧ мѷтерьѧ 7va, нощьѧ 7vб, до оумрьтвьıа 7vб, вьзьıпьеть 8va, василькъ 8vб, помсь оусньıмь 9vб, покаанькъ 10б, дьıволь 13a, лоудьѣ 13б, васильѧ … аньтоньıмь 13va. It is in the context of this change (rather than the scribe's mistake) that it is obviously worth commenting also on the two cases of reverse spelling ь < ъı: вьıвьши 5va /OstrG, ArG, MstG – въıвьшии,[60] See more Sava's Book въıвьшии 138/ та вьзлоубленьи мои 8va. /OstrG възлюбленъı мои, ArG възлюбленъıи мои, MstG възлюбленъıи мои, See more Sava's Book възлюбенъı моі 138v/. The following examples are also known in later Ukrainian monuments: ѿ чєтърь вѣтръ 54vб, со вуеникъ своими 117va, погъбъшаго 99a[61].

E. Bikkinina comments on this phenomenon in the context of the functioning of verb endings in -тьѣ[62] without reference to usual Rus'ian (Ukrainian) assimilations ь + j > ѣ + ь (и) + j, ъ + j > ъ (ъı) + j.

G. Shevelov considers the examples of assimilation ъ + j > ъ (ъı) + j in the Archangel Gospel приведоχъı и, поıатъı и, въı имѧ and others to be the spelling peculiar to the Kyiv texts of the 11th–12th cc. "It is even more similar to the texts written in the Kyiv region than copied from the Old Slavic originals."[63].

Obviously, the above mentioned phenomenon should be explained not only by the influence (perhaps of the Old Macedonian or Old Bulgarian protograph) but by the scribe's attempt to reflect the local Rus'ian (Ukrainian) pronunciation associated with the state of tense *yers* ь + j > ѣ + ь (и) + j, ъ + j > ъ (ъı) + *j*, which had a separate way of development in proto-Ukrainian dialects: *ŭ* and *ĭ* before j have not changed into ъ and ь, but preserved pronunciation close to [*i*], [*ы*][64]. Thus, the *yer* assimilation with the succeeding j, peculiar in the future to Ukrainian monuments, first of all Galician-Volhynian ones, has been probably revealed so clearly in the RG for the first time.

Reflexes of Proto-Slavic **tьrt *tьlt *tъlt *tъrt*

No spelling of the Rus'ian reflex of the Proto-Slavic **tьrt *tьlt *tъlt *tъrt* has been found in the RG. Complete dominance of the Old Bulgarian-Macedonian continuants is evident. According to the observations of I. Tóth, this feature is peculiar to all one-*yer* texts[65]. It is possible that different ways of transmitting such combinations as *tьrt* should be explained not so much by the influence of spoken language of the scribe, but by the different writing schools that existed in Rus'. We can assume that in spellings the scribe flawlessly followed the orthography of the protograph. However, the question arises: why did the copyist allow many orthographic liberties in other cases?

[60] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 621.
[61] Мойсієнко В. Протографи і мова Лаврішівського Євангелія… С. 444.
[62] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 226, 255–256.
[63] Шевельов Ю. Про так званий підпис королеви Франції Анни. Юрій Шевельов. Вибрані праці. У двох книгах. Книга І. Мовознавство. 2-е видання. К., 2009. С. 417.
[64] Шевельов Ю. Історична фонологія…С. 112.
[65] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 273.

Continuants **ě*

The *yat* reflection of the monument drew attention of the researchers long ago. The examples (**ни единоⷡ польꙁѣ** 2a /Sava's Book **ни единѣⷨ польꙁѧ** 134v, ArG **ни единоѣ же польꙁы** 138v/, **исцѣлѧше вьсѣ ... оуи свои на оученикы своⷡ** 2va, /SB **и цѣлѣше же всѧ ... оуи свои къ оученикомъ** 133) clearly testify to the typical Rus'ian phenomenon: spelling **ѣ** in place of **ѧ**[66]. Another eloquent example was ignored by researchers, where a Rus'ian scribe wrote a clear ending in the adverbial participle form accusative plural **стоѧщѣ** in accordance with the Old Slavic **стоѧщѧ: на трьжищи стоѧщѣ праꙁдьны**, and then corrected it into *-и* **стоѧщи** 16va-б /OstrG **стоѣѧщѧ**, ArG **стоѣаща**, MstG **стоаща**, CMar **стоѣаштѧ**[67]/. E. Bikkinina transliterated it in a wrong way **стоѧщь**.[68] In further writing practice of Rus'ians, the Old South Slavic reflex was often preserved: ArG **и цѣлѣаше всѧ ... оуи свои на оученикы своѣ** 134v, **исцѣлѧше всѧ ... оуи свои на оученикы своѣ** BuchG, p. 70, **исцѣлѣаше всѧ** DobG, p. 258. In the context of this change (but not phonetic) E. Bikkinina considers the spellings with **ѧ** in place of **ѣ вромѧ** 7a and **ѧ** in place of **ε иана крьститѧлѧ** 12б. She expresses the idea of evident Glagolitic protograph in which the grapheme **ѧ** was traditionally used to denote the letters **ѣ** '**а ѣ** (which is very probable — V.M.); therefore the scribe of the RG could retain such a spelling with **ѧ**, without replacing it with the Cyrillic **ѣ**[69].

An indisputable dialectal feature of the scribe of the RG is pronunciation of the former /ě/ as [e] and most likely as a diphthong [ie]. A number of examples confirm this: **и ѣ̇ды прѫгы** 10б /OstrG **и ѣдъı**, ArG **и ѣдъı**, MЄ **и ѣдъıи**/; **на оученикы своѣ** 2va /OstrG **на оученикъı своѧ**, ArG **на оученикъı своѣ**/, **грѣхъı своѣ** 10а,б /OstrG **грѣхъı своѧ**, ArG **грѣхъı своѣ**, MstG **грѣхъı своѣ**/, **ѿ неѣ же** 4б /OstrG **иꙁ неѧ же**, ArG **иж неѣ же**, MstG **иж неѣ же**/, **ѣавльшеѣ сѧ звѣꙁдъı** 7б /OstrG **ѣавльшаѣ сѧ звѣꙁдъı** ArG **ѣавльшеѣ сѧ звѣꙁдъı** MstG **авльшаа сѧ звѣꙁдъı**/, **с оноѣ странъı** 14a /MstG **с оноа странъı**/, **посла ѣ** 16a /OstrG **посъла ѧ**, ArG **послаⷡ ѣ**, MstG **посъла ѣ** /[70].

After the analysis of all the spellings related to /*ě/, I. Tóth comes to the following conclusion: "The phoneme */ě/* is pronounced as an independent in roots, suffixes and endings regardless of the phonetic environment. However, there is a noticeable and peculiar tendency of convergence of vowels *e* and *ě* in the root **ēd-* and in inflexions in the open syllable after j in place of /=the Old Bulgarian **ѧ**/. Undoubtedly, it was a peculiar feature of the scribe's speech, therefore it found its way into the manuscript"[71]. This was also pointed out by E. Bikkinina with a note that the change in the spellings of **своѣ** and **ѣ** is graphic in nature, while **ѣ̇ды** — a phonetic one[72]. The scribe confuses the letter **ε** with **ѣ** in both native **дрѣва** … **древа** 11a and borrowed words, and in place of

[66] Див. ще: La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 125.

[67] Евангелие от Матфея в славянской традиции. Изд. подгот. А. А. Алексеев, И. В. Азарова, Е. П. Алексеева, М. П. Бабицкая и др. Санкт-петербург, 2005. С. 106.

[68] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 684.

[69] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 126.

[70] Див. Suplemento 2. Tabla comparativa de mesiatseslovs del ER, EO, Ev.Arh. y Ev.Mst у дисертації: La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 595–686.

[71] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 299.

[72] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 129–130.

ѥ: **фарѣса** ... **фареса** 3vб. In the Commemoration on November 30 we read: **ищи срѣдъı сѣ̄тыѧ нѣдѣлѣ** 1vб. In the dictionary of the 10th—11th cc., the examples with **ѥ** in this word are not given, only with **ѣ** — **срѣдъı**[73]. Indirect proof of the e-pronunciation of the scribe in place of *ě is the correction where the copyist draws a letter **ѣ** after the erased letter **ѥ**: **м(ѥ>ѣ)ста** 5a, **пропов(ѥ>ѣ)дала** 10б. This is especially evident in the original manuscript in the second case. We should note that the continuants *ě found in the RG contribute to the solving the problem of the primary reflection of this phoneme in proto-Ukrainian, actually North Ukrainian dialects. In the Slavonic studies, there are several hypotheses about the sound realization of this phoneme in the Old Rus'ian period: as *ie* or *ê*[74] and the front, extended, in comparison with *e* reduced to *a*, which can be denoted as *ä*[75]. The examples from the RG confirm the assumption of an initially close, tense, and probably diphthongal pronunciation of the ancient *ě in the Rus'ian dialects of the Polissya area. This primarily applies to the positions of the beginning of the word and in the endings after ***j***. In the oldest Rus'ian (Kyivan and Galician-Volhynian) monuments, this feature is not rare: **гавльшенесѧ зв҃ѣздъı** ArG 145, **птицѣ небе̄нъıе** 34, **прѣнехавше** 38зв., **хлѣба есть** 56, **сп̄сные твоѥ** 129 EusG, **даите имъ въı єсти** 74v. Lauryshava Gospel, including the examples given by G. Shevelov: **от нее** ArG, **изъ нее** the 1151 cup of Volodymyr Davydovych, **новъıѥ** (acc., pl., masc.) DobG, **первоѥ** (gen., sing., fem.) **с(вѧ)тоѥ** (gen., sing., fem.) EusG, **семоѥ** Word of Ephraem the Syrian[76]. In other positions in Rus'ian (Ukrainian) monuments such change also occurs: in the graffiti of St. Sophia Cathedral — **розъгрѣмел(сѧ)**[77], in ArG 1073 — **въ вѣре** 8v, **гавънѣ** 12б, **тебе** … **тобе** 15vб, **вероу҃ж** 21va, **въ ѣфесе** 23vб. Let's point out that the following reflex *ě (a tense, close sound of heterogeneous articulation *i*ê*) is also peculiar to the North Ukrainian dialects now. Such spellings are unknown either to the Old Bulgarian or Old Macedonian monuments and are a direct work of Rus'ian scribes. Probably the scribe of the RG was one of the first to reflect this North Ukrainian pronunciation graphically?

Reflection of Old **i* (**и**) **y* (**ъı**)

There are several spellings that characterize the confusion of **ъı** = **и**: **моужь ѥ҃м правьдивь си** 4б, **оу҃лькь съı правьдьни** 6a, **оу҃лькь съıй̆ правьдьнь** 14vб, **и нъıже** 8a /Sava's

[73] Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков). Под ред. Р. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерки, Э. Благовой. М., 1994. С. 621–622.

[74] Крымскій А. Украинская граматика. Научно-практический курсъ сознательного изучения центрально-украинской рѣчи, освѣщенный указаними на важнѣйшие моменты изъ истории развития малорускаго языка начиная съ XI вѣка, особенно изъ истории нарѣчия восточно-малорусскаго (лтописнаго киево-черниговo-переяславскаго). Том I. М., 1907 С. 204ξ-204η; Филин Ф. П. Происхождение русского, украинского и белорусского языков: Ист.-диалектол. очерк. Ленинград: Наука, 1972. С. 165–167; Шевельов Ю. Історична фонологія української мови. Харків: Акта, 2002. С. 256–262; Жовтобрюх М. А., Русанівський В. М., Скляренко В. Г. Історія української мови. Фонетика. К.: Наук. думка, 1979. С. 232–241.

[75] Klemensiewicz Z., Lehr-Spławiński T., Urbańczyk S. Gramatyka historyczna języka polskiego. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965.C. 81. For more of all hypotheses on development of *ě in the Proto-Rus' lands, see: Мойсієнко В. М. Фонетична система українських поліських говорів у XVI–XVII ст. Житомир, 2006. С. 80–84.

[76] Шевельов Ю. Історична фонологія української мови. Харків: Акта, 2002. С. 257.

[77] Висоцький С. О. Київська писемна школа X–XII ст. Львів – Київ – Нью-йорк, 1998. С. 134.

Book **и ниже** 143/. In several cases, the scribe also confused **ъı = и**, but corrected the mistakes. Thus, on folio 8a in two words it is visible that the scribe, having made a mistake, immediately corrected it: **р(и>ъı)дание** … **раχ(ъı>и)ли**, and on the verso of the same folio — **кь н(ъı>и)мь**, 10a – **оуготов(ı>и)ть**. This is quite clearly seen in the original manuscript. O. Sobolevsky pointed out the cases of confusion *си* = *сыи*, *ныжє* = *нижє*, however, explaining this by negligence of the scribe of the RG[78]. It is known that such cases are also peculiar to the Middle Bulgarian monuments: **бл҃гостини, посилаıж** Slipchichi Psalter, **на милостъı твоѧ** Bologna Psalter, **слиша съкрıти** Glagolita Clozianus, as well as to the Serbian manuscripts[79]. At the same time it is undeniable that the scholars repeatedly attest this phenomenon already in the Rus'ian (Kyivan) monuments of the 11th c.: **непрaвди** 104v, **ти ли съмѣеши** 87, **плътолюбъıа** 135, **въıнъı** 154v, **ꙁемлıамѣръıи** 203v, **псалтира** 253v, **прикриваıє** 185, **посинѣти** 216 Izb 1073; **осъıрѣıж** 112v, **пронирливии** 249 Izb 1076; **постъıдъıтьсѧ** 80v, **години** 111, **рıꙁъı** 118, **рıбъı** 163 ArG[80]. It's not reasonable to explain these phenomena only by mistakes (misspellings) of the scribes or only by the influence of the Old Bulgarian protographs. Such spellings, typical for Rus'ian (Ukrainian) writing, as evidenced by the given information, are widely known since the second half of the 11th c. And it is evident that despite the possible graphic influence of protographs, these spellings reflect the Kyiv spoken language environment. And the RG's facts give ground to believe that this pronunciation could be common already in the first half of the 11th c.

Reflexes **tj *dj*

In the RG, in regard to **tj* we consequently have **щ**. In regard to **dj* such consequence is not observed. The following Rus'ian colloquial reflexes are attested: **стражѫщиихь** 2v, **рожтвомь** 3v, **рожьства** 3v, **стражоу** 5a, **рожьство** 4б, **рожьств(о)** 6v, **оухожıаше** 6v, **прѣже** 1a; 3a; 4a; 5v; 6a; 9a; 9v, **хожѧста** 9a, **исхожѧше** 10, **троужѧщиисѧ** 13vб, **жѧжѧщеи** 14a etc. 26 examples are found in total. Explanation of such reflexes **tj, *dj* only by the difficulty for Rus'ians to pronounce the sound combination **жд**, and the perception of a phoneme denoted by a letter **щ** as independent, is not the best one[81], because in similar words on the same folio, the scribe reflects different phenomena: **рожьство** 4б, **рождѣ̂** 4vб, but the spelling of *tj > **щ** is correct in all cases.

Inserted *[л']*

A characteristic feature of the Rus'ian recension of the Old Bulgaria texts is the introduction of a local spoken feature — inserted *л'* (if it was absent in the protograph) and its consistent preservation (if it occurred in the protograph). The RG invariably reflects the presence of epenthesis *л'* in the combination with various

[78] Соболевский А. Кирилловская часть Реймскаго евангелія. Русский филологический вестник. Т. XVIII. Варшава, 1887. С. 150.

[79] Карский Е. Ф. Очерк славянской кирилловской палеографіи. Варшава, 1901. С.317; Bikkinina E. 2009…, С. 133.

[80] Жовтобрюх М. А. Фонетика… С. 256; Шевельов Ю. В. Історична фонологія … С. 481.

[81] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 136.

labials: **приѥмлеть** 3а, **бг҃ѡмвление** 11vб, **колѣблемъı** 16а, **крѣплии** 10а and others. If the Old Bulgarian text served as a protograph, then the scribe of the RG consciously and consequently corrected the spelling without *л'*, because in most Old Bulgarian monuments known today this reflex is absent: **земья** Sava's Book, **любьяше** Codex Suprasliensis, **пристав'енье** Codex Zographensis, **въ кораби** Codex Assemanianus[82].

Reflex of Old **ort-*

This reflex, highly indicative for Rus'ian texts, is attested only once: **отроче же ростѥше** 6vб. Of course, it can be interpreted as manifestation of a local colloquial peculiarity of the scribe. We should note that in the following centuries the spelling with *ро-* in such cases occurred very rarely in the copied Church Slavonic monuments of Rus'ian recension; for example, in the Archangel Gospel (p. 575), Mstislav Gospel (p. 427), Dobrilovo Gospel (p. 726) is only **растѧше**, and the forms with **ро-** are not attested at all. E. Bikkinina supposes probable Western Slavic influence in this case[83]. However, in the context of colloquial features revealed in the monument it's not reasonable to look for any influences to interpret this phenomenon: it is a peculiar Rus'ian (Kyivan) linguistic feature which later became the norm of the Ukrainian language. The examples of changes of the initial **ра-** > **ро-** in the practice of the Kyiv school scribes are known from the middle of the 11th c.: for example, in the graffiti of St. Sophia Cathedral about thunder on March 3, 1052 **розъгръмел(сѧ)**[84], and also **розбоиникъ** 241, **розумѣти** in 1073 Izb 126[85].

We believe it's not reasonable to interpret the verb form **волить** 13vб only as a mistake with a root vowel *-о-* in connection with another *-е-* while finding this in the corresponding fragments of Sava's Book, Archangel Gospel **велитъ**[86]. This spelling is peculiar to both – the oldest Old Slavic monuments[87], and the texts of just Rus'ian recension[88]. Therefore, in the RG this word-formation can be considered both as a precise copy from the protograph and as a local Rus'ian linguistic peculiarity. Since the 15th c., in the Ukrainian language the verbs with a root vowel *-о-* are common phenomena: *wolity*[89], *волти*, *волєти*, *воліти*, *воляти*[90]; and finally they became the norm of modern literary standard language.

Various spellings in verbs with a prefix, derived from *и-ти*, such as **при-идоша – при-доша, при-ити – при-ти**, obviously should be explained both as the influence of protograph and as a manifestation of local Rus'ian (Ukrainian) colloquial language: **при-идоша, при-ити**. The latter became in further linguistic and scriptory practice of

[82] Хабургаев Г. А. Старославянский язык. – Москва, 1986. С. 60.
[83] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 134.
[84] Висоцький С. О. Київська писемна школа X–XII ст. … С. 134.
[85] Жовтобрюх М. А. Фонетика …С. 163.
[86] Марк Фужерон. О тексте кириллической части…С. 54.
[87] Slovník jazyka staroslověnského … Том 1. С. 210.
[88] Срезневский И. И. Словарь древнерусского языка. Т.1, Часть 1… С. 289–290.
[89] Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст. У двох томах. Том 1. К., 1977. С. 189.
[90] Словник української мови XVI – першої половини XVII ст. Вип. 4. Львів, 1997.С. 219.

Rus'ian scribes first a *usus* and later a norm: **приидоша** 2va /**придошѫ** OstG, **придоша** ArG, **придоша** MstG/; **приидоша** 6vб /**придошѫ** OstG, **придоша** ArG, **придоша** MstG/[91]; **ѡтиидє** (E. Bikkinina, by mistake, metagraphed as **отидє** in the RG) 7vб /**отидє** OstG, **отидє** ArG, **отидє** MstG/[92]; **прииде** 10vб /**приде** OstG, **приде** ArG, **приде** MstG[93], SB 146v/; **приидоша** 11б, /ArG **придоша** 151v/, **прииде** 11vб, /SB 147v, ArG 152v **приде**/, **приидеѭ** 15a /SB 139, ArG 156 **приде**/. In the dictionary *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* there is no single example with **при-ид-, при-ит-, от-иид-** in the Old Slavic monuments of the 10th—11th cc.[94] In the Ukrainian manuscripts of the late 11th—14th cc. such spellings became a peculiar orthographic feature[95].

Morphological Features

Morphological features which characterize the spoken language of the scribe are reflected poorly in the monuments of the 11th c. in general. For example, A. Sokolova, a researcher of the Archangel Gospel, noting a special significance of the monument for the study of the Old Rus'ian sound system, indicated that in regard to morphology it was nothing special in comparison with other ancient texts of both the Old Slavonic and Old Rus'ian languages[96]. In general, such a conclusion is also quite relevant to other monuments of this period.

However, in the RG, a number of features have been identified, which, to some extent, point to the local Kyivan Rus'ian linguistic usage of the manuscript's creator.

Verb forms in the present tense, the third-person singular and plural, in the studied fragment of the RG give grounds for certain conclusions about the language environment of the scribe. In several cases, we find forms without *-ть*: **принесѫ** 2vб, **насъытѧ сѧ** 14. Imre Tóth also adds the form in singular — **крьсти сѧ** 11vб to such formations, confirming it by a corresponding fragment from OstG **крьститъ сѧ**[97]. However, it is hardly possible to consider this verb as a present tense form. Obviously it refers to the past completed action — aorist /compare also **крьсти сѧ** in ArG 152v/. Finally, this reading according to Mark 1:9 **в онъı ѓприиде їс ѿ назарѣфа гаѓлѣискаго и крьсти сѧ ѿ иана** 11vб in all present-day editions of the Holy Scripture is translated as follows: "In those days Jesus came from Nazareth of Galilee and was baptized by John in the Jordan". But the absence of inflexion ***–ть*** in the verb forms, plural, indisputably gives grounds to conclude about the reflection of the spoken language feature of the scribe. E. Bikkinina points to only

[91] Suplemento 2. Tabla comparativa de mesiatseslovs del ER, EO, Ev.Arh. y Ev.Mst y дисертації: La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 628.

[92] Ibid. C. 633.

[93] Ibid. C. 644.

[94] Slovník jazyka staroslověnského … Том 2. C. 583, Том 3. C. 315–318.

[95] For example, 6 word-forms are attested in the ArG with **при-ид-, при-ит-** C. 563, 564. See also: Німчук В. Євсевієве Євангеліє … С. 22; Німчук В., Осінчук Ю. Бучацьке Євангеліє XII–XIII ст. ... С. 23; Мойсієнко В. Протографи і мова Лаврішівського Євангелія …С. 445.

[96] Соколова М. А. К истории руського язика в X веке. Известия по руському язику и словесности. Т. III. Кн. 1. Л., 1930. С. 122.

[97] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 320

one example **принесѫ**[98]. We will add also **ѿидоу** 5a–5va. M. Fougeron adds another example to this type of phenomena: **приидѫ подвигъшесѧ и обрѣтѫ мр҃ѫ**. The same verb forms are also in Sava's Book[99], which may indicate a certain common protograph for both manuscripts, in case the RG is really a monument of the first half of the 11th c. Although in the corresponding fragments of the Ostromir, Archangel, and Mstislav Gospels we have usual forms of aorist: **придоша обрѣтоша**[100]. In the Rus'ian (Ukrainian) writing tradition, the spelling with truncated endings becomes a common frequently used phenomenon[101], and in the form of the third-person singular, in due course – the norm of literary language.

Most researchers did not pay attention to the spelling **аще бо прикосноусѧ ризахъ ѥго є сп҃сена бѫдоу** 2a. E. Bikkinina mistakenly metagraphed this fragment without **є**: **ризахъ ѥго сп҃сена бѫдоу**[102]. We do not find anything about this part of the text in characterizing the morphological features in I. Tóth's works either. M. Fougeron comments it, however, as a mistake. According to the French researcher, the scribe mistakenly wrote the letter **є** instead of the conjunction **и**; he also admits it as a possible remnant of the former conjunction **поне/понѣ**, confirming it by the corresponding spelling in ArG: **аще бо прикосноу сѧ понѣ ризѣ ѥго сп҃сена боудоу**[103]. It is unreasonable in this case to consider **є** a remnant of the conjunction **поне/понѣ**. Similarly, the spelling of double **є** in the phrase **сь бо є есть** 16a seems to be a mistake. Despite of obvious and numerical mistakes made by the copyist of the manuscript, it should be taken into account that the verb-connection from **бъıти** (**есть** pres. tense, 3rd p.) in Rus'ian Kyivan monuments was often transmitted as **є**: **ѹьто є тебѣ** … **ѹьто есть тебѣ** 53v–54, **ѹьто є нама и тебѣ** OstG 65зв., **ѹьто є тебѣ** … **ѹьто є тебе** ArG 22, **мѡноготочгливъ є, понєже є знои** in Sinai Patericon of the 11th c.[104] At the same time, we do not exclude the influence of the old protograph, for example, in OstG, where the scribe copied the text very precisely, because such writings are attested in the old Bulgarian and Macedonian manuscripts[105]. Later, these cases in Ukrainian monuments also occur in fragments where the corresponding spellings in the old prototexts are not attested: **нѣ се ли є сн҃ъ дрѣводѣлинъ, въпрошаше ѥго ѹто ти є имѧ ДЄ**[106], **се въистиноу изл҃итѧанинъ є, истіньнъ є свѣдитѣльство**, even in the form of 2-nd p. **тъı ли є цр҃ь ЄЄ**[107], **воистиноу є сь бъıлъ с ними** LaurG 121.

With obvious similarity of this word-formation in a number of texts copied by Rus'ian scribes from the protograph, we should assume that such occurrences

[98] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 226.
[99] Марк Фужерон. О тексте кириллической части … С. 39.
[100] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 622.
[101] Німчук В. Євсевієве Євангеліє 1283 р. … С. 33; Осінчук Ю. Живомовні риси в Добриловому Євангелії 1164 року. Добрилове Євангеліє 1164 року. / Упорядник Ю. Осінчук. Відп. ред. В. Німчук. Львів, 2012. С. 32; Мойсієнко В. Протографи і мова Лавришівського Євангелія … С. 448.
[102] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 599.
[103] Марк Фужерон. О тексте кириллической части … С. 39.
[104] Срезневский И. И. Словарь древнерусского языка. Т.1, Часть 1. Репринтное издание. Москва, 1989. С. 206.
[105] Slovník jazyka staroslověnského. / Hlavní redaktor Jozef Kurz. T. I. Praha, 1958. C. 154.
[106] Осінчук Ю. Живомовні риси в Добриловому Євангелії 1164 року. Добрилове Євангеліє 1164 року. / Упорядник Ю. Осінчук. Відп. ред. В. Німчук. Львів, 2012. С. 32.
[107] Німчук В. Євсевієве Євангеліє 1283 р. … С. 33.

— **ѥсть** > **ѥ** — could reflect also the then Rus'ian spoken dialect, as evidenced in the Ukrainian monuments of later times: *є напысано* (1400 charter)[108]. Finally, such pronunciation and spelling of this verb form became the norm of the Ukrainian language.

Peculiar to the oldest monuments of the Rus'ian recension of the Church Slavonic language is the inflexion -**ѣ** in genitive case, singular, and in nominative and accusative cases, plural, of the **jā**-stem nouns. In the Old Slavonic ones, the **-ꙗ(ѧ)** is predominant. In the RG, there are several such ways of writing with peculiar Rus'ian ending: **сѣ̄тыѧ нєдѣлѣ** 1vб, **ни єдино пользѣ** 2a /SB **ни єдиноѧ пользѫ** 134v/, **правъı творитє стьзѣ є҆го** 9vб, 10vб /SB 145v, 146v, ArG 149, 151 **стьзѫ**/.

One of the characteristic features of the Rus'ian recension of the Church Slavonic monuments is presence of contracted imperfect forms: **искаше** 2va, **глаше** 2va, **бѧше** 6vб, **идѧше** 7б, **исхожѧше** 10a and others. According to estimates by I. Tóth, there are 49 of them (6 not contracted), and among 10 manuscripts studied by the scholar, it is 66% of such spellings[109]. In fact, the scribe of the RG introduced the Rus'ian spoken usage into the Church Slavonic text.

Some observations were made by scholars on the basis of the study of the vocabulary of the monument. A scrupulous analysis of use of certain lexemes by the scribe, in particular **прѫгъı** 'locust', **вьзвѫзѫ** 'strings, straps', **льна** 'wick' /not attested in the ancient Old Slavic manuscripts, only a derivative **льнѣнъ** CSupr/, **сребреникоу** 'minor silver coin' /among Rus'ian menologies it is attested only in the RG/, **истоуь** 'source' /not attested in the ancient Old Slavic and Rus'ian monuments/ in corresponding contexts and with indicated semantics allowed E. Bikkinina to draw a conclusion about the remoteness of the manuscript origin and about its copying from the protograph, possibly close to the Greek original[110]. In the course of the above-stated, it is necessary to mention about using by the scribe of the RG the lexeme **трѣбѫ**, which in the similar fragments of OstrG, ArG, MstG corresponds to **трѣба**.[111] According to M. Fougeron's observations, the same lexeme was also found in the Yuriev Gospel[112], which was copied in Kyiv in the early 12th c.

Characterizing the linguistic and orthographic features of the RG, one cannot ignore the fact pointed out by L. Zhukovskaya: the complete coincidence in the spelling of the name **ана** in the text of the manuscript (twice **ана** and **анѣ**) and in the Charter of 1063, granted to the Abbey of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand in Soissons by the royal chancery on behalf of the eleven-year-old king of France Philip I, — **ана ꙗънина**. The orthography of the word **ꙗънина** corresponds to the Kyivan writing tradition of that time (taking into consideration a peculiar articulation of **ŭ* (ъ) > *ў* in

[108] Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст. У двох томах. Том 1. К., 1977. С. 144.

[109] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 322–324. E. Bikkinina identifies 50 and 4, respectively. See.: La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 227.

[110] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. С. 361–371; 394; 500–501.

[111] Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков). Под ред.. Р. Цейтлин, Р. Вечерки, Э. Благовой. Москва, 1994. С. 705–706.

[112] Марк Фужерон. О тексте кириллической части … С. 43.

proto-Ukrainian, in particular Kyiv dialects; such a record in the then France could be made by one of the representatives of the Kyiv writing school), as was proved by G. Shevelov[113]. At the same time, in order to attribute the RG, it is necessary to take into account the fact that in the text of the manuscript, in the graffiti of the middle pace of the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv[114], and in the French charter, the name Anna is written in the same way — **ана**. This does not give grounds to state about the travel of the RG to France together with Anna, but to confirm that the manuscript was copied in the Kyiv scriptorium during the lifetime of Yaroslav's daughter in Kyiv.

The researchers haven't paid attention to the typical Rus'ian spelling of the names: **коѹзьмъı и дьмьѧна** 1a /**козмъı и дамиѩна** SB 133v **козьмѣ и дамиѩноу** OstG 239v, **козмъı и дамиана** ArG 137, **козмъı и дамиана** MstG c. 233, **коѹзмъı и демьѧно** Galician Gospel 245v, **козмъı и дамиѩна** DobG c. 533, **козмъı и демиѩна** ChG 157v, **коѹзмъı и дамиана** Orsha Gospel 127, **козмъı и демьѧна** EusG c. 273, **кѹзмъı и демьѧна** LaurG 165/. We observe an evident similarity in spelling of these names in the later (12th—14th cc.) tradition of Kyivan and Galician-Volhynian schools.

To understand the designs of individual letters by a Rus'ian scribe of the first half of the 11th c. in particular and the use of such orthography in general, we must take into account the fluid nature of the writing system of that time. The Kyiv alphabet on the walls of St. Sophia Cathedral, discovered by S. Vysotsky, can serve as a proof of this. In the alphabet, there are no several letters to denote the vowels **ѣ, ь, ъ, ы** and consonants **ѵ, ц**. The scholar dates the creation of this disordered alphabet by Rus'ian to the period before the adoption of Christianity — probably in the 9th c.[115] This fact may, to some extent, shed light on the design in the RG of the known and obvious to the scribe letter **ѥ** (to denote a comprehensible sound [*ê*] or [*i̯ê*]), but not the expected **ѣ**, as in the protograph, in place of **ě* in the words with a familiar to the scribe north-Ukrainian pronunciation [*йеди*], [*свойе*], [*онойе*], as well as the one-*yer* system of the manuscript.

In conclusion, we should note, first of all, that two scholars who have dedicated special studies to the research of orthography and language of the Reims Gospel — Lydia Zhukovskaya and Elvira Bikkinina, as well as two other scholars in the context of analysing a wider range of monuments of the 12th c. manuscripts — Imre Tóth and Tatiana Mironova, unambiguously associate its creation with Southern Rus'. The summaries by L. Zhukovskaya were presented above. The final conclusion by I. Tóth: on the basis of the analysis of the Old Rus'ian dialect features of the RG, the monument was copied in the southern part of Rus', although not in Kyiv, but on the periphery[116]. Concerning the time of the manuscript creation, the Hungarian Slavist is less categorical, pointing out that it could have been created in the 11th c.

[113] Шевельов Ю. Про так званий підпис королеви Франції Анни …С. 416–420.

[114] V. Korniienko believes that this graffiti was written by Anna herself. See: В'ячеслав Корнієнко. Графіті Софії Київської XI – початку XVIII ст. К., 2014. С. 29.

[115] Висоцький С. О. Київська писемна школа X–XII ст. К., 1998. С. 36–37.

[116] Имре Тот. Русская редакция древнеболгарского языка … С. 341–342.

T. Mironova's conclusion: a historical legend connects the RG with the name of Anna, daughter of Prince Yaroslav the Wise, who became the wife of Henry I, King of France, and took this Gospel with her. It is obvious that the Rus'ian princess took not just a liturgical book with her; the researcher tends to assume that a precise replica of the Old Slavic Evangelical codex, sanctified with the names of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, was made to be included in the dowry of Anna Yaroslavna. Probably, the then living legend derived this manuscript from the works of the holy brothers, equals to the apostles[117]. E. Bikkinina's final conclusion: the RG was copied by a Rus'ian-speaking person, most likely in Kyiv before 1041. In this case, the legend that the manuscript belongs to the library of Queen Anna Yaroslavna is confirmed by the language of the monument. Therefore it's highly probable that being married to King Henry I, Anna brought this Gospel with her to France. The results of the study enable to confirm that the RG is the oldest of the survived Rus'ian Gospels[118].

The analysis of graphic-orthographic and linguistic features of the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel, as well as the research materials of language historians and palaeographers who devoted separate works to the study of the RG allow to conclude:

1. The large number of mistakes made by the scribe attests not so much to his lack of education, but more to the lack of practice of copying such manuscripts (for example, he probably did not hear at all some new words and Christian names, so he wrote: **проклоума · ѧимоу** (instead of **проклоу · маѧимоу**) **па̑ смоона** (instead of **симеона**) 1vб **ꙁлато и ливано** 7va / CAs, SB – **ливанъ** гр. λίβανος 'ладан'/[119]) and, obviously, to the disorder of the then Rus'ian orthography and instability of the Rus'ian alphabet itself. Finally, a number of attested spellings allow us to state about certain tendencies, even the rules used by the scribe: he never made a mistake in rendering sonorant + liquid clusters – he always writes **ь** after **р** and **л**; no cases of deviation in the writing of reflexes ******tj* – we consistently have the occurrance of **щ**; almost unmistakably (the only case without **ь** is found in the word **смрьти** 6a) **ь** is written in the prefixes **в** -, **с**- and prepositions **в**, **с**; the scribe never used the pleophonic forms, which, apparently, he should have heard in Kyiv at that time.
2. In spite of numerous mistakes, the scribe was skilled in his craft and tried to do the job very properly. This is confirmed by numerous corrections from wrong to right forms: **ид(ѣ>о)ша** 2a, **прик(оу>о)сноу** 2б, **сь миро(ь>о)мь** 2б, **ѳ(у>ø)уи** 2va, **(і>ø) и вьꙁиграѣсѧ** 2vб, **прав(и>ь)дивь** 4б, **(і>ѣ)льманоуиль** 4va, **ѣако (і>ø)же** 5vб, **вид'кв('к>ь)ще** 5va, **уѧстїи(ø)вь** 6a, **ливан(ь>о)** 7va, **пропов(ѣ>'к)дав** 10б, **(к>г)рѧдеши** 12a and others. This is clearly visible on the folios of the original, but the photocopies in some cases contain only gaps. What's more, these corrections are made

[117] Миронова Т. Л. Хронология … С. 199.
[118] La lengua del Evangelio de Reims … E. Bikkinina, 2009. C. 511.
[119] Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)… С. 306.

with the same hand. But we should note that on the folio 3v –4 ѳ ф instead of ф in a few words was written by some other hand.

3. A significant number of misspellings and obvious mistakes – on the one hand, did not prevent the scribe in a number of cases from "making mistakes" in the direction of the local Rus'ian, Kyivan, colloquial environment – on the other. Reflexes **ě*, **dj*, **ort-*, *ъ/ь+j*, *verb forms with reduced endings, contracted imperfect forms,* and some others, clearly indicate the presence of these features in the scribe's speech. All the identified Rus'ian dialect features are confirmed by the same cases recorded in the following Ukrainian monuments from Kyiv and Galicia-Volhynia, dating to the 11th–14th cc., as well as materials from the Ukrainian dialects. So, we cannot agree with L. Zhukovskaya's conclusion: "In the RG we don't see any dialect peculiarities"[120].
4. The number of such "mistakes", which can be interpreted as a reflection (conscious or unconscious) of the local dialect, in a rather small amount of text, compared to the Rus'ian manuscripts of the second half of the 11th c., is impressive (one can only imagine how many of them would be in a full version of the Gospel). Obviously, if the RG scribe had copied the text from the Cyrillic protograph, there would have been less these linguistic and spelling "errors". It is probable that the copyist didn't transfer the Cyrillic text mechanically, but transliterated it from another alphabet, not quite understandable for him. At that time, for the Rus'ian from Kyiv this could be the Glagolitic script.
5. The conclusions about copying the monument not by a Rus'ian (for example, by a Serbian) should be denied. The hypothesis about the Serbian protograph of the RG is not confirmed either.
6. Nothing definite can be said about participation of a Moravian representative in the creation of the monument. The only phenomenon that can be interpreted as a Bohemism is the change of *з* > *ж*: сила иж него 2va. The following spellings are known in the Kyiv Glagolitic Folios of the 10th–11th cc., which creation is rightly associated with Moravia: *възжлюблєнъиѭ*, *бєж нєго*[121]. In the researched monument, no other reflex which could indicate the Moravian origin of the manuscript has been attested.
7. The Reims Gospel is a Rus'ian monument, copied (transcribed) by a Kyivan, most probably a speaker of the Northern Ukrainian (Polisian) dialect of that time.
8. The orthography of the manuscript doesn't give grounds to date it after the 11th c. Its comparison in orthographic features with the precisely dated OstG, Izb 1073, Izb 1076, ArG, on the contrary, has every reason to generally testify to the earlier time of the RG creation, as it clearly stands out due to a number of distinctive spellings: *one-yer system, line endings in a vowel or a consonant, almost complete absence of iotated letters, use of diacritical marks.*

[120] Жуковская Л. П. Реймсское евангелие… С. 17.

[121] Німчук В. В. Київські глаголичні листки. К., 1983. С. 41–42.

The monument was created at a time when there was no established Old Rus'ian recension of Church Slavonic language. Evidently, the scribe himself was creating the Rus'ian written usage and was untroducing the orthographic Rus'ian writing features. The tradition of the RG copyist was not picked up in Rus', perhaps only because this Gospel disappeared (was taken out?) very quickly. The orthographic usage, and later the norm, wias set in Rus' by other texts of the middle of the second half of the 11th c., which were soon scrupulously copied from the Cyrillic protographs.



Icon of St. Procopius of Sázava, and the Sázava Monastery (present-day view)

Poulina Yanitskaya

THE ILLUMINATION OF THE REIMS GOSPEL

The Reims Gospel is a manuscript that generates more mysteries than answers for the scholars who research it. Today there are a lot of hypotheses concerning where it was created, with whom and when it started its travels to the countries of Western Europe. This small-scale parchment codex consists of two asynchronous parts; the first was made in Cyrillic script, not later than the mid-11th c., and the second – in Glagolitic, in Bohemia in 1395, when a new version of the authorship of the oldest part of the manuscript was crystallized. In particular, the master, who accomplished the Glagolitic part, reports the exact date of work completion at the end of the manuscript, and also notes that the scribe of its oldest part was saint Procopius of Sázava.

The figure of St. Procopius (970–1053), the founder and abbot of the monastery in Sázava, stands out among the host of especially revered Czech saints. His cult was formed shortly after his death in 1053, and he was canonized by the Catholic Church in 1204. The Sázava monastery also gained a special significance for the lands of Bohemia because, it is believed, the Cyrillic manuscripts were created in it and because St. Procopius was a follower of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. The monastery, despite its Benedictine statute, remained the centre of Slavic writing in Bohemian lands. It is also known that the monastery had close contacts with the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra, and relics of Sts. Borys and Glib were preserved at one of its altars[1].

Close contacts between these two powerful Christian centres of Slavic culture contributed to the development and spread of the Great Moravian book tradition in Rus'-Ukraine. In particular, stylistic similarities in the Cyrillic part of the Reims Gospel can be clearly traced in the oldest parts of such manuscripts as Sava's Book of the 11th–13th cc.[2] or the Codex Zographensis, also dated from the 11th–13th cc.[3]

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[1] Сказания о начале Чешского государства в древнерусской письменности / Предисл., коммент. и пер. А. И. Рогова, отв. ред. В. Д. Королюк. М.: Наука, 1970. С. 10, 14.

[2] Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, f. 381, op. 1, od. zb. № 14.

[3] Department of Manuscripts of the Russian State Library, Glagolitic. № 1.

One example of how these manuscripts are similar to the Reims Gospel is in the execution of initial letters, where you see "girdling" of the vertical stem of the letter, close to its middle. Similar "girdling" can be observed among the graffiti on the walls of St. Sophia of Kyiv[4]. A second example is similarity in ornamental motifs of ornate narrow horizontal inserts.

It should be noted that all pages of the Reims Gospel are distinguished with unassertive artistic forms and, at the same time, exceptional elegance of ornamental solutions. The Cyrillic part is decorated with five small ornate horizontal headpieces on pages 1, 3, 16, 28 and 32. They are similar in ornamental composition, with wide intertwined lines which sometimes have pointed branches. All horizontal headpieces span the width of the handwritten column and are flanked by exquisite finials which gradually taper to a thin flourish, reaching the page margins and pointing upward and downward.

However, the headpieces on the last two pages (28 and 32) differ from one another and from the décor of other pages. The headpiece on page 28 looks like nine small quadrates with crossed orange diagonals and blue four-pointed crosses inside. These noticeably geometric shapes set it apart from the general style of the page design; so it seems that just this particular headpiece was created by another master. The bloomer (illuminated initial letter) scribed below corresponds to the general concept of a décor with alternating blue and orange intertwining, as well as "girdling" of the vertical component of the letter.

The decorative headpiece on page 32 can be compared to an exquisite monogram. It is made in the shape of an inverted figure eight, "girdled" by a ring in the centre; the pointed branches are more like the feathers of an exotic bird. The headpiece was not finished completely, as it is made only in orange, or rather, a coral tincture, just like the bloomer below it. Most likely, the master worked primarily with a red pigment, filling the appropriate segments of ornament.

It is worth noting that medieval masters preferred to use pigment mixtures to achieve certain colours. Paints were composited of plant and mineral pigments mixed with various adhesives, most often egg white for green and some types of red pigments and ceruse. Gum was used for other pigments as well as stronger adhesives, such as fish glue for work with gold[5].

Most of the initial letters are made in a similar decorative way. It is an intertwining of orange and blue, which extends into exquisite quirk. It should be noted that some bloomers only have contour lines, indicating the work was interrupted. Thus, some letters have only embryos of colour, and some lines have initial processing before applying a paint layer. This is especially noticeable in comparison with other, "clean" lines of words. For some reason, the illuminator of the Cyrillic part of the Reims

[4] Корнієнко В. В. Корпус графіті Софії Київської (XI – початок XVIII ст.). Ч. VIII: Південні внутрішня та зовнішня галереї. К., 2018. Табл. CCXLVI, 1; CCCV 1, 2.

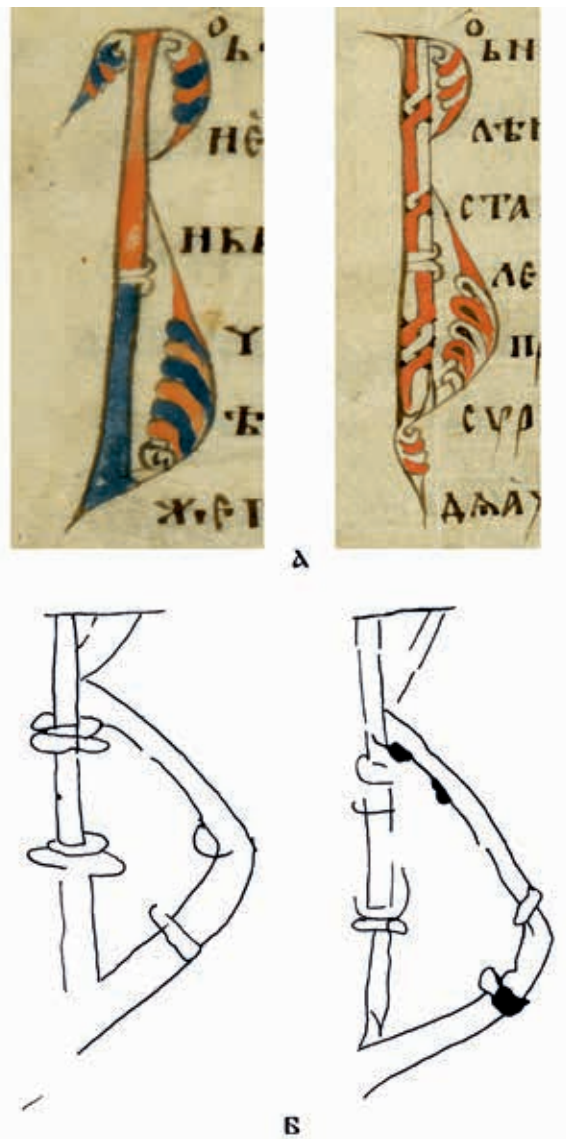
[5] Мокрецова И. П., Наумова М. М., Киреева В. Н., Добрынина Э. Н., Фонкич Б .Л. Материалы и техника византийской рукописной книги. М., 2003. С. 35–39.

Gospel was not able to complete his work. In this incomplete state, it eventually made its way into the hands of the Holy Roman emperor and king of Bohemia Charles IV (1316–1368). Thereafter the manuscript was associated with his name.

In the first half of the 14th c. Bohemia became a great political and art centre of Europe. During this time, Charles IV, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, king of Bohemia and descendant of the old royal Bohemian dynasty of Přemyslids[6], worked to make his country prosperous and to protect its national interests. During his reign, the Bohemian church gained its independence, and in 1344, the Prague archdiocese was established[7]. This fact reinforced the complete independence of the Bohemian Kingdom, since "the archbishop of Prague received the right to crown Bohemian kings by himself"[8].

Charles was also a collector of holy Christian relics and inherited coronation treasures of emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, which were multiplied by him. Thus, the king commissioned a golden cross, which enclosed the instruments of the Passion: a fragment of the sponge, a few thorns from the crown, and a particle of the True Cross[9]. These Christian shrines glorified the Bohemian kingdom in the eyes of European states and the image of this Bohemian king in the eyes of his citizens.

Charles IV started the construction of St. Vitus Cathedral and placed a great number of Christian shrines and holy relics in it, making it one of the largest and–most famous pilgrimage centres of Medieval Europe[10]. While strengthening and glorifying Bohemia among European countries, he did not forget about the national language traditions, in particular the restoration of divine service in the Slavonic language. Among many monasteries founded by him in Prague, the Slavic monastery of the Benedictines



Depiction of the initials Б found in:
a) the *Reims Gospel*;
b) graffiti of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv

[6] Ювалова Е. П. Чешская готика эпохи расцвета (1350–1420). М.: Наука, 1998. С. 8.
[7] Ibid. С. 24.
[8] Ibid. С. 96.
[9] Ibid. С. 26–28.
[10] Ibid. С. 85.

order was particularly significant: "On November 19, 1347, he issued a mortgage charter on the founding a Benedictine monastery for Slavs in the vicinity of Prague in honour of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Wojciech and Procopius, and then St. Jerome... Charles decreed that the Liturgy, canticle, and canonical hours, as well as all divine services in that monastery would be always conducted in the Slavonic language, as it was established by the pope Clement VI and as it was usually performed in the Slavic lands"[11].

The Slavic monastery in Prague was consecrated in 1372 during Easter week when the Liturgy mentions the appearance of Christ to his disciples on the way to Emmaus, so after that, it became known as the Emmaus Monastery. Researchers point out that the monastery housed a large library where books written in the Cyrillic and Glagolitic scripts were kept, as well as Greek and Latin manuscripts. At the library, according to the monarch's will, a scriber worked, "for the greater glory of the Slavic monastery, legends and canticles were written in exquisite Slavic language"[12]. Thus, the Emmaus (or Slavic) Monastery seemingly revived the legendary St. Procopius Sázava Monastery and the centre of Slavonic literacy, this time in the Bohemian capital, Prague.

It is not known for sure how and when the old Cyrillic manuscript came into the hands of Charles IV. He was an ardent book-hunter who used all means to get what he desired. And probably he believed that the manuscript was created by St. Procopius of Sázava, thus having become a sacred relic for him and for the monks of the Emmaus Monastery. So the Glagolitic part is a logical continuation of the Cyrillic one, as it has the same text arranging, and the Gospel story is brought to a logical end[13]. This relic, sacred to the emperor and the Bohemians, in all probability -written by the hand of St. Procopius, after being supplemented with the missing part, became a kind of symbol that united the linguistic, handwriting and liturgical traditions of the Slavic Bohemia, ruled by the old Přemyslid dynasty. Therefore, the Reims Gospel in its preserved form is as if an embodiment of the domestic political and ecclesiastico-liturgical vision of Charles IV.

The artistic decoration of the Glagolitic part of the manuscript was created in the period of reign of Charles' heir, his son Wenceslas IV, under whom the art of manuscript illumination was at its peak in the Gothic Bohemia. Examples worth mentioning are such manuscripts as the Breviary of Jan of Středa (John of Neumarkt), created around 1360[14], or the later Bible of Wenceslaus IV, created in 1389–1400,[15] which are distinguished by a rich scale of colours, complexity of ornamental motifs, intensity of plotlines and distinctness of personages.

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[11] V. Hanka's quotation from his work «Сазаво-Еммаузское с[вя]тое благовествование ныне же Ремьское. Прага, 1846». Cited in: Жуковская Л. П. Реймское Евангелие: история его изучения и текст // Реймсское славянское Евангелие. Новое факсимильное издание / под рук. иером. Александра (Синякова). Т. 2. 2017. С. 58–68.

[12] Ювалова Е. П. Op.cit. С. 120.

[13] See e.g.: Ye. Luniak's article in this edition.

[14] It is kept at the National Library in Prague.

[15] It is kept at the Austrian National Library in Vienna.

However, on the pages of the Glagolitic part of the Reims Gospel, we do not observe such rich decoration and intricate drolleries as in the abovementioned manuscripts. Here the decoration of pages is much more muted in its artistic intensity. Nevertheless, the miniatures of the Reims Gospel are created in the context of the development of Bohemian painting of the mentioned period with the inherent immersion in the emotional world of the personage. The whole décor, and those are decorative headpieces which imitate the Latin letter ⱑ on pages 1, 4, 8, 9, 16, 19, 39, 55, 58 and 59 of the Glagolitic part, and small rectangular illuminations on pages 18, 24, 25, 27, 29 and 37, are executed in a unified stylistic manner and, most likely, by the same master. All pictorial headpieces are put down in the text on two-thirds of the column width. The headpiece in letters is supplemented by a small acanthus leaf that enters the page margin, and the miniatures are complemented with whole curling stalks posted on the margins, often covering the entire height of the column.

There are very interesting imitations of the capital letter in the form of ⱑ. While comparing the spelling of this letter with the Glagolitic alphabet, no analogue, even vaguely resembling these rounded shapes, was found. In this case, most likely, is the fact of borrowing of the shape of the letter itself from the Latin manuscripts in which the initials not only began the first word, but also comprised whole pictorial compositions directly relevant to the content of the text.



On the pages of the Glagolitic part of the Reims Gospel are executed eleven pseudo-initials, many of which are similar in their compositional and ornamental solutions.

On page 1, the body of the letter is green against a blue square background. The middle part of the letter is filled with pink and complemented by a golden rhomb in the very centre. An acanthus leaf grows from the top line of the letter and changes colour from green to blue, going up along the margin. The tip of the leaf is decorated with a golden dot. The body of the letter and its middle part are not only filled with colour; the master creates an ornamental motif, changing the colour saturation and ceruse touches. The perimeter of the background is marked with ceruse dots.

The headpiece on page 4 is similar, except that the colours of the background and the letter were switched around, and golden dots were added along the perimeter of the background. On page 8, the headpiece actually repeats the previous one, but there is no gilding in it and the acanthus leaf is pink in colour.



On page 9, the body of the letter is pink and placed in a blue background, marked with ceruse dots along the perimeter. The acanthus leaf is painted green.

On page 14, the pseudo-initial letter differs from the one placed on page 1 by lack of gilding.

Page 16 is decorated with a headpiece which repeats the design of the headpiece on page 9. The initial has three golden dots in the centre of the middle part of the letter and double edging with ceruse dots around the perimeter of the blue background.

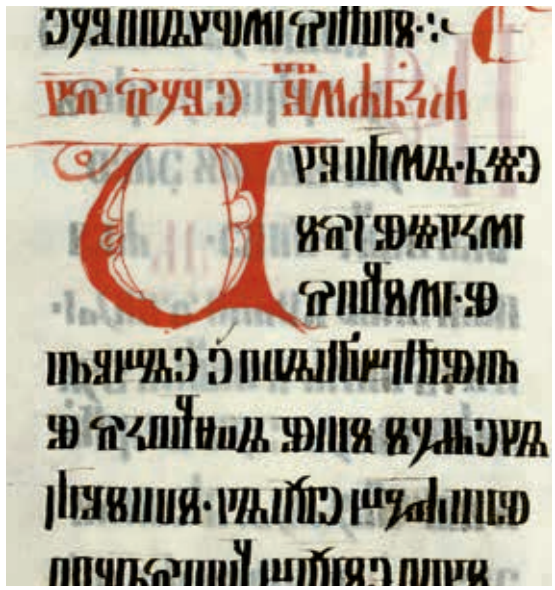
The decorative headpiece on page 19 is vastly different. The initial is pictured against a golden background with faceting from green colour gradations along the perimeter. The body of the letter is pink with the use of ceruse touches. The paint layer here is quite thin, which reveals the previous drawing made in "silver or lead script"[16]. The middle part of the letter is executed in black colour, against which the master placed a complex ornamental motif in gilt. Its thin lines resemble an exquisite monogram. The acanthus leaves are made in different shades of blue with using ceruse touches. The edges of the leaves are not as smooth as in the previous headpieces, which gives a certain dynamics and creates illusion of a trembling leaf. They go up and down along the column and occupy two thirds of its height. The pointed ends of the leaves are hidden under the golden dots.

The headpiece on page 39 also differs by its design. The middle part of the letter is filled with a quiet red colour and is drawn with gold lines into small squares with dots in the centre. The body of the letter is made in different shades of blue against a green background. The main colour of the acanthus leaf here is pink with more intense and darker shades, as well as ceruse touches. It is crowned with a golden dot.

Page 55 is decorated with a headpiece, repeating the design of the first pseudo-initial, but with slight differences. Over the pink ornament of the middle part of the letter, the master puts three golden dots, placing them one above the other. The acanthus leaf is smaller, extends from the top of the letter and changes its colour into blue. The perimeter of the background is framed not only by ceruse dots, but also with thin lines of white colour.

The headpiece on page 59 is similar in its composition to the headpiece on page 9. The body of the letter is executed in pink against a blue background. The middle part of the letter is filled with a green ornament and with a vertical line of three golden dots. The acanthus leaf is directed upwards, with its stem changing colour from pink to green.

[16] Мокрецова И. П., Наумова М. М., Киреева В. Н., Добрынина Э. Н., Фонкич Б. Л. Op. cit. С. 42.



The headpiece on page 58 is very special. It repeats the shape of the above-mentioned pseudo-initials, but there is a colossal difference — it is executed in pen and red ink. The inner edge of the letter's body repeats the ornamental motif of other headpieces. It would be considered a preliminary drawing, but the body of the letter is too densely filled with ink. Its composition looks complete and does not require addition of other colour or golden decoration. This headpiece was created by a scribe who was extraordinarily talented. His capital letters of the Glagolitic text were executed with great refinement and skill.

Turning to the headpieces with illuminations, and there are seven of them in the Reims Gospel, it's worth noting that they were made by the same master, because the style of their execution is very similar. The paintings are devoid of refinement, but are notable for expression of the bright individuality of the personages. In many of them can be hints of replicating the well-known works of Bohemian easel painting of the 14th c.

The first illumination is on page 18, it is an image of the Holy Trinity. Like all successive similar headpieces, it takes about two thirds of the width of the text column and comes from a new line, at the beginning of the Gospel reading. In our case, it is the Gospel According to St. John: "When the Comforter comes, whom I will send to you from the Father, — the Spirit of truth who goes out from the Father, he will testify about me" (15:26).

The image of God the Father with abundant strands of gray hair and beard that dominates in geometric and semantic compositions is turned to the figure of the Son. The master depicts Jesus Christ after the execution, in burial loincloth, with blood stains from spears and nails on the crossed arms. The Holy Spirit is envisaged by the master as a golden-haired angel, with his right hand on his heart in a silent dialogue of consent.

The colour palette of the illumination varies between green, blue and pink colours, which harmoniously complement each other, nterspersed with small touches of gold. It's noteworthy that in the upper part of the blue background one can observe the abovementioned small pseudo-initial, executed in gold. The paint layer is quite thin, exposing the preparatory drawing, especially noticeable in the depiction of small details, such as fingers, for example. The master does not use the primary colour for a uniform fill of the drawing area. Instead, he applies peculiar touch-strokes to show the ribs of Christ, the feathers in the wings of the Holy Spirit, the drapery of the garments. He uses not only ceruse, but a variety of colour hues, from dark to bright.



The traditional branching of the acanthus leaves on this page is located along the entire vertical space between the text columns and is probably the most significant. Here, for the first time, on the pages of the Reims Gospel, the master draws a somewhat curved contour of the acanthus edges, which gives a certain dynamics to the image and creates the illusion of a trembling leaf. Its stem of green and pink colours is decorated with golden knobbles in the branches, and the tips of the leaf are hidden under the golden dots.

On page 24, there is a headpiece-illumination with the image of the Apostle Peter. It begins the Gospel According to St. Matthew: "When Jesus came to the region of Caesarea Philippi, he asked his disciples, 'Who do people say the Son of Man is?'" (16:13). The bust-length portraiture of St. Peter appears to be turning a bit and leaning forward as if he is staring at something located to his left and somewhat above his height. A similar pose can be observed in some sculptural portrait busts decorating the Cathedral of St. Vitus, the figures of saints Vojtěch and Sigismund in the exterior décor of the Charles Bridge tower. The Apostle Peter is depicted as a gray-haired old man with a tonsure and a big key. He is dressed in a green tunic and pink himation. His facial features, the shape of his curls, and his ears were completed after being painted, most likely with a pen and the same ink used in the written text, because the colours of the letters and the contours of the facial features coincide. The figure of St. Peter is depicted against a golden background and added to the middle part of the blue pseudo-initial. The customary acanthus leaves in green and pink fly up



and down, their tips are crowned with golden dots.

On page 25, there is an illumination depicting a saint in an ordinary white infula and black vestments, with a golden staff in his hand. This is most likely St. Vojtěch (Adalbert of Prague, 955–997), the Prague's bishop who suffered martyrdom, professing Christianity. It is known that his body was redeemed from the heathens by King Boleslaw I of Poland (965/6–1025). Under Charles IV, by royal command, the relics of St. Vojtěch were translated to Saint Vitus Cathedral. Identification of the image as that of St. Vojtěch is supported by the fact that in his royal decree on founding the Slavic Benedictine monastery, Charles dedicated it, among many others, to the Bohemian saints Procopius and Vojtěch[17]. Thus, completely logical is the inclusion of the heavenly patron of the Emmaus Monastery in the manuscript, created in its scriptorium.

The pseudo-initial itself has the same form as the previous ones, with preservation of composition and ornamental motifs. The image of the saint is depicted in the green middle part, and the background for the letter consists of small parts of gilt with green and pink frames. The acanthus leaf stretches upwards and consists of two parts: lower in pink and upper in green colours, with a small golden dot at its sharpest point. In his decree on foundation of the Emmaus Monastery, Charles IV also mentioned another saint, whose name appears in the monarch's devotion and whose image is depicted in the headpiece-illumination on page 37. This is St. Jerome, holy hierarch, who was considered the founder of the Glagolitic script and Slavonic liturgy.

St. Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, c. 342–420) was one of the four Latin Fathers of the Church, the author of the Vulgate. He is usually depicted with grey hair and a grey beard, and his traditional attributes are a book, a cardinal's hat, and a lion. In the days of St. Jerome, the rank of cardinal did not exist, but he, being a close adviser to the Pope Damasus I, performed, in fact, those duties. Consequently, he later was depicted either in full cardinal's vestments or wearing only a cardinal's

[17] See note 11.



hat[18]. This is precisely how the saint was depicted by the famous Bohemian artist Theodoric († c. 1381). When comparing the two images of the saint, one by the scribe, the other by Theodoric, one can see similarity of the compositional style of the figure's pose, its bust-length interpretation, colour scheme, and development of the facial features, which allows to assume that the author of the illumination *Saint Jerome with the Lion* from the Reims Gospel was well acquainted with the works of Master Theodoric and, in particular, with the image of St. Jerome from the Karlštejn Castle.

The depiction of the lion in the composition with St. Jerome is related to the legend about a lion that came to the saint for help with an injured paw, from which the saint extracted a thorn; henceforth, the lion became his constant companion. This was set forth in the *Golden Legend* (ca. 1275) by Jacob of Voragine (ca. 1230 – 1298), a book that had a tremendous impact upon the development of Christian iconography in the European art[19].

The image of the saint is placed in a pseudo-initial, in its middle part of a blue colour. St. Jerome's multicoloured clothing adds intensity to the image. His golden halo echoes the golden background upon which the green bloomer with pink "girdling" is placed. This headpiece occupies almost the entire width of the text column. The acanthus leaves reach the margin from the four sides. They are executed in pink and blue, vary in size, and are adorned with golden dots.

The next three illuminations are dedicated to the image of the Madonna and Child. The decorative design of the Glagolitic part of the Reims Gospel was carried out on the eve of the final phase of formation of the so-called "Beautiful Style" in Bohemian art. So when we interpret the images of Mary and the Christ Child, we can observe references to such famous monuments of the Charles IV era as the *Madonna of Veveří* (ca. 1350)[20] and the *Madonna of Zbraslav* (after 1350)[21] with their

[18] Холл Дж. Словарь сюжетов и символов в искусстве / перевод с английского А. Е. Майкапара. М.:КРОН-ПРЕСС, 1996. С. 258–259.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Diocesan Museum Brno.

[21] The National Gallery in Prague.



laconic monumental features and a certain estrangement. At the same time, the author of illuminations in the Reims Gospel uses the intimate component of the relations between the Mother and Child, utilizing an emotional elaboration of the figures, revealing new facets in each of the three illuminations.

The image of the golden-haired Madonna and Child on page 27 is placed in the middle part of the pseudo-initial, which occupies almost the entire width of the text column and begins the story of the Gospel According to St. Luke (10:38). Leaves of acanthus frame the rectangular background along four sides, their branches are directed to each other, creating the effect of enclosed space. The polychromatic style of this illumination is based on the harmony of correlations of the tints of green, blue, grey, pink and golden. Careful processing of the details with thin lines in more saturated hues creates a precise rhythm of plastic construction of the form and ornamental motif.

Another image of the Madonna and Child is on page 29, at the beginning of the story from the Gospel According to St. Matthew (1:1). Its ornamental and decorative design is much more restrained as compared with the previous illumination, however it is unsurpassed in its vivid and emotional expression of feelings. The Mother and Son gaze at one another, with their slightly tilted heads touching. A similar interpretation of this style can be observed in such a famous monument as the *Nativity of Christ* from the Vyšší Brod Altarpiece (ca. 1350)[22]. In fact, the compositional development of the illumination is formed on the depiction of the emotional bond shared by the Mother and Child. The line of the touching heads continues in the drapery of Mary's garments and completes the composition in an oval, while the touch of the hands forms a stable diagonal, emphasizing the feeling of deep intimacy, seclusion and safety from external intrusion.

The figures are against a blue rectangular background with a white constellation of dots, framed by a thin white line along the inner perimeter. In the upper right corner, there is a letter inscribed in gold, resembling the Glagolitic *yat*. The acanthus leaves have a saturated pink and green colouring with a gradation of shades and white highlights. They have an elongated shape and are located in the middle part of the page along the text column.

[22] The National Gallery in Prague.



The illumination *Adoration of the Christ Child* on page 46 is the last of the head-pieces It is placed at the beginning of the story from the Gospel According to St. John: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (1:1). The illumination occupies two-thirds of the text column width and is flanked on the left by a pseudo-initial, resembling the letter L in shape. Its upper and lower bars smoothly transition into the form of acanthus leaves, which are located in the margins along the vertical axis of the text column. The letter is executed in pink, while the acanthus leaves are in varied hues of green with white highlights.

The composition of the illumination is based on a combination of the narrative lines from the *Nativity* and the *Adoration of the Christ Child*. The closest composition in Bohemian art of this period seems to be the work *Adoration of the Child* by an unknown artist from the circle of the Master of the Třeboň Altarpiece (after 1380)[23].

The figure of Mary in a reclining posture is positioned diagonally in relation to the swaddled Christ Child who rests in the basket. Her hands are closed in prayer, the palms inward. The figures are depicted against a blue rectangular background, with a six-pointed golden star above them. The colour palette of the illumination is in blue, green, pink, white, and brown, with gradation of tints, and with white highlights.



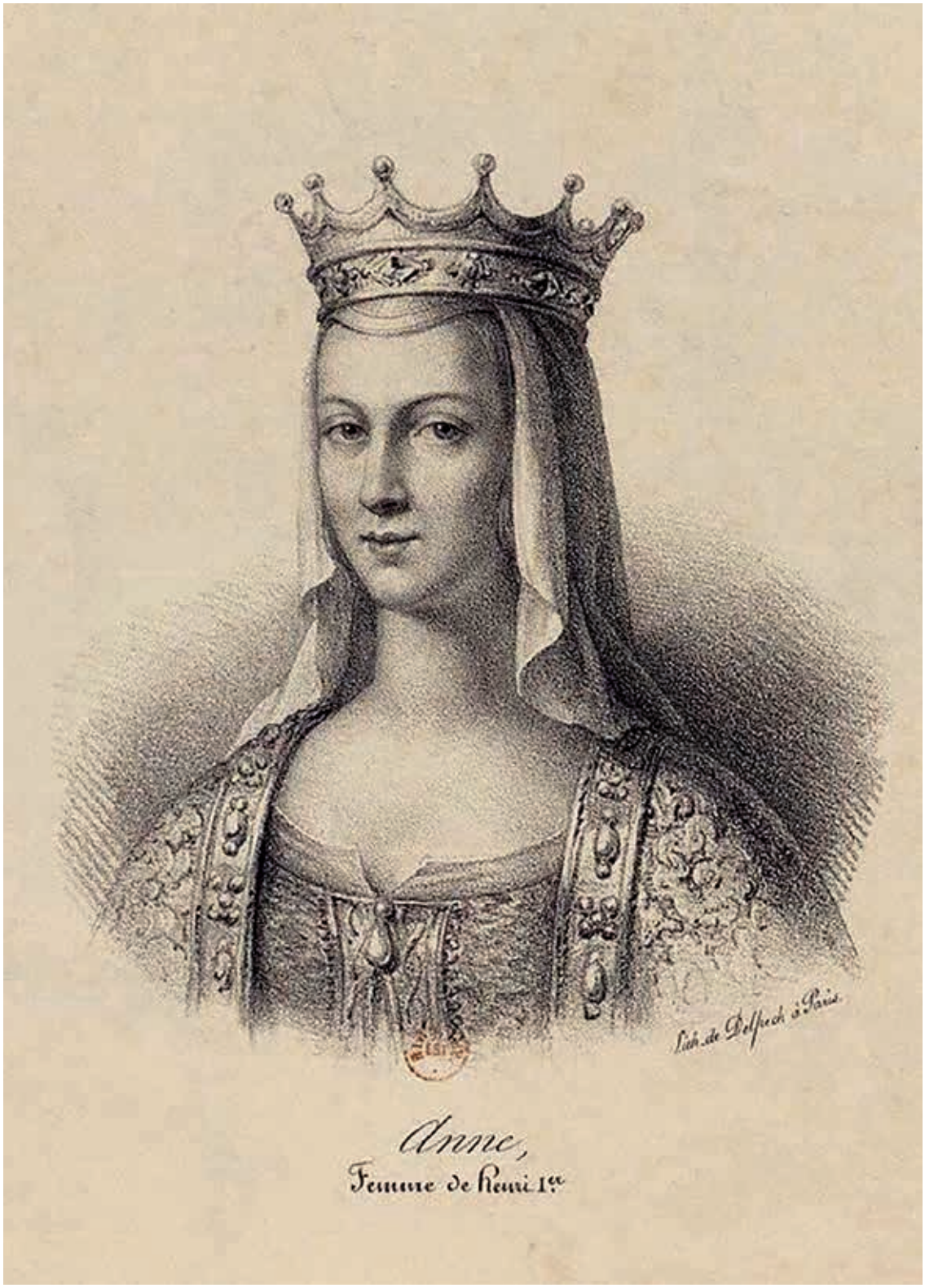
This restrained and at the same time expressive composition has an immense theological meaning that appeals to the initial sacrifice of Christ: his swaddling clothes unwittingly resemble burial shrouds, and Mary's hands clasped in prayer, recall the composition *Pietà*,

[23] Hluboká nad Vltavou Castle.



so effectively developed in the Bohemian Gothic art.

The Gospel of Reims can be rightfully called a unique artifact, which is still full of unrevealed secrets. It is rare to find such vastly different eras brought together under the same cover, being united by the unrestrained creative energy of Charles IV. The Gospel contains both striking features of the Great Moravian and Bulgarian traditions tradition and indisputable evidence of its belonging to the Gothic culture of Bohemia, at the same time only distantly resembling it. Having become a sacral relic for the Bohemian king and the monks of the Emmaus Monastery, this monument, even after losing its connection with Bohemia for many centuries, retained the name and significance of the *Texte du Sacre*.



Anna, wife of Henry I. Lithograph by F.-S. Delpech (ca. 1820–1825)

Olena Yasynetska

THE FAMILY OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA: HISTORICAL FIGURES AND CULTURAL HERITAGE MONUMENTS

Illa subolem procreat carnalem,
ista generat adoptionis sanctum progeniem[1]

For many centuries, the history of Rus'-Ukraine has been closely intertwined with world history, notably the European one. Since ancient times, state formations on the territory of modern Ukraine have been part of the European world, and our national history and culture have developed as an integral and important component of European civilization.

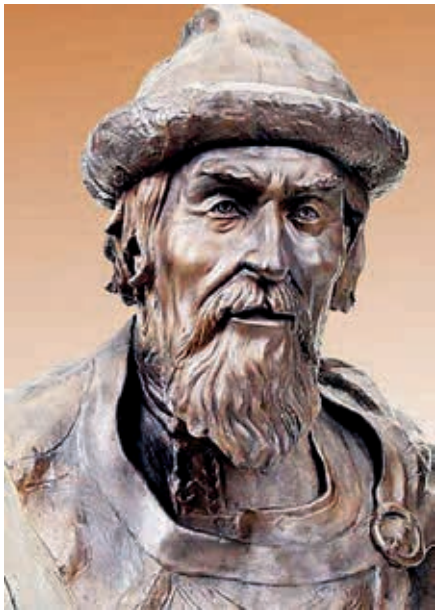
The study of the life and activities of historical figures common to Ukraine and other European countries, as well as cultural heritage sites in Europe related to their lives and activities, sheds light on our close kinship with the entire European world. Such a historical figure is Anna Yaroslavna, Princess of Kyiv and Queen of France (* 1028/1032 – † after 1075 before 1089).

No domestic chronicle mentions Anna, a daughter of the ruler of Kyivan Rus', Yaroslav the Wise († 1054), nor her sisters, who, like her, became wives of the kings of European states. References to Anna Yaroslavna have been preserved for us by Western European medieval sources: *Deeds of the Bishops of Hamburg* by Adam of Bremen (1070s[2]), *Reims Glossa* (11th c.[3]), *Annals of Vendôme* (early

[1] "She brought forth offspring into the world and created a branch of a sanctified lineage". from *The Life of Lietbert of Cambrai* (late 11th – early 12th c.): Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rudolfo monacho S. Sepuchri Cameracensis. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum. 30 vol. Leipzig, 1934. P. 850, 838–868. Literary translation from: Луняк Є. Анна Руська – королева Франції в світлі історичних джерел. Київ; Ніжин, 2010 С. 157.

[2] Адам Бременский. Деяния Гамбургских архиепископов. Древняя Русь в свете зарубежных источников. М., 2010. Т. 4, ч. 1. С. 137.

[3] Глосса на Псалтири Одальрика Реймского. Древняя Русь в свете зарубежных источников. М., 2010. Т. 4, ч. 1. С. 100–104.



Yaroslav the Wise.
Facial reconstruction by M. Gerasimov on the basis of the skull found in the sarcophagus in the Kyiv St. Sophia Cathedral (1939)

12th c.[4]), *Miracles of St. Benedict* by Radulfus Tortaris (before 1120[5]),*Deeds of the Kings of Franks* by Hugh of Fleury (after 1114[6]) and others.

Scholarly interest in the biography of Anna Yaroslavna first arose in French historiography as early as the 16th c. thanks to Jean du Tillet[7]. In the 19th c. the paper by O. Lobanov-Rostovsky was published in France and included documented evidences of Queen Anna[8]. Information about Anna Yaroslavna is found in the works by Ukrainian researchers: M. Hrushevsky, P. Golubovsky, V. Antonovych, M. Kostomarov, I. Borschak [9] and others from the 19th c. to the early 20th c.

In recent decades, interest in Anna has increased both in Ukraine and abroad, as evidenced by studies of Ye. Luniak, N. Nikitenko, V. Korniienko, N. Krutenko, V. Bogomolets, F. Delorm, T. Zajac, A. Musin[10] and others.

Despite the large amount of historiographical literature devoted to Anna Yaroslavna (more than 200 books and articles), many questions concerning her ancestry and descendants, her day-to-day life and activities, the lives of her family members, and cultural heritage monuments related to them still remain inadequately researched.

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[4] Halphen L. Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômaises. Paris, 1903. P. 62; The Annals of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Vendôme. Rose Graham. The English Historical Review. Vol. 13, № 52. 1898. P. 695–700.

[5] Древняя Русь в свете зарубежных источников.М., 2010. Т. 4, ч. 1. С. 102.

[6] Hugonis Floriacensis liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus / ed. G. Waitz. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum Bd. 9. Hannover. 1851. P. 389.

[7] Tillet J. du. Recueil des Roys de France, leurscouronne et maison. Paris, 1580. P. 72.

[8] Recueil des pieces bistoriquessur la reine Anne ou Agnès, èpouse de Henri Ier, Roi de France et fille de IarosslafIer, grand duc de Russie, ed. A. Labanoff de Rostoff. Paris, 1825. 64 p.

[9] Грушевський М. С. Історія України-Руси. Т. 2: XI–XIII вік. Львів, 1898. 403 с.; Голубовский П. В. Новые исследования о жизни французской королевы Анны Ярославны. Киевская старина. Т. 54. Київ, 1886. С. 12–16; Антонович В. Сборник летописей, относящийся к истории Южной и Западной России. К.,1888. 322 с.; Костомаров Н. И. Исторические произведения. К., 1889. С. 210; Борщак І. Анна Ярославна, королева Франції. Стара Україна. Львів, 1925. Т. 6. С. 99–104.

[10] Луняк Є. Анна Руська – королева Франції в світлі історичних джерел... 96 с.; Луняк Є. Анна Руська – королева Франції. К., 2012. 208 с.; Крутенко Н. Анна Ярославна. К. 2011. 140 с.; Мусин А. Анна Киевская: Между историографией и историей. Княжа доба: історія і культура. 2014. Вип. 8. С. 145–172; Делорм Ф. Анна Київська. Дружина Генріха І. К.: "Laurus", 2016. 208 с.; Bogomoletz W. Anna of Kiev: An Enigmatic Capetian Queen of the Eleventh Century: A Reassessment of Biographical Sources. French History. Vol. 19, №. 3. 2005. P. 299–323; Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075). Royal Studies Journal. Vol. 3, №. 1. 2016. P. 28–70; Нікітенко Н., Корнієнко В. Анна Ярославна та її автографи на стіні Софії Київської. Сіверщина в контексті історії України. Збірник наукових праць. К.-Глухів, 2009. Вип. 3. С. 93–98.

ANNA'S PARENTS — YAROSLAV THE WISE AND INGEGERD OF SWEDEN



Ingegerd-Irene. Facial reconstruction by a Polish anthropologist, based on the female skull found in the sarcophagus in the Kyiv St. Sophia Cathedral (2016)

Yaroslav Volodymyrovych (baptismal name Georgiy; known in the historiography by the nickname "the Wise"[11]), was a son of the Grand Prince Volodymyr Sviatoslavych of Kyiv and evidently his wife Rogneda, Princess of Polotsk. He was born circa 978 or in the first half of the 980s. He ruled Rostov, Novgorod, and then became a Grand Prince of Kyiv.

According to the evidence from local historical sources, it is believed that Yaroslav († 1054) was married twice, the first time to an unknown Princess, probably named Anna († before 1019, origin is unknown) who bore their son, Illia († 1020)[12]. Yaroslav's second wife was Swedish Princess Ingegerd (*ca. 1001–† 1051), baptismal name — Irene, in the Primary Chronicle — Oryna (*Ӧрина*), daughter of King Olaf Skötkonung of Sweden. This marriage secured the Rus'ian-Swedish political alliance[13].

Yaroslav the Wise prioritized his foreign relations with Scandinavia. The Grand Prince of Kyiv needed Scandinavian mercenaries and he actively intervened in Scandinavian affairs, supporting the Swedes and Norwegians who opposed the Anglo-Danish king Cnut the Great[14].

The Scandinavian sagas describe the daughter of King Olof Skötkonung of Sweden as a noble princess with a stern temper. Snorri Sturluson in the *Saga of St. Olaf* wrote about Ingegerd: "she was of all views of royal descent and of the Swedish family of Uppsala, the noblest in all the lands of the North, for this kinship originates from the gods themselves"[15].

Some researchers, in describing the strong-willed temper of Ingegerd, inherited by her descendants, including Anna, emphasize that it is related to her Scandinavian roots[16]. But most scholars ignore the fact that there is a very significant Slavic component in the lineage of Swedish Princess Ingegerd.

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[11] The nickname "the Wise" is used in the historiography since the late 19th c.

[12] See: Літопис руський… С. 84.; Войтович Л. В. Княжа доба…С. 258–260, 305.

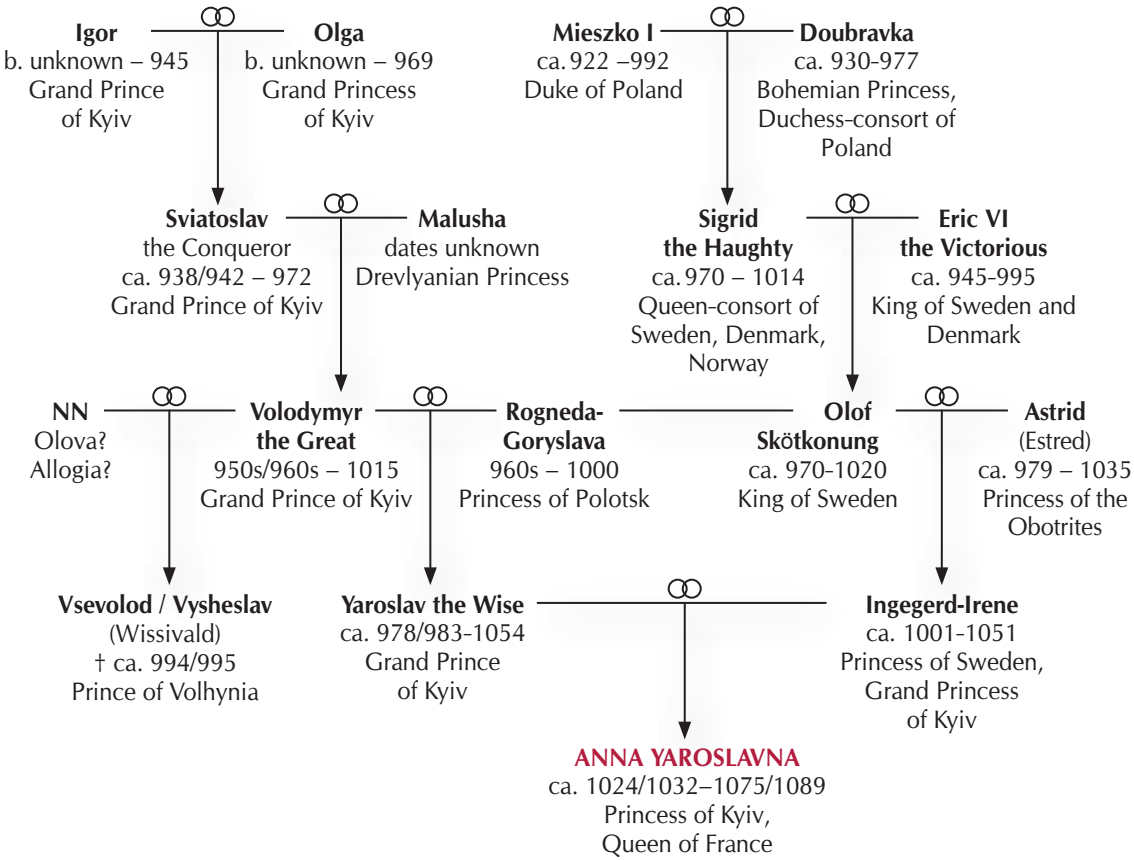
[13] Рыдзевская Е. А. Древняя Русь и Скандинавия IX–XIV вв. М., 1978. С. 42.

[14] Котляр М. Ф. Ярослав Мудрий. Енциклопедія історії України. К., 2013. Т. 10. С. 760.

[15] Snorri Sturluson, Óláfs saga ins helga. Heimskringla, translated by A. Finlay and A. Faulkes.Vol. II. London. 2014. P. 98; Снорри Стурлусон, Сага об Олафе Святом, Круг Земной, М., 1980, с. 238.

[16] Raspail J. Anne de Kiev, une Viking sur le trône de France, Le Figaro (2004, 11 février).

ANCESTORS OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA[17]



The wife of King Olof Skötkonung and the mother of Ingegerd was the Slavic Princess Astrid (Estred) of Obotrites from the family of Mecklenburg rulers[18]. The mother of Olof himself and the grandmother of Ingegerd was presumably Polish Princess Sviatoslava, daughter of the ruler of Poland Mieszko I; she was known in Scandinavia under the name of Sigrid the Haughty[19]. It is interesting that in due time she was asked in marriage by one of the sons of Volodymyr the Great, probably Vsevolod (or Vysheslav), known in sagas under the name "Wissivald". The proud princess burned him together with other unwanted grooms in the house where they feasted, following the cruel example of Princess Olga of Kyiv[20].

[17] Dating is proposed according to: Войтович Л. В. Княжа доба на Русі. Біла Церква. В-ць О. Пшонківський, 2006. С. 210–322.

[18] Adami Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum. T. 7. Hannoverae, 1846. P. 319.

[19] Balzer 1895, 44–52; Jasienica 2009, 113; Jasiński 2004, 94–100.

[20] Літопис Руський., С. 32.



Old Kyiv. Exhibitory model by D. Maziukevych, 1964

The marriage of Yaroslav and Ingegerd, contracted circa 1019, is reported in a number of royal sagas dating back to the late 12th – early 13th cc., in particular *Heimskringla* by Snorri Sturluson. The sources report Ingegerd's beauty, wisdom and her influence upon her consort[21]. It is believed that the marriage to Ingegerd made Yaroslav happy[22]. We can assume that Yaroslav loved and respected his wife sincerely as he paid heed to her counsels on international and domestic issues[23]. In honour of the heavenly patron saint of his wife, Yaroslav founded the church and convent of St. Irene (Oryna)[24] in Kyiv, and simultaneously – a monastery nearby in honour of his own heavenly patron, St. George.

[21] Джаксон Т. Н. Исландские королевские саги в Восточной Европе. Т. 2. М., 1994. С. 119; Глазырина Г. В. Исландские викингские саги о Северной Руси. М., 1996. С. 99–100; Мельникова Е. А. Брак Ярослава и Ингигерд в древнескандинавской традиции: беллетризация исторического факта, XIII конференция по изучению истории, экономики, литературы и языка скандинавских стран и Финляндии, М., 1997, С. 151–153.

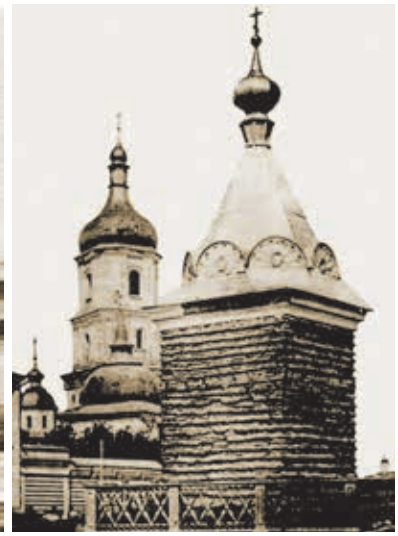
[22] Войтович Л. В. Княжа доба…, С. 261.

[23] Snorri Sturluson, Óláfs saga ins helga. Heimskringla, translated by A. Finlay and A. Faulkes.Vol. II. London. 2014. P. 277.

[24] Ипатьевская летопись, стлб. 137–151; Літопис Руський, – С. 89.



M. Sazhyn. *The Ruins of St. Irene Church*. 1846



St. Irene Pillar and the bell-tower of St. Sophia. Photo of the early 20th c

St. Irene Church and Convent

St. Irene Church was the main structure of the convent of the same name, founded by Yaroslav, which is narrated in the chronicle under 1037: "Yaroslav built the great citadel at Kyiv, near which stands the Golden Gate. He founded also (...) the Monastery of St. George and the Convent of St. Irene"[25]. We believe that Ingegerd-Irene participated in this endeavour, since traditionally monasteries were founded by princes, and nunneries/convents – by princesses. The main church of the convent was built in Byzantine style. St. Irene Church suffered a significant damage during the Batu Khan invasion (1240).

In the 1850's, the ruins of the church were dismantled. However, to perpetuate the memory of this outstanding building, it was decided to preserve one of the main pillars (northeastern) of the temple. It was decorated with bricks from the Church of the Tithes[26] and crowned with a small dome and a cross. From then on, it was called the "Pillar of St. Irene" or "Irene's monument"[27]. In 1932, it was demolished during the Soviet anti-religion campaign.

St. George's Church was the main structure of the monastery of the same name[28], founded by Yaroslav the Wise in 1037 and consecrated by Metropolitan Hilarion of Rus'. Like the Church of St. Irene, after the events of 1240, the church was in ruins for many centuries. In 1674, with the blessing of Archbishop Lazarus Baranovych, a new wooden church was built on the foundations of the old structure,

[25] The Russian Primary Chronicle, transl. by S.-H. Cross, Cambridge, 1953, P. 137; Ипатьевская летопись, стлб. 137–151; Літопис Руський., С. 89.

[26] Шероцкий К. В. Киев: путеводитель, К., 1918, С. 26–27.

[27] Київ. Провідник, за ред. Ф. Ернста, К., 1930, С. 291.

[28] Каргер М. К. Древний Киев. М.; Л., 1961. Т. 2. С. 232–237; Археологические исследования Верх. Киева в 1978–1983 гг. Археол. исслед. Киева 1978–1983 гг. К., 1985. С. 52–56; Кабанець Е. П. До історії «Проложного сказання про освячення церкви св. Георгія в Києві». Нові дослідження давніх пам'яток Києва. К., 2001. С. 110–121.

and in 1744–1752 – a large cathedral in baroque. In subsequent years, the church was repeatedly rebuilt, mostly in the late 19th c. in the pseudo-Byzantine style. The church had a magnificent iconostasis with gilded carving, made by Kyiv masters in the 18th c.[29] The temple contained the tombstone of Prince Ypsilanti († 1816), a fighter for Greek independence, made by famous Italian sculptor Antonio Canova, whose largest collection of works is still stored in the Louvre in Paris.



St. George's Church (18th–19th cc.) on the site of the monastery built by Yaroslav in the 11th c. Destroyed in 1934

The wall paintings of the church were performed at the turn of the 19th c. by famous Ukrainian artist Ivan Izhakevych, who used traditional folk motifs in the interior ornamentation. Like many other Ukrainian shrines, St. George's Church was destroyed by Soviet authorities (1934).

In general, during the reign of Yaroslav and Ingegerd in Kyiv, grandiose construction projects were carried out. The St. Sophia Cathedral, the Golden Gate with the Gate Church of the Annunciation, and the city fortifications were completed. A scriptorium and a library were established at the St. Sophia Cathedral. The name of Yaroslav the Wise is connected with the conclusion of the legal code *Ruska Pravda* (Rus'ian Justice), the appearance of the first church statutes, and the flowering of the state, its culture and art in broader terms[30].

Ingegerd-Irene died on February 23, 1051 (Feb. 10, by the Julian calendar, in the old style), and Yaroslav died in 1054. The Grand Prince of Kyiv was buried in St. Sophia Cathedral on February 20 (March 5, by the Gregorian calendar, in the new style), as evidenced by the graffiti inscription in the fresco with the image of St. Panteleimon the Healer, in which Yaroslav is called a *tsar* (king)[31]. According to *The Vita of St. Yaroslav*, the prince bequeathed to be buried in the same sarcophagus with his beloved wife, in order to be together with her even after death[32].

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[29] Київ. Провідник, за ред. Ф. Ернста, К., 1930, С. 292–293.

[30] Сагайдак М. А. Великий город Ярослава. К., 1982, С. 68–69.

[31] Таємниці гробниці Ярослава Мудрого, С. 11; Высоцкий С. Ктиторская фреска Ярослава Мудрого в киевской Софии, Древнерусское искусство. Художественная культура X – пер. пол. XIII в., М., 1988, С. 120–134; Рыбаков Б. А. Запись о смерти Ярослава Мудрого [in:] Рыбаков Б. А. Из истории культуры Древней Руси. Исследования и заметки, М., 1984, –. 59–61; Зиборов В. К. Киевские графити и дата смерти Ярослава Мудрого, Генезис и развитие феодализма в России, Л., 1988, С. 80–93; Корниенко В. В. Корпус графіті Софії Київської, ч. 4, К., 2014, С. 22–23.

[32] Архієпископ Димитрій (Рудюк), Житіє святого благовірного князя Ярослава Володимировича (Мудрого) [in:] http://katedral.org.ua/library/155-sv-jaroslav.html.; Самбор Б. Житіє святого благовірного великого князя Ярослава Мудрого, Святі землі української, К., 2009, С. 615.



Sarcophagus with the remains of Ingegerd-Irene in the Kyiv St. Sophia Cathedral. Present-day photo

The sarcophagus with the remains of Ingegerd is still located in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, but the remains of Yaroslav the Wise were taken out during the Nazi occupation (1943) and are now beyond Ukraine[33].

According to the chronicles, six sons (Volodymyr, Iziaslav, Sviatoslav, Vsevolod, Viacheslav, and Igor) were born to Yaroslav and Ingegerd, and at least three daughters — Anastasia, Anna and Elizabeth[34]. Some researchers assume Dobroniha-Maria and Agafia (Agatha) as also the descendants of this royal couple[35]. But we believe, they are the offspring of Yaroslav's brother Borys, one of the first Rus'ian (Ukrainian) holy princes-martyrs[36].

To secure interstate alliances, Yaroslav actively used dynastic marriages as a tool of foreign policy. Thus, the sons of Yaroslav and Ingegerd were betrothed to foreign princesses: Iziaslav to the Polish Princess Gertrude, Sviatoslav to the German Countess Oda von Stade, and Vsevolod to the Byzantine Princess Maria-Anastasia, daughter (or niece) of Emperor Constantine IX.

All the daughters of Yaroslov and Ingegerd were married to the rulers of European states: Anastasia became Queen of Hungary, wife of Andras I; Anna became Queen of France, wife of Henry I; and Elizabeth became Queen of Norway, wife of Harald III. Thanks to his successful matrimonial policy, Yaroslav is often called "Europe's father-in-law".

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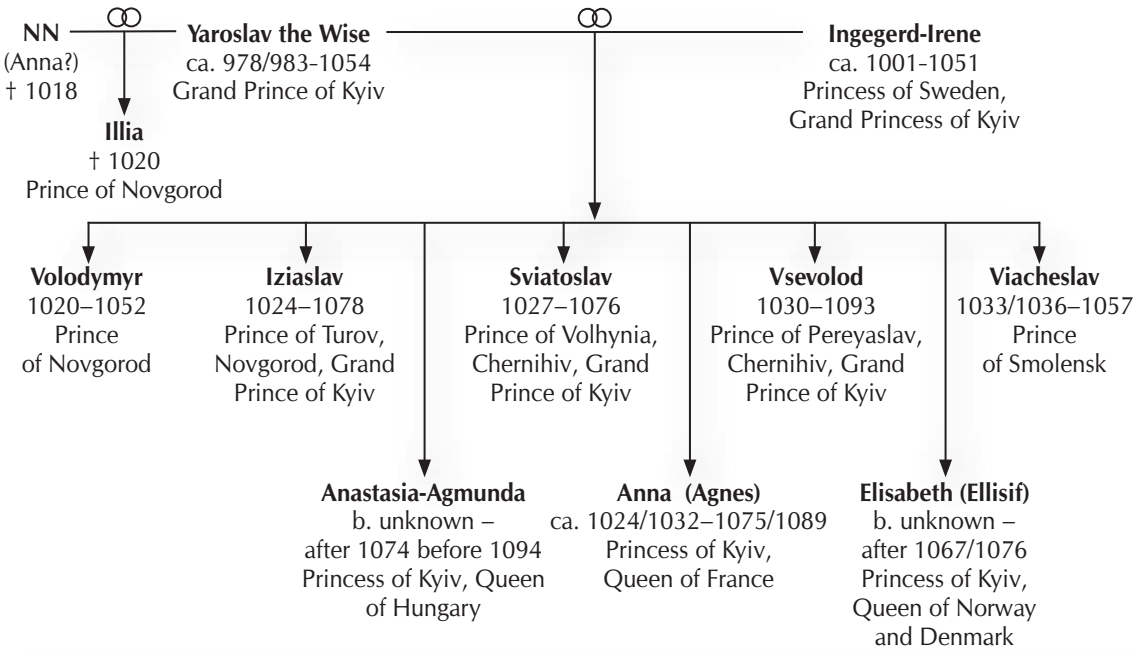
[33] Куковальська Н., Марголіна І., Нікітенко Н. Нове дослідження поховання з саркофага Ярослава Мудрого в Софії Київській, Софія Київська: Візантія. Русь. Україна, К., 2011, С. 72–85; Таємниці гробниці Ярослава Мудрого, С. 59–65, 128–129.

[34] Войтович Л. В. Княжа доба… С. 305–322.

[35] Назаренко А. В. Древняя Русь на международных путях. – С. 579–580; Джетте Р. Тайна истоков Агаты, жены Эдварда Изгнанника, наконец решена? Исторический и генеалогический регистр Новой Англии, вып. 150 (1996): 417–432; Raffensperger C. Ties of Kinship, Cambridge, 2016, P. 36.

[36] Ясинецька О. До питання про особливості родоводу давньоруської князівни Марії-Добронеги, дружини правителя Польщі (з 1038/1043–1058 рр.), Краєзнавство, № 1–2 (2016): 175–193; Ясинецька О. Шлюб Казимира І Відновителя та Доброніги-Марії в контексті династичних взаємин Польщі та України XI–XII ст., Славістична збірка, вип. IV, К., 2018, С. 145–167; Yasynetska O. Poland-Ukraine: A Thousand Years of Reciprocity. The Kyivan Princess Dobroniega-Maria, Wife of Kazimierz the Restorer:A New Hypothesis of Her Pedigree, Studia Lednickie, vol. XVII, Dziekanowice, 2018, s. 11–27.

CLOSE DESCENDANTS OF YAROSLAV THE WISE AND INGEGERD OF SWEDEN[37]



Anna Yaroslavna (*1024/1032 – † after 1075 before 1089). Most scholars consider Anna to be the middle daughter of Yaroslav and Ingegerd[38], although some believe that she was the youngest of the three sisters[39].

According to some researchers, Anna was born in 1024[40], although F. de Mézere calls 1028 to be the year of her birth, plus or minus one year[41].

The Ukrainian scholar S. Vysotsky concurred with his version[42]. The Russian historian V. Tatishchev wrote that the message of the Ioachim Chronicle under 1032 about the birth of a daughter (without mentioning her name) in Yaroslav's family refers to Anna[43].

There is evidence that Yaroslav planned to marry Anna to the Holy Roman Emperor Henry III, since the Kyiv state ruler, from the beginning of his reign, intended to form alliance with the German Empire[44]. Circa 1043, Yaroslav sent a delegation to

[37] Dating is provided after: Войтович Л. В. Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти. Біла Церква. В-ць О. Пшонківський, 2006. С. 321.
[38] See: Котляр М. Ф. Op. cit. С. 91.
[39] Луняк Є. Анна Руська – королева Франції в світлі історичних джерел. Київ; Ніжин, 2010. С. 20.
[40] Граф де Ке де Сент-Амур. Анна Русинка. Пер. І. Франка. Львів, 1909. С. 14.
[41] Mezeray F. Histoire de France depuis Faramond jusqu'a maintenant. T. I. Paris: Chez Mathieu Guillemot, avec privilege du Roy, 1643. P. 399.
[42] Висоцький С. Княгиня Ольга і Анна Ярославна. К. 1991. С. 63.
[43] Татищев В. История Российская. Т. 2. М.; Л., 1963. С. 77.
[44] Raffensperger C. Ties of Kinship. Cambridge (USA), 2016. P. 48.



Anna from Sclavonia, Wife of King Henry I.
Engraving of Jacques de Bie on pages of *History of France* by François Eudes de Mézeray, 1643[49]

the emperor. This is reported in the *Annals of Lambert of Hersfeld*[45]. However, for unknown reasons, they did not consent to a marriage with the Rus'ian princess. Instead, the Emperor married a French bride from the Duchy of Aquitaine. It is probable that after the unsuccessful engagement the information about a "vacant" Rus'ian princess got to France.

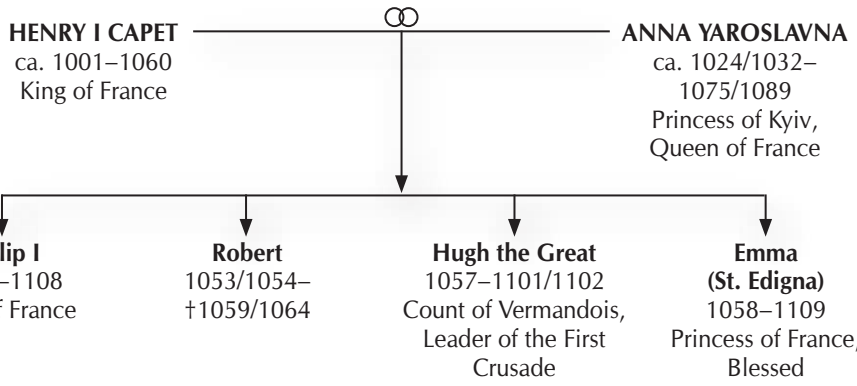
F. de Mezère states that already in 1044 King Henry I of France sent a marriage delegation to Kyiv[46]. M. Karamzin suggests that the French matchmakers arrived in Kyiv in 1048[47].

Other scholars consider 1049 or 1050 to be the date of this event[48]. The reasons for finding a bride in such distant lands were combined. First, the Kyiv state in the 11th c. had a considerable international significance and influence in the European world, was powerful politically and militarily, as well as rich and culturally developed. The influence of Rus' on the European politics was undeniable[50]. French scholar P.-Ch. Levesque wrote: "Rus' was more monolithic, more happy, more powerful and more spacious than France"[51]. The well-known French sophist Voltaire agreed with this line of thought[52].

Another major reason for King Henry's interest in Anna was that he wanted to have a healthy heir to the throne from a dynasty he was not related to[53], which then

[45] Lamberti Hersfeldensis Annales, s.a. 1043. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Ed. 2. Wiesbaden, Hannoverae. 1874. 267 s.
[46] Mezeray F. Histoire de France depuis Faramond jusqu'a maintenant. T. I. Paris: Chez Mathieu Guillemot, avec privilege du Roy, 1643. P. 399.
[47] Карамзин Н. М. История государства Российского. М., 1991. Т. 2–3. С. 24, 207–208.
[48] Raffensperger C. Ties of Kinship. Cambridge (USA). 2016. P. 48; Аллю Р. Анна Ярославна – королева Франції. Торонто, 2002. – С. 49.
[49] Mezeray F. Histoire de France depuis Faramond jusqu'a maintenant. T. I. Paris: Chez Mathieu Guillemot, avec privilege du Roy, 1643. P. 398.
[50] Мусин А. Анна Киевская: Между историографией и историей. Княжа доба: історія і культура. 2014. Вип. 8. С. 146.
[51] Levesque P.-Ch. Histoire de Russie, et de principales nations de l'Empire Russe. 4e éd. Paris, 1812. T. 1. P. 208–209.
[52] Voltaire. Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations, et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'a Louis XIII. Voltaire. F.-M.-A. Oeuvres complètes. Paris, 1817. Vol. 4. P. 267–268.
[53] Bouchard C. B. Consanguinity and Noble Marriages in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. Speculum 56, no. 2 (1981). P. 277.

CLOSE DESCENDANTS OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA AND HENRY I[54]



allowed him to avoid a conflict with the Church prohibiting marriages between relatives up to the seventh generation. Some French scholars believe that, taking into consideration the rich dynastic history of Kyivan Rus', this marriage was very desirable because it would strengthen the political alliance between the states[55]. Rus' was connected by close matrimonial ties with the most influential dynasties of Europe, including the Byzantine imperial house the Capetians wanted to relate to.

In addition, the reputation of Yaroslav's daughter as an "extraordinarily beautiful" princess, brought up according to Christian values, well-educated and endowed with a deep mind, who "belonged to the fertile race"[56], could go far beyond the Kyivan Rus' state. A. Lobanov-Rostovsky agreed that the beauty of the bride and the greatness of the state were the prime motivators for this seeking in marriage[57].

Together with Anna and numerous escorts, the delegation traveled to Paris via Przemysl, Krakow, Prague, Regensburg, and Trier[58].

Some researchers believe the wedding was celebrated in 1049[59]. Others are convinced that the wedding took place in 1051[60], and this date seems more reasonable. Most likely, the marriage took place on Easter (March 31) or on the Pentecost (May 19) 1051. According to the accounts in the *Life of Saint Lietbert* (ca. 1100),

[54] Граф де Ке де Сент-Емур. Анна Русинка, королева Франції і графиня Валюа. Переклад з французької Івана Франка. Львів: Репринтне відтворення видання Друкарні Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка, 1909. 1991. С.14–15; Pascal Arnoux. Henri Ier – Roi de France de 1031 à 1060 Histoire des Rois se France et des chefs d'état. Paris: éditions du Rocher, 2001. P. 165.

[55] Bautier R.-H. Anne de Kiev, reine de France, et la politique royale au XI-e siècle, etude critique de la documentation Revue des etudes Slaves – 57, no 4 (1985). P. 545; Poulet A. Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation. Medieval Queenship, ed. John Carmi Parson. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1994. P. 100.

[56] Граф де Ке де Сент-Амур. Анна Русинка. Пер. І. Франка. Львів, 1909. С. 14.

[57] Recueil des pieces historiquessur la reine Anne ouAgnès, èpouse de Henri Ier, Roi de France et fille de IarosslafIer, grand duc de Russie, ed. A. Labanoff de Rostoff. Paris, 1825. P. 20, 51.

[58] Войтович Л. В. Княжа доба на Русі: портрети еліти. Біла Церква. В-ць О. Пшонківський, 2006. С. 321.

[59] Op. cit.

[60] Котляр М. Ф. Вказ. праця. С. 91; Raffensperger C. Ties of Kinship. Cambridge (USA), 2016. P. 50.

Anna Yaroslavna was the first queen of the Capetian dynasty to be married and crowned at the Reims Cathedral, the residence of the head of the French Church[61].

Following her marriage, Anna fulfilled the main function assigned to her as queen, namely rescuing the dynasty from extinction by favouring her consort with three sons: "Philip I who ruled after his father, Robert who died at the young age, and Hugon [Hugho] the Great, later Count of Crépy, the ancestor of the royal family of Vermandois"[62]. French historiography, referring to ancient sources, also mentions a daughter, Emma, born in 1058[63].

SAINT VINCENT ABBEY

The founding of St. Vincent Abbey of Augustinian order in Senlis (45 km from Paris) in 1065 is associated with the name of Queen Anna[64]. According to legend, in the first years of her marriage, Anna Yaroslavna made a promise to build a temple if the Lord would bless her marriage with the birth of an heir.

Senlis County (modern Oise department, Ile-de-France region), since olden times, was a royal property, originally of the Carolingian, and later of the Capetian dynasties. Some estates in Senlis County were inherited by Anna Yaroslavna from her marriage to King Henry I. On the picturesque slope planted with vineyards, in the vicinity of Senlis, using her own possessions, Anna decided to found an abbey in honour of St. Vincent, a Spanish man of God, patron of vine-growers, whose cult was very common in France at that time.

It is believed that in the 9th–10th cc. a temple was built there in honour of St. John the Baptist, which was later destroyed by the Normans. Researchers claimed that Queen Anna herself "... laid the first stone on the ruins of a chapel that existed there before the 10th c."[65]

The founding of the abbey by Anna Yaroslavna is evidence of several royal documents. The first is Anna's foundation charter, which exact date is unknown. It was probably issued by Queen Anna in 1060–1065, although a researcher T. Zajac estimates 1065–1069[66]. The original charter has not survived. In 1069, King Philip I of France issued his own charter in which he confirmed the foundation of St. Vincent Abbey by his mother and furthermore guaranteed a royal patronage to the monastic community, providing exclusive rights and freedoms.

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[61] Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rudolfo monacho S. Sepuchri Cameracensis. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum. 30. Leipzig, 1934. P. 850.

[62] Граф де Ке де Сент-Емур. Анна Русинка, королева Франції і графиня Валюа. Переклад з французької Івана Франка. Львів: Репринтне відтворення видання Друкарні Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка, 1909. 1991. С.14–15.

[63] Pascal Arnoux. Henri Ier – Roi de France de 1031 à 1060 Histoire des Rois se France et des chefs d'état. Paris: éditions du Rocher, 2001. P. 165.

[64] Lawrence C., ed. Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs. Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

[65] Аллю Р. Анна Ярославна – королева Франції. Торонто, 2002. С. 75.

[66] Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075). University of Toronto, Centre for Medieval Studies//Royal Studies Journal. Vol. 3, no. 1, 2016. P. 62.

Between 1072–1079, Philip I issued a charter concerning the financial relations of the royal court with the monks of St. Vincent Abbey. The original of this document has not survived either, but its copy of the 18th c. still exists. Fortunately, the text of the initial foundation charter of Anna Yaroslavna was included in Philip I's charter. Inter alia, it states (in the Latin original):

Notum est omnibus sancte aecclesiae filiis quoniam universitatis creator omnia ad ornatum compositionemque sacratissimarum nuptiarum unigeniti sui Deus pater condidit, nec solum genitor sed et ipse genitus, concordia Sancti Spiritus, sibi sponsam aptavit, sicut ipse in Canticis Canticorum eidem sponsae dicit: "Veni de Libano, sponsa mea, veni de Libano, veni et coronaberis de capite Amana, de vertice Sanir et Hermon." Ego autem Anna, corde intelligens, mente pertractans tantam pulchritudinem tantumque decus atque recolens illud quod scriptum est: "Beati qui ad cenam Agni vocati sunt", et quod ipsa Christi sponsa alias "Qui elucidant me vitam aeternam habebunt", deliberavi apud me quomodo illarum epularum illiusque beatitudinis ac vitae aeternae particeps existere possem, cumque demum sublevatum esset cor meum ad fabricandum Christo aecclesiam, ut intus incorporari et quodlibet membrum illius sanctae societatis, que fide Christo adjuncta est, connecti valuissem, in honore sanctae Trinitatis et piae Dei genitricis Mariae et precursoris Domini et sancti Vincentii martyris, Christo eam fabricavi et dedicare precepi atque dans deputavi ibi de facultatibus meis, et de his, que in matrimonio Henricus rex, conjux meus, michi dederat, que omnia, favore filii mei Philippi, Dei gratia regis, et omnium optimatum sui regni consilio attitulari concedo, quatinus ibi quieti et tranquilli religiosi viri Deo servientes, mundo renuntiantes, regularem, id est sanctorum apostolorum et beati Augustini, que scripta est, vitam canonice amplectentes, vivere valeant et pro peccatis Henrici regis ac filiorum et amicorum meorum atque meis die ac nocte Deum exorent, et ut sine macula aut ruga, sicut a Christo aptatur aecclesia suis precibus me Deo exhibeant: terram scilicet quam juxta aecclesiam Ivo prepositus sidebat, ab ipso pretio emptam, cum furno et omnibus consuetudinibus quas terra reddere solet; novem hospites, cum omni consuetudine, quos prius in eodem loco possidebam; de censu monete, tres libras; pediter civitatis, in cujus suburbio prefata constructa est aecclesia, et quod ad civitatem pertinet; molendinum unum in villa que dicitur Guvils; villam unam que dicitur Mansionale Blavum; in territorio Laudunensi, alodium unum in villa que dicitur Crespis, sed ne quis deinceps eis molestus sit, concedo omnes omnino consuetudines sancto Vincentio et canonicis ejus.[67]

English version (translation by Olena Yasynetska):

"It is known to all the sons of the Holy Church that the Creator of the Universe, God the Father, formed all things for the celebtation and adornment of the most holy nuptials of his only son. (...)But I, Anna, understanding in my heart and experiencing in my mind such beauty and such grandeur, and remembering what is written: "Blessed are those who are called to the feast of the Lamb", and what the bride of Christ [says] elsewhere, "Those who light me will have eternal life", I thought to myself how I might be a participant of that feast and of that bliss and eternal life. Then my heart was lifted

[67] Prou, Maurice. Recueil des Actes de Philippe I, Roi de France (Paris: Klincksieck, 1908), document CXXX, 329-331.

to build a church for Christ, so that I might be connected, incorporated within it with any member of that holy society which is connected with Christ by faith, in honour of the Holy Trinity and the pious Mother of God, Mary, and St. John the Precursor of the Lord and St. Vincent, the martyr. I built it and ordered it to be dedicated to Christ and as a donation from my own belongings and those means which king Henry, my consort, gave me at our marriage, all of which, with the favour of my son Philip, king by the grace of God, and the counsel of all the magnates of his kingdom, I granted to be assigned to it [the church], so that religious men serving God, renouncing the world, embracing the regular life, that is the written [rules] of the holy apostles and the blessed Augustine, might live quiet and tranquil, and pray God day and night for the sins of King Henry, my sons and friends and my own, that they by their prayers might present me to God without stain or wrinkle, as was desired by Christ for the Church...

Namely the land which the provost Yves possessed beside the church, bought at that price, with the oven and all the revenues which that land usually renders; the nine plots,



St. Vincent Abbey in Senlis. Present-day photo

with all the revenues which I acquired in that place before; the road around the city, in the suburb of which the church was constructed, which belongs to the city; a mill in the town named Gouvieux; a small town named Le Blanc-Mesnil; the estates in the Laon region in the town of Crépy. But so that no one would harm them from now on, I grant all the revenues from this property to St. Vincent [Abbey]and his canons..."[68]

[68] Prou, Maurice. Recueil des Actes de Philippe I, Roi de France (Paris: Klincksieck, 1908), document CXXX, 329–331.

It is believed that the main abbey temple in honour of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist, and St. Vincent was consecrated on October 29, 1065[69]. According to legends, Queen Anna loved to come to pray in the church that was her property and creation: "The lady, who led a holy life, thought more about the spiritual things of the future than the premature ones, in the hope of receiving eternal life"[70].

As legends imply, in the 1070s Anna lived in the monastery as a nun, and in the twilight of her life, she entrusted her son to look after the abbey, assuming the title of the founder of the monastery.

From then on, patronage of the St. Vincent Monastery became hereditary in the royal family. Philip later assigned it to his son Louis VI. There is some evidence that Queen Anna was later buried in her monastery[71]. According to other sources, she died and was buried in the Villers Abbey[72]. Some sources indicate that the queen "returned to Rus'" [73].

The exact date of Queen Anna's death is unknown. Researchers suggest she died on September 5, as her name was especially remembered on this day in the Church of Senlis. The canons commemorated her with a parastas (night requiem), and after the service in memory of Anna, they covered a table for thirteen poor widows from nearby villages. This continued until the French Revolution. Researcher F. Delorme believes that Anna died in 1075[74], while other scholars believe that in 1080[75]. Most of them agree that in 1079 she was no longer alive, because a charter of Philip I was issued that year and included, inter alia, the statement: *pro remedio animae patris mei et matris meae* (for the repose of souls of my father and my mother)[76].

For many centuries, the St. Vincent Abbey remained an active religious centre. It began its decline in the late 18th c. during the French Revolution. In 1791, the monks of the abbey were ordered to vacate the buildings, and the revolutionary government began using the premises as a military hospital and prison for war captives. Only in the mid-19th c., the abbey was redeemed again by the church. And at that time, the famous monument to the founder of the monastery, Anna, was erected there.

The church built near the abbey at the beginning of the 18th c. was purchased in 2013 by the Diocese of Saint Volodymyr of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church

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[69] Аллю Р. Анна Ярославна – королева Франції. Торонто, 2002. С. 79.

[70] Op. cit. C. 85–86.

[71] Делорм Ф. Анна Київська, дружина Генріха I. К., 2016. С. 192–193.

[72] Ibid. C. 194.

[73] Mézeray François Eudes de. Histoire de France, Volume 1. Paris, Mathieu Guillemot, 1643. P. 398–399.

[74] Op.cit.

[75] Gregorovich A. Anna Yaroslavna, Queen of France & Princess of Ukraine: Anne De Kiev. Toronto, 2011. 148 p.

[76] "...for the salvation of my father and my mother". Citation after Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075). University of Toronto, Centre for Medieval Studies // Royal Studies Journal. Vol. 3, no. 1, 2016. P. 56; Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, no. 95, 247; Hallu, Anne de Kiev, 115; Luniak, Anna Ruska, 60 and 88.



King Philip I of France. Engraving of Jacques de Bie on pages of *History of France* by François Eudes de Mézeray, 1643[79]

in Paris. The temple was consecrated in honour of the Princes Sts. Borys and Glib, passion-bearers, relatives (uncles) of Queen Anna. Now the cultural Anna Yaroslavna Centre functions there.

Descendants of Anna Yaroslavna and Henry I: Son Philip I

In foreign, mainly French, historiography a great amount of research is devoted to the sons of Anna and Henry, mainly to Philip I[77].

Philip, the eldest son of the royal couple, was born in 1052. His name was new and unusual not only for the French court, but for all of Western Europe at that time. This name was associated with the Greek Christian tradition. We assume that the choice of the name was influenced by a fact unknown to national historiographers: preaching to the inhabitants of ancient Rus'-Ukraine (then called Scythia) was not only the Apostle Andrew, but also the Apostle Philip[78].

Both the holy apostles came from the same town — Bethsaida in Galilee. The Apostle Andrew is famous and revered as the founder of the Ukrainian Church[80]. The preaching of St. Andrew, the First-Called Apostle, in the lands of Rus'-Ukraine (then known as Scythia) was reported by the

[77] Prou M. (éditeur). Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059–1108), Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck, coll. "Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France publiés par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres", 1908. – CCL–566 p.; Dunbabin J. "What's in a Name ? Philip, King of France", Speculum, vol. 68, no 4, 1993. P. 949–968; Fliche A. Le règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1060–1108), Paris, Société française d'imprimerie et de librairie, 1912, XXIII–600 p., in-8; Guyotjeannin O. "Les actes établis par la chancellerie royale sous Philippe Ier ", Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes, Paris / Genève, Librairie Droz, t. 147, 1989. P. 29–48; Monod B. Essai sur les rapports de Pascal II avec Philippe Ier (1099–1108), Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1907. XXVII. 163 p.; Varenne D. Espace d'action et d'influence du pouvoir royal sous le règne de Philippe Ier, sous la direction d'Yves Sassier, mémoire déposé à l'université Paris IV–Sorbonne, 2007.

[78] Algermissen K. Kirchengeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Celle (Germany), 1955. S. 10.

[79] Mezeray F. Histoire de France depuis Faramond jusqu'a maintenant. T. I. Paris: Chez Mathieu Guillemot, avec privilege du Roy, 1643. P. 400.

[80] Огієнко І. Українська церква: Нариси з історії Української Православної Церкви: У 2 т.: Т. 1–2. К., 1993. 284 с.; Василевський В. Г. Русско-византийские отрывки. Хождение апостола Андрея в страну Мирмидонян. Журн. Мин. нар. пр., 1877. Кн. 1–2; Малышевский И. Сказание о посещении Русской страны апостолом Андреем. Владимирский сборник в память 900-летия крещения России. К., 1888. С. 1–51; Петровский С. Сказание об апостольской проповеди по северо-восточному Черноморскому побережью. // Записки Императорского Одесского общества истории и древностей. Т. 21, ч. 2. Одесса, 1897. С. 82; Франко І. Апокрифи і легенди. Т. 3. С. XLII–XLIV, 126–255.

first church historians[81] and local chronicles[82], but the mission of the Apostle Philip is ignored by major sources. At the same time, as noted by some western theologians, the missionary service of St. Philip in Scythia was lengthy, about 20 years[83]. Professor M. Ninan also explains that the preaching work of the Apostle Philip in Scythia pertains to the territory of southern Ukraine and points out that this information is based on the old written documents[84].

The Rus'ian Chronicle testifies that various Slavic tribes were united by a single territory called Great Scythia[85]. Both Greek and Latin sources often used the ethnonyms *Rus'ians* (inhabitants of Kyivan Rus') and *Scythians* (Scyths, Tauro-Scythians) as synonyms[86] and considered Rus' and Scythia to be the same country. In particular, the *Vendôme Annals* (12th c.) indicate that King Henry I's wife, Anna Yaroslavna, was of Rus'ian, or Scythian, origin[87]. The same information is retold by other texts, including the *Chronicle of Anjou: Henricus Francorum Rex uxorem duxit Scythiam & Rufam*[88]. The 1767 edition commented on a mistake made by chroniclers who called the king's wife *rufam* (fair-haired) instead of *Ruffam* (Rus'ian), and clarified that she was "a daughter of the king of Rus' Yaroslav, with the name Anna"[89].

Father Roger Hallu, describing different explanations of the choice of name for the firstborn of the royal couple, noted that because of her natural devoutness, Queen Anna chose the apostolic name for her eldest son.

Moreover, the author claims that the Apostle Philip preached first in the lands of Scythia, and later in Gaul (*Gaul* or *Gallia* is the ancient name of France in historical literature and poetry), thus symbolically "connecting by his evangelism (...) the native country with the new homeland"[90] of Anna. However, there is no confirmation in the sources about the preaching of the Apostle Philip in France (Gaul). Instead, church historians point to another site – Phrygia[91].

We know that the body of the holy apostle was preserved in Constantinople for a certain period, and we believe that part of the relics of St. Philip could be brought to Kyiv from Constantinople before 11th c. in the dowry of Anna Porphyrogenita and therefore could have been taken to France as part of Anna Yaroslavna's dowry.

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[81] Andrew, saint, one of the Twelve Apostles // Biographical Dictionary. London, 18433. P. 662.

[82] Ипатьевская летопись. ПСРЛ. Т. 2. СПб., 1908. XVI с. 938 стлб. 87 с.

[83] Algermissen K. Kirchengeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Celle (Germany), 1955. S. 10; Spilman F. The Twelve: Lives and Legends of the Apostles. Raleigh (NC, USA), 2017. P. 125.

[84] Ninan M.M. The Apostles. San Jose (CA, USA), 2013. P. 190.

[85] ПСРЛ. Т. 2. СПб., 1908. – л.6; Літопис руський за Іпатським списком / Переклад Л. Є. Махновця. Вид-во "Дніпро". Київ, 1989. С. 8, 16.

[86] Лев Диякон. Війни київського князя Святослава з Болгарами і Візантією. (971 р.). Історія України в документах і матеріалах. Т. 1. К., 1939. С. 57.

[87] "Annales Vindocinenses, et continuationes". Recueil d'annales angevines et vendomoises. Paris, 1903. Pp. 50–79.

[88] Ex Chronico Andegavensi. Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France. Tome Onzieme. Paris, M.DCC.LXVII (1767). S. 29.

[89] Op. cit.

[90] Аллю Р. Анна Ярославна – королева Франції. Торонто, 2002. С. 66.

[91] Spilman F. The Twelve: Lives and Legends of the Apostles. Raleigh (NC, USA), 2017. P. 125



Apostle Philip, from *The Eucharist.* Mosaic. 11th c.
St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv



The Eucharist. Mosaic. 11th c.
High altar of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv

Confirmation of our assumption is the list of relics of St. Denis Abbey, among which we found the mention about the "rib and tooth of St. Philip"[92].

Although the author of the text claimed that part of the relics of the apostle appeared among the relics of Saint-Denis thanks to the Crusades, we believe that this statement may be wrong, as it is well known that other relics and valuables from Anna Yaroslavna's dowry were transferred to the reliquary of Saint-Denis.

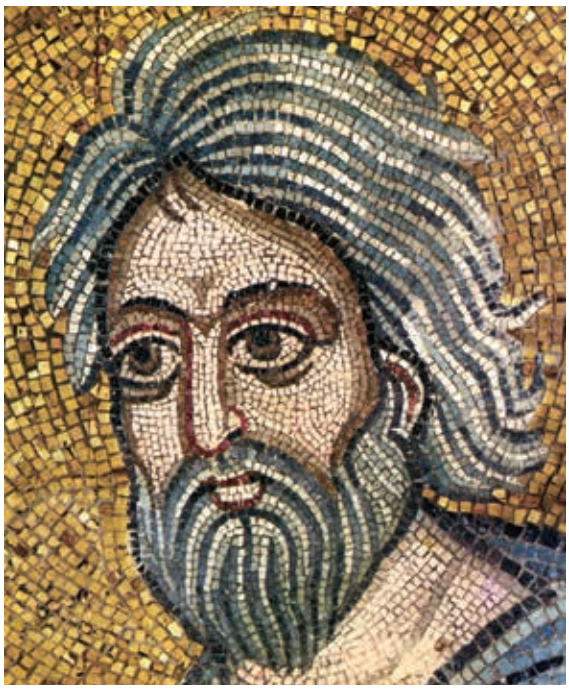
Father Roger Alliu assumes that a small fragment of relics of the Apostle Philip was embedded in the cover of the Reims Gospel[93]. This explains why the name of this very apostle is mentioned already on the second page of the Gospel.

In our opinion, this information serves as an additional argument in favour of the version of Anna Yaroslavna's relation to arrival of the Reims Gospel in France.

As the eldest son of Anna and Henry, Philip was the heir to the French throne. Following the example of his predecessors, he was crowned during his father's lifetime at the age of seven in 1059, thus securing for him and his descendants the right to inherit the throne. Already in 1060, King Henry I died, and the young Philip ascended the throne. As he was under age, regents were appointed to him, among whom were his uncle Baldwin V (husband of Henry I's sister), Duke of Flanders, and Queen Anna[94]. According to the tradition of medieval times in general and the

[92] Chalons M. The History of France. Vol. 1. Dublin, 1752. P. 170.
[93] Аллю Р. Анна Ярославна – королева Франції. Торонто, 2002. С. 66.
[94] Poulet A. Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation. Medieval Queenship, ed. John Carmi Parson. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1994. P. 106.





Apostle Andrew, from *The Eucharist*. Mosaic. 11th c.
St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv

royal house of the Capetians in particular, the widowed queen Anna, the mother of the heir, became a co-regent to the young king until he came of age[95]. Anna acted as an adviser to the young Philip and, in practice, as a co-ruler of the state[96]. This is confirmed by a number of state documents from that time, signed jointly with the participation of Philip I and Queen Anna[97]. A unique evidence is also the charter of Bishop Agobert of Chartres, in which Philip and Anna are jointly styled as "king'"[98]. In summer of 1061, the Queen married for the second time, posing a challenge to the society and church. Her new consort, Count Raoul de Crepe de Valois, was excommunicated, but the church authorities did not dare to impose an interdict on the queen, and so Anna continued to be an active participant in the state and court life, as evidenced by numerous royal documents[99]. After Raoul's death († 1074), Anna probably returned to court. There is also evidence of Anna's stay in the St. Vincent Monastery founded by her in Sanlis, but Anna's name

[95] Op. cit.

[96] Bertholdi Annales, publ. George Pertz, in Annales et chronica aevi Salici. Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores 5. Hannover, 1844. S. 264–326, s.a. 1060; Lewis A. W. Royal Succession in Carpetian France: Studies on Familial Order and the State. Harvard Historical Studies. February 9, 1982. P. 46.

[97] Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075). University of Toronto, Centre for Medieval Studies. Royal Studies Journal. Vol. 3, no. 1, 2016. P. 28–70.

[98] Prou M. (éditeur). Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (1059–1108). – Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck, coll. "Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France publiés par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres". 1908, CCL 566 p.; Raffensperger C. Ties of Kinship. Cambridge (USA), 2016. P. 51.

[99] Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075). University of Toronto, Centre for Medieval Studies//Royal Studies Journal. Vol. 3, no. 1, 2016. P. 28–70.

disappears from official documents after 1075. Accurate information about her future fate is not known.

The reign of her son Philip I was unusually long; he held the throne of France for 48 years. The state gradually strengthened, and Philip annexed Vexin and Bourges to the royal domain[100]. The King made Paris his principal residence and developed the city[101].

In 1072, Philip married Bertha of Holland, daughter of the ruler of that state, Floris I. The marriage produced five children, including the next King Louis VI of France and his daughter Constance, later the first princess of Antioch, regent of Calabria and Apulia, known as Constance of France.

Shortly afterwards, King Philip fell desperately in love. His choice was the Countess of Anjou, Bertrade de Montfort. Seduced by the beauty of the girl, the king kidnapped her from an elderly husband, to whom Bertrade was his fifth wife. In Bertrade's first marriage she gave birth to a son Fulk, who later became King of Jerusalem (ca. 1092–1143). Violating the rules of the court and the church, King Philip officially married Bertrade. Pope Urban II, at the Clermont Council in 1095, excommunicated the lovers from the Church. A papal interdict was imposed on the entire state. At the urgent request of the Church leaders, the king was even taken into custody for a while. However, this did not cause the lovers to break their vows. The marriage of Philip and Bertrade produced four children, including Cecile of France, the future Princess of Galilee and Antioch, Countess of Tripoli.

Abbot Suger wrote that King Philip, because of his love for Bertrade, lost interest in public affairs, but continued to care for France due to his love of his son, heir to the throne of Louis VI[102].

King Philip I died on July 30, 1108. At the end of his life, Philip ordered that he be buried not in the family royal crypt, Basilica of Saint-Denis, together with the remains of his father, grandfathers and great-grandfathers, but in the Fleury Abbey on the Loiret. Perhaps the king considered himself unworthy of the honour of being buried among his glorious and victorious ancestors, but maybe he wanted an exceptional separation and recognition, because during his life he had separated himself from the generally accepted norms and rules[103].

FLEURY ABBEY

St. Benedict's Abbey (Saint-Benoit-de-Fleury), located on the Loiret River near the town of Sully-sur-Loiret, was founded by monks of the Benedictine Order between 630 and 650.

At the end of the 7th c., the monastery became a popular place of pilgrimage because of the relics of St. Benedict, which were translated there from the monastery of Monte Cassino. In the Middle Ages, it was also famous thanks to the school found-

[100] Hallam E. Capetian France: 987–1328. Longman Group Ltd.,1980. P. 50–51.

[101] De Planhol Z. and Claval P. An Historical Geography of France, trans. Janet Lloyd. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994. P. 252–253.

[102] Suger, abbé. Vie de Louis VI le Gros. H. Waquet (éd.). Paris, 1964. P. 276.

[103] Suger. The Deeds of Louis the Fat. The Catholic University of America Press (USA), 1992. 224 p. P. 62.



Abbey of Saint-Benoit-de-Fleury. Present-day photo



Tombstone to Philip I in the Abbey of Saint-Benoit-de-Fleury. Present-day photo

ed there by St. Odo, the abbot of the monastery in 930–942. In 1020, due to the efforts of Abbot Gauzlin, a tower in the Romanesque style was erected. According to Gauzlin, the tower became "a model for the entire Gallia". The abbey underwent a major reconstruction in the mid-11th c. when double choir aisles, a new crypt for the relics of St. Benedict, among other structures, were built. During the French Revolution of 1790, the monastery was closed. Many buildings of the abbey were destroyed, and only the old monastery church has survived – one of the best monuments of Romanesque architecture in France.

The real revival of the abbey took place only in the 20th c. Today it is an active monastery, where many Christian relics are kept under its vaults, including the remains of Philip I, the son of Anna Yaroslavna.

The apostolic name Philip became one of the most popular within the French royal family. In the 11th–19th cc., there were eight reigning kings of France with this name, not counting pretenders.

DESCENDANTS OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA AND HENRY I: SON ROBERT

The second son of Anna Yaroslavna and Henry I, Robert, was born in 1053 or early 1054. Chronicle of Alberic de Trois-Fontaine mentions the three sons of Henry and Anna, *Philippum, Robertum et Hugonam,* and notes that Robert died in his infancy: *Robertus iuvenis mortuus est*[104]. Similar confirmations of this are contained in other French medieval sources[105]. The chronicles testified that in memory of his son, King Henry founded a church and an abbey in front of the city walls – Saint-Martin-des-Champs, in honour of St. Martin.[106] It is also probable that the abbey was established in the lifetime of Robert, and after his death received large donations from the royal family to commemorate the young prince. There is no exact information about the date of Robert's death (scholars assume that it happened between 1059 and 1064) and the place of his burial. It could be either the family royal necropolis of the Capetians – the Saint-Denis Abbey, or the abovementioned monastery of St. Martin.

SAINT-MARTIN-DES-CHAMPS ABBEY

Chronicles of the late 11th – early 12th cc. indicate the foundation of the abbey by Henry I in memory of his son Robert; in particular, this fact is reported by the chronicler Hugh de Fleury († 1122)[107]. The founding of the monastery is also mentioned by the Chronicle of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (13th c.)[108] and other sources. And, although the chroniclers ignored this fact, the confirmation of our assumption is the Charter of

[104] Chronica Albrici Monachi Trium Fontium 1060, MGH SS XXIII, p. 792.

[105] Hugonis Floriacensis liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus / ed. G. Waitz. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. SS. Bd. 9. Hannover, 1851. P. 389.

[106] Op. cit.

[107] Op. cit.

[108] Albrici monachi Triumfontium Chronicon / ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst // Monumenta Germaniae Historica. SS. Bd. XXIII. Hannover,1846. P. 631–950.



Museum of Arts and Crafts (former Saint-Martin-des-Champs Abbey). Present-day photos

1060 on the re-foundation of the abbey, signed, among others, by Anna Yaroslavna[109].

The site of the church and monastery is associated with the figure of Martin of Tours, a saint who lived in the 4th c. and is considered the ancestor of French monasticism and patron saint of the poor. According to legend, serving in a Roman cavalry, Martin shared his cloak with a beggar. The oldest known structure on the site was a chapel dedicated to St. Martin of Tours, founded during the Merovingian dynasty and mentioned in the chronicles of the early 8th c. In the 10th c., it was destroyed by Normans. That's why some later sources tell about its establishment or re-foundation. In the 11th c., this territory was located beyond the city, outside its gates. Hence the name *des champs*, meaning "in the fields".

Evidence of the founding of the monastery by the royal family of Henry I is also attested in the Chronicle of the Saint-Martin-des-Champs Abbey, created in Paris between 1072 and 1079, shortly after the events happened. The value and uniqueness of the chronicle is in its illumination. The pages of the authentic chronicle have been preserved in their original form[110] and also exist in later copies and transcriptions[111].

Since King Henry I died shortly after the abbey was founded, his family took care of completing its construction. We assume that one of the most important roles in this was played by Anna Yaroslavna, because her son Philip was only about 8 years old. Later, in his presence, the construction was completed and consecrated on May 29, 1067. Confirmation of this is found in the same illuminated Chronicle of the abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs in the 11th c.[112]

One of the pages of the Chronicle depicts Philip I on the throne of France, surrounded by his court, presenting the Charter to the monks. Imaginary portraits of clergymen and courtiers with their names inscribed above their heads are placed there. The churches of Saint-Martin-des-Champs and Saint-Samson are depicted nearby. There is also a brightly illustrated transcription of this Chronicle of the 13th c.[113] Later copies of the Chronicle were also created, in particular, in the 18th c.

Members of the royal family of Anna Yaroslavna, together with the regent of the kingdom, Duke Baldwin V, remained benefactors of the abbey for a long time, as evidenced by other medieval documents, including the Charter, dated 1065. It is noteworthy that the name of Anna's second consort, Raoul de Crépy de Valois, is also mentioned among the other benefactors[114].

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[109] Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075). University of Toronto, Centre for Medieval Studies//Royal Studies Journal. Vol. 3, no. 1, 2016. P. 59.

[110] Chronicle of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2017/12/chronicles-and-cartularies-fact-and-fiction.html – 02.04.2019.

[111] Plagnieux P. Le Chevet de Saint-Martin des Champs à Paris. Incunable de l'architecture gothique et temple de l'oraison clunisienne. Bulletin Monumenta, 2009. 167–1. PP. 3–39.

[112] Chronicle of Saint-Martin-des-Champs. https://blogs.bl.uk/digitisedmanuscripts/2017/12/chronicles-and-cartularies-fact- and-fiction.html – 02.04.2019. P. 12, 35.

[113] Plagnieux P. Le Chevet de Saint-Martin des Champs à Paris. Incunable de l'architecture gothique et temple de l'oraison clunisienne.//Bulletin Monumenta, 2009. 167–1. PP. 3–39.

[114] Zajac T. Gloriosa Regina or "Alien Queen"? Some Reconsiderations on Anna Yaroslavna's Queenship (r. 1050–1075). University of Toronto, Centre for Medieval Studies//Royal Studies Journal. Vol. 3, no. 1, 2016. P. 62.

Today, the former abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, together with the related structures of later centuries, is one of the most outstanding buildings of Parisian medieval architecture. Some of the abbey structures have survived and are now the home of the Museum of Arts and Crafts (the oldest technical museum in Europe). It is noteworthy that here the first famous Foucault pendulum was installed[115].

DESCENDANTS OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA AND HENRY I: SON HUGH

Hugh the Great, Count of Vermandois (1057–1101/1102), the youngest son of Anna and Henry I[116], was named after Henry's grandfather, the first king of France of the Capetian dynasty.

His birth to the royal family is mentioned by a number of French medieval sources[117]. The chroniclers William of Tyre, Orderic Vitalis, Albert of Aachen, and others call him "Hugh the Great" and associate this epithet with the Prince's participation in the First Crusade as one of its leaders[118].

Historians note that Hugh assisted Philip in ruling the state[119]. There is evidence that in 1085 he, together with Wilhelm the Conqueror, resisted the Danish invasion of England[120].

In 1096, Hugh and Philip began to discuss the prospect of the Crusades. As King Philip was excommunicated because of his second marriage, he could not participate in the campaign. Hugh was one of the first who responded to the appeal of Pope Urban II and became one of the leaders of the First Crusade[121].

At the end of August of the same year, Hugh went to Italy, intending to sail across from there to the Balkans[122]. During the crossing from Bari to Illyricum, "he was caught in a violent storm and lost most of his ships along with the oarsmen and warriors; only one skiff, on which Hugh was, partially survived and was cast ashore"[123].

The most complete testimony of Hugh's participation in the campaign is *The Alexiad* by Anna Komnene, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios. The author describes a curious episode with Hugh: "A certain Hugh, brother of the King of Frankia,

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[115] Museum of Arts and Crafts: https://www.arts-et-metiers.net/musee/histoire-du-musee. Excess date: 03.04.2019.

[116] Guibert of Nogent. Dei gesta per Francos. Turnhout, 1996. P. 313.

[117] Hugonis Floriacensis, Liber qui Modernorum Regum Francorum continet Actus 10, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. – SS. IX, p. 389; RHC, Historiens occidentaux I, Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum («L'estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer"), ("WT") – I. XVII, p. 45; Orderic Vitalis (Prévost). Vol. III, Liber VII, I. – P. 159.

[118] Historiens occidentaux I, Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum («L'estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer. Recueil des historiens des croisades. I. XVII. P. 45; Orderic Vitalis (Prévost). Vol. III, Liber VII, I. P. 159; Historiens occidentaux. Recueil des historiens des croisades Tome IV (Paris, 1879), Alberti Aquensis Historia Hierosolymitana («Albert of Aix (RHC)»), Liber II, Cap. VII–VIII. P. 304–305.

[119] Аллю Р. Анна Ярославна – королева Франції. Торонто, 2002. – С. 91.

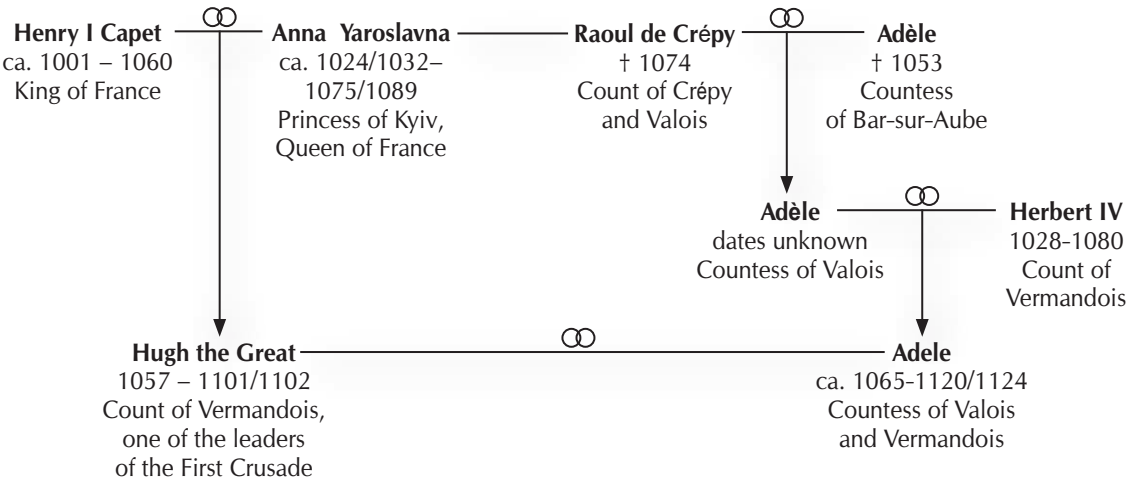
[120] Tyerman C. How to Plan a Crusade. Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages. London, 2015. P. 134.

[121] Flori J. Pierre L'Ermite et la Première Croisade. Paris, 1999. – P. 232; Runciman S. A History of the Crusades, vol.1. New York (USA),1951. P. 111–112.

[122] Setton K.M. A history of Crusades. University of Wisconsin Press (USA), 2006. P. 266–267.

[123] Anna Komnene. The Alexiad. London, 2009. P. 279; Анна Комнина. Алексиада. М., 1965. С. 279–280.

Marriage of Hugh the Great with the Granddaughter of Raoul de Crépy de Valois



who boasted [...] of his nobility, wealth, and power, as he was about to leave his native country for the Holy Sepulchre and sought to ensure a magnificent reception beforehand, sent an absurd message to the Emperor: 'Know, O Emperor', he said, 'that I am the King of Kings, the greatest of all beneath the heavens. Therefore, when I arrive, you must meet me with all due solemnity and arrange a reception worthy of my noble birth'". Nothing is known about the historical authenticity of this message. But Anna Komnene noted that the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos did indeed "receive Hugh with honour, showing him every mark of favour, gave him vast sums of money, and persuaded him to become his vassal" by taking the corresponding oath[124].

German historian H. E. Mayer claimed that Emperor Alexios Komnenos was lucky because the first contingent of the Crusaders, who arrived in Constantinople led by Hugh, was very small in number and easily controlled. Alexios "discreetly but effectively" restricted Hugh's freedom of action until he was ready to swear that all the territories which belonged to Byzantium before the Turkish conquests would be restored[125].

After the Crusaders successfully crossed Seljuk territory and captured Antioch in 1098, Hugh went back to Constantinople with a request for military reinforcements and was refused by the emperor. Alexios Komnenos showed no interest. Hugh then returned to France.

As early as 1101, Hugh rejoined the Crusaders. He was soon mortally wounded in a battle with the Turks led by Kilij Arslan near Heraclea. He later died of his wounds in Tarsus (now a city in Mersin Province, Turkey), where he was buried in St. Paul's Church.

[124] Op. cit.
[125] Mayer H. E. The Crusades, translated by John Gillingham. Oxford, 1972. P. 48.

Thanks to his marriage to Adèle of Valois and Vermandois (ca. 1062–1122), Hugh is known as the founder of the Vermandois House of the Capetian Dynasty. The marriage produced eight children. It's noteworthy that Adèle was the granddaughter of Raoul de Crépy, Count of Valois, the second consort of Anna Yaroslavna[126].



St. Paul's Church in Tarsus (Turkey). Present-day photo

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH IN HONOUR OF SAINT PEXINE IN THE TOWN OF SAINT-QUENTIN

There is evidence that the Collegiate Church of Saint Pexine in Saint-Quentin (in the modern Aisne department of the Hauts-de-France region) owes its founding to Hugh the Great[127]. Saint Pexine, in whose honour the church was built, was Spanish in origin and preached in the 8th c. in Spain and France. Later she was buried in the town of Thorignak (now Sainte-Pezenne in Nouvelle-Aquitaine, France). In 1090, Hugh the Great obtained the relics of the saint[128] and translated them to the church in Saint-Quentin[129], which made the temple a famous place of pilgrimage.

DESCENDANTS OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA AND HENRY I: DAUGHER EMMA — THE BLESSED EDIGNA

The first chronicle which testifies the birth of a daughter in the French royal family of Anna and Henry is the Chronicle by William of Jumièges († after 1070) — *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*. The author states that the marriage of Henry and the daughter of the King of Rus' produced the sons, Philip



The Basilica of Saint-Quentin (12th–14th cc., France) built on the site of a church, probably devoted to Saint Pexine. Present-day photo

[126] Bautier R.-H. Anne de Kiev… (1985), P. 539–564.
[127] André-Guillaume Contant d'Orville, André René de Voyer d'Argenson de Paulmy. Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque. Vol. 21. P. 184–185.
[128] Baudoin J. Grand livre des saints. Creer, 2005. P. 390.
[129] André-Guillaume Contant d'Orville, André René de Voyer d'Argenson de Paulmy Paulmy. Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque. Vol. 21. P. 184–185.

and Hugh, and one daughter[130]. The chronicle doesn't mention their son Robert and uses the wrong name for Henry's wife, but distinctly names her as the daughter of the King of Rus'[131].



The Wayfaring of Blessed Edigna.
Engraving from the edition *Bavaria Sancta* by M. Raderi[135]

Another French chronicler, Hugh of Fleury († after 1122), is more precise in his testimonies. In his work *The Deeds of Modern Kings of France* he correctly names the Rus'ian princess as Anna and reports the birth of four offspring to the royal family: Philip, Hugh, Robert and Emma. In the Latin variant – *Philippum, Hugonem, Rotbertum, Emmamque*[132].

The name "Emma" was not an accidental choice by the French royal family; this was the name of the Queen of the Western Franks († 934/935), wife of Raoul I of Burgundy[133]. Hugo the Great, the first king of the Capetian dynasty, also had a sister named Emma († 968) who later became the wife of Richard I, Duke of Normandy[134].

If the evidence that Anna Yaroslavna left France after 1075 in order to return to Rus' is true, we think that Anna may have died on the way to Kyiv. It is also probable that she went to her homeland with her daughter, because nothing is known about Emma's adult life and destiny in France[136] at that time. However, around 1074–1075, a unique foreign girl appeared in the Bavarian village of Puch near Munich. Her thorough education and noble upbringing revealed her high birth, and her pious life as a scholar and hermit who had uncanny abilities to preach and to heal the sick with prayer, testified to her Christian values. The local people started to call her Edigna, which means "Worthy".

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[130] The gesta Normannorum ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Robert of Torigni. Vol. 2: Books V–VIII, ed. E. Van Houts. Oxford, 1992–1995. P. 152; Histoire des ducs de Normandie par Guillaume de Jumiège. Collection des mèmoires relatifs a l'Histoire de France. Paris, 1826. S. 215.

[131] Histoire des ducs de Normandie par Guillaume de Jumiège//Collection des mèmoires relatifs a l'Histoire de Hugonis Floriacensis liber qui modernorum regum Francorum continet actus / ed. G. Waitz. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. SS. Bd. 9. Hannover, 1851. P. 388–389.

[132] Op. cit.

[133] France J., Bulst N. and Reynolds P. (eds. and trans.). Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque, Rodulfus Glaber Opera (Oxford), 1989. P. 15.

[134] Willelmi Gemmetencis Historiæ (Du Chesne, 1619). Liber IV, X, XII. P. 243–244.

[135] Raderi M. Heiliges Bayer Land. In die Deutche Sprach ubersetzt von Rassler M. Augsburg, 1714. S. 133–136.

[136] Mézeray F. E. de. Histoire de France. Volume 1. Paris, Mathieu Guillemot, 1643. P. 398–399.

A local legend traditionally narrated that Edigna was born to the family of the King of France. At the age of 19, she abandoned the royal palace to avoid a forced marriage[137]. Another legend states that Edigna decided to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. According to yet another story, the maiden intended to go to Rus', to Kyiv, about which she had heard many wonderful stories from her mother[138].



Blessed Edigna. M. Gottschalk (1936), after F. J. Mörl († 1735). Ceiling fresco in the Church of St. Sebastian and St. Edigna (Puch, Bavaria, Germany)

The legend states that on her way from France Edigna saw a dream that became prophetic for her: God's providence told her to stay where she would hear both the crow of a rooster and the sound of a church bell. The prophecy came true near the village of Puch in Bavaria, 30 km from the modern city of Munich (now the Federal Republic of Germany).

Edigna distributed all her possessions to the poor, settled inside the trunk of an old linden tree and lived in it, like a nun in a cell, for about 35 years. She led a pious life, subsisting only on a plant-based diet, taught children how to read and write, and preached Christian values. The gift of healing was bestowed upon her. For many years, she treated local people, and assisted them in overcoming illnesses and troubles.

The fame of the healer Edigna spread throughout Bavaria.

She died on February 26, 1109. During her life, a church was built near the linden tree, where she was later buried.

According to legend, after Edigna's death, the linden tree began to produce a healing oil, but after it was sold for money, the miracle stopped[139].

The blessed maiden did not reveal her noble origins to anyone, and they became known only after her death. The legend and cult of Edigna are known from the iconography of the 14th–15th cc. Edigna is depicted in monastic attire but wearing a royal crown. In her hands, she holds a book, a cross or a lily (a symbol of innocence), with a rooster depicted nearby.

We consider that the crown and the rooster, as attributes of the iconographic image of Edigna, also symbolically indicate her origin from the French royal family.

[137] Schlichting E. Die Wallfahrten u. Gnadenbilder der Inkorporierten Kirchen Furstenfelds bis 1803: In Tal u. Einsamkeit 725 Jahre klr. Furstenfeld, hg. v. A. Ehrman w.a., Bol 2., 1988, S. 284–288.

[138] Per Einar Odden. Den salige Edigna av Puch (1055–1109): http://www.katolsk.no/biografier/historisk/edignpuch (Access date: 06.12.2018).

[139] Raderi M. Heiliges Bayer Land. // In die Deutche Sprach ubersetzt von Rassler M. Augsburg, 1714. S. 136; Dunbar A. Edigna von Puch. //A Dictionary of Saintly Women. Vol. 1. London, 1904. P. 251.



Imaginary portrait of St. Edigna by A. Orlyonov, 2008.
Private collection

The rooster is a well-known symbol of France and the French nation. The Latin word *gallus* means both "rooster" and "inhabitant of Gaul". Some ancient coins bear the image of a rooster, and later, the rooster became the emblem of the tribes of Gaul/Gallia (the ancient name of France in historical literature and poetry). In Greek, France still sounds like Gallia (Γαλλία)[140]. In addition, in the Middle Ages, the Gallic rooster was used in art as a religious symbol – a sign of faith and hope[141], a harbinger of the dawn, renewal and enlightenment after the night darkness, where ignorance and sin reign.

According to the widespread Rus'ian tradition, the baptismal or monastic name in princely families was often (but not always) chosen with the same initial letter as the secular one (Volodymyr-Vasyl, Olga-Olena...). There is evidence that Queen Anna received the baptismal name Agnes[142]. We assume that after having refused a secular life, Anna's daughter Emma also renounced her secular name, thus Emma became Edigna (both names begin with the same letter "E", according to Rus'ian tradition).

In addition, a family parallel has been found in the history of the French royal dynasty. Edigna's ancestor, Saint Aurelia († 1027), the sister of King Robert I of France (the father of Henry I), might serve as an example of monastic life and piety. According to sources, she desired to avoid marriage and dedicate her life to God, and fled from France to Bavaria, living for more than 50 years in solitude at the monastery of St. Emmeram near Regensburg[143].

The first written mention of Edigna dates back to 1347 in a document on the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Louis IV of Bavaria, who died while hunting in the woods near the village of Puch[144].

One of the important written testimonies about Edigna belongs to the German historian Johannes Aventinus Turmain (1477–1534), author of the *Bavarian Chronicle*[145]. The legend of the Blessed Edigna is also retold by the German writer Matthew Rader in his work *Bavaria Sancta* (1624)[146]. The work was translated into German by Maximilian Rassler and published in 1714. Information about Edigna is contained in the second volume of the edition[147]. The author identified the Blessed Edigna as belonging to the family of a French King, but gave two alternative versions: he suggested that her father could have been Henry I († 1060), Anna Yaroslavna's consort, or Philip I (1052–1108), Anna's son. The author of *A Dictionary of Saintly*

[140] Embassy of France in Greece official website: https://gr.ambafrance.org.

[141] Government of France official web portal: http://archives.gouvernement.fr/villepin/en/acteurs/symbols_of_the_republic_185/the_gallic_rooster_50226.html.

[142] Аллю Р. Анна Ярославна – королева Франції. Торонто, 2002. С. 107.

[143] Sauser E. Aurelia. Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon (BBKL). Band 21, Bautz, Nordhausen, 2003. S. 43–44.

[144] Edigna von Puch. Ökumenisches Heiligenlexikon: https://www.heiligenlexikon.de/BiographienE/Edigna_von_Puch.htm (Access date: 24.02.2018).

[145] Johannes Turmain, gen. Aventinus. Annales Ducum Boiariae. Bd. 1. München, 1882. S. 456.

[146] Rader M. Bavaria Sancta. Vol. 2. München 1624. S. 237–240. Digital library of Germany: https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/OB6TWHLIH3ALZKRTOCLHTOE54NC3OQ5F (Access date: 14.01.2019).

[147] Raderi M. Heiliges Bayer Land. In die Deutche Sprach ubersetzt von Rassler M. Augsburg. 1714, S. 133–136.



Stained glass window from the Cathedral of Our Lady (*Frauenkirche*) in Munich (Germany), depicting St. Edigna (centre). Photo by N. Kukovalska. 2019

Women, Agnes Dunbar, proposed that even Hugo Capet († 996) was potentially the father of Edigna[148]. In our opinion, her birth to the family of Anna and Henry I is the most chronologically substantiated.

In the church of Puch, the researcher Matthew Rader personally found a memorial plaque dedicated to Edigna, which read: "Blessed Virgin Edigna, a Frenchwoman descended from the King of France"[149].

In the late 16th c., the relics of Edigna were lifted from the tomb for veneration. Rader describes numerous miraculous healings attributed to them during 1590–1616. There is evidence that prayers to Edigna helped find lost or stolen things[150]. Pilgrimages to the relics of the Blessed Edigna were especially numerous at the turn of the Middle Ages to the new times (16th and 17th cc.).

In 1600, the Roman Catholic Church beatified Edigna. The feast day of the saint is celebrated on 26 February.

In 1661, the widow of the Elector of Bavaria Maximilian I, Archduchess Maria Anna of Austria († 1665), donated a valuable sarcophagus for the relics of the Blessed Edigna[151]. Her predecessor, Maximilian's first wife Elizabeth Renata of Lorraine, made the same gesture during a pilgrimage to St. Edigna's tomb in 1600, but the gift was stolen during the Swedish invasion of 1632[152].

In 1959, the Society of Edigna (Edigna-Verein) was established in the village of Puch[153]. Since then, there have been large celebrations dedicated to the Blessed Edigna every ten years, and the community creates theatrical performances based on her life. The name of the saint has become the most popular among the female residents of the village, and many daughters of the Bavarians have been named Edigna.

[148] Dunbar A. Edigna von Puch. A Dictionary of Saintly Women. Vol. 1. London, 1904. P. 251.
[149] Rader M. Bavaria Sancta. Vol. 2. München, 1624. S. 239. Digital library of Germany: https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/OB6TWHLIH3ALZKRTOCLHTOE54NC3OQ5F (Access date: 14.01.2019).
[150] Johannes Turmain, gen. Aventinus. Annales Ducum Boiariae. Bd. 1. München, 1882. S. 456.
[151] Trinkl S. Das Zisterzienserkloster Fürstenfeld under Abt Balduin Helm 1690–1705. Munchen, 2015. S. 349.
[152] Klemenz B. Das Zisterzienserkloster Fürstenfeld zur Zeit von Abt Martin Dallmayr (1640–1690) Sondereinband, 1. Januar 1997. 49 s. S. 185.
[153] Der Edigna-Verein: http://www.edigna-puch.de (Access date: 19.01.2019).

The main place of worship is still the church of St. Sebastian in Puch. The left side-altar of the church is dedicated to the Blessed Edigna. The paintings on the walls and ceiling of the church depict scenes from Edigna's life. In 1988, the Ukrainian church community from Bavaria created a new image of Edigna with the inscription in Ukrainian and German, confirming her origin from the family of the Kyivan Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great and his son Yaroslav the Wise: "Blessed Edigna, great-granddaughter of St. Volodymyr, daughter of Anna Yaroslavna, pray for us all and for our people. On the millennium of the baptism of Ukraine, Puch, 6 July 1988. Ukrainian youth in the diaspora".

CLOSE AND REMOTE DESCENDANTS OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA

Among the grandchildren of Anna Yaroslavna are many prominent male and female historical figures: King Louis VI of France (1081–1137), Princess Constance of Antioch (1078–1126), Cecile, Princess of Antioch and Countess of Tripoli and Tiberias (1097–after 1145), and others. Through the lineage of her son Philip I and his descendants, the Kyivan Princess and French Queen Anna became the ancestor of successive generations of kings who ruled France for many centuries.

Anna of Kyiv is also a remote ancestor of present rulers of Great Britain because one of the daughters of her son Hugh the Great, Elizabeth of Vermandois (ca. 1085–1131), was married to William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey († 1138). The daughter born to this marriage, Ada de Warenne (ca. 1120–1178)[154], became the wife of Henry (ca. 1114–1152), Earl of Huntingdon and Northumbria, the son and the heir of King David I of Scotland (ca. 1082–1153)[155]. A remarkable coincidence is that David was the descendant (grandson) of another Kyivan princess, Agatha (Agafia) – by our version, the daughter of Borys Volodymyrovych, one of the first Rus'ian holy princes, passion bearers[156].

Ada de Warenne and Henry of Scotland became the parents of seven children, including two subsequent kings of Scotland: Malcolm IV (1141–1165) and William I the Lion (ca. 1142–1214). And through the ineage of their son David of Scotland (ca. 1144–1219), Earl of Huntington, one can trace a continuous line of descendants – the rulers of Scotland, England and Great Britain, including the late Queen Elizabeth II (1926–2022) and her great-grandchildren.

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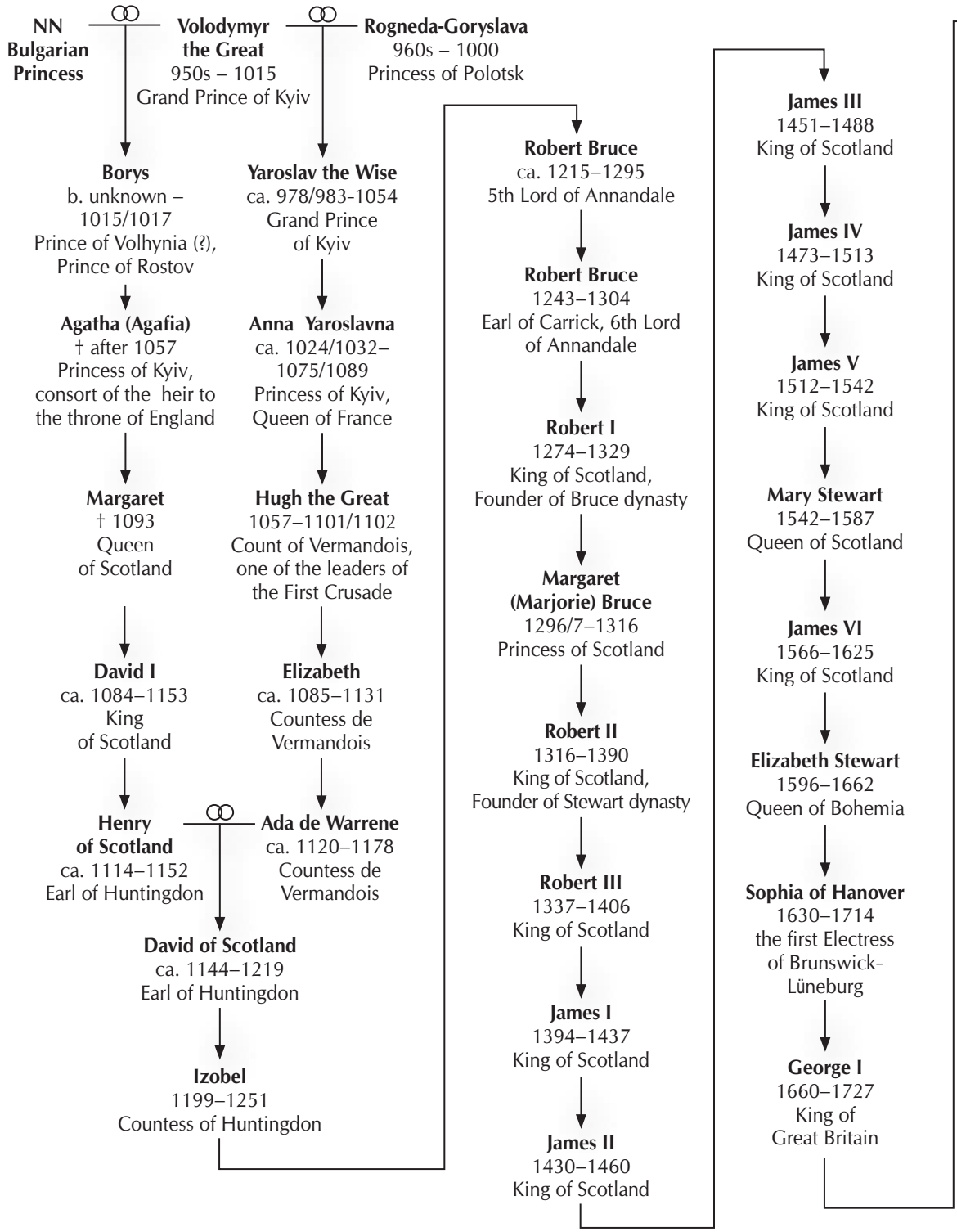
[154] Oram R. Domination and Lordship, Scotland 1070-1230. In: The New Edinburgh History of Scotland. Volume 3. Edinburgh 2011, p. 430.

[155] Stevenson J. A Medieval Chronicle of Scotland: The Chronicle of Melrose, 1139. Somerset 1991, p. 12.

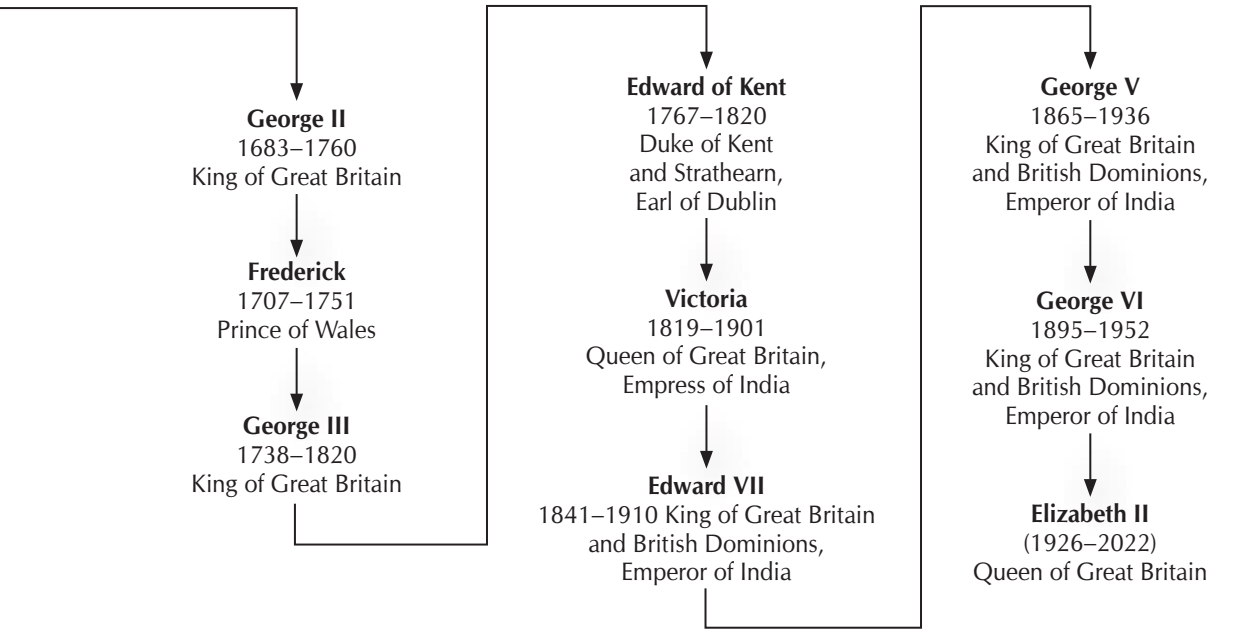
[156] Yasynetska O. Poland-Ukraine: A Thousand Years of Reciprocity. The Kyivan Princess Dobroniega-Maria, Wife of Kazimir the Restorer: A New Hypothesis of her Pedigree. In: Studia Lednickie. Vol. XVII. Dziekanowice 2018, p. 17.

[157] Yasynetska O. Poland-Ukraine: A Thousand Years of Reciprocity. The Kyivan Princess Dobroniega-Maria, Wife of Kazimierz the Restorer: A New Hypothesis of Her Pedigree // Studia Lednickie. Vol. XVII. Dziekanowice (Poland). 2018, p. 11–27; Ясинецька О. Шлюб Казимира І Відновителя та Доброніги-Марії в контексті династичних взаємин Польщі та України XI–XII ст. // Славістична збірка. Вип. IV. К., 2018. С. 145–167; Ясинецька О.

Close and Remote Descendants of Anna Yaroslavna and Agatha of Kyiv



Close and Remote Descendants of Anna Yaroslavna and Agatha of Kyiv[157]



Thus, the family tree of the Grand Princes and Princesses of Kyiv expanded its branches into distant realms across both space and time, uniting Rus'-Ukraine genetically and culturally with the entire European world.

The monuments of cultural heritage, as well as historical records of Anna Yaroslavna and her family members, serve as a tangible embodiment of their active cultural and state affairs, standing as vivid testimony to the millennium-long shared history and culture of Ukraine and Europe. It is no coincidence that the former

До питання про особливості родоводу давньоруської князівни Марії-Добронеги, дружини правителя Польщі (з 1038/1043–1058 рр.) // Краєзнавство. 2016. № 1–2. С. 175–193; Duncan A. A. M. Scotland: Making of the Kingdom // The Scottish Historical Review.Oct. 1976. Vol. 55, No. 160, Part 2. P. 195–197; Мак-Кензи А. Рождение Шотландии / Перевод, научная ред., вступит. статья С. В. Иванова. СПб.: Евразия, 2003. 336 с.; Anderson O. Early Sources of Scottish History, A. D. 500 to 1286 // General Books LLC, 2010. Vol. 1. P. 395; Barrow G. W. S. David I of Scotland: The Balance of New and Old // Scotland and its Neighbours in the Middle Ages. London: Bloomsbury, 1992. P. 9–11; Bawcutt P. J. and Williams J. H. A Companion to Medieval Scottish Poetry. Woodbridge: Brewer, 2006. P. 21; Davies R. R. The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. P. 64; Davies G. The Early Stuarts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937. 492 p.; Grant A., Stringer K. J. Uniting the Kingdom?: The Making of British History. London: Routledge, 1995.P. 101; Hudson B. T. Kings of Celtic Scotland. Westport: Greenhill, 1994. P. 95–96; Lynch M. Scotland: A New History. London: Random House, 2011. P. 80; Mackie J. D., Lenman B., Parker G. A History of Scotland London: Penguin, 1991. P. 200–206; Mac Quarrie A. Medieval Scotland: Kinship and Nation.Thrupp: Sutton, 2004. P. 153; Menzies G. The Scottish Nation. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002. P. 179; Mitchison R. A. History of Scotland.London: Routledge, 3rd ed., 2002. P. 314; Smith D. L. A History of the Modern British Isles, 1603–1707: The Double Crown. Wiley-Blackwell, 1998. Ch. 2; Thomson W. P. L. The New History of Orkney.Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2008. P. 204; Wormald J. Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470–1625. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991. P. 5.

President of France, Jacques Chirac, in one of his public speeches remarked: "In the 11th c., Queen Anna of France, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, was the first to introduce into the minds of French people the evidence of such an accomplished Ukrainian culture."[158]

Anna Yaroslavna's genes and spirit spread all over the world, merging into the mainstream of European lineage, creating a unified circulatory system between Kyiv and the entire medieval Europe. This circle is still unbreakable, distinctive, and enduring to this day...

[158] Discours de Monsieur Jacques Chirac Président de la République Française à l'Université d'État Chevtchenko, Kyiv. Jeudi, 3 septembre 1998. L'Ukraine (Paris). 1998. № 251–252. P. 55–66.

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