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THE HYPATIAN CODEX II

THE GALICIAN-VOLYNIAN CHRONICLE  
AN ANNOTED TRANSLATION  
BY GEORGE A. PERFECKY



WILHELM FINK VERLAG MÜNCHEN

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Part Two:

THE GALICIAN-VOLYNIAN  
CHRONICLE

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With an editor's preface

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*To my wife*

## EDITOR'S PREFACE

Of all the Old Rus'ian\* chronicles the Hypatian is the most significant not only because of its value as a historical source, but also because of its artistic achievements which make its two component parts prominent examples of world literature of the 12th and 13th centuries. These are the Kievan Chronicle, encompassing the years 1118 to 1198, which has reached us in the 1199 redaction of the abbot Mojsej (Moses) from the Vydubyč(i) Monastery, and the Galician-Volynian Chronicle encompassing the time-span from 1201 to 1292 (actually 1205 to 1289), which has also undergone more than one redaction. Whereas, the Kievan Chronicle, according to D. Čyžev's'kyj, represents the apex of the Kievan "monumental" style, the Galician-Volynian Chronicle stands out as one of the best examples of the "ornamental" style which originated in Galicia in the second half of the 12th century and included the well-known *Igor' Tale*. Despite their significance in the study of world literature, both parts of the Hypatian text remain almost untouched by scholarly scrutiny. Neither chronicle has had a critical edition devoted to it.

Consequently, the Committee on Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University considered the study of these literary monuments as one of its major goals. A group of scholars – philologists, linguists, historians, and Byzantologists – under the direction of the chairman of the Committee have joined together in the preparation of a critical edition of both chronicles with specialized commentaries which will appear in separate volumes, each as soon as it reaches completion. The first to appear will be an English translation of both works. The Kievan Chronicle, translated by Professor Tatiana Čiževska (Wayne State University) is in its final stage of preparation. The Galician-Volynian Chronicle translated by Professor George A. Perfecky (La Salle College) comprises this volume.

A critical edition of the text of both chronicles prepared by the same authors will follow. Next to appear will be an analytical commentary to individual entries in each chronicle, which will be published in separate volumes. The problem of the chronology of individual entries will also be examined there. Further volumes will be commentaries by leading scholars according to their field of specialization: Byzantine studies, Turkology-Hungarology, Baltic, Polish and Czech history, etc. Finally, several monographs are foreseen dealing with the language of the chronicles in all its literary aspects.

The translation of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle by George Perfecky presented in this volume shows the present state of research on this very important monument. It must be understood that the translator's commentaries were not meant to be interpreted as comprehensive; they were designed to facilitate the reading of the text, which will be supplemented later by the monographs mentioned above.

In order to complete a project of such magnitude as this, in which several scholars are cooperating, it must be conceived and carried out on the basis of "dialectics".

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\* The term Rus'ian, used in this series, is distinctly different from the term Russian. It must be clearly understood that Rus'ian does *not* mean Russian, just as Rus' does *not* mean Russia (Rossija), which is historically a much later term.

The study of the text and its translation becomes the key for historical interpretation and the knowledge of historical facts and related studies in turn, facilitates a valid understanding of the text and assures a better translation.

Work had to begin with the preparation of a critical edition of the text and its translation.

Undoubtedly, an all-encompassing study of the individual entries, historical relations, philological and literary problems will make the text more understandable.

Therefore, both the translator and the editor, request the reader's recognition that these are pioneer steps toward a comprehensive study of this work. Upon the completion of the whole project, which is estimated to take at least ten years, we hope to prepare a revised version of the translation which will incorporate the specialized commentary.

Omeljan Pritsak



## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

GVC	Galician-Volynian Chronicle
KC	Kievan Chronicle
X	Xlebnikovskij text
P	Pogodinskij text
C	Cracow text
E	Ermolaevskij text
PSRL	Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej
(?)	uncertainty of form or item
/	on the border between given years
	text breaks off – Under the Hypatian year 1291 this symbol indicates absence of a name.

For abbreviations of periodicals, see *Bibliography*, page 143. The transliteration used is that recommended by the *Slavic and East European Journal* (Madison, Wisconsin) with some modifications as used in this series.

## PREFACE

I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor George Y. Shevelov, whose doctoral seminar in Slavic linguistics provided the impetus for this annotated translation of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Rado L. Lencek for his kind interest and generous expenditure of time and energy in supervising this dissertation as well as to the entire department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University, in particular to its chairman, Professor William E. Harkins, for encouragement and guidance during the course of my doctoral work.

I would also like to express appreciation to the following individuals and libraries which provided me with source material: Dr. A. Alexander of Hunter College, New York; Mr. O. Kudryk of Indiana University Library, Bloomington; Mr. S. Yakobson of the Library of Congress, Washington; Mrs. I. Rozankowsky of the New York Public Library; and the Jagiellonian University Library, Cracow; as well as Mrs. G. Most, Mrs. L. Rappaport, and Miss K. Reinhardt of the Interlibrary Loan department of the La Salle College Library, Philadelphia.

Last but not least I would like to thank my wife, who typed the first drafts of my dissertation, and my parents for their support and understanding in bringing this dissertation to a successful conclusion.

The dissertation represents the first English translation of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle – the most important historical source of events in thirteenth century southwestern Rus'. The translation has been provided with a linguistic,\* a literary, and a limited historical commentary. It also has a map of southwestern Rus' and genealogical tables of Galician-Volynian princes, prepared especially for the publication of this translation by Professor O. Pritsak of Harvard University, to whom I would like to express my sincerest gratitude for their preparation.

George A. Perfecky

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\* The linguistic commentary proving that the language of the GVC was Middle Ukrainian is being published separately as an article entitled "Studies on the Galician-Volynian Chronicle" in the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. 12, New York, 1971.

## INTRODUCTION

The Galician-Volynian Chronicle (GVC), a record of events in south-western Rus' encompassing the years 1201–1292, consists of two sections: the Galician from 1201 to 1260 and the Volynian from 1261 to 1292. It has the dubious distinction of being the most highly ornamented and most poetic of the early Old Rus'ian Chronicles and at the same time the least studied from the linguistic point of view. As the following outline on the state of research will show, the predominant majority of the relatively few studies that have appeared are historical treatments of the GVC. Discovered by Nikolaj Karamzin, the GVC forms the third and final section of the so-called Hypatian text, named after the Monastery of St. Hypatius at Kostroma where it was discovered; it also contains the Primary and Kievan Chronicles. The Hypatian text dating from the early 15th century is the earliest copy of a late 13th century southern Old Rus'ian original compilation which has not survived. In addition to the Hypatian there are four other copies of the original text: (1) the 16th century Xlebnikovskij text (X) which is textually better than the Hypatian and like it is also a direct copy of the original; (2) the 17th century Pogodinskij text (P) made from a copy of the Xlebnikovskij which at the time of copying was in better condition than the present-day copy; (3) the Cracow text (C) dating from the end of the 18th century, which is a greatly distorted copy of the Pogodinskij text and is written in Latin script; and (4) the Ermolaevskij text (E), which in its narration follows the Xlebnikovskij copy but with great abbreviations and distortions; apparently it is a copy of some other non-surviving text.

The Hypatian text of the GVC had been published five<sup>1</sup> times to date; three times as the second volume of the *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (in 1843 and 1908 with a reprint of the 1908 edition in 1962) and twice separately in 1871 (once by the Archeographical Commission and once privately by A. S. Petruševyč who reprinted the 1843 edition, preceding it by a short historical commentary). The 1843 edition had variant readings from the X

<sup>1</sup> The editions including the GVC are listed in the Bibliography, p. 146.

The third edition of the Hypatian text which appeared in 1923 under the editorship of A. Šaxmatov did not carry the text of the GVC, since it took the Hypatian text only up to the year 1146. Its bibliographical reference is: *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*. Vypusk pervyj. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, izdavaemoe Gosudarstvennoju arheologičeskoju komissieju Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, vol. 2, edition 3, Petrograd, 1923.

and E texts, the 1908 edition (as its 1962 reprint) from the X, P, and E texts, and the separate Archeographical Commission edition of 1871 – from the X and P texts.

In 1871 A. Klevanov<sup>2</sup> published a Russian paraphrase of the events found in the Primary, Kievan, and Galician-Volynian Chronicles based primarily on the Xlebnikovskij text, for the 1871 edition of the Hypatian text published by the Archeographical Commission was very poor. Although a pioneering work, Klevanov's paraphrase was deficient in many respects. It had no notes whatsoever and the meager preface concerned itself primarily with Nestor and the Primary Chronicle and devoted almost nothing to the Kievan Chronicle or to the GVC. In the paraphrase of the GVC which I examined, entire passages incomprehensible to Klevanov were omitted and many words were left untranslated in their Old Rus'ian form. However, credit must be given to Klevanov for his endeavor, which would doubtless have succeeded better if he had had at his disposal A. Sreznevskij's *Materialy*, which were not to appear until three decades later. Klevanov's work was followed by four historical studies by A. Petruševyč (1871), mentioned above, I. Šaranovyč (1872),<sup>3</sup> N. Daškevyč (1873),<sup>4</sup> and K. Bestužev-Rjumin (1886)<sup>5</sup> – all interested primarily in the sources of the GVC and in the GVC itself as a source of history. The last study, being a general survey of Old Rus'ian chronicles, devoted only six pages to the GVC.

In the 1890's the first two linguistic studies of the GVC appeared. In 1896 O. Makaruška<sup>6</sup> in his doctoral dissertation on the syntax of participles in the GVC, came to the conclusion that the bookish dative absolute construction was a "slavish imitation of the Greek pattern".<sup>7</sup> He was criticized by M. Hruševs'kyj for basing this conclusion "on comparison with the present day vernacular and not paying enough attention to the historical evolution of the language".<sup>8</sup> In 1899 A. Nikol'skij published the first general description of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and style of the Hypatian text.<sup>9</sup> By comparison with the Primary and Kievan Chronicles, he gave comparatively few examples from the GVC. And quite a few of those that were labelled by him as taken from the GVC were from the Primary and Kievan Chronicles, since he did not distinguish properly among the three component parts of the Hypatian text.

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<sup>2</sup> Klevanov, *Letopisnyj razskaz*.

<sup>3</sup> Šaranewitsch, *Die Hypathoschronik*.

<sup>4</sup> Daškevič, *Knjaženie Danila*.

<sup>5</sup> Bestužev-Rjumin, *O sostave*, pp. 151–157.

<sup>6</sup> Makaruška, *Skladnja pryčasnykiv*, pp. 3–32.

<sup>7</sup> Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriia literatury*, vol. 3, p. 155. Hruševs'kyj must have based his quote on Makaruška's unpublished dissertation, since these words do not appear in its abstract. See footnote 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> Nikol'skij, *O jazyke*, pp. 238–275 and 23–110.

Also in the 1890's and in the first two and a half decades of the 20th century appeared the articles and studies of the GVC by Ukraine's greatest historian, M. Hruševs'kyj, who did most to stimulate historical and literary interest in the GVC.<sup>10</sup> In the third volume of his *History of Ukrainian Literature*<sup>11</sup> in 1923 he complained that historical and literary studies would have to remain somewhat general in nature until detailed linguistic studies of the GVC were made and stated that Makaruška's 1896 doctoral dissertation, the only linguistic study of the time, was not enough to remedy the situation. In addition to his historical and literary commentary on certain passages of the GVC which he translated in the third volume of his *History of Ukrainian Literature*,<sup>12</sup> Hruševs'kyj's main contribution to the study of the GVC is the establishment of the correct chronology in the chronicle through comparison with other Old Rus'ian chronicles and foreign sources mentioning the same events. Where Hruševs'kyj's predecessors, Šaranevyč and Daškevyč, who were well aware that the chronology of the GVC was not authentic, stated that the chroniclers of the GVC were responsible for this error, Hruševs'kyj proved that the chronology was put in by a later copyist of the GVC.<sup>13</sup> By comparing the Hypatian text of the GVC with its spurious chronology with the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts, which are without chronology, and by going directly to the text of the GVC to the lines "xronografu že nužda est' pisati vse i vsja byvšaja, ovogda že pisati v perednjaja, ovogda že vostupati v zadnaja" and "vsja že lěta spišem', roščetše vo zadnjaja",<sup>14</sup> Hruševs'kyj was able to demonstrate that the GVC was composed in imitation of Greek chronographs which were organized around events and not years and that the first chronicler planned to supply the years after finishing his work, but never fulfilled his promise, and his successors followed suit.

In 1926 appeared A. Orlov's article<sup>15</sup> which – as his later article in 1947<sup>16</sup> – treated the Chronicles of Malalas and Hamartolus, *The Jewish War* by Josephus Flavius, and the *Alexandria* (The Tale of Alexander the Great) as sources of the GVC. In 1936 T. Kostruba<sup>17</sup> published a popular Ukrainian translation of the GVC – in the author's own words one "intended for the

<sup>10</sup> Hruševs'kyj's *Prymytky do tekstu*, pp. 1–5, began this series of articles and studies devoted to the GVC.

<sup>11</sup> Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriya literatury*, p. 144. An historical analysis of the events in the GVC is given by Hruševs'kyj in his *Istoriya*, vol. 3, pp. 1–108.

<sup>12</sup> Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriya literatury*, pp. 144–203.

<sup>13</sup> Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, pp. 1–72.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1, "... a chronicler has to write down everything that happened, sometimes running a bit ahead of himself and sometimes turning back a bit ... We will write down all the years which we will calculate [once the chronicle is] finished". (Hypatian, 1254).

<sup>15</sup> Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 93–126.

<sup>16</sup> Orlov, *O letopisanii*, pp. 15–35.

<sup>17</sup> Kostruba, *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*.

general public" which was based primarily on the Xlebnikovskij text. Kostruba also applied Hruševs'kyj's reconstructed chronology of the GVC in a somewhat modified form to his translation and added an index identifying certain princes and place names in the chronicle. Kostruba's study was followed by L. Čerepnin's article (1941)<sup>18</sup> und V. Pašuto's article (1949)<sup>19</sup> and his study (1950)<sup>20</sup> – all primarily interested in GVC as a source of history. Pašuto's article has been incorporated into his later study. Seven years later Pašuto's and Hruševs'kyj's treatment of the chronicle's Volynian portion was criticized by I. Jerjomin.<sup>21</sup>

Linguistic interest in the GVC seems to have risen in the late 1940's and 1950's, but the articles and studies are still relatively few. The first of these was I. Svencic'kyj's article of 1949<sup>22</sup> which dealt with the extremely difficult<sup>23</sup> problem of the Galician and Volynian origin of certain vernacular lexical items as for example *sulicja* "spear", *taran* "catapult", and *xorugov'* "standard". It was followed by D. Čyževs'kyj's 1953 article<sup>24</sup> on the distribution of the dative absolute construction in the chronicle and D. Worth's 1960 article<sup>25</sup> plotting the occurrences of thirteen phraseological units in the Galician and Volynian sections of the GVC by means of the technique of distributional stylistics as well as his 1962 article<sup>26</sup> on the structure of the GVC. The bulk of linguistic investigation of the chronicle, however, has been carried on by one man in Ukraine – A. Hens'ors'kyj, who in the span of six years has published two articles (1955<sup>27</sup> and 1957<sup>28</sup>) and three studies of the GVC (1957,<sup>29</sup> 1958,<sup>30</sup> and 1961<sup>31</sup>). Of these the most important are the studies: the first treats the meaning of the past tenses, the second, based on textual analysis of the entire chronicle, designates the literary sources used by its compilers and on the basis of the different political views found in the text and information furnished by other Old Rus'ian chronicles and Długosz,<sup>32</sup> isolates the different redactions and names its authors, while the third

<sup>18</sup> Čerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, pp. 228–253.

<sup>19</sup> Pašuto, *Kievskaja letopis'*, pp. 273–305.

<sup>20</sup> Pašuto, *Očerki*.

<sup>21</sup> Erëmin, *Volynskaja letopis'*, pp. 102–117.

<sup>22</sup> Svencic'kyj, *Mova*, pp. 123–135.

<sup>23</sup> For the difficulties that this problem presents, see Bulaxovs'kyj, *Pytannja*, pp. 96–104.

<sup>24</sup> Tschizewskij, *Zum Stil*, pp. 79–109.

<sup>25</sup> Worth, *Phraseology*, pp. 55–69. Worth's 1964 article, pp. 173–185, is really an expansion of this article.

<sup>26</sup> Worth, *Zur Struktur*, pp. 74–86.

<sup>27</sup> Hens'ors'kyj, *Sposterežennja*, pp. 81–98.

<sup>28</sup> Hens'ors'kyj, *Redakcii*, pp. 68–82.

<sup>29</sup> Hens'ors'kyj, *Značennja*.

<sup>30</sup> Hens'ors'kyj, *Proces skladannja*.

<sup>31</sup> Hens'ors'kyj, *Leksyčni osoblyvosti*.

<sup>32</sup> Ioannis Dlugossii, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, ed. A. Przezdziecki, vol. 2, Cracow, 1875 (the edition used by Hens'ors'kyj).

compares the Galician with the Volynian part with respect to lexicon, phraseology, and style. Hens'ors'kyj's 1955 article has been incorporated into his 1961 study, while his 1957 article has become part of his 1958 study. The most recent article devoted to the GVC is G. Shevelov's genetic analysis<sup>33</sup> of the vocabulary of two short passages – one from each section of the chronicle – undertaken to show an objective method of collecting evidence for a “study of the character of the literary language of Old Rus’”.<sup>34</sup>

My translation<sup>35</sup> is a free (but faithful) rather than literal interpretation of the chronicle. The variant readings from the later Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts have been consulted and used in cases where the Hypatian text was very defective. Such cases have been marked in the textual commentary to the translation. At times as for example in the passage dealing with Marcel's dishonor (Hypatian 1208) the text was so defective in all three texts that I found it necessary to reconstruct the contents of the passage to fit the surrounding context. In no case, however, did I give my imagination free reign. My primary consideration was always context, and the “cuts” I made in the continuous Hypatian text itself to produce the sentences and paragraphs which appear in the translation were motivated (a) linguistically – by the dative absolute construction which served mainly as a temporal subordinating clause (occasionally, however, as a main clause; see my study in vol. 12 of the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy*) and also direct speech and (b) historically – by Hruševs'kyj's *Xronol'ogija* and *Istoriija* and Pašuto's *Očerki*. In an effort to achieve a fluid rendering of the GVC I have found it necessary to substitute indirect for direct discourse wherever a clumsy translation could have resulted from the retention of the latter. This change has been accompanied by the use of synonyms for the verb “to say” which introduced the direct discourse in the original.

I have also found it necessary for the sake of clarity to identify princes, substitute nouns for pronouns (and vice versa), translate participles by verbs, and add words within the text itself. The missing words, historical identifications, and substitutions have been enclosed in brackets. Special problems of style in translating the GVC have been treated in the textual commentary accompanying the translation.<sup>36</sup> The translation is followed by historical and literary notes which are necessary for a better understanding of the chronicle. Not being a historian, I do not assume any responsibility for the correctness of the historical information that I have collected with the exception of those notes which include my own commentary.<sup>37</sup>

An especially difficult problem has been the rendering of personal and

<sup>33</sup> Shevelov, *On the Lexical Make-up*, pp. 195–207.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>35</sup> For my translation I used the photomechanical reprint of Vol. 2 of the PSRL, Moscow, 1962.

<sup>36</sup> This commentary is to be found on pp. 119–126. The problems encountered are discussed briefly and the reasons behind the final rendering given.

<sup>37</sup> See Editor's Preface.

geographical names in English. It has been solved according to the following principles: (a) Personal names in the translation itself have been left in their Old Rus'ian form. In the index they appear in their Old Rus'ian form followed by their modern name in brackets for easy identification. If the modern name has an anglicized form, it has been utilized in the brackets; if not, its national name appears there. (b) Geographical names appear in their anglicized form both in the translation and in the index. However, if no anglicized form exists, the modern national name has been used in both places. In the index the national name is followed by variant forms in brackets for easy identification. And finally names no longer in existence or impossible to identify have been left in their Old Rus'ian form both in the translation and in the index. Churches and monasteries named after saints as well as names of saints and historical figures of antiquity – all appear in English.



## THE GALICIAN-VOLYNIAN CHRONICLE HYPATIAN TEXT

### The Galician Section

(19. VI. 1205) 6709 (1201)\*. [These are the events]<sup>1</sup> after the death of Great Prince Roman,<sup>2</sup> the unforgettable Autocrat of all of Rus', who conquered all the heathen nations and at the same time wisely kept the Divine commandments: He used to pounce upon the infidels like a lion and [full of wrath] like a lynx. He would annihilate them like a crocodile and pass through their lands like an eagle, for he was courageous as an aurochs.<sup>3</sup>

He emulated his grandfather [Prince] Monomax, who had destroyed the heathen descendants of Ishmael – called Polovcians – and banished [the Polovcian Khan] Otrok to the Obez land beyond the Iron Gates; [only Khan] Syrčan remained by the Don and subsisted on fish. When [Prince] Volodimer Monomax had conquered the entire [Polovcian] land and driven off its [inhabitants] the accursed sons of Hagar, he drank from the Don with his golden helmet.<sup>4</sup>

After Volodimer's death Syrčan sent his only bard named Or to the Obez land saying: "Volodimer is dead. Come back, brother. Return to your native land." [Syrčan instructed Or to give this message to Otrok, to sing Polovcian songs to him, and if he still did not wish to return, to let him smell [the Polovcian] prairie grass called *jevšan*.]

[Otrok] would not return; he would not even listen. [Thereupon, Or] presented him with the prairie grass. When Otrok inhaled [its fragrance], he began to weep and said: "It is better to die in one's native land than to achieve fame in a foreign one".<sup>4</sup> And he returned to his native land. Of him was born Končak,<sup>5</sup> who laid waste the land around the Sula, campaigning on foot and carrying a kettle on his back.

And that is why Prince Roman waged war and tried to annihilate the foreigners.<sup>6</sup>

There was great discord in the land of Rus' [when Roman passed away]. He left two sons: one four years old and the other two.

(1205) 6710 (1202). After leaving the monastic order he had joined be-

\* The date given in the first parentheses is the actual date or year of the event or events described, taken from Hruševs'kyj's *Xronol'ogija*. Next appears the year from the Creation (*Anno Mundi*) as given by the chronicler. In the second parentheses appears this same year, A. M., but expressed in terms of *Anno Domini*.

cause of his fear of Roman, Prince Rjurik [Rostislavič of Kiev] gathered many Polovcians and Rus'ians and set forth against the city of Halyč. As he advanced upon the city, the boyars from Halyč and Volodimer' came out to meet him near Mikulin on the river Seret. [The armies] fought a whole day for the possession of the Seret and many were wounded. When [the boyars] saw that they could not withstand [the enemy], they returned to Halyč. [Thereupon,] Prince Rjurik advanced upon Halyč [itself], but he did not meet with any success there. In the meantime after Roman's death the Hungarian king [Andrej II] had met his sister-in-law<sup>7</sup> in Sanok; he had received her son Danilo as if he were his own and had left a garrison [in Halyč consisting of] the tall Mokij, who was blind, Volpt Koročjun and his son Vitomir, Blaginja, and many other Hungarians. And because there were so many other Hungarians [in the city], the Galicians could not act on their own initiative<sup>8</sup> [when Rjurik appeared before the city walls]. Two [of Rjurik's] Polovcian princes – Kotjan and Somogur Sutojevič – attacked the Galician infantry, but their steeds were slain beneath them, and they themselves were almost taken captive. Thereupon, Rjurik returned to Kiev.<sup>9</sup>

After some time had passed, [the Galicians] brought back the Kormiličič [boyars],<sup>10</sup> whom the Great Prince Roman had banished for their treason: they had extolled the Igorevič<sup>11</sup> [princes]. Upon their advice the boyars of Halyč summoned the Igorevič [princes to come to (1206) rule and reign over them]. They placed [Prince] Volodimer [Igorevič] in Halyč and [Prince] Roman [Igorevič] in Zvenigorod. Thereupon, Roman's [wife] Princess [Anna] took her children and fled to the city of Volodimer' [in Volynia].<sup>12</sup> Incited by the godless Galicians, Prince Volodimer wished to annihilate Roman's family. Upon the advice of the Galician boyars, he sent [a priest as his envoy] to the inhabitants of Volodimer' making known to them that their city would perish if they did not surrender Roman's [two] sons and did not accept his brother Svjatoslav [Igorevič] as their ruler. The Volodimerians wanted to kill the priest, but [the boyars] Mstibog, Mikifor, and Mončuk replied that it would be improper for them to slay an envoy [of the prince], for in their hearts they plotted the surrender of their masters and the city. Thus, the priest [’s life] was spared. The next morning, learning [of this turn of events], Princess [Anna immediately] held council with Miroslav – the tutor [of her children –] and when night fell, they fled to Poland: The tutor left the city with Danilo in his arms while their father-confessor Jurij accompanied by the children's nurse took Vasilko and fled through a hole in the city walls. They did not know where to turn: Prince Roman had been killed in Poland and [the Polish Prince] Lestko had not yet concluded peace.<sup>13</sup> But the [good] Lord interceded in their behalf: [Prince] Lestko made no mention of the hostilities [between them] and received his sister-in-law<sup>14</sup> and her children with great honor. He took pity on them and remarked that the devil had caused this enmity to come between them. And indeed Volodislav [Tonkonogij]<sup>15</sup> had plotted discord between

[Roman and Lestko], for he was envious of the amicable relations that existed [between them].

(1207) 6711 (1203). Prince Lestko sent Danilo to Hungary in the company of his envoy Vjačeslav Lysyj with [the following] message for the king: "I have forgotten my dispute with Roman for he was your friend. You had sworn an oath<sup>16</sup> that [in case of his death] you would live in peace with his remaining kin. Now that they are in exile, let us go wrest their patrimony [from the hands of their enemies] and return it to them". Upon hearing these words, the king regretted that such had come to pass. He kept Danilo by his side while the princess and Vasilko stayed with Lestko. [Prince] Volodimer [Igorevič], however, sent many gifts to the king and to Lestko [to dissuade them from attacking him on behalf of Roman's family].

(1208) After [some] time had passed, a dispute arose between Volodimer [Igorevič] and his brother Roman. Roman went to Hungary for help, fought his brother, and defeating him, took Halyč. Volodimer, however, fled to Putivl'.

(1208) 6712 (1204). [Prince] Oleksander [Vsevolodovič of Belz] came with his allies [the Polish princes] Lestko [of Cracow] and Kondrat [of Mazowie]. When the Poles came against the city of Volodimer', its inhabitants opened the gates to them with the words "It is Roman's nephew [Oleksander]". But the Poles [began to sack] the whole city. Oleksander begged Lestko to save what was still left of the city and the Church of the Blessed Virgin. This church had firm doors which [the Poles] could not break down. [But they persistently hacked away at them] until Lestko and Kondrat came and beat back their own Polish soldiery. Thus, the church and the rest of the people were saved. The Volodimerians deplored [the day] that they had trusted the Poles and their oath, for if their relative – Oleksander – had not been with the Poles, the latter would not have even crossed the Bug river. [The Poles] imprisoned Prince Svjatoslav [Igorevič] and led him off to Poland, and Oleksander began to reign in Volodimer'.

At that time [the Poles also] imprisoned [Prince] Volodimer (Svjatopolčič) of Pinsk [at the instigation of?] Prince Mstislav [Jaroslavič Nemyj of Peresopnica] and Ingvar [Jaroslavič of Luck] who accompanied them. Later Ingvar reigned in Volodimer'. Lestko took Ingvar's daughter<sup>17</sup> in marriage and then let her go while he himself went to Orel'sk.

(1209?) The citizens of Berestja came to Lestko and requested [that] Roman's wife and [Vasilko her] child – for both [princes] were [very] young – [be sent to rule and reign over them]. And [Lestko] gave them [Vasilko] to rule over them. They met him with great joy, seeing in him [the reincarnation of] the great Roman.

Later Oleksander resided in Belz and Ingvar in Volodimer'. But the boyars did not like Ingvar, and Oleksander took Volodimer' upon Lestko's advice. Roman's wife then sent [her children's tutor] Miroslav to Lestko reproaching him that while [Oleksander] held their patrimony, her son had dominion only over Berestja. [Thereupon] Oleksander took Ugrovesk, Ve-

barrage of arrows with the Polovcians. [In his haste to cross the river] Marcel left his standard behind, but the Rus'ians recovered it and Marcel was greatly disgraced. The Hungarians returned to their tents – that is their camp. Then [Prince] Roman [Igorovič] left the city to seek succour from the princes of [Kievan] Rus'.<sup>25</sup> As he was crossing the bridge in Šumsk he was captured by Zernko and Čuxoma and brought to camp to face Danilo and all the princes and the Hungarian voyevodas. [Thereupon] a message was sent to [the Zvenigorodians] requesting their surrender, since their prince had been captured. The Zvenigorodians would not believe [the message] until they themselves became firmly convinced [of what had happened], and only then did they surrender.

From there [the allied] forces advanced upon Halyč. Volodimer [Igorovič] and his son Izjaslav fled from the city and were pursued as far as the Nezda river. On the Nezda Izjaslav fought [his pursuers] and his pack horses were captured. Then [the allies] returned to Halyč and the Great Roman's [wife] Princess [Anna] arrived to see her beloved son Danilo: At that time the Galician and Volodimerian boyars – Vjačeslav of Volodimer', [Volodislav of Halyč]<sup>26</sup> – and all the [other] Volodimerian and Galician boyars as well as the Hungarian voyevodas placed Prince Danilo upon the throne of his father – the Great Prince Roman – in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Thus, King Andrej did not forget his former agreement with his "brother"<sup>27</sup> – the Great Prince Roman – but sent his soldiers and placed his "son" on the throne of Halyč. When the [Igorovič] princes – Roman, Svjatoslav, and Rostislav were captured, the Hungarians wanted to take them to their king. The Galicians, however, requested their permission to hang the princes in revenge. The Hungarians were persuaded with costly gifts, and the princes were turned over [to the Galicians] for hanging in the month of September.<sup>28</sup> When [Prince] Danilo began his reign in Halyč, he was so young, that he did not even recognize his mother [for he had been separated from her for several years].

(1211) After some time had passed the Galicians drove Danilo's mother out of Halyč. Danilo did not wish to be left without her and cried for her, because he was very young. [Then] Šumavinskyj's servant – Oleksander – rode up and took Danilo's horse by its bridle. But Danilo unsheathed his sword, struck him, and killed his horse beneath him. [Thereupon Danilo's] mother took the sword from his hands and, prevailing upon him, left him in Halyč. Upon the advice of Volodislav [Kormiličič], she went to Belz, leaving him with the faithless Galicians; she wished to rule herself.<sup>29</sup> When the king learned of her banishment, he grieved [greatly].

(1211/12) 6717 (1209). The [Hungarian] king came to Halyč bringing along his sister-in-law – the [Grand] Princess, Roman's spouse – and the boyars of Volodimer'; [Prince] Ingvar [Jaroslavič] arrived from Luck [and] other princes [joined them in Halyč also. The king] held a council with his sister-in-law and the boyars of Volodimer' [during which] he stated

that [the boyar] Volodislav [Kormiličič] had assumed authority [in Halyč] and had banished his sister-in-law [from the city]. [Thereupon] Volodislav, Sudislav, and Filip were captured and subjected to torture. Sudislav, however, gave much wealth [to his captors] and "changed into gold" – that is having given them much gold, he was able to save himself. [Then] Volodislav was put in chains and led off to Hungary. While he was being led away, Javolod and Jaropolk – his brother – fled to Peresopnica to [Prince] Mstislav. They summoned him and in their company [he marched upon the city of] Bozk. Gleb Potkovič, Ivanko Stanislavič and his brother Zbyslav, however, fled from [the city] and ran to Halyč warning [its rulers] of the [approaching] enemy and of the treachery of the Galicians. [Thereupon] Roman's [spouse, the Grand] Princess escaped to Hungary with her son Danilo and Vjačeslav Tolstyj, while Vasilko and [the tutor] Miroslav rode off to Belz. After some time had passed, the king hurriedly began to gather a great army.

(1213) 6718 (1210). Lestko came to Belz persuaded by Oleksander who disliked [Prince] Roman's family and wished them ill. Lestko took Belz and gave it to Oleksander, but all of the [city's] boyars remained faithful to [Prince] Vasilko und accompanied him to Kamenec.

The [Hungarian] king released Volodislav [Kormiličič] and gathering many soldiers, marched against Halyč. When they stopped at the Lelesov monastery, his unfaithful boyars wanted to kill him; they murdered his wife,<sup>30</sup> (28. IX. 1213) and his brother-in-law barely escaped with his life. The Patriarch of Aquileia and many Germans were also murdered. Upon the king's return [to camp], many [of the boyars] were killed, while others scattered. But since a revolt had broken out [in the meantime in Hungary], the king could not wage war because of the [conspirators'] lawlessness. [Therefore] Volodislav [Kormiličič] rode on ahead with all the [pro-Hungarian] Galicians. [In the meantime, Prince] Mstislav [Jaroslavič] had fled from Halyč, after learning of the king's army. [Thus] Volodislav entered Halyč, ascended its throne, and began to reign. Danilo left with his mother for Poland, after receiving permission to leave [the city] from the [Hungarian] king. Lestko received Danilo with great honor [in Cracow]. From there, accompanied by his mother, Danilo went to Kamenec, where he was met with great joy by his brother Vasilko and all the boyars.

(1212) 6719 (1211). [At that time] Vsevolod Svjatoslavič [Čermnyj], who had great affection for the children of Roman's wife, reigned in Kiev. Then [Prince] Mstislav of Peresopnica summoned Lestko and went to Halyč. Lestko induced Danilo to come from Kamenec, Oleksander – from Volodimer' and Vsevolod – from Belz, [and] each [came] with his soldiers. Danilo's soldiers were greatest in number and strongest, for with him were all of his father's great boyars. When Lestko saw this he began to treat Prince Danilo and his brother Vasilko with great respect. Jaropolk and Javolod barricaded themselves in Halyč, but Volodislav [Kormiličič] rode out with

his Hungarians and Czechs, and joining forces with the Galicians, he came to the river Bobrka. When Lestko learned of this, he sent his Polish troops against him. From Danilo [he sent] Miroslav and Demjan and from Mstislav [of Peresopnica] – Gleb Zeremejevič and Jurij Prokopič. There was a great battle and the Poles and Rus'ians prevailed. Danilo was still a child then and could [barely] sit on a horse. Volodislav fled and many of his soldiers were killed. But after this Lestko still could not take Halyč. He went and ravaged the outskirts of Terebovl' and Zbyraž. Bykoven was taken by the Poles and Rus'ians, and Lestko captured many prisoners and returned to Poland. Then with aid from Lestko, Danilo and Vasilko took Tixoml' and Peremil' from Oleksander; [they] reigned in [Tixoml'] with their mother, gazing [enviously] upon the city of Volodimer' [and thinking]: "In one way or another Volodimer' will be ours". And thus aided by Divine Providence they gazed at Volodimer'.

Then the [Hungarian] king marched against Lestko<sup>31</sup> whom Danilo was visiting at that time. [Thereupon] Lestko sent his envoy Lestič and the boyar Pakoslav [to the king] with the [following] message: "It is not proper for a boyar to reign in Halyč; marry my daughter to your son Koloman and let him rule in Halyč". The king liked Pakoslav's [advice]. He held council with (1214) Lestko in Spiš<sup>32</sup> and took Lestko's daughter for his son. Then sending [troops], he captured Volodislav in Halyč. [The king] sent him into exile where he died, bringing misfortune upon his children and kin because he wished to rule. And this is why all the princes looked with disfavor upon his children. The king placed his son in Halyč, presented Lestko with Peremyšl' and gave [the boyar] Pakoslav the city of Ljubačev, for he was a friend of Roman's wife and her children. Upon Pakoslav's advice Lestko sent [a messenger] to Oleksander who said [to him]: "Give Volodimer' to Danilo and Vasilko Romanovič. If you won't, I will march with them against you". Since Oleksander would not give up Volodimer', Lestko placed Roman's sons in the city [by force].

(1216) 6720 (1212). The king took away Peremyšl' and<sup>33</sup> Ljubačev from Lestko.<sup>34</sup> Lestko grieved over this shame [that befell him] and sent to Novgorod for Mstislav [Mstislavič Udalyj] saying "You are my brother. Come and reign in Halyč". [Thus] Mstislav marched against Halyč upon Lestko's advice. [Thereupon] all the Galicians and Sudislav sent for Danilo. But Danilo could not come and Benedikt Lysyj<sup>35</sup> together with Sudislav fled (1219) to Hungary. Consequently, Mstislav began to reign in Halyč.<sup>36</sup>

(1219) 6721 (1213). Danilo took Mstislav's daughter [named] Anna for his wife and she bore his sons and daughters. His first born was Iraklej, who was followed by Lev and then Roman, Mstislav, and Švarno. All the other children died in infancy.

After some time had elapsed, Danilo went to Mstislav in Halyč to complain that Lestko held his patrimony. But Mstislav answered that because of his former agreement [with Lestko]<sup>37</sup> he could not rise up in arms against

him and that Danilo should find other allies. Upon his return home, Danilo went forth with his brother and took Berestja, Ugrovesk, Vereščin, Stolp, Komov, and all of the Ukraine.<sup>38</sup> [Because of this] Lestko was very angry with Danilo, and when spring came, the Poles came on a marauding expedition. They sacked [the settlements] on both sides of the Bug river. Danilo sent Gavrilko Dušilovič, Semen Olujevič, and Vasilko Gavrilovič after them. They pursued the Poles, cutting them down, as far as the Suxaja Dorogva. [Then] they took prisoners and returned to Volodimer' with great honor. At that time Klim Krestinič was the only soldier of all of Danilo's troops to die [during the pursuit]; his cross can be seen standing [over his grave] to this day on the Suxaja Dorogva. They had [also] killed many Poles pursuing them to the river Vepr. Lestko [however] thought that Danilo had taken Berestja on Mstislav's advice and [hence] sent [a message] to the king stating that he wanted no part of Halyč and that he was relinquishing it to his son-in-law. [Thereupon] the king and Lestko sent a great host which advanced upon Peremyšl'. At that time the tysjackij of the city was Jaron and he fled from the [advancing] army, for Mstislav was with all the princes of [Kievan] Rus' and Černigov. Mstislav sent Dmitro, Miroslav, and Mixalko Glebovič against the Hungarians and Poles to the city of Gorodok, but Gorodok switched its allegiance, for in it were Sudislav's people. As Dmitro was engaging [Sudislav's soldiers?] outside the city, the Hungarians and Poles rode up, and he fled. At that time the deacon Vasilko – called Molza – was killed by an arrow near the city. Mixalko Skula<sup>39</sup> was also killed. He was caught on the Ščireca, his head was cut off, from which three golden chains were removed, and his head was [then] brought to Koloman. [Prince] Mstislav was camping then on the Zubr, and Dmitro fled to him. But Mstislav could not engage the Hungarians and requested his son-in-law Danilo and Oleksander to barricade themselves in Halyč. And Danilo and Oleksander promised to go to Halyč. Danilo barricaded himself in Halyč, but Oleksander did not dare to [do the same]. At that time the [Grand] Princess, Roman's [spouse] took monastic vows. Then the army – that is Koloman and the Poles – reached the city. After (autumn 1219) a great battle at Krovavjy Brod, snow began to fall on the soldiers, and the [besieging] army could not remain. It marched beyond the Rogožina against Mstislav and drove him from the land. [But] Mstislav managed to tell Danilo to leave the city – which he did with the tysjackij Dmitro, Gleb Zeremejevič and Miroslav. When they were close to Tolmač, the unfaithful Volodislav Vitovič caught up with them. They turned around to attack him, drove him off, and took away his horse: Danilo was [very] young [then] and, seeing Gleb Zeremejevič and Semjun Kodninskyj fighting valiantly, he rode up to them and reinforced them; [thereupon] the other hastily fled. That day they fought a whole day until night fell. That night Danilo and Gleb Zeremejevič returned and captured Janec. Although Danilo was young he showed his valor [in battle]: both [Danilo and Gleb Zeremejevič] fought through the whole

night; in the morning Gleb Vasilevič caught up with Danilo, but Danilo turned around to attack him and pursued him for more than a poprišče. Gleb [however] managed to escape because of the [great] speed of his horse. Danilo returned and rode through [the ranks of the unfaithful Galicians] alone, but they did not dare to attack him until [their boyars?] Gleb Sudilovič, Gavriilo Ivorovič, and Perenežko rode forth against him. From there [Danilo and his troops] made their way to Onut and entered the steppe(s). But they were desperately short of food. [However] a wagon train [with provisions] chanced to be on its way to Plav on the eve of the feast of St. Demetrius; they captured it, ate well, and thanked God and St. Demetrius for feeding them. From there they came to a point below Kučelemin and pondered (25. X. 1219) where [best] to cross the Dniester river. [But] with the aid of Providence boats arrived from Oleš'e. They sailed out in them into the Dniester eating and drinking their fill of fish and wine. From there Danilo went to [Prince] Mstislav,<sup>40</sup> who showed him great honor and gave him valuable gifts and his swift gray charger. And [then] he said to him: "O, Prince! Go to Volodimer', while I will go to the land of the Polovcians and let us seek revenge for our shame". And Danilo rode into Volodimer'.

(1219) 6722 (1214). [Then] there was peace:

(1219) 6723 (1215). By the will of God the Lithuanian princes sent [a delegation] to Roman's Grand Princess and to Danilo and Vasilko with an offer of peace. The names of the Lithuanian princes were [the following]: the oldest was Živinbud, [then came] Davjat, Dovsprunk, his brother Mendovg, and Dovjal's brother Vilikail. The princes of Žemoit [were represented by] Jerdivil and Vykont while the Ruškovič princes [by] – Kintibut, Vonibut, Butovit, Vižeik and his son Višlij, Kitenij, and Plikosova. The Bulevič princes [were also present]: Višumut, whom Mendovg [later] killed, taking his wife and defeating his brothers Jedival and Sprudejko [who were now here], and the princes of Djavoltva: Judki, Pukeik, Bikši and Likiik. All of these [princes] made an offer of peace to Prince Danilo and Vasilko, and there was peace in the land. But since the Poles did not stop harrassing the country, Danilo sent the Lithuanians against them. They ravaged Poland, killing many people.

(1220) 6724 (1216). Nothing [of importance] happened [until] . . .

(1220) 6725 (1217) . . . the ever-proud Filja advanced [upon Halyč], hoping to encircle the land and to empty the sea with his great host of Hungarians. He was wont to say that one stone could break many pots or to boast that one needed only a sharp sword and a swift steed [to kill] many Rus'ians. But God would not tolerate this and later the ever-proud Filja was killed by Danilo Romanovič. Prince Oleksander betrayed Danilo and Vasilko and they had no succour from anyone except God until [Prince] Mstislav arrived with the Polovcians. Then Filja retreated with his great host of Hungarians and Poles, taking with him the Galician boyars, his father-in-law Sudislav, and [many] others. But some [of the boyars] fled [from him],



for he had looked down upon them.

(1221) 6726 (1218). There was peace.

(1221) 6727 (1219). Then Lestko marched against Danilo to Ščekarev to prevent him from coming to the aid of his father-in-law Mstislav. [Prince] Kondrat arrived to reconcile Lestko with Danilo, but recognizing Lestko's treachery he did not wish Prince Danilo to go [and] see Lestko. In the meantime, Filja was preparing for war. He was convinced that no one could oppose him on the field of battle. He left Koloman in Halyč where he [had] fortified the Church of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary. [But] she would not tolerate the defilement of her temple and allowed [Prince] Mstislav to capture it. With Koloman [at that time in Halyč] were: Ivan Lekin, Dmitr, and Bot:<sup>41</sup>

[Mstislav's allies] the Polovcians came to reconnoitre. The Hungarians and Poles gave chase, but one Polovcian turned around and shot Uz in the eye with an arrow. Uz fell [dead] from his horse and [the Hungarians] took his body away and mourned for him. The next day, on the eve of the feast of the Blessed Virgin, Mstislav marched early in the morning against the proud Filja and his Hungarians and Poles, and a great battle ensued which Mstislav won. Many of the Hungarians and Poles were killed as they fled [from the battlefield]. The haughty Filja was captured by the youth Dobrynin, whom the treacherous [boyar] Žiросlav had kidnapped. Because of Dobrynin, [Žiросlav] had been exposed and had lost his patrimony. After winning [on the battlefield], Mstislav advanced upon Halyč. First [his soldiers] fought for the possession of the city gates. [When these fell into their hands] the Hungarians fled to the church vault because it had been fortified, and some climbed up on ropes; their horses had been captured [by Mstislav's troops]. [From there] the [Hungarians] shot and threw stones at the inhabitants of the city, but they [soon] became exhausted from thirst, for they had no water. When Mstislav arrived, they surrendered to him and were led down from the church. Danilo came with a small retinue in the company of his tysjackij Demjan. However, he came at the wrong time [after the fighting was already over] and went to Mstislav. [Then] there was great rejoicing that God had delivered them from the foreigners, for all the Hungarians and Poles were either killed or captured or had drowned while fleeing through the land. Still others were killed by peasants, so that no one escaped. And thus God favored the land of Rus'. Then Sudislav was brought to Mstislav, but Mstislav pardoned him, not wishing to do him any harm. [Thereupon] Sudislav embraced Mstislav's knees and promised to be his slave. And Mstislav believed him and after showing him great honor, he gave him Zvenigorod.

(1221) 6728 (1220). Nothing [of importance] happened.

(1221) 6729 (1221). [At that time] Oleksander had betrayed [Roman's sons] and concluded peace with Lestko, Koloman, and the proud Filja; he constantly wished [them ill]. After Mstislav's victory and the sacking of Po-

land by (1222) the Lithuanians, Lestko made peace with Danilo and Vasilko: Deržislav Abramovič and Tvorjan Vojtixovič negotiated for Lestko and the tysjackij Demjan [represented] Roman's sons. Thus Lestko betrayed Oleksander. (1223) Saturday night Danilo and Vasilko plundered the outskirts of Belz and Červen and the whole land was given to the sword: Boyar robbed boyar, peasant robbed peasant, and city ransacked city so that not one village remained unconquered. Of this the Scriptures speak allegorically: "Not one stone remained upon another."<sup>42</sup> This night has been named an evil night by the inhabitants of Belz, for it played a bad trick on them:<sup>43</sup> they were conquered before the break of day. But Mstislav requested [Danilo] to spare his "brother" Oleksander, and Danilo withdrew from Belz and returned to Volodimer'.

(1223) 6730 (1222). Nothing [of importance] happened.

(1223) 6731 (1223). During the reign of Danilo and Vasilko Romanovič the city of Volodimer' had the [following] bishops: [first] there was Asaf – the blessed and venerable consecrator of the Holy Mountain [monastery];<sup>44</sup> then – Vasilko, [also] from the Holy Mountain; then Mikifor, whose clerical name was Stanilo and who had previously been Vasilko's servant, and then Kuzma, the gentle, saintly, and humble bishop of Volodimer'. According to God's will Danilo built (1237) a city called Xolm, but we will relate [the story of] its creation later. [Then] Bishop Ivan was chosen by the will of God and placed [in Xolm] by Prince Danilo. [He was selected] from the clergy of the great Church of the Blessed Virgin in Volodimer'. Before this occurred there was a bishop Asaf in Ugrovesk who seized the metropolitan chair and because of this was dethroned, and the bishopric was transferred to Xolm.

(1223) 6732 (1224). An enemy, hitherto unknown, appeared: the godless Moabites called Tatars [who] attacked the Polovcian land. When the Polovcians went forth to meet them in battle, Jurij Končakovič, the senior [prince] of all the Polovcians, could not oppose them and fled. And many [Polovcians] were slaughtered, [fleeing] to the river Dnieper. [Then] the Tatars turned around and went back to their camp. The Polovcians came hurriedly to Rus' and said to its princes "If you will not help us now, then [as] we were defeated today, you will be defeated tomorrow". All the princes held council in Kiev and decided that it would be better for them to engage the Tatars in a foreign land than in their own. At that time Mstislav Romanovič was reigning in Kiev, Mstislav [Svjatoslavič] in Kozel'sk and Černigov, and Mstislav Mstislavič in Halyč. These were the senior princes of Rus'. Jurij, the grand prince of Suzdal', was not present at this council. And the young princes [who were there] were: Danilo Romanovič, Mixail Vsevolodič, Vsevolod Mstislavič from Kiev and many other princes. At that time the great Polovcian prince Bastyj was baptized. [Prince] Vasilko was not present because he was [too] young and [hence] stayed in Volodimer'. They set out in the month of April and came to the Varangian Island on the Dnieper, [where] they were joined by the entire Polovcian nation, by the men

of Černigov, Kiev, and Smolensk, and by other nations. All of us (?)<sup>45</sup> crossed the Dnieper without getting wet so that the water was completely covered by the multitude of people. The Galicians and Volynians with their princes and men of Kursk, Trubčevsk, and Putivl' also with their princes arrived on horseback, while the Galician outcasts<sup>46</sup> went along the Dniester and entered the sea for they had a thousand<sup>47</sup> boats. [Then] they went up the Dnieper, passed its rapids and came to a halt at a ford of the river Xortica near Protolča; [they were led by the Galician boyars] Jurij Domamerič and Deržikraj Volodislavič.

News arrived at camp that the Tatars were coming to survey the boats of the Rus'ians. When Danilo Romanovič heard this, he mounted his horse and galloped off to take a look at this hitherto unknown enemy. He was accompanied by cavalymen and princes [who wanted] to see this unknown force. When they had already gone off a distance, Jurij speculated that they were archers, but the others said that they were simple people, even more simple than the Polovcians. [To this] Jurij Domamerič replied that they were fighting men and brave warriors. Upon their return [to camp], they told Mstislav [Mstislavič what they had said and what they had seen]: Jurij related everything. [Thereupon] the young princes said: "Mstislav [Romanovič] and you Mstislav [Svjatoslavič of Černigov]! Don't [just] stay [in camp]. Let us go and attack them". Thus, all the princes, Mstislav [Romanovič] and the second Mstislav [Svjatoslavič] of Černigov crossed the river Dnieper; then came the other princes, and they entered the Polovcian steppe; they crossed the Dnieper on Tuesday. The Tatars met the regiments of Rus', but the Rus'ian bowmen defeated them and pursued them far into the steppe, cutting them down. [The Rus'ians] took their cattle and ran off with [so many] herds that each soldier had more than his share. Thence they marched eight days to the river Kalka, [where] the Tatar vanguard met them. This vanguard fought [a skirmish] with them and Ivan Dmitrejevič and two others with him were killed. [Then] the Tatars withdrew to the other side of the Kalka and [here] they engaged the Polovcian and Rus'ian regiments:

Mstislav Mstislavič ordered Danilo to cross the river Kalka first with his and some other regiments. Then he himself followed and went on patrol to reconnoitre. When he saw the Tatar regiments, he rode back [to those who had not yet crossed the river], ordering them to arm themselves. But Mstislav [Romanovič] and the other Mstislav [Svjatoslavič] were [still] in camp and knew nothing [of this order]; Mstislav [Mstislavič] did not inform them out of jealousy, for there was great discord between them. When the [opposing] armies met on the battlefield, Danilo, Semjun Oljujevič, and Vasilko Gavrilovič rode forward and charged into the Tatar regiments. Vasilko was wounded, and Danilo himself was wounded in his chest, but because of his youth and impetuosity he did not feel the wounds on his body: he was eighteen and strong [as a bull]. Danilo fought fiercely and slew many Ta-

tars. Mstislav [Jaroslavič] Nemyj saw this, [but then] thinking that Danilo was wounded, he himself charged into the Tatars [surrounding Danilo], for he too was a strong man, being a relative of Roman and a descendant of Volodimer Monomax. He loved Danilo's father dearly and entrusted Roman with his land, which after his death was to pass to Prince Danilo. [Finally] the Tatars [broke ranks and] fled and Danilo slew [many of] them [pursuing them] with his regiment and Oleg of Kursk, [who] fought valiantly [at his side]. But [then] other [Tatar] regiments engaged them, and because of our sins the regiments of Rus' were defeated. When Danilo saw that the battle was becoming fiercer, since the [Tatar] bowmen were showering them relentlessly with arrows, he turned his horse to flee because of the enemy onslaught. As he fled, he grew thirsty, and taking a drink, he felt the [presence of a] wound upon his body. He had not noticed it in battle because of the strength and impetuousness of his youth, for he was courageous and brave. From head to toe, there was no defect on him.<sup>48</sup> [Thus] all the princes of Rus' were defeated as they had never been before.

After vanquishing the princes of Rus' because of the sins committed by Christians, the Tatars moved on and reached [Prince] Svjatopolk's Novgorod [-Seversk]. The people of Rus' were not aware of their treachery and came out to meet them with crosses in their hands, but the Tatars slaughtered all of them. And God, who waited for repentance from the Christians, turned [the Tatars] back to their Eastern land, and they waged war against Tangut and other lands. At that time their leader Chinggis Khan was killed by the Tanguts. [In revenge the Tatars] deceived [the Tanguts] and [then] treacherously annihilated them. [Thus] they destroyed [many] other lands – [some] with their armies [but] most by treachery.

(1224) 6733 (1225). [Prince] Oleksander always felt [great] enmity toward his "brothers", Danilo and Vasilko Romanovič. Upon hearing that [Prince] Mstislav was also not on good terms with his son-in-law Danilo, he was overjoyed and incited Mstislav to wage war [against him]. Mstislav went forth to do battle and came to the Lysaja Gora. Thereupon, Danilo went to Poland, and bringing Prince Lestko [as his ally], marched against Mstislav. Joining forces, [Danilo's and Lestko's] army drove Mstislav into the city of Belz and almost captured the city. The next day they went forth again, but Mstislav could not withstand [the onslaught] and returned to Halyč. Prince Danilo and the Poles ravaged the Galician land and the outskirts of Ljubačev, subduing the land around Belz and Červen and leaving nothing unturned. Prince Vasilko took [so] many captives and seized [so many] herds of stallions and mares [that] the Poles were envious. Afterwards the opposing forces sent envoys and Demjan and Andrej were released.

After these events Mstislav came with [his allies Khan] Kotjan with a host of Polovcians and [Prince] Volodimer of Kiev. He pretended that he was going to attack [Danilo and] the Poles upon Oleksander's advice, for Oleksander never ceased inciting [Mstislav] against his "brother" [Danilo,

constantly] telling him that his son-in-law wanted to kill him. But since repairs were being made around his keep, Oleksander sent his [voyevoda] Jan [in charge of his troops to Mstislav], not daring to march in person [against Danilo]. And Mstislav told Jan that he was the one who informed him that Danilo was leading the Poles against him for the second time. [Thus] all the princes perceived Oleksander's [attempt to] slander [Danilo] and Jan's lie and advised [Mstislav] to seize all of his land because of [this] insult to his person. Mstislav, however, would not take his land because he loved him like a brother, and they all (1225) praised him for this. Mstislav received his son-in-law with [great] affection and after honoring him with great gifts, he gave him his charger Aktaz; there was no other horse like it at that time. Mstislav also gave his own daughter Anna valuable presents and then met with his kinsmen in Peremil' where they [all] concluded peace.

(1226) 6734 (1226). The false Žirolav informed the Galician boyars that Mstislav was setting out for the steppe [because] he wanted to deliver them to his father-in-law [Kotjan] to be slaughtered [by him]. But Mstislav was innocent of this and knew nothing about [these rumors among] them. But they believed [in them] and departed for the district of Peremyšl', the Caucasian, that is, the Hungarian Mountains, and the Dniester river. Then they sent their messengers [to Mstislav], telling him that Žirolav had told them [everything]. Thereupon] Mstislav dispatched his father confessor Timofej to inform them that in each instant [?] Žirolav had slandered him before them. In their presence Timofej swore an oath that Mstislav knew nothing of this and thus brought back all the boyars to Mstislav. The prince exposed Žirolav and banished him from him just as God had banished Cain from His presence with the words: "And now art thou cursed. May you [wander] groaning and trembling on the earth which hath opened her mouth to receive your brother's blood [from thy hand]". So also did Žirolav open his mouth against his master.<sup>49</sup> May he find no shelter in all the districts of Rus' and Hungary and in all other lands. May he roam hungry and in need of wine and oil through [all] the lands. May his household be empty and may there not be a living soul in his village.

Banished from [Halyč], Žirolav went to [Prince] Izjaslav [Mstislavič of Smolensk]. Žirolav was known as a cunning swindler, more cunning than anyone else, and an ardent liar. He had become famous through the auspices of his good father and poverty deterred his wickedness [for a while]. But his tongue fed on lies and his mind relied on them. He displayed his lies more than [a king displays his] crown; he was an usurper because he cheated not only strangers but also his loved ones – and all this just for the sake of profit. And that is why he wished to be with Izjaslav. But let us return to our former narration.

Upon the advice of the cunning Galician boyars, (1224/5) Mstislav [Mstislavič] gave his younger daughter [Marija] in marriage to Andrej, the [Hungarian] king's son, whom he presented with Peremyšl'. But [then] An-

drej listened to the scheming Semjun Čermnyj and (1226/7) fled to Hungary, where he began to gather an army, and when winter set in, he marched to Peremyšl'. At that time the tysjackij of the city was Jurij; he surrendered Peremyšl' and himself fled to Mstislav [Mstislavič]. The [Hungarian] king [Andrej II, who came with his son] stopped in Zvenigorod and sent his soldiers on to Halyč. He himself did not dare go to Halyč, because Hungarian magicians had told him that if he were to see the city, he would not remain alive. He believed the magicians and that is the reason why he would not venture to move on to Halyč.<sup>50</sup> But since the waters of the Dniester rose, [his soldiers] could not cross [the river]. Mstislav came out to meet them with his regiments. Both sides gazed at each other, and then the Hungarians retreated to their camp, for with the king was Pakoslav with his Poles. Thence the king marched upon Terebovl' and took it, and then he went against Tixoml' and took it also. From there he went to Kremjanec and fought outside the city, but many Hungarians were killed and wounded. Thereupon, Mstislav sent Sudislav to his son-in-law Prince Danilo entreating him not to abandon him. But he answered, "My heart remains faithful to you." Then the king went to Zvenigorod. Mstislav left Halyč and the Hungarians went forth from the king's camp to meet him. Mstislav engaged them in battle, defeated them, and cutting them down, pursued them to the king's camp. At that time the king's voyevoda Martiniš was killed. The king became alarmed and quickly left the country. Then Danilo came to Mstislav in Gorodok with his brother Vasilko, and they were accompanied by Gleb. They advised [Prince Mstislav] to march against the king who was [then] on the Loxta, but Sudislav held him back, for he had treachery in his heart: he did not want [to see] the king's downfall, for he placed his [most cherished] hopes in him, and the king had become exhausted [from the fighting]. Then Lestko came with reinforcements, but Danilo prevented him from helping the king. [Lestko persisted in trying to come to the king's aid], but Danilo and Vasilko sent their troops to the Bug River and kept him from crossing it. [Lestko] then returned to his country, for he had become exhausted by the campaign. The Hungarian king returned to Hungary. [Along the way] he was overtaken by Prince Izjaslav [Mstislavič of Smolensk] and the cunning Žirosslav, who accompanied him to Hungary.

Later Sudislav plotted mischief against Mstislav and said to him: "Give your betrothed daughter in marriage to the king's son and give him Halyč, since you yourself won't be able to hold it and the boyars don't want you." But [Mstislav] did not wish to give [Halyč] to the king's son; he preferred to give it to Danilo. Gleb Zeremejevič and Sudislav, however, were persuading him from presenting it to Danilo: They would say to him: "If you give [Halyč] to the king's son, you will be able to take it back from him whenever you please. If you give it to Danilo, Halyč will never be yours again." But the inhabitants of Halyč wanted Danilo and sent [envoys] to speak [with him] in this matter. [Thereupon] Mstislav gave Halyč to the king's son Andrej,

while he himself took Poniz'je, from which he set out for Torčesk.<sup>51</sup>

Mstislav [Jaroslavič] Nemyj gave his patrimony to Prince Danilo and entrusted his son Ivan to his care. Ivan died, and [Prince] Jaroslav [Ingvarovič] occupied Luck; the Pinjanians took Čertoryjsk.

(1227) 6735 (1227). Now we will speak of countless battles and great deeds, frequent wars and many periods of unrest, frequent revolts and many rebellions, for since their youth [Danilo and Vasilko] had no peace.<sup>52</sup>

When Jaroslav [Ingvarovič] was reigning in Luck, Danilo went to Židičin to worship and pray to [the miraculous icon of?] St. Nicholas. Jaroslav summoned him to Luck, and [Danilo's] boyars said to him: "Take Luck and capture their prince." But Danilo answered that he had come here to pray to St. Nicholas and hence could not do this and went to Volodimer'. Gathering an army there, [Danilo and Vasilko] sent [the boyars] Andrej, Vjačeslav, Gavriilo, and Ivan [at its head] against [Prince Jaroslav]. As Jaroslav was entering Luck he was captured with his wife by Oleksa Oreško, who had a swift horse, caught up with him and captured him before [he reached] the city. [But] the inhabitants of Luck barricaded themselves [in the city]. The next day Danilo and Vasilko arrived and [they] surrendered. Danilo gave Vasilko Luck and Peresopnica; he had given him Berestja earlier.

(1228) The Jatvingians ravaged the outskirts of Berestja and [Danilo and Šelv] gave chase from Volodimer'. Two [Jatvingians] Šutr Mondunič and Stegut Zebrovič attacked their regiment; Šutr was killed by Danilo and Vjačeslav, and Stegut by Šelv. As the Jatvingians fled, Danilo overtook them, inflicted four wounds on Nebr, and with his shaft knocked the spear from his hands. Then Vasilko caught up with him, but at that moment a great cry arose that his brother [Danilo] was engaged in mortal combat behind him. Vasilko stopped pursuing [Nebr] and turned to help his brother. Thus Danilo escaped [death], and the rest of the Jatvingians scattered. But we will leave this and return to our former narration.

Danilo sent [the voyevoda] Demjan to his father-in-law [Mstislav Mstislavič] making known to him that it was improper for the Pinjanians to hold Čertoryjsk and that he would not stand for this [any longer]. When Demjan delivered this message to Mstislav, the latter had the following reply [for Danilo]: "My son, I have sinned by not giving Halyč to you but to a foreigner upon the advice of the cunning Sudislav who deceived me. If God wills it, let us march against [the Hungarians holding Halyč].<sup>53</sup> I will summon the Polovcians and you come with your soldiers. If God delivers Halyč into our hands, then you take it and I'll take Poniz'je, and may God be with you. And as far as Čertoryjsk is concerned, you are [absolutely] right." Demjan returned on Easter Saturday and the next day on Easter Danilo and Vasilko came to Čertoryjsk. Monday night they laid siege to the city. At that time Danilo's horse was killed by an arrow from the city. The next morning they encircled the city and [the voyevodas] Miroslav and Demjan said [to Danilo and Vasilko]: "God has delivered our enemies into your (March

glory will Kondrat have? If the banner of Rus' is [implanted] on the city ramparts, whom are you honoring? Is it not Roman's sons, while you disgrace yourself? Now we serve your brother but tomorrow we are yours; Only do not let Rus' win the glory: Do not destroy the city!" And they said many other things. [Then] Pakoslav replied: "Kondrat would be more than willing to show you his mercy, but Danilo is very angry and will not leave us until we take the city." Then he broke out in laughter and added: "And here he is in person. Speak with him." Prince [Danilo] nudged him with the shaft of his spear and took off his helmet. Thereupon they called down from the city [ramparts]: "We will serve you; only make peace, we beg you." But Danilo continued laughing and conversing with them for a long time. [Then] taking along two elders, he went to Kondrat. [Thus] Kondrat concluded peace with them and took hostages from them.

[During this campaign] the Rus'ians had captured many servants and boyars' wives. The Rus'ians and Poles swore an oath to each other that if afterwards there ever was a civil war [in either land], the Poles would not wage war against the servants of Rus', and neither would the Rus'ians make war upon Polish servants. Then [Danilo and Vasilko] returned home from Kondrat with honor because God had been on their side. They were of great aid to [Kondrat] and entered their own land in glory. No other prince had penetrated the Polish land so deeply except Volodimer the Great, who had baptized the country.

(1230) Then after some time had elapsed, Vasilko went to great prince Jurij in Suzdal' [to attend] the wedding of his brother-in-law. He took along Miroslav and [many] other [men].

While Prince Danilo was in Ugrovesk the Galicians sent [a message to him, letting him know] that Sudislav had gone to Poniz'je while the king's son remained [alone] in Halyč and that he should come as quickly as possible. Danilo hurriedly gathered his troops and dispatched Demjan against Sudislav while he himself marched with a small retinue from Ugrovesk to Halyč. On the third day by nightfall he was near Halyč. [In the meantime] Sudislav could not withstand Demjan and fled to Halyč. When Danilo approached the city, Halyč had already closed its gates. Danilo captured Sudislav's estate and was surprised to see [the great quantities of] wine, fruit, provisions, spears, and arrows [that were stored there]. But, when he saw that his men had become weighed down [with booty taken from the estate], he did not wish to camp near the city and crossed to the other side of the Dniester. That night Sudislav slipped into the city. Some of his men had been captured and they said that Sudislav was already in Halyč. Danilo was camped in Ugolniki on the [opposite] bank of the Dniester river. The Galicians and the Hungarians rode out of the city [towards Danilo's camp] and both sides exchanged a barrage of arrows on the ice. But when evening came, the ice began to melt and the water rose. The lawless and evil Semjunko, who resembled a fox because of his ruddy [complexion], set fire to the bridge



on the Dniester. [Then] Demjan arrived with many Galician boyars [in the company of the voyevoda] Miroslav and [the boyar] Volodislav [Jur'jevič]. Danilo was delighted at this but worried about the bridge – [i. e.] how they would cross the Dniester [without it]. He galloped over it and noticed that the end [which had been set afire] had stopped burning, which caused great rejoicing [in the camp]. The next day Volodimer Ingvarovič arrived. They crossed the bridge and camped along the [other] bank of Dniester. Danilo rose the following morning, rode around the city and gathering [all] the inhabitants of the Galician land, surrounded it by dividing his troops into four battalions. He had collected [his vast army] from the Bobrka as far as the river Ušica and the Prut. [Thus] he laid siege [to Halyč] in great force. Its inhabitants [soon] became exhausted and surrendered the city. As Danilo was occupying the city, he remembered King Andrej's affection [for him] and released his son, accompanying him to the Dniester. The only person to leave Halyč with the king's son was Sudislav. The Galicians threw stones at him and said: "Depart from our city, you instigator of rebellions in our land!"

Andrej came to his father and brother [in Hungary]. And Sudislav constantly exhorted them: "March against Halyč and occupy Rus'. If you won't go, they will gain in strength against us". [Thereupon] Bela Rex – that is the Hungarian king – set out in great force. He [boasted] that the city of Halyč would not remain [on the face of the earth], for there was no one to deliver it from his hands. But as he was going through the Hungarian Mountains,<sup>56</sup> God sent against him the Archangel Michael [who] released the torrents of heaven [upon him]. The horses of the Hungarians drowned [in the ensuing flood], while they themselves sought succour on high ground. [Despite this Bela] was bent on occupying the city and the land. [Then] Danilo prayed to God and He delivered him from the hands of the mighty. The king besieged the city and sent a messenger who cried out in a loud voice: "Listen to the great Hungarian king. Let not Demjan prepare you [for battle] with the words 'God will deliver us from [the evils of this] earth', and let not your Danilo place his trust in God and tell you that this city would not surrender to the Hungarian king.<sup>57</sup> I have led so many [successful] campaigns against other lands. Who indeed can oppose me and the power of my regiments?" But Demjan nevertheless continued building up his forces and was not frightened by this threat, for God was with him. Danilo summoned the Poles and Kotjan's Polovcians to his side, while the king had Begovar's Polovcians as his allies. But God sent down Pharaoh's plague [upon the enemy. Thus], the city grew stronger and stronger, and Bela – weaker and weaker; [finally] he withdrew from the city, abandoning many men – [from] both infantry and cavalry. When the inhabitants of the city attacked them, many of them fell in the river, some were killed, some wounded, and some were taken captive: As has been said somewhere: "[Just as] the Skyrt river played a bad trick on the inhabitants of the city", so did the Dniester play a bad trick on the Hungarians.<sup>58</sup>

From [Halyč] the king went to Vasilev, crossed the Dniester, and headed toward the Prut. But the Lord sent a plague [upon the Hungarians] and His angel struck them down. And thus they perished: some shed their skin as they would their shoes,<sup>59</sup> some found their way into the midst of a herd of horses and perished there, while still others died as they gathered around a fire and were raising a piece of meat to their lips. They died of many different afflictions while heavenly torrents inundated them without discrimination. Thus, [Bela] fled because of the infidelity of the Galician boyars, while Danilo took possession of his city – Halyč.

After this we will speak of many revolts, great intrigues, and countless wars.<sup>60</sup>

(1230/31) 6738 (1230). A great conspiracy was forming among the godless Galician boyars: With Danilo's nephew [Prince] Oleksander [of Belz] they plotted to kill Danilo and to deliver his land [to the Hungarians]. As [Danilo and Vasilko] sat in council, [the boyars] wanted to set fire [to the building], but the [all-]merciful Lord implanted in Vasilko's mind the idea to leave [the council]. And he unsheathed his sword and fenced with a subject of the king, while someone else took [down] a shield and feigned battle. When the unfaithful Molibogovič boyars saw this, they were seized by the fear of the Lord. With the words, "Our plot has been crushed" on their lips, they fled like the accursed [Prince] Svjatopolk.<sup>61</sup> They fled, and the princes Danilo and Vasilko still knew nothing [of the intended plot]. Vasilko rode off to Volodimer' and the godless [boyar] Filip summoned Danilo to [his castle] Višnja, for it was there that the other boyars plotted to murder him with the aid of his nephew Oleksander. When Danilo reached the fields of Braničev, a courier from his tysjackij Demjan came to him with the message: "An evil feast has been prepared for you, for your godless boyar Filip has conspired with your nephew Oleksander to murder you [at Višnja]. Now that you have heard this, go back and continue to hold the throne of your father." When Kosnjatin finished, Danilo turned back from the middle of the Dniester. The godless boyars crossed the river at another place, for they did not wish to face him. Upon his return to Halyč, Danilo sent a courier to his brother Prince Vasilko instructing him to march [immediately] against Oleksander. Oleksander, however, fled to his co-conspirators in Peremyšl'. Vasilko occupied Belz. He sent his royal groom Ivan to fetch the faithless Molibogovič boyars [from their estates] along the Voldrisa. Ivan Mixalkovič captured 28 of them, but they were spared and not put to death. Once when Danilo was making merry at a feast, one of these godless boyars threw the contents of his goblet in Danilo's face. But Danilo bore the insult, hoping that God would repay them some day.

(1231) 6739 (1231). Danilo himself called his eighteen faithful retainers and his tysjackij Demjan to council and said to them: "Will you remain true to me that I may set out against my enemies?" But they cried out: "We remain true to God and to you our master. Go with God's help". And Mi-

kula Sockij [added]: "Master, you cannot eat honey without first killing the bees."<sup>62</sup> After praying to God, the Blessed Virgin, and the Lord's Archangel Michael, Danilo hurriedly went forth accompanied by [very] few soldiers. But Miroslav came to his aid with a small retinue. And then all the traitors also flocked to Danilo's side, pretending to be loyal to him, and held council with [Danilo's forces], for bad times had come upon them.<sup>63</sup> Danilo came to Peremyšl but Oleksander fled, not being able to oppose him. In the [ensuing] chase Selv was mortally wounded. He was a brave man and was buried with great honors. The traitor Volodislav Jur'jevič, who conspired with them, pursued [Oleksander] to the Sanok [river] and the Hungarian Gates. [But] Oleksander escaped leaving all his property [behind]. And thus he arrived in Hungary and went to Sudislav, [who] was at that time in Hungary. Sudislav went to King Andrej and persuaded the Hungarian king [to march against Danilo]. And King Andrej advanced (1232) upon Jaroslavl' in the company of his son Bela and his other son Andrej. The boyar David Vyšatič and [the voyevoda] Vasilko Gavrilovič barricaded themselves in Jaroslavl', [defending it] in Danilo's name. The Hungarians fought until sunset but the city repulsed them. In the evening [the besieged] held a council [during which] David became frightened because his mother-in-law, the wife of the steward Nezdilo, whom he addressed as mother, was faithful to Sudislav and told him that he would not be able to hold the city. But Vasilko [exhorted] him: "Let us not disgrace our prince. [Their] army cannot take this city," for he was a strong and brave man. David, however, would not heed him and was bent on giving up the city. Then Čak came from the Hungarian regiments and reported that they could not defeat them, for they had been badly beaten. Yet despite Vasilko's heated insistence not to surrender the city, David delivered it to [the Hungarians], for fear had paralyzed his heart. He walked out unharmed with all this troops, and the king occupied Jaroslavl', [from which] he then advanced upon Halyč. But [the boyar] Klimjata of Golyje Gory fled from Prince Danilo to the king, and following his example all the Galician boyars surrendered.

From [Halyč] the king advanced upon Volodimer'. When he came to Volodimer' he was amazed [by what he saw] and said: "Such a city I did not find in the German lands," for armed soldiers were astride its ramparts and both the soldiers and their shields glistened like the sun.<sup>64</sup> [The voyevoda] Miroslav was in [command of] the city; at [all] other times he had been dauntless [in the face of battle] but this time – and God [alone] knows [why] – he became alarmed and made peace with the king without consulting with Prince Danilo and his brother Vasilko. In accordance with the [provisions of] the peace treaty he gave Belz and Červen to [Prince] Oleksander. The king [in the meantime] placed his son Andrej [on the throne of] Halyč upon the advice of the unfaithful Galicians. [Later] Miroslav denied that he had delivered Červen according to [the stipulations of] the treaty for both brothers reproached him strongly: [they could not understand] why

he made peace with so many soldiers at his disposal. While the king stayed in Volodimer', Prince Danilo took much booty ravaging the outskirts of Bužsk. Then the king returned to Hungary.

(Winter 1232/33) Volodimer [Rjurikovič of Kiev] sent word to Danilo: "Mixail [Vsevolodovič of Černigov] is marching against me. Help me, brother!" And Danilo came to reconcile them. And [thus] he acquired part of [Kievan] Rus' – the city of Torčesk – and returned it to his brothers-in-law, the children of Mstislav [Mstislavič] with the words: "Because of your father's good deeds, accept the city of Torčesk, and rule [over it]".

After some time [had elapsed] the king's son Andrej began a campaign against Danilo and advanced upon Beloberežje. [The Galician boyar] Volodislav [Jur'jevič] rode at the head of an advance detachment of soldiers [sent] by Danilo from Kiev and came to blows with the enemy in Beloberežje. And both sides fought for the possession of the Sluč river; [the Hungarians were victorious and] pursued [the Rus'ians] from the Čertov forest to the river Derevnaja. News [of this battle, sent] by Volodislav reached Volodimer [Rjurikovič] and Danilo in Kiev. Thereupon, Danilo addressed Prince Volodimer: "Brother, since they know we are [here] and are marching against us, let me go and repay them [in kind]". But [the Hungarians] learned [of his coming] and turned back to Halyč. Danilo joined forces with his brother and caught up with them at Šumsk; he negotiated with them across the Velja river, for with the king's son were [Prince] Oleksander [of Belz, the boyar] Gleb Zeremejevič, several Boloxovian princes<sup>65</sup> and a multitude of Hungarians. Danilo and the king's son saw each other across the Velja but Danilo spoke boastfully, which displeased God. The next day Danilo crossed the Velja to Šumsk and prayed to God and St. Simon. Then marshalling his regiments he set out toward Torčev. When the king's son Andrej learned [of this], he aligned his troops and went to meet him – that is to do battle [with him]. He advanced over flat country and Danilo and Vasilko had to come down from high mountains. Some of their troops were against descending and felt that they should have made a stand in the mountains. But Danilo quoted to them from the Scriptures: "He who hesitates to do battle has a cowardly soul".<sup>66</sup> And thus urging them on, he hurriedly descended upon [the enemy]. Vasilko marched against the Hungarians [on Danilo's right] and the tysjackij Demjan with many other regiments on the left, while Danilo marched with his regiment in the center. His regiment was large and consisted of brave men whose weapons glistened [in the March 1233] sun]. When [the Hungarians] saw [Danilo], they did not wish to do battle with him and moved against Demjan and the other regiments. The [Hungarian] archers swooped forward like hawks, but [Demjan's] men would not wait; they defeated them, taking [much] booty. Demjan fought with Sudislav while Prince Danilo struck from their rear and began cutting them down. Demjan thought that these were all the soldiers who had fled before him. Danilo struck a soldier with his spear and when it broke, he

drew his sword. He looked around and saw Vasilko's regiment with raised banner fighting valiantly and pursuing the Hungarians. And with his sword drawn, Danilo went to help his brother. [Along the way] he wounded many [Hungarians] and several [even] died from [the blows of] his sword. Joining forces with Miroslav, Danilo saw that the Hungarians were regrouping, and both struck them [in full force. The Hungarians] could not withstand the attack and fled. Then others came to blows with them but were also defeated. In the [ensuing] chase [Danilo and Miroslav] were separated. Then Danilo caught sight of his brother fighting valiantly, his spears bloody, and one spear's shaft hacked off by the blows of [many] swords.

(March, 1233) 6740 (1232). Gleb Zeremejevič regrouped the Hungarians and attacked Vasilko's regiment. But when Danilo rode up to them urging them forward [to battle], he did not see a single soldier among them – only boys who were holding horses [by their reins]. The Hungarians recognized him and tried to kill his horse [beneath him] with their swords, but the [all-] merciful Lord delivered him from them unharmed and only the skin on his horse's thigh was cut. Reaching his own soldiers, Danilo urged them to attack the Hungarians. Then Vasilko's regiment pursued the Hungarians to their camp, where they cut down the banner of the king's son. Many other Hungarians fled all the way to Halyč and stopped running only when they were there. [The Rus'ians] found themselves on a hill and the Hungarians were in a valley [below them], and Danilo and Vasilko urged their men to descend upon them [in one final attack]. But by God's will Danilo's retinue took to flight because of their sins.<sup>67</sup> The Hungarians did not dare give chase and thus no harm came to Danilo's regiments except for the five soldiers who were killed. Gathering his soldiers the next day, Danilo did not know with whom or where his brother was. The king's son turned back to Halyč, for his regiments had suffered great losses. Other Hungarians fled and stopped running only when they reached Halyč. There was a great battle that day: many Hungarians fell in battle, but only a handful of Danilo's boyars. Their names were: Ratislav Jurjevič, Mojsej, his brother Stepan, and Jurij Janevič. Then learning that his brother was safe and sound, Danilo continued preparing for war against the Hungarians. He was in Torčesk (2. IV. 1233) on Easter Saturday.

Then Oleksander sent word to his "brother" Danilo and to Vasilko that it was improper for him to be at odds with them. And both brothers welcomed him back with great affection. When the first grass appeared, Danilo advanced with his brother and Oleksander upon Plesnesk. He came and wrested it from the Arbuzovič boyars. [Then] taking much booty he returned to Volodimer'.

(Summer 1233) 6741 (1233). The king's son and Sudislav summoned [the Hungarian voyevoda] Dijaniš against Danilo. But Danilo went to Kiev and brought the Polovcians and [Prince] Izjaslav [Mstislavič of Smolensk] against him. Danilo, Izjaslav, and Volodimer [Rjurikovič of Kiev] swore

an oath to each other in church and [Izjaslav and Volodimer] marched against Dijaniš. But Izjaslav betrayed [Danilo and Volodimer] and ordered his troops to sack Danilo's land. They took Tixoml' and [then] turned back. Thus, Volodimer and Kotjan [with his Polovcians] remained alone with Danilo. "O evil treachery!" as Homer writes, ["Sweet when undisclosed,] but evil when exposed. Whoever walks in it will meet an evil end, for it is the direst of all evils."<sup>68</sup> From [Halyč] the king's son Andrej and Dijaniš with their Hungarians went to Peremil' and fought Volodimer and Danilo for the possession of the bridge [leading to the city]. But [Danilo and Volodimer] repulsed them and the Hungarians turned back to Halyč, leaving their catapults behind. And Volodimer and Danilo gave chase.

[Then] Vasilko and Oleksander came to their brother, and they met in council in Bužsk. [Afterwards] Volodimer, Kotjan, and Izjaslav left the land.

(Autumn 1233) 6742 (1234). Gleb Zeremejevič deserted the king's son for Danilo: [As] Danilo and Vasilko [stubbornly] advanced upon Halyč, most of the inhabitants of the city came out to meet them [led by] Dobroslav [Sud'ič], Gleb [Zeremejevič] and many other boyars. Upon his arrival, Danilo pitched camp on the [opposite] bank of the Dniester, [where] he welcomed the Galician people. He distributed towns to his boyars and voyevodas, and they all had an abundance of food, while the king's son, Dijaniš, and Sudislav were dying of hunger in [Halyč].<sup>69</sup> They remained in camp for nine weeks, pillaging [the surrounding countryside] and waiting for the ice to set so that they could cross over it [and attack the Hungarians]. But Sudislav cunningly sent word to Oleksander that he would give him Halyč if he deserted his brother. And [Oleksander indeed] deserted [him]. The Galicians [loyal to Danilo] at first wanted to capture him, but then followed Danilo [into battle?].

(Winter 1233/34) In a short while the king's son died [and] the Galicians sent Semjunko Čermnyj for Danilo. Sudislav went to Hungary.

When spring came Oleksander became frightened that he had acted badly and set out to his father-in-law in Kiev. But Danilo learned of this and left Halyč in (spring 1234) [hot] pursuit: he caught up with [Oleksander] in Polonoje, and [his soldiers] captured him in the meadow of Xomor. [During this chase] Danilo did not sleep three days and three nights and neither did his soldiers.

When Volodimer [Rjurikovič] reigned in Kiev, he sent his son Rostislav to Halyč; [Danilo] received him with brotherly affection and concluded a lasting peace with him. And since Mixail [Vsevolodovič of Černigov] and Izjaslav [Mstislavič of Smolensk] did not cease being on hostile terms with [Rostislav, Danilo] left Gleb Zeremejevič, Miroslav, and many other boyars at his side. [Then] Volodimer sent word to his brother Danilo requesting his aid [against Mixail]. Bound (?) by the peace [negotiated by Rostislav], Danilo quickly gathered his regiments and set out. Mixail could not withstand [his attack] and withdrew from Kiev. Then Danilo went to [Prince] Volo-

dimer and both of them set out toward Černigov. [Along the way] Mstislav Glebovič [of Černigov] came to them [to divert them from attacking the city?]. Thence they [marched] laying waste the land and capturing many cities along the Desna: they took Xorobor, Sosnicja, Snovesk, and many other cities and then came back to Černigov. [Prince] Mstislav and the inhabitants of Černigov made peace with Volodimer and Danilo, for a fierce battle had ensued at Černigov: a catapult had been set up [to bombard the city]; in hurled stones a distance of a bowshot and a half and each stone was so large that four strong men could barely lift it. From there they came in peace to Kiev.

Izjaslav, however, continued [hostilities]; he summoned the Polovcians against Kiev. But Danilo and his soldiers were exhausted for he had ransacked the whole region around Černigov; he had been at war from the Epiphany until the Ascension; then he made peace and returned to Kiev. When the Polovcians came to Kiev and were pillaging Rus', Danilo wanted to go home through wooded countryside for [he] had become worn out [from the fighting]. But Volodimer implored him to march with him against the heathen Polovcians and [Danilo's voyevoda] Miroslav sided with him in this. The Polovcians met them near Zvenigorod. Volodimer wanted to turn back and Miroslav was also in favor of withdrawing. But Danilo said: "It does not behoove a soldier who has set out to do battle [to turn back]. He should either be victorious or be killed by the enemy. I tried to restrain you, but now I see that you have timid hearts.<sup>70</sup> Did I not tell you that tired soldiers should not march against fresh troops? Why are you afraid now? Go and attack them!" They met the (June? 1235) Polovcian host near Torčesk and a fierce battle ensued. Danilo pursued the Polovcians until his bay horse was killed [beneath him] by an arrow, for just before this [some] of the Polovcians had turned to flight. When Danilo saw that his fleet horse [was dead], he turned and ran. Betrayed by the godless Grigorij Vasilevič and the Molibogovič boyars, [Prince] Volodimer [Rjurikovič] and [the voyevoda] Miroslav were captured in Torčesk [by the Polovcians]. Many other boyars were also taken prisoner, but Danilo escaped to Halyč. [At that time] Vasilko was in Halyč with his regiment and met his brother. Upon the advice of [the Galician boyars] Dobroslav and Zbyslav, [Prince] Boris of Mežibož'je sent word to Danilo that Izjaslav and the Polovcians were approaching the city of Volodimer', but this was a ruse. Thereupon Danilo sent word to his brother to guard Volodimer'. When the Galician boyars saw that Vasilko had left [the city] with the spoils of war, they rose in rebellion. [The boyar] Sudislav Il'ič advised Prince [Danilo] not to endanger his life and to leave [immediately, because] the Galicians were (autumn 1235) treacherous. Learning of their rebellion, Danilo went to Hungary. When winter set in, Vasilko advanced with the Poles upon Halyč. Danilo came from Hungary and joined his brother. They waged war, but then went home<sup>71</sup> without reaching Halyč.

(1236) 6743 (1235). The Galicians marched against Kamenec in the company of all the Boloxovian princes. They devastated the land along the Xomor, took much booty, and went to Kamenec. At that time Volodimer [Rjurikovič] had sent the Torks and Danilo Nažirovič to help [Prince] Danilo. Danilo's boyars rode out of Kamenec, joined forces with the Torks, and overtook the Galicians. And the unfaithful Galicians were defeated and all the Boloxovian princes captured. They were brought to Prince Danilo in Volodimer'. When summer came Mixail [Vsevolodovič of Černigov] and Izjaslav [Mstislavič of Smolensk] began sending threatening messages [to Danilo] stating that if he didn't release their brethren [the Boloxovian princes], they would wage war against him. [Thereupon] Danilo prayed to God and to the blessed archpriest [St.] Nicholas, who performed a miracle:

(1236/37) Mixail and Izjaslav [summoned] a host of Poles, Rus'ians, and Polovcians against Danilo. Kondrat pitched camp on the spot where the city of Xolm now stands and sent [his Poles] to pillage Červen. But Vasilko's soldiers met them, engaged them in battle, and captured the Polish boyars. They brought them to face Danilo in Gorodok. [In the meantime] Mixail camped at Podgor'je. He wished to join forces with Kondrat and was waiting for the Polovcians [who were to come] with Izjaslav. The Polovcians came to the Galician land but would not march against Danilo. They pillaged the whole country and then turned back. When Mixail heard of this, he returned to Halyč. Kondrat escaped to Poland during the night, and many of his soldiers drowned in the Vepr [river].

(1237) When summer came, [Danilo and Vasilko] gathered [their forces] and advanced upon Halyč against Mixail and [his son] Rostislav [Mixajlovič], for they had barricaded themselves in the city with a multitude of Hungarians who were at Mixail's disposal. [Thus Danilo and Vasilko] returned [to the Galician land and] pillaged the outskirts of Zvenigorod. They wished to take the city, but [could] not for in it was a miraculous ikon of the Blessed Virgin. That autumn [peace was concluded].

(1238) When spring came, [Danilo and Vasilko] marched against the Jatingians and came to Berestja. But because the rivers had become flooded, they could not wage war against them. [Thereupon] Danilo said: "It is not right for our patrimony to be in the hands of the Templar [Knights] renowned as Solomon's [warriors]", and Danilo and Vasilko marched against them in great force. They took the city [of Dorohyčyn]<sup>72</sup> in the month of March, captured their elder Bruno and his soldiers, and returned to Volodimer'.

(1237) That [past] year Danilo [had] marched against Mixail in Halyč, but the Galicians sued for peace and gave him Peremyšl'.

(1238) The following year Danilo sent the Lithuanians, under [Prince] Mendovg, and [Prince] Izjaslav of Novgorod against Kondrat. In the interim Danilo had gone to Hungary in the company of his brother, for the king had summoned him in order to honor [him].

(1236/37) At that time the [Holy Roman] Emperor Fridrix [II] had gone



to war against the [Austrian] Archduke Fridrix. Danilo and his brother Vasilko wished to come to the Archduke's aid, but since the [Hungarian] king [Bela IV] forbade them, they returned to their land.

(1236) Then Jaroslav [Vsevolodovič] of Suzdal' came and took Kiev from Volodimer [Rjurikovič], but not being (1238) able to hold it, he returned to Suzdal'; Mixail [Vsevolodovič of Černigov] wrested [Kiev] from him and left his son Rostislav<sup>73</sup> in Halyč. [Afterwards Mixail and Rostislav] took away Peremyšl' from Danilo, [for they alternated between being at peace and at war with each other].

(1238) When Rostislav set out into the steppe, news came with the help of Divine Providence to [Prince] Danilo, who was [then] in Xolm, that Rostislav had gone against the Lithuanians with all his boyars and cavalry. [Immediately] after this happened, Danilo left Xolm with his soldiers and [in three days] was outside of Halyč. Its inhabitants welcomed him [with open arms]. He approached the city and said to them: "O, citizens! How long will you endure being ruled by foreign princes?" But they cried out: "This is our God-given ruler" and ran to him like children to their father, like bees to their queen, like those dying of thirst to a spring. But Bishop Artemij and [Prince Rostislav's] dvorskij Grigorij [Vasiljevič] would not let him [enter the city]. However, when they saw that they could not restrain the [whole] city, they came out like cowards who feared [the consequences] of the city's surrender, with tears in their eyes and downcast faces, and licking their dry lips, since they no longer had the power to rule. And forced by circumstances, they welcomed Prince Danilo and asked him to take the city. Danilo (1238/39) entered his city and came to the Church of the Blessed Virgin. He occupied the throne of his father and hung his banner on the Nemeckije Vorota as a sign of victory. The next day news came to him that Rostislav had marched toward Halyč but upon hearing of the city's surrender fled to Hungary. The road which he took led to the Borsukov mountain ridge [in the Carpathians]. He arrived at the hot springs called Rodna and from there went to Hungary. The Galician boyars, however, came and fell at Danilo's feet begging for mercy [with the words]: "We [have] sinned before you by letting another prince rule over us." And Danilo assured them of mercy if they promised not to do this again so that a worse fate would not befall them. Upon learning of the [above-mentioned] approach [of Rostislav and his army], Danilo [immediately] dispatched his soldiers against them; they pursued them as far as the mountains and then returned.

[6744 (1236)]

(Dec. 1237) 6745 (1237). The godless descendants of Ishmael appeared; they had engaged the princes of Rus' previously on the Kalka river. At first they attacked the Rjazan' land and took the city of Rjazan' by storm. They captured Prince Jurij [Ingvarovič] by means of a ruse and took him to Pronsk for at that time his wife was in Pronsk. [Then] they tricked the princess into leaving [the city] and killed both her and Prince Jurij. They

slaughtered all the inhabitants of the land and would not even spare infants still nursing at their mothers' breasts. Kjur<sup>74</sup> [Oleksander] Mixajlovič escaped with his men to Suzdal' and described the arrival of the godless sons of Hagar to great prince Jurij [Vsevolodovič]. Upon hearing of the invasion, great prince Jurij dispatched his son Vsevolod with all his men and Kjur Mixajlovič. Batyj swooped down upon the Suzdalian land and Vsevolod met him on the Kolodna. The armies came to blows and many soldiers fell on both sides. Vsevolod was defeated, [fled] and told his father about his battle with the invaders of his land and cities. Leaving his son and wife in the [Suzdalian] Volodimer', Jurij departed from the city and began collecting soldiers around himself. However, because he posted no sentries he was captured by the lawless Burondaj. Burondaj caught the city by surprise and Prince Jurij himself was killed [by the Tatars]. Batyj pitched camp outside the city and fought fiercely trying to capture it. [The Tatars] spoke craftily to the inhabitants of the city: "Where are now the princes of Rjazan', your [sister] city [Suzdal'] and your great prince Jurij? Was he not captured and put to death by our hands?" Upon hearing this, the saintly Bishop Mitrofan began addressing everyone with tears in his eyes: "My children! Let us not be frightened by the crafty words of these infidels and let us not become attached to this fleeting mortal existence. But let us care [only] about everlasting life which is [our] life with the angels. Even if they conquer our city, taking it by storm, and kill us, I assure you, my children, that you will receive the crowns [of immortality] from Christ, our Lord, [Amen]." In response to these words [which] everyone heard, they began to fight fiercely. The Tatars attacked the city with their catapults and bombarded it with arrows. When Prince Vsevolod saw that the battle would become [even] more ferocious, he became frightened, because he was young. He left the city [in person] bearing many gifts [and] accompanied by a small retinue, for he hoped to buy his life from [Batyj]. But [the latter] like a wild beast showed no pity for his youth and ordered him to be slaughtered right before his eyes. [Then] he put the whole city to the sword. The saintly bishop fled with the princess and her children to the church, but the infidel ordered that it be set on fire, and thus they gave up their souls [to God]. After destroying (7. II. 1238) the city of Volodimer', [Batyj] sacked the other Suzdalian cities and came to the city of Kozel'sk. It was ruled by a young prince whose name was Vasilko. The infidel learned that the people in the city were strong in spirit and that it could not be taken by crafty words. The inhabitants of Kozel'sk agreed not to surrender to Batyj saying: "Although our prince is young, we will give up our lives for him. Thus, we will acquire [both] glory in this world and crowns [of immortality] from Christ, our Lord, in heaven." The Tatars fought for the possession of the city and tried to take it. They broke down a wall and climbed up on the rampart. The inhabitants of Kozel'sk fought them [off] with knives. Then, they decided to make a sortie against the Tatar regiments. They stole out of the city and destroyed

the Tatars' catapults. [Then] they attacked their regiments and killed four thousand Tatars, but [in the course of the fighting] they (spring, 1238) themselves were killed. Batyj took the city and slaughtered everyone, sparing neither children nor infants nursing at their mothers' breasts. Vasilko's fate is unknown: some said that he drowned in [all] the blood, because he was [so] young. Since that time among the Tatars, people do not dare utter the name of the city of Kozel'sk; they call it "the evil city", for [the Tatars] fought seven weeks [before it fell] and three sons of Tatar generals were killed [by the inhabitants of Kozel'sk]. The Tatars looked for [their bodies] but could not find them in the multitude of corpses.

Batyj occupied Kozel'sk and marched into the Polovcian land. From there he began sending [his (1239) troops] against the cities of Rus': The city of Perejaslavl' was taken by storm. [Batyj] slaughtered all of its inhabitants and destroyed the Church of the Archangel Michael. Countless golden church vessels and precious stones were captured and the saintly bishop Semeon was killed [by the Tatars]. At that time [Batyj] sent [his soldiers] against Černigov. They surrounded the city in great force. When [Prince] Mstislav Glebovič heard that the foreigners were attacking the city, he went forth against them with all his soldiers. The armies came to blows and Mstislav was defeated; many of his soldiers were killed. [The Tatars] took the city and set it afire. [They would not kill its bishop,] but led him away to Hluxe. [Then] Mengu Khan came to survey the city of Kiev. He pitched camp on the other side of the Dnieper near the town of Pesocin. Looking at the city, he marvelled at its beauty and grandeur. [Then] he sent envoys to [Prince] Mixail [Vsevolodovič] and the inhabitants [of Kiev], wishing to deceive them, but they would not listen to him.

(1239/40) 6746 (1238). Mixail fled from the Tatars to Hungary, following the footsteps of his son, and Rostislav Mstislavič of Smolensk began to reign in Kiev. But Danilo [Romanovič] went forth against him and captured him. He left his boyar Dmitro in Kiev and entrusted him with its defense against the foreigners – the godless Tatars. When Mixail fled from Kiev to Hungary, [Jaroslav Vsevolodovič of Suzdal'] came and captured [Mixail's] wife and boyars and took the city of Kamenec. When Danilo heard of this, he sent his courtiers [to him] with the message: "Release my sister and send her to me because Mixail is plotting mischief against both of us." Jaroslav heeded Danilo's words and so it happened: Danilo's and Vasilko's sister was sent to them, and they treated her with great respect.

The [Hungarian] king [Bela IV] would not give his daughter in marriage to Rostislav [Mixajlovič] and drove him away. Then Mixail sent [his messengers] to Danilo and Vasilko saying: "We have sinned before you countless times and I [personally] have done you much harm. Whatever I promised you, I did not fulfill. But whenever I did wish to live in peace with you, the unfaithful Galicians would not let me. However, I swear to you now that I will never be hostile toward you [again]." Danilo and Vasilko made

no mention of the harm [done to them], returned their sister to him, and brought him back from Poland. Danilo consulted with his brother and promised [Mixail] Kiev; his son Rostislav he gave Luck. But Mixail did not dare go to Kiev because of his fear of the Tatars. Danilo and Vasilko allowed him to stay in their land, gave him much wheat and enough honey, horned cattle, and sheep [to fill his needs. Later] when Mixail learned that Kiev was captured he fled with his son to Kondrat in Poland. But when the Tatars approached [Poland], he could not endure staying there and went to Silesia.<sup>75</sup> He came to a German city called Sereda.<sup>76</sup> When the Germans saw [his long wagon-train], they killed his people, took away [many of his wagons], and killed his granddaughter. Mixail, who had not yet reached [the city] but was just setting out, was seized with grief. The Tatars had already come to do battle with Indrixovič<sup>77</sup> (9. IV. 1241), and Mixail returned again to Kondrat. But let us return to our former narration.

6747 (1239).

(1240) 6748 (1240). Batyj approached Kiev in great force; [he came] with a mighty host of soldiers and surrounded the city. It was encircled by the Tatars and a close siege began. Batyj pitched camp outside the city while his men besieged it. And one could not hear anything as a result of the great din [caused by] his screeching carts,<sup>78</sup> countless bleating camels and neighing herds of horses. And the land of Rus' became filled with soldiers. [The Rus'ians] captured a Tatar called Tovrul' from their camp and he described the [Tatars'] vast army to the Rus'ians: [it was led by] Batyj's brothers – the strong voyevodas Urdju, Bajdar, Birjui, Kajdan, Bečak, Mengu, and Kjukuk, who [had] returned home upon learning of [the Grand] Khan's death and although not related to him [became] a khan [because] he [had been] his chief voyevoda, and the bagatyr Sebedjaj, the bagatyr Burundaj, who conquered the Bulgar and Suzdal' lands, and other countless voyevodas [whose names] we did not write down here. Batyj set up his catapults [for firing] against the city in a line parallel with the Ljadskije Vorota [in Kiev], for the sloping land covered with foliage had extended up to them. The catapults hurled their missiles day and night without cessation and breached [the city's] walls. Its inhabitants climbed up on the breached walls and here one could see lance break against lance, shield scrape against shield [as the besiegers met the besieged in mortal combat. Then a barrage of] arrows eclipsed the light of the defeated<sup>79</sup> [Kievans]. Dmitro was wounded. The Tatars climbed up on the ramparts and remained there that day and [through the] night. The inhabitants threw up new fortifications around the Church of the Blessed Virgin. The next day [the Tatars] attacked them and a great battle ensued. The people fled with their belongings to the top of the church to its vault, but the church walls collapsed with (6. XII. 1240) them because of their [great] weight and thus the city was taken by [enemy] troops. The wounded Dmitro was led down, but they did not kill him because of his courage [during the siege].

At that time Danilo had gone to Hungary to the king and had not heard yet of the attack of the heathen Tatars on Kiev. When Batyj took Kiev, he heard that Danilo was in Hungary and set out in person toward Volodimer'. He came to the city of Kolodjažen and set up twelve catapults, but could not make a breach in the walls. He began persuading the people [to surrender]. They listened to his evil advice, surrendered and were slaughtered [by the Tatars. Then Batyj] came to Kamenec and Izjaslavl' and took them [also]. When he saw that he could not take Kremenec and the city of Danilov he left them, came to Volodimer' and took it by storm. He slaughtered its inhabitants without mercy as well as the inhabitants of Halyč and of many other cities whose number cannot be determined. [Then] Dmitro, Danilo's tysjackij<sup>80</sup> in Kiev, addressed Batyj "You cannot tarry long in this land; it is time you marched against Hungary, for if you delay, this land is strong: its people will mass against you and will not let you return to your own land". He told him this because he saw that the land of Rus' was perishing at [the hands of] the infidel. Batyj heeded Dmitro's advice and went to Hungary.<sup>81</sup> King Bela and Koloman (12. IV. 1241) met [the Tatars] on the river Sajo.<sup>82</sup> The armies came to blows, and the Hungarians fled; the Tatars pursued them up to the Danube. After their victory they remained three years [in Hungary].<sup>83</sup> Still before this, Prince Danilo had gone to the king in Hungary wishing to [establish peaceful relations through the marriage of his son Lev to Bela's daughter].<sup>84</sup> But they reached no agreement, and he left the king and came to Sinevolod'sko to the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin. When he rose the next morning, he saw a multitude of people fleeing from the godless Tatars. [Thereupon] he returned to Hungary, not being able to cross the land of Rus' because he had only a small retinue at his side. Leaving his son in Hungary, he set out for Bardujev in Poland; he would not entrust him to the Galicians, for he knew well their unfaithfulness, and that is why he would not take him along. He came to Sudomir, and when he heard that his brother and his [own] wife and children had escaped from Rus' to Poland from the godless Tatars, he quickly began looking for them and found them by the river called Pol'ka. They all rejoiced at their reunion but bewailed the defeat of the land of Rus' and the fall of its cities to the foreign hordes. [Then] Danilo said that it was not safe for them to remain there [so] close to the foreigners who were waging war against them and set out for the Mazovian land to Kondrat's son Boleslav. Prince Boleslav gave him the city of Vyšegorod and he remained there until he received word that the infidels had left the land of Rus'. [Then] he returned to his own land.

(Spring 1241) He came to the city of Dorohyčyn and wished to enter it but was told that he could not come in. He replied that this city belonged to [the Rus'ians] and [their] forefathers [but their answer still was] that he and his men could not enter it. [Thereupon] he went away, thinking that God would later take revenge on the ruler of this city. And [indeed God] entrusted it to Danilo. He renovated [the city], built a beautiful church

[dedicated to] the Blessed Virgin, and said: "This is my city, for I have taken it [by the sword"].

Danilo came with his brother to Berestja but could not go out into the field because of the stink [coming from] the countless [decaying] dead. In all of Volodimer' not one person remained alive: the Church of the Blessed Virgin was filled with corpses as were the other churches.

Later Mixail [Vsevolodovič] left his uncle and set out with his son for Volodimer'; from there he went to Pinsk, while Rostislav Volodimerič came to Danilo in Xolm for God had spared him from the godless Tatars. Rostislav [Volodimerič] kept his promise not to take part in any conspiracy with Mixail [against Danilo]. The latter, however, broke his promise [thus] repaying Danilo and Vasilko for their kindness: he crossed [Danilo's] land without even sending a courier [to him], went to Kiev, and settled on an island near Kiev, while his son Rostislav went to Černigov.

[Danilo's son] Lev left Hungary with the Galician boyars and came to Vodava to his father [who] was very happy to see him.

The Galician boyars called Danilo their prince but ruled the whole country themselves: [the boyar] Dobroslav Sud'ič, a priest's grandson, had occupied the prince's throne and plundered the whole land. [Then] he went to [the town of] Bakota and took all of Poniz'je without the prince's permission, while [the boyar] Grigorij Vasiljevič planned to appropriate the hilly region of Peremyšl'. And because of them there was great unrest and [much] looting in the land. When Danilo learned of this, he sent his stolnik, Jakov, to Dobroslav and [the other boyars] complaining bitterly to them: "I am your prince and yet you do not obey my orders. You are ruining the land: I gave no orders to you, Dobroslav, to accommodate the boyars of Černigov. [I ordered you] to distribute the land to the Galician [boyars] and to give me the salt from Kolomyja." And [Dobroslav] replied: "So be it!" During the time that Jakov was with [Dobroslav], Lazor Domažirec' and Ivor Molibožič, two lawbreakers who were serfs by birth, [came and] bowed to the very ground to [Dobroslav]. Jakov was surprised and asked for the reason why they had bowed to him. And Dobroslav answered: "I gave them Kolomyja." But Jakov said to him: "How could you give it to them without the prince's permission? Great princes have been holding this [town of] Kolomyja so that they could pay their soldiers [with the profits from the sale of its salt], and these [men] aren't even worthy of holding Votnino." But he [only] smirked [and] said: "And what can I say [to that]?" When Jakov returned, he related all of this to Danilo. Danilo was greatly saddened and prayed to God for his native land, which was held by these godless [boyars] and ruled by them.

After a short while Dobroslav sent [a messenger to Danilo with an accusation] against Grigorij stating that he was unfaithful to [Danilo. Grigorij] was opposed to [Dobroslav], who wished to seize the whole land for himself. They quarreled and arrived with great pomp [in Xolm seeking

justice from Danilo]: Dobroslav [rode] wearing only a tunic and with such an air of importance about him that he would not even look down at the ground, while the Galicians ran by his stirrup. When Danilo and Vasilko beheld his arrogance, they began to hate him [even more. Then] Dobroslav and Grigorij began trying to lay the blame at each other's feet. Danilo listened to their cunning accusations [which showed] that they did not wish to obey him, but wanted to deliver his land to another [prince]. Then he consulted with his brother and in view of (summer/fall 1241) their lawlessness was forced to order their imprisonment.

(Fall/Winter 1241) 6749 (1241). Rostislav [Mixajlovič] gathered the Boloxovian princes and the rest of the Galicians and came to [the town of] Bakota. At that time the prince's chancellor Kuril was in Bakota. He had been sent there by Prince Danilo and Prince Vasilko to register the lootings by the godless boyars, and to bring peace to the land. After a skirmish near the gates [of Bakota, Rostislav] drew back and wanted to persuade him with words [to surrender the city], but Kuril answered him [thus]: "Is this how you repay your uncles for their kindness? Don't you remember how my masters – your uncles – had received you, after the Hungarian king had banished you from your land with your father? They held your father in great esteem, promised him Kiev, and gave you Luck. And your mother – their sister – they wrested from Jaroslav's hands and returned to your father". Then [Kuril] gave him some more good advice, but when he saw that Rostislav was not paying any attention to him, he marched out against him with his infantry. When [Rostislav] saw this, he went away. And thus through wisdom and [show of] force [Kuril] retained Bakota, while Rostislav retreated beyond the Dnieper.

When Danilo heard that Rostislav attacked Bakota together with the Boloxovian princes, he swooped down upon [the Boloxovians], set their cities afire, and dug up their walls. Prince Vasilko remained behind to guard the land from the Lithuanians, but he had sent his soldiers with his brother. After taking much booty, Danilo returned. He took the [following Boloxovian] cities: Derevič, Gubin, Kobud, the town of Kudin, Bož'skyj, and Djad'kov. Prince Danilo's chancellor Kuril came with three thousand infantrymen and three hundred cavalrymen, and [Danilo] let them sack the city of Djad'kov. From there he set out pillaging and burning the Boloxovian land. The Tatars [had] left [the Boloxovians in peace] to plant wheat and millet for them. And Danilo despised them, for they placed their most cherished hopes on the Tatars. He [had] wrested their princes from the Mazovian prince Boleslav. Boleslav [had] questioned their entry into his land without his permission [since] they were not [Danilo's] soldiers but independent princes and wanted to plunder them. But they promised to be his vassals, yet [at the same time] beseeched [Danilo and Vasilko for help]. And Danilo and Vasilko were willing to wage war against [Boleslav] for their sake. [But then] Vasilko went and convinced [Boleslav] – that is, implored him with many gifts

– to set them free. They did not remember this kindness and [hence] God took revenge upon them so that nothing remained in their cities untouched [by the marauders]. With God's help Danilo returned to his brother and announced his victory.

(1242) Rostislav, however, did not cease his evil doings. Gathering his soldiers and [taking along] the unfaithful [boyar] Volodislav, he marched against Halyč. When [Rostislav] came to the Domamir Pečera [castle], Volodislav deceived [its inhabitants] and they surrendered to Rostislav. After occupying [the castle, Volodislav] advanced upon Halyč. He told [Rostislav] that Halyč was already as good as his and accepted the title of tysjackij from him. When Danilo and Vasilko (spring 1242) heard this, they quickly gathered their soldiers and went forth against them. [Rostislav] could not withstand [their attack] and fled from Halyč to Ščekotov accompanied by Artemij, the bishop of Halyč, and by other Galicians. While Danilo and Vasilko were pursuing him, news came to them that the Tatars left Hungary and were marching into the Galician land. And this news saved [Rostislav, but] several of his boyars were captured. Wishing to establish order in the land, Danilo went to Bakota and Kalius, and Vasilko – to Volodimer'. Danilo sent his dvoreckij [Andrej] to Peremyšl' against Konstjantin of Rjazan' who had been sent there [as its prince] by Rostislav. The bishop of Peremyšl' [Memnon] plotted with him [against Danilo]. When Konstjantin heard that Andrej was marching against him, he fled during the night. Thus, Andrej did not find him [in the city], but he did find the bishop. He robbed his proud servants and tore their beaver quivers to pieces. And their wolf- and badger-skin helmets were also torn to pieces. [Then] the famous bard Mitusa, who at one time did not wish to serve Prince Danilo out of pride, was brought forth in rags and apparently bound – that is – exactly as the author of Proverbs [once] said: "The pride [which reigns in] your house will be destroyed [and] the beaver, wolf, and badger will be devoured."<sup>85</sup> These [words] were said allegorically.

(1242) 6750 (1242). Nothing [of importance] happened.

(1242/43) 6751 (1243). The Tatars put Rostislav's soldiers to flight in Bork and he fled to Hungary. And this time the Hungarian king [Bela IV] gave him his daughter in marriage.<sup>86</sup> When Danilo was in Xolm a Polovcian whose name was Aktaj ran up to him informing him that Batyj had returned from Hungary and had dispatched two bogatyr's against him, Manman and Balaj, [who were] to find him [and engage him in battle]. After barricading Xolm, Danilo went to his brother Vasilko. He took with him the Metropolitan Kuril. In the meantime the Tatars ravaged [the country] as far as Volodava and did much damage to the lake settlements.

(1242/43) 6752 (1244). Nothing happened.

(1243) 6753 (1245). When Mixail [Vsevolodovič] heard that the king had given his daughter in marriage to his son, he fled to Hungary. But the Hungarian king and his son Rostislav did not receive him with honor. [There-



upon] Mixail became angry at his son and returned to Černigov. From there he went to Batyj to ask him [to confirm the ownership] of his lands. But Batyj requested that he [first] worship in the faith of [his Tatar] ancestors. [To this] Mixail replied: "Since God has delivered us and our lands into your hands because of our sins, we bow down to you and pay you homage. But we will not worship in the faith of your ancestors; we will not obey [this] order of yours which is blasphemy [in the eyes of] God." [Thereupon] Batyj flew into a rage like a wild beast and ordered [Mixail's] execution. (20. IX. 1246) [Mixail] was murdered by the lawless and godless Doman from Putivl', and his boyar Fedor was also murdered with him. They suffered like martyrs and received their crown [of salvation] from Christ [Our] Lord [Amen]. (1243/44) Danilo and Vasilko began to wage war against the Polish prince Boleslav [Stydlivij]; they entered Poland from four directions: Danilo ravaged the outskirts of Ljublin; Vasilko along both banks of the Izvola and Lada in the vicinity of Belaja; the dvorskij Andrej – along the Sjan; and [the voyevoda] Vyšata devastated Podgorje. They took much booty and returned [home]. But then they set out again and devastated the region around Ljublin as far as the rivers Vistula and Sjan. They came to Zavixvost, and Prince Vasilko shot an arrow across the Vistula river [to start the battle]. But they could not cross it, for it had become flooded and [thus] they returned [home] after taking much booty. Shortly afterwards the Poles came and ravaged the outskirts of Andrejevo. When Prince Danilo and his brother heard this, they gathered their forces, ordered the preparation of the catapults and other armament [needed] for besieging a city, and marched against the city of Ljublin. They reached this city from Xolm in just one day with all their soldiers and catapults. As the catapults hurled their missiles and the arrows flew [as thick] as rain against their city, the Poles saw that the battle with the Rus'ians was becoming fiercer and fiercer and began to ask for mercy. Danilo and Vasilko agreed [to spare them] on the condition that they would not come to the aid of their prince. [The Poles] promised to abide by this [condition] and Danilo returned [home] with his brother, after devastating the surrounding countryside.

(1243/44) After persuading many Hungarians [to come with him], Rostislav asked his father-in-law for permission to march against [the city of] Peremyšl'. Upon entering [the Peremyšl' land], he enlisted many peasants as infantrymen and assembled them in Peremyšl'. When Danilo and Vasilko heard [of this], they dispatched Lev [against Rostislav. Lev] was so young that he could not take part in battle. [Hence Danilo also] dispatched his nephew Vsevolod, Andrej, Jakov, and other boyars. [Both sides] met in battle by the river Sečnica, but Rostislav emerged victorious because of [the many] infantrymen [at his disposal]. Andrej and Jakov fought fiercely, but Vsevolod would not help them and turned his horse to flight. [Andrej and Jakov] continued engaging [the enemy] for some time and then withdrew unharmed. When news [of this defeat] reached Danilo, he assembled a great

host [of cavalry] and infantry, attacked [Rostislav], and drove [him] from the land. [Rostislav] fled to Hungary.

(1243/44) 6754 (1246). The Lithuanians, led by Ajševno Ruškovič, came and ravaged the outskirts of Peresopnica. Danilo and Vasilko rode to Pinsk and waited for him to reach [Pinsk]. When [the Lithuanians] began crossing the fields of Pinsk, [Danilo and Vasilko] rushed out of the city against them. But the infidels were too proud [to retreat without giving battle]. Yet [when Danilo's and Vasilko's soldiers] charged them they could not withstand [their attack] and fled; in their [haste to escape] they fell from their horses. Vasilko brought the first trophies of battle to his brother. All of Ruškovič's soldiers were killed, and he himself barely escaped [alive]. And there was great joy in the city of Pinsk as a result of Danilo's and Vasilko's victory, for with God's help they had taken away all the spoils [from the Lithuanians].

(1244/45) 6755 (1247). The Lithuanians ravaged the land around Melnica [and their leaders the?] Lekovnian [princes?] took much booty. Danilo and Vasilko pursued them as far as Pinsk, for [Prince] Mixail [Rostislavič] of Pinsk had informed them [of their whereabouts. The Lithuanians] stopped and barricaded themselves in the forest since Mixail, who remained in Pinsk, had also informed them [that the Rus'ians were coming]. Danilo and Vasilko rode quickly toward them, as did the dvorskij Jakov with his soldiers. But the Lithuanians did not [really] believe Mixail and left their [fortified] camp. Thus with God's help the Lithuanians [were defeated and] turned to flight; they were massacred [while escaping] and their booty was taken away from them. Lonkgveni himself fled wounded. [When] news of this [victory] reached Danilo and Vasilko, there was great joy in the city of Pinsk.

(1234) Still before Danilo's campaign against Černigov, when Danilo reigned in Halyč and Vasilko in Volodimer',

(1234) 6756 (1248) the Jatvingians pillaged the outskirts of Oxoža and Busovno, and they [devastated] the entire region. At that time Xolm had not yet been built by Danilo. Vasilko gave chase from Volodimer' and caught up with them in Dorohyčyn on the third day after leaving Volodimer'. They were engaging [the inhabitants of Dorohyčyn] near the city gates when [Vasilko] attacked them. They turned around to engage him, but could not withstand Vasilko's onslaught: With God's help the evil heathens [broke ranks and] fled and were slaughtered mercilessly. [Vasilko's men] pursued them for several popriščes;<sup>87</sup> forty of their princes were killed and many others slaughtered since they could not withstand the onslaught. [Vasilko] sent [news of his victory] to his brother in Halyč, and there was great rejoicing in the city of Halyč that day. Vasilko was of medium height, but of great intellect and valor. He [had] defeated [these] heathens many times: Both [Danilo and Vasilko] used to send their troops against [such] heathens as the evil chieftains Skomond<sup>88</sup> and Borut, who were killed by those that were

sent against them. Skomond was a magician and a famous soothsayer and was as swift as a wild beast. Marching on foot, he devastated the district of Pinsk as well as other lands. This heathen [finally] met his end, and his head was impaled upon a stake. With God's grace there were many other occasions when the heathens were badly beaten, but we did not wish to relate them here, for there were too many of them.

(Summer 1245) 6757 (1249). Rostislav [Mixajlovič of Černigov] asked his father-in-law the [Hungarian] king to send him soldiers against Danilo. With these troops he marched into Poland and implored Lestko's [widow for aid]. He convinced her to dispatch [her] Polish troops at his side and she sent them with him. [However, many] distinguished [Polish] boyars as well as other Poles had fled their land, for they wanted to go over to Danilo. But when they learned of Rostislav's campaign, they wished to be reinstated in the good graces of Lestko's son [Boleslav Stydlivy] and his mother and set out to help Rostislav. A short while afterwards their leader Tvorjan<sup>89</sup> was captured by Danilo. Rostislav marched hurriedly against the city of Jaroslavl', but Danilo's and Vasilko's men and many [of his] boyars were [already] in the city. When [Rostislav] saw that the city was strong, he marched to Peremyšl'. He conscripted many of its inhabitants, took both light and heavy armament and catapults, and after marshalling his troops, he again set out against Jaroslavl'. [As] he left the city of Peremyšl' behind, he thought: "If I won't take that [city], then [at least] I'll keep this one." As he was standing near the city and was setting up the catapults with which he was planning to take the city, [its inhabitants] engaged [his soldiers] in fierce battle before [it]. To keep his men from being injured by [the Jaroslavians], he ordered them to draw back until the catapults were set up. Then he began to boast before his soldiers: "If I only knew where Danilo and Vasilko were, I'd attack them [immediately]. Even if I had [only] ten soldiers [at my disposal], I would still attack them". He continued boasting in this manner and then held a tournament outside the city [to pass the time of the siege.] As he jousting with Vorš, his horse fell beneath him, and he sprained his shoulder. And this forebode ill for him.

When Danilo and Vasilko learned that he had come to wage war, they prayed to God and began assembling their troops. [Then] they sent word to [Prince] Kondrat [of Mazowie] that it was his fault that the Poles had attacked them, since they were his allies. And Kondrat sent [them] military aid. [Then] Danilo and Vasilko sent [messengers] to Lithuania requesting help, and Mendovg also dispatched military aid. But before [Kondrat's and Mendovg's troops] arrived, God aided Danilo and Vasilko, for victory is won not with mortal but with Divine help. [Danilo and Vasilko] hastily assembled their troops and set out [from Xolm]. They sent [the voyevoda] Andrej ahead to reconnoitre [the enemy] and to strengthen the inhabitants of the city in spirit, since their deliverance was near at hand. Before reaching the Sjan river, as [Danilo's and Vasilko's] men dismounted on a field in

order to arm themselves, an omen appeared above them: a great number of eagles and ravens appeared in the form of a huge cloud; the birds were in constant motion, [especially] the eagles: [they] screeched, sailed through the air with spread wings, and [then] swooped down as never before.<sup>90</sup> And this was a good omen [for Danilo]. He armed himself and taking his soldiers marched to the Sjan river. The ford was very deep. The Polovcians crossed it first, and when they were already on the other side, they caught sight of [the enemy's] herds, for [the enemy had] posted no sentries near the river. The Polovcians did not dare steal them without the prince's permission. [Finally, the enemy] saw them and fled with their herds to their camp. Danilo and Vasilko did not waste any time and hastily crossed the river. They marshalled their cavalry and infantry and advanced noiselessly into battle, for their hearts were full of martial spirit and could not be restrained from engaging [the enemy]. Since Lev was still a child, [Danilo] entrusted him to Vasilko, a brave and strong boyar, [who was] to guard him during the battle. When Rostislav saw [Danilo's] men approaching, he put his soldiers – the Rus'ians, Hungarians, and Poles – in battle formation and went forth against them. His infantry he left by the city gates [with orders] to guard them and thus prevent [the Jaroslavlians] from coming out to help Danilo and destroying the catapults. Thus, after marshalling [his troops], Rostislav [went forth and] crossed a deep ravine. As he was advancing upon Danilo's army, the dvorskij Andrej prevented him from engaging it: He hurried [his men] and engaged Rostislav's army himself. Spears broke fiercely against spears, cracking like thunder, and on both sides many fell from their horses and perished, while others were wounded by the thrust of [enemy] lances. Danilo sent [Andrej] twenty hand-picked men to help him. But Vasilko Glebovič, Vsevolod Oleksandrovič, and Mstislav could not [make their way through] to Andrej and quickly retreated to the Sjan. [Thus] Andrej was left with only a small retinue, but he gradually gained ground and fought [Rostislav's men] savagely.

Danilo saw that the Poles were stubbornly attacking Vasilko with the hymn "Kyrie Eleison"<sup>91</sup> upon their lips which emanated loudly from their ranks. [He also saw] Rostislav's troops approaching and Filja standing with the rear-guard, bearing a standard, and [exhorting his men] to endure the attack [of the Rus'ians], for [he boasted] that although they were quick to do battle, they would not last long in the fighting. But God would not tolerate his boasting, and Danilo attacked him with [his stolnik] Jakov Markovič and Šelv. [At first encounter] Šelv was wounded and Danilo [momentarily] captured, but he broke loose from [Filja] and rode forth [free] from within the [enemy] regiment. Catching sight of a Hungarian who was coming to help Filja, he struck him with his lance, plunging it [into his heart]. The shaft broke [from the impact] and [the Hungarian] fell from [his horse] and gave up his ghost. [In the meantime] Lev, who was still a child, broke his lance, [charging into] the proud Filja. [Then] Danilo swiftly

swooped down upon Filja again, annihilated his regiment and tore his standard in half. When Rostislav saw this, he fled, and the Hungarians also turned to flight.

[In the meantime] Vasilko was engaging the Poles. [At first] both sides stared facing each other. [But then] the Poles began calling [the Rus'ians] names, exhorting each other [to attack and] drive "these long beards" away. Vasilko replied that all this was lies and that God was on the side [of the Rus'ians], lashed his horse, and charged. The Poles could not withstand his attack and fled.

Danilo pursued the Hungarians and [Rostislav's] Rus'ians across a deep ravine, striking them down, but he was concerned for his brother, not knowing [where the battle had taken him]. Thus he rejoiced greatly when he saw [Vasilko's] standard pursuing the Poles. [Then] he camped by a burial mound opposite the city [of Jaroslavl'] and there Vasilko came to him. Danilo wished [to continue] pursuing [the enemy], but Vasilko restrained him. Rostislav accepted defeat, turned his horse around, and fled.

Many Hungarians and Poles were killed and captured from all [the enemy regiments]. And at that time the proud Filja was captured by the dvorskij Andrej. He was brought before Danilo and was killed by him. [Then] Žiroslav brought the evil [Galician boyar] Volodislav [Jur'jevič] who had caused the rebellions in the land, and that day he too was executed as were many Hungarians in a fit of [the Rus'ian's] anger. Danilo and Vasilko did not enter the city and Lev [also] stood in the field among the corpses pointing out his victory to his soldiers. Their soldiers would ride off and come back at midnight bringing in much booty, and their shouting did not subside the whole night as they sought each other [in the dark]. Thus God favored Danilo, presenting him with victory on (17. VIII. 1245) the eve of the feast-day of the great martyrs [Sts.] Florian and Lawrence. Danilo set fire to the fortifications built by Rostislav and taking many prisoners set out for Xolm, which he had built himself. [Then his allies] the Lithuanians and Kondrat's Poles arrived. [But] they did [not] arrive in time [to help Danilo] in the battle. Rostislav fled to Poland, took his wife, and [returned] to Hungary. He had [left] Hungary with his wife and gone to Poland, for he [had] planned to take Halyč and rule over it. But because of his boasting, God did not fulfill his wishes.

(1245) 6758 (1250). When Danilo and Vasilko were in Dorogovsk, [one of Batyj's voyevodas] Moguččj<sup>92</sup> sent an envoy to them demanding that they [surrender] Halyč.<sup>93</sup> Danilo was greatly distressed [by this] for he had not fortified his land with citadels. After consulting with his brother, he set out to see Batyj, [determined] not to surrender half of his country and to go to him in person. After praying to God, [Danilo] left on the feast of St. Demetrius and came to Kiev. [At that time Prince] Jaroslav [Vsevolodovič of Volodimer'-Suzdal'] ruled Kiev through his boyar Dimitrij Jejkovič. Danilo went to the Vydubič Monastery of [God's] champion [the Archangel]

Michael and summoned the elders and the [entire] monastic order and requested the abbot and all the brothers to pray for him. And they prayed that he might receive Divine grace, which he did. [Danilo] fell on his knees before the ikon of [God's] champion [the Archangel] Michael and [then] left the monastery in a boat. [On the way] he saw great misery. He reached Perejaslavl' and there the Tatars met him. From there he went to meet Kuremsa and saw that [the Tatars] did not live well. At that point he began to grieve even more for he saw that they were ruled by the Devil; [he witnessed] their foul pagan acts of fornication and Chinggis Khan's flights of fancy [such as] his disgusting bloodsucking and endless sorcery. Emperors, princes, and nobles, who came – all were led around a bush to worship the sun, the moon, the earth, and the Devil, [as well as] their deceased fathers, grandfathers, and mothers who were [all] in hell. Oh, how repugnant was their false faith! Danilo noticed this and became greatly distressed.

(1245/46) Thence he went to Batyj, [who was] on the Volga, wishing to pay him homage. [There] a vassal of Jaroslav [Vsevolodovič called] Songur approached him and suggested that since Danilo's "brother" Jaroslav had worshipped a bush, he should also. But [Danilo] replied that the Devil was speaking through his lips and that God would shut them so that no one would hear what he said. And at that moment he was summoned by Batyj and was thus delivered by God from their godless devilry and sorcery. He bowed according to their custom and entered [Batyj's] tent. Batyj inquired why Danilo had not come to him before this, but was nevertheless pleased that he did come now. Then Batyj inquired whether Danilo drank black milk, which was fermented mare's milk and was their [favorite] drink. Danilo [confessed] that he had not yet tried it, but would drink it if he wished, to which Batyj replied that Danilo was already one of them – a Tatar – and should therefore drink their beverage. Danilo drank [the milk], bowed in accordance with their custom, and said that he would now go and pay homage to the Grand Princess Barakčínova, and Batyj agreed. Thus, Danilo went and paid homage as was their custom. [Later,] Batyj sent him a keg [?] of wine, explaining that since [Danilo] was not used to drinking [mare's] milk, he should drink wine. Oh, the greatest disgrace is to be [thus] honored by the Tatars. Danilo Romanovič – the great prince who ruled the land of Rus' – Kiev, Volodimer', and Halyč – and other lands with his brother – is now on his knees and is called a slave! [The Tatars] demand tribute from him, and he cannot be certain of his life, which is [constantly] threatened. Indeed, the greatest disgrace is to be [thus] honored by the Tatars! His father was the emperor of Rus', who conquered the Polovcians and waged war against all the neighboring lands. If his son could not be honored, then who else can?<sup>94</sup> For there is no end to their malice and treachery: Jaroslav, the great prince of Suzdal', was poisoned and Mixail, the prince of Černigov, who would not worship their bush was stabbed to death with a knife together with his boyar Fedor. We [had] previously related their murder and that

in their martyrdom they accepted their crowns [of salvation]. And many other princes and boyars died at the hands [of the Tatars]. Prince [Danilo] spent twenty-five days with them and then was released together with those that were with him, and his land was guaranteed to him [by Batyj. Then] he returned to his own land (April/May 1246) and was met by his brother and his sons. There was much wailing because of his humiliation, but also great rejoicing that he had returned safe and sound.

(1245/46) That winter (Prince) Kondrat [of Mazowie] sent an envoy for Vasilko inviting the latter to join him in attacking the Jatvingians. But because snow and sleet fell, they could not advance and turned back on the Nura River.

(Summer/Autumn 1246) Soon the news that Danilo had returned from the Tatars and that God had brought him back safely spread to all the lands. Consequently, that [very same] year the Hungarian king [Bela IV] sent a courtier (?) [to Danilo] with the proposal that Danilo take his daughter [Konstancija] in marriage for his son Lev, for [Bela] was afraid of him, since he had been among the Tatars and had defeated Rostislav and his Hungarians. After consulting with his brother, Danilo [decided] not to believe him since he had previously deceived him with his promise to marry his daughter [to Lev]. The Metropolitan Kuril traveled [through Hungary on his way to the Patriarch of Nicaea, where] he was sent by Danilo and Vasilko to be confirmed as head of the Metropolitan See of Rus'. While he was visiting the king, the latter won him over with words and many gifts, promising to escort [Kuril] to Greece with great honor, if Danilo would only make peace with him. And Kuril replied that he would go and bring Danilo if the king promised not to go back on his word. Thus, the Metropolitan [Kuril] came [to Danilo] informing him that his wish would soon be realized – he could take [the king's] daughter as wife for his son. And Vasilko also urged Danilo to go to the [king], because he [too] was a Christian. Thus, taking along his son Lev and the Metropolitan, Danilo went to the king in Izvolin. He took the latter's daughter as wife for his son and returned to the king the captured boyars whom God had delivered into his hands when he and his brother won at Jaroslavl'. [Then] he concluded peace with the king and returned to his own land.

(Autumn/Winter 1247) 6759 (1251). The great Polish prince Kondrat passed away; he was a famous and kind [prince], and Danilo and Vasilko grieved for him very much. Then his son (1248) Boleslav, prince of Mazowie, died [after] bequeath[ing] Mazowie to his brother Somovit upon the advice of Prince Danilo; Somovit had the support of his cousin, Oleksander's daughter, whose name was Nastasja and who later married the Hungarian boyar Dmitro. Thus at that time Somovit began to reign in Mazowie. Danilo and Vasilko sent word to him that he should come with them against the Jatvingians and thus repay them for their [support]. They also received help from Boleslav [Stydlivyy, took along] the voyevoda of Sud and Signev,

and [after] gathering (1248/49) together all their forces in Dorohyčyn, they set out on their campaign. They crossed the marshes and invaded the [Jatvingian] land. The Poles could not be restrained and set fire to the first village [to which they came]. They acted foolishly, for they betrayed their presence [to the enemy]. Danilo and Vasilko were angry at them, but [the Poles] continued plundering [the villagers] until sunset and took much booty. In the evening the Zlin'cians arrived and the entire Jatvingian nation had assembled [ready to resist the invaders]. They sent word to Danilo through Nebjast that he should leave the Poles for them [to deal with] and withdraw from their land in peace. But their wish was not granted them. The Poles barricaded themselves, but the Rus'ians did not. At night [the Jatvingians] attacked [them]. The Poles fought savagely, [but the Jatvingians] hurled spears and firebrands [at them], which struck with the speed of lightning, and [pelted them] with stones which came down as [thick as] rain from the sky. The Poles suffered terribly and Somovit sent [to Danilo and Vasilko] for their archers. But they remained angry because of the fire that had been set [by the Poles]. At first they would not send [their archers] but then did because the Jatvingians were on the point of breaking down [the Poles'] barricade and [already] there was hand-to-hand combat. When the archers arrived, they killed and wounded many [Jatvingians] with their arrows and forced them to retreat from the barricade. Thus there was no peace that night because of the [Jatvingians]. The next day all of the Jatvingian infantry and cavalry assembled; there was such a great multitude that the forests were filled with them. After getting up, they set fire to their tents – that is their camp – on the day of resurrection – that is on Sunday. Prince Danilo went on ahead and moved quite a distance away with Boleoslav's Poles, while Vasilko stayed behind with Somovit. Lazar remained in the rear with the Polovcians. The Jatvingians attacked him in force and took away his standard. He fled to Vasilko and Somovit, and a fierce battle ensued between them [and the pursuing Jatvingians]. Many fell [dead] on both sides. Vasilko and Somovit fought savagely and the dvorskij Andrej showed his great valor and charged into the enemy, although illness had taken hold of his body and hands. But he dropped his spear and was almost killed. [Then] Vasilko sent word to his brother that the battle was very fierce and that he should hurry back to them. And indeed Danilo returned, and they pursued [the Jatvingians] as far as the forest. But [the enemy] counter-attacked and many of [the Rus'ians] fell in battle; [among them was] Fedor Dmitrovič, who fought bravely, was wounded, and died from [his] wounds on the river Narov. But [then] Jaščelt addressed [Danilo and Vasilko]: "It is easy for us to sit here [defeated in battle], but before you pity us, pity yourselves and your dishonor. [Don't be afraid] to win back your honor with our lives." And [indeed] this is what happened: Danilo ordered his soldiers back on their horses; they mounted them and attacked. And the Jatvingians [lost their will to fight] when they saw the determination of the Rus'ians



and the Poles. Thus, [the Rus'ians and Poles] advanced and [were able] to loot and burn [the Jatvingian] land. After crossing the river Oleg, they wanted to camp in a wooded area. When Prince Danilo saw this, he objected loudly: "Soldiers! Do you not know that Christians fight best in an open field, while the heathens are used to fighting in a cramped wooded area?" And he fought his way through the brushwood, taking prisoners and came to an open field, and [only then] did they stop to make camp. But the Jatvingians continued to attack them, and the Rus'ians and Poles gave chase, and many Jatvingian princes were killed; they pursued them as far as the river Oleg and only there did the fighting end. The next day [the Rus'ians and Poles] wandered aimlessly, for their leaders did not know [the terrain]. Two Varvians were killed while the third they captured alive. He was taken to Prince Danilo, [who] promised to spare his life if he would show him the right way [out of the terrain] and shook his hand [as assurance that he would keep his word. The Varvian] pointed out the right way, and they crossed the river Luk. The next day the Prussians and Borts caught up with them. But [the Rus'ians] mounted their steeds and the infantry armed themselves with weapons from the camp. Their shields were as bright as the dawn and their helmets – like the rising sun.<sup>95</sup> They held their spears in their hands like a bunch of reeds. The archers marched on both sides [of the infantry], holding their horned bows with arrows notched [and ready to fly] at the enemy. And Danilo sat astride his steed, leading his men [into battle]. Thereupon, the Prussians inquired of the Jatvingians whether they could keep a tree from falling with their spears and would dare [to attack] this army. [The Jatvingians] took one look [at Danilo's forces] and returned home. From there Danilo went to Vizna and crossed the Narov river.

[Danilo and Vasilko] freed from slavery many Christians, who sang a song of praise<sup>96</sup> to [their saviors]. God helped [Danilo and Vasilko], and they returned with glory to their own land, emulating their father, the great Roman, who was always quick to pounce upon the heathens like a lion<sup>97</sup> and with whose name the Polovcians frightened their children.<sup>98</sup>

(1248?) 6760 (1252). The Hungarian king sent [an envoy] to Danilo requesting him to come to his aid, for he was waging war with the Germans. Danilo set out to help him and came to Bratislava. [In the meantime] German envoys had come to the Hungarian king, for the [German] emperor was already in possession of Vienna, and the Rakusian and Styrian lands, and the [Austrian] Archduke<sup>99</sup> had already been killed. The names of the envoys were: the emperor's voyevoda and bishop Žaloš Purs'kij known as Sol'skij; Garix Poruns'kij; and Otto Garetennik Petovskij.<sup>100</sup> The king rode forth with them to meet Prince Danilo, and Danilo approached him with all his troops in battle formation. The Germans marvelled at [their] Tatar armour: all of the horses had mail over their heads and [their bodies] were covered with leather, and the riders [also] wore armour. And the splendour of his regiments was indeed great due to the lustre of their weapons. [Danilo]

himself rode at the king's side in accordance with the traditions of Rus'. The horse he rode was [wondrous to behold] and his saddle was of pure gold. His arrows and sword were adorned with gold and other ornaments, so that one did not cease marvelling at them, [while he himself was dressed in] a fur-coat trimmed with Greek olovir<sup>101</sup> and gold lace and boots made of green leather stitched together with gold.<sup>102</sup> The Germans could not cease staring and admiring [all of this] and the king told [Danilo] that his coming [to him dressed] in accordance with the traditions of Rus' and of his forefathers was more important to him than a thousand pieces of silver. Danilo asked for permission to enter the king's camp, because it was extremely hot that day. [The king] took his arm and led him into his tent, undressed him, and put his own clothes on him. Such was the [great] honor that the king bestowed upon [Danilo], and he returned home.<sup>103</sup>

(1248?) That year Mendovg drove out his nephews Tevtivil and Jedivid. He [had] sent them with their uncle Vykont to Smolensk to wage war against Rus' and told them that anything they conquered they could keep by force, for, because of his dispute with them, [Mendovg had already] occupied all of Lithuania. He took possession of the Lithuanian land [including] their countless possessions, and destroyed their estates. Then he sent his soldiers against [Tevtivil and Jedivid], for he wished to kill them. But they learned of his plan and fled to princes Danilo and Vasilko. They arrived [safely] in Volodimir'. Mendovg, however, sent envoys [to Danilo and Vasilko] requesting them not to help [his nephews], but [the princes] did not heed his message because [Tevtivil's and Jedivid's] sister was married to Danilo.<sup>104</sup> [Immediately] afterwards Danilo consulted with his brother and sent [envoys] into Poland to the Polish princes informing them that now was the time for [all] Christians to (1249) attack these heathens since they were fighting among themselves. The Poles assured [Danilo that they would come] but did not fulfill their promise. [Thereupon] Danilo and Vasilko sent Vykont among the Jatvingians and Žemaitans and to the Germans in Riga. Vykont won over the Jatvingians and half of the Žemaitans with silver and many gifts. The Germans, however, sent word to Danilo that only for his sake would they make peace with Vykont, for he had killed many of their brethren. Thus, the German [Teutonic] Knights promised to come to Tevtivil's aid. Danilo and Vasilko went to Novgorod[ok]. Then after both had consulted with Danilo's son [Lev?], Danilo sent his brother against Volkovyjsk and his son against Slonim, while he himself advanced upon Zditov. They took many cities and returned home.

(1250) Then Vykont sent word [to Danilo] that the Germans wanted to come to Tevtivil's aid. [Consequently], Danilo dispatched Tevtivil with his own Rus'ians and the Polovcians as reinforcements. And a long [drawn-out] war ensued between [Tevtivil and Mendovg. Finally] Tevtivil withdrew to Riga – with the booty [he had won] for Danilo. The inhabitants of Riga received him with great honor and he was baptized [there]. When Mendovg

learned that the [Teutonic] Knights, the bishop [of Riga, Nikolaj], and all the soldiers of Riga wanted to help [Tevtil], he became frightened and sent [an envoy] to the Grand Master [of the Teutonic Order, Andrej Stirland] in Riga. [Mendovg] won him over with many gifts, that is – he implored [the Grand Master] to side with him. He had sent him much gold and silver, [many] gold and silver vessels of [great] beauty, and many horses, and promised him even more than [what he had already given him], if he would kill or drive off Tevtivil. But the [Grand Master] insisted that he first send [envoys] to the Pope and be baptized, for otherwise he could neither save his soul nor defeat his enemies, [and claimed] he was advising him thus because he was his friend. Oh, the worst evil he could commit was to allow his eyes to be blinded by gold, for because of it they will be the cause of his misfortune! Mendovg sent [envoys] (1251?) to the Pope and became baptized. But his baptism was false, for he secretly continued to offer sacrifice to his gods – the supreme Nonadejev, Teljavel, Mejdejn, and Diviriks, the rabbit god. Whenever Mendovg rode out into the open field and a rabbit chanced to cross his path, he would neither enter the forest grove [nearby] nor dare to break [a single] twig. And thus he continued to bring sacrifice to his gods, to burn corpses, and to profess his paganism outwardly. The Bishop [of Riga] and the Provost Viržan informed Tevtivil [that Mendovg and the Grand Master were planning to kill him?]. They felt sorry for him, for they knew that if Tevtivil had not been driven out, the Lithuanian land would have been in their hands and would have had to accept Christianity. [Since the Grand Master] Andrej was responsible for the fact that the Lithuanians did not become Christians, he was banished from his order by his brother knights. Tevtivil fled to Žemoit to his uncle Vykont. He took the Jatvingians, the Žemoitans, and the reinforcements Danilo had given him previously and set out against Mendovg. [In the meantime] Mendovg had assembled his men but did not intend to engage them with his army. [Instead] he entered the city called Voruta and dispatched his brother-in-law [against Tevtivil] during the night, but the Rus'ians and the Jatvingians put his army to flight. The next day the Germans rode out [of the city] with their crossbows, but the Rus'ians and Polovcians showered them with arrows and the Jatvingians attacked them with their spears. [Tevtil's forces] pursued [the Germans] through the field [of battle] as in a tournament and from there they returned to Žemoit. [Then] Mendovg assembled a great army and advanced upon Vykont's city called Tvirement. Tevtivil and the Rus'ians accompanied by the Polovcians [sent by] Danilo, the Žemoitans, and many infantrymen came out of the city [to engage Mendovg's army]. As they were pursuing [the enemy], an emaciated Polovcian shot Mendovg in the thigh, and Mendovg returned to his own country. Many soldiers from both sides took part in the engagement and Visomit was killed outside the city [walls].

(1251) 6761 (1253) Tevtivil sent Revba [to Danilo] exhorting him to

march upon Novgorod[ok]. Danilo set out in the company of his brother Vasilko, his son Lev, his kinsman (winter 1251/52) Tegak, and the Polovcians and came to Pinsk. The princes of Pinsk could not be trusted, but [Danilo] forced them to join his campaign. The Lithuanians sent a vanguard to Lake Zjat', but it was driven back across the marshes as far as the Ščarja river. When all [of Danilo's] soldiers assembled, they held council and decided that they did not wish to continue with the campaign for the news about their coming had already spread. But Danilo replied wisely that if they were to turn back now without reaching their destination, they would be shamed before the Lithuanians and all nations, and [therefore] set another council for the following day. That night, however, he sent word to all his men that he wanted them to come with him and that they should make their going known to all those that did not wish to continue with the campaign. And when those who did not wish to go saw the others leaving [camp], they joined them to the last man, although it was against their will. The next day they laid waste the entire Novgorod[ok] region and from there they returned home. The Jatvingians who had set out to help Danilo could not reach him because of the heavy snows. Thus, [Danilo's men] returned with God's help, after taking much booty.

(1252) Then [Danilo] sent his men with his brother and his son Roman, and they took Goroden. [After this Vasilko and Roman] returned from Belsk and dispatched much of their infantry and cavalry against [the Lithuanian] cities, and [thus] they devastated the whole country. [Thereupon] Mendovg sent his son, and he plundered the outskirts of Turijsk. That [same] year Mendovg sent [an envoy] to Danilo suing for peace and hoping to bring about amicable relations by [arranging a] marriage. At that time also Tevtivil fled from the Žemaitans and Jatvingians [and came to Danilo complaining] that Mendovg had won them over with much silver. And Danilo was very angry at them.

(1252) 6762 (1254) As time passes a chronicler has to write down everything that happened, sometimes running a bit ahead of himself and sometimes turning back a bit, which a wise reader will understand. That is why we did not write down the years here, but will write them in [once the chronicle is] finished in accordance with the Councils of Antioch and the Olympiads, using Greek numbers and Roman leap years as Jevsevij Pamfilov and other chroniclers did [recording events] from Adam to Christ. We will write down all the years which we will calculate [once the chronicle is] finished.<sup>105</sup>

After the death of the [Austrian] Archduke called Fridrix [II], who fought and defeated the Hungarian king [Bela IV], but was killed by his boyars in battle, a great dispute arose among the powerful nobles over the title and possessions of the slain Archduke [particularly] over the Rakusian and Styrian lands. And the Hungarian king and the Czech king [Peremysl] fought each other for the possession of these lands. The Hungarian king sought aid for he wished to conquer the German land and requested Danilo

to send him his son Roman that he might give him the Archduke's [niece Gertruda Babenberg] in marriage and [with her] the German land. [Thus] he entered Germany with Roman, gave the Archduke's [niece] to him in marriage, and concluded a treaty with him which we did not write down here because of its great length. Then he sent word to Danilo imploring him as his relative and kinsman to help him against the Czechs. [Thus the Hungarian king] was able to persuade [Danilo], and he marched against Opava, [taking a different route than the king]: He ravaged the Moravian (1253) land, destroying many cities, burning villages, and causing the death of many people in that region. Danilo met with Boleslav [Stydlivyj] and they planned their campaign through the Opavian land. Boleslav did not wish [to join the campaign], but his wife [persuaded him and thus] aided Danilo, for she was the daughter of the Hungarian king [Bela IV] and her name was Kin'ka. Prince Danilo's reasons for going were [twofold]: partly for the sake of the [Hungarian] king and partly to gain fame for himself for before this time no one from Rus' had made war upon the Czech land – not even Svjatoslav the Brave nor Saint Volodimer. And God fulfilled his wish. [Danilo] wanted to begin the campaign at once, and taking along his son Lev, the tysjackij Jurij, and reinforcements from his brother Vasilko, he joined forces with Boleslav and left Cracow. [The allies] came to the city of Kozel on the Oder river, and there Kazimir's son – Volodislav [of Opol'e] the son of Kazimir Leskonogij, [the grandson of] Mježko – joined [Danilo]. Then they reached the Psina River with their cavalry and infantry and [there] Danilo and Lev held council with Volodislav, [for they wished to know] where [best] to begin their campaign. But [Volodislav] lied and gave [them] treacherous guides. Prince Danilo sent Lev, Tevtivil, Jedivid, his dvorskij,<sup>106</sup> and all his soldiers ahead, while he himself remained with a small number of old boyars and the tysjackij Jurij. Thus, Lev set out and began plundering [the countryside], and once he realized that his guides were lying, he stopped listening to them, marched into [a region of] wooded hills and took much booty.

As Danilo advanced upon Opava with Boleslav, the latter dispatched his Poles to reconnoitre. But [the voyevoda] Andrej sallied forth [against them] from Opava with his Czechs. Both sides came to blows and Andrej emerged victorious, for there were few Poles. Some [of the Poles] he killed, the others he took captive and [those that escaped] were paralyzed by fear. Danilo rode up to them and addressed them thus: "Why are you frightened? Do you not know that there can be no war without killing and that you engaged soldiers and not women? What is so unusual if a man has been killed in battle? Others die at home without glory, but these [men] have died with honor. Strengthen your hearts [with courage] and take up your weapons against the enemy!" With these words he bolstered their spirits and [after] speaking of many other things to them, he advanced toward Opava. When he saw a multitude of people fleeing into the city from the surrounding

crown. Thus he received his crown from God, from the Church of the Holy Apostles, from the throne of St. Peter, from his [spiritual] father Pope Nekentij [IV] and from all his bishops. For Nekentij cursed all those who abused the true Greek faith and wished to call a Council for the purpose of discussing the true faith and the (autumn 1253) unification of the Church. Danilo accepted his crown from God in the city of Dorohyčyn as he was setting out on a campaign with his son Lev and the Polish prince Somovit. His brother [Vasilko] turned back, for he had a wound on his leg, but he sent all his soldiers with [Danilo]. After King Danilo invaded the Jatvingian land and began ravaging it, Lev learned that [Prince] Stejkint barricaded himself in a forest together with his Jatvingians. Taking his men, Lev set out against him at a gallop and [quickly] reached [Stejkint's] abatis. But the Jatvingians sallied forth against him from their fortification and [Lev's] cavalry fled. Lev dismounted and valiantly engaged [the Jatvingians] alone. And when [the cavalymen] saw that Lev was fighting with them alone, some of them returned to help him. Lev drove his spear into [Stejkint's] shield [so that Stejkint] could no longer defend himself and then killed him with his sword. He also ran his sword through his brother and thus both died [by his hand]. He pursued [the Jatvingians] on foot, and the others – on horseback, killing and wounding them during the chase. King Danilo camped at Stejkint's home, and [there] Lev brought him Stejkint's and his brother's weapons as a sign of his victory. His father – the king – rejoiced greatly that his son had displayed [such] manliness and courage. [Then the envoy] Komat came [to Poland] from the Jatvingians, who promised to submit [to the Poles]. The Poles became filled with envy and cunning [toward the Rus'ians] and began to aid the heathens. When King Danilo learned of this, he ordered [his troops] to pillage the Jatvingian land. And Stejkint's house was completely destroyed. [The place where it once stood] remains deserted to this day. As King [Danilo] was marching [with his men] over a [frozen] lake, he saw a pretty hill near one shore and a city called Raj which had been previously on [this hill]. From there he returned home.

(1254) In those years, [perhaps] a bit sooner or a bit later, the Tatars came to Bakota and [the boyar] Milej [who held the city for Danilo] joined their side. Danilo had left on a campaign against the Lithuanians in Novgorodok and a thaw had set in [at that time]. Hence Danilo sent his son Lev against Bakota, and Lev dispatched his dvorskij [with a detachment] in advance of his [army]. They set out and captured Milej, [who had become] the khan's collector of tribute. Lev brought Milej back to his father and [thus] Bakota again was the king's that is his father's [possession]. Later, after consulting with his son, [Danilo] released him, since Lev assured him that [Milej] would remain faithful to him. But when the Tatars came again, [Milej] betrayed [Danilo] and surrendered Bakota to the Tatars.

Then Kuremsa came to Kremenec and began pillaging its outskirts. But [the boyar] Andrej<sup>109</sup> engaged in duplicity, sometimes saying that he was a

vassal of the king and other times that he owed his allegiance to the Tatars, for there was treachery in his heart. And God delivered him into their hands. [Andrej] told [the Tatars] that he had a document from Batyj, but they became even more infuriated at him, killed him, and cut out his heart. But they met with no success in Kremenec and returned to their land.

Izjaslav [Mstislavič of Smolensk] requested aid from [the Tatars] in his campaign against Halyč. But they replied: "How can you campaign against Halyč? Danilo is a fierce prince; if he [should wish to] kill you, who will save you then?" But he did not heed their [advice], and after assembling [a great host] around himself, he advanced upon Halyč. When Danilo learned of this, he became [very] sad, for [he did] not foresee this. He [immediately] dispatched his son Roman and all his boyars against [Izjaslav] — before this [happened] he had sent Lev to the [Hungarian] king — while he himself [followed] at the head of his own troops. On the way to Grubešev, [Danilo] killed six wild boars; he killed three with his hooked boar-spear [in person], and the [other] three his retainers killed. The meat he gave to his soldiers for the campaign. After praying to St. Nicholas, he exhorted his soldiers not to allow fear to enter their hearts, even if they were to engage the Tatars themselves. But they replied: "May God help you, and we will obey your orders." Thus, Roman took his troops, marched [a whole] day and [a whole] night, and caught [the enemy] by surprise. There was nowhere [Izjaslav] could flee, and he ran to the church vault, where the lawless Hungarians had [once] fled.<sup>110</sup> Prince Roman besieged him there, and [Izjaslav's soldiers] began to die from thirst. On the fourth day [Izjaslav] came down [from the vault], and Prince [Roman] brought him to his father. When Lev learned that [the boyar] Fedor had been sent by [Izjaslav] to the salt mines [of Kolomyja], he took his attendants and gave chase. [Fedor] managed to escape, but [Lev] captured his men.

Then Vojšelk made peace with Danilo. He gave Mendovg's daughter — [i. e.,] his own sister — to Švarno in marriage and came to Danilo in Xolm. He left his principality and joined a monastic order. To the king's son, Roman, [Vojšelk] gave Novgorodok [as a gift] from Mendovg, while from himself [Vojšelk] presented [Roman] with Slonim, Volkovyjsk, and all the cities [of his principality]. He asked permission to visit the "Holy Mountain",<sup>111</sup> and King [Danilo] found a [suitable] route for him through the land of the Hungarian king. But [Vojšelk] was not able to reach the "Holy Mountain" and turned back in Bulgaria.

(Winter 1254/55) 6764 (1256) Danilo set out against the Jatvingians with his brother, his son Lev, and [his son] Švarno, who was still a child, and sent for [his son] Roman to Novgorodok. Roman came to him with all the men of Novgorodok, with his father-in-law<sup>112</sup> [Prince] Gleb [of Volkovyjsk] and with [Prince] Izjaslav of Visločesk. From the neighboring land came [Prince] Somovit with the Mazowians and reinforcements from Boleslav — the Sudomirians and Cracowians. And the army grew [so] large that the

Jatvingian swamps were filled with soldiers. [After] all the princes of Rus' and Poland held council, the troops addressed [Danilo]: "You are the king and [therefore] chief of all the armies. If you send anyone of us ahead [to reconnoitre], your orders will be obeyed [without question], for you know how to wage war and have experience in fighting battles. Everyone will be ashamed and afraid [not to follow] you. [Therefore] go and lead us [into battle]!" After marshalling his troops and [instructing] who should go with the army, [Danilo] took up his position at its head. Thus, after marshalling his regiments, he let his archers move forward, and [instructed] the others [to march] on both sides of the road. [Then] he ordered his dvorskij to follow him, while he himself rode surrounded by a few armed retainers. Along the way his son Lev rode up to him alone and told him that he would ride at his side since there was no one with him. The king agreed and continued with the campaign. [Danilo's] guide was [the Jatvingian] Ankad. [Danilo had] promised not to burn his village. [Then] his son, Roman, rode up to him [also] alone.

When [Danilo] reached the village called Boldikišča, he dispatched Lev and his brother [against it]. Lev quietly surrounded the village and slaughtered everyone [in it except] one person [whom] he brought [to Danilo]. The king questioned him and he reported that the Jatvingians had gathered in a village called Pravišči. Upon hearing this, the king sent his retainer Andrej with the following message for his dvorskij: "Once you see that we have set out, follow us quickly and give free reign to your regiment so that [each soldier] could follow [as quickly as possible]." In the meantime [Prince Vasilko ordered the other regiments as well as his own to march quietly along the hilltops. But since [Danilo's] retainer was [still very] young, he said just the opposite: he forbade the dvorskij to give free reign to his men, [but instead] told him to hold them back. One Jatvingian managed to escape from the small village of Olydikišč, [and then the Jatvingians] armed themselves, met [Danilo's] archers on the outskirts of the village called Pravišči and drove them off. Danilo and Lev hurried [to reinforce their archers] and cried in a loud voice [at the Jatvingians]: "Run, run!" When the Jatvingians saw how quickly they were advancing, they broke ranks and turned to flee. In the middle of the village, however, they turned around [to make a stand]. But Danilo and Lev attacked them and hurled their spears at them, [whereupon] they again turned to flee. The archers showered them with arrows, but the heavy infantry had not [yet] arrived [to support] them. [The Jatvingians] ran toward the gates in a state of confusion, and when they reached the gates, some of them turned around [to make another stand], while many others fell on each other, for the ice was [very] slippery. Danilo and Lev charged them by the gates, but they ran [for their lives] and did not return again. [God's] grace shone that day upon King [Danilo] and his soldiers, since with such a [small] retinue he had defeated the proud Jatvingians, Zlin'cians, Kris-mencians, and Pokencians. For it is written in the Holy Scriptures that God



and not overwhelming odds decides victory in battle. The king wanted to continue pursuing [the Jatvingians], but Lev restrained him and asked to be sent after them instead. But his father would not let him [go. Thereupon] one [of their] soldiers drew a spear from his sheath and taking aim with his right hand threw it quite a distance and knocked a Jatvingian prince from his horse. As he fell to the ground, his bloody soul left him [and went directly] to hell. Danilo and Lev bound some [of the Jatvingians] while the others they led out of the brushwood and killed them. [At that point] the dvorskij arrived with his regiment and King Danilo rebuked him for causing [much] harm [by coming late]. The dvorskij replied, however, that he was not responsible, [for] he did not wish to do this, and that [Danilo's] messenger had done them harm by not carrying his orders correctly to them. After this, taking their prisoners, King [Danilo] and Lev returned to Vasilko and Somovit. When they were together [again], there was great rejoicing for the infidels had been defeated: [the Rus'ians had] burned their houses and pillaged their village. [Then] they camped for the night in Pravišči, took away the possessions [of its inhabitants], and burned their homes. The next day they went ravaging and burning the [whole] land. They burned Tajseviče, Burjalja, Rajmoče, Komata, Dora, pillaged [many] cities, and again set fire to Stejkont's home. [Then] they made camp in the village of Korkoviči. And it was indeed amazing that such a multitude of soldiers and horses could be fed [by the supplies] of two households. But since they and their horses could not eat [everything], they burned what was left. The following day Jundil came from the Jatvingians and complimented Danilo on his good retinue and superior regiments. That same day [the Rus'ians] set out [again] burning and pillaging [the Jatvingian] land, but [this time] no harm came to [Danilo's] soldiers [for] though [the Jatvingians] were always brave, God [now] implanted fear in their hearts. That night [Danilo] camped in the swamplands of Ostrove. The next day the Jatvingians came bringing hostages and suing for peace. They beseeched [Danilo] not to kill his prisoners. Then with God's help [Danilo] returned to his [native] land with [great] honor and glory since he had conquered his enemies. Later he again wanted to set out and wage war against them and began assembling his troops. But when the Jatvingians learned of this, they sent their envoys and their children [to him], paid tribute, and promised to obey him and to build fortresses [for him] in their own land.

(Winter 1254/55) 6765 (1257) Danilo sent Kosnjatin, whose last name was Položišilo, to collect tribute from [the Jatvingians]. Kosnjatin went and took black marten [furs] and white silver as tribute from them. A part of the Jatvingian tribute he presented to the voyevoda Signev as proof to the entire Polish land that the Jatvingians paid tribute to King Danilo – the son of the great prince Roman, for after him not one prince of Rus' had waged war against them with the exception of his son Danilo. This tribute was given to him by God, and [Danilo] made the Polish land witness [thereof. He did

this because] he wanted his children to remember that he had used his God-given courage [to perform great feats]. For as the wisest chronicler had written: "Great deeds are glorified throughout the ages." Since we had been describing [so] many wars, we [also] wrote this about Roman. It should have been written down a long time ago, but has been inserted here most recently.<sup>113</sup>

Then, as we had mentioned previously,<sup>114</sup> the [Hungarian] king [Bela IV] made a solemn promise to [Danilo's son] Roman, but he did not keep it. He abandoned him in the city of Ineperec and went away; he [had] promised to [help] him [in Austria], but did not [keep his promise], for he had treachery in his heart: he wanted [Roman's Austrian] cities for himself. He had sworn a solemn oath before God to Roman and his wife that after he had conquered [this] German land, he would give all of it to Roman. However, since [Roman's] wife knew [Bela's] character,<sup>115</sup> she made him swear on the cross, but he never came to [Roman's] aid. [In the meantime] the Archduke [Peremysl]<sup>116</sup> repeatedly attacked [Roman in Ineperec]. Once he came with a great force and both sides fought [fiercely]. He camped [only] a thousand paces away, but could not take the city. Therefore, in an attempt to ingratiate himself [to Roman] he said: "Leave the Hungarian king, for you are my relative and kinsman,<sup>117</sup> and I will share [this] German land with you. The Hungarian rex – that is – king – is promising you many things, but he will not keep [his promises]. But I speak the truth. I will give you my [spiritual] father – the Pope – and twelve bishops as witnesses who will testify that I plan to present you with half of the German land."<sup>118</sup> But [Roman] replied: "I have sworn an oath to my "father" – the Hungarian king – and [therefore] cannot follow your advice for if I were to break my oath, I would bring shame upon myself and commit a [grievous] sin." He dispatched [a messenger] to the Hungarian king [to relate] everything that the Archduke said and promised him, and to request aid from him. But he did not send him any aid, [for] he wanted [the Austrian] cities for himself. [Instead] he promised to give [Roman] other cities in the Hungarian land. However, since [Roman's wife] knew his cunning ways, she said [to his envoy]: "[First] he took my son<sup>119</sup> for his daughter and is holding him hostage, and now [he] wants our cities, while we suffer [under siege] and die of hunger for his sake." A [peasant] woman would go and buy food secretly in the city of Vienna and would bring it back with her [to the besieged city]. The hunger [in the city] was so great that the people wanted to eat their horses. [Finally] Princess [Gertruda] advised [her husband] Prince [Roman] to go to his father [Danilo for help].<sup>120</sup> But he was surrounded [by the Archduke's army] and could not leave [the city]. Verenger, whose last name was Prosvet<sup>121</sup> and who had campaigned with Roman, pitied him, came with his troops, (1253/54) and led him [safely] out of the city.

We had previously reported that Vojšelk had given Novgorodok to Roman.

(Winter 1254/55) After Kuremsa's attack on Kremenec, Danilo began a campaign against the Tatars. After consulting with his brother [Vasilko] and his son [Lev], he dispatched Deonisiĭ Pavlovič [ahead] and took Mežibožije. Then Danilo's and Vasilko's soldiers pillaged [the town] of Boloxov, while Lev's [troops concentrated their operations on] both sides of the Bug River and the Tatars. When spring came, [Danilo] sent his son Švarno against Gorodok, Semoč, and all the [other] cities; and he captured Gorodok, Semoč, and all the cities ruled by (spring 1255) the Tatars [as well as] Gorodesk and [all the towns] along the Teterev [River] as far as Žedečev. But the inhabitants of Vozvjagl' deceived Švarno: they accepted a deputy, but would not let him govern [the city]. Thus, after taking all the cities, Švarno returned [home] and the men of Beloberežec' and Černjatin and all the men of Boloxov followed him to [join] Danilo.

Mendovg sent [an envoy] to Danilo, promising to send [his son] Roman and the men of Novgorodok [to him] so that he could march [with his father Danilo] to Vozvjagl' and from there to Kiev and setting the time when they should [all] meet outside Vozjagl'.

(Summer-Autumn 1255) 6766 (1258) Danilo advanced with his brother upon Vozvjagl' in great force. He remained a [whole] day in Koreck, waiting for news from Roman and the Lithuanians, but [not receiving any] he set out again for Vozvjagl'. Before this, however, he dispatched his son Švarno [ahead of the main army] to besiege the city, so that no one could escape from them; [Švarno] had only five hundred soldiers with him. When the inhabitants [of Vozvjagl'], who were standing on the ramparts, saw [so] few soldiers with the prince, they began to mock [him]. But the following day Danilo arrived with his vast army, accompanied by his brother [Vasilko] and his son Lev. When the inhabitants saw this, they were overcome by fear; they could not withstand [the siege] and surrendered. [Danilo] set fire to the city, led out its inhabitants, and distributed them: some [he gave] to his brother, others to Lev, and [still] others to Švarno. [Then] he returned home, having captured the city.

When Roman and the Lithuanians reached [Vozvjagl'], the Lithuanians rushed the city, but they saw nothing except pieces of burning wood and dogs running over the area where the city once stood. [The Lithuanians] became infuriated, spat, and began to swear in their own language: "Janda, [janda!]" They invoked their gods Andaj and Diviriks as well as all their [other] gods – that is – the devils. Afterwards Roman followed his father. He took along [only a] few men, and the rest he allowed to go home. [In the meantime] Danilo and Vasilko were making merry, while Lev returned home.

After reviewing their position, the Lithuanians set out looting in a fit of anger. [Thus] they came and devastated the outskirts of Luck, but Danilo and Vasilko knew nothing [of this]. Prince Danilo's retainers, Vasilko's men, Jurij, the dvorskij Oleksa and others rode forth against them. As they

advanced against [the Lithuanians, the latter] approached from the other side toward a [little] stream. The cavalries met head-on, but the Lithuanians could not withstand [the charge of the Rus'ians] and turned to flee. [The Rus'ians] drove them into the lake [nearby], cutting them down and driving their spears through them. [In the lake] ten men [would grab hold of] one horse, thinking that the horse would pull them out, and thus they sank drowned by an angel sent down by God. The lake became filled with [so many] corpses, shields, and helmets [that] the local inhabitants profited [greatly] dragging them out. And a great war against the Lithuanians [followed]. When [the Rus'ians] defeated them, they glorified God and Our Lady, the Blessed Mother of God. They sent the spoils of war to Danilo and Vasilko, [who] rejoiced greatly, for God had shown His help against the heathens. For those [that were defeated] were Mendovg's men, their voyevoda Xval [Rjuškovič], who was responsible for many deaths in the district of Černigov, and Sirvid Rjuškovič. Sirvid fled, but Xval and many others were killed.

(Winter 1255) 6767 (1259) Kuremsa marched against Danilo and Vasilko unexpectedly. Vasilko was gathering his forces in Volodimer' and Danilo [was assembling his] in Xolm. They dispatched [couriers] to Lev to come and join them. Not crossing the Styr [River himself], Kuremsa sent his men toward Volodimer'. As his soldiers advanced, the [Volodimerians] rushed forth against them from the city on foot and fought fiercely with them. [The Tatars] fled from outside the city [walls] and came running to Kuremsa, reporting that [the city's] inhabitants were putting up a fierce fight against them. Nevertheless Danilo and Vasilko continued gathering their troops for they wished to engage the Tatars [in one decisive battle?]. But it happened that Xolm caught fire because of a damned [peasant] woman as chastisement for [our] sins. This we will write down later [when relating] the founding of the city [of Xolm], the ornamentation of its church, and the great damage [Xolm suffered] which everyone lamented. There was such a blaze that the glow [from the fire] could be seen from all [the corners] of the land. It was visible even from Lviv and as far as the fields of Belz. Because the blaze was very intense, the people thought that the city had been set afire by the Tatars, fled to wooded places, and thus could not assemble [in force]. Danilo met with his brother and consoled him [saying] that since the misfortune that befell them had come from God, they should not complain like pagans, but place their hope in God and offer up their grief to Him. And this they did. Then they went to Volodimer', [where] they assembled a few members of their retinue and prayed to God that He would deliver them from the Tatar invasion. But since they were not able to gather their retinue together, they sent everywhere [for soldiers]. Once by chance Vasilko's soldiers left [Volodimer'] and met the Tatars; they engaged them and took prisoners. Then while Kuremsa was near Luck, God performed a great miracle. Luck was neither fortified nor ready [for a siege] and a great number of people had

fled there [from the Tatars]. It was winter and the level of the water [in the river outside the city] had risen greatly. Thus [Kuremsa] marched toward Luck, but could not cross [the river, for], as he tried to capture the bridge [across it], the inhabitants [of Luck] cut it down[ from their side]. He set up catapults in an attempt to drive them away [from the bridge], but [at that point] God, St. John, and St. Nicholas performed a miracle: The wind was so strong that as the catapults hurled [their missiles at the inhabitants by the bridge], the wind would turn back [each] stone [at the Tatars].<sup>122</sup> As they continued [trying] to bombard [the inhabitants], their catapult[s] broke down because God willed it. And not gaining anything, [the Tatars] returned to their land – that is – the steppe.

And [now] about the burning of the city of Xolm during Kuremsa's campaign which we had previously begun (1237) to narrate: The city of Xolm was built the following way in accordance with God's will: While Danilo was reigning in Volodimer', he founded the city of Ugrovesk and placed a bishop in it. [Then one day] as he was hunting in the field, he saw a beautiful wooded place on a hill surrounded by a field, and asked the local inhabitants what this place was called. They replied that it was called Xolm. He liked this place and planned to build a small town on it, promising God and St. John Chrysostom that he would build a church in [the saint's] name. And he built a small city, but when he saw that God and St. John were helping him, he built another city – one which the Tatars could not take [even] when Batyj occupied all of Rus'. At that time the Church of the Holy Trinity was set afire and then built anew. When Prince Danilo saw that God placed [Xolm] under His protection, he began to invite immigrants – Germans, Rus'ians, [all kinds of] foreigners, and Poles – [to the city]. Day after day they came – young people and artisans as, for example, saddle, bow, and quiver craftsmen and iron-, copper-, and silver-smiths [who had] escaped from regions under Tatar occupation. [Thus] life [began to pulsate] and the households, the field, and villages around the city grew rich. [Then Danilo] built the beautiful and majestic Church of St. John. The following is [a physical description of its] structure: [There were four] vaults – one vault from each end – [which] rested on four human heads sculptured by some artist<sup>123</sup> and three windows adorned with Roman glass. At the entrance to the altar there stood two pillars [made] entirely of stone which supported [another] vault. The ceiling above was decorated with gold stars against a sky-blue background,<sup>124</sup> while the floor within [the church] was cast of copper and pure tin so that it shone like a mirror. Its two gates, ornamented by white cut-stone from Halyč and green stone from Xolm, had engravings made by a certain artist [called] Avdej. The bas-reliefs [on them] were of all colors and of gold. On the front gate [of the church] there was [a statue of] the Saviour and on its northern gate – one of St. John so that everyone who looked [at the church] marvelled [at its great beauty. Danilo] decorated the icons, which he brought from Kiev, with precious stones, pearls,



and gold. [These were] the icons of the Saviour and the Blessed Virgin which his sister Fedora gave him. He brought [other] icons from the Monastery of St. Fedor, and from Ovruch [he] brought an icon depicting the Presentation [of Our Lord at the Temple of Jerusalem which he inherited] from his father. [These icons] were magnificent to behold and [later] burned in the Church of St. John. Of [all] these magnificent icons only [the icon of] St. Michael remained. [Some of the church] bells he brought from Kiev while others he cast on the spot, and all of these the fire burned.

In the middle of the city there was [such a] high tower that one could fire from it at the outskirts of the city. Its base up to a height of fifteen cubits was made of rocks, while it itself was built of hewn logs and painted white like cheese so that it shone from all sides. Next to it was a spring that is – a well – the depth of which was thirty-five sages. The churches [of Xolm] were beautiful, and [during the celebrations after they were built?] mead would [flow from the bonfires?] as [thick as] pitch. [Danilo] planted a beautiful orchard and built a church in honor of the blessed altruists [Sts. Cosmas and Damian.] It has four columns entirely of cut-stone, which hold up the ceiling. From them other [columns lead to] the altar of St. Demetrius. As one enters, it stands facing the side doors in all its beauty. It had been brought here from distant lands. A thousand paces away from the city there is a stone column and on it an eagle also carved out of stone. The height of the stone [column] is ten cubits, but together with the top and pedestal it measures twelve cubits.

When [Danilo] saw the great damage which his city and the Church [of St. John] suffered [as a result of (1256) the fire], he grieved greatly. After praying to God, he built the church anew and had Bishop Ivan bless it. Then he prayed to God again and rebuilt the city [this time making it much] stronger and [surrounded it with] higher [walls]. However, he could not build a tower such [as he had before the fire], for he was building other fortifications against the godless Tatars, and that is why he did not rebuild it.

(1256) 6768 (1260) [Danilo] built a huge church in the city of Xolm, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, which in its size and beauty was not inferior to the ones [that had been built] first. He adorned it with magnificent icons, and from the Hungarian land he brought a chalice of red marble [with] serpents' heads around it [which were] sculptured with marvelous skill. He placed it in front of the iconostasis which people call the Holy Gates. In [the church Danilo] constructed a vessel for the blessing of water on the feast of the Holy Epiphany and the blessed Bishop Ivan built [a cross?] made of fine wood, which was ground and gilded [and thus] from within and without worthy of admiration.

(1256/57) After some time had passed, the godless and evil Burondaj came with a multitude of Tatar regiments – [indeed] a great and powerful force – and replaced Kuremsa. Danilo would wage war against Kuremsa, but was never afraid of him, for he could never do him any harm, until Burondaj

came with [this] great force. [Burondaj] sent his envoys to Danilo informing him that he was marching against the Lithuanians<sup>125</sup> and inviting Danilo to join him, if he [truly] were at peace [with the Tatars]. Danilo [sat down and] held council with his brother and his son. They were sad, for they knew that if Danilo were to go [with Burondaj], he might endanger his life(?). Thus, they all consulted with each other and Vasilko went in place of his brother. [Danilo] accompanied him as far as Berestja and sent his men with him after praying before the icon of Our Lord the Redeemer, which is in the city of Melnica in the Church of Our Blessed Mother and which is held in great esteem to this very day.

(1258) King Danilo made a [solemn] vow [before God] that he would embellish [the icon]. Thus Vasilko followed Burondaj through the Lithuanian land. He met the Lithuanians somewhere [in their country], defeated them, and brought the spoils of war to Burondaj. And Burondaj praised Vasilko, [for giving such a good account of himself] even though his brother did not come, and fought at his side [in further engagements]. While they were devastating the Lithuanian and Nal'sčanian lands, Vasilko searched for his nephew Roman. He had left his wife and his son Volodimer with his brother [Danilo].

Then King Danilo set out and captured Volkovyjsk and [its ruler] Prince Gleb. He sent him [out of the city?] and treated him with great respect,<sup>126</sup> for he had gone to Volkovyjsk to capture his enemies Vojselk and Tevtivil<sup>127</sup> [and not Prince Gleb]. But he did not find them in the city. [Danilo] looked for them in every fort, sending his men [after them], but he could not locate them. [He tried to find them], for they [had] played a very cunning trick [on him]: Vojselk [had] captured [Danilo's] son Roman. And again he sent [his voyevoda] Mixail, [who] devastated the land along the Zeleva River searching for them, but did not find them. Then [Danilo] planned to march against Goroden, for he thought that they might be there, and sent for his son Lev and his own men. They [set out and] came to the city of Melnik. However, when [King Danilo] and everyone with him were about to advance upon Goroden, news that the Tatars were in the Jatvingian land reached [his] camp from Poland. [At the same time] Lev informed [his father] that the soldiers and horses were beginning to suffer from the shortage of food, to which [Danilo] replied that they should send their vanguard to Vizna. [Then] King Danilo distributed a sufficient amount of supplies to the soldiers and their horses [to satisfy their needs]. Before this two envoys had been sent to the Jatvingian land to find out [the whereabouts] of [Danilo's] brother. When the Tatars came to the Jatvingian land, they captured the envoys and asked them where Danilo was, and they replied that he was in Melnik. Thereupon, the Tatars decided to go there since [Danilo's] brother fought on their side [which made] Danilo their ally. [Danilo's] vanguard and [the Tatars] missed each other [along the way], and [the Tatars] came to Dorohyčyn. When news of this reached Danilo, he sent Lev,

Švarno, and [Vasilko's son] Volodimer away, warning them that if they stayed with him, they would have to go to the camp [of the Tatars], but if he were to . . .

After this one year passed.

## The Volynian Section

(November 1259) 6769 (1261). In those days there was peace in all the land. Prince Vasilko held a wedding in the city of Volodimer'; he was giving away his daughter Olga in marriage to Prince Andrej Vsevolodič of Černigov. Vasilko's brother Prince Danilo with both his sons Lev and Švarno and many other princes and boyars were there at that time. During the lavish wedding festivities in the city of Volodimer', King Danilo and [Prince] Vasilko learned that the godless and cursed Burondaj was approaching. And both brothers grew very sad [when they heard this] for [Burondaj] had sent his envoys making known to them that if they were [truly] his allies, they should [come out] to meet him, and that whoever would not do this [could consider himself] his enemy. Prince Vasilko rode out to meet Burondaj with his nephew Lev. Prince Danilo did not go with his brother, but sent his bishop – Ivan of Xolm – instead. Thus, Prince Vasilko rode forth with Lev and the bishop to meet Burondaj, taking along many gifts and alcoholic beverages [for him], and came face to face with him in Šumsk. Vasilko, Lev, and the bishop presented the gifts to [Burondaj] in person, but he became [so] infuriated at Prince Vasilko and [Prince] Lev [that] the bishop [just] stood there [trembling] from great fear. Then Burondaj told Vasilko: "If you are my allies, destroy all of your city fortifications." Thus, Lev destroyed the fortifications of Danilo and Stožesk, and from there he sent [his men] to destroy the fortifications of Lviv, while Vasilko sent [his soldiers] to demolish the defenses of Kremenec and Luck. From Šumsk Prince Vasilko sent Bishop Ivan ahead to his brother Danilo. Upon his arrival, the bishop [immediately] began to relate everything that had happened to Prince Danilo. He [also] told him of Burondaj's rage. Danilo became frightened and fled to Poland, and [then] from Poland he fled to Hungary.<sup>128</sup> And thus Burondaj advanced toward Volodimer' with Prince Vasilko at his side. Before reaching the city, [Burondaj] camped for the night in Žitan' and [asked] Vasilko to destroy the defenses of Volodimer'. Prince Vasilko began to deliberate about [the fate of] the city fortifications, since it was impossible to demolish them in a hurry because of their enormous size. Therefore, he ordered that they be set afire, and thus during the night they were completely consumed by the fire. The next day Burondaj entered Volodimer', saw with his own eyes that all of the defenses of the city had burned down,



and began to dine and drink in Vasilko's home. After he finished dining and drinking, he lay down for the night at Pjatidni. The next day he sent a Tatar called Bajmur [to Vasilko]. He came to the prince and told him that Burondaj had sent him with orders to dig up the city's entrenchments. And Vasilko replied: "Do what you have been ordered to do." Thereupon, [Bajmur] began digging up the entrenchments as a sign of victory. After this Burondaj marched to Xolm accompanied by Prince Vasilko [who came] with his boyars and servants. When they arrived [before the gates of Xolm], the city was shut, and [therefore] they camped at a distance from it. However, [Burondaj's] troops met with no success, for the city was manned by boyars and good soldiers and tightly defended by catapults and crossbows. When [Burondaj] saw the fortifications of the city [and realized] that it could not be taken, [he] spoke [thus] to Prince Vasilko: "Vasilko! This is your brother's city. Go and tell its inhabitants that they should surrender." And he sent three Tatars with Vasilko whose names were Kuičij, Ašik, and Boljuj and in addition an interpreter who understood the Rus'ian language [to find out] what Vasilko would say when he approached the city [walls]. On his way to the city Vasilko took a few stones in his hand, and when he reached the city [walls], he began to speak [thus] to its inhabitants, while the Tatars that were sent with him listened: "Kosnjatin, [my] vassal, and you, Luka Ivankovič, [my] other vassal! This city belongs to my brother [as well as] to me. [Therefore, I bid you,] surrender!" He said [this] and threw a stone on the ground [thus] letting them know by this trick that they should fight and not surrender. And as he said this, thrice he threw a stone on the ground. [Thus] it seemed as if the great prince Vasilko had been sent by God to the aid of the inhabitants, and by this trick he made his intent known to them, [for] Kosnjatin, [who was] standing on the city ramparts, understood [Vasilko's] signal and answered the prince [thus]: "[Unless you] leave, you'll get a stone in your head. You are no longer [Danilo's] brother, but his [mortal] enemy." When the Tatars who were sent with the prince outside the city [walls] heard [this], they went to Burondaj and related what Vasilko said to the inhabitants [of Xolm] and what [they] replied to [him].

(1259/60) After this Burondaj swiftly marched to Ljublin, and from Ljublin he went to Zavixvost. [The Tatars] came to the Vistula River, and finding a place which they could ford, they crossed to the other side of the river and began ravaging the Polish land. Then they came to Sudomir and surrounded it from all sides, enclosing it with a stockade. [The Tatars] set up their catapults [which] hurled their missiles unceasingly day and night, while their arrows would not permit [anyone] to show himself from behind the ramparts.<sup>129</sup> [Thus] they fought for four days and on the fourth day [the catapults] knocked the ramparts down from the city [walls]. The Tatars then began to place ladders against the walls and [thus] climbed up on top. The first to reach the top were two Tatars, bearing a banner, [who] went through the city, slashing [its inhabitants] and running their spears



[through them]. [Thereupon] a certain Pole, who was neither a boyar nor of noble birth but a simple man and who did not even wear a suit of armor but a single cloak, performed a memorable feat with only a spear [in his hand] and defended himself with courage as if it were a stout shield [on his arm]. He rushed [one of] the Tatar(s) and killed him at first blow, but the other Tatar ran up from behind, inflicted a [mortal] wound upon the Pole, and killed him on the same spot. When the people saw the Tatars on the city walls, they hurriedly fled toward the keep, but everyone could not fit into the [drawbridge] gates, for [they] were too narrow. Thus, [some of them] were crushed [to death], while others fell off the drawbridge into the moat like sheaves [of wheat]. The moat was evidently very deep and [quickly] became filled with corpses [so that] it was possible to walk over [them] as over the drawbridge.<sup>129</sup> There were houses in the city which were built of straw, and fire spread to them from the fires [started by the Tatars]. After this the [whole] city began to burn. There was [also] a large and extremely lovely stone church in that city which glittered in its beauty, for it had been built of white cut-stone. And it too was filled with people, but its wood-covered roof caught fire, and [thus] the church was also consumed by flames, and [with it] a countless number of people [who were] inside. The enemy barely managed to run out of the city [to safety]. The next day [after the fires had subsided] the abbots, priests, and deacons assembled [all] the clergy and sang the noonday Mass. Then [the people] began to receive Holy Communion – first [the clergy], then the boyars with their wives and children, and [finally] everyone else both young and old alike. Some would confess their sins to abbots, while others – to priests and deacons, for there was a [great] multitude of people in the city. Then they left the city with crosses, candles, and censers [in their hands]. The boyars and their wives marched dressed in their wedding attire, and the boyars' servants preceded [their masters] carrying their children. And there was much weeping and sobbing among them. Husbands wept for their wives, mothers wept for their children, brother wept for brother, and there was no one to show them mercy, for God's wrath had descended upon them. After driving them from the city, the Tatars set them on the plain by the Vistula, [where] they remained for two days. Then [the Tatars] slaughtered all of them – both male and female alike – [so that] not one of them remained [alive]. Afterwards they advanced upon the city of Lysec [which] they besieged upon their arrival. The city was located on top of a hill within a forest and had a stone church [in honor of] the Holy Trinity. But [since] the city was weakly [fortified, the Tatars] captured it also and slaughtered all [of its inhabitants] – both young and old alike. Then Burondaj turned back<sup>130</sup> to his camp. And so ended the conquest of Sudomir.

(1262) 6770 (1262). Mendovg's Lithuanians set out on a campaign against the Poles accompanied by the accursed and lawless [Prince] Ostafij Kostjantynovič, who had fled from Rjazan'. The Lithuanians unexpectedly attacked

Jezdov on the very eve of the feast of St. John the Baptist. Here they killed Prince Somovit and captured (23. VI. 1262) his son Kondrat, and after taking much booty, they returned home. Then Mendovg recalled that Prince Vasilko [had] ravaged the Lithuanian land with the Tatar bogatyr [Burrondaj] and sent an army against Vasilko [which] ravaged the outskirts of Kamenec. Prince Vasilko did not give chase because he was lying in wait for another army. Therefore, he dispatched [the voyevodas] Želislav and Stepan Medušnik after them, and they pursued them as far as the Jasolna, but did not catch them, for they had [only] a small army [at their disposal]. Hence, after taking only a few prisoners, they retreated quickly with them.

That same week another [Lithuanian] army was ravaging the outskirts of Melnica. They [were led] by the voyevoda Kovdižad Tjudijaminovič and took much booty. Prince Vasilko gave chase with his son Volodimer and [all his] boyars and servants, after placing his hope in God, His Holy Mother, and the power of the Holy Cross. [The Rus'ians] caught up with them near the city of Nebel [where] the Lithuanians had camped by a lake. When they caught sight of [Vasilko's] regiments, they prepared for battle, arranging themselves in three rows behind their shields as was their custom. Vasilko also placed his regiments in battle formation and attacked [the Lithuanians], and [thus] both sides met head-on in battle. The Lithuanians, however, were not able to withstand [the onslaught of Vasilko's forces] and took to their heels, but found it impossible to escape [from the Rus'ians], for the lake surrounded them from all sides. Thereupon [Vasilko's soldiers] began cutting them down, while others drowned in the lake, and thus they slaughtered all of them [so that] not a single [Lithuanian] remained [alive]. When the princes of Pinsk – Fedor, Demid, and Jurij – learned [of this victory], they came to Vasilko with [alcoholic] beverages, and they [all] began to make merry, for they saw that their enemies were dead, while their entire army was safe and sound. Only one [soldier] from Vasilko's army – Prejbor, the son of Stepan Rodovič – had been killed. After this the princes of Pinsk returned to their land, while Vasilko went back to Volodimer' [bringing home] victory and great honor and glorifying and praising God, who had performed such marvelous deeds and had humbled Vasilko's enemies at his feet. [Vasilko] sent the spoils of war with [his envoys] Boris and Izebol to his brother the king. [In the meantime] King [Danilo] had gone to Hungary and Boris caught up with him near Telič. The king was gravely concerned about his brother and his nephew Volodimer, for the latter was [still very] young, [when] one of his servants walked in and spoke thus: "Master! There are some people coming on horseback with their shields before them and lances [in their hands.] They also have spare horses which are being led by their bridles." [Thereupon] the king jumped up for joy, raising his hands praising Our Lord, and said: "Thank God! This means that Vasilko defeated the Lithuanians." [And indeed] Boris arrived bringing the king saddled horses, shields, spears, and helmets – [all] spoils of war. The king began inquiring

about the health of his brother and nephew, and Boris replied that both were in good health and [then] told him everything that had happened. The king was very glad [to hear] that his brother and nephew were in good health and that their enemies were dead. Then he bestowed many gifts upon Boris and sent him back to his brother.

After this the princes of Rus' and the Polish prince Boleslav met in council. Prince Danilo, with both his sons Lev and Švarno, and Prince Vasilko, with his son Volodimer, met in Ternava, [where] they made a treaty [with Boleslav] pertaining to the land of Rus' and the Polish land. They confirmed it by [swearing a solemn oath on] the Holy Cross and [then] returned home. (5. VIII. 1263) After this council one year passed, and in the autumn [of that year] the great Lithuanian prince Mendovg was killed. He was the autocrat of the entire Lithuanian land. Let us now relate [the circumstances leading to] his death: While he was reigning in the Lithuanian land, he began murdering his brothers and nephews, and others he drove from the country. [Finally] he ruled alone in the Lithuanian land. He grew very proud, and his glory and great pride [affected him to such an extent that] he considered no one his equal. He had a son [called] Vojšelk and a daughter [whom] he gave in marriage to Švarno Danilovič in Xolm. [In the meantime] Vojšelk began to reign in Novgorod(ok). Being a pagan, he began to shed much [innocent] blood, murdering three to four persons every day. If on a certain day he did not kill someone, he was [greatly] depressed, but when he did, he was happy [again]. Afterwards the fear of the Lord entered his heart and he contemplated receiving the blessed [sacrament of] baptism. He was baptized here in Novgorodok and thus became a Christian. Then Vojšelk went to Prince Danilo and [Prince] Vasilko in Halyč, for he wished to join (1254/55) a monastic order. [In Halyč] he stood as godfather during the baptism of Lev's son Jurij. After this he went to the [monk] Grigorij [who lived] in a monastery in Polonina,<sup>131</sup> [where] he was shorn a monk. He remained three years with Grigorij in [this] monastery, from [which] he [then] set out for the Holy Mountain [at Athos] with Grigorij's blessing. For there had never been such a holy person as Grigorij nor will there ever be anyone like him again! But Vojšelk could not reach the Holy Mountain because there was great discord at that time in those lands. [Therefore] he returned to Novgorodok and built a monastery for himself [overlooking] the Nemna River [on the border] between the Lithuanian land and Novgorodok, [where] he settled. His father Mendovg reproached him for leading this type of life, and he was very indignant at his father.

(1262/63?) At that time Mendovg's wife passed away and [Mendovg] began to mourn her. Her sister was married to Dovmont – the prince of Nal'sčansk. [Therefore] Mendovg sent [an envoy] to the Nal'sčanians for his sister-in-law, informing her that her sister was dead [and requesting] that she come and mourn for her. When [his sister-in-law] arrived [for the funeral], Mendovg wanted to marry [her]. He told her that on her death-

bed her sister had ordered him to marry her with the words: "so that someone else would not maltreat the children." And [so] he married her. When Dovmont learned [what had happened], he was consumed by sorrow and began to plan [Mendovg's murder], but [since] he could not [carry out his plans himself] because he had only a small army, while the one [at Mendovg's disposal] was [indeed] large, he looked for [an ally] who would [help] him kill Mendovg. He found [his ally in] Mendovg's nephew – Trenjata – [who ruled] at that time in Žemoit, and with him he schemed to murder Mendovg.

(1263) 6771 (1263). [Exactly at that time] Mendovg had sent his entire army beyond the Dnieper against Roman, the prince of Brjansk. Dovmont had set out with them on [this] campaign, but at an opportune moment turned back explaining that [certain] omens prevented him from [continuing] with them. Thus, he turned back and riding quickly overtook Mendovg and killed him as well as two of his sons, Rukl' and Repekij, right there on (5. VIII. 1263) the spot [where he caught up with them.] And this is the way Mendovg was murdered. After [his] murder, Vojšelk feared the same [fate] and fled to Pinsk, [where] he settled, while Trenjata began to reign [over] the entire Lithuanian land and [over] Žemoit! He sent to Polock for his brother Tevtivil, inviting him to come so that they could divide Mendovg's land and possessions between them. When Tevtivil arrived, he began scheming [how best] to kill Trenjata, but [the latter] already had the same designs on [his life]. However, Tevtivil's boyar Prokopij – a native of Polock – disclosed [his master's] scheme. Anticipating [his brothers' move], Trenjata killed [him first] and began to reign alone. After this four of Mendovg's grooms [who had served him faithfully] began to plot [Trenjata's death]. They picked an opportune moment (1264) while he was going to his bathhouse to wash himself, and murdered him. And this is how he met his end. When Vojšelk learned of this [turn of events], he went with the men of Pinsk to Novgorodok [where he recruited many of its men with whom] he left to rule and reign [over] Lithuania. And all the Lithuanians joyfully received the son of their [former] master.

(1264) 6772 (1264). [Then] Vojšelk began reigning [over] the entire Lithuanian land and destroying his enemies. He slaughtered a countless multitude of them, while the others fled wherever it was possible to flee. He also killed the godless, accursed, and lawless Ostafij [Kostjantinovič], about whom we had previously written. The same year that Mendovg was killed, which he had (1263) already mentioned, Prince Roman of Brjansk held a wedding. [While] he was giving his dear daughter Olga in marriage to Prince Volodimer, the son of Vasilko and grandson of the great prince Roman of Halyč, a Lithuanian army attacked [him]. He engaged them [forthwith] and defeated them, but was wounded himself [in the battle, during which] he showed his great valor. He arrived in Brjansk with victory and great honor, paying no heed to the wounds on his body because of his

[great] joy [that he had defeated the Lithuanians] and gave his daughter in marriage [to Prince Volodimer]. He had three other daughters and this was his [youngest whom] he loved most. He sent with her his oldest son Mixail and many boyars. But let us return to our former narration:

While Vojšelk was reigning in Lithuania, Prince Švarno and [Prince] Vasilko began aiding him, for he had called Vasilko his [adopted] father and master. (1264) At that time [also,] King [Danilo] had contacted a grave illness. [He did not recover from it] and passed away. He was placed in the Church of the Blessed Mother in Xolm which he had built himself. This King Danilo was a good, brave, and wise prince, who founded many cities, built churches, and embellished them in many different ways. He was renowned for his [exemplary] brotherly love for Vasilko [and] was second only to Solomon [in wisdom].

After [Danilo's death his son] Švarno went to help Vojšelk [in person], while Prince Vasilko on his part dispatched his entire army to aid him, [for] Vojšelk had called Vasilko his [adopted] father and master. Švarno arrived in Lithuania to [help] Vojšelk with his [troops], and Vojšelk rejoiced greatly when he saw Švarno's and his [adopted] father's – that is Vasilko's – reinforcements]. He [immediately] began to prepare [for war]. After setting out with an enormous army, he began taking cities in Djavlitva and in the Nal'sčanian land. Thus, he captured [these] cities and destroyed his enemies, and then everyone returned home.

(28. VII.–2. X. 1264) 6773 (1265). A star with a tail appeared in the East which was terrifying in appearance and emitted great beams [of light]. This [type of] star is called a comet.<sup>132</sup> At the sight of this star all men were seized by fear and terror, and experts looking [upon it predicted] great discord in the land. But by God's will [the land] was saved and [the prediction] did not come to pass.

(1264) That same year Vasilko's [wife] – the Grand Princess Olena – passed away and her body was placed in the Church of the Blessed Mother in the bishopric of Volodimer'.

(1264?) 6774 (1266). A revolt took place among the Tatars themselves. They slaughtered [as] many [of their own people] as there are grains of sand in the sea.

(1264) 6775 (1267). And [then] there was peace [in the land.]

(1265) 6776 (1268). While Vojšelk and Švarno were reigning in Lithuania, the Lithuanians set out on a campaign against Prince Boleslav and the Poles. They went past Dorohyčyn [accompanied by] Švarno's attendants and then ravaged the outskirts of Skarišev, Vizlež, and Toržk, taking much booty. At that time Prince Boleslav was very ill, and when he later recovered, he sent his envoy to Švarno, [who] was then in Novgorodok, with the following message: "Why did you wage war against me and take my land without any [provocation] from me?" But Švarno denied [this, replying] that not he but the Lithuanians had waged war against him. [There-

upon] the envoy said to Švarno: "Boleslav [told me to] tell you this: 'I bear no grudge against the Lithuanians, [for they are] my enemies [and] have been [constantly] waging war against me, but I do have a grudge against you. Let God be on the side of the righteous. [May] He be our judge.'" From that time they began waging war against each other. The Poles started ravaging the area around Xolm. They were led by the voyevodas – Signev, Vorž, Sulko, and Nevstup. But they did not take anything. [The people] had hastily flocked into the city, for the border Poles had let them know [that the enemy was coming]. Then Švarno arrived in [great] haste from Novgorodok and began assembling his troops as did Prince Vasilko and his son Volodimer. They joined forces and set out on a campaign [against] the Poles. Švarno began his military operations outside of Ljublin, and Volodimer outside of Belaja. They took much booty and returned home. Švarno went to Xolm and Volodimer to Červen, [where] his father Vasilko was, and from Červen he went to Volodimer'. However, the very same week they returned home, the Poles began devastating the outskirts of Červen, but did not take anything and marched back [empty-handed]. Then Prince Boleslav sent his envoy Grigorij, the provost of Ljublin, to his kinsman Vasilko requesting that they meet, and Vasilko agreed gladly. They set the meeting in Ternava. After this Vasilko started out for the meeting in Ternava, but when he was in Grabovec he learned that the Poles were deceiving him and did not go to the meeting, but taking [a round-about route] in the direction of Vorota, they marched to Belz, [where] they began ravaging and burning villages. [Thereupon] Vasilko quickly left Grabovec with Švarno and his son Volodimer. [When] they came to Červen, they saw that the villages were ablaze and that the Poles were looting [everywhere]. Vasilko directed his attack against [the Poles in places] where [they] were thinly scattered, while looting the villages. Many of the [Poles] were killed and others captured. [They] became alarmed and returned home. [Thereupon] Vasilko sent his nephew Švarno and his son Volodimer [in hot pursuit] after them with orders not to engage them [in their land], but to let them enter their [own country] and to attack them [only] after they had split up [into smaller detachments]. And thus Švarno pursued them with Volodimer in great force. Their armies looked like great pine forests. Švarno marched in front with his army, while Volodimer brought up the rear with his. The Poles had not yet entered their own land and had only passed through Vorota. This was an impassable spot, for it was impossible to go around it [in any way]. It was called Vorota because of the narrow space [it occupied]. Here [the Rus'ians] overtook [the Poles]. Marching in front with his army, Švarno [failed to remember] his uncle's advice and rushed forth to do battle without waiting for the army of his "brother" Volodimer. Both sides met (12. VI. 1266) head-on in battle and the Poles crushed Švarno's army. The other [Rus'ian] regiments could not come to his aid [in any way, since the ground was so] narrow [there]. And thus the Poles defeated the Rus'ians

and killed many of their boyars and common soldiers. Here the tysjackij's two sons, Lavrentij and Andrej, were killed; [the brothers] showed their great valor [in battle, for they] did not desert each other and thus met a glorious (1266-7) end. After this the Poles made peace with Rus'. Boleslav [concluded peace] with Vasilko and Švarno, and they began to live in [great] harmony.

Afterwards Vojšelk gave his principality to his brother-in-law Švarno, while he himself again wanted to become a monk. Švarno implored [Vojšelk] to continue reigning with him in Lithuania, but [he] did not wish to, replying that he had sinned greatly before God and man, and that [Švarno] should [hence] reign [alone] over the land [which] has been secured for him. Švarno could not prevail upon him and thus began to (1267?) reign in Lithuania. [In the meantime] Vojšelk went to Ugrovesk to the Monastery of St. Daniel, [where] he donned monastic garments and settled in the monastery, saying: "Close by I have my 'son' Švarno and my other master and [adopted] father Prince Vasilko. They will comfort me." And his teacher, Grigorij of Polonina was still alive [at that time]. Vojšelk inquired about his health and rejoiced [upon learning that he was well]. Then he sent for him with the words: "Come to [me, my spiritual] father and master!" And [Grigorij] came and gave him directions [how to lead a good] monastic [life].

At that time Lev dispatched [a messenger] to Vasilko informing him that he would like to see him, but only if Vojšelk were also present. And Vasilko sent for Vojšelk during Holy Week, explaining that Lev had sent word to him summoning them for a meeting and [added] that he need not fear [any treachery]: Vojšelk was afraid of Lev and [at first] did not wish to go, but then went [when] Vasilko guaranteed [his safety]. He arrived in Volodimer' on Easter Sunday and lodged in the Monastery of St. Michael the Great. Markolt, the German, invited all [three] princes – Vasilko, Lev, and Vojšelk – to his house for dinner [where] they began to [eat], drink, and make merry. Vasilko went home to sleep, [for] he had [too much] to drink, while Vojšelk returned to the monastery where he was staying. Then Lev came to see [Vojšelk] in the monastery and asked his kinsman that they drink [some more]. And they started drinking [again]. Since time immemorial, however, the Devil has wished mankind ill. He imbued Lev's heart [with envy] as a result of [which Lev] killed Vojšelk, for he had given the (Easter 1267 or 68) Lithuanian land to his brother Švarno [and not to him].<sup>133</sup> And this is how [Vojšelk] met his end. His body was prepared for burial and interred in the Church of St. Michael the Great.

After Vojšelk, Švarno reigned in the Lithuanian land, but he reigned [only] a few years and then passed away. His body was buried in the Church of the Blessed Mother near his father's grave.

(1269) 6777 (1269). Nothing [of importance] happened.

(1269) 6778 (1270). The godless, lawless, accursed, and merciless Trojden



began his reign in Lithuania. We are [too] ashamed to describe his impious acts. [In wickedness he equalled] Antiochus of Syria, Herod of Jerusalem, and Nero of Rome, but he committed many worse crimes than even they. He [reigned] for twelve years and died in his wickedness. His brothers were Borza, Sirputij, Lesij, and Svelkenij, [who] were baptized and lived in peace, meekness, and humility. They kept their orthodox Christian faith, [for] they loved the poor and their faith dearly. They died while Trojden was still alive.

(1269) 6779 (1271). The faithful and Christ-loving Vasilko, Great Prince of Volodimer' and son of the Great Prince Roman, passed away, and his body was interred in the Church of the Blessed Mother in the bishopric of Volodimer'.

(1269) 6780 (1272). His son Volodimer began to reign in his place. He was renowned for his brotherly love to all his friends, boyars, and common people. And Lev began to rule in Halyč and in Xolm after his brother Švarno.

(1272-73) 6781 (1273). [The princes of Rus'] made peace with Prince Boleslav [Stydlivyj] and the Poles. At that time Boleslav [had just] begun to wage war against [Indrix], the prince of Wrocław,<sup>134</sup> and Lev and Mstislav [Danilovič] went to his aid. Volodimer, however, did not go in person, but sent an army under [the voyevoda] Želislav. He did not go himself because he had declared war against the Jatvingians. Afterwards the princes (1273-74) decided that they should set out against the Jatvingians, but since winter had set in, they did not go themselves, but sent their voyevodas on [this] campaign. Lev sent Andrej Putivlič at the head of his army, while Želislav was dispatched by Volodimer, and Volodislav Lomonosy by Mstislav to lead their armies [against the enemy. The Rus'ians] set out and captured Zlina. [Thereupon] the Jatvingians assembled [to strike back], but did not dare to engage them, and thus [the Rus'ians] returned to their princes with victory and great honor. [Immediately] thereafter the Jatvingian princes – Mintelja, Šjurpa, Mudejko, and Pestilo – came to Lev, Volodimer, and Mstislav suing for peace, and they reluctantly made peace with them. The Jatvingians were overjoyed that peace had been concluded and returned to their land.

(1274) 6782 (1274). While Trojden was still reigning in the Lithuanian land, he lived in great harmony with Lev, and they would send each other many gifts. But he did not live in peace with Volodimer because Volodimer's father – Prince Vasilko – had killed three of Trojden's brothers during his campaigns. And that is why he did not live in peace with [Volodimer], but was [constantly] at war with him, although the wars [between them] were [not] on a large scale. Trojden sent his infantry, and they pillaged Volodimer's [land], and Volodimer on his part dispatched [an army against the Lithuanians], and thus they continued raiding each other a whole year. (1274) But then forgetting his amicable relations with Lev, Trojden sent the

Gorodnians with orders to capture Dorohyčyn. They were led by Trid, [an inhabitant of Dorohyčyn who] knew how the city could be taken. He (1275) entered it at night, and thus they captured it on Easter Sunday and slaughtered everyone [in it], both young and old alike. When Lev learned of this, he grew very sad and began pondering [what he should do]. He sent [an envoy] among the Tatars to the great emperor Mengutimur requesting aid against the Lithuanians. Mengutimur gave him an army [led by] the voyevoda Jagurčĭn and [ordered] all the princes from beyond the Dnieper to come to his aid. [These princes were] Roman of Brjansk and his son Oleg, Gleb, the prince of Smolensk, and many other princes, for at that time all the princes [of Rus'] were Tatar subjects. When winter set in, Lev, Mstislav, and Volodimer and [these] princes of Rus' began making preparations for war. [Then they set out] accompanied by the princes of Pinsk and Turov. They joined forces with the Tatars here near Sluck in the direction of which they were heading after passing Turov. And thus they all advanced quickly upon Novgorodok, (winter 1275) but before reaching the river Syrvjača, they camped for the night. Rising early the following day, they started out and crossed the river before daybreak, and here they waited for daylight. As the sun rose, they began placing their regiments in battle formation, and after thus marshalling their forces, they advanced upon the city. The Tatar army marched on the right, Lev with his army – [in the center], and Volodimer with his marched on the left. The Tatars sent messengers to Lev and Volodimer, informing them that their vanguard<sup>135</sup> had seen [what they thought] was an army on the other side of the hill, [for] steam [from the horses' nostrils seemed to permeate the air, and requesting] that they send some reliable men with their Tatars to take [a closer] look. And they sent their reliable men with [the Tatars], but when they reached [this place] they saw that this was no army, but vapor rising from the streams flowing down the mountains, because the weather was freezing cold. [Finally] they reached the city and camped nearby. But Mstislav had not arrived yet, [for] he had left Kopylje on a campaign through Polissja, and neither had the princes from beyond the Dnieper – Roman and Gleb. Only Roman's son, Oleg, had arrived alone, for he had come earlier with the Tatars, [who then] waited anxiously for Roman's arrival. [In the meantime] Lev deceived his brothers: Without the knowledge of Mstislav and Volodimer, he captured the outer city [of Novgorodok] with the [aid of the] Tatars, but the keep remained [untouched]. The next day after the outer city was already in the hands [of Lev and the Tatars], Roman and Gleb arrived in great force. And all the princes – Mstislav, Volodimer, his father-in-law Roman of Brjansk, Gleb of Smolensk, and many other princes – were angry at Lev because he did not consider them his equals but captured the outer city himself with the [aid of the] Tatars. They had made plans to march into the Lithuanian land, after jointly taking Novgorodok, but they did not go because of their anger at Lev and thus returned home.

After leaving Novgorodok, Oleg (1276) [of Brjansk] went to [the city of] Volodimer' to visit his sister. Volodimer [had] implored his father-in-law [Roman of Brjansk, whom he addressed as] his lord and [adopted] father, to come and spend some time [with him as he would in his own home so that] he could see [for himself] how well his daughter was. But Roman refused his "son" Volodimer, replying that he could not leave his army, for he was in a war-torn land and could not [trust] anyone [else] to lead his troops home. [However, he added] that his son, Oleg, would go with him instead. [Thus Roman and Volodimer] kissed in parting and set out for home.

(1276) 6783 (1275).

(1276) 6784 (1276). Compelled to flee from the Germans, the Prussians left their land and came to Trojden. He received them in his country and settled part of them in Goroden and part in Slonim. After discussing [the situation with each other] Volodimer and his "brother"<sup>136</sup> Lev sent an army to Slonim and removed [the Prussians] to keep them from settling the land. [Thereupon] Trojden dispatched his brother Sirputij, [who] ravaged the outskirts of Kamenec. Volodimer sent [an army] against him, wrested Turijsk on the river Nemna from his hands, (1276/77) and captured the villages around it. After that [Trojden and Volodimer] made peace and began to live in great harmony.

Afterwards God implanted a worthy thought in Volodimer's mind, and he began drawing up plans to build a city somewhere beyond Berestja. He took [down] the Books of the Prophets and thinking out loud he said: "My powerful and almighty Lord God, who creates and governs everything with His word. What wilt Thou reveal [now] to Thy sinful slave?" Having said this, he opened the [Holy] Scriptures and Isaiah's prophecy appeared before him: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath annointed me to preach the good tidings unto the meek; He had sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and sight to the blind, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all that mourn, to give those that mourn the Glory of Zion, to give them anointment and joy for ashes and beauty for the spirit of heaviness, that they may be called generations of righteousness, and the plants of the Lord that He might be glorified, and they shall build upon the eternal wastes which had become deserted in previous times in order to raise up the deserted cities which were desolate for generations." From this prophecy Prince Volodimer understood that God favored him and began to look for a suitable place for building a city. This land had been desolate for eighty years since the time of Roman, and now God raised it by His Grace. Volodimer dispatched an experienced man named Oleksa who had built many cities during the reign of his father. [He] sent him together with the local inhabitants in boats up the upper reaches of the Losna River to find [a suitable] place for building [Volodimer's] city. And [indeed] he found such

a place, returned to the prince, and gave his report. [Thereupon] the prince went in person accompanied by his boyars and servants and [immediately] fell in love with this site overlooking the bank of the River Losna. He [had the site] cleared and then founded a city on it, (1277) calling it Kamenec, for the ground [on which it was built] was formed of rocks.

(1277) 6785 (1277). The godless and lawless [Tatar khan] Nogaj sent his envoys – Tegičag, Kutlubug, and Ješimut – with gramotas<sup>137</sup> for Lev, Mstislav, and Volodimer [which stated] that [since] they had been constantly complaining about the Lithuanians, he was giving them an army led by the voyevoda Mamšej, with whom they should set out (1277/78) against their enemy. When winter set in, the Rus'ian princes – Mstislav and Volodimer, marched against the Lithuanians. Lev did not go [with them], but sent his son Jurij [instead]. And thus they all advanced upon Novgorodok. When they came to Berestja, however, they learned that the Tatars had reached Novgorodok before them. [Thereupon] Princes Mstislav, Volodimer, and Jurij began to deliberate whether they should march on to Novgorodok, since the Tatars had devastated everything there. They decided to set out for a place that was still intact and thus advanced upon Goroden. After they had gone quite a distance beyond Volkovyjsk, they made camp for the night. Here Mstislav and Jurij concealed their plans from Volodimer and sent their best boyars and attendants with the [voyevoda] Tujma [of Xolm] to ravage [the outskirts or Goroden. This] they did and then lay down for the night without placing any sentries and having taken off their suits of armor. One of their prisoners escaped to the city and told its inhabitants that there were [enemy] soldiers sleeping unprotected in a village [nearby. Thereupon] the Prussians and the Borts left the city and attacked them [that] night. They massacred them, took some of them prisoner, and brought them into the city. [The voyevoda] Tujma was transported on a sled because he was critically wounded. The following day when the [Rus'ian] regiments approached the city [of Goroden], Mstislav's soldier Ratislavko ran [toward them] naked and barefooted and began to relate what had happened. [He told them that while most of] Mstislav's and Lev's boyars and attendants had been killed, some had been captured. And Mstislav and Jurij were very sorry that they had caused this [calamity] by their foolhardy action, while Volodimer was angry at them for undertaking [operations against Goroden] in secret from him. [Then] they began to think how they could capture the city. Before the city gates there was a tall stone tower in [which] the Prussians had shut themselves and [the Rus'ians] could not go past it, for [the Prussians] shot [at them] from the tower. [Therefore, they first] stormed the tower and captured it. The city was seized by great fear and terror and [its inhabitants] standing on the ramparts turned deathly pale when the tower fell [into the hands of the enemy] because it was their only hope. [The Rus'ian princes], however, thought only of their boyars and how they could liberate them. [Since no military solution was possible], Mstislav, Volodimer, and Jurij

made an agreement with the inhabitants [of Goroden] not to take the city in return for their boyars. And thus they took back their boyars and returned home, leaving the city unharmed.

(1278) 6788 (1278). While Trojden was still reigning in the Lithuanian land, he sent a huge army against the Poles [led by] his brother Sirputij. At that time [also] the Jatvingians ravaged the outskirts of Ljublin for three days, took a countless number of captives, and returned home with great honor.

(Spring 1279) 6787 (1279). [Then] there was a famine in all the lands – among the Rus'ians, the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Jatvingians. Then the Jatvingians sent their envoys to [Prince] Volodimer who addressed [him] thus: "Our Lord, Prince Volodimer! We have come to you [in the name of] all the Jatvingians, placing our hope in God and in your [continued] good health. Master! Do not let us die of starvation, but feed us for your own benefit. Send us your grain for sale and we will gladly buy it. Whatever you desire, be it wax, squirrel, beaver, or black marten skins, or [even] silver, we will give it to you gladly." And Volodimer sent grain to them from Berestja by boat along the Bug River with good men whom he trusted. They sailed [up] the Bug, entered the Narov, and went [up this river]. Along the way they reached the environs of Poltovesk [where] they made camp to rest for the night. And here near this city they were all killed during the night, their grain was taken away, and their boats were sunk. Volodimer investigated this thoroughly, for he wanted to find out who had done this. He sent [an envoy] to his kinsman Kondrat, informing him that it was in the vicinity of his city that his men had been killed on orders from him or someone else and [since] he knew [what went on] in his land, he should tell him [who was responsible]. But Kondrat denied that he had killed them and said that he knew no one else who could have done this. His uncle, Prince Boleslav, however, informed Volodimer on his own nephew Kondrat saying: "In vain does he deny [this], for he himself has killed your men." At that time Boleslav lived in discord with his nephew Kondrat. [He advised] Volodimer to settle his accounts with [Kondrat], for he [had] dishonored him greatly, and thus to cast off his shame. Thereupon Volodimer sent his army against Kondrat [which] waged war on this side of the Vistula and took much booty. Then Kondrat sent [envoys] to his kinsman Volodimer, for he wanted to make peace. Volodimer made peace [with] him and they began to live in great harmony. [He] also returned [Kondrat's] servants whom his army had taken captive [during the course of the campaign].

(December 1279) That year Boleslav [Stydlivj], the Great Prince of Cracow, passed away. [He was] a good, quiet, gentle, meek, and kind-hearted [man]. After living many years, he passed away to [meet] Our Lord in his ripe old age. His body was prepared for burial and then interred in the Church of St. Francis in the city of Cracow.

(1280) 6788 (1280). After the death of the great prince Boleslav there was no one who could reign in the Polish land<sup>138</sup> because he had no son. Lev wanted the [Polish] land for himself, but the [Polish] boyars were strong and would not give him the country. But Boleslav had five nephews: Kondrat and Boleslav, the two sons of Somovit, and Lestko, Zemomysl, and Volodislav, the three sons of Kazimir. From among them the Polish boyars chose Lestko<sup>139</sup> and placed him on Boleslav's throne in Cracow. And [thus] Lestko began [his] reign. Then Lev wanted to conquer part of the Polish land for himself – [namely], the cities on the borderland [between Poland and Rus']. He went to the godless and cursed [Tatar khan] Nogaj to ask him for aid against the Poles. And [Nogaj sent] the godless Končak, Kozej, and Kubatan to help him. When winter set in, they set out [against the Poles]. Lev and his son Jurij marched gladly in Tatar company, but Mstislav [of Luck], Volodimer, and Mstislav's son Danilo went [only] because they were compelled to do so by the Tatars. And thus they all advanced upon Sudomir. Upon reaching Sudomir, they marched across the frozen Vistula to its other bank in the vicinity of the city itself. Lev crossed first with his army and his son Jurij and was followed by Mstislav and his son Danilo, [who in turn] were followed by the Tatars. After crossing [the river], they camped outside the city. They remained there for a short time and did not give battle. Then Lev advanced with a great host of regiments upon Kropivnica, boasting greatly that he would march to Cracow. Volodimer, however, stayed behind with his army near the city. He was told that a great number of enemy soldiers had barricaded themselves in the forest with plenty of provisions. Their abatis had not been taken by any army because it was very well fortified. [There-upon] Volodimer dispatched his best men [against] it [led by] Kafilat the Silesian (?). When they reached the abatis, the Poles engaged them in fierce battle [so that] they barely managed to take it with great difficulty, capturing many [enemy] soldiers and supplies.

As we [had] written before, Lev [had] set out [toward Cracow] with his regiments. [When the Rus'ians and Tatars] began to break up to loot, God visited His Will upon [Lev]: the Poles killed many boyars and (23. II. 1280) good servants from his regiments as well as some of the Tatars. Thus Lev returned with great dishonor.

(March, 1280) 6789 (1281). Lestko set out against Lev and took the city of Perevoresk from him. He slaughtered all its inhabitants both young and old alike, set fire to the city, and returned home.

Afterwards the Devil imbued Somovit's two sons, Kondrat and Boleslav, with hatred [toward each other]. Thus they began to quarrel and to wage war against one another. However, Kondrat was at peace with his "brother" Volodimer, and Boleslav was at peace with Lestko and the latter's brother Volodislav. And thus Boleslav assembled his troops and with aid from Volodislav advanced against his brother Kondrat [who was] in the city of Jezdov. But Kondrat was not in the city at that time, and they took [it] by storm.

The Poles had the following custom [in battle]: they would neither capture nor beat [their opponent's] servants, but they would rob them [of their belongings]. And thus the city was taken. They captured much property in it and robbed their servants [of their belongings. Boleslav also] robbed his sister-in-law, Kondrat's wife, as well as his niece and [thus] brought great shame upon his brother Kondrat. Afterwards Kondrat sent his envoy to his "brother" Volodimer [to] complain to him of his disgrace. Volodimer was greatly moved and bursting out into tears told his "brother's" envoy to say [this to his master Kondrat]: "Brother! May God avenge your shame. Behold I am ready to help you." [Thereupon] he began preparing his army against Boleslav and dispatched [a messenger] to his nephew Jurij, asking for help. And his nephew replied thus: "My uncle! I would gladly march with you myself, but I have no time [since] I am setting out for Suzdal', (1282) my lord, in order to get married. I am taking only a few attendants with me, but behold all of my men and boyars I am delivering to you and Divine Providence. Whenever you wish, march with them [against Boleslav]." After marshalling his troops, Volodimer marched to Berestja, where he met [his allies]. The men of Xolm joined him [there led by] the voyevoda Tujma, and Volodimer marched to Melnik with a [great] multitude of soldiers. From Melnik he dispatched the voyevoda Vasilko, the prince of Slonim, [the voyevodas] Želislav and Dunaj from the city of Volodimer', while Jurij's army was led by the voyevoda Tujma. And thus they marched into Poland. After dispatching [this vast] army, Volodimer [returned] to Berestja. However, he had sent his envoy ahead of [this] army to his "brother" Kondrat, for the latter had disloyal boyars [whom he wanted] to keep from informing Boleslav [that a Rus'ian army was coming to Kondrat's aid]. [Therefore] when Volodimer's envoy came to Kondrat, he addressed him [thus] in the presence of all his boyars: "Your 'brother' Volodimer sends you [the following message]: 'I would gladly help you [avenge] your shame, but I cannot because the Tatars are harassing us' ". And the envoy took the prince's hand and squeezed [it], and Prince [Kondrat] understood and left [the hall] with him. [Then the envoy] said to him: "Your 'brother' sends word to you to get ready and prepare your boats for sailing on the Vistula, [for] the [Rus'ian] army will be here tomorrow". Kondrat became greatly overjoyed [upon hearing this]. He ordered the boats to be [rigged] immediately and made preparations in person [for the campaign]. The [Rus'ian] army arrived and crossed [the Vistula] by boat. Then the [allied] armies began to align themselves for the campaign, and when [everyone] was ready to march, they set out: [the voyevoda] Vasilko<sup>140</sup> marched at the head of his regiment, while Želislav and Dunaj [led their respective regiments]. Prince Kondrat marched at the head of the Polish army, and Tujma – at the head of his. And thus they advanced briskly in great force. While still a distance away from the city of Soxačev, they made plans to take it in order not to penetrate too deeply into the country. But Prince Kondrat forbade them and led them

toward Gostinyj, for this was Boleslav's favorite city. Upon reaching [it], the armies halted outside the city like dense pine forests and began making preparations to take the city. Prince Kondrat rode [through the ranks] and exhorted his beloved Rus'ian brethren to attack as one man. And thus they advanced upon the ramparts, while other regiments remained motionless [in the rear in order to] guard against an unexpected attack by [Boleslav's] Poles. When they reached the ramparts, the Poles dropped stones on them [which fell] as [thick] as hail. However, [a barrage of] arrows from [the besiegers quickly] prevented [the Poles] from even peering out from behind the ramparts.<sup>141</sup> Hand-to-hand combat with spears followed, and [soon] many [Poles] lay [mortally] wounded on the city [walls], while corpses fell like sheaves [of grain] from its ramparts.<sup>141</sup> And thus the city was taken, and many supplies and countless prisoners were captured. Those that remained they slaughtered, burned the city, and thus returned home with victory and great honor. Prince Kondrat [returned] to his city wearing a crown of victory, [for] he had cast off his shame with the help of his "brother" Volodimer. [In the meantime] Prince Vasilko [of Slonim] set out for Berestja with a great number of captives and sent word [of his coming] ahead to his master, Prince Volodimer, [who] was very distressed because there had been no news from his army. But [when finally] word did come from his troops that everyone was returning in good health and with great honor, [he] rejoiced greatly that his entire retinue was safe and sound and that he had avenged the dishonor of his "brother" Kondrat. Only two [men] were killed from his regiment and they did not die during the storming of the city, but during a foray. One was a Prussian by birth, and the other was Rax Mixajlovič – his favorite court attendant and a boyar's son.<sup>142</sup> We will [now] describe how they perished:

While the [allied Polish and Rus'ian] armies had been marching past the city of Soxačev, Prince Boleslav had left [the city] to attack whomever he could catch out on patrol. Prince Volodimer had instructed his voyevodas Vasilko, Želislav, and Dunaj not to allow [the army] to break up [into smaller detachments] to go looting, but for everyone to advance [together] upon the city. But these [two] set out [to loot] a village [as part of a detachment of] thirty men, led by Blus Jurjev, [and they did this] in secret [without informing the main] army. They took the road from the village [by which] serfs were fleeing to the forest and gave chase. But exactly at that moment Boleslav attacked them with his Poles. Their detachment could not withstand the onslaught and everyone together with Blus turned to flee. But [both] Rax and the Prussian would not run [from the field of battle] and fought courageously, [thus] performing a feat worthy of memory: The Prussian clashed with Boleslav and was killed [immediately] by many [Poles], while Rax killed one of Boleslav's [most distinguished] boyars and then met a similar end himself. Both men died courageously, leaving behind glory [that would be remembered] till the end of time.



Afterwards Volodimer left Berestja and went to [the city of] Volodimer' [in Volynia].

(February? 1285) 6790 (1282). The cursed and lawless [Khan] Nogaj set out against the Hungarians together with [Khan] Telebuga. [They came] in great force – with a great [host] of soldiers – and ordered the princes of Rus' – Lev, Mstislav, Volodimer, and Jurij Lvovič – to march with them. At that time Volodimer limped and did not [join the campaign] because he had a bad ulcer. However, he did send his army with his nephew Jurij. And thus they all went, for at that time the princes of Rus' were Tatar subjects. Volodimer alone remained [behind], because he limped.

Boleslav, however, continued to pride himself in his recklessness. Finding an opportune moment, he came with two hundred soldiers and devastated the outskirts of Ščekarev, taking ten villages, and [then] marched back with great arrogance, acting as if he had taken the whole country. Then Lev was dismissed [by the Tatars] when [they were already] in the Hungarian land. He came home and was distressed by what had happened – that is that Boleslav had pillaged his land. He sent word to his brother Volodimer that they should cast off this shame by summoning the Lithuanians against Boleslav. And Volodimer sent Dunaj for the Lithuanians. The Lithuanians promised to [come to his aid], replying: "Our good and just Prince Volodimer! We [will] lay down our [lives] for you. We are ready [to march], whenever you desire." [Thereupon] Lev and Volodimer marshalled their troops [and set out for Berestja.] After reaching Berestja, they waited for the Lithuanians, but [they] did not come at the appointed time. [Therefore] Lev and Volodimer did not go on in person but dispatched their voyevodas. At the head of his army Lev sent Tujma, Vasilko of Belz, and Rjavec, while Volodimer sent Prince Vasilko, Želislav, Olovjanec, and Vista to lead his army. They advanced against (March 1286) Boleslav and began to pillage the outskirts of Vyšgorod, [where] they captured a countless number of servants, cattle, and horses. Then the Lithuanians came to Berestja and addressed Prince Volodimer: "[Since] you have summoned us, take us somewhere. Behold we are ready [to march]. That is why we came." The prince, therefore, began to deliberate where he should take them, for his army had already left [to engage] Boleslav [and was] quite a distance away. The rivers were just beginning to thaw, and Volodimer remembered that just before this [Prince] Lestko had sent the men of Ljublin and took from him a village on the borderland called Voin. And Volodimer kept reminding him many times to return the serfs [he had captured then], but [Lestko] would not return his serfs. And that is why [Volodimer] sent the Lithuanians against him. They ravaged the area around Ljublin, captured very many serfs, and taking much booty, returned with honor. [Immediately] afterwards Lev's and Volodimer's army came back with great honor, having captured much booty [also]. And [then] everyone went home.

During the previously-mentioned years when Lestko (1280) took Lev's

city of Perevorsk, the Poles also ravaged the outskirts of Berestja along the Krosna. They took ten villages and started back. [Thereupon] the men of Berestja assembled and gave chase. There were two hundred Poles and [only] seventy Berestians, [but] they were led by the voyevoda Tit, who was renowned for his bravery during campaigns and hunting expeditions. Having caught up with them, they engaged them in battle, and with God's help the Berestians defeated the Poles, killing eighty of them and capturing the others. They [also] recaptured their [stolen] property and thus returned to Berestja with honor, glorifying God and His Virgin Mother [as long as they lived]. But let us return to our former narration:

The cursed and lawless Nogaj started back with Telebuga, after they had pillaged the Hungarian land. [Then they separated], and Nogaj set out for Brašev, while Telebuga went through the [Carpathian] Mountains, which one could cross in three days. But he wandered thirty days in the mountains, driven [back and forth] by God's wrath. A great famine arose among [his men] and they began eating [their captives?]. Then they started dying themselves [so that] a countless number of them perished and eyewitnesses testified that there was a hundred thousand<sup>143</sup> dead. [Finally] the cursed and lawless Telebuga made his way on foot out [of the mountains] with his wife and one mare. [And thus he was] shamed by God.

After these events Boleslav became reckless again and continued to create mischief for Prince Volodimer and [Prince] Jurij. [Consequently] Volodimer and Jurij began to prepare their army against Boleslav. Volodimer brought in the Lithuanians, having sent [his envoys for them], and thus they all set out against Boleslav. [The Rus'ians were led by] Prince Jurij. When they reached Melnica, Jurij's father Lev sent word to his son not to march alone with the Lithuanians [since] he had killed their prince Vojšelj and they might want to take revenge. Because of his father's message Jurij did not go on in person, but he did send his army. And (1285/86?) so they went and took the city of Soxačev, capturing many supplies and serfs. The remnant they slaughtered and returned home with much booty.

(November 1286) 6791 (1283). The cursed and lawless Telebuga wanted to attack the Poles. He assembled a great force and forgetting the Divine punishment visited upon him in Hungary, which we had described previously, he came to Nogaj. [But since] both lived in great discord [at that time], Telebuga sent [couriers] to the princes from beyond the Dnieper and to the Volynian [princes] – Lev, Mstislav, and Volodimer – ordering them to come with him on his campaign [because] all the princes were Tatar subjects then. And thus Telebuga marched against the Poles after assembling a great host. When he reached the Gorinja [River, Prince] Mstislav [of Luck] met him with [alcoholic] beverages and gifts. From there [Telebuga] marched past Kremjanec toward Peremil' and here on the Lipa [River] he was [joined] by Prince Volodimer also bearing [alcoholic] beverages and gifts. And Prince Lev met him [likewise] after catching up with him near

Bužkoviči. After reaching the field of Bužsk, [Telebuga and the princes of Rus'] inspected their regiments. The princes feared that they would be killed [by the Tatars] and their cities taken, and hence they marched toward [the city of] Volodimer', coming to a halt in Žitan'. [Then] Telebuga went to reconnoitre the city of Volodimer', and some say that he might even have been in the city, but this is not certain. A week later, the second day after [the feast of] St. Nicholas, they marched past the city, and thus it was saved by God's will. They did not take the city, but did much violence [to it], robbing [its inhabitants] of countless supplies and horses. And thus [while] the godless Telebuga marched into Poland, some of the Tatars remained near Volodimer' to graze his ailing horses. They devastated the Volodimerian land and would not let anyone leave any [Volodimerian] city for food. [Those that dared to] come out, they either killed, captured, or robbed, taking away their horses. And thus through God's wrath a countless number of people perished during the siege of the [Volodimerian] cities.

[In the meantime] Telebuga was marching into Poland in the company of all the princes [that were compelled to do so] by the Tatars: Prince Lev with his son Jurij, [Prince] Mstislav [at the head of his army] and [Prince] Volodimer [at the head of his]. And thus they marched on to Zavixvost and came to the Vistula. [This] river had not frozen yet, and they could not cross it. [Therefore] they marched to its upper reaches [at] Sudomir [where] they crossed the river Sjan over ice. Here on the Sjan Volodimer left them and went back. [Then] they crossed the Vistula over ice above Sudomir and approached the city from all [four] sides. However, they met with no success.

(December/January 1286/87) [Thereupon] they began ravaging the Polish land, remaining in it ten days. Telebuga wanted to march to Cracow, but he did not reach it, turning back in Toržk, for he learned that Nogaj [had reached] Cracow before him. And because of this there was [even] greater discord between them. Therefore, rather than join forces with Nogaj, [Telebuga] went back [and attacked] the Lvovian land [and its main] city – Lviv.

(January 1287) [The Tatars] remained in Lev's principality for two weeks living off the fat of the land. They did not engage in open warfare, but neither did they let anyone leave the city for food. [Of those that dared] leave the city, they would kill some, capture others, and rob [still] others, [releasing] them stark naked [to die] from the cold, because there was a very severe winter [that year]. And thus [the Tatars] devastated the whole country. God visited this [calamity] upon us for our sins, chastising us, so that we would repent for our evil and lawless acts. Finally He also visited His wrath upon us: A countless number of people perished during the siege [of] the cities and [still] others died in villages after leaving the cities [once] the godless sons of Hagar [departed]. But let us return to our former narration:

The accursed Nogaj [did not use the same route as Telebuga] to march

into Poland. He took a [different] route in the direction of Peremyśl' because there was great discord between them. He reached Cracow, but had no success [there] just as Telebuga had none at Sudomir. He ravaged the Polish land, but did not join forces with Telebuga because they were afraid of each other. [Then] they returned to their camps, Telebuga again using his route and Nogaj his.

(1286/87) That winter there was a great plague in Poland [as a result of which] a countless number [of people] died.

After Telebuga's and Nogaj's departure Prince Lev counted how many of his country's soldiers [had] died and how many people were either captured or killed or [had] perished by God's will. [And he counted] twenty-five thousand.

(1286/87) 6792 (1284). Mixail, the son of Prince Jurij Lvovič, passed away. He was [very] young and all the people mourned him. His body was prepared for burial and interred in the Church of the Blessed Mother in Xolm, which his grandfather the great prince Danilo – the son of Roman – had built.

That winter God's wrath appeared in the guise of great plague not only in Rus' alone, but also in Poland. That very same winter all of the horses, cattle, and sheep perished also in the land of the Tatars. Everything perished; nothing remained.

(1287) 6793 (1285). [It was rumored] that in the land of the Germans<sup>144</sup> the sea overflowed its bank and inundated the country because of God's wrath. More than sixty thousand people drowned and one hundred and eleven stone churches were inundated, not counting those made of wood.

That year Lestko, the son of Kazimir, sent his army [to wage war against] Prince Kondrat, the son of Somovit. But Prince Kondrat assembled his retinue and pursued [Lestko's troops]. He engaged them in battle and defeated them with God's help. He killed many boyars and civilian attendants from Lestko's army as well as his voyevoda, Matej Seražskij, took back his property that had been captured, and returned home with great honor, praising and glorifying the Holy Trinity – [God] the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost – now and . . .

(1287) 6794 (1286). All the Lithuanians and Žemaitans marched against the Germans [in] Riga. But [the Germans] learned [of their coming] and hastily flocked into the cities. Therefore, when [the Lithuanians and Žemaitans] came to the city [of Riga], they met with no success and advanced in the direction of Lotygola. They reached the city of Medvežja Golova, but [again] were unsuccessful and [therefore] returned home, having taken very little booty.

[In the meantime] when the Germans of Torun' heard that all of the Žemaitans [had] marched on Riga, they advanced upon Žemait, [thus] helping their countrymen. They took countless [prisoners], killed [many] others, and thus came home with a great number of captives.

(30. IX. 1288) That year the Great Prince Lestko of Cracow, the son of Kazimir, passed away. The bishop and the abbots, priests, and deacons prepared his body for burial, sang the customary funeral hymns [over it], and interred [it] in the Church of the Holy Trinity in the city of Cracow. And all the people, [both] boyars and simple folk [alike] mourned [his death], weeping bitterly.

(December 1287) 6795 (1287). God visited His sword upon us [as instrument of] His wrath because of the increase of our sins. Telebuga and [Mengu-timur's son] Alguj set out [against the Poles] in great force accompanied by [the following] princes of Rus': Lev, Mstislav, Volodimer, Jurij Lvovič, and many other princes, for at that time the princes of Rus' were Tatar subjects, having been conquered by God's wrath. And thus they all advanced together [against the Poles]. Prince Volodimer, however, was ill [during the march] because an incurable sickness had been sent down upon him by God. Along the way to Poland, they reached the river called Sjan. [There] Prince Volodimer became alarmed that his body had grown [so] weak and sent the [following] message to his brother Mstislav, addressing him thus: "Brother! Behold my illness [and] that I am not able [to beget. Therefore, since] I have no children, I am bequeathing all of my land and cities to you, my own brother, after my [death]. I give [all of] this to you in the presence of the [Tatar] emperors [Telebuga and Alguj]<sup>145</sup> and [their]<sup>146</sup> dignitaries." And Mstislav [gratefully] saluted his brother Volodimer. [Then] Volodimer sent word to his brother Lev and to his nephew Jurij to inform them that he had given his land and cities to his "brother" Mstislav.<sup>147</sup> And Lev [replied] to Volodimer: "You did well to give them to him. [Do you think] that after your death I will be able to demand from him [that which you gave him]? We're all dependent on God. If [He] would only let me keep that which is mine in this [troubled] time!" Then Mstislav sent word to his brother Lev and to his nephew, saying thus: "Behold my brother Volodimer gave me all of his land and cities. If you [, Lev,] would like to claim something after the death of [our] brother, [speak] in the presence of the [Tatar] emperors. [One of them is right here with me]. You can tell me anything you wish." But Lev made no answer to these words.

Then Telebuga entered Poland accompanied by Alguj and all the princes, but they turned back Volodimer because it grieved everyone to see him so sick. He arrived at Volodimer', and all the people rejoiced, seeing their master return safely. [Then] after spending a few days in Volodimer', he spoke [thus to his wife] and boyars: "I would like to get to Ljuboml' because I am vexed [to death] with these heathens. I am a sick man and can no longer argue with them. They have really gotten my goat. Bishop Mark here [will stay] in my place." And he went to Ljuboml' with his wife and court attendants. From Ljuboml' he traveled to Berestja and after spending two days [there] he went to Kamenec. Here in Kamenec his illness kept him in bed, and he said to his wife and servants: "As soon as these heathens leave

our land, we will go [back] to Ljuboml'." After a few days had passed, his attendants, who were on the campaign in Poland with (January 1288) the Tatars, came to him in Kamenec. Volodimer asked them about Telebuga, whether he [had] left the Polish land, and they replied that he had. [Then he inquired whether] his brother[s] Lev and Mstislav and his nephew were safe and sound. And they [told] their master that everyone [including all] his boyars and servants were well and in good health, [whereupon] Volodimer thanked God for [their safe return]. And about [his brother] Mstislav, they said he set out with Telebuga against Lviv and then [added] that [he] was giving the city of Vsevoloz' to the boyars and distributing [Volodimer's] villages. [Thereupon] Volodimer grew very angry at his brother and said: "Behold I am lying ill [in bed], and my brother has made my illness more unbearable. I am still alive, and he is giving away my cities and villages, when he was permitted to distribute [them only] after my [death]." And he sent his envoy with a complaint to his brother Mstislav, saying: "Brother! You have neither taken me prisoner in battle, not taken [my land] by force, nor driven me out of my cities, having come to wage war against me, that you treat me this way. You are [not the only] brother I have. I have another brother, Lev, and [also] a nephew, Jurij. [Yet] of the three of you, I have chosen you alone and have bequeathed all of my land and cities to you after my [death]. But while I am alive, it is [improper for you] to meddle in any [of my affairs]. And I have done this – that is, I have given you my land – [only] because my brother [Lev] and my nephew [are too] proud." [Thereupon] Mstislav [instructed his envoy] to speak [thus] to his brother: "My lord and brother! The land is God's and yours, and the cities are yours. I have no power over them [for] I am your subject. May God allow me to have you as my father, and to serve you faithfully till I die, if you were only well, my lord, [since] I place my most cherished hopes on you." And [Mstislav's] envoy came to Volodimer in Kamenec and delivered [his master's] message, [which] pleased Volodimer greatly.

Afterwards Volodimer left Kamenec and went to Raj. While he was there, he said to his [wife]: "I want to send for my brother Mstislav in order to draw up my last will with him regarding my land and cities [as well as] you, my dear [wife] Olga, and this child, Izjaslava, whom I loved like my own daughter. God did not let me beget my own because of my sins, but for me she was as if my own [wife] bore her, for I have taken her from her mother [when she was still] in diapers and have nursed her." And he sent Jevsegnij – the bishop of Volodimer' – to his brother accompanied by [the voyevoda] Olovjanec with a message requesting his brother to come to him [for] he wanted to draw up his last will regarding everything. Mstislav [visited] him [in] Raj with his boyars and servants, and the bishop of Volodimer' and Borko Olovjanec came [back] with them. Mstislav halted in the courtyard, and his servants [announced] to Volodimer that his brother had come. [Volodimer] was lying ill [in bed, but] when he heard that his

brother had arrived, he raised himself, sat up, and sent for his brother. And [Mstislav] came [into his room] and bowed before him. Volodimer began to inquire about Telebuga, how the campaign went in Poland, and which route he took to leave [that country.] And [Mstislav] told him everything that happened in succession, and [also] discussed many other matters with him. Then Mstislav returned to the courtyard, and Volodimer sent his bishop accompanied by Borko Olovjanec to him, [instructing them] to speak thus to him: "I have summoned you, my brother, because I want to draw up my will with you regarding my land and my cities, my wife, and this child, and I would like to record [all of this] in official documents." And Mstislav addressed his brother's bishop [thus]: "My lord, tell [him this]: 'Brother! Did I [ever] want to claim your land after your death? This was never even on my mind. But when I was in Poland together with Telebuga and Alguj – and my brother Lev and nephew Jurij were also there – you had sent word to me, my lord and brother, that you were bequeathing all of your land and cities [to me] after your death.' " And then Mstislav added to his brother's bishop: "Sir, tell my brother that if it pleases God and him [to make a record of this in official documents, then may God's and his will be done." The bishop [then] returned from Mstislav and related [his words to his master, whereupon] Volodimer ordered his scribe Fedorec<sup>148</sup> to draw up [the following] documents:

## Prince Volodimer's Testaments

(Early February 1288) In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, through the intercession of the prayers of the Blessed Mother and Holy Virgin Mary and the holy angels, I, Prince Volodimer, Vasilko's son and Roman's grandson, bequeath all of my land and cities [as well as] my capital Volodimer' to my brother Mstislav after my [death]. Another document exactly like this one I wrote for my brother, and I still want to draw up [a similar document] for my [wife, the] Princess.

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, through the intercession of the prayers of the Blessed Mother and Holy Virgin Mary and the holy angels, I, Prince Volodimer, Vasilko's son and Roman's grandson am writing this document. Upon my death I give my [wife, the] Princess, the city of Kobryn with its people and the tribute they paid me during my life, which they should continue paying to her after my death. I also give her my village of Gorodel with its taxes; just as its inhabitants were taxed for me from each household [while I was alive], so let them be taxed for my wife after my [death]. And if the prince wants to erect a city, [the inhabitants of

Gorodel] are exempt from labor, but [then] the taxes and Tatar tribute should go to the prince. I also bequeath Sadovoje and Somino to my [wife as well as] the Monastery of the [Holy] Apostles, which I built with my own resources. I also bought the village of Berezoviči from Fedorok Davidovič Jurjevič<sup>148</sup> paying fifty grivnas worth of marten, five cubits of scarlet cloth and [several] suits of plate armor for it. [Then] I presented this [village] to the [Monastery of the Holy] Apostles. And if after my death my wife wants to become a nun, then let her, but if she does not, then [let her do] whatever pleases her. I will not rise [from my grave] to see what [anyone] is doing, after [I am gone].

Then Volodimer sent [an envoy] to his brother, saying thus: "My brother Mstislav! Swear by kissing the cross that after my death you will not take anything from my [wife] that I have given her nor from this child Izjaslava, and that you will not give [Izjaslava] in marriage to anyone against her will, but only to [the one] of my wife's choosing. [To him alone] you will give her in marriage." And Mstislav [instructed the envoy] to reply [thus]: "My lord and brother! God forbid that I should take anything from your [wife], the Princess, and this child after your death. May God allow me to have my sister-in-law as my esteemed mother and to honor her [as such]. And as for this child about whom you speak [thus], may God allow me to give her in marriage as my own daughter, if God grant it to her;" and he swore to this by kissing the cross. And [all that] took place during the week of St. Fedor. After drawing up this will with his brother, [Mstislav] went to Volodimer'. Upon his arrival, he entered the cathedral – the Church of the Blessed Mother – and summoned his brother's boyars of Volodimer' and the (February 1288) Rus'ian and German inhabitants of the city. [Then] he ordered his brother's document dealing with the bequeathal of the land and all the cities [including] the capital city of Volodimer' to be read before everyone, and they all listened both young and old alike. Jevsegnij – the bishop of Volodimer' – blessed Mstislav with a raised cross for his reign in Volodimer'. [Mstislav], wanted [to occupy the throne of] Volodimer' immediately, but his brother would not let him [reminding him] that he could begin his reign only after his death. After spending several days in Volodimer', Mstislav went to his cities of Luck and Duben [as well as] other cities, which I have not recorded, [while] Volodimer [returned] from Raj to Ljuboml', [where] he lay ill the entire winter, sending his attendants hunting [far and wide], for he was a good and courageous hunter himself. [While stalking] wild boar(s) or bears he never waited for his [attendants' help], but quickly killed every beast himself. He had become famous for this throughout the entire land because God gave him good fortune not only during the hunt, but also in everything [that he did], for he was a good and just man. But let us return to our former narration:

(Summer 1288) When summer came, Volodimer's kinsman, Prince Kon-



drat, the son of Somovit, heard that he gave all of his land and cities [to Mstislav] and sent his envoy to [him], saying: "My lord and kinsman! You took the place of my father when you graciously took me under your [protective] hand. [Only] thanks to you, my lord, have I reigned [on my throne] and held on to my cities, defending myself from my brothers [and presenting myself as a formidable foe.] And now my lord, I have heard that you have given all of your land and cities to your brother Mstislav. But I place my hope in God and you. If you would only send your envoy with my envoy to your brother Mstislav, my lord, to ask him to take me under his [protective] hand as a favor to you and to take my side [if I am wronged], just as you, my lord, used to stand by me, [whenever I was wronged.]" And Volodimer sent [his envoy] to his brother Mstislav [with the following words]: "You yourself know how I have treated my kinsman Kondrat, bestowing [great] honor upon him, lavishing gifts upon him, and taking his side [whenever he was wronged] as if this were a personal injury to me. Receive him lovingly under your [protective] hand for my sake, and stand by him [whenever he is wronged]." And Mstislav gladly promised his brother Volodimer to protect [Kondrat] for his sake and swore to God that he would even lay down his life for him should he be wronged. Afterwards Mstislav sent [a courier] to Volodimer [expressing his desire before God and his brother to meet with Kondrat and requesting instructions what he should do. And Volodimer gave his permission for them to see each other. Thereupon], Mstislav sent his envoy to Kondrat [informing him] that he wanted to see him [and inviting Kondrat] to visit him. [Then] Mstislav's envoy came to Volodimer and related Mstislav's message [to Kondrat, whereupon Volodimer] was greatly pleased.

Afterwards Kondrat went to [visit] Mstislav and arrived [in] Berestja, and then he went to Ljuboml'. (September 1288) [There] his servants [announced] to Volodimer: "Master, your kinsman Kondrat has arrived", and he ordered [Kondrat] to come to [his room]. Kondrat reached [the room] where [Volodimer] lay ill suffering greatly, walked in, bowed, and began to weep bitterly at the sight of his illness and the wasting away of his [once] beautiful body. After discussing many matters with his kinsman, about which we wrote previously, [Kondrat retired] to the courtyard [where] Volodimer sent him his good steed. [Kondrat] dined [in Ljuboml'] and then went to Volodimer', [from which] he [went on] to Luck. He arrived in Luck, but Mstislav was not there. [However, he was] nearby in a city called Gaj. This city was beautiful to behold, having been embellished by [many] different buildings. It had a wondrous church which sparkled in its beauty, and that is why the prince liked to spend his time in this city. [Thus] Kondrat left Luck and went to Gaj, [where] Mstislav met him with his boyars and attendants, receiving him under his [protective] hand with honor and love as he had promised Volodimer, saying: "Just as my brother treated you, bestowing great honor upon you and lavishing you with gifts, so may God permit me

to treat you – honoring you [as he did], showering you with gifts, and standing by your side [whenever you are wronged].” And after this they began to make merry. [Then] Mstislav presented Kondrat with beautiful horses, marvelous saddles, expensive garments, and many other gifts and let him go with [great] honor.

After Kondrat's departure from Ljuboml', the Pole Jartak came galloping from Ljublin, and [Volodimer's servants] announced to [him] that Jartak had arrived. [However, Volodimer] did not order him [to appear] before him, but [requested his wife], the princess, to go and ask him why he had come. [Thereupon] the princess sent for [Jartak], and he came to her in great haste. She [informed] him that the prince [wanted him to tell her the reason for his arrival] and he replied that Prince Lestko was dead. (30. IX. 1288) Volodimer was [greatly] moved and wept for him. [In the meantime Jartak told the princess] that the inhabitants of Ljublin had sent him, for they wanted Prince Kondrat to reign in Cracow and that he wanted to find Kondrat as quickly as possible, no matter where he was. The princess entered [her husband's room] and related Jartak's message, [whereupon] Volodimer ordered that he be given a [fresh] horse, for his horses had become exhausted. [Jartak] galloped away, found [Kondrat] in Volodimer', and informed him that Prince Lestko was dead, and the inhabitants of Ljublin had sent him to ask him to come and rule over them [in] Cracow. Kondrat was [overjoyed and delighted at the prospect of] ruling in Cracow, left immediately, and came to Ljuboml', for he wanted [his kinsman's advice in this matter.] However, Volodimer would not let him come [to his room], but [asked] his [wife], the princess, to go and speak with him, and [then] to dismiss him [and tell him] to go away [since] they had nothing [to discuss]. But the princess came into [Volodimer's room] and told him that his kinsman Kondrat [insisted] that he send his [voyevoda] Dunaj with him so that he could leave with honor. And he left for Ljublin in great (early October 1288) haste [accompanied by Dunaj]. However, when he came to Ljublin, the Poles locked the city and would not let [him] in. [Therefore] Kondrat made camp in a [monastery] on a hill [nearby] and sent an envoy to the inhabitants [of Ljublin inquiring] why they had summoned him [and then] lock[ed] the city [in his face]. But [they] replied: “We have neither brought you here nor sent for you. [Our allegiance is to] Cracow, for our voyevodas and the great boyars are there. When you reign in Cracow, then we will be ready to be your subjects.” Then they told Kondrat that an army was marching toward the city. They thought it was a Lithuanian army and became frightened. Kondrat ran to the monk's tower with his boyars and attendants and Volodimer's [voyevoda] Dunaj at his side. When the army drew near the city, they saw that it was a Rus'ian army, and Kondrat asked its soldiers who [their] voyevoda was. They replied that it was Prince Jurij Lvovič, and he wanted Ljublin and [the land around it] for himself. Jurij approached the city, but the inhabitants would not surrender [it] and

made [active] preparations for battle. But Jurij recognized their deception when they said: "O prince! You are riding into trouble, [for] you have a small army. If many Poles come, you will be greatly disgraced."

Upon hearing these words, Jurij dispersed his army to pillage [the outskirts of Ljublin]. They took much booty and burned grain and villages, so that nothing remained even in the forests [so thoroughly did the soldiers reduce everything to ashes]. And thus [Jurij] returned home with much booty [consisting of] serfs, cattle, and horses [while] Kondrat went [back] greatly disgraced. It would have been better had he not remained alive. Afterwards there was great discord in the Polish land.

(Late October 1288) 6796 (1288). [Then] Jurij Lvovič sent his envoy to his uncle Prince Volodimer, saying: "My lord and uncle! [Both] God and you know how faithfully I have served you. I treated you like my own father so that you would take pity on me for my service. And now, my lord, my father has sent [an envoy] to me and is taking from me the cities he had given me, [namely], Belz, Červen, and Xolm, and bids me [reside] in Doro-hyčyn and Melnica. I appeal to God and to you, [my lord and uncle], to give me Berestja [so that] I'd have [at least] half [of what I had before]." But Volodimer [instructed] the envoy [to reply]: "Nephew, I will not give [you Berestja]. You yourself know that I am not two-faced and that I have never been a liar. God and [everyone on this earth] knows that I cannot break my will, which I have made with my brother Mstislav. I have bequeathed all of my land and cities to him and have drawn up documents [stating this]." And with these words he dispatched his nephew's envoy. Then Volodimer sent his good and faithful servant – called Ratša – to his brother Mstislav [instructing him to speak thus to him]: "My nephew Jurij had sent [an envoy] to me asking me for Berestja. I did not give him a [single] city or village and you should not give him anything either." And taking some straw from his bed in his hand he [also instructed Ratša to tell his brother] that even if he were to give him this handful of straw, he should not give even that to anyone after his death. Ratša found Mstislav in Stožesk and transmitted his brother's message to him. Mstislav welcomed his brother's words, saying: "You are [indeed both] my brother and father King Danilo to me since you have received me under your [protective] hand. Whatever you bid me [do], I will gladly obey you, my lord." After bestowing many gifts upon Ratša, [Mstislav] dismissed him, and he [went back] and related everything to Volodimer in the order [that it occurred].

Then Lev sent the bishop of Peremyšl', called Memnon, to Volodimer. [Volodimer's] servants [announced his arrival to their master], and he inquired where he was from. They replied that he was from Peremyšl' and had been sent to see him by his brother Lev. Volodimer [was only too aware of everything that happened in his land not to realize] why he arrived and sent [his servant] for him. He entered his room, bowed before him to the very ground, and said: "Your brother sends you his regards", and [Volo-

dimer] bade him sit down. [The bishop immediately] began to fulfill his diplomatic mission, [relating his brother's message to him]: "Lord! Your uncle and my father King Danilo lies [buried] in Xolm in the Church of the Blessed Mother as do his sons – [our] brothers, Roman and Švarno. All their bones lie [buried] there. And now, my brother, we [have heard] of your grave illness. If only you would not put out the candle over the grave of your uncle and your brothers, but would bequeath your city of Berestja [to me]. This would be your candle [on their grave]." Volodimer understood the allegory and his vague words [, but he did not answer immediately. Instead] he spoke with the bishop for a long time [on topics] from the Holy Scriptures, for he was a great bibliophile and philosopher, the like of which there had never been in all the land, nor will there ever be after his death. [Finally] he told the bishop [to say this to his brother, Prince Lev]: "Do you think I am [so] stupid that I could not [see through] your [attempt to deceive me]? Is your land too small for you that you also want Berestja? You have been ruling over three principalities – those of Halyč, Peremyšl', and Belz. Is that not enough for you? My father and your uncle lies [buried] in the Cathedral of the Blessed Mother in Volodimer'. Have you placed many candles [on his grave?] Have you given any city to serve as a candle [on his grave?] Before you asked through the living and now you ask through the dead. I tell you, I will not give you [a single] city, nor will you take any village from me. I will not give you [anything, because] I know your cunning [ways]." And [then] Volodimer gave [the bishop] many gifts and dismissed him, for he had never visited him before.

The great Prince Volodimer Vasil'kovič lay ill for four years. We will [now] give a description of his illness:

[At first] his lower lip began to decay. The first year it decomposed [very] little, but the second and third years [much] more. While he was not yet very ill and could walk and ride a horse, he distributed his wealth to the poor. All the gold and silver, precious stones, and gold and silver belts of his father [as well as] his own which he had accumulated while his father was still alive – all this he gave away [to the poor]. Large silver vessels and gold and silver goblets he [ordered to be] smashed, melted down, [and made] into grivnas<sup>149</sup> in his presence [as well as] the large golden necklaces of his grandmother and mother – all this he [had] melted down and sent as alms throughout the land. And his herds of horses he distributed to poor people who had no horses, and to those who [lost members of their family] during Telebuga's campaign. But who can really describe the many unselfish acts of mercy and wondrous generosity which you showed to the poor, to orphans, to the sick, to widows, to the needy, and to all those who required mercy? For you have heard the Voice of the Lord to King Nebuchadnezzar: "O king, let my counsel be acceptable unto thee [and break off thy sins by righteousness and] thine iniquities [by showing] mercy to the poor."

And having heard [these words], O venerable one, you turned [them] into

deeds – giving [alms] to those that ask, clothing the naked, satisfying the thirsty and the hungry, [giving] every comfort to the sick, and bailing debtors out of prison. Your generosity and acts of mercy are remembered today [by all] men, but [especially by] God and His Angels. Because of these acts of mercy, [which are most pleasing in the eyes of God], you may indeed dare to call yourself a steadfast servant of Christ. I am supported in this by the words: “Clemency is praiseworthy in court, but mercy is the mark of a [perfect?] man.” But more appropriate are the words of Our Lord himself: “Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.” We will [also] cite other more elucidating and accurate testimony about you from the Holy Scriptures, which was stated by the Apostle James: “Whoever brings back a sinner from the error of his way, will save his soul [from death] and will cover a multitude of sins.” You have built many churches [for Christ] and [filled them with] His servants, for you are the counterpart of Constantine the Great, equal [to him] in mind, in your love for Christ, and in honoring His servants. With the Holy Fathers of the Nicaean Council he established law for [all] men, and you met often with your bishops and abbots and humbly discussed many topics from the Holy Scriptures dealing with life in this perishable world. But let us return to our former narration:

As the fourth year was coming to a close and winter [had] set in, [Voldimer's illness became worse]. All his flesh parted from his chin, his lower teeth rotted away completely, and his lower jaw [also] decayed. He was [indeed] the second Job. He walked into the church of the great martyr of Christ – St. George – desiring to receive Holy Communion from his father confessor and entered the [side-] altar, where the priests would take off their chasubles, for he used to stand there [during the Divine Liturgy.] He sat down on a stool, since he could not stand because of his illness, and raising his hands to heaven, he prayed with tears [in his eyes]: “My Lord God! Look down upon my illness and see my humility, which have overcome me now, for I suffer placing my hope in you. But I thank you for all this, my Lord God. [Since] I received many good things from you during my life, why should I not also endure misfortune? Since it pleases your omnipotence, so let it be! You have humbled my soul; [now] make me a participant of your kingdom through the prayers of your Blessed Mother, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs, and all the venerable Holy Fathers since they too suffered [for you] and in pleasing you were tested by the Devil, like gold in a crucible. Therefore through the intercession of their prayers add me [also] to your chosen flock of righteous sheep.”<sup>150</sup> [Then] he returned from church, lay down, and no longer went anywhere [for his illness became even worse]. All his flesh parted from his chin and the bone had decayed [to such an extent] that one could see his larynx. And for seven weeks he did not take anything except water and that very little. By nightfall Thursday he began to fail in strength, and when it was time for the cock to crow, he knew that his spirit was failing to allow his soul to leave [his body], and looking up

at Heaven and giving praise to the Lord, he said: "Immortal God! I glorify you for everything, for you alone are truly everyone's King, delighting every living creature with your great riches. For you created this world, and guard over it, awaiting [the return of] souls, which you [had] sent out, in order to honor those who have led a good life and to pass sentence on those who would not obey your commandments, for your judgment is just, life [given] by you – everlasting, and you show mercy to all those who come to you." He finished his prayers, raised his hands to heaven, and surrendered his soul to God, thus joining his ancestors and repaying a common debt, which no person born [into this world] can escape. Friday at dawn the pious and Christ-loving Great Prince Volodimer, Vasilko's son and Roman's grandson passed away, having reigned twenty years after his father. He died in the city of Ljuboml' . . .

(1288) 6797 (1289) . . . December tenth, the feastday of the Holy Father Mina. His [wife] and court attendants bathed him and wrapped him in velvet cloth with lace trimming as befits a king. Then he was put on a sled and taken to Volodimer'. The inhabitants [of Ljuboml'] – both young and old, men, women, and children – accompanied their master [on his last journey], weeping bitterly. He was brought to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mother in Volodimer' and placed [together with] the sled within the church, because it was [very] late.

That same evening [everyone in the city] learned of the prince's death. The next day after attending morning services, his [wife], the princess, his sister Olga, and Princess Olena the nun<sup>151</sup> came [to him], weeping bitterly. And [then] the entire city assembled, all the boyars both young and old, and [everyone] mourned [his death]. Jevsegnij the Bishop of Volodimer', all the abbots [among them] Ogapit – the abbot of the Pečera Monastery [in Kiev], and the priests from the entire city sang the customary [funeral] hymns over [his body] and conducted him [to his final resting place] eulogizing his good deeds in song and [filling the air] with the sweet scent of incense. They placed his body in his father's tomb. He was mourned by the Volodimerians, who remembered his generosity to them. But even more he was mourned by his servants who performed their last service for him preparing his body [for burial], tears streaming down their faces, and [inter-ring it] on Saturday the eleventh day of December, the feastday of St. Daniel Stolpnik. His [wife], the princess, wept incessantly, standing [over] his grave, her tears streaming down like water, and speaking thus [through her tears]: "My good, gentle, humble, and just king! Verily was the name Ivan given to you at baptism, for you are indeed like him in all your goodness. Many times you were wronged by your relatives, my lord, but never did I see you repay their evil with evil, for you lived relying in everything on God."<sup>152</sup> Most of all, however, he was mourned by the most prominent men of Volodimer', who said: "Lord! It would be [better] for us to die with you, [for] you gave us as much freedom as your grandfather Roman, who had relieved

us from all burdens. And you had emulated [your grandfather], following [the example set by him.] Now we can no longer bear to look upon you, lord, for our sun has set for us, and we remain [helpless] before everyone's oppression."<sup>153</sup> Thus he was mourned by the entire vast [population of Volodimer'] – men, women, and children, [among them] Germans, Surozians, men of Novgorodok, and Jews, [who] wept as during the fall of Jerusalem, when they were led into Babylonian captivity [as well as] beggars, nuns, and monks, for he showed mercy to all the poor.

This pious Prince Volodimer was of tall stature, broad-shouldered, and had a handsome face and flaxen curly hair. He shaved his beard and had [well-formed] arms and legs, a deep voice, and a heavy lower lip. He spoke clearly [on topics] from the Holy Scriptures, for he was a great philosopher. He was [also] an adroit hunter and a courageous, gentle, meek, forgiving, and just [man]. He neither took bribes nor lied, despised larceny, and did not drink [alcoholic] beverages from his youth. He loved everyone, but most of all his cousins, and [never swore a false oath, for] he was filled with the fear of the Lord. He devoted himself to almsgiving, looked after monasteries, consoled monks, and received all abbots with [great] love. He built many monasteries, [for] God had opened his heart and eyes to the Church and its clergy. He did not dull his mind with drunkenness, but provided food for monks, nuns, and the poor, and was the beloved [patron] of each [religious] order. But he showed his compassion best through charity, for he heard the [Voice of the Lord]: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto [one of the] least of [these] my brethren, ye have done it unto me." And David said as well: "Blessed is the man who shows mercy and gives [alms] the whole day, [for] he will not err in the Lord."<sup>154</sup> Courage and reason resided within him, while justice and truth marched at his side. He also had many other virtues: There was no pride in him, because pride is condemned by God and man. He always humbled his appearance with a grief-stricken heart, sighing from [its inner reaches], tears streaming from his eyes. [Thus he imitated] David's repentance, weeping for his sins, for he grew to love eternity more than transience, heavenly [bliss] more than temporary [existence on earth] and the kingdom of God the Creator and His saints more than this fleeting earthly kingdom.

And it has pleased God to make you a herald of honor in heaven because of your devotion [for which you were known] during your life. A good witness to your devotion, [O blessed one, who art now in heaven] is the Holy Church of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, which your grandfather built on the orthodox foundation and where your valorous body [now] rests, awaiting the archangel's trumpet. A very good witness is your brother Mstislav whom God made heir of your power, who does not destroy your laws, but strengthens them; who does not diminish the institutions of your piety, but increases them; who does not undo, but creates; who finishes that which you have left unfinished, as Solomon [finished the works begun]

by David; who built a great and holy temple of God with his wisdom that it may hallow and purify your city; and who embellished [it] with all manner of beautiful things – with gold and silver and precious stones and with sacred vessels [so that it] is a wonder to and renowned in all surrounding lands. Another like it cannot be found from east to west in all the northern land. And [as for] your famous city of Volodimer', [crowned with magnificence], he [dedicated it] and [its] people to the holy and glorious Mother of God, [who is always] ready to come to the aid of Christians, so that the Archangel [Gabriel would greet it as he had greeted the Virgin]. For [he had said] to her: "Hail, O favored one, the Lord is with you," and to the city [he will say]: "Hail, faithful city, the Lord is with you."

Arise from your grave, O venerated leader; arise and shake off your sleep for you are not dead, but [only] sleep to the [day of final] resurrection. Arise, for you are not dead, for it is not right that you should die having believed in Christ, who gave life to the whole world. Shake off your sleep and raise up your eyes that you might see in what honor it has pleased the Lord to place you there, but even on this earth He did not leave you forgotten through your brother Mstislav. Arise and behold your brother, embellishing the throne of your land,<sup>155</sup> and becoming satiated with the sweet appearance of his face, pray for your brother's land, [which you bequeathed to him], and for the people over whom he piously [rules] that [through your prayers] you preserve them in peace and piety, that he preserve the orthodox faith, and that God protect [him] from every war, betrayal, hunger, foreign invasion, and internecine feud. But [most of all] pray for your brother Mstislav that when he has finished his reign over the people [entrusted] to him by God, he might stand by your side unashamed and without sin with his good deeds before the throne of God his Creator and for the labor of his flock of people to accept from Him the crown of eternal glory with all the righteous. Amen.

Look also upon your pious [wife], the princess, [and see] how she preserves her devotion in accordance with your tradition and how she [glorifies] your name, [for] she knows that although not in body then in spirit [you are shown] all of this [by the Lord that you might see] that your [good] seed has not withered [in] the intense heat of unbelief, but has blossomed into abundant fruit through the rain of God's assistance.<sup>156</sup>

Hail, O teacher and guide of [our] devotion! [For] you were clothed in justice, girded with strength, adorned with mercy as with a beautiful golden necklace, swaddled in truth, and married to wisdom. O venerated leader, you were the clothing for the naked, nourishment for the hungry, instruction to those thirsting [for] the manger [of Christ], succor of widows, shelter for travelers, defense of the defenseless, protector of those that were wronged, [ameliorator] of the poor, and gracious host of foreigners. For these and other good deeds you will [now] receive your [just] rewards in heaven which God prepared for those who love the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.



During his reign Prince Volodimer built many cities after his father [passed away. First] he built Berestja and [then] a city in a deserted region known as Lestnja [which he] called Kamenec because of its rocky [foundation. In this city] he built a stone tower seventeen sages in height, which was wondrous to behold, and the Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, adorning it with beautiful icons. He [ordered] the forging of silver vessels for the Liturgy [which he donated to this church together with] the Aprakos Gospels bound in silver, the Aprakos Epistles, the Book of Parables, his father's collection of prayers for the deceased, and a raised cross. He also provided icons and [sacred] books [for] the church in Belsk. And in Volodimer' he decorated all [the walls and the ceiling] of the Church of St. Demetrius with frescoes, had silver vessels forged for the Liturgy and placed the icon of the Blessed Mother in a frame made of silver and precious stones [set off] by [a pair of] gold-sewn and [a pair of] velvet drapes with tiny pearls [and decorated] with [other] embellishments. He framed the great icon of the Saviour in the cathedral church of the Blessed Mother in silver and [then] copied the Gospels, binding them [also] in silver, and donated them to the [cathedral]. [In addition] he copied the Aprakos Epistles [which he presented to it as well] together with [sacred] vessels made of pure gold and precious stones. And to his Monastery of the [Holy] Apostles he [similarly] gave the Aprakos Gospels [as well as] the Epistles, [which] he copied himself and [a copy of] his father's thick collection [of prayers for the dead], a raised cross, and a prayerbook. The Cathedral of Peremyšl' also received the Aprakos Gospels from [Prince Volodimer] in silver binding [adorned] with pearls and [copied by the prince] himself [as did] the Cathedral of Černigov [except that the latter's copy] was written in gold [letters] and in the middle [on its front cover] the Saviour was depicted in enamel. And to the Cathedral of Luck he gave a large gilded silver cross containing a relic of the Holy Cross.

He also built many [other] churches. In Ljuboml' he built a stone church to the great and holy martyr of Christ [St.] George, decorated it with icons [placed] in silver frames, and had silver vessels forged for the Liturgy. [These he provided with] velvet covers [adorned with] cherubim and seraphim sewn with gold [thread and embellished] with pearls. [He also donated] one altar cloth fully embroidered in gold and another one made of an expensive whitish [?] fabric [as well as two smaller ones] for the [side] altars [also of the same] fabric. He copied the Aprakos Gospels [again], put binding on them made of gold, precious stones, and pearls, and [placed] a gold [engraving] of the Crucifixion [on the front cover, adorned] with large enamel ornamentations which were wondrous to behold. [There was also] another [copy of the] Aprakos Gospels [donated by the prince] the cover of which was made of olovir.<sup>157</sup> He placed an enamel engraving [on its face depicting] the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb. [Then] he copied the Aprakos Epistles, the short lives of the saints for [each] month [of the year,

containing] the vitae of the Holy Fathers and stories about the Holy Martyrs – how they received their crown [of salvation, shedding] their blood for Christ – [as well as] the twelve minaea, the triodia, octoedhoi, and irmologia, and the Missal of St. George. The evening and morning prayers he copied separately from a prayer book, [which] he bought from the archpriest's wife, paying eight grivnas worth of marten for it, and bequeathed it to the Church of St. George [together with] two censers, one made of silver and one of copper, and a raised cross. [In addition] he painted an icon of St. George against a gold background on both sides of the iconostasis and placed a golden necklace [studded] with pearls [on each icon]. [An icon of] the Blessed Mother, [which was also] painted against a gold background and [around which] a necklace made of gold and precious stones [was hung, was similarly] placed on both sides of the iconostasis. He had the [church] gates cast of copper and had begun to decorate [all the walls and the ceiling] with frescoes. He [managed to do only] the three altars and [had begun] the ceiling under the cupolas, but did not finish it, for his illness caught him by surprise. He also cast the [church] bells, which rang so beautifully that no others like them could be found in all the land. And in Berestja he built a stone tower as high as the one in Kamenec and the Church of St. Peter, [to which he] donated the Aprakos Gospels in silver binding together with silver vessels [which he had] forged for the Liturgy, silver censers, and a raised cross. He performed many other good deeds during his life [for which he was famous] in all the land. And here we will finish [describing] Volodimer's reign.

This pious Prince Volodimer, the son of Vasilko, who was given the name Ivan during Holy Baptism, was placed in his tomb and his body lay [there still not (December 11, 1288) permanently sealed] from the eleventh day of the month of December to the sixth day of the month of (April 6, 1289) April. His [wife], the princess, could not be consoled, came accompanied by Bishop Jevsegnij and all the clergy [to her husband's tomb] and opening [it] saw that his body was [still] white and [had not decomposed] and that a fragrant smell, resembling spices of great value, was emanating from his tomb. And thus she witnessed a miracle, and when [those with her] saw it, they praised God and sealed his tomb on Wednesday of [Holy] Week, the sixth day of the month of April.

## The beginning of the reign of Great Prince Mstislav in Volodimer'

(April 7-8, 1289) 6797 (1289). Prince Mstislav did not come [on time] for the interment of the body of his brother Volodimer. He arrived after

[the funeral] accompanied by his boyars and servants, went to the Cathedral of the Blessed Mother, where his brother Volodimer was interred and wept very bitterly over his tomb as [he did] for his father the king. [Finally] composing himself, he began sending his garrisons to all the cities [bequeathed to him by Volodimer]. However, when he was about to send [them] to Berestja, Kamenec, and Belsk, he learned that Jurij's garrisons were already [there]. The inhabitants of Berestja had rebelled when Prince Volodimer was still ill. They went to Prince Jurij, kissed a crucifix and swore that [the moment] his uncle passed away, they and [their] city would be his and he would be their prince. When Volodimer passed away and Jurij learned of his uncle's [death], he went to Berestja and began to reign [there] upon the advice of his foolhardy young boyars and the rebellious inhabitants of Berestja. [Thereupon Mstislav's] own boyars and the boyars of his brother said [to him]: "Lord! Your nephew has shamed you greatly. God, your brother, and the prayer[s] of your grandfather and father gave you [these cities]. Master, we [are ready to] lay down our [lives] for you and our children. First go and occupy his cities of Belz and Červen, and then you can [take] Berestja." But Prince Mstislav had a kind heart and told the boyars that God forbid he should spill innocent blood and that he would rectify [the matter] with God[']s help] and the blessing of his brother (spring 1289) Volodimer. And he sent envoys to his nephew, saying: "Nephew! If you had not been on the campaign [in Poland] and had not heard [Volodimer make me his heir, then your action could be justified]. But you yourself, your father, and the whole army heard very well that my brother Volodimer bequeathed all of his land and cities to me after his death in the presence of the [Tatar] emperors [Telebuga and Alguj] and [their] dignitaries. And [in addition Volodimer and I] informed you [and your father of this]. If you wanted something, why did you not speak with me at that time before the emperors? Tell me whether it was of your own will or by your father's command that you began to reign in Berestja so that I might know that this blood will not be on me but on the guilty. For God and the Holy Cross are on [the side of] the just. Should you remain [in my cities], I will summon the Tatars. If you will not leave on friendly terms, then you will have to go [by force]." Then he sent the bishop of Volodimer' to his brother Lev [with instructions to speak thus to him]: "I will bring my complaint to God and you because God's will you are my oldest brother. Tell me truthfully whether it was by your command, my brother, or of his own free will that your son began to reign in Berestja. For if it were by your command that he did this, then I tell you quite frankly that I have sent for the Tatars and am readying my troops myself. And when God settles my dispute with [both of] you, the blood [that will be shed] shall not be on me, but on the guilty – on the one that has acted unjustly." Lev was greatly frightened by this, for the bitter taste of Telebuga's campaign [was still in his mouth], and [instructed his brother's bishop to say the following to his master]: "God

alone knows that my son did not do this with my knowledge but [on his own because of the rashness of his youth.] But do not worry about this, brother. I am sending [a courier to my son requesting him to] leave the city [immediately]." The bishop [returned] to Mstislav and related his brother's words [which] pleased [him] greatly. Then Mstislav quickly sent couriers after Jurij, the prince of Poros'je, with instructions to turn him back, for he had sent him to bring the Tatars against his nephew. At that time Jurij of Poros'je served Mstislav, but before this he [had] served Volodimer. When Prince Lev heard [that the Tatars were about to be summoned], he sent his tutor's son Semen to his [own] son, [Prince Jurij, commanding] him: "Leave the city and [save] the land [from destruction]. My brother has sent for the Tatars. If you will not go away, I will aid my brother against you, and if I should happen to die, I will bequeath all of my land after my [death] to my brother Mstislav [instead of] you, because you do not obey me, your [own] father." [Thus] Semen went to [Prince] Jurij, and Mstislav sent [his envoy] Pavlo Deonis'evič to accompany him, for the latter had [just] visited Lev and [knew every detail of the dispute]. He also sent along his father confessor and instructed Pavlo to prepare food and drink for him [in Berestja as soon as] his nephew left and to [do] the same in Kamenec. [And thus] Semen came to Jurij and related his father's message, and the next morning Jurij left the city in great shame. [Before this, however,] he pillaged all of his uncle's buildings so that not one stone remained upon another in Berestja, Kamenec, and Bel'sk.

[Then] Pavlo informed his master Mstislav that his nephew had already left and that he could [now] come to his city. Mstislav set out for Berestja, and as he was approaching the city, its inhabitants – both old and young alike – came out to meet him with crosses [in their hands], welcoming their master with great joy. The Berestians that led the rebellion followed [Prince] Jurij to Dorohyčyn, for he [had] kissed a crucifix [by which he swore] that he would not betray them to his uncle. After spending a few days in Berestja, Mstislav went to Kamenec and Belsk [where] all the people were glad to see him. He took an oath of allegiance from the people [of Belsk and Kamenec], left a garrison [in both cities], and arriving [again] in Berestja asked his boyars whether the city had a hunter's tax, and they told their master that there had not been [a hunter's tax in Berestja] since time immemorial. [Thereupon] Mstislav replied: "Then I levy a hunter's tax on [its inhabitants] now because of their insurrection that I might not see their blood [on the execution block]," and he ordered his scribe to draw up [the following] document:

Behold I, Prince Mstislav, the king's son and Roman's grandson, am levying a hunter's tax on the Berestians forever because of their rebellion. [It will consist of] about two hundred kegs of mead, two sheep, one hundred and fifty [bales of] flax, one hundred [loaves of] bread, five tubs of oats,

five tubs of rye, and twenty chickens per each hundred [households] and four grivnas worth of marten from [each] inhabitant. And whoever violates my decree, will [answer to] me before God.

[And thus] I have written [an account] of their rebellion into this chronicle.

Prince Mstislav ascended the throne of his brother (April 10, 1289) Volodimer the tenth day of the month of April – exactly on Easter Sunday. [And thus] he began to reign after his brother, [dispensing] justice to his brethren, boyars, and simple people. And all the people rejoiced greatly, [for they celebrated both] the Lord's Resurrection and the prince's ascension [to the throne of Volodimer']. He lived in peace with the surrounding lands – the Poles, the Germans, and the Lithuanians – ruling over his land, [which extended] from the Tatars to the Poles and the Lithuanians. At that time the Lithuanian prince Budivid and his brother [Budikid] (spring or summer 1289) gave Prince Mstislav their city of Volkovyjsk so that he would live in peace with them. [Then] strengthening the garrison in Berestja, [Mstislav] went to Volodimer', [where upon his arrival] he was greeted by a countless number of his old and young boyars. At that time [the Mazovian] prince, Kondrat, the son of (summer 1289) Somovit, had also come to Mstislav, requesting aid against the Poles, for he wished to march against the principality of Sdomir. Mstislav promised [to help Kondrat], and bestowing many gifts upon him and his boyars, dismissed him, [pledging] to send his army in his footsteps. When Kondrat left, Mstislav assembled his army and dispatched it [to help his ally] after designating Čjudin as its voyevoda. And thus Prince Kondrat began to reign in Sdomir thanks to the king's son, Prince Mstislav and his assistance.

(Winter 1288/89) 6798 (1290). After Lestko, Kondrat's brother, Boleslav, the son of Somovit, ascended the throne of Cracow. But [then] Indrix [IV], the prince of Wrocław,<sup>158</sup> came and drove him away, wishing to rule himself. [Thereupon] Boleslav gathered his army and his brothers Kondrat and Lokotko and advanced against Indrix [in] Cracow. [However,] Indrix would not wait for their arrival and set out for Wrocław.<sup>158</sup> In Cracow he [left] his garrison [made up of] Germans [who were] his best retainers. He promised them costly gifts and land and [asked them to swear by] the Cross that they would not surrender the city to Boleslav, and they kissed [the crucifix] vowing that they would lay down their lives for him but would not relinquish the city. And Indrix left them abundant supplies. When Boleslav arrived with his brothers, he rode into the city, but his soldiers could not enter the citadel, because [the defendants] fired catapults and crossbows ferociously from it, and that is why it was impossible to [assault the citadel. Therefore] they besieged it, taking their provisions from the [surrounding] villages. And once it was even necessary to go for supplies a great distance from the city. The inhabitants would not fight on Boleslav's side against

the soldiers in the citadel, but simply stated that whoever [won the throne of] Cracow, would be their prince. And thus they besieged the citadel a whole year, engaging in skirmishes outside [it], but had no success in taking it.

(July, 1289) 6799 (1291). [Then] Mstislav's brother Prince Lev – the king's son and Roman's grandson – set out to aid Boleslav in person. When he came to Cracow, Boleslav, Kondrat, and Lokotko welcomed him, as if [he were] their own father, because Lev was a wise a valorous prince [who was] strong in battle, having shown great courage in many engagements. Lev began riding around the citadel [looking for some weak spot where it could be stormed] and frightening its defenders, but it was impossible [to find any], for [the citadel] was built entirely of stone and was well-protected by catapults and large and small revolving crossbows. Then he returned to his camp. The next morning at sunrise he rose and advanced upon [the city of] Tynec. A battle ensued outside [the city] and [it] was almost taken. Many of [its] inhabitants were killed and others wounded, but all [of Lev's soldiers] were unharmed. [Then] Lev returned to Cracow and ordered his troops and the Poles to prepare for battle, for he wanted to storm the citadel. And they all advanced [together] and approached its ramparts [where] both [sides] met in fierce battle. [In the heat of the encounter, however,] Prince Lev learned that a great army was marching against him and ordered a halt to the [assault upon the citadel]. He began to array his regiments in battle formation [to meet the new enemy], and Boleslav and Kondrat [did the same] with theirs. [Then] he dispatched his vanguards to reconnoitre the enemy, but [it turned out that] there was nothing [to fear, for the enemy were] the Polish voyevodas themselves [who] were frightening him to keep the citadel from being taken. Perceiving their treachery, Lev conferred with his boyars for a long while and [then] sent his army to Wrocław<sup>158</sup> to pillage Indrix's lands.<sup>159</sup> They captured countless servants, cattle, horses, and supplies, because no army had [ever] penetrated so deeply into his land, and returned to Lev with great honor and much booty. [He] was very pleased that all of his [soldiers] were safe and sound and that [the campaign yielded] many spoils. Then Lev set out for the Czech land to [partake in] a council with its (August, 1289) king [Vjačeslav],<sup>160</sup> for he lived in great harmony with him. He concluded a peace treaty with him which was to last until the end of his life. [Then] the king lavished Lev with all manner of costly gifts and dismissed him with great honor. He returned to his regiments, and his boyars and servants rejoiced greatly upon seeing their master [again]. However, they had no success [in taking] Cracow. [Thus] Lev went home with great honor, glorifying God and His Immaculate Mother, for he had taken an enormous booty in servants, cattle, horses, and supplies.

(Summer-Autumn 1289) That year God infused a blessed thought into Mstislav's mind: He built a stone chapel over the tomb of his grandmother

– Roman’s wife – in the Monastery of St. . . ., dedicated it to pious Joachim and Ann, and celebrated the Liturgy [there].

That very same year he also built a stone tower in the city of Čertoryjsk. (Winter 1289/90) 6800 (1292). Volodimer’s son, Prince Jurij of Pinsk passed away. He was a gentle, humble, and just [man] and was mourned by his wife, sons, and brother Prince Demid, [as well as] by all the people [who] wept bitterly.

That very same winter Gleb’s son, Prince Ivan of Stepan’sk passed away. All the people, both young and old alike, mourned him, and his son Volodimer began to rule in his place.





## COMMENTARY TO TRANSLATION

6709 (1201)

"full . . . wrath" – in place of *serdit že byst' jako i rys'* (he was as angry as a lynx). Indirect in place of direct speech to avoid ambiguity since Syrčan suddenly changes from the message he is sending Otrók to his instructions for Or, should Otrók not return willingly.

6711 (1203)

"After . . . passed" – As shown by Hruševs'kyj's *Xronol'ogija*, p. 61, only one year had actually passed. Hence I corrected *po sem že dolgu vremeni minuvšju* (after this, after a long time had passed) to *malu že vremeni minuvšju* as found above in the translation.

6712 (1204)

"began . . . sack" – for sacked (*poplěniša*) since such a rendering fitted better into the context.

6713 (1205)

"disorder . . . in Halyč" in place of *bezakonie Galickoje i mjatež'* (Galician lawlessness and revolt).

"expressed . . . allegorically" instead of *pritčteju reče slovo* (told a parable).

"In . . . time" in place of *v posłědnjaja vremena* (in recent times).

6714 (1206)

"who . . . son" instead of *zane syna u nego ne bě* (because he had no son).

6715 (1207)

"Ludovik Lonokrabovič" – i.e., Ludwig, the Landgraf's (landgrave's) son.

"Alžbit" i.e., Elizabeth.

"Kineka" i.e., Kinga.

6716 (1208)

"Volodislav . . . Halyč" is found in the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts but is absent from the Hypatian text.

"placed . . . 'son'" with the latter in quotation marks since Danilo was obviously not Andrej's son.

"prevailing . . . him" for *umolivše ego* (having prevailed upon him).

6717 (1209)

"and" is found in the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts but is absent from the Hypatian.

6718 (1210)

"who disliked" instead of Oleksandr že ne prijaše (Oleksander did not like).

"gathering... soldiers" instead of sobra mnogo voi (gathered many soldiers).

"Germans". Usually Němcy meant either Austrians or inhabitants of Western Europe in general.

6732 (1224)

"Dniester" in place of Dněpr (Dnieper) since only the former flows through Galicia.

"they... by" instead of bě bo s nimi (for with them was).

6734 (1226)

"Dniester" instead of Dněpr (Dnieper) since only the former lies in the vicinity of the Carpathian Mountains (in text – Hungarian and Caucasian Mountains).

"And... hand" – Genesis 4.11. The first sentence of the quote with "thou" appears as found in the Bible. The rest of the quote with "you" is as found in the GVC and as such represents a deviation from the text of the Bible.

"Dniester" instead of Dněpr (Dnieper). See 6734.

Bug River is found in the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts. The Hypatian text has k bratu (to the brother) which makes no sense in this context.

6735 (1227)

"Danilo... Šelv" is not found in the text, but since the verb is in the dual and Danilo and Šelv figure most prominently in the lines which follow, I have inserted their names into the text.

6737 (1229)

"At... boyars" comes at the end of the sentence in the Hypatian text. I placed it first to avoid the monotony of a constant "subject-predicate" sequence.

"Wrocław", in text Vorotislav.

"Whenever... Danilo's troops" instead of egda že si otstupjaxu ot boja, oni že naležaxut' na ony, a koli oni otstupjaxu, a oni naležaxu na si (When these [i.e., those on one side of the city – namely, Danilo's troops] would retreat from the battle, the others [i.e., Miroslav's troops on the other side of the city] would engage them [literally "the others", here meaning the enemy within the city], and when the others [i.e., Miroslav's troops] would retreat, they [i.e., the besieged] would attack these [i.e., Danilo's troops]).

"Miroslav" instead of the Hypatian Miloslav. The Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts have the correct form as can be seen from the context where the name Miroslav appears several times.

6738 (1230)

"in council". I have used the Hypatian v dumě "in council", although both the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts have v domě "in the building".

6739 (1231)

"German lands" – i.e., Western Europe.

"In . . . treaty" – one of the meanings of the word *rjad* was "treaty". The instrumental *rjadom* hence means "via the treaty" or more precisely "via the peace treaty" since peace had been concluded (in the line above). From this it was very easy to derive "in accordance with the provisions of the peace treaty" which solved the problem of an awkward English construction.

6740 (1232)

"regrouped" instead of *sobrav* (having gathered) in order to show continuation with the preceding section. This continuation has already been indicated once by the date March 1233 which appears twice in the text.

6741 (1233)

"Sweet . . . undisclosed", not found in the Hypatian text, is taken from the *Xlebnikovskij* and *Pogodinskij* texts.

6742 (1234)

"Danilo . . . out" – here I have reversed the order of the clauses to avoid ambiguity.

6743 (1235)

"peace . . . concluded" instead of *umiristasja* (they concluded peace) in order to break up the monotony of the almost constant active voice.

"That . . . year" the word "past" has been inserted to agree with *Hruševs'kyj's* chronology.

"to . . . him" – The text has *na (pomošč') čest'* and according to Note O at the bottom of page 776 of the GVC the word *pomošč'* appearing in brackets has been scraped off in the manuscript.

"Fridrix" i.e., Friedrich.

"Archduke" in text *gërcik*, i.e., Herzog [Friedrich II Babenberg].

"wrested" instead of *vzja* "took".

"from him", in text *pod nim*. One of the meanings of the preposition *pod* in Old Russian was "from" (*Sreznevskij, Materialy*, vol. II, p. 1050, meaning 8).

"for . . . other" instead of *byvšju že mežju imi ovogda miru, ovogda rati* (for there was sometimes peace and sometimes war between them).

"in . . . days" instead of *tretij den'* (on the third day).

"Nemeckije Vorota" i.e., German Gates.

[6744 (1236)]

This year is absent from the text, and therefore appears in brackets.

6745 (1237)

"bombarded . . . arrows" instead of *strelami beščisla streljajaščim* (shooting countless arrows).

"in person" instead of *sam* (himself).

"to God" instead of *v rucě Bogu* (in God's hands).

"They . . . bishop" instead of *episkopa ostaviša živa* (they left the bishop alive).

6746 (1238)

"was sent" – See 6743.

"Silesia", in text called "the Vorotislavian land".

"his . . . wagon-train". For my translation I took *Sreznevskij's* second meaning (*Materialy*, vol. III, p. 969) and substituted "long" for "much" and in the next line "many" for "much".

"Indrixovič" – i.e., Henry the Pious of Cracow; by the suffix – *ovič* the chronicler erroneously identified him as Henry's son.

6747 (1239) has no entry in the chronicle.

"It . . . began". See 6743.

"[the Grand] Khan's death" i.e., death of Chinggis (Ghengis) Khan.

"Ljadskiye Vorota", one of the gates of Kiev.

6748 (1240)

"establish . . . daughter" instead of s nim ljubov' svat'stva (the peace of marriage with him) to which I added historical information from Pašuto's *Očerki*, pp. 87–88. "Sajo", in text Solonja.

"by . . . sword" instead of kop'jem "by spear".

"they . . . more" instead of bol'šuju vraždu na n' vozdvignusta (they felt a greater dislike for him).

6749 (1241)

"trying . . . feet" instead of oboim lovjaščim na sja (both accusing each other).

"to . . . peace". I have used the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts; the Hypatian text has "brought peace".

"with words" instead of slovesy mnogymi (with many words).

"Kuril . . . advice". The text has third person dual glagolasta which is a mistake made by the scribe under the influence of the immediately preceding verb form vdata in the line above. Hence my rendering is in place of the corrected inemi slovesy mudrymi glagoljaše emu mnogo (he spoke other wise words to him).

"When . . . attacked" instead of slyšav že Danil prihod Rostislavl' (when Danilo heard of Rostislav's coming).

6755 (1247)

"Still . . . the Jatvingians". This is all part of one sentence and proof that the copyist who put in the years in the Hypatian text did not know what he was doing. I have indicated this continuity by putting a comma after Volodimer', by beginning the translation of the text the following year with a small letter, and by Hruševs'kyj's chronology in the text.

6757 (1249)

"leader" – Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. III, p. 503.

"its . . . it" instead of byst' boi velik pred gradom (there was a great battle before the city).

"steal" – Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. III, p. 31.

6758 (1250)

"Čigis" i.e., Chinggis (Genghis).

"[Konstancija]" i. e. Constance.

6759 (1251)

"that . . . support" instead of jako dobro vidil esi ot naju i izidi s nami na Jatveže (you have seen good from us and [hence] come with us against the Jatvingians) – an example of change from direct to indirect speech.

"but . . . Jatvingians" does not appear in the text. By inserting it I have changed grammatical subjects and at the same time created an additional clause. The reason for this change lies in the next sentence which begins as follows: "The Poles suffered terribly . . ." My insertion made a description of this suffering possible.

"he . . . prisoners" – *Zaka* was a Jatvingian word meaning "brushwood" (Hens'ors'-kyj, *Leksyčni osoblyvosti*, p. 96).

6760 (1252)

"Bratislava", in text – Požg.

"Vienna", in text – Věden'.

"Archduke", in text *gercjuk* – i.e., Herzog Friedrich.

"Mejdejn and Diviriks, the rabbit god" instead of Diviriks, the rabbit god, and Mejdejn as found in the text for a smoother transition into the following sentence. "that . . . him" is not found in the text of the GVC.

6762 (1254)

"Archduke" . . . Fridrix" – i.e., Herzog Friedrich II.

"And . . . Hungarian king" – In the text of the GVC the word king is followed by the word rex which being a synonym for king was omitted in the translation. The Czech king [Peremysl] was Přemysl Ottokar II.

"German land" i.e., Austria.

As shown by the brackets, Gertrud Babenberg was the Herzog's niece and not his sister as the chronicler claimed.

"German land" and "Germany", reference to Austria.

"Kin'ka", i.e., Kinga.

"Mježko" i.e., Mieszko.

"Gerbert" i.e., Herbert Fulstein's castle.

6763 (1255)

"Nekentij" – i.e., Innocent IV.

"who . . . tribute" – The part in brackets [who had become] is not in the GVC. The word *baskak* I rendered by "the khan's collector of tribute" (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. I, p. 43).

6765 (1257)

"[to . . . feats]" not in text of GVC.

"German land" – i.e., Austria.

"the Archduke", in text *gercjuk*, i.e., Herzog Přemysl Ottokar II.

"German land" – Austria.

"[Gertruda]" i.e., Gertrud Babenberg.

6767 (1259)

"[in . . . battle?]" – This information is not found in text of GVC.

"level . . . greatly" instead of *i vodě veličě* (and there was much water).

"Their . . . bridge" is not in the text of the GVC but evident from the preceding context.

6769 (1261)

"catapults" – The Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts are correct in giving the plural form of the noun as can be seen from the following context where it appears only in the plural.

"after . . . subsidied" – This is not found in the text of the GVC but evident from the context.

6781 (1273)  
"["Indrix"]" i.e., Henry.  
"Wrocław", in text Vorotislav.

6783 (1275)  
Has no entry in the chronicle.

6784 (1276)  
(Isaiah 61, 1-4). Slavonic version. Quotation is an exact translation of the text as found in the GVC.

6787 (1279)  
"who ... responsible" – This is not found in the text of the GVC but it is evident from the context.  
"for ... peace" – All three texts – Hypatian, Xlebnikovskij, and Pogodinskij – have *mira ne xotja* (he did not want to make peace). That the negative particle had been put in by mistake is quite clear from the sentence which follows.  
"Francis", in text *Francišek* for Polish *Franciszek*.

6788 (1280)  
"He ... provision" represents both a change from the active to the passive voice and a change from direct to indirect speech.  
"Silesian", in text *Selezeneć*.

6789 (1281)  
"in ... belongings" – The words in brackets in my translation are not in the text of the GVC, but are easily derivable from the context. The word *lupiti* (to rob) appearing in brackets in the text itself before *biti* (to beat) has not been used since it has been scraped off in the original manuscript (Note a, p. 883 of the GVC).

6790 (1282)  
"limped" instead of *bjaše xrom nogoju* (was lame in his leg).  
"ulcer" – *Hens'ors'kyj*, *Leksyčni osoblyvosti*, p. 126.  
"by ... already" – This is not found in the text of the GVC but it is evident from the context (See first sentence under Hypatian 1282).

6791 (1283)  
"of ... city" instead of *kto že vyěxašet' iz goroda* (whoever would leave the city) because of the following context.

6793 (1285)  
"Germans". Here *Němcy* refers to Holland. See Note 144.

6795 (1287)  
"to ... since" – This is not found in the text but evident from the context.  
"Do ... think" and "that ... him" – not in text, but easily derivable from context.  
"speak ... wish" instead of *ose že ti cesareve, a se cesar', a se az, molvi so mnoju što vosxočeš'* (here you have the emperors; this is an emperor and here am I; speak with me whatever you wish).  
"They ... goat" – I have purposely picked this expression because the text here is just as slangy: *projali mi uže i na pečenex* (literally: they have eaten even through

my liver). Modern Ukrainian still has a similar expression: v pečinkax sydyty (Hrinčenko, *Slovar ukrajinskoji movy*, vol. 3, p. 149).

"I ... documents" instead of xočju gramoty pisati (I want to write official documents) since he meant to record all of this for posterity.

"Kondrat ... greatly" instead of Kondrat že pride k Volodimeru ideže ležaše v bolesti svoei krepko straža (Kondrat came to Volodimer where he was lying in his illness suffering greatly) because of the following words i všed (and having entered) with the word "room" understood.

"She ... dead" instead of i nača voprašati ego knjaz' ti molvit' s čim' esi prišchal, povež', on že nača pověditi knjaz' Lestko mertv (and began to ask him, the prince says to you, with what [news] have you come, tell [me]; he began to relate – Prince Lestko is dead).

"In ... princess", not in text but evident from the context.

"Therefore ... nearby" instead of i sta Kondrat na gorě u mnixov (and Kondrat stopped on a hill where monks resided).

"so ... ashes" instead of no vse pož'ženo byst' ratnymi (but everything was burned by the soldiers).

6796 (1288)

"stating this", not in text, but evident from the context.

"Volodimer ... realize" instead of Volodiměr že bě rozuměa drevnjaja i zadnjaja (Volodimer understood things of the past and of the future).

"but ... instead", not in text but evident from the context.

"Do ... me" instead of ci bez uma mja tvoríš' ože byx ne rozuměl sei xitrosti (literally: Do you consider me [so much] without a mind that I would not understand this deception?).

"O ... poor" – (Daniel 4.27). Slavonic version. Defective text. Words in brackets were not found in the GVC and have been inserted for a smoother reading.

"Blessed ... mercy" (Matthew 5.7). Again the GVC reflects the Slavonic version of the Bible.

"Whoever ... sins" (James 5.20). Slavonic version. Words in brackets not in GVC.

"Volodimer's ... worse" instead of i nača bolmi nemoči (He began to weaken more and more).

6797 (1289)

"in ... Kiev" – is not found in the text, but this historical information is provided by the index of personal names to the 1871 edition of the Hypatian text, p. 1.

"filling ... air", not in text.

"who" not in the text.

"Inasmuch ... me" (Matthew 25.40).

"Hail ... you" (Luke 1.28).

"which ... with" not in text.

"frame ... silver" instead of okova srebrom (he bound in silver).

"for ... year" instead of 12 mesjaca (twelve months) and "containing" instead of izloženo (were compiled).

I have translated naměstnuju by namestnyja ikony (ikons on both sides of the ikonostasis) (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. 2, p. 303).

6797 (1289)

"Telebuga and Alguj", not in text; historical information taken from Pašuto's *Očerki*, p. 298.

"which extended" instead of veličestvom (in its great size).

6798 (1290)

"Indrix", i.e., Henry IV.

"Wrocław", in text Vorotislav.

"Lokotko", i.e., Władysław Łokietek.

6799 (1291)

"Lokotko", see comment to 6798.

"Wrocław" and "Indrix", see 6798.

"[Vjačeslav]" i.e., Václav II, name not in text of GVC but taken from *Očerki*, p. 301.



## NOTES TO TRANSLATION\*

- 1 The phrase – “The beginning of the reign of Great Prince Roman, prince of Halyč, whose domain was the entire Land of Rus’” – found in the Hypatian, but absent in the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts had led Bestužev-Rjumin and before him A. Galaxov (*Istorija ruskoj slovesnosti, drevnej i novoj*, vol. 1, St. Petersburg, 1863, pp. 74–75) to the conclusion that the “first-half” of the GVC supposedly encompassing Roman’s life, was lost. I have omitted this phrase from my translation because I believe that it and not Roman’s quarrel with his father-in-law Prince Rjurik of Kiev under 1195–96 (Hruševs’kyj, *Istorija*, p. 2) is the last information about Roman in the Kievan Chronicle, of which it is an integral part (or more specifically “abrupt-ending” – to which the chronicler perhaps planned to return or possibly even returned, but that fragment never reached us) – just as “The beginning of the reign of Great Prince Mstislav in Volodimer” (column 928) is part of the GVC and does not signal the inception of a separate chronicle.
- 2 Prince Roman Mstislavič, was the son of the Volynian prince Mstislav Izjaslavič and the Polish princess Agnes, the daughter of Prince Boleslaw (Boleslav) Krzywousty (the “Wry-Mouth”). He continued his father’s struggle with the princes of Suzdal’ for the supremacy of Rus’ which in effect meant control of Kiev, its commercial, political, and religious capital. After the death of his father, who ruled in Kiev from 1167 to 1169, Roman began to reign in Volynia and sought to add Galicia to his realm. This he succeeded in doing in 1199 despite opposition by Poland and by the princes of Suzdal’ who supported the Galician prince Volodimer Jaroslavič for the throne of Halyč. Kiev was next and indeed in 1202 Roman wrested the city from the hands of Prince Rjurik Rostislavič, whom he replaced by his vassal – Prince Ingvar Jaroslavič of Luck – the prince of Eastern Volynia. Prince Roman renewed the Byzantine-Galician treaty of 1200 through his envoys Tverdjata Ostromirič, Nedan, Domažir, Dmitro and Negvar (Hruševs’kyj, *Istorija*, p. 9) and in 1202 soundly trounced the Polovcians. In Byzantium he was known as Grand Prince (igemon) of Kiev for indeed by 1203 he had control of all of Kievan Rus’. Rjurik Rostislavič’s attempt to take Kiev back from Roman with help of the Polovcians and the princes of Černigov ended in failure. Against him Roman sent his voyevoda Vjačeslav who took Kiev and forced Rjurik to join a monastic order. Prince Roman was able to pursue his expansionist policies also in the West by wisely concluding a peace treaty with King Andrew (Andrej) II of Hungary. He tried to colonize the Lithuanian and Jatvingian lands and participated in the struggle between two German princely houses, the Welfs, who were the

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\* Bibliographical references already cited in the Introduction appear in the same abbreviated notation here: (a) author’s last name (b) abbreviated title (since some authors have more than one title in the bibliography) and (c) page(s). All new bibliographical references are fully cited the first time, but then also follow this notation. All references appear in parentheses within the text itself.

dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, and the Hohenstaufens, then the ruling house of the Holy Roman Empire. In this struggle Roman sided with the Hohenstaufens and undertook a campaign against the Little Polish Prince Leszek of Cracow (in GVC Lestko), an ally of the Welfs. Roman planned to crush him and then to strike deep into Saxony against the Welfs. However, Roman was defeated by the Poles and died at Zavixvost on the Vistula in 1205. His vast holdings passed into the hands of local princes and boyars – his former vassals. (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 191–193)

According to the Suzdal' Chronicle (Laurentian text) Roman died while out on patrol and not in battle as related by his contemporary – the Polish chronicler Bishop Wincenty Kadłubek of Cracow. His army recovered his body and returned with it to Halyč, where it was interred in the Church of the Blessed Virgin (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 15). Hruševs'kyj summarized all of Kadłubek's tendentious information about Roman on pp. 2–6 and 12–13 of his *Istoriija*.

- 3 According to Orlov the style of this paragraph and in particular the comparison of Roman to a lion are derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 101, 104).
- 4 The striking similarity of this line to the wish of Prince Igor Svjatoslavič in the *Igor' Tale* "to drink from the Don with his helmet" has been noted by Čerepnin who studied the phraseological similarities between the latter and the GVC. However, I feel that he was not as successful in pointing out the similarity between Otrok's reply to Or and Prince Igor's words to his troops – "It's better to be killed in battle than to become a captive" – which he termed a paraphrase of the former. These similarities and others listed here as well as the political interrelation of the principalities of Halyč, Černigov, and Novgorod-Seversk (noted below) – according to Čerepnin all pointed to the Galician background of the anonymous author of the *Igor' Tale*. (Čerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, pp. 238–239).
- 5 This is the same Končak who was to play one of the main roles in the *Igor' Tale* (*Ibid.*, p. 239). The description of Končak in the GVC as "campaigning on foot and carrying a kettle on his back" is derived from the description of Prince Svjatoslav the Brave in the Primary Chronicle under the year 961 – "Stepping light as a leopard, he undertook many campaigns. Upon his expeditions he carried with him neither wagons nor kettles" – which in turn is derived from the Chronicle of Hamartolus (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 104). This description is part of the "jevšan" tale which entered the GVC. See O. Pritsak, "Two names of steppe plants, 'Jevšan'", *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics*, vol. 8, 1964, pp. 38–40.
- 6 A reference to Roman's winter campaigns against the Polovcians in 1201/02 or 1202/03 and 1203/04 as a result of which they ceased being a menace to Roman's ally, the Byzantine Empire (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, pp. 9–10).
- 7 Although the chronicler referred to Anna as Andrew's sister-in-law, she may have been at best only distantly related to him through marriage to Roman, but nothing definite is known about the kinship of Roman to Andrew (See Note 14).
- 8 They would have opened the city gates to them, if there had not been so many Hungarians (*Ibid.*, p. 19).
- 9 The text of the GVC gives the impression that there was only one campaign by Rjurik against Halyč and that only the Polovcians aided him, while actually there were two and the princes of Černigov also took part. The second campaign, the account of which merged with the first in the GVC, and caused a very confusing sequence of events, is mentioned by the Suzdal' Chronicle (Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, p. 7) and by the Volodimerian Polychron (Hens-

ors'kyj, *Proces skladannja*, p. 18). The first campaign against Halyč in 1205 was unsuccessful, for although Rjurik put the combined Galician and Volynian regiments to rout on the Seret, he was repulsed by the Galician infantry once he reached the city. In 1206 the Černigov princes organized the second campaign against Halyč, in which the following princes participated: Vsevolod Svjatoslavič Čermnyj of Černigov, Mstislav Romanovič of Smolensk, Rjurik Rostislavič of Kiev with the aid of the Berendians and the Igorevič princes – Volodimer, Roman, Svjatoslav, and Rostislav of Novgorod-Seversk. Roman's widow – Anna – immediately turned for aid to Hungary, since Leszek had already set out against Halyč from Cracow in revenge for Roman's campaign against him. She could not rely on the Galician boyars whose powers Roman had curbed. And indeed before the "Černigov coalition" could reach Halyč the second time, King Andrew II of Hungary had already placed his garrison in the city. (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 194)

The GVC has also omitted the very important fact mentioned in the Suzdal' Chronicle and the Volodimerian Polychron that before sending for the Igorevič princes, whom they really wanted, the Galicians were forced by Andrew to send for Prince Jaroslav of Perejaslavl', the son of Vsevolod of Suzdal', who in Hrušev's'kyj's opinion was to act as regent for Roman's sons Danilo and Vasilko. When Andrew returned to Hungary and took the garrison he had stationed in Halyč with him, the Galicians quickly summoned the Igorevič princes, who left their camp without informing the rest of the "Černigov coalition" and reached the city before Jaroslav after a full day's and a full night's march. Jaroslav, consequently, was forced to return to Perejaslavl' (Hrušev's'kyj, *Istorija*, pp. 20–21).

- 10 As shown by the dual Kormiličiča, the Galicians brought back two Kormiličič brothers – the well-known Volodislav and his brother, whose identity is by no means clear. Hrušev's'kyj suggested that he may have been Sudislav – the son of the steward Nezdilo, who served Volodimer Jaroslavič – the last Rostislavič prince in Halyč before Roman Mstislavič wrested it from him since he left no legitimate heirs (he did have two illegitimate sons Vasilko and Ivan from a priest's wife, who wandered through the Carpathian region bearing the titles Princes of Halyč (Petruševič, *Volynsko-Galickaja letopis'*, pp. 10, 12). Nezdilo's widow later (Hypatian 1231) persuaded her son-in-law the boyar David Vyšatič to surrender Jaroslavl' to Sudislav and the Hungarians. (Hrušev's'kyj, *Istorija*, pp. 7, 50)

Recently O. Pritsak of Harvard ("Avtor 'Slova o Polku Ihorevim'", *Lysty do Pryjateliv*, vol. 163–64, No. 11–12, New York, 1966, pp. 1–12) suggested that Volodislav Kormiličič was the author of the *Igor' Tale*. Volodislav, who accompanied Volodimer Jaroslavič to Novgorod-Seversk when the latter was exiled by his father in the early 1180's, took part in Igor's campaign in 1185 and then returned to Halyč since Volodimer and his father had become reconciled. When Roman seized Halyč from Volodimer in 1188, Volodislav preferred to see Igor's son Volodimer on its throne to Roman or his former master, who had no legitimate heirs. During his exile, which took him again to Novgorod-Seversk, he probably composed the Tale. All of this is supported by indirect evidence the most important of which is Volodislav's speech to the inhabitants of Peremyšl' (Hypatian 1208) and the close-knit relations between the Rostislavič princes of Halyč and Prince Igor Svjatoslavič and his sons – the "Igorevič" princes (sometimes loosely referred to by their clan name Ol'goviči – the descendants of Prince Oleg of Černigov, who died in 1115). E. g., as already mentioned, Volodimer Jaroslavič lived at the court of Igor Svjatoslavič, when he was exiled in 1180–84 from Halyč by his father Jaroslav Volodimerovič Os'momysl', who together with his daughter

Euphrosinia Jaroslavna, the wife of Igor Svjatoslavič, played major roles in the *Igor' Tale*. (See also Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 7; Čerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, p. 239).

- 11 The use of the dual again – i.e. Igoreviča – suggests that only two sons of Igor Svjatoslavič – Volodimer and Roman – were summoned by the Galicians, while Svjatoslav came already upon the request of his brothers.
- 12 Actually Anna fled from Halyč to the city of Volodimer' before the coming of the Igorevič princes (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija literatury*, p. 149)
- 13 The chronicler described Anna's decision to flee to Poland as an act of rashness ("They did not know where to turn"). Hruševs'kyj suggested that actually this was a calculated move, for she was assured of a safe haven for herself and her sons in Poland by a meeting of Andrew and Leszek sometime between her talks with Andrew in Sanok and her present flight – which was not recorded by the GVC or by any other extant chronicle. Proof that there was such a meeting which guaranteed Danilo and Vasilko their patrimony (of course not without certain advantages to Poland and Hungary) lay in Leszek's message to Andrew (no doubt referring to this meeting) to join him in a campaign to wrest the patrimony of the Romanovič princes from their enemies and to return it to them, and in the successful attempt of Volodimer Igorevič to keep them from undertaking such a campaign. Both of these reasons are found in the text of the chronicle under the year 1203. (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, pp. 22–23)
- 14 The term sister-in-law is used much more loosely than today and here merely denotes kinship by marriage. According to both Pašuto and Hruševs'kyj, except for the fact that she was related to the Polish Piasts through her husband Roman, whose mother was a Polish princess, nothing is known about the family relationship of Anna to Leszek. Pašuto did not even consider her a princess, but saw her origins among the local Volynian boyars. (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 191, 194; Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 10). However, Scharanewitsch (*Die Hypathos-chronik*, pp. 42–43) was of a different opinion. He posited a definite though distant kinship of Andrew's and Leszek's families to Roman and his second wife Anna (I have used the name Anna in my translation which I have taken from Pašuto's presentation and from Hruševs'kyj's genealogical table in his *Istorija* where it is followed by a question mark).
- 15 Władysław Laskonogi (in text Volodislav Tonkonogij) was the son of Mieszko who fought the sons of Kazimierz Sprawiedliwy for the throne of Cracow at the battle of Mozgava (1195) in which Roman Mstislavič sided with the sons of Kazimierz and thus helped them to win. Hruševs'kyj thought that the beginning of the break in amicable relations between Roman and Leszek, occurred in the year 1202 when Władysław himself tried unsuccessfully to hold Cracow and was driven from it by Leszek, who probably was led to believe that Roman sided with his rival. Whether he actually did and what triggered the conflict between the two former allies, Hruševs'kyj could not answer. In any case the chronicler placed the responsibility for the conflict upon Władysław. (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, pp. 3, 11) Pašuto, on the other hand, thought that the conflict resulted from the fact that Roman and Leszek took opposite sides in the struggle of the Hohenstaufens and the Welfs (See Note 2. p. 127).
- 16 Hruševs'kyj suggested that a mutual oath to care for each other's families in case of death may have been taken by Roman and Andrew during the latter's struggle for the Hungarian throne with his brother Emeric. (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 10)
- 17 Hruševs'kyj noted a discrepancy between Polish sources which stated that Ingvar's daughter Gremislava stayed in Cracow after her marriage till her death in 1258 and the GVC which implied that Leszek and Gremislava were divorced soon after their marriage. He tended to explain this discrepancy by

either an omission in or distortion of the text itself, disregarding as implausible the possibility that Leszek and Gremislava may only have been separated for a while. (Ibid., p. 508)

- 18 The GVC omitted the very important fact that Roman Igorevič, even before his capture by Benedict (in text Benedikt) was driven out of Halyč by Rostislav Rjurikovič, who was summoned by the boyars; however Roman was brought back very quickly; this is attested by the Voskresenskij text, which reads as follows (the year is 1210): "They [*sic*: i.e., the Galician boyars] drove off Roman Igorevič, and Rostislav Rjurikovič began to reign in Halyč; that very same autumn they drove off Rostislav Rjurikovič and placed Roman Igorevič with his brother on the [*sic*: Galician] throne". In Hruševs'kyj's opinion the brother may have been Svjatoslav. Also according to Hruševs'kyj, the words "disorder and revolt in Halyč" in the GVC itself are an allusion to this omitted event (Ibid., pp. 24–25).
- 19 Čerepnin's suggestion that Timofej was the author of the introductory tale of Anna and her young sons, a tale supposedly written around 1211, is completely without foundation. The intentional (? – G.P.) mention of the "wise bibliophile, a Kievan by origin" is certainly not conclusive proof of authorship. Moreover, it is doubtful whether one can successfully isolate such a tale, since the text is riddled with "non-Romanovič" interpolations. Čerepnin's entire article, devoted only to the first half of the GVC, while excellent where comparisons between the chronicle and the *Igor' Tale* are drawn, founders where it touches on questions of authorship and composition (Čerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, pp. 244–253).
- 20 Timofej based his conclusion that Benedict was indeed the Antichrist on the numerical value of the latter's name in its Greek pronunciation [Benediktos]. The number 666 which is the sum total of all the numbers each of the sounds in his name represented (b=2; e=5; n=50; e=5; d=4; i=10; k=20; t=300; o=70; s=200 = 666) stood for the "sign of the beast" i.e., the Antichrist, according to the Apocalypse. Timofej's designation of Benedict Bor as the Antichrist was consequently proof that both he and the chronicler were familiar with the interpretative Apocalypse (Hens'ors'kyj, *Proces skladannja*, p. 14).
- 21 The paradoxical attitude of the Galician boyars toward Mstislav Jaroslavič, whom they themselves summoned to save them from Benedict, Hruševs'kyj explained by suggesting quite plausibly that Mstislav probably came to Halyč with a force that was too small to rid the Galicians of their oppressors (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 25)
- 22 The chronicler did not fulfill his promise.
- 23 Andrew's plan to marry Danilo to his daughter received a very confusing treatment by the chronicler, who tied it in with the murder of the Holy Roman Emperor Philip (in text Filip) Hohenstaufen (Hypatian 1207), in which Andrew's brother-in-law Eckbert, the Archbishop of Bamberg, was involved. The only daughter of "marriageable" age Andrew had at that time was Elizabeth, but the chronicler called her Kinga (Hypatian "Kineka"). Scharanewitsch (*Die Hypathoschronik*; pp. 43–44, 51) tried to explain this discrepancy by positing the existence of an older daughter Kinga, unknown to historians, who died very early. He also analyzed the "mistakes" the chronicler made in relating Philip's murder.

However, in view of the fact that what follows in the text is a definite reference to Elizabeth, (Hypatian St. Alžbit) one can safely assume that the chronicler, among his other mistakes, also mistakenly called Elizabeth Kinga. At any rate the plan to make Danilo heir to the Hungarian throne, ended in failure, for Andrew's wife Gertrud, the sister of Eckbert, who according to the chronicler, sought her aid after Philip's murder, gave Elizabeth in marriage to

- Ludwig, the son of the Landgraf (Hypatian "Lonokrabovič") of Thuringia. His father, Hermann, was Eckbert's "ally". The betrothed Elizabeth was taken to Thuringia at the age of four in 1211 and the fact that Danilo was in Hungary that year probably was the motivation for the chronicler's entry. (Hruševs'kyj, *Xronologija*, p. 11). This entry, however, was an anachronism since, as shown by Scharanewitsch (see above), Andrew's oldest son Bela was born in 1206. Hence the "rumors" to make Danilo Andrew's heir had to precede the date of Bela's birth (See also Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, pp. 26–27).
- 24 An obvious exaggeration (Ibid., p. 26).
  - 25 More precisely from his kinsman Prince Vsevolod Svjatoslavič Černyj, who reigned in Kiev at that time (Ibid., p. 28).
  - 26 Found in the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts but absent from the Hypatian text.
  - 27 The term "brother" here as in many other places throughout the chronicle simply denotes princely kinship, i.e., all the princes whether actually related or not were brothers. For the family relationship between Roman and Andrew, see Note 14.
  - 28 Although both the GVC and the Voskresenskij text state that three Igorevič princes were hanged, Hruševs'kyj and most recently Pašuto accept the information supplied by the First Novgorod Chronicle in which Prince Vsevolod Svjatoslavič says in reference to Roman and Svjatoslav: "You have hanged two of my brother princes" (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 509; Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 198). Hruševs'kyj, who gave a much more detailed presentation of the problem than Pašuto, also suggested that Rostislav was probably not one of the Igorevič princes, but an ally of theirs, since the GVC, which twice enumerated all three Igorevič brothers earlier in the text (i.e., Volodimer, Roman, and Svjatoslav under Hypatian 1202 and 1206), did not mention Rostislav among them.
  - 29 Her wishes came in conflict with those of Volodislav Kormiličič and the Galician boyars, and she had to leave.
  - 30 From the text of the GVC one gets the erroneous impression that Gertrud was killed during Andrew's campaign against Halyč, while in reality she was murdered in Hungary, and this was the reason for Andrew's speedy return. The chronicler's second confusing presentation of "foreign affairs" (See Note 23) was analyzed in detail by Scharanewitsch (*Die Hypathoschronik*, pp. 53–54).
  - 31 The unreliability of this report about hostilities between Andrew and Leszek before the Council of Spiš has been successfully demonstrated by Hruševs'kyj (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, pp. 510–511).
  - 32 The Council of Spiš in 1214 represented a turning point in the attitude of Andrew and Leszek toward Roman's sons. Where before they tried to help them win back their patrimony, now with the ascendancy of Volodislav Kormiličič to the throne of Halyč they gave up this endeavor and decided to divide the Romanovič "Galician patrimony" between themselves. Danilo and Vasilko were to get only Volodimer', while Eastern Galicia was to go to Hungary and Western Galicia to Poland. Nothing was said about Volynia, but Hruševs'kyj suspected that Leszek took the regions of Zabužje and Berestja for himself, when he forced Oleksander to give Volodimer' to Roman's sons. The agreement was to be confirmed by the marriage of Leszek's daughter Salomea to Andrew's son Koloman, who was to become the King of Halyč. According to Hruševs'kyj, this plan was in all probability masterminded by the Polish boyar Pakosław (in text Pakoslav), although this is not evident from the text of the GVC, which states that he only carried the plan to Andrew. Hruševs'kyj's supposition is based on the fact that Pakosław, paradoxically called "a friend of Roman's wife and her children" by the chronicler, received the city of Ljubačev from the partitioned Romanovič patrimony, in Hruševs'kyj's

- opinion, as reward for his endeavor. And indeed in accordance with these provisions agreed upon at Spiš, Koloman and Salomea were engaged and sent to Halyč with a large Hungarian force under Benedict Bor, who ousted Volodislav Kormiličič. Koloman, however, was not crowned before the winter of 1215/16, because negotiations between Andrew and Innocent III for a papal crown for Koloman took quite some time. Andrew craftily promised Innocent a Union of the Galician populace with the Roman Church (Ibid., pp. 30–31).
- 33 The conjunction “and”, absent from the Hypatian, has been taken from the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts. All three texts, however, seem to have a distortion or omission here, for where just above the chronicler reported that Ljubačev was given to Pakosław, now he speaks of it as Leszek’s property.
  - 34 The partition of the “Galician patrimony” in accordance with the Spiš agreement and the Polish-Hungarian alliance lasted very briefly. Andrew took Western Galicia with its center Peremyšl’ away from Leszek, who in revenge summoned Mstislav Mstislavič of Novgorod to the throne of Halyč. Furthermore, the Hungarian occupation was unpopular among the populace as were Andrew’s attempts to Latinize the local church and bring about a Union with Rome. According to the Voskresenskij text, “The Hungarian king placed his son on the throne of Halyč, drove its bishop and priests from the church, and brought in his own Latin priests to say Mass.” However, very little is known about these attempts at a Union. Andrew apparently planned a synod of local bishops in 1215, but in the meantime an uprising broke out against Koloman and these plans were dropped; Innocent III’s legate got only as far as Andrew’s court. Andrew himself was forced to come to his son’s aid and take him back to Hungary. (Hruševs’kyj, *Istoriija*, pp. 32–35)
  - 35 The head of the Hungarian garrison in Halyč (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 201). At that time Koloman was no longer in Halyč (Hruševs’kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 35).
  - 36 The way to Halyč was open for Mstislav, since Andrew in 1217–18 was taking part in a Crusade in Palestine (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 201; Hruševs’kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 35). For the conflicting views on the chronology of Mstislav’s three campaigns at the end of which he finally established himself in Halyč and during which campaign Mstislav captured Koloman (Hypatian 1219), who had returned to Halyč, see Scharanewitsch, *Die Hypathoschronik*, p. 46 ff; Hruševs’kyj, *Xronol’-ogija*, p. 14, and *Istoriija*, pp. 513–515. In my translation as in all questions of chronology I have followed Hruševs’kyj. I have also accepted his view that this happened during Mstislav’s third campaign in 1221.
  - 37 Leszek had summoned Mstislav to Halyč, and hence it would have been awkward for Mstislav to side openly with his son-in-law.
  - 38 The name “Ukraine” originally carried the meaning “borderland”. In the GVC it appears as the region west of the Vepr river – i.e., on the border between Volynia and Poland (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 128). In all following instances of its occurrence it has been hence translated as “borderland”.
  - 39 Mixalko Skula (Mixalko Glebovič Skula) was the son of the boyar Gleb Potkovič and the father of Bishop Ivan of Xolm, Danilo’s former groom Ivan Mixalkovič Skula (Hens’orskij, *Proces skladannja*, pp. 91–96).
  - 40 Mstislav had retreated to Poniz’je (Hruševs’kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 38; Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 202).
  - 41 Koloman was sent to Torčesk and after long negotiations returned to Hungary. In order to free Koloman, Salomea, and other important Hungarians, however, Andrew had to give up all attempts to win Galicia for Koloman. Instead Mstislav and Andrew reached an agreement by which Galicia was to pass to Andrew’s third son Andrew who was to marry Mstislav’s daughter Marija. (Hruševs’kyj, *Istoriija*, pp. 39–41; Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 204–205).
  - 42 This passage, based on Matthew 24.2, is derived from the Chronicle of Hamar-

tolus. Orlov thought that the word "knigi" here referred to the Compilatory Chronograph and not the Scriptures. (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 111) Since the origin of the passage was the New Testament, I have translated "knigi" as Scriptures.

- 43 The passage about the evil night playing a bad trick on the Belzians is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Ibid., pp. 98–99).
- 44 The monastery was in Volodimer' (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 158).
- 45 By comparing the text of the GVC under the year 1224 with the Voskresenskij text, in which he saw the reflection of his hypothetical Kievan Chronicle of 1238, Pašuto was able to show that the Rus'ians and Polovcians crossed the Dnieper only once and not twice as mentioned in the GVC (i.e., "All of us crossed..." and "Thus, all the princes... crossed the river Dnieper.") He did not have an explanation for "all of us," which could be either a distortion or an actual indication that the chronicler took part in the battle of Kalka (Ibid., pp. 40–41).
- 46 Pašuto showed that the phrase "Galician outcasts" referred to the descendants of the Galician boyar families who had been exiled by Roman Mstislavič and had settled in Poniz'je. These "outcasts" were led by Jurij Domamerič and Deržikraj Volodislavič. (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 144, 169) One wonders, however, what was the source of Pašuto's Domažirič for Domamerič since all three texts (Hypatian, Klebnikovskij, and Pogodinskij) have variant forms of Domamerič only, and this name is recorded in the index to the 1871 edition of the Hypatian text. Furthermore, it is very doubtful if Deržikraj Volodislavič (as implied by Pašuto) was Volodislav Kormiličič's son, since in the words of the chronicler, "all the princes looked with disfavor upon his children" (Hypatian 1211) and hence Deržikraj could not be fighting side by side with them in the Kalka engagement. If it were Volodislav's son, the chronicler would certainly have informed us of it. Moreover, while the other boyars hostile to Roman could have settled in Poniz'je, one has no proof – indirect or direct – that Volodislav Kormiličič did. It is more likely that his family went to Novgorod-Seversk and remained there until Volodislav was called back to Halyč after Roman's death (See Note 10). What happened to Volodislav after he was captured by Andrew is not known. The GVC only reports that he died in exile.
- 47 An obvious exaggeration.
- 48 This description of Danilo is derived from the Second Book of Kings (Note: in the English Bible – Second Book of Samuel!), 14.25: "But in all Israel there was none to be so much praised as Absalom for his beauty: from the sole of his foot even to the crown of his head there was no blemish in him." (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 102)
- 49 A very poor comparison as noted already by Kostruba, *Halyč'ko-Volyn's'kyj litopys*, p. 119.
- 50 The real reason Andrew did not reach Halyč is in the next line, which reports that the waters of the Dniester had risen (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 42).
- 51 Both Hruševs'kyj and Pašuto accept the chronicler's account why Halyč was not given to Danilo despite the Hungarian king's treachery, which was reason enough for Mstislav to break his former agreement with Andrew. See Note 41. (Ibid., pp. 40–41, and 43; Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 206)
- 52 The similarity of this passage in terms of martial spirit with the beginning of the *Igor' Tale* has been noted by Cerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, p. 236.
- 53 The chronicler's information that Mstislav regretted giving Halyč to Andrew and planned to take it by force for Danilo is accepted by Hruševs'kyj, the only historian to comment on this passage. However, Mstislav's plans were never realized because of this untimely death (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, pp. 43–44, and 47). He did apparently will his holdings to Danilo, for just two years



afterwards Danilo began to win back the "second-half of his patrimony" – i.e., Galicia. His efforts were crowned with success fifteen years later at the Battle of Jaroslavl' in 1245. See also Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 209.

- 54 The release of Jaroslav Ingvarovič was probably prompted by the fact that his sister and Leszek's widow Gremislava Ingvarovna sent Danilo a military force under Pakosław to help him in his struggle against the Kiev and Černigov princes as is described in the following fragment under Hypatian 1228, which starts with the unsuccessful attempt of Bishop Kuril of Kiev to prevent the conflict (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 208–209).
- 55 The son of Władysław Laskonogi. See Note 15 (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 46).
- 56 The Carpathian Mountains.
- 57 As noted already by Hruševs'kyj, this passage imitates the style of Isaiah 36.13–15: "Then Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews' language, and said: 'Hear ye the words of the great king, the king of Assyria.' Thus said the king: 'Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you.' Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying: 'The Lord will surely deliver us: this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.'" (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 48)
- 58 This passage beginning with "But God sent down Pharaoh's plague..." is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 100).
- 59 The phrase "some shed their skin as they would their shoes" apparently had its source in Joshua 9.4–5 (*Ibid.*, p. 111).
- 60 The similarity of this line with the beginning of the *Igor' Tale* has been noted by Čerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, p. 236. See Note 52.
- 61 A reference to Svjatopolk, the son of Volodimer the Great in the Primary Chronicle under the year 1019.
- 62 According to Kadłubek (See Note 2) Mikula Sodkij was just repeating one of Roman's sayings, supposedly alluding to his great atrocities toward the Galician boyars. Hruševs'kyj, however, pointed out correctly that if this were indeed one of Roman's "classical sayings", the chronicler would have certainly mentioned Roman's name as he customarily did whenever he referred to Roman. (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 13)
- 63 One does not know whether the reference to "bad times" should be understood in its literal sense or – to use Hruševs'kyj's term – as a "rumor" the chronicler used for an explanation as he had already once before (See Note 50). The surrounding text certainly does not explain what he meant, and no investigator has commented on this line.
- 64 This description of the soldiers' arms is derived from the Chronicle of Hamartolus (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 120–121).
- 65 Minor princes and boyars who had become princes. Their lands lay in the region bordered by Galicia, Volynia, and Kievan Rus' and in Poniz'je, which extended along the Black Sea from Olešje to Galac on the left bank of the Danube. See also Hypatian 1241 (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 150, 168, and 214).
- 66 This quotation is derived from the *Alexandria* (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 115).
- 67 According to the chronicler the battle of Šumsk did not end in as decisive a victory for Danilo as Hruševs'kyj seemed to imply. The reason for this – in Pašuto's opinion – was the fact that Danilo had only his cavalry with him. The chronicler's explanation quite obviously cannot be taken seriously.
- 68 The line, which was attributed by the chronicler to Homer and appears in the text in reference to Izjaslav's betrayal, has been the subject of a separate study by B. Barvins'kyj, "Homer v Halyc'kij litopysi". *ZNTS*, vol. 117–118, Lviv, 1914, pp. 55–63, and mentioned in passing by Orlov (*K voprosu*, pp. 102–103), who, apparently unaware of Barvins'kyj's study over a decade before, merely noted that despite Šaxmatov's statement to the contrary, he could not locate

- this line in the Chronicle of Malalas. Summarizing the conflicting views of his predecessors – i.e. those thought that its origin was either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, but never made any attempts to prove this (Ja. Holovac'kyj, S. Ševy-rëv, A. Galaxov, A. Petruševyč, I. Šaranevyč, and M. Daškevyč) and those who apparently did turn to these two works and stated that the line did not originate there (A. Pypin, V. Ikonnikov, O. Ohonovs'kyj, and M. Hruševs'kyj), Barvins'kyj, after a short review of the problem of the familiarity with Homer in Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle Ages, concluded that the chronicler took this line from an anthology which included epigrams attributed to Homer, and more precisely, that the line itself was one of these epigrams. Barvins'kyj was categorically opposed to Pypin's view that the chronicler found this line in a secondary source and then added Homer's name to it on his own accord. The quotation, according to Barvins'kyj, no matter what its source, was found by the chronicler with Homer's name already attached to it.
- 69 According to Hruševs'kyj who based his information on a Hungarian document from the end of 1233 (reprinted in *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae*, vol. 3, pp. 324–326), the king set out from Hungary in August to help his besieged son Andrew, but apparently something made him turn back, for the GVC did not record his coming. (Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, p. 24)
  - 70 This passage beginning with "It does not behoove a soldier..." is derived from the *Alexandria* and is really a paraphrase of an aphorism that appeared already under the year 1231. See Note 66 (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 115).
  - 71 To the city of Volodimer'.
  - 72 The identity of this city, not mentioned in the surrounding text, has been established by Daškevič, *Knjaženie Danila*, pp. 14–15.
  - 73 Rostislav was the great-grandson of Svjatoslav Vsevolodovič (died 1194), mentioned in the *Igor' Tale*, who, according to Hruševs'kyj, set the princes of Novgorod-Seversk and their cousins, the princes of Černigov, the task of taking Galicia. Svjatoslav's son Vsevolod, grandson Mixail, and great-grandson Rostislav tried to realize his dream (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija literatury*, p. 171).
  - 74 A title borne by persons of the Byzantine Imperial House as well as the princes of Rus' (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. 1, p. 1420).
  - 75 Silesia (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 221). In text Vorotislavian land.
  - 76 Polish "Środa" (Ibid., p. 221), German name unknown. The index to the 1871 edition of the Hypatian text erroneously identifies it as a village in Galicia.
  - 77 The army of Henry (in text Indrix) was crushed by the Tatars at the battle of Liegnitz (Legnica) April 9, 1241. (Since Hruševs'kyj had not provided a date for this reference in his *Xronol'ogija*, the information has been taken from Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 222).
  - 78 The passage beginning with "And one could not hear anything..." and ending with "screeching carts" is derived from the Chronicle of Hamartolus (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 122).
  - 79 Similarly "... and here one could see lance break against lance, shield scrape against shield... arrows eclipsed the light of the defeated" has its origin in *The Jewish War* by Josephus Flavius (Ibid., p. 119).
  - 80 General – literally "one in charge of a thousand men" (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. 3, p. 1074).
  - 81 The credibility of this information is hard to establish. Most likely the chronicler put this in to make Danilo's tysjackij and consequently Danilo himself appear in a favorable light.
  - 82 Barsov, A., *Očerki russkoj istoričeskoj geografii*, Warsaw, 1885, p. 361. (The date for the battle has been taken from Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 222).
  - 83 Actually the Tatars remained in Hungary a little over two years, leaving it in April of 1242 (Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, p. 29).

- 84 See text under the year 1250.
- 85 This aphorism, attributed by the chronicler to Solomon, is found among his Proverbs.
- 86 The most probable explanation for Bela's changed attitude toward Rostislav, an explanation advanced by Hruševs'kyj, is that the devastation of Rus' by the Tatars raised Bela's hopes for taking Halyč, where he planned to place Rostislav to rule for him (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 58).
- 87 A unit for measuring distance, equal to about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a mile or one thousand paces, which has been used as a variant term for poprišče in the translation (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. 2, p. 1203).
- 88 The description of Skomond as a magician and famous soothsayer whose head was impaled upon a stake is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 104).
- 89 The chronicler's Tvorjan was Florian Wojciechowicz Awdaniec, who led the Polish contingent of Rostislav's army during the Battle of Jaroslavl' and was captured by Danilo (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 231–232).
- 90 The similarity of this omen to the omens in the *Igor' Tale* has been noted by Čerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, p. 237.
- 91 Hens'orskyj has proposed that this hymn was none other than "Bogurodzica", which according to most Polish investigators, originated a century later than the events described here. For his very convincing arguments, which are predominantly linguistic, see his *Proces Skladannja*, pp. 69–70.
- 92 Note chronicler's Old Rus'ian "Moguččj" for Tatar "Mauci" (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 235).
- 93 Hruševs'kyj agreed with the suggestion proposed by Daškevyč and before him by Palauzov that some other prince had asked for and received Halyč from Batu (in text Batyj), and hence Danilo's trip to Batu was made in order to reverse Batu's decision. However, he disagreed with his predecessors that this prince was Mixail Vsevolodovič of Černigov, pointing out quite correctly that the description of Mixail's reception by Batu in the GVC (under the year 1245) refuted this assumption (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, pp. 64–65).
- 94 The entire passage beginning with "Oh, the greatest disgrace is to be [thus] honored by the Tatars..." is modelled after a similar passage in the *Alexandria*, describing the lowly position which befell King Darius after he had been defeated by Alexander the Great (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 115–116).
- 95 This line is derived from the Chronicle of Hamartolus (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 120).
- 96 A slava or song of praise had similarly been sung upon the successful return of Igor in the *Igor' Tale* (Čerepnin, *Letopisec Danila*, p. 236).
- 97 The phrase "the great Roman, who was always quick to pounce upon the heathens like a lion", the chronicler "reborrowed" from his own description under the year 1201. See Note 3.
- 98 According to Hruševs'kyj, an "echo" of some nonextant song about Roman's campaigns against the Polovcians (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, p. 16). Compare with the similar phrase used concerning Volodimer Monomax in the *Slovo o pogibel' russkoj zemli*, (Discourse on the Ruin of the Land of Rus') dating from approximately the same period as the GVC.
- 99 Bela's war with Friedrich, begun in 1246, was another reason (in addition to the one given by the chronicler under Hypatian 1250) why Bela finally decided to give his daughter Constance in marriage to Danilo's son Lev. He needed an ally in this struggle (See Hypatian 1254). Consequently, he gave up forever his plans to place Rostislav on the Galician throne, and as compensation made him ban i.e., ruler, first of Slavonia and then Mačva, a special banate created for him from lands bounded by the Danube, Sava, Drina, and Morava rivers (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriija*, pp. 66–67; Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 238).

- 100 These envoys were first identified by Scharanewitsch (*Die Hypathoschronik*, p. 60), and this information has been later repeated by Hens'ors'kyj (*Proces skladannja*, pp. 75 and 83), who added that the chronicler himself gave a clue to the identification of the second envoy by translating "Zal'cburs'kyj" (Hypatian: "Zaloš Purs'kyj") into the Old Rus'ian "Sol's'kyj".
- 101 Gold-brocaded silk (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. 2, p. 661).
- 102 This passage beginning with "The king rode forth with them to meet Prince Danilo..." is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 105–106).
- 103 These last two sentences describing the honor bestowed upon Danilo are derived from the *Alexandria*, (Ibid., p. 106).
- 104 Danilo's second wife.
- 105 "As time passes... finished." is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 106–107).
- 106 The "dvorskij", as both the name and its use in the GVC implies, served a combined court and military function. In short, he was the prince's "right-hand man" both at home and in battle. The term has not been glossed by Sreznevskij. Danilo's dvorskij was, of course, the boyar Andrej.
- 107 For a fascinating account of foreign words in the GVC, see Hens'ors'kyj, *Leksyčni osoblyvosti*, pp. 95–103, (for the Galician section) and 138–140 (for the Volynian section). In translating the chronicle I used both Sreznevskij's *Materialy* and the above work for words not glossed in the *Materialy*.
- 108 The chronicler's account of Danilo's relations with Rome is very scanty. Except for the unsuccessful attempt of the Pope's envoys to see Danilo in Cracow, a reference to the Bishop of Bern and Kamenec, and finally Danilo's reluctant coronation in Dorohyčyn by the Pope's legate Opizo in return for promised aid against the Tatars accompanied by the patently suspicious statement that "Innocent cursed all those who abused the true Greek faith", the chronicler gives no other information about this very important episode. Consequently, I have summarized Hruševs'kyj's information. I have chosen Hruševs'kyj as a source not only because he accounted for the views of his predecessors and contemporaries, but also because I would like to show that Pašuto's statement – that investigators before the Russian Revolution did not treat the problem of the "political relations between Rus' and the papal curia" – is simply untrue (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 238). As the following summary will show, Hruševs'kyj took the position that the curia's primary interest was to achieve a Union of Galicia and Volynia with Rome, and hence the measures undertaken by it to organize the European powers into a crusade against the Tatars were very lukewarm until 1253, when the Pope sent his legate Opizo to the rulers of Europe (unidentified by Hruševs'kyj in his *Istorija*, p. 72) apparently in an honest effort to start his crusade, but even then the crusade was motivated by the Union, as is shown by the events which followed.

According to Hruševs'kyj, the beginning of these relations between Danilo's court and Rome began after the Council of Lyon in 1245, when Innocent IV's envoy to Batu, Plano-Carpini, met Danilo's brother Vasilko at the court of Konrad (Kondrat) of Mazowie at Lenčica. There the subject of a Union with Rome in return for aid against the Tatars was probably broached for the first time. On his way to Batu, Plano-Carpini met Danilo, who was just returning from him, somewhere along the Don. Danilo was not so much interested in the Union as in Carpini's information that Innocent (in text Nekentij) was apparently planning another Council of Lyon in order to organize a crusade against the Tatars. A Union with Rome was consequently the price to be paid in return for military aid. Returning from the Tatars in the summer of 1247 Carpini stopped at Danilo's court and learned that Danilo had already sent

an envoy to Rome to begin negotiations. Evidently either he or a messenger sent by Carpini himself had already reached Innocent, because there are several bulls, dating from May 3, 1246, accepting Danilo under "St. Peter's protectorship" and interested in "uprooting the Greek rite" (this "uprooting" was unacceptable to both Danilo and his bishops), but very vague about military aid. The above bulls, studied by N. Daškevič (*Pervaja Unija jugo-zapadnoj Rusi s katoličestvom 1246-1254*, Kiev, 1884, a work, which was not available to me but about which I know indirectly from Hens'ors'kyj's *Proces skladannja*, p. 84), contradict the chronicler's statement about Innocent's "curse" and show it to be unreliable. (Hruševs'kyj felt that this remark was rather an "echo" of Innocent's later and more moderate position taken toward the "Greek rite").

Relations between Rome and Danilo's court ceased some time between May of 1246 and the summer of 1247, at which time they were renewed for a short while by Carpini upon his return from Batu; he then departed together with Danilo's envoys to Rome. Since the set of six bulls which followed, dating from 1247 and 1248, gave no promise of military aid, but simply asked Danilo to inform the Teutonic Knights in case the Tatars did attack, relations broke off completely between 1248 and 1252. According to Pašuto the last reference in the GVC to the negotiations still in progress in 1248 is the statement beginning with, "Much earlier than this [the Pope] had sent the Bishop of Bern and Kamenec . . ." and ending with "... constantly harassing [his people]" (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 254).

In 1253, probably in reply to a new promise of aid, Danilo informed Innocent that the Tatars were attacking and the latter sent his legate Opizo to "Poland, Czedia [Bohemia - G.P.], Moravia, Serbia, and Pomerania" (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 72) to start a crusade. (This was the reason for Opizo's presence in Cracow, as mentioned by the chronicler.) Dorohyčyn was purposely picked for Danilo's coronation, being the furthest city from the Tatars, and the reasons for this, as stated by the chronicler, are quite plausible, since Danilo was primarily interested in military aid. However, since "neither the Pope, nor the princes, whom he exhorted to a crusade, sent any aid against the Tatars", Danilo obviously would not give any concessions to Innocent in religious matters. By 1255 relations had deteriorated to such an extent that the new pope Alexander IV (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 260) allowed Mendog (in text Mendovg) to wage war against Danilo. In 1257 Alexander for the last time asked Danilo to return to the Roman Church and threatened to curse him if he did not return; and in his letters to the Bishop of Wroclaw and others exhorted them to force Danilo to his duty "through the arms of the faithful", but these threats and exhortations were of no avail (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, pp. 68-73).

109 Not the dvorskij Andrej, but another boyar with the same name (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 282).

110 See text under the year 1219.

111 Mt. Athos in Greece.

112 After his return from the castle of Himberg (Hypatian "Ineperec"), Roman married Gleb's daughter, although his first wife Gertrud Babenberg was still alive. See text under the year 1257 for Roman's "Austrian affair" and under the year 1254 for the circumstances leading up to it. Danilo's "Opava campaign", also described under 1254, was undertaken by Danilo to help Roman, who was besieged with his first wife in Himberg (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 256-258).

113 This passage beginning with "... as proof to the entire Polish land ..." is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 108-109). The aphorism within the passage itself - "Great deeds are glorified throughout the ages" - as well as its author - "the wisest chronicler" - have yet to be identified by some scholar.

- 114 See text under the year 1254. Note reference to Austria as "Germany" and "German land".
- 115 Bela IV had been appointed Gertrud Babenberg's guardian by Pope Innocent IV (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 255).
- 116 In the fall of 1251 Přemysl Ottokar II supported by some of the Austrian barons and clergy entered Austria with his troops and proclaimed himself Archduke (i.e., Herzog) of Austria. He consolidated his position by marrying Margarete Babenberg, the sister of the late Herzog Friedrich II, who had died on the Lejta River in 1246 fighting the Hungarians and had left no heirs. Bela IV with the full support of Innocent IV challenged Přemysl's position. He decided to give Gertrud in marriage to Danilo's son Roman and thus make him and not Přemysl the new Herzog of Austria. The marriage took place in the first half of 1252 in the castle of Himberg (Ibid., pp. 255–256).
- 117 Only through Gertrud and her cousin Margarete (Scharanewitsch, *Die Hypathoschronik*, p. 68).
- 118 The reference to the Pope and twelve bishops as witnesses appears to be an exaggeration by the chronicler to show Přemysl's sincerity, since it is a well-known fact that Bela had Innocent's support.
- 119 Apparently by former marriage to Herman, the Markgraf of Baden (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 74), if not an exaggeration by the chronicler to make Bela appear in a negative light.
- 120 This statement is contradicted by Austrian chronicles which accused Roman of abandoning his wife in Himberg. It is quite plausible, however, that Gertrud did send Roman for his father. Since Bela proved to be an unreliable ally, Danilo did not provide any aid, apparently, giving up the "Austrian throne" for Roman as a "lost cause". It is not known whether Roman ever returned to Gertrud. In the GVC he is mentioned afterwards as the husband of Gleb's daughter, Olena (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 281). Gertrud remained in Austria and, after its division between Bela and Přemysl, was given lands in Styria. Her daughter by Roman, Marija, later married the ban of Zagreb, Stefan IV (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 76).
- 121 "... Berengar Preussel (Pruzlo), one of the sheriffs of Herzog Friedrich II of Babenberg." (Scharanewitsch, *Die Hypathoschronik*, p. 69).
- 122 This description is derived from *The Jewish War* by Josephus Flavius, in all probability via the Chronicle of Hamartolus (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 119–120).
- 123 The passage beginning with "[There were four] vaults..." and ending with "... by some artist..." is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Ibid., p. 109).
- 124 The description of the ceiling is modelled after the Chronicle of Hamartolus (Ibid., p. 122).
- 125 This campaign, in which Danilo's brother Vasilko was forced to take part, deprived Danilo of his former strong Lithuanian ally. In revenge Vojšelj and Tevtivil seized Roman, who was then prince of Novgorodok, and killed him (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 284).
- 126 Prince Gleb was Roman's father-in-law.
- 127 See Note 125.
- 128 For the bias of the Volynian section of the GVC, directed against Danilo, his sons, and grandson, see my study in the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy*, vol. 12.
- 129 The phrases (a) "while their arrows would not permit [anyone] to show himself from – behind the ramparts", (b) "while others fell off the drawbridge into the moat like sheaves [of wheat]", and (c) "The moat was evidently very deep and [quickly] became filled with corpses [so that] it was possible to walk over [them] liker over the drawbridge" – are all derived from *The Jewish War* by Josephus Flavius. (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 119)

- 130 The Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts, which have nazad, have been used to translate this sentence. The Hypatian text has na zapad "westward".
- 131 According to Hens'ors'kyj, the Polonina Monastery was located on the eastern side of the Carpathian Mountains in the vicinity of Kolomyja which supported not only Danilo's soldiers but the monastery as well – with the profits from the sale of its salt. (Hens'ors'kyj, *Proces skladannja*, pp. 64–65) For a reflection of the importance of Kolomyja in the GVC, see the last two paragraphs under the year 1240.
- 132 This passage beginning with "A star with a tail..." and ending with "...is called a comet" is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, *K voprosu*, pp. 109–110). Hruševs'kyj identifies this comet with the one recorded under 1264 in Austrian and German chronicles.
- 133 The reason given by the chronicler for the "murder" of Vojšelk by Lev is an excellent example of the bias directed against Danilo's side of the Romanovič family in the Volynian section of the GVC. According to Długosz, Vojšelk was killed "because of the Rus'ian lands, which this Vojšelk tried to conquer" (Hens'ors'kyj, *Proces skladannja*, pp. 60–61). It is quite possible, however, that Lev had killed Vojšelk for a reason not mentioned by the GVC or Długosz – i.e., because Vojšelk was responsible for the death of his brother Roman. See Note 125.
- 134 Wrocław. In text Vorotislav.
- 135 Note the use of děti (normally "children") in the meaning of "soldiers" which I have modified to "vanguard" to fit the context of the passage (Hens'ors'kyj, *Leksyčni osoblyvosti*, pp. 138–139).
- 136 Volodimer and Lev were first cousins, being the sons of Vasilko and Danilo respectively.
- 137 Here apparently just official letters (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. 1, p. 579).
- 138 By Polish land or Poland the chronicler as previously means only Little Poland with its capital Cracow.
- 139 Leszek Czarny (the Black), not to be confused with Leszek Biały (the White) from the Galician section of the chronicle (Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriya*, p. 96).
- 140 The voyevoda Vasilko is Prince Vasilko of Slonim who is mentioned a little later in the text. He was a vassal of Prince Volodimer (Pašuto, *Očerki*, pp. 139–140).
- 141 The phrases about the arrows of the besiegers preventing the besieged from peering out from behind the ramparts and about corpses falling like sheaves from the ramparts are borrowed from the text under the year 1261, which in turn derives these phrases from *The Jewish War* by Joseph Flavius. See Note 129. (Orlov, *K voprosu*, p. 119)
- 142 Compare the similar passages under the year 1262.
- 143 An obvious exaggeration.
- 144 Here the chronicler is speaking of Holland (Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, p. 53).
- 145 Hruševs'kyj, *Istoriya*, p. 102.
- 146 All three texts – the Hypatian, Xlebnikovskij, and Pogodinskij have "pri jeho rjad'cax" "in the presence of his dignitaries". I agree with Hruševs'kyj that the phrase should read "pri jeju (dual) rjad'cax" "in the presence of their dignitaries" in order to make sense with the preceding context (Ibid., p. 102, footnote 4).
- 147 Volodimer and Mstislav, as sons of Vasilko and Danilo respectively, were first cousins.
- 148 Fedorec's (or Fedorok's) grandfather was the priest Jurij, who carried Vasilko out of Volodimer' when Anna was forced to escape from the city with her two sons. See text under the year 1202. (Hens'ors'kyj, *Proces skladannja*, p. 53).
- 149 A monetary unit (Sreznevskij, *Materialy*, vol. 1, p. 589).

- 150 The almost word-for-word correspondence between Volodimer's prayer and that of David Rostislavič of the Kievan Chronicle has been noted by Erëmin, *Volynskaja letopis'*, p. 179.
- 151 The wife of Volodimer's father – Prince Vasilko.
- 152 The almost word-for-word correspondence between the lament of Volodimer's widow Olga and that of the widow of Roman Rostislavič of the Kievan Chronicle was noted by Erëmin, p. 179, and before him by Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija literatury*, p. 199.
- 153 Both scholars also noted the almost word-for-word correspondence between the lament of the most prominent men of Volodimer' and that of their counterparts in Novgorod upon the death of Prince Mstislav Rostislavič in the Kievan Chronicle (Erëmin, pp. 179–180; Hruševs'kyj, p. 199).
- 154 Although attributed by the chronicler to David, it has not been found among his Psalms.
- 155 The passage beginning with "...A good witness to your devotion..." and ending with "Arise and see your brother, embellishing the throne of your land..." is derived from Metropolitan Ilarion's 11th century *Sermon on Law and Grace*. The Chronicler only substituted names.
- 156 This sentence is also derived from the above-mentioned work.
- 157 See Note 101.
- 158 See Note 134.
- 159 Silesia (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 97). In text Vorotislavian land.
- 160 After death of Henry (in text Indrix) in 1290 (i.e., already beyond the scope of the GVC), Václav became the new "pretender" to the throne of Cracow (Ibid., p. 97). In the translation I have used Vjačesláv – the Old Rus'ian form of his name.



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### Abbreviations of Periodicals

IORJaS	<i>Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk</i>
IZ	<i>Istoričeskie Zapiski</i>
RFV	<i>Russkij filologičeskij vestnik</i>
UZLGU	<i>Učēnye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta</i>
ŽMNP	<i>Žurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvēštenija</i>
ZNTŠ	<i>Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčēnka</i>
ZslPh	<i>Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie</i>

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## GLOSSARY

bogatyř (bagatyř) – a hero, warrior.

boyar – a noble.

dvorskij (dvoreckij) – the prince's "right-hand man" both at court (dvor) and in battle.

iermoloj (iermologion) – a book containing the first stanzas of Church canons which by their composition determine the composition and singing of the remaining stanzas.

gramota – any official document; a deed, charter.

grivna – a monetary unit consisting of twenty-five kunas.

khan – a Tatar title of sovereignty of the successors of Genghis Khan.

kuna – a marten skin used as a monetary unit.

olovir – gold-brocaded silk.

oxtaj (octoechos) – a Church book containing eight melodies used in the Liturgy each day of the week.

popriřće – a unit of measuring distance, equal to about two-thirds of a mile or one thousand paces.

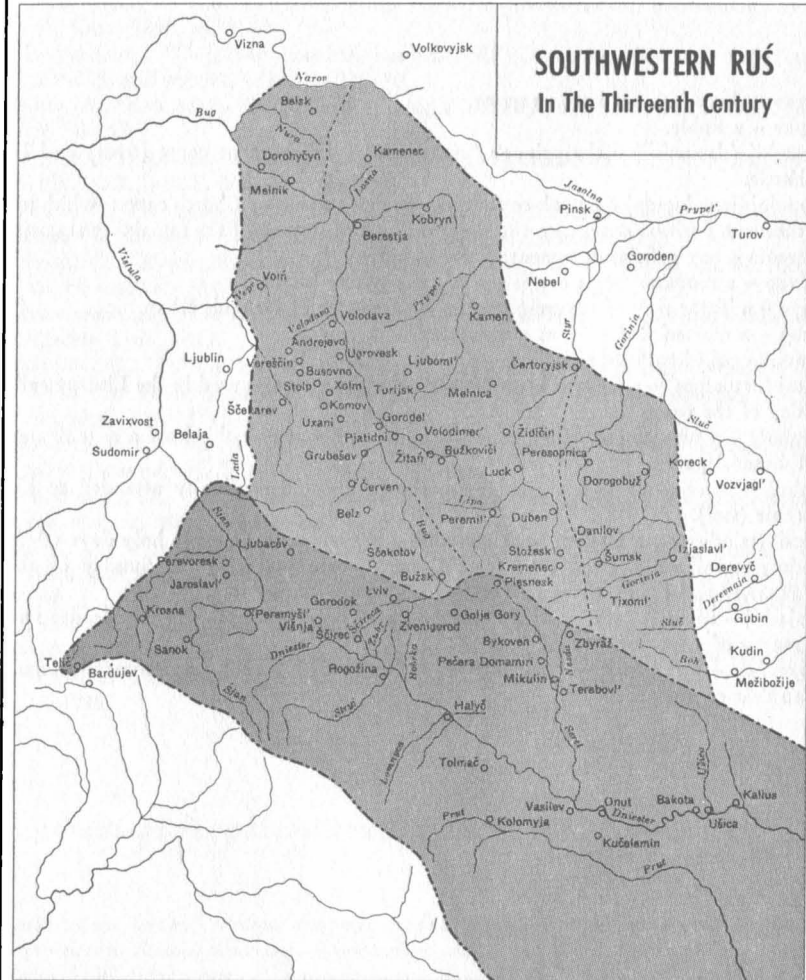
stolnik – a courtier who waited upon the prince and originally attended to his table (stol).

triod' (triodion) – a Church book containing prayers sung on those holy days which do not fall on a fixed date (e.g., Easter), beginning with the Sunday of the Pharisee and the Publican and ending with Holy Saturday.

tysjackij – literally "leader of a thousand men", who was both military leader and mayor of a medieval town.

voyevoda – a military and administrative leader with a rank approximately equal to that of a general.

# SOUTHWESTERN RUŚ In The Thirteenth Century



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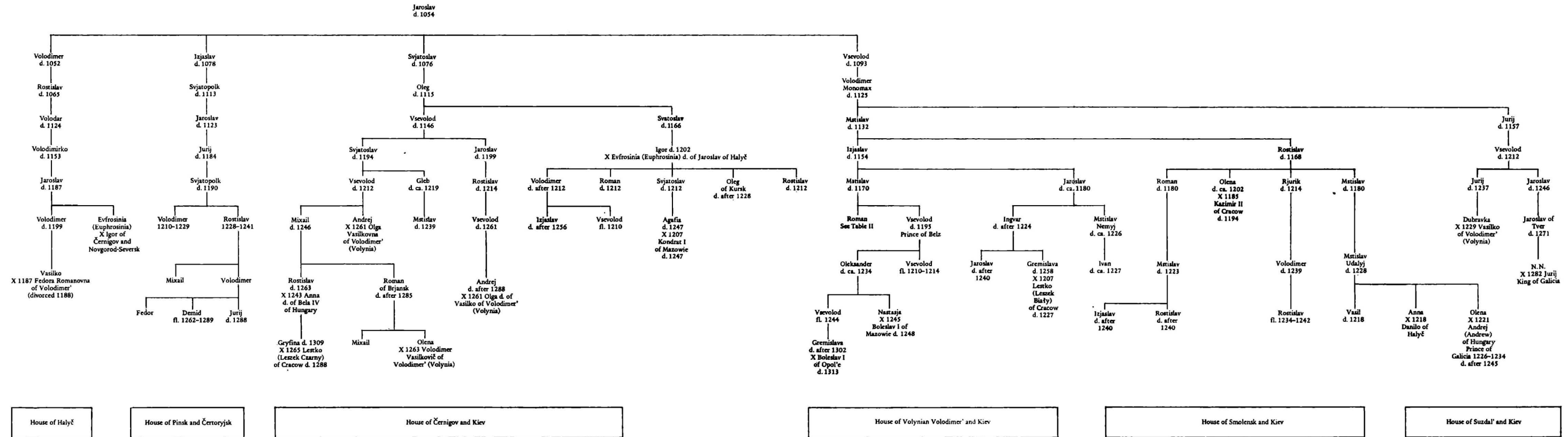


Table II: GENEALOGY OF THE ROMANOWIČI

