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Runaway Rulers: Marriage, Power, and Building a Wider Medieval Europe

Christian Raffensperger

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Christian Raffensperger
WITTENBERG UNIVERSITY

Abstract: 1066 is a staple of narratives of medieval Europe. Less often discussed are the horizontal ties connecting its famous participants into a wider medieval Europe. This article will examine the runaway royals, male and female, from Anglo-Saxon England (and elsewhere), and how they sought support and alliances with Rus' and Ireland. Dynastic marriages were a staple of medieval European political interactions because they allowed rulers to give aid to other runaway rulers and to enhance their own political positions.

Iaroslav the Wise of Rus' was well known for marrying his children to royals from throughout medieval Europe. His example demonstrates the guiding principle that marriages were often made by ruling families with perhaps little more than the hope that the subjects of the marriage, typically exiled royalty, would return to their home kingdoms and take the throne or some similar position of power. In Ireland, we see less a focus on marital relationships and more on martial ones, as Diarmait mac Máel na mBó of Dublin lent military aid and ships to the runaway Anglo-Saxons and others in a bid to help them, while also potentially enhancing his own position—much like the guiding principle seen in dynastic marriages.

This article serves as a way to nuance and enrich the stories that we tell about medieval Europe; stories that demonstrate not just the traditional master narrative but the breadth of the web of medieval Europe.

Keywords: 1066; Ireland; Rus'; medieval studies; dynastic marriage; rulership

The momentous events of 1066 are well known to medievalists and are taught throughout Anglo-American classrooms as pivotal to the traditional narrative of medieval history. In that year, Harold Godwinsson, King of England, faced two invasions. The first was from Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, and the second was from William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy. The first invasion was defeated at Stamford Bridge and Harald Hardrada was killed. The second invasion was not: Duke William, subsequently called "the Conqueror," was victorious at Hastings, and Harold Godwinsson was killed. The victory of Duke William, now King William, led the way for the Normans to rule in England, eventually setting up the Angevin "Empire" where William's descendant Henry II and his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine ruled territory throughout western Europe. This is a common narrative in medieval Europe textbooks and classrooms, and is assuredly familiar to

all medievalists, no matter their specialty.[1]

This article proceeds from a familiar event to unfamiliar territory in Rus' and Ireland, to show that all three were interconnected via the web of relationships that made up the political world of the Middle Ages. The particular focus will be on Iaroslav the Wise of Rus' and Diarmait mac Máel na mBó of Ireland, and their policies of assisting runaway royals, including some of the participants in the events of 1066. In each case, Iaroslav and Diarmait assisted the runaways to both help them and to advance their own dynastic and political agendas. Though the two kings behaved similarly, their situations were not identical. Iaroslav typically utilized marital connections to bind exiled or runaway royals to him, while Diarmait offered military support to reclaim their lands, but no marriages. These differences could come from a variety of reasons, such as a comparative lack of sources for eleventh century Rus' not allowing us to know many details about these individuals, their marriages, or any provisions attached to them.[2] Regardless, the aim of the support in both instances was the same: to advance Iaroslav's and Diarmait's respective political agendas by building their web of relationships throughout Europe, and gathering potential favors from its rulers.

This article is not the first attempt to examine a wider medieval Europe beyond a focus on the medieval west. Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe* coined the phrase the "Europeanization of Europe" in his discussion of the spread of European ideas, values, and religion to the east.[3] This book is widely cited by western medievalists, and yet among some of us working on eastern Europe it has been used as a shibboleth, as the "Europeanization of Europe" is actually the Frankification of Europe, and Slavs in particular are portrayed in a slapstick fashion in this volume.[4] More recently, Chris Wickham's magisterial *Framing the Early Middle Ages* attempted to shift the focus to include the Mediterranean and the Islamic world. And yet, even in that expansion of scope, he created additional limitations by not including the Slavic world.[5]

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[1] For two traditional medieval history textbooks, see: R.H.C. Davis, *A History of Medieval Europe from Constantine to Saint Louis* (London: Pearson, 2006 [third edition by R.I. Moore, with the assistance of Joanna Huntington]); William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman, *The Medieval World View: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[2] The main source for eleventh century Rus' is the *Povest' vremennykh let*, often translated as "The Tale of Bygone Years." It was most likely compiled in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, but is only extant from the thirteenth century. *The Povest' vremennykh let: An Interlinear Collation and Paradosis*, Compiled and edited by Donald Ostrowski, with David Birnbaum and Horace G. Lunt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). There are few other sources from this period within Rus' and Simon Franklin has noted that there are only twenty-three extant manuscript books or fragments extant from the eleventh century in Rus'. Simon Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus', c.950-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 23.

[3] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[4] A word, "slapstick," that Bartlett himself uses for their attempts at technology. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, 74.

[5] Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800* (Oxford: Oxford University

Eastern Europeanists such as Nora Berend have also worked on creating a larger Europe, though often within certain parameters, such as her excellent, co-authored, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages*, which deals with Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary, but explicitly not Rus'.[6] My own work is part of this larger thematic schema, and my *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in Medieval Europe* has tried to create a larger medieval Europe, inclusive of the kingdom of Rus'.[7] However, as can be seen in this too brief historiographical overview, there is a lot of Europe to cover in the Middle Ages, and it is difficult for one person, no matter their breadth, to do all of it. This article therefore chooses the central focus of 1066, a date and event well known to medievalists of all stripes, and the connections with Ireland and Rus', two of the most peripheral polities in medieval Europe, to demonstrate the deep interconnectivity that existed throughout medieval Europe in this period.

If we return to the example of the events of 1066 and avoid the straight-line narrative suggested above about the Normans leading to the Angevins, we can see the nuance and broader focus on medieval Europe that exists. The conclusion of the campaign at Hastings and the defeat and death of Harold Godwinsson left his family scrambling.[8] Godwin Haroldsson fled to Ireland to seek assistance from the ruler of Dublin, Murchad, and his father the King of Leinster, Diarmait mac Máel na mBó.[9] A flight to Ireland would not have been surprising as Harold Godwinsson himself had fled to Ireland earlier, in the 1050s, and there were connections with Diarmait well-known in Irish historiography.[10] But as Clare Downham has noted, a lot of medieval Irish historiography is devoted to a narrative of the Irish nation (as is common more broadly as well).[11] In fact, this period under discussion has another problem noted by Seán Duffy, who suggests that "The period between the battle of Clontarf and the Anglo-Norman invasion remains one of the most neglected in Ireland's history."[12]

Press, 2005). Though it is important, at least to this author, to note that the rationale for doing so is because he does not speak the relevant languages (5) and yet allows as how the Islamic world is important enough to include in translation (8).

[6] Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbańczyk, and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

[7] Christian Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe: Kievan Rus' in the Medieval World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

[8] Benjamin Hudson, "The Family of Harold Godwinsson and the Irish Sea Province," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 109 (1979): 92.

[9] Hudson, "The Family of Harold Godwinsson," 94-95.

[10] Benjamin Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion, and Empire in the North Atlantic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 146–147. In this article alone one will see the scholarship on the topic, led by Hudson and Downham in particular.

[11] Clare Downham, "Living on the Edge: Scandinavian Dublin in the Twelfth Century," in *No Horns on their Helmets? Essays on the Insular Viking Age* (Aberdeen: The Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies and The Centre for Celtic Studies, 2013), 158. More generally, one should certainly reference the work of Patrick Geary which is particularly apropos for this article where he notes that the creation of the European Commonwealth was not really Europe. "The European Community was no such thing. It was actually the Western European Community ... For these nations, 'Europe' stopped at the so-called Iron Curtain." Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 1.

[12] Seán Duffy, "Irishmen and Islemen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man, 1052–1171," *Ériu* 43 (1992): 93.

But our example is not yet over: Harold Godwinsson's family fled in many directions, and another group escaped to the court of Svein Estridsson, King of Denmark. As with the flight to Dublin, it should not be surprising that some of the family came to Denmark. Harold and Svein were first cousins, and Harold's daughter Gytha shared a name with Svein's aunt (see Figure 2).[13] At some point, Gytha Haroldsdottir was betrothed to, and eventually married, Volodimer Monomakh, the son of King Vsevolod of Rus'.[14] As the flight of Harold's children to Ireland is known in Irish historiography, this information about a marriage with Harold's daughter is well established in the historiography of Rus', typically seen as part of Russian history.[15] Despite this, the marriage is still not much discussed by those same scholars and more often is mentioned as part of a series of marriages of Rusian rulers, amidst ties with Scandinavia rather than part of a web of connections that stretched as far as England.[16]

Looking at this example of 1066 and the flight of Harold Godwinsson's family in more depth, we can see that there are three layers (at least) to the story as told. The first is the normative narrative tradition of the defeat of Harold Godwinsson by Duke William and the creation of Norman England. The second is the flight of Harold's children to Ireland, their interactions with Irish rulers, and an attempt to reclaim their throne—a series of events largely, though not entirely, restricted to Irish historiography. A third narrative includes the family of Harold's that went to Denmark, and Gytha's eventual marriage to a Rusian prince, later king, an incident that exists as a footnote in Scandinavian historiography and a brief mention in that of Rus'. It is rare, in fact, to find a formulation like that offered by Benjamin Hudson: "The children of Harold Godwinsson who fled to the Danish court did not fall into total obscurity."[17] The goal of this article is to examine the multiple narratives and participants and attempt to tie them together, and to demonstrate how one of the most traditional narratives of "medieval Europe" can be inclusive of Ireland and Rus', highlighting the greater interconnectivity of medieval Europe.

Iaroslav and Rus'

The chronologically earliest ruler under discussion is Iaroslav the Wise, King of Rus' from

[13] Sven's father was Ulf, whose sister Gyða married Duke Godwin, Harold's father. Hudson, "The Family of Harold Godwinsson," 92–94, 97.

[14] Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia: Books X–XVI: Volume 1*, trans. Eric Christiansen (Oxford: B.A.R., 1980), bk. 11, ch. 6, 58; Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway*, trans. Lee M. Hollander (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), 702. Admittedly, the date of this marriage is a little bit of a mystery because of a lack of good primary sources. See the discussion in Christian Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship: Genealogy and Dynastic Marriage in Kyivan Rus'* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2016), 62–63.

[15] For example, in Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980-1584*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 49.

[16] I have used Rusian throughout this article as the adjectival form of Rus'. This avoids any confusion with the modern country of Russia that, while one of the polities claiming descent from Rus', is not coterminous with it.

[17] Hudson, "The Family of Harold Godwinsson," 97.

1036 to 1054. Iaroslav, the son of Volodimer Sviatoslavich, the Christianizer of Rus', has often been considered the ruler over a Golden Age in Rusian history, with advances in Christianization, learning, city building, and much more.[18] In addition to those internal developments, Iaroslav also spent a great deal of time building his external connections and increasing his kinship web with other ruling families of medieval Europe.[19] This kinship web would, over the course of his life, involve marriages with the ruling families of Byzantium, Hungary, Poland, France, England, and Norway—an enormous swath of medieval Europe. Those marriages involved both Rusian men and women; we see, for instance, a Polish princess, Gertrude, of the Mieszkowice, or Piast, family coming into Rus' to marry Iaroslav's son Iziaslav in the 1040s.[20] In this case, she brought her influence and her entourage into Rus' and eventually into the king's court at Kiev when her husband became king.[21] Similarly, the most well known of the marriages of Iaroslav's children is that between his daughter Anna and the King of France, Henry I in 1051.[22] Anna's marriage places a daughter of the King of Rus' in one of the most high profile courts in all of western Europe; in addition she was the mother of, and regent for, Philip I.[23]

These marriages, though important, are not the ones under discussion in this article, in which I will focus instead on three marriages that had the particular purpose of assisting royal rulers in exile. Proceeding in chronological order, we will examine the marriage of Iaroslav's

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[18] Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus, 750-1200* (New York: Longman, 1996), chapter 6.

[19] For an overview of the dynastic marriage policy of Rus', see: Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, chapters 2 and 3.

[20] *Rogozhskii Chronicle. Rogozhskii letopisets / Tverskoi sbornik* (Moscow: Iazyki slavianskoi kultury, 2000), 15:149 [hereafter *Tver Chronicle*]; *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei: Tom IX. Letopisnyi sbornik, imenuemyi: Patriarshei ili Nikonovskoi letopis'iu* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2000), 83 [hereafter *Nikon Chronicle*]; Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship*, 33–36. It is an oddity of Rusian sources that we must rely on non-Rusian sources (Latin, Greek, and Old Norse) for the history of Rusian women who are often excluded from the Rusian sources. For more information on this phenomenon, see: Christian Raffensperger, "The Missing Rusian Women: The Case of Evpraksia Vsevolodovna," in *Putting Together the Fragments: Writing Medieval Women's Lives*, ed. Amy Livingstone and Charlotte Newman Goldy (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 69–84.

[21] She also will help, both personally and via family connections, when her husband is usurped (twice!) during his rule. Christian Raffensperger, "Iziaslav Iaroslavich's Excellent Adventure: Constructing Kinship to Gain and Regain Power in Eleventh-Century Europe," *Medieval Prosopography* 30 (2015): 1–30.

[22] There are many primary sources for this marriage, and in addition, I have added two secondary source overviews. Adam of Bremen, *The History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), xiii.12, schol. 62 (63); Paul Marchegay and Émile Mabille, eds., "Chronicon: Vindocinense seu de Aquaria," in *Chroniques des églises D'Anjou* (Paris: Libraire de la société de l'histoire de France, 1869), 167; Clarius, "Chronicon Sancti-Petri-Vivi Senonensis: Auctore Clario" in *Bibliothèque Historique de'Lyonne. Volume 2* (Auxerre: Perriquet et Rouillé, Imprimeurs de la Société, 1863), s.a. 1046.; Waitz, Georgio, ed., "Hugo Floriacensis opera historica: accedunt aliae Francorum historiae," in *D. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Volume IX* (Hannover, 1851), 388–389; Psalter of Odalric, found in "'Paris' Roger II, XLIVe eveque de Chalons, sa vieet sa mission en Russie," *La Chronique de Champagne* 2 (1837), s.a. 1049 : Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship*, 48–52; Wladimir V. Bogomoletz, "Anna of Kiev: An Enigmatic Capetian Queen of the Eleventh Century: A Reassessment of Biographical Sources," *French History* 19 (2005): 299–323.

[23] Emily Joan Ward, "Anne of Kiev (*c*.1024–*c*.1075) and a reassessment of maternal power in the minority kingship of Philip I of France," *Historical Research* 89, no. 245 (2016): 435–453; Jean Dunbabin, "What's in a name? Philip, King of France," *Speculum* 68, no. 4 (1993): 949–968.

daughters, Agafia, Anastasia, and Elisabeth, to runaway royals from the ruling families of England, Hungary, and Norway respectively; the attempts of those rulers to regain their thrones; and the relationship they had with the Rusian court.

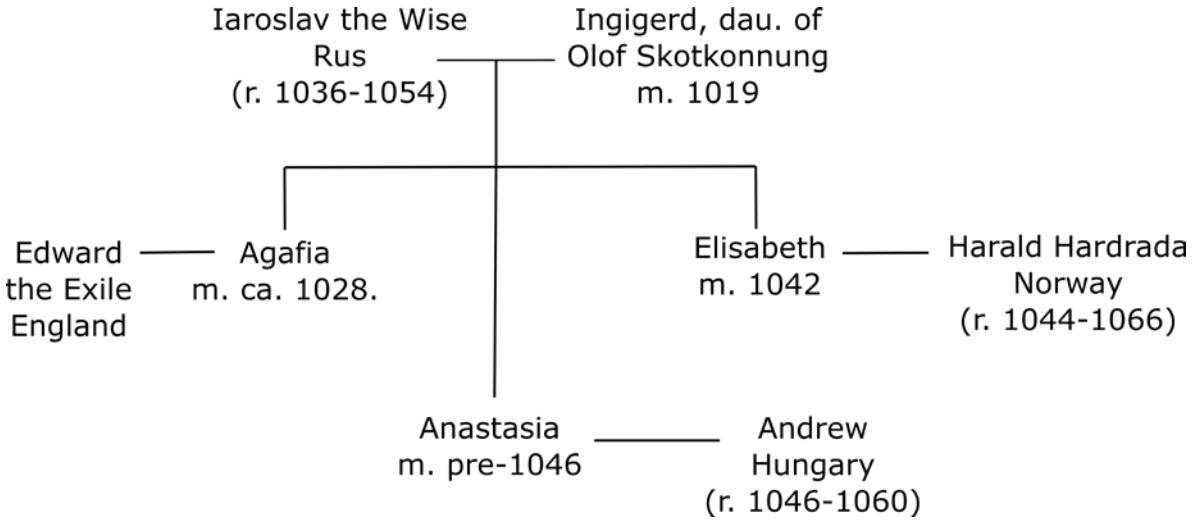

Figure 1: Iaroslav and three of his daughters with their husbands

In 1016, King Edmund Ironside of England was poisoned and replaced by Canute, on his path to creating a North Sea empire that would eventually cover Denmark, England, Norway, and parts of Sweden.[24] According to Adam of Bremen, Edmund's sons fled into exile and ended up at the court of Iaroslav in Rus'.[25] Though the information about this flight probably comes from Adam's eminent informer, King Svein Estridsson (mentioned earlier as involved in the harboring of Harold Godwinsson's children), the boys did not go to Denmark, but rather to the Swedish kingdom of Olof Skotkonnung.[26] From there it was an easy path to Rus', which was not only a neighbour but was also connected into a larger kinship web of familial relations. Iaroslav was at that time ruling the northern city of Novgorod, and was married to Ingigerd, the daughter of the selfsame King Olof of Sweden.[27] Iaroslav was still solidifying his power within Rus', but the arrival of these exiles, Edmund and Edward, presented him with an opportunity and as his own daughters were born and grew up, he

[24] Of course, these are modern political entities that do not entirely map onto medieval polities, but scholars typically speak in these terms as a kind of shorthand.
[25] Adam of Bremen, liii, 51, 92.
[26] René Jetté, "Is the Mystery of the Origin of Agatha, Wife of Edward the Exile, Finally Solved?," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 150, no. 600 (1996): 418.
[27] For the marriage between the two, see: *Heimskringla*, 342–343; *Morkinskinna: The Earliest Icelandic Chronicle of the Norwegian Kings (1030-1157),* trans. Theodore M. Andersson and Kari Ellen Gade (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), chapter 1; Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship*, 25–28.

engaged Edward (Edmund departs from the sources) to his daughter Agafia (see Figure 1).[28] At the time of this marriage, there was absolutely nothing concrete that Iaroslav could have expected from the marriage. It did not advance a political goal, military campaign, bring him wealth, or any of the other traditional rationales often offered for medieval dynastic marriages. Instead, it fits into a category that elsewhere I have termed "speculation."[29] Though I wrote about this solely in regard to Rus' and the marriages of the Volodimerovichi ruling family, it could be more widely applied. In sum, it is the idea that marriages were often made by ruling families with perhaps little more than the hope that the non-Rusian participant in the marriage, typically exiled royalty, would return to their home kingdoms and take the throne or some similar position of power. If that happened, "Iaroslav and Rus', would be looked upon favorably for aiding the king during his exile."[30] As we will see below, this is a similar motivation as Diarmait's, engaging in a prospective quid pro quo (with the quo to be delivered later). Iaroslav was quite willing to engage in these marriages, perhaps because of the relatively recent addition of his kingdom to the world of Christian medieval Europe that encompassed the marital world of the time. He also ended up with a record of some success in such marriages.

The marriage of Agafia and Edward did not end up placing Edward on the throne, though it came close to succeeding. Instead, Edward, known as "the Exile" in England, died under seemingly mysterious conditions upon his return to England. He had been summoned there by King Edward the Confessor along with Agafia, from Hungary where they had been residing with Agafia's sister Anastasia and her husband Andrew. King Edward wished to have Edward the Exile return to England in order to name him as heir and thus solidify the line of succession.[31] Upon Edward the Exile's death in 1057, Agafia took charge of the family and moved with their three children, Edgar, Christine, and Margaret to Scotland.[32] In Scotland, Margaret married Malcolm III, the King of Scotland.[33] Much less well known is the fate of

[28] There has been a great deal of historical debate about the identity of Edward's wife. I believe that this debate has been settled by the articles of Norman Ingham and Rene Jette. Jetté, "Is the Mystery of the Origin of Agatha, Wife of Edward the Exile, Finally Solved?"; and Norman W. Ingham, "Has a Missing Daughter of Iaroslav Mudry Been Found?," *Russian History* 25, no. 3 (1998): 231–270.

[29] Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, 83–86.

[30] Raffensperger, *Reimagining Europe*, 83. One could also discuss at further length the secondary ties that might be established because of such a marriage. Once the Rusian woman was in place in the heart of another kingdom, if she maintained ties to her natal family there was the prospect of enhancing Rusian political goals, as well as those of her marital family.

[31] Jetté, "Is the Mystery of the Origin of Agatha," 418–419.

[32] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. James Ingram (London, 1823), s.a. 1067 (https://avalon.law.yale.edu/medieval/ang11.asp)

[33] Pauline Stafford, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid–Tenth to Mid–Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1994), 153–154. Additionally, Ingham notes that the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* includes information about Agafia's father Iaroslav, as a way to cement the royal heritage of not only Margaret, her daughter, but Matilda, her granddaughter and the wife of Henry I of England. Ingham, "Has a Missing Daughter of Iaroslav Mudry Been Found?," 252–254.

Edgar, known as "Aethling."[34] Edgar appears multiple times in the pages of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, typically as a thorn in the side of William the Conqueror, and often receiving assistance from his brother-in-law King Malcolm.[35] One particular instance of that resistance to William occurred in 1074, when Edgar Aethling and King Philip corresponded and Philip offered Edgar sanctuary and assistance against William the Conqueror. [36] This event is particularly interesting when considered as a sign of the use of situational kinship networks within larger kinship webs.[37] It is an odd footnote to history unless one notes that both Edgar and Philip are first cousins, the sons of sisters, and the grandchildren of Iaroslav of Rus'; though, given the place of Rus' on the periphery of both medieval Europe and medieval European scholarship, this is rarely noted. It does, however, demonstrate that Iaroslav purposefully enmeshed his family into larger medieval European affairs, and that those networks continued to work after the initial marriage date.

Another exile, or a pair of them in this instance, arrived in Rus' in the 1030s. Andrew and Levente, brothers and potential heirs to the Árpád throne in Hungary, fled their home when King Stephen warned them of a danger to their lives.[38] These two brothers, initially joined by their middle brother Béla, who stayed in Poland (their first destination after leaving Hungary) and married a daughter of the ruler Mieszko II, found a home at the court of King Iaroslav—as had multiple runaway royalty before them.[39] At the court in Kiev, Andrew and Levente found a home; historians such as Dimitri Obolensky have even suggested that Andrew was baptized, though that seems highly unlikely given the other marital information that we have for this period.[40] It is certainly possible to confirm that Andrew did find a wife from among Iaroslav's daughters, a princess known as Anastasia (see Figure 1).[41] Like the marriage discussed above, this would fit into the category of speculation. It was completely unknown whether or not Andrew would return to Hungary and take power. This was true for multiple reasons, including whether he could go back (simply travel related), would another person in Hungary take the throne (there were contenders), or would Béla attempt to gain the throne, with the backing of the Mieszkowice in Poland. Iaroslav could not have known what would happen and nor could Andrew, but for a ruler such as Iaroslav, intent on building the

[34] A member of the royal family eligible for rule.
[35] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1069, 1074, 1086, 1091, and so on.
[36] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1074.
[37] Situational kinship networks allow individuals who may be related to one another in a larger kinship web to "engage in conflict and avoid the ramifications of widespread internecine conflict." Christian Raffensperger, *Conflict, Bargaining, and Kinship Networks in Medieval Eastern Europe* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018), 108–110.
[38] Dezso Dercesnyi, ed., *The Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle - Chronica de gestis Hungarorum* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1969), 107, 110–111.
[39] Interestingly, the marriage of Béla also binds him to Iaroslav's larger kinship web as one of Iaroslav's sons (Iziaslav) also marries a daughter of Mieszko II. See: Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship*, 336–337.
[40] Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 159
[41] Adam of Bremen, Book 3, XIII (12), Schol. 62 (63).; *Chronica de gestis Hungarorum*, 113.

largest territorial kingdom in Christian medieval Europe, chances had to be taken when they arose.[42] And, as we will see, this chance paid off. It is most likely that Iaroslav committed military forces to help his son-in-law return to Hungary and gain the Árpádian throne in 1046.[43]

Once back in Hungary, Andrew settled onto the throne and he and Anastasia had three children known to us today—Salomon, David, and Adelheid. Anastasia's role in Hungary after this time was not simply as bearer of children. As was common in medieval kingdoms throughout Europe, she participated in a variety of endeavors including naming her children, endowing monasteries and assisting the rule of her husband and children.[44] The names of her children were most likely her own affair and are akin to Anna Iaroslavna's introduction of Philip into the Capetian royal line.[45] We also note that Andrew founded multiple monasteries during his time as ruler of Hungary, some of which were Orthodox, rather than Latin, in ecclesiastical orientation.[46] Both traditions co-existed within Hungary, as they did elsewhere, and it should not be any surprise to modern scholars if the wife of Andrew, Anastasia, who was raised in a Kievan court that attended Orthodox services, was responsible for the foundation of such monasteries. Unfortunately, we do not have a plethora of sources for eleventh century Hungary, and even some of those monastic charters are known only from copies from the twelfth century and later.[47] Anastasia's influence, or potential influence, is more likely when we see the role that she continued in after the deposition and death of her husband, when her son was in exile (a family tradition) in the German Empire with his German bride Judith, and his mother. Anastasia is recorded in later Hungarian chronicles as playing a major role advocating for peace, a traditional female role in medieval chronicles, as well as agitating for help for her son.[48] One of the most famous examples of her agitation for

[42] "Iaroslav ruled a kingdom that stretched from the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south and from the Western Dvina river to the upper reaches of the Volga and lower Don rivers in the east." This breadth of territory was larger than any other ruler in medieval Europe controlled and yet, Rus' is perennially left out of larger surveys. Christian Raffensperger, *The Kingdom of Rus'* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2017), 78.

[43] For the date, see: Berthold of Reichenau, *Bertholdi Annales, Volume 5, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, ed. George Pertz (Hannover, 1844), s.a. 1046. The conjecture of Iaroslav sending military force is not original, others have made it before, such as Z. J. Kosztolynik, *Hungary under the Early Árpáds, 890s to 1063* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 2002), 398.

[44] For more information on the roles of Árpád queens in this period, see: Attila Zsoldos, *The Árpáds and their Wives: Queenship in Early Medieval Hungary, 1000-1301* (Rome: Viella, 2019); or János M. Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens in Árpádian and Angevin Hungary (1000-1386 A.D.)," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1994): 13-24. The latter comes from a volume that speaks to the experience of medieval queens more broadly in Europe.

[45] Dunbabin, "What's in a name?," 949–968; Bak, "Roles and Functions of Queens," 14.

[46] Nora Berend, Przemysaw Urbańczyk, and Przemyslaw Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c.900-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 356–357.

[47] I would point those interested in the source problems for eastern Europe to Florin Curta's *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500-1300), Volumes 1 and 2* (Leiden: Brill, 2019). The first volume deals with the history of the region, including noting the source problems throughout, and the second volume is almost entirely bibliography.

[48] *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle*, 125. For queens and their roles generally, see: Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), chapter 3, especially for this period.

assistance for her son was her gift of a sword identified as the "Sword of Attila" to a courtier of Emperor Henry IV.[49] In sum, we can see that Iaroslav's intervention and marriage of his daughter to royal runaway Andrew was beneficial for his family. Anastasia and Andrew went to Hungary where Andrew gained the throne. Anastasia played a role in her marital kingdom, as well as striving to keep her son, Salomon, on the throne for as long as she could.

Perhaps the most famous royal exile to come to Rus' was Harald Hardrada. Harald was the brother of King, later Saint, Olaf of Norway and he first arrived in Rus' in 1031, the year after the battle of Stiklestadir at which St Olaf was killed.[50] Rus' was an understandable option for Harald, not only because of the multiple runaway royals who were making their way there, but also because of its proximity to Scandinavia; the Scandinavian past of the ruling family; and the familial connections he had there. King Iaroslav of Rus' was married to the Swedish King Olof's daughter. Ingigerd's sister was married to St Olaf, thus making St Olaf and Iaroslav brothers-in-law and naturally connected Harald, as a younger brother of St Olaf.[51] While those connections were important, there was also the fact that Iaroslav and Ingigerd were fostering St Olaf's son, Magnus, providing a tangible link to those dynastic ties.[52] Harald was welcomed in to Rus' and, according to the *Heimskringla*, an Icelandic narrative source dealing with the rulers of Norway written in the thirteenth century, quickly became the head of Iaroslav's bodyguard.[53] This seems unlikely given his young age, relative inexperience, and unknown status within Rus'. However, it is a mark of the respect in which this royal exile was held at the court of Iaroslav that later writers considered this to be possible.

Rus' was not the only place where Harald spent time during his exile from Norway. Quite famously, he wound up in Constantinople and in the Medieval Roman Empire working with the emperors' Varangian Guard, an organization of Scandinavian warriors that helped to protect the emperor.[54] *Heimskringla* and other sources record many adventures of Harald throughout the Medieval Roman Empire and the Mediterranean, but *Heimskringla* also notes that he remitted money that he earned to Iaroslav in Rus'.[55] Why, we cannot definitively know, but we can speculate. Perhaps he was sending money to be kept safe, knowing that he might have to make a quick escape (as we are told he had to after turning down the Empress Maria in

[49] Lambert of Hersefeld, V. Cl. Lud. Frid. Hasse, ed., *Lamberti Hersfeldensis Annales, Volume 5, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* (Hannover, 1844), s.a. 1071. This topic is explored more fully in: Talia Zajac, "Remembrance and Erasure of Objects Belonging to Rus' Princesses in Medieval Western Sources: the Cases of Anastasia Iaroslavna's 'Saber of Charlemagne' and Anna Iaroslavna's Red Gem," in *Moving Women, Moving Objects (400–1500)*, ed. Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany(Leiden: Brill, 2019), 33–58.
[50] Adam of Bremen, xiii.12; *Heimskringla*, 577–578.
[51] *Heimskringla*, 342.
[52] *Heimskringla*, 486.
[53] *Heimskringla*, 578.
[54] D.C. Smythe. "Why do barbarians stand round the Emperor at diplomatic receptions?," in *Byzantine Diplomacy: Papers from the Twenty-Fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1992), 305–312.
[55] *Heimskringla*, 581.

marriage).[56] He may have been trying to impress his prospective father-in-law: when he did return to Rus', we are told that he recited a poem whose refrain indicates that he had a woman waiting for him there.[57] The *Heimskringla* provides both of these pieces of information; as a source written two centuries after the fact, we may be skeptical about the information that is preserved. Nevertheless, given the nature of medieval sources for medieval eastern Europe as a whole, this is not an unsurprising situation for a historian to find oneself in.

Upon his return from Constantinople, Harald married Iaroslav's daughter, Elisabeth (see Figure 1).[58] The fact of the marriage is well recorded in a variety of sources counterbalancing source problems for other pieces of the respective spouses' lives. One of those sources, *Flateyjarbok*, also confirms a theory mentioned previously, when it notes that Harald asked for Elisabeth's hand in marriage while still living in Kiev, but that Iaroslav turned him down, noting that he did not have the life experience—possibly inferring social standing—necessary to marry his daughter.[59] Read through the lens of this study, perhaps Iaroslav did not, at this time, think it was a wise gamble of his marital resources to engage his daughter not only to a royal exile, but also one without prospect of return. These possibilities, however, looked immensely better when Harald came back from Constantinople: by that time, Harald's nephew, Magnus Olafsson, was ruling Norway, having been fostered at Iaroslav and Ingigerd's court. Thus, there were plentiful ties to draw upon in making a claim for the throne, or at least a portion of it. Key to those ties was Elisabeth herself. This is recorded in *Heimskringla* via a poem attributed to Stuf the Blind: "Kinship won the keen–eyed / king which he had wished / gold a–plenty as guerdon / gained he, and eke the princess."[60] Kinship was the first thing mentioned that Harald won, as part of gaining the princess. This kinship was on display when Harald met Svein Estridsson in northern Rus' before his return to Norway. The two spoke and traced their kinship connections, which for Harald went through Elisabeth, and used this as a foundation for their eventual alliance.[61]

Harald and Elisabeth returned to Norway and Harald became co-king with his nephew Magnus, and eventually king of all of Norway. Elisabeth bore two daughters, one of whom was named Ingigerd, after her own mother.[62] As has been discussed in the other marriages, we see dynastic naming evidence indicative of the mother's role in honoring her natal family in the midst of her marital family.[63] Elisabeth does not play a large role, though, in the Scandinavian sources once they return to Norway. Harald takes another wife, Thora, and has a son with her,

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[56] *Heimskringla*, 587–589.
[57] "Yet the gold–ring–Gerth from / Garthar lets me dangle." *Heimskringla*, 589.
[58] *Heimskringla*, 590; Adam of Bremen, bk. 3, xiii.12, schol. 62 (63); C.R. Unger, ed. *Flateyjarbók*, 3 vols. (Christiania, 1868), 3:290; *Morkinskinna*, chapter 13.
[59] *Flateyjarbók*, 290.
[60] *Heimskringla*, 590.
[61] *Heimskringla*, 591. "Óláf Soenski, King of Sweden, was the grandfather of Ellisif, Harald's wife; and Ástríth, Svein's mother, was the sister of King Saint Óláf."
[62] *Heimskringla*, 602.
[63] Raffensperger, "Rusian Influence on European Onomastic Traditions."

Olaf (who will succeed him), but never seems to set aside Elisabeth. In fact, Elisabeth travels with him on his final expedition—to England. She, their daughters, and Olaf, all go along, at least part of the way, when Harald journeys to take over England in 1066.[64] We are brought back full circle to where we began, when Harald was killed at Stamford Bridge by King Harold Godwinsson of England, who would himself be killed by Duke William only a few weeks later, and whose own children would follow Harald's path of exile to Rus'.

Much like the marriage of Anastasia and Andrew of Hungary, this union was a successful gamble for Iaroslav on a runaway royal. If we accept what *Flateyjarbok* says, or implies, Iaroslav gave careful consideration to who he would, and would not, support, as well as understanding the larger political situations in effect in medieval Europe—perhaps unsurprisingly, given his later epithet, "the Wise."[65] These marriages demonstrate that Rus' was a welcome refuge for runaway royals, but not just a rest home for them. Rather, it was a place where they could find aid and assistance from a ruler who was interested in helping them, while at the same time helping himself. Iaroslav's assistance to these royal exiles placed his daughters in kingdoms throughout Europe in positions of power and influence.[66] Though our sources are not detailed enough for us to discern to the nature of all of that influence, the little that we can ascertain tells us that Iaroslav's gamble was successful, by dint of the hard work of his daughters and their husbands.

Diarmait and Ireland

In Ireland, a similar situation to that in Rus' prevailed: the king helped his neighbors for both their good and his. Diarmait mac Máel na mBó became King of Leinster in approximately 1042 and had his base at Wexford, though he only begins to be important to our story when he takes over Dublin in 1052.[67] Diarmait, much like Iaroslav, was interested in creating stability for himself and for his family. While Ó Corráin notes that Diarmait was "the most powerful Leinster dynast of his time," it took rather a lot of work to obtain and keep that power, and Diarmait took active steps to do things differently than his predecessors.[68] He excluded his larger kin group from rule and centered power in his own natal family, including associating his

[64] *Heimskringla*, 647.

[65] Interestingly, while Ingigerd (Iaroslav's wife) is referred to as "wise" in contemporary Scandinavian sources, Iaroslav is only referred to as wise from much later Russian sources. Thus, perhaps we should attribute agency for the marital arrangements to Ingigerd, rather than Iaroslav.

[66] The sources for Anna Iaroslavna, who married Henry I Capet, King of France, are plentiful, though she is not studied here. If we had a similar documentary record for these other princesses and queens, we could see more clearly the influence they too wielded. See: Parsons, *Medieval Queenship*, more broadly for the power of medieval women.

[67] Clare Downham, *Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 107; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Irish Regnal Succession: A Reappraisal," *Studia Hibernica* 11 (1971): 18–19; Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 146.

[68] Ó Corráin, "Irish Regnal Succession: A Reappraisal," 18.

son Murchad with his rule in an apparent co-rulership of sorts.[69] These changes are nowhere clearer than in Diarmait's treatment of Dublin, after he had taken the town in 1052. Previous Irish rulers had allowed Scandinavians to stay in control of the town, subordinate to themselves.[70] Diarmait, however, associated his son Murchad with rule of the city and began to use the Scandinavian Dubliners for his own military purposes, such that Seán Duffy suggests that "The Munster chronicle specifically calls them '*Gallaib m. Muil na mBo* (mac Mael na mBo's foreigners)."[71] There is good reason to imagine that Diarmait had the preconditions set for not only the ambition to increase his power, but also the need to restructure the basis of it. For a ruler, such efforts would benefit from building a wider network of people who could assist you, as you assisted them, but were not so close that they could infringe on your power.

The circumstances and dating thus provide an overlap for the earlier analysis of Rus', showing as well that at both the eastern and western ends of Europe were rulers who were invested in helping runaways regain power, as well as enhancing their own power in the process. Benjamin Hudson, who has studied this situation extensively for Ireland and the north Atlantic notes that, "With Diarmait one has a glimpse of the sophistication of the Irish aristocracy. His sheltering of foreign visitors—be they Anglo-Saxon nobles, Welsh princes, or Norse freebooters—indicates how much the Irish aristocracy was aware of the ebb and flow of events elsewhere in Europe."[72] While this is certainly true, I suggest that we can expand the sentiment to Rus' as well to show its broader effect in the middle of the eleventh century.

[69] Ó Corráin, "Irish Regnal Succession: A Reappraisal," 18 (though Ó Corráin would dispute the idea of co-rulership, 7n4). Related to his larger kin network, note that he was married to the daughter of Donnchad ua Briain, but spent much time fighting Donnchad's attempts to become King of Ireland. Downham, *Medieval Ireland,* 107.

[70] Duffy, "Irishmen and Islemen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man," 94–95. It is also worth noting at this juncture how incredibly complex and difficult the ideas of medieval ethnicity are. On this topic and region, see: Clare Downham, "Viking Ethnicities: A Historiographic Overview," *History Compass* 10, no. 1 (2012): 1–12.

[71] Duffy, "Irishmen and Islemen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man," 97.

[72] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 175–176. It is also well worth noting that Clare Downham has written an excellent article on this period of Irish-Sea relations, which has been very informative. Clare Downham, "England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26 (2003): 55–73.

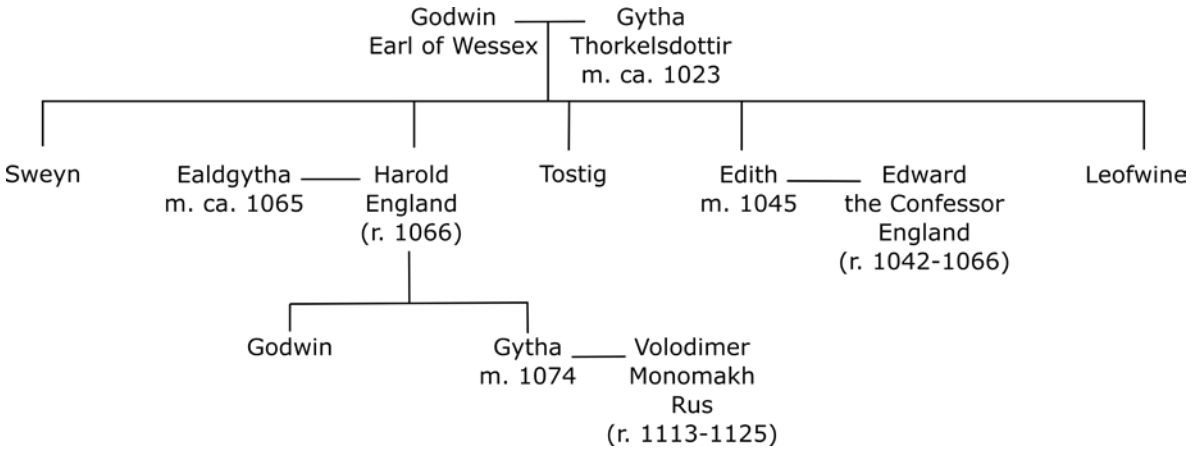

Figure 2: Godwin and relevant family members

The first exile to find a home at the court of Diarmait was none other than Harold Godwinsson, later defeated and killed at the Battle of Hastings in 1066, where we began our study. In 1051, Edward the Confessor became dissatisfied with his counselor Godwin and expelled him and his entire family from the kingdom.[73] Godwin fled to Bruges with his wife and much of his family, where Count Baldwin V was kin via his sister's marriage to Tostig Godwinsson. Harold and Leofwin, two of the other Godwinssons, went instead to Diarmait's court in Ireland, probably in Wexford at the time.[74] The two stayed with Diarmait for a year, most likely also moving with him in 1052 when he occupied Dublin. Diarmait was expanding his power at the time, notably in the conquest of Dublin, and he was attempting to create a larger power structure for himself.[75] Part of that expansion was projecting power across the Irish Sea, both onto the Isle of Man,[76] into Wales,[77] and into England—aiding exiled kin of a powerful English noble with access to the king would fit that perfectly.[78]

Diarmait's assistance to the exiled Godwinssons did not commence until 1052, when he provided nine ships for them to sail on a raiding expedition against Somerset and Devon, eventually ending up on the south coast where they coordinated with Godwin who brought

[73] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1051.
[74] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1051; Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 146.
[75] Diarmait is a figure much written about. See, for example: Duffy, "Irishmen and Islemen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man," 94–101; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Irish Regnal Succession," 18–19; D. Ó Corráin, "The Career of Diarmait Máel na mBó, king of Leinster," *Journal of the Old Wexford Society* 3 (1971): 27–35; 4 (1973): 17–24.
[76] Diarmait's son, Murchad, took over the Isle of Man in 1061. Benjamin Hudson, "William the Conqueror and Ireland," *Irish Historical Studies* 29, no. 114 (1994): 146; Duffy, "Irishmen and Islemen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man," 100.
[77] As will be seen below with his aid of Gruffudd ap Llywelyn.
[78] Though Godwin was in exile, he was still tied to the king through his daughter Edith/Gytha's marriage to Edward. See Figure 2. She was set aside briefly during this time, but taken back with her family in 1052. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1051, 1052.

forces from Flanders.[79] This led to an eventual settlement in September 1052 between King Edward and Earl Godwin, in which Godwin and his family could return to England to their prior places of power. It is possible that such an arrangement might have been obtained with only forces from Flanders, or through diplomacy, but given prior (undiscussed) and later (to be discussed) events, the involvement of Diarmait seems crucial in the resolution of this conflict. Hudson notes that this incident suggests that Diarmait and his power became the talk of the northern world, "Nobles in need of troops traveled to Ireland to employ the fleets that Diarmait controlled."[80] This is certainly true, as we shall see, for, much like the situation in Rus', the court of Diarmait came to be a home for exiled nobles who were looking for assistance in regaining their political power.

The second caller on Diarmait's court was Aelfgar, son of Earl Leofgar of Mercia, in 1055. This exile put Diarmait in an interesting position. Mercia contained the powerful port of Chester, with which Dublin engaged in a great deal of trade: staying on the good side of the Mercian nobility was thus an important prerequisite for the powers of Dublin. However, when Aelfgar was exiled, it was most likely a consequence of falling afoul of the powerful Earl Godwin and his family.[81] This put Diarmait in a difficult position as he had reason both to assist Aelfgar and to not assist him. Yet, despite his past ties to the Godwinssons, Diarmait chose to aid Aelfgar and later in 1055, dispatched eighteen ships to help Aelfgar raid the coast, largely focusing on the territory of the Godwinssons. This assistance led to the introduction of another key figure in these events, the Welsh ruler Gruffudd ap Llewelyn.[82] Gruffudd assisted Aelfgar and the two used Welsh bases to raid into English territories, and antagonize the Godwinssons, chiefly Harold who was tasked with fighting and catching them.[83] Gruffudd was one of the first who could call himself King of Wales and while his campaign to consolidate Welsh kingdoms began in the 1040s, his alliance with Aelfgar really helped to seal the success of it.[84] Thus, Gruffudd, too, had something major to be gained from entering into this alliance with Aelfgar and with Diarmait, even if the latter was at a secondary remove. Their campaign of persistent conflict led to the quick resolution of Aelfgar's exile, in the autumn of 1055, providing another success for Diarmait in helping someone regain their territory, or home, with his military force, and creating a situation of reliance.[85] As in the case of his aid to Aelfgar over Harold Godwinsson, how long those bonds of support lasted were more malleable than perhaps everyone would have liked.

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[79] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1052; Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 147.
[80] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes,* 148.
[81] For the initial exile, see: *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1055. For the larger context, see: Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 148.
[82] David Stephenson, *Medieval Wales, c.1050-1332: Centuries of Ambiguity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2019), 7–8, 37.
[83] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1055.
[84] Stephenson, *Medieval Wales*, 37. Note here as well that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* calls Gruffudd "king" on multiple occasions. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1052, 1056.
[85] The resolution was particularly with Harold Godwinsson, as noted by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1055.

This was not the end of Aelfgar's story. In 1057, he became Earl of Mercia in his own right, though this honour did not last long. He once again fell afoul of the king, or the Godwinssons, and was exiled anew in 1058.[86] This time, he went directly to his raiding partner Gruffudd ap Llewelyn with whom he had engaged in a kinship relationship, marrying his daughter Ealdgytha to Gruffudd after their last encounter.[87] In fact, Alex Woolf suggests that the marriage of Ealdgytha to Gruffudd was the reason for Aelfgar's exile at this time.[88] It is certainly possible that this is the case, given that the same Ealdgytha became the second wife of Harold Godwinsson after Gruffudd was forced to flee Wales by Harold a few years later (see Figure 2).[89] Regardless, Aelfgar and Gruffudd's kinship relationship, as was seen in Rus', made it natural for Gruffudd to assist his father-in-law. He was not alone in this; at the same time Magnus, crown prince of Norway, arrived. Magnus was aided by Echmarchach mac Ragnaill who had been ousted from Ireland by Diarmait, and at this time was ruling the Isle of Man.[90] This web of relationships demonstrates the intense interconnectivity of the northern Atlantic world. This coalition ended up engaging in a series of conflicts with English forces, which led to Aelfgar's resumption of power in Mercia by the end of 1058.[91] While Aelfgar and Magnus went back to their respective territories, Echmarchach was displaced in 1061 by Murchad, son of Diarmait, and subsequently went on a pilgrimage to Rome where he died in 1065.[92] Gruffudd's return home was much easier as he had never left, but his persistent antagonism of the Godwinssons caught up with him as he was ousted at Christmas 1063 by an attack on his fortress of Rhuddlan led by Harold Godwinsson.[93] Gruffudd managed to escape and fled, as one might expect, to Dublin, where he found refuge with Diarmait and Diarmait's son Murchad, but he was subsequently was assassinated by another Welsh exile living at the Dublin court, Cynan ap Iago.[94] Cynan, too, had an involved relationship with the rulers across

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[86] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1058.

[87] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1058; Woolf notes that this was his sister, not his daughter, but typically she is referred to as a daughter. Alex Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba, 789-1070* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 266. For instance, Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 148.

[88] Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 266.

[89] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 148.

[90] For his defeat in Ireland, see: *The Annals of Ulster,* s.a. 1052, https://celt.ucc.ie//published/T100001A/index.html; Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 245. Duffy notes that while he is often considered to have gone to Man that "when he died in 1065 the Irish chronicler Marianus Scotus called him *rex innarenn*," which refers to Galloway. Duffy, "Irishmen and Islemen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man," 98–99.

[91] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* s.a. 1058.

[92] Diarmait's son, Murchad, took over the Isle of Man in 1061. Hudson, "William the Conqueror and Ireland," 146; Duffy, "Irishmen and Islemen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man," 100. For the pilgrimage, see: Woolf, *From Pictland to Alba*, 245; The Annals of Ulster also record his death under the year 1064. *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1064.

[93] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 149.

[94] The *Annals of Ulster* record the event quite laconically as "The son of Llewelyn, king of the Britons, was killed by the son of Iago." *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1064. Cynan had good reason for his distaste for Gruffudd as the latter had killed Cynan's father. Cynan had even tried to recruit earlier Dublin rulers to assist him in taking Gruffudd captive in 1042. Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 136.

the Irish Sea, as he was "the son of Gruffudd's predecessor as King of Gwynedd, husband of Sitric Silkenbeard's granddaughter Ragnhild, and the father of Gruffudd ap Cynan, the well-known lord of Gwynedd in the late eleventh / early twelfth centuries."[95] Clare Downham suggests that the murder of Gruffudd at Diarmait's court indicates a continuing support for the Godwinssons, as after Gruffudd's death, "the king's head and the prow of his ship were sent to Harold as gifts."[96] Additionally, she notes that it was possible that Diarmait also helped Cynan return to Ireland to stake his claim to a portion of the Welsh throne.

Though it did not always end well for the participants, Diarmait's court became a home for exiles from England and Wales, and typically he was willing to assist them in returning to power wherever they were from. Moreover, given that his assistance to Aelfgar cut across his earlier support given to Harold Godwinsson, we might also suggest that such relationships were not permanent alliances but temporary networks of assistance, based around situational need, rather than permanent aims.[97] In each instance, Diarmait had to consider the all-important question of how this situation might benefit him and his rule: in Dublin, in Leinster, and more broadly. Whereas Iaroslav was creating marital relationships that had the potential to bind families to his, Diarmait seemed to be engaging in a quid pro quo relationship where the quo was an 'as yet to be determined' something if the person was able to return to power. These relationships based on what might reasonably be described as favours, creating a wealth of potential resources that Diarmait could have drawn upon. Of course, it is also important to note that all of this, like Iaroslav's endeavors, was speculative. Helping Aelfgar or any of the Godwinssons could equally have resulted in nothing for Diarmait if they failed to regain their position, reneged on any quid pro quo, or if the situation resulted in the creation of a more powerful enemy via Diarmait's assistance.

As a final addition, it is important to also note the subsidiary relationships that were created through Diarmait's assistance. As we saw Edgard Aethling assisted by his cousin King Philip in an earlier example, here we find Aelfgar assisted by Gruffudd, tying both of them (primarily and secondarily) to Diarmait and further building a network of relationships: in the medieval world and much like today, who one knew remained of utmost importance.

The most famous exiles to Diarmait's court were the sons of Harold Godwinsson after he was killed at Hastings in 1066.[98] As was explored earlier in this article, at least two of Harold's sons, Godwin and Edwin, fled to Diarmait's court in Dublin to attempt to obtain assistance (see Figure 2).[99] This was a continuation of the ties between Diarmait and the Godwinsson family that we have seen throughout these examples. Perhaps as an indicator of

[95] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 149.
[96] Downham, "England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century," 67.
[97] See, for example, the work on situational kinship networks by Raffensperger, *Conflict, Bargaining and Kinship Networks in Medieval Eastern Europe*, chapter 4.
[98] This subject was the sole subject of an excellent article by Hudson, "The Family of Harold Godwinsson," 92–100.
[99] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1066; Hudson, "The Family of Harold Godwinsson," 94.

this relationship, the Haroldssons presented Diarmait with the banner of Edward the Confessor, which Diarmait later gave to Tairdelbach ua Briain, the King of Munster.[100] As he had in the past, Diarmait, along with his son Murchad, mobilized his forces to assist the runaway royals' return to power. This assault began in 1068 when Godwin Haroldsson led an unsuccessful raid on Bristol and went on to Somerset, where the Haroldssons had maintained properties. Once there they fought their former ally Eadnoth, who had since become a colleague of King William.[101] Godwin, with his brother Edwin, tried again in 1069, campaigning in Exeter where they lost to Brian fitz Eudo, son of the count of Brittany.[102] These efforts may have been part of a grand attempt to link up with other forces, including those coming from the court of King Svein Estridsson of Denmark, where other members of the Godwinsson family had fled, as well as internal uprisings within England. Nonetheless, this coordinated plan to overthrow King William failed.[103]

There is no mention of either Godwin or Edwin in Ireland after this time, nor any other expeditions from Ireland to help them or their kin. There are multiple possible explanations for this fact. One is that things became too disordered, too quickly, for Diarmait to do anything to assist anyone but himself. Diarmait's son and possible co-ruler, Murchad, as well as his son Glún Iairn, died in 1070.[104] Murchad had been the active ruler in Dublin and his death may have caused sufficient panic that Diarmait lost control. Such panic may also have been because of an outbreak of disease at this same time, which ravaged Dublin.[105] Further evidence for this is presented by the events of 1071 when Diarmait, under siege from these events and from a new threat from his brother's family, felt compelled to ask for assistance from his protégé Tairdelbach to regain control of his own holdings.[106] Finally, Diarmait died in 1072 in a raid, and could thus provide no further assistance to any of the Godwinssons.[107] The other possible explanation builds on some of the aspects of this first explanation, which also suggests Tairdelbach's rise to ascendancy. Hudson has suggested that Tairdelbach was cultivated as an ally by Duke William during the middle of the eleventh century.[108] He notes that William's friend and ally, Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury, sent an incredibly flattering letter to Tairdelbach calling him "magnificent king of Ireland" during their discussions about the consecration of a new bishop of Dublin in 1074.[109] Downham has noted that such a supposition is possible because the numismatic evidence indicates that Tairdelbach was

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[100] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes,* 157.
[101] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1067; Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 157–158.
[102] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 158.
[103] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1069, notes the large invasion force from Denmark. Hudson, "William the Conqueror and Ireland," 146–147; Downham, "England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century," 68.
[104] *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1070.
[105] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 160.
[106] Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes,* 162; Ó Corráin, "Irish Regnal Succession: A Reappraisal," 19.
[107] *Annals of Ulster*, s.a. 1072; *Annals of Innisfallen*, s.a. 1072.
[108] Hudson, "William the Conqueror and Ireland," 145.
[109] Hudson, "William the Conqueror and Ireland," 150; Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 163.

appropriating William's coin dies for his own minting purposes in the 1070s and 1080s.[110] William, well aware of the importance of Dublin and the support of some Irish rulers for his rivals, was able to undermine any future support for them, even if he could do nothing in the present apart from protecting his borders.[111]

The lesson that we can draw from this failed attempt to assist the Haroldssons is simply that aid and assistance were given by Diarmait, even if the end result of that attempt was unsuccessful. All such attempts were, as noted earlier, speculation. One risked their own resources to attempt to put an ally, friend, and possible kinsman back on their own throne; in so doing, that allocation of resources resulted in benefits redounding to you, should they succeed. Failure was undoubtedly a risk, but to use another aphorism: nothing ventured, nothing gained. We also see an interesting piece of evidence in this example: the use of a gift in the form of the banner of Edward the Confessor, operating as a tie between those asking for assistance and the one asked. The item of prestige was granted to Diarmait as a pre-emptive thank you, from an exile with little of practical value to be able to pay for that assistance, other than future favors. Diarmait's attempts to aid Harold's sons, similar to the help given to Aelfgar and Harold Godwinsson, were the efforts of a ruler looking to increase his own stability and influence via increasing his ties throughout the region—and by capitalizing on the bad fortune of his neighbors.

Conclusion

The primary focus of this article has been on two rulers, Iaroslav of Rus' and Diarmait mac Máel na mBó of Ireland, and their respective policies of attempting to aid runaway rulers in their quests to return home and gain or regain power, as well as the resulting influence that Iaroslav and Diarmait would gain from that action. Though there are clear similarities in their actions—including offering sanctuary and support to those royals in need, and seeming to do so selectively or in their own time—there are also key differences that can be observed. One is simply in the nature of the source base for both areas. Eastern Europe is notoriously under sourced for this period, with far more contemporary sources for Irish activities comparatively.[112] The additional sources for Ireland allow us to talk about how many ships, for instance, were given to the various supplicants at the court of Diarmait; we can only suspect and suggest that Iaroslav gave military assistance to those who helped regain their thrones, such as Andrew of Hungary.[113]

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[110] Downham, "England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century," 69.

[111] This would not always be the case for the Norman rulers of England. Hudson notes the particularly close relationship of the Normans with the Uí Briain clan, led by Muirchertach, in the early twelfth century, but even Muirchertach also arranged a marriage with Arnulf, brother of the Robert of Bellême, who had revolted against King Henry I. Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes*, 192, 195.

[112] Chris Wickham notes that he included Ireland in his *Framing the Early Middle Ages* in part simply because there were so many sources. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 5.

[113] There is a slightly better sourced example that was not used here, where Iaroslav used military force to help

Another difference is the focus on utilizing marriage to build ties in Rus', whereas we do not see such marriages in the examples involving Ireland in this period.[114] Iaroslav had multiple sons and daughters and was in the habit of building relationships by exploiting those kin connections. Irish rulers, of course, did the exact same thing, though we do not see it in this instance.[115] Similarly, in the Rusian cases we see a variety of runaway royals; in the Irish examples there are rulers and elites, but not kings or kings in waiting—though this could be a consequence of misunderstanding or reading back later results. Andrew of Hungary was not king when he fled—he only became one later. Similarly, Harald Hardrada was one prospective family member among many and not a king in exile. What we see in both cases of Rus' and Ireland is that there was a prospective advantage to be gained from aiding runaway rulers, of whatever rank, to return home and resume positions of power. In that way, the same phenomenon can be seen to have taken place in both Rus' and Ireland, even overlapping in certain instances, such as the children of Harold Godwinsson.

Though the primary aim of this article is to demonstrate the similarities that existed between the treatment of runaway rulers in Rus' and Ireland in the middle of the eleventh century, this article also aims to point out some of the problems with the ways that we conceptualize and structure medieval history and to offer an implicit remedy. The normative view of medieval Europe, though changing, still offers an overt Anglo-French focus with other areas tacked on, particularly Iberia and the Mediterranean in recent decades. The current global Middle Ages movement demonstrates the validity of looking at events beyond Western Europe.[116] What is omitted from modern narratives is often the rest of medieval Europe, in my own experience particularly that of eastern Europe.[117] This is, I suggest, a modern construct, not a product of an evaluation of medieval sources. If we, as historians, return to the sources for our medieval history we can see a wealth of connections as well as similarities, which stretch throughout medieval Europe from Ireland in the west to Rus' in the east. The defining emphasis behind the multiple revisionist themes that have re-shaped medieval history writing in the last several decades has been a drive to rethink our master narratives and to understand

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Casimir of Poland regain one region of his kingdom. See Raffensperger, *Ties of Kinship*, 29 for details.

[114] As noted above (footnote 102), there would be later marriages, but even then the marriages between Scandinavians and Irish seem to have been more numerous.

[115] There are a plethora of studies that mention or discuss such marriages, but one of the most fascinating is by Clare Downham and demonstrates the deep interconnectivity in the Irish Sea and beyond region. Clare Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to AD 1014* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2007).

[116] See, for example, the journal *The Medieval Globe*, which was one of the first to embark on this process.

[117] I would point to the *American Historical Review*'s own policy on submissions which states that, "For much of its history, the *AHR* published essays primarily on the history of North America and Western Europe, largely because they constituted the bulk of our submissions, but also because of a Western bias as to what was considered historically of value. Although we certainly still welcome submissions in those fields, the editors have in recent decades actively encouraged, and continue to encourage, the submission of manuscripts on Africa, Asia, Oceania, Latin America, and the Middle East." What is left out, unintentionally I would suggest, is Eastern Europe. https://academic.oup.com/ahr/pages/Author_Guidelines.

what shaped those narratives, and why – and then how can we return to the sources, to see who and what were left out because of the constructs we created.[118] I offer a similar corrective as a suggestion here. By returning to our sources with open minds, we can see that our modern scholarly boundaries often create blinders that focus us on one area of the medieval past.[119] Yet, the Middle Ages are a horizontal construct—built across a time period, not a vertical structure assembled around a place (Russia, France, China)—and, as such, we should follow that horizontality wherever the sources take us.

[118] There is a multiplicity of items that could be cited here to demonstrate such revisionist tendencies. To take just a few, one can look at Susan Reynolds' re-analysis of "feudalism," Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); Amy Livingstone and others' look at women in power in France, *Out of Love for My Kin: Aristocratic Family Life in the Lands of the Loire, 1000-1200* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010); or Olivia Remie Constable's work to have Iberia included in medieval Europe: Olivia Remie Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[119] For a similar argument about following the sources, see: Christian Raffensperger, "Reimagining Europe: An Outsider Looks at the Medieval East-West Divide," in *Medieval Networks in East Central Europe: Commerce, Contacts, Communication*, ed. Balázs Nagy, Felicitas Schmieder, and András Vadas (New York: Routledge, 2018), 9–24.