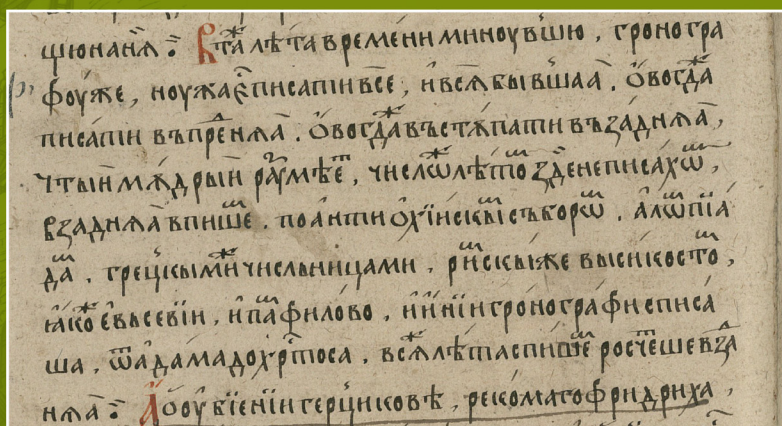


# The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia and Historical Collections in Medieval Rus'



Adrian Jusupović



The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia and Historical Collections in Medieval Rus'

# East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450

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# The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia and Historical Collections in Medieval Rus'

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Cover illustration: Khlebnikov manuscript (NLR, ref. F.IV.230 *Khlebnikovskii spisok*)

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# Contents

Foreword VII

Acknowledgements XXII

List of Figures XXIV

Introduction 1

1 The Encomium of Roman Mstislavich and the *Letopis'* of the  
Late 12th to Early 13th Century 12

2 *The Kievan Chronicle* of the Rostislavichi 28

3 The Hypothetical *Danilo's Chronicle* 79

4 Inspired Chronicling 110

5 The Chronicler of Vladimir Vasilkovich 131

Conclusions 192

Annex: Chronological Table of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*  
(The Chronicle of the Romanovichi) 198

Bibliography 211

Index of Historical Figures 235

Index of Geographical and Ethnic Names 242



# Foreword

Dear reader – to begin with, we wish to explain the reasons behind the inclusion of this extended foreword. Its authors published a critical edition of the *Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* in 2017 within the *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* series, consisting of a lengthy introduction (130 pages) and the critical edition itself (641 pages).<sup>1</sup> In their introduction they provided answers to many questions, such as those concerning the place occupied by the monumental work within the framework of a particular historical collection, issues linked to its name, and the Stemma Codicum. We would like to present these matters once again here, in abbreviated form.

## 1 The Place Occupied by *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* within the Framework of a Particular Historical Collection

*The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, also known as *The Dynastic Chronicle of the Romanovichi*, is one of the most important historiographic monuments of medieval Rus'. The chronicle presents the history of the descendants of Roman Mstislavich (d. 1205) – that is, the dynasty associated with the Principality of Halych-Volhynia in the 13th and first half of the 14th century. Moreover, this is also an important source for the history of Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia, and Hungary. Despite the term 'chronicle' in its name, assigning this text to a specific (sub)genre is not easy, largely because of its complex structure, with its creator being a highly educated person (a *knizhnik*; this term denotes a scribe who can write and create new works and thus is a broader term than 'scribe'. In English it is similar to the medieval term 'bookman'). For one thing, this is the only example of a court chronicle in medieval Rus'. It is, in other words, a true chronicle, not a *letopis'* of the annalistic genre. Seven paper manuscripts are known that include *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The oldest is the Hypatian (Ipatiev) Codex written in the early 1420s, while later manuscripts include the Khlebnikov/Ostroz'kyj, Pogodin/Chetvertyns'kyj, Bundur/Iarocki, and Ermolaev texts, as well as others from the late 18th and even the early 19th century.

All these manuscripts belong to the southern Rus' codex group (more specifically, to the Ipatiev group), which forms a historical collection<sup>2</sup> based on

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<sup>1</sup> *Chronica* 2017.

<sup>2</sup> See "Conclusion".



three fundamental works, i.e., *The Tale of Bygone Years*, *The Kievan Chronicle*, and *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. Some manuscripts also include a list of the kniazes (princes)<sup>3</sup> of Kiev until the invasion of Batu Khan. There are no doubts among researchers that these parts constitute separate historiographic works, even though they are of course connected to each other in various ways.

## 2 The Issue of the Name of the Historiographic Collection

In the preserved copies of the collection, a part of which is *The Chronicle of the Romanovichi*, we can find terms that can possibly be considered its proper name. Thus, in the Ipatiev manuscript, we encounter the 17th-century notation “Книга Ипатцкого монастыра летописецъ о княжении” (Book of the Hypatian Monastery, *Letopis'* on Ruling); “Лѣтописецъ Киевской [...]” (The Kievan *Letopis'*) [...]; “Лѣтописецъ Ипатцкого монастыра” (The *Letopis'* of the Hypatian Monastery), and also the term found in the original 15th-century heading directly preceding *The Tale of Bygone Years* “Лѣт[о]писецъ Руский” (The Rus' *Letopis'*).<sup>4</sup> In the Khlebnikov manuscript, in this same spot (as the heading of *The Tale of Bygone Years*), we encounter the notation “Лѣтописец[ь] Рускыи” (Rus' *Letopis'*).<sup>5</sup> Let us also note that in the Pogodin-Chetvertyn's'kyj

3 The *kniaz'* (князь) was the ruler in Rus', and I give the term as 'prince'. At the end of the 12th century, a new term was established, '*velikij kniaz'*' (великий князь), which will be given herein as 'great prince', as I want to highlight its distinction from the Lithuanian grand duchy. The problem of translating the term as 'king' was discussed by Christian Raffensperger (Raffensperger 2017). He noted that “there have been many books and journal articles written over the course of hundreds of years that have designated the ruler of Rus' as a 'prince' or 'duke'” (Raffensperger 2017, 1, 6). Nonetheless, he proposed the term *kniaz'* be translated as king in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This problem warrants wider discussion, but in my opinion Christian Raffensperger's very interesting idea does not fully understand the titular structure of Rus'. For example, his hypothesis is undermined by a sentence (one among several) from the Hypatian codex: ‘прадѣдъ его великий князь Данило король с[ы]нъ Романовъ’ (LRAS, ref. 16.4.4: *Ipat'evskii spisok*, 297) = his great-grandfather, the **great prince** Danilo, **the king**, son of Roman [emphasis by A.J.]. The bookman was fully aware that the words 'king (король)' and 'prince (князь)' have differing meanings. It should be highlighted that in Slavic countries there is no problem with the translation of the term '*kniaz'*', because in the Polish language, for instance, separate words exist to denote these two different titles: '*kniaź*' (corresponding to 'князь') and '*książe*' (corresponding to the English term 'prince'). It should however be noted that in Polish these words are used as synonyms. A huge amount of literature exists on the topic, examples of which can be found in such works as: Poppe 1984, Boroń 2010, Filiushkin 2006. The reader will not find any of these basic works in Raffensperger's book.

4 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, VI, 2.

5 NLR, ref. F.IV.230, 2.

manuscript, confirmed by an 18th-century transcript, there was a name that was largely analogous: “Letopisec Ruskaja Kronika knjaženija Rossijskoho” (Rus’ *Letopis’*. The Chronicle of Russian Rule).<sup>6</sup> The term that can also be found on the spine of the cover of the Khlebnikov Codex. It is as follows: “Несторова Росси́ская лѣтопись” (“Nestor’s Russian *Letopis’*”).<sup>7</sup> It seems that the name of the collection functioning as of the 15th century was thus “Rus’ *Letopis’ec*”. Since this finds confirmation in the independent Khlebnikov manuscript, its earlier genre classification can be assumed. It cannot be excluded that this might even be the original heading of the protograph. In addition, in a document from 1415 concerning the separation of the Kievan metropolitan centre from Moscow and the ordination of Gregory Tsamblak<sup>8</sup> as Kievan metropolitan bishop, references were made to the “Rus’ *letopis’*” in which the precedence of such appointments is mentioned as being done by the council of bishops during the times of Kievan Iziaslav, the metropolitan bishop of Kiev and the entire Rus’.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, in academia, ever since the study of the code was pursued in a – let us say – professional manner, it has paradoxically become accepted to refer to it by another name. Thus, as pointed out by A.V. Maïorov, in A.L. Schlözer’s circles the general term derived from the oldest copy of the codex, i.e., “Ипатьевская летопись” (Ipatiev *letopis’*), came to be used. Owing to N.M. Karamzin’s impact, at virtually the same time the name “Волынская летопись” (Volynskaia *letopis’*) also appeared.<sup>10</sup> This is how both early 19th-century copies of the monument were referred to.<sup>11</sup> To show the extent of this peculiar terminological confusion, it suffices to point out that on a modern-day slip of paper attached to the Khlebnikov manuscript we find the notation

6 PCL, ref. 122, 864. At the same time, we suspect that the second part of the name, “Kronika knjaženija Rossijskoho”, is of later origin. Let us add, for the sake of order, that there is no such heading preceding *The Tale of Bygone Years* in the Bundur/Iarocki manuscript (see LRAS, ref. 21.3.14, 1).

7 It is easy to explain the mechanism behind this. The first is the occurrence of the name Nestor, identified as the author of the collection, in the title of its first part; the second is the identification of the terms “русский” (Rus’ian) and “российский” (Russian).

8 Gregory Tsambla: metropolitan of Kiev between 1413 and 1420.

9 “[...] И сами но теперно слышимъ то и видимъ, што церковь скудѣть, а царь и патріархъ строителя добраго къ намъ церкви не дасть: по правиломъ, намъ годиться митрополита зборомъ поставити, какъ и перво сего такожъ было; при великомъ князи Изяславѣ Кіевскомъ събрався епископи зборомъ, и поставиша митрополита Кіеву и всеи Руси, а то нашли есмо, написано стоитъ въ лѣтописцѣхъ Русскыхъ [emphasis by DD and A.J.], въ Кіевскомъ и въ Володимерскомъ, и въ иныхъ.” *Okruzhnaia gramota* 1846, 36, no. 25.

10 See fn. 155.

11 See *Chronica* 2017, XIV–XXX.

“Ипатьевская летопись | Хлебниковский список”, i.e., “Ipatiev *letopis*’, Khlebnikov editorial”.<sup>12</sup> To summarize this part of our considerations: in our opinion the historical collection of which *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is a part should definitely be referred to as the “Rus’ *Letopis’ec*”, as this is the oldest known name for the text, perhaps taken from the protograph itself.<sup>13</sup> This is confirmed by the above-mentioned document from 1415.

### 3 The Issue of the Monument’s Name

As it turns out, the issue of the monument’s name has yet to be tackled via application of a multifaceted and comprehensive approach, although it has obviously been studied by many researchers and from various angles.<sup>14</sup> It is worth emphasizing that separate considerations on this subject have hitherto never appeared in any of the editions of the source, whether critical ones or translations.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, properly elucidation of the matter would require solving the following basic questions: Is there an original name preserved in the manuscripts? How was the monument referred to in early literature and why? Is it possible to reliably and convincingly determine its genre, and thus adopt a specific variant of the related segment of the name (*letopis*’, chronicle, chronograph,<sup>16</sup> *gesta*, or something else, such as a tale or story)? Is it at all appropriate to use the territorial derivative (“Halych-Volhynian”), predominant in the tradition to date, in the name of the monument?

It should be remembered, however, that we are dealing with largely conventional and anachronistic issues, as was rightly pointed out recently by V. I. V. Aristov, who emphasized, among other matters, the lack of awareness among Old Rus’ian writers of the existence of a system of literary genres.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> NLR, ref. F.IV.230.

<sup>13</sup> Thus far, it has been applied in academic literature by L. Makhnovets’ (*Litopis rus’kii za Ipat’s’kim spiskom* 1989), also recently adopted by Vadim Aristov (Aristov 2013, 113–114).

<sup>14</sup> Due to space considerations, only a selection of the literature on the topic will be presented below.

<sup>15</sup> As far as the editing is concerned, only M. Kotliar made (rather modest) remarks on the issue of the monument’s name (*Galic’ko-Volynskii litopis*’ 2002, 29–33; *Galicko-Volynskaia letopis*’ 2005, 30–35).

<sup>16</sup> Chronograph (Russian: Хронограф) – historiographic works, describing world history. In Russian academic literature, it is customary to use this term to refer to world-historical compilations created by Rus’ian bookmen.

<sup>17</sup> Aristov 2013, 114, with n. 31.

### 3.1 *The Issue of the Text's Proper Name*

As we know from the above, we do not have access to the autograph of the source. Secondly, *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* does not exist as a separate monument, but is part of a historical collection.<sup>18</sup> It should be emphasized that none of the extant manuscripts contain an incipit or explicit, nor is there a separately written name for the entire work. Nor is one provided explicitly in its text, although it has been indicated that one of the authors refers to himself using the term “chronograph[er]”.<sup>19</sup> In fact, as A. Popov has already pointed out, we are dealing here with a paraphrase of a notation found in *The Hellenic Letopis'* – specifically, in its part written on the basis of the chronicle of John Malalas.<sup>20</sup> This view has recently been supported by O. Tolochko.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the term “chronograph[er]” should first of all be seen as referring to a person, and not to the text; secondly, it is a manifestation of the historian's erudition and his adoption of a certain literary convention based on a direct reference to a specific source. The possibility of reconstructing the term used by one of the authors to designate his work on the basis of this paragraph/definition seems insignificant. This view is, moreover, confirmed by the use once again of the term “chronograph[er]” in one particular fragment of our monument. The relevant passage reads: “якоже премоудрьи . хронографъ списа” (“as wrote the smug chronographer”).<sup>22</sup> However, in one place in the text, a part the writing of which is connected with Mstislav's (II) circles, the genre of the monument does appear. Directly following the *gramota* of the prince of Brest mentioned, the author tellingly states that “а вписал есмъ в лѣтописецъ коромолоу ихъ” [And I wrote in the *letopis'* about their rebellion].<sup>23</sup> Thus, we are clearly given the name of the source as the author himself understood it. It is a “*letopis'ets*” (лѣтописецъ). This corresponds surprisingly well with our remarks as to how the protograph of the historical collection, which includes *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, may have been entitled. At the same time, we doubt whether we can indicate a name used only to designate the “Halych-Volhynian” continuation of the previous parts of the collection. We should rather agree with

18 See “Conclusion”.

19 A chronograph is a monument of Old Rus' literature. Chronographs differed from annals due to their narrative (which was not always believable) and a strong bias towards moralizing. Aside from the data taken from Byzantine chroniclers, quite fragmentary information about Bulgarian and Serbian history (as well as that of Rus') were added. See p. xxx.

20 Popov 1866, 67–70, especially 69, with n. 1. Malalas John, chronicler; born ca. 490, died 570s. See: Baldwin 1991, 1275.

21 Tolochko A.P. 2005, 84.

22 See *Chronica* 2017, 375.

23 See *Chronica* 2017, 618.

V. IU. Aristov's view that the Volhynian chronicler consciously referred to the name of the collection, treating his work as its natural extension.<sup>24</sup>

To sum up, our monument contains neither an original name nor a proper name that came from the individual copyists, although we find at least two genre-related terms in the text (chronograph, *letopis'ets*). Consequently, we can only refer to a functioning tradition or propose, and (should the names so far presented prove to be incorrect) a new solution. At this point it should be stressed that while the term *letopis'* is legitimate for the whole Hypatian-type Codex, it is not for its final portion, i.e., *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.

### 3.2 *Notes on the Name of the Historical Monument in Historiographic Tradition*

Let us now examine how the issue of naming the monument was handled in scholarly tradition.<sup>25</sup> We will first focus on the issues linked to the identifier, later discussing genre-related questions.

We will begin with the oldest – in these terms – practice from Eastern Europe.<sup>26</sup> N.M. Karamzin, who in 1809 introduced the Khlebnikov codex into academic circulation, referred to our source as the “Volhynian (*letopis'*)”, meaning both the general name of the codex he had discovered for the scholarly world and the third part among the main sections of the text.<sup>27</sup> This terminology was adopted by many others, not only in Russia,<sup>28</sup> even many years later. For example, V.O. Kliuchevskii used it in his lectures delivered in 1891.<sup>29</sup> In the introduction to the second volume of PSRL (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*), published in 1843, we encounter a slightly different way of referring to the monument, i.e., “Volhynian or Halych (*letopis'*)” – “Летопись Волынская или Галицкая”.<sup>30</sup> This gave rise to the tradition of using a double name in reference to the monument. It was used, though not entirely consistently, by

<sup>24</sup> Aristov 2013, 114.

<sup>25</sup> Due to spatial limitations, this is not a systematic and comprehensive overview of the literature on the topic.

<sup>26</sup> In beginning here, we are following in the footsteps of V. Aristov, who has presented this issue relatively recently (Aristov 2012, 172–175).

<sup>27</sup> Karamzin 1866, 35, 48–51.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g., Perevoshchikov 1836, 10, 14–15; Bielowski 1852, 106 (“Kronika wołyńska”); *Latopis Nestora* 1864, xvi (“Latopisiec Wołyński”); Szaraniewicz 1872, 1, and others (“Wołyń'sche Chronik”).

<sup>29</sup> Kliuchevskii 1989, 12–13, 30, 79.

<sup>30</sup> *Ipatievskiaia letopis'* 1843, viii.

K. Bestuzhev-Riumin, who tended to use the term proposed by Karamzin even more frequently.<sup>31</sup>

It seems that the double name, with the derivatives appearing in a specific array, finally became widespread thanks to M.N. Kostomarov, who in a study devoted to a discussion of Russian historical sources referred to our text in the form that is most popular today – namely, “The Halych-Volhynia (*Letopis*)”.<sup>32</sup> This name made a remarkable career not only in Eastern European historiography, but also among authors from the West. It was used, for example, in 1871, by the editors of the second edition of this historiographical collection from the Archaeographical Commission who referred to Kostomarov’s findings,<sup>33</sup> and later also by A.A. Shakhmatov in his edition, in a slightly modified form (“Галицко-волынскій сводъ”/the Halych-Volhynian *Zvod*).<sup>34</sup> It was later applied by tens of researchers, all of whom it would be pointless to list here.

At any rate, the derivative “Halych-Volhynian”, became predominant and continues to function to this day (i.e., among researchers publishing in the 21st century). Frequently this expresses adherence to accepted tradition – that is, it is not based on analysis of the individual components of the name.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.3 *Genre Classification*

The issue of how to classify *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* in terms of its genre has long aroused the interest of researchers, but very often the actual significance of the problem has not been fully realized. Among more general problems, this is evidenced by the inconsistent and often interchangeable use of the terms “chronicle” and “*letopis*” in reference to our text.<sup>36</sup>

31 Bestuzhev-Riumin 1868, 151. At the same time, the author used the term “*Volhynian letopis*” even more frequently (Bestuzhev-Riumin 1868, 70, with n. 2; 72, 153, 157).

32 Kostomarov 1861, 47–51. It was J. Knysz who drew our attention to this fact, for which we would like to express our gratitude here. Recently V. Aristov has commented on the dissemination of this name. The Kiev researcher in fact has a skeptical approach to it (Aristov 2012, 174–175).

33 *Letopis’ po Ipatskomu spisku* 1871, 1.

34 *Ipateľskaia letopis’* 1908, IV–V.

35 The term “Halych-Volhynian” can be found in more recent publications devoted to a discussion of Old Rus’ian literary monuments, e.g., in *Pis’mennye pamiatniki istorii Drevnei Rusi* 2003, 27; *Istoriia drevnerusskoï literatury* 2008, 71–82; Karavashkin 2001, 273; *Īstorīia Ukraїns’koï Literaturi v dvadciati tomakh* 2013, 573–587. This term is also present in recent Polish academic literature. See e.g., Bartnicki 2008, 349–368; Wójcicka 2010, 179–181.

36 Highly telling is the fact that the translation terminology regarding the issue we are describing here is fluid and non-specific. E.g., in the Harvard edition of the Khlebnikov-Ostroz’kyj and Pogodin-Chetvertyns’kyj manuscripts, the Ukrainian version of the introduction uses the term “літопис”, while the English – the word “chronicle” (*The Old Rus’ Kievan and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles* 1990, XV–LXII).

Concerning the genre-related parts of the name for this monument of historical writing from medieval Rus', two articles recently published by J. Komendova are important.<sup>37</sup> The Czech author listed various proposals concerning its classification that had appeared in the relevant academic literature: "collection of stories/tales" (M. Kotliar's concept),<sup>38</sup> "chronograph" (T. Vilkul),<sup>39</sup> "[bygone] stories" or "deeds" (O.V. Tvorogov & T.V. Gimon's concept),<sup>40</sup> "secular *Zhite*" (Russian: Житие; Latin: Vitae; Greek: βίος)<sup>41</sup> (D.I. Tschizhevskij),<sup>42</sup> "chronicle" (proposed, for example, by D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović, M. Klatý),<sup>43</sup> "*gesta*" (D.I. Tschizhevskij, M. Font).<sup>44</sup> We should add to this list provided by the author the view held by D. Obolenski – namely, that part of the "Galician and Volhynian Chronicle" was Danilo Romanovich's "Princely biography".<sup>45</sup> J. Komendova has also aptly stated that in the search for the genre that could best define what she refers to as the "Halych-Volhynian *Letopis*", we encounter a basic obstacle – namely, the lack of an autograph. Ultimately, however, this does not prevent attempts at its typological definition, although these are fraught with the risk of errors being made also from a methodological perspective. In conclusion, she wrote:

The Halych-Volhynian *letopis*' can be characterized as a hybrid text in terms of its genre, in which we can find the characteristics of various genres, but not a single one of them "appears in the full and pure form of its 'essence'".<sup>46</sup>

This argument can largely be agreed with. It is neither necessary nor sensible to categorize the genre of a source by force, especially since we are dealing with a complex and varied text. However, it remains necessary for us to determine the most appropriate name for it.

<sup>37</sup> Komendova 2016a, 79–88; 2016b, 38–47.

<sup>38</sup> Already in his 1993 text, M.F. Kotliar wrote that the source "represents something like a grand story/tale or a collection of stories/tales" (Kotliar 1993, 6). He later maintained this opinion. See *Galicko-Volynskaia letopis*' 2005, 30–60; Kotliar 2006, 119–137.

<sup>39</sup> Vilkul 2009, 83.

<sup>40</sup> Tvorogov 1987, 115–116; Gimon 2012, 242.

<sup>41</sup> *Zhitie* – a genre of Orthodox Church literature describing the life and deeds of saints.

<sup>42</sup> Tschizhevskij 1953, 104–107; Font 2008, 98–108.

<sup>43</sup> Both authors listed at the beginning expressed such an opinion in various texts (to the exclusion of the view presented in Dąbrowski 2012c, 155–156). In addition, see Klatý 2003, 251–268.

<sup>44</sup> Tschizhevskij 1953, 108; Font 2005, 32–34.

<sup>45</sup> Obolenski 1982, 81–82.

<sup>46</sup> Komendova 2016a.

Nonetheless, when it comes to the issue of the genre, it cannot be referred to as the “*letopis*” preferred by Komendova and predominant in Eastern European terminology, but also rooted in other historiographies. This results from two basic facts. Firstly, this type of Rus’ian historiography is – as the Czech researcher is perfectly aware – very far from the model represented by all the manuscripts of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, with the exception of the Ipatiev one. Komendova herself quoted the accurate definition of a “*letopis*” as provided recently by T.V. Gimón. According to that Russian researcher, “everything stated [above] provides evidence for the possibility of seeing analogies between Western European early medieval annals and Old Rus’ian *letopis*’. Both for the former and the latter, the following [aspects] are characteristic: 1) the annalistic structure of the division of information,<sup>47</sup> 2) the ‘discreteness’<sup>48</sup> of the text inside each annual article, 3) the ‘openness’ to alterations and supplementing (and hence the constant interweaving of, on the one hand, annual records, on the other – compilations and lists), 4) the non-expression of individual authorship”.<sup>49</sup> Meanwhile, let us note that in our source: 1) there is no annalistic grid of text division; 2) the text of the individual modules clearly has a core. In fact, they are often complete wholes. What is more, the narrative frequently returns to certain threads by way of making the audience aware that the author, out of necessity, had to discuss certain events at a certain point in the text, for reasons of conditions resulting from cause-and-effect, while at this particular point it is necessary for him to return to facts that occurred earlier. In this way, a complex structure of chronological and cause-effect relations was created. This structure completely contradicts an annalistic, unambiguously linear manner of organizing narrative; 3) it is true that the text was subject to alterations, but these were an expression of overlapping editing work and not the definitional ease of putting together completely independent materials, as characteristic of *letopis*’ or annals; 4) in our source, while there is not even a single piece of information precisely identifying the authors, many phrases are present that reveal their intentions. It is therefore difficult to claim the authors were fully anonymous.

47 The author originally used the term “погодная структура”, which cannot be translated literally (the closest attempt would be “yearly structure”). We have therefore described the term here.

48 In using the term “discreteness” (дискретность), T.V. Gimón was referring to the views held by T.A. Kruglova, who defined it as a feature of annual articles that they lack a singular narrative core and are open to being complemented by other information (Golikov, Kruglova 2000, 14).

49 Gimón 2012, 91, 85–92. For other important remarks on characteristic features of *letopis*’, see also, e.g.: Gippius 2002, 25–43; Gimón, Gippius 2005, 174–200; Prokhorov 2014, 11–21.



In our opinion, there is one important though indirect argument that provides evidence for rejecting the term “*letopis*”, i.e., the 15-century copyist working on the basis of the Ipatiev manuscript decided to rework the transcribed text with the purpose of bringing it closer in form to a work with an annalistic division. In this way, he showed that he found a formula without a yearly grid strange and difficult to accept.

What then can we offer as a solution instead? During our studies into categorizing the genre of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, we established that the monumental work most closely matches the current definition of a court chronicle. We refer to the conclusions reached by E. Van Houts.<sup>50</sup> We may observe an account that focuses on one family (the Romanovichi – the descendants of Roman Mstislavich) connected with Halych-Volhynian Rus'.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is not written in the form of *gesta*, as this is rather an annalistic narrative or story that loses its chronological order, with a narrative structure. And indeed, in this case we are dealing with a monumental work that is devoid of an arrangement typical for annals, and consists of various types of stories. The chronicler, wishing to maintain relative order in the sequence of events, employs stylistic hints which for the modern researcher are fundamental for its correct dating. Another marker of a dynastic chronicle as clarified by E. Van Houts is that the narrative begins with the description of an ancestor and covers at least 3 to 6 or even more generations of his descendants. In the case of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, the narrative begins with praise of Roman Mstislavich. In fact, the memory of Roman as the progenitor of the dynasty is preserved throughout the monumental work. Starting with the protoplast,<sup>52</sup> the source also describes the history of 5 generations of the family (1. Roman Mstislavich; 2. Fiodora, Helena (?), Danilo and Vasilko Romanovichi; 3. Irakli, Leo (Lev), Roman, Mstislav (I), Shvarno, Mstislav (II) Danilovichi, as well as Olga and Vladimir Vasilkovichi; 4. Yuri Lvovich, Danilo Mstislavich; 5. Mikhailo Yurevich). Other details that are features of a dynastic chronicle have also been preserved – namely, we are provided with the names of people serving the dynasty,<sup>53</sup> the history of neighbouring countries (in this case, from the territories of present-day Lithuania, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus). Moreover, the family is presented as the donors and founders of monasteries and churches and as defenders of the faith.<sup>54</sup>

50 Van Houts 1995, 33–35.

51 Van Houts 1995, 34.

52 Van Houts 1995, 35.

53 Compare Jusupović 2013b.

54 Van Houts 1995, 36.

When writing the text, the chronicler had access to information from a period spanning approximately 60 years, i.e., he made avail of both eyewitnesses<sup>55</sup> and royal archives. This fact determines another important precondition for the identification of our source as a dynastic chronicle – namely, that it was created on an ongoing basis, often during the lives of the story's protagonists. Thus, it seems entirely justified to use the term “chronicle” (implying a court chronicle) in relation to our genealogical monument.

At this point it behooves us to include some reflections on the relativity of such an assumption. Thus, it should be remembered that very similar features as those ascribed to this genre are presented by historical Byzantine writings, such as what is known as Michael Psellos' *Chronographia*.<sup>56</sup> According to O. Jurewicz, the Byzantines distinguished between historiographic works focused on the description of bygone times, which they referred to as “chronicles”, and “histories”, and those depicting events that were contemporary or close in time to the author's lifespan.<sup>57</sup> By referring to this tradition, we could call our source a “history.” However, in Byzantium, there was also no rigid historiographic terminology. For example, in one of his manuscripts, probably written during the author's lifetime, George Akropolites<sup>58</sup> main work is called “chronike synopsis”, although in others it is referred to as a “history”.<sup>59</sup>

Having discussed all the relevant doubts, we will however remain with the convenient and well-based term “chronicle”.

Likewise, we have come to the decision to use the “Halych-Volhynia” derivative commonly used by scholars, though not at all based on the fundamentally false reasons often provided in the relevant literature (i.e., that the first part is “Halych”, as it pertains primarily to events in Halych or was written there, whereas the second – “Volhynia”, as it focuses on a description of facts occurring in Volhynia or was written in that Rus'ian district). The term “Halych-Volhynia” may be used only because our work, in terms of its genesis as a court chronicle – as we have noted above – is connected with the Romanovichi state, i.e., Halych-Volhynian Rus',<sup>60</sup> describing its fate from the perspective of individual representatives of the dynasty. What is more, we refer with reverence to the

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55 Van Houts 1995, 37, 41.

56 Psellos 1985, XIV–XX.

57 Psellos 1985, xv.

58 George Akropolites (1217 or 1220–1282) a Byzantine historian.

59 Akropolit 2013, 35.

60 This name is of course also a historiographic concept which does not appear in our source text.

long terminological tradition. After all, it is well known that the introduction of new terms and the consequent rejection of old ones may lead to chaos.<sup>61</sup>

We now reach the moment in this introduction when it is high time to explain our original and new proposal to refer to this monument of historical writing as *The Chronicle of the Romanovichi*. The reason behind this decision is easily explained and analogous to the above. We are dealing here with a source which – as can be noted repeatedly within the text and has been repeatedly brought up in comments to it – focuses on the presentation of the history of the Romanovichi dynasty. What is more, it was developed within the circles of its individual representatives. Therefore, such a proposal for the source text's name is informed by the place, time, content, circle of protectors, and motivation behind the source being written down.

At the same time, however, in order not to introduce chaos into the discussion, we maintain the previous name, with full awareness of all its shortcomings. Ultimately, within this text, we will adopt a dual name to refer to the source, i.e., *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* (*The Chronicle of the Romanovichi*).

It is worth noting once again that it is legitimate to use the term “The Halych-Volhynian *letopis*” exclusively in reference to the Ipatiev edition of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. This is because there is much to suggest that the text was prepared by its editor with the aim of making it resemble the historiographical formula of the *letopis*. In closing this part of the discussion, it should be noted that the reader will encounter the terms *letopis* and chronicle. In English literature the two terms are frequently taken as synonyms, which is not entirely correct. In Polish literature, *letopis* is most often rendered by the term *roczniki*, i.e., annals.

#### 4 The Stemma Codicum of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*

In 2017, Adrian Jusupović and Dariusz Dąbrowski edited and published a critical edition of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* (*Chronica* 2017, CXXVII + 711 + 9p). This is an altogether unique edition as compared to this valuable source's previous publications. First of all, it is preceded by an extensive 130-page introduction. Secondly, it takes into account all the known variants of *The Chronicle*

61 We draw the reader's attention to a perfect example concerning the possibility of committing errors as a result of the functioning of two names of a certain monument of Russian historiography. This refers to the *Radziwiłł letopis*, also referred to as the *Königsberg letopis*. We have encountered texts written by historians, in which they were convinced these were two separate source texts.

of *Halych-Volhynia*.<sup>62</sup> Thirdly, editions based on the text found in the Ipatiev/Hypatian<sup>63</sup> codex have become predominant and are widespread within scholarly circles. Meanwhile, as Mikhailo Hrushevsky has already perceptively noted, “the basis for any study of the *letopis*’ [*The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*] should not be the chronologized Ipatiev Codex, but others (such as the Khlebnikov and Pogodin manuscripts), which, although written centuries later, are closer to the archetype, because they have neither the chronology nor the stylistic changes introduced by the person who established the chronology, inserting years (he threw out such connectors as “въ та же лѣта” (That year), “въ то же время” (At that time), “зимъ же бывши” (When Winter came), “времени минувши” (After some time) etc. – sometimes very valuable for determining the order of events).<sup>64</sup> We agree with the views of the Ukrainian historian on working with editions based on the Hypatian/Ipatiev Codex. Namely, he wrote that the chronological order present in these editions and the related changes to the original text<sup>65</sup> confuse readers.<sup>66</sup> It should be noted that the copyist of the Ipatiev manuscript created an annalistic layout that does not exist in the other manuscripts in which *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* has been preserved. This interference by the 15th-century scribe led to the dates he proposed and the actual date of the described events differing by as much as 20 years.

The *stemma codicum* plays an important role in the present discussion. It should be borne in mind that, in all probability, the Ipatiev manuscript and the Khlebnikov manuscript had a common protograph (see below for the full *stemma codicum*). The difference between these manuscripts is that the copyist of the Ipatiev manuscript interfered with the transcribed text (he not only created an annalistic layout, but also arranged the end of the chronicle chronologically, thus losing three large fragments of text that have survived in the Khlebnikov manuscript), while the copyist of the Khlebnikov manuscript mechanically transcribed the protograph. The copyist of the Pogodin codex did the same when copying the Khlebnikov manuscript, as evidenced by the

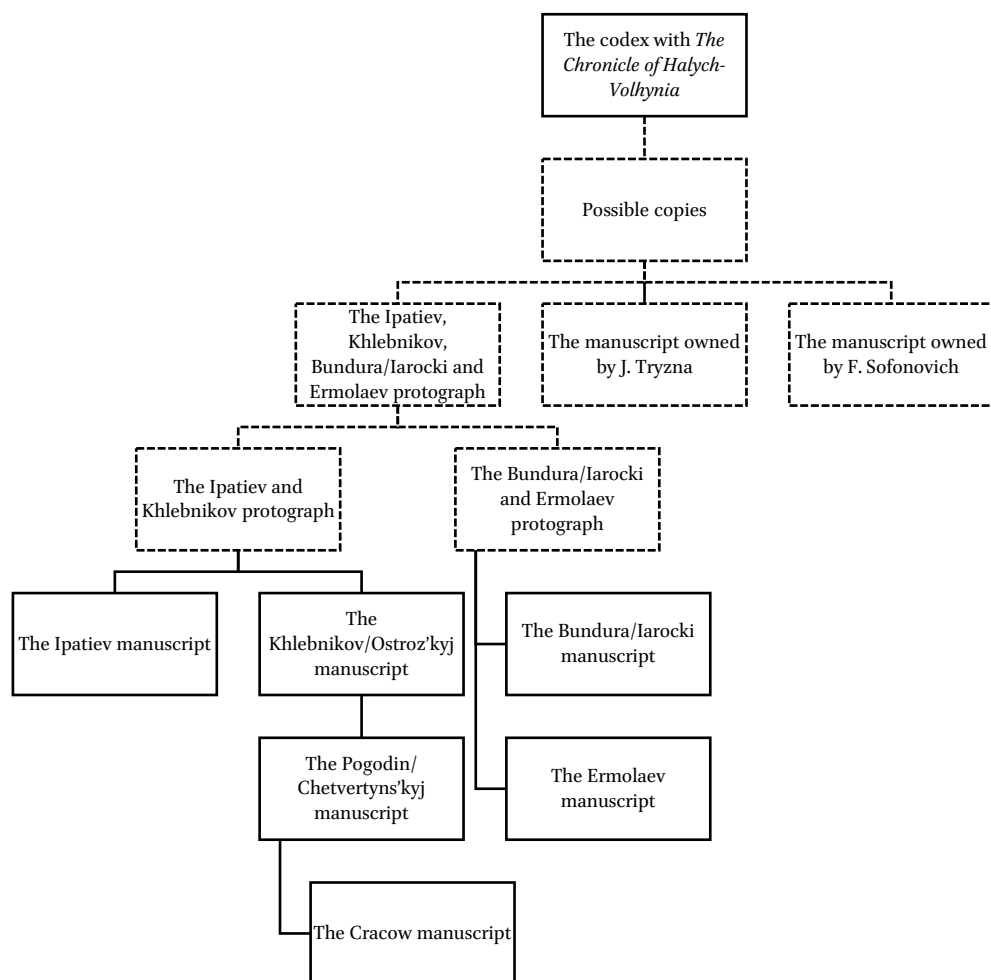
62 This is the first fully critical edition. On the various editions of the Halych-Volhynian Chronicle, see *Chronica* 2017, XXX–XLI.

63 A full list of these editions with comments on their value is given in Chapter 5 of this publication.

64 Hrushevsky 1901, 2–4. Similarly: Priselkov 1941, 5–24; Tolochko A.P. 2006a, 175–183 (discussion of the literature therein).

65 Aleksei Shakhmatov, who is the editor of the Hypatian Manuscript, added huge passages from the Khlebnikov Codex. Compare: *Ipat’evskaia letopis*’ 1908, col. 923–924 with LRAS, ref. 16.4.4, 305 and *Chronica* 2017, 614.

66 Hrushevsky 1901, 3–4.



same variant forms and the identical distribution of the payereks (suspension/overwriting of the later Cyrillic “yer”). This observation makes one all the more inclined to state that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, in the variant that has survived in the Khlebnikov/Ostroz'kyj manuscript, should be considered more important than the Ipatiev codex for research into the source texts.

In our extensive introduction to *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* published in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, the reader will primarily find codicological considerations and a summary of the critical literature on the topic. As the editors of the MPH themselves have pointed out, there was not enough time to describe the narrative strategy, and – thus – the approach to chronology (with

a precise dating of the events described) applied by the bookman. This book aims to fill this gap.

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Finally, we would like to inform the reader that while the translation by George A. Perfecky is well known to us, the decision has been made, where necessary, to re-translate the source text used. This is primarily because the basis for the conclusions reached within this book is the Khlebnikov manuscript, while G.A. Perfecky translated the Chronicle preserved in the Ipatiev manuscript. Secondly, there are numerous errors in G.A. Perfecky's translation,<sup>67</sup> particularly evident in place names that were transliterated from Old Rus'ian without any attempt to locate them. As a result, the well-known Brest became Berestja, Lublin – Ljublin, Potylicz – Telič, etc. There are also passages that have been incorrectly interpreted, e.g.: “В нед[ѣ]лю же миноуша горѡд[ъ] по Нѣколици д[ѣ]ни наутрїи”, meaning “On Sunday, the next day after [the feast of] St. Nicholas, they marched past the city”, G.A. Perfecky translated as “A week later, the second day after [the feast of] St. Nicholas, they marched past the city”.<sup>68</sup> In modern Russian, “неделя” indeed does mean “week”, but in Old Rus'ian the basic meaning of the term is “Sunday”.<sup>69</sup> It should be noted that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is one of the most difficult Cyrillic source texts to translate. It is also one of the most important sources for 13th-century Europe.

*Adrian Jusupović*  
*Dariusz Dąbrowski*

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67 The Hypatian 1973.

68 The Hypatian 1973, 97.

69 See SDRJ, vol. 5, 266–269.

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I owe my thanks to many different people. I will begin with my mentors – Professor Sławomir Gawlas and Professor Andrzej Poppe. The beginnings of my academic contacts with them have been described in the introduction to the text “Polska, Ruś i Węgry: X–XIV w.” [Poland, Rus’ and Hungary: 10th–14th centuries] (edited by D. Dąbrowski, A. Jusupović and T. Maresz, Cracow 2018, pp. 15–17). Not wishing to repeat myself, I will only make the general comment that as a result of the seminars they taught, as well as those conducted by Prof. Karol Modzelewski and Prof. Maria Koczerska, I became adept with a collection of specific skills and methods that have allowed me not only to read the monuments of Rus’ written history, but also the Latin notes in the glosses. In short, it is thanks to them that I was able to write this book and create my own research methodology, for which I shall ever remain grateful.

This book would never have been written if it were not for the patience of my best-friend, Dariusz Dąbrowski, Professor of the Casimir the Great University in Bydgoszcz, with whom I have worked closely for years, and who has reviewed many of my texts. Over the last year of preparing this publication, he would listen to my changing research hypotheses, though he ultimately received something completely different for review. The aid provided by Dr Hab. Aleksander Paron, Professor of the Polish Academy of Sciences, as well as by Dr Aleksei Shchavelev and Dr Andrei Kuzmin, was exceptionally valuable. A debt of gratitude is also due to my colleagues from the Russian Academy of Sciences, who – during the 30th anniversary of the Pashutinskie chteniia – listened to the outline of the first chapter of the book,<sup>1</sup> and then afterwards, behind the scenes, were tormented with my vision for the entire text. Their valuable comments and bibliographical suggestions, especially those made by Prof. Aleksei Gippius and Prof. Timofei Gimon, had a positive effect on the final results of my work. I also express special thanks for helping me with the literature and for consultation to Prof. Jonathan Shepard, Prof. Simon Franklin, Prof. Alexandra Vukovich, Prof. Christian Raffensperger, and Prof. Florin Curta. Words of praise are also due the employees of the Department of Manuscripts at the Russian National Library and the Library of the Academy of Sciences, as well as at the National Archives in Lviv, especially Prof. Aleksei Alekseev, Prof. Andrei Medvedev, Prof. Maria Korogodina, and Dr Mikhail Shibaev. I am also grateful to all the employees of the Tadeusz Manteuffel Department of Source Criticism and Editing at the Polish Academy of Sciences, directed by

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1 Jusupović 2018b, 363–367.

Prof. Andrzej Rachuba, with whom I had the opportunity of discussing my research hypotheses during our meetings. Last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to two people: my translator, Dr Miłka Stępień, and language editor, Philip Earl Steele. Were it not for their painstaking efforts and passionate engagement, the nuances of the Polish and Old Rus' text would not have survived the translation process.

I wish to give special thanks to my wife, Monika, who patiently suffered her husband's absences from the country and his presence in front of the computer screen when at home. I would also like to thank my children, Konrad and Aleksander, as – without their input and involvement – this text would have been finished much faster.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, I owe to them the invaluable breaks for fun and games during which I could catch some fresh air and achieve the necessary perspective to write this book.

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2 This statement is an adaptation of Frederick Forsyth's dedication (*The Fourth Protocol*, New York–Toronto–London–Sydney–Auckland, 1995, 7). It may not be very original, but is still very much true.



# Figures

- 1 Peter Mogila's handwriting in the upper left corner (NRL, signature/ref. F.IV.230: Khlebnikov spisok, p. 339v) 3
- 2 A page from the Pogodin manuscript (NLR, ref. sobr. M.P. Pogodina, No. 1401: Pogodinskiĭ spisok, pp. 257v–258) 4
- 3 The initial page of the Ermalaev manuscript, NLR, ref. no. F.IV.230: *Ermalaev spisok*, p. 1 13
- 4 Page from the Khlebnikov manuscript (NLR, ref. F.IV.230: *Khlebnikovskii spisok*, k. 341v–342) 120
- 5 Page from the Ipatiev manuscript (LRAS, ref. 16.4.4: *Ipat'evskii spisok*, pp. 296v–297) 164

# Introduction

From the moment of its creation, the southern group of Rus' chronicles of the Ipatiev type, consisting of three key historiographic works – *The Tale of Bygone Years*, the *Kievan Chronicle*, and *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*<sup>1</sup> – attracted a lot of interest, as attested by the fact that up until the mid-18th century five manuscripts had survived.<sup>2</sup> Excepting the Ipatiev Codex<sup>3</sup> and the Iarocki/Bundur and Ermolaev<sup>4</sup> manuscripts, they contain numerous glosses testifying to them having been used frequently. The Khlebnikov manuscript's heavily damaged cover clearly testifies to the codex's extensive use. Thirteen different forms of handwriting can be identified in its margins, both in the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, from the 16th to the 18th centuries<sup>5</sup> (including the 17th-century notes of the Eastern Orthodox Metropolitan Bishop of Kiev, Peter Mogila). Additionally, there are notes made with a pencil from the 19th century. In the Pogodin manuscript there are five forms of handwriting, of which about 95% of all the glosses were written by the Uniate Metropolitan Bishop of Kiev in 1714–28, Luka Lev Kiszka. The same handwriting can be found in Luka Lev Kiszka's entire manuscript. References to an Ipatiev-type codex can be found on pages 34 to 59v (i.e., in the part dedicated to *The Tale of Bygone*

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1 Throughout this book, the term “chronicle” will refer only to *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, unless a clear reference to another source is made.

2 The Ipatiev Codex, also referred to as the Hypatian Codex (written at the beginning of the 1420s) is stored in the Library of the [Russian] Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg [hereinafter: LRAS] (ref. no. 16.4.4); the Khlebnikov manuscript, also known as the Ostroz'kyj manuscript (1550s–1560s and ca. 1637) – in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg [hereinafter: NLR] (ref. no. F.IV.230); the Pogodin manuscript, also known as the Chetvertyns'kyj manuscript (1621) – in the NLR (ref. no. collection of M.P. Pogodin, no. 1401); the Iarocki/Bundur manuscript (1651) – in the LRAS (ref. no. 21.3.14); the Ermolaev manuscript (1711) – in the NLR (ref. no. F.IV.231).

3 The amount of glosses in the Ipatiev manuscript is small and indicates it was used from the 15th to the 17th century and from the 19th century onwards.

4 Both manuscripts were copied from the *protograph* along with the glosses. There are no traces of comments made in later periods.

5 The oldest glosses were damaged during bookbinding interventions. The best preserved are those from the end of the 17th century and from the 18th century. Among the 18th-century glossarists, one refers to the Ermolaev Codex created in 1711. The handwriting in the Latin alphabet should be dated to the 17th/18th centuries. In a few places, references are made to the chronicle of Maciej Strykowski, the first edition of which was issued in 1582.

Years) and from 59v to 96<sup>6</sup> (*The Kievan Chronicle*; the narrative ends in 1186).<sup>7</sup> It should be emphasized that a copy was made of the Pogodin codex after 1791, commissioned by Bishop Adam Naruszewicz in the form of the Cracow manuscript.<sup>8</sup> Among the glosses in the Khlebnikov, Pogodin, Iarocki/Bundur, and Ermolaev codices we can find numerous references comparing the content of these manuscripts to, for example, the works of Maciej Strykowski,<sup>9</sup> Sylwester Kossow,<sup>10</sup> and *The Laurentian Chronicle*.<sup>11</sup> This interest in the Ipatiev-type group of manuscripts shows how important they were for the culture and identity of south-western Rus'. The work done by the glossarists and people correcting the content of this monument of Old Rus' writing frequently permits us to pose hypotheses concerning their understanding of individual phrases.<sup>12</sup> However, it is worth stressing that early modern glossarists treated manuscripts as a whole. Contemporary researchers, in turn, only see the individual parts of these annalistic historical collections – which I understand as “a registry within one manuscript of material written during different periods that realizes various cognitive and ideological objectives pressing at the moment of its creation, which thereby forms a new historiographic whole.”<sup>13</sup>

6 See: Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine in Lviv [hereinafter: CSHAUil], fonds 201: Greko-katolic'ka mitropolichna konsistoriia, opis 4, od. zb. 421: Rukopis mitropolita L'va Kishki. During work on the edition of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volyhnia* (*Chronica* 2017) and its translation (*Kronika* 2017), the editors (Dariusz Dąbrowski and Adrian Jusupović) did not manage to elaborate on these very important issues. In this book, I focus primarily on the aspects not discussed in the above-listed publications.

7 See: NLR, ref. sobr. M.P. Pogodin, No. 1401: Pogodinskii spisok with CSHAUil], fonds 201: Greko-katolic'ka mitropolichna konsistoriia, opis 4, od. zb. 421: Rukopis mitropolita L'va Kishki. Thus, in Luka Lev Kiszka's manuscript there are no references to *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, despite the fact that his handwriting can be found in glosses in the chronicle referring to the period after 1205.

8 See: The Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow, ref. no. 122, *Rękopis krakowski* [The Cracow manuscript]. See: *Chronica* 2017, XXIV–XXIX.

9 See: Khlebnikov manuscript, 58v, 73.

10 Ibidem, 211. This is perhaps what the gloss on page 60v should be associated with: Zazy|wazą Polacy nie | rozumiejąc co znaczy | w Pieśni mówiąc | a ty Adamie Boży | kmieci, ty siedzisz | [u] Boga w wieczu [The Poles notice without understanding what it means in the Song when it is stated that you, Adam, the Lord's yeoman, sit [at] God's [side] in eternity]. See: *Chronica* 2017, xv.

11 See The Ipatiev Codex, 31. Between 6429 and 6430, the following was written at the bottom of the page: “въ семъ мѣстѣ оканчивает пропускъ въ Лаврентъ” (at this point, the omitted fragment from *The Laurentian* [*Chronicle*] ends). On page 97, “пропуск ... лаврентъ” (omitted in *The Laurentian Chronicle*) was noted down, probably in the 19th century.

12 This also gives us a view of the changes that have occurred in the language (over the centuries) and of the work done by later copyists.

13 Wiesiołowski J. 1967, 151.

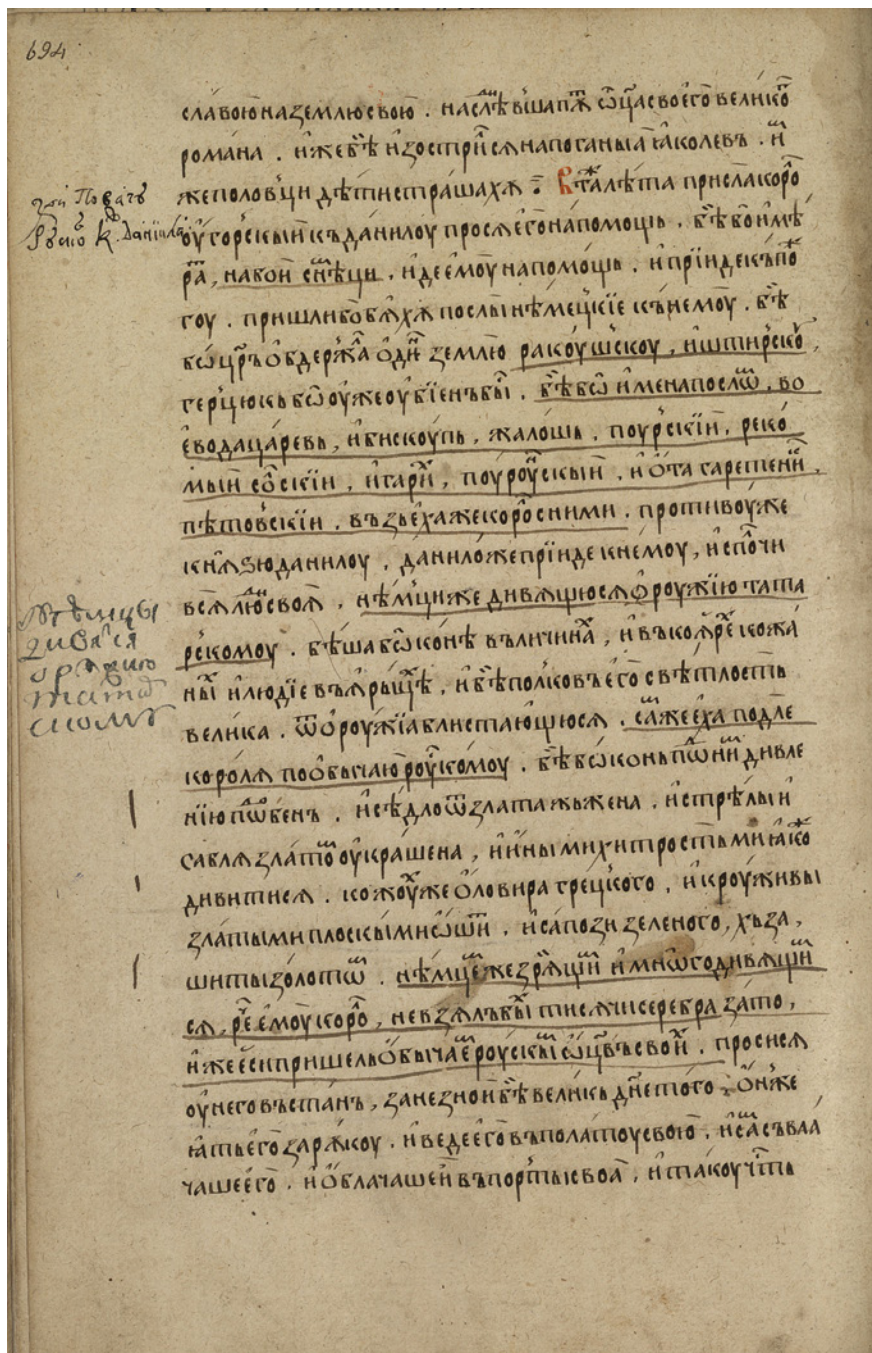


FIGURE 1 Peter Mogila's handwriting in the upper left corner (NRL, signature/ref. F.IV.23o Khlebnikov spisok, p. 339v)





[illegible]

Historians (with a few exceptions)<sup>14</sup> have usually not studied *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* as one part of a handwritten historiographic collection (i.e., the Hypatian group of manuscripts),<sup>15</sup> which also contained *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*. Meanwhile, *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle* had a real impact on the working methods of the Romanovichi chronicler. We must remember that with the 11th century we can talk about the characteristic literary (letopis') traditions of Novgorod and Kiev, and with the 12th century that of the newly established tradition in Vladimir. In Rus', 1205/1206 marks an important caesura. Chronicling began to be cultivated in various centres, ones focusing on the history of particular lands.<sup>16</sup> We know that in the 11th and 12th centuries such writing centres were located in Pereyaslav, Suzdal, Chernigov, Volhynian Vladimir, Kiev, Polotsk, Smolensk, Halich, and Turov,<sup>17</sup> where, as seems logical, they functioned alongside the bishoprics. Iakim Zapasko describes 41 manuscripts from the territory of modern-day Ukraine down to the 13th c. (and one more from ca. 1300) – to wit: 12 from the 11th c., one from ca. 1100, nine from the 12th, nine from ca. 1200, and ten from the 13th c. Aside from the Kievan area, the provenance of the manuscripts is as follows: nine were located in southern Rus', one in southern or south-western Rus', three in Halych lands, nine in Halych-Volhynia, two in Volhynia, two in Chelm lands, one in northern Ukraine, and two in western Ukraine.<sup>18</sup> From *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* we know that there had been scriptoria in Vladimir's lands at least since Vasilko Romanovich's times.<sup>19</sup> Vladimir Vasilkovich himself transcribed liturgical books. His activities have no analogies in medieval Rus'. We know that this kniaz' (prince) donated 38 codices and "numerous books". As we see, the number of surviving codices (considering only the 13th century) is not very high, but it does show us the strong literary tradition in Rus' as a whole. We can also see an influence of early Kievan tradition for Halychan and Volhynian lands. If we compare for example *The Tale of Bygone Years* with *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, the result could be very interesting. Aleksey Shakhmatov, when conducting research on traces of the early medieval annals in *The Tale of Bygone Years*,

14 Pashuto 1950, 18; Aristov 2012, 172–175; *Chronica* 2017, XLI–CXVVIII; Aristov 2013, 105–129; Jusupović 2018b, 363–367.

15 See: Bartnicki 2008, 349–368; Kotliar 2006, 119–137; Lashniukov 1872, 1–19; Uzhankov 2009, 287–422; Uzhankov 1989, 265–273; Uzhankov 1992, 149–180; Cherepnin 1941, 228–253; Priselkov 1996, 283–309; Priselkov 1941, 5–24.

16 Prokhorov 2014, 64–65.

17 Stoliarova, Kashtanov 2010, 41.

18 See: Zapasko 1993, 185–193; Zapasko 1995, 15–50, 125–245.

19 *Chronica* 2017, 628–632. See: Stoliarova, Kashtanov 2010, 47, 165.

noticed a pattern of mistakes in the annalistic system.<sup>20</sup> For example, Boleslav the Brave is listed there as having died in 1030, whereas he is known in fact to have died in 1025 (compare the whole passage: В лѣто ꙗꙑ. ѿ .лїи. [6538 (1030)] Ярославъ Б[ел]зѣ възвѣ. И родисѣ Ярославѣ ѿ .и. [=4-й] с[ы]нѣ, и нареч(е)ма ему Всеволодѣ. [в] сѣмъ же лѣтѣ иде Ярославъ на Чюдѣ, и побѣди я, и постави градъ Юрьевъ. В сѣ же время оумре Болеславъ Великий в Ласѣхъ, и бы(с)[тѣ] матежъ в земли Ладѣскѣ: вставше людѣе избиша еп[и](с)[ко]пѣ, и попы, и бояры своя, и бы(с)[тѣ] в нихъ матежъ<sup>21</sup> // 6538 (1030). Yaroslav captured Bel'z. To Yaroslav was born his fourth son, and he named him Vsevolod. In this year, Yaroslav attacked the Chuds and conquered them. He thus founded the city of Yur'ev. **At this same time**, Boleslav the Great died in Poland, and there was a revolt in the Polish country. The people arose and killed the bishops, the priests, and the boyars, and there was rebellion among them<sup>22</sup>). In that case the bookmen used the formula “В сѣ же время ... / At this same time ...”,<sup>23</sup> which is the *dativus absolutus*, signifying both time and cause. Therefore it should be understood that either the king of Poland died around this time or because of his death the surrounding events took place. In this case, the date 1030 does not refer to death itself, but to what followed, and thus to the revolt in Poland lands.<sup>24</sup> These types of formulas were to sensitize the reader to the approximate time of the events.

Let us return to Shakhmatov, who stressed that we have no certain date, if not linked to Orthodox church matters, either from the 10th or the first half of the 11th century. The annalistic system in *The Tale of Bygone Years* is imprecise until 1061.<sup>25</sup> This situation may be the result of a new chronicler with other standards having taken over in 1061, or it could be an indication that until 1061 events were dated based on oral tradition [A.J.: or maybe on a chronicle]. Dmitry Likhachov claims that the first chronological references in *The Tale of Bygone Years* start in 1073.<sup>26</sup> This means that the creator of the early medieval piece of the work used Orthodox church records, which included only the death dates of the Rurikid dynasty's rulers, and that he had no access to the

20 Shakhmatov 2002, 21, 37, 270.

21 *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001, 149–150.

22 *The Russian Primary chronicle* 1953, 136.

23 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 137.

24 In *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* we see such connectors (very valuable for establishing the order of events) as “въ та же лѣта” (‘That year’), “въ то же время” (‘At that time’), “зимѣ же бывши” (‘When Winter came’), “времени минувши” (‘After some time’) etc.

25 Given, according to the work's own chronology, as 6569; Shakhmatov 2002, 39, 270; Priselkov 1996, 57–58, 62–64.

26 Likhachov 1947, 85.



chronicles having an annalistic system. In *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* an annalistic layout does not exist, though we must remember that the surviving version of this monument is only a draft of the future letopis'. As the bookman highlighted: *In these years, [when] time passes, it is the chronographer's duty to write about everything and anything that has occurred. Sometimes running forward [in time], sometimes going backwards. The wise reader will understand. We have not written down the yearly dates here, but will add them later, following the Antiochian method, [according to] the Olympiads – the Greek system of counting, [according to] the Roman leap years, as Eusebius Pamphilus and other chronographers did, [recording events] from [the times of] Adam to Christ; we will write down all the years after we have calculated them.*<sup>27</sup> This account shows that the author did not regard the chronicle as a completed work as he had not yet included the dating. I see some analogy with *The Tale of Bygone Years*. In this way of work, the bookman behind *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* gives us some insight into Nestor's method of work.

The bookman closely complied with these writing paradigms, which made it possible to consider a given work as conforming to the literary conventions prevalent in Rus'. The fullest application of such methods can be found in *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*. Their use also indirectly proves that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* functioned from its beginning within a historical chronicle collection.<sup>28</sup>

The objective of this book is primarily to identify the narrative strategy applied by the chronicler in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* and to answer whether this source functioned within the framework of a historical collection from its very beginning (i.e., from the time when the bookman modified the *Kievan Chronicle* of the Rostislavichi and added the final version of the dynastic chronicle from the end of the 13th/beginning of the 14th century, containing the list of the kniazes (princes) of Kiev, until the invasion of Batu Khan). Important for this type of research is to include aspects that facilitate

27 "В та ж[е] лѣта, времени минов[ѣ]шю, хронографу же нужа ес[тѣ] писати все и вса быв[ѣ]шаа, овогда ж[е] писати въ преднаа, овогда ж[е] вѣстѣпати въ заднааа, чтый мѣдрый разумѣет[ѣ]. Числѣ ж[е] лѣтом[ѣ] зде не писахом[ѣ] в заднааа впишем[ѣ], по антиохійским[ѣ] събором[ѣ], алѣмпіадам[ѣ], грец[ѣ]кыми ж[е] числѣницами, рим[ѣ]скы же высикустом[ѣ], якож[е] Евъсевіи, и Памфилово, и иніи хронографи списаша, ѡт[ѣ] Адама до Хр[и]стоса. Вса ж[е] лѣта спишем[ѣ], росчет[ѣ]ше, в зад[ѣ]ннаа" – *Chronica* 2017, 330–331.

28 Spatial contiguity was a major factor in gathering historiographical collections. It should therefore come as no surprise that the Ipatiev-type codices used *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*. These were natural and obvious sources for creating the genesis and history of the Romanovich dynasty, written down by a bookman working at the court of Roman Mstislavich's descendants.

establishing the erudition of the bookman (knizhnik), i.e., traces of usage in the chronicle of early monuments of Old Rus' writing, including *The Tale of Bygone Years*, *The Kievan Chronicle*, the Holy Bible, literature in translation, documents/manuscripts, etc.<sup>29</sup> It is also essential to answer the question of whether Jan Długosz<sup>30</sup> made use of the same version of the Rostislavichi *Kievan Chronicle* as the author of the chronicle.<sup>31</sup> The second objective of this book is to analyze the chronological method applied. Generally, since the work done by Mykhailo Hrushevsky,<sup>32</sup> no studies have been devoted to the dating of events in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. All the analytical texts subsequently written evince more of a supplementary nature or summarize the current state of knowledge.<sup>33</sup> To this day, no one has undertaken a comprehensive study of the chronological strategy as discussed in depth in this book. It is not my intention to indicate the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, as I have referred to this issue in two separate texts.<sup>34</sup> I am of the opinion that the existing hypotheses concerning the chronicler are more or less probable; however, it is important to note that they are of a speculative character as they are based on the illusive assumption that the bookman wrote his name down on the pages of the text he created. The only thing we can be certain of is that this was a person from the Romanovichi milieu. The informers are also only a matter of conjecture. With a high degree of probability, we can search for them at the court of the rulers of Halych-Volhynian Rus', among the envoys sent from other monarchs, and among merchants.

29 See: Gens'ors'kiĭ 1958; Gens'ors'kiĭ 1959, 37–48; Gens'ors'kiĭ 1957b, 68–82; Gens'ors'kiĭ 1955, 81–98; Gens'ors'kiĭ 1961; Gens'ors'kiĭ 1969, 171–184; Gens'ors'kiĭ 1969, 171–184; Pautkin A.A. 1996, 84–87; Pautkin A.A. 2008, 71–83; Pautkin A.A. 1998, 127–134; Orlov 1947, 15–35; Orlov A. S. 2014; Orlov 1926, 93–126; Fedorak N. 2005; Vilkul 2007b, 17–30; Vilkul 2015, 227–240; Tolochko P. 2006, 257–259; Tvorogov O.V. 1975; Barvinc'kiĭ B. 1914, 55–63; Tvorogov O.V. 1987, 115–116; Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 205–356; Kotliar N.F. 2013, 120–131; Romanov V.K. 1984, 79–103; Eremin 1966, 164–184.

30 Jan Długosz (December 1, 1415–May 19, 1480) was a Polish chronicler and the secretary of Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Cracow. See pages: 22, 106, 155–156.

31 There are different names for this monument in the literature on the topic: the 1238 Kievan great princes' Codex according to Vladimir Pashuto (Pashuto V. 1950, 18–67) and the Rostislavichi *Kievan Chronicle* according to Dariusz Dąbrowski (Dąbrowski 2004, 150–185). See: Gens'ors'kiĭ 1960, 16–26).

32 Hrushevsky 1901, 1–72. In this book, I consistently refer to the publication from 1901. For a list of the texts that revised M. Hrushevsky's conclusions, see: Jusupović 2013b, 30–34.

33 Gens'ors'kiĭ 1957a; Hrushevsky 1903, 1–5; Worth D.S. 1977, 221–235; Romanova O.V. 1997, 66–70; Tolochko A.P. 2005, 81–108; Tolochko A.P. 2006a, 175–183.

34 Jusupović 2017a, 171–188; *Chronica* 2017, LXII–LXXVI.

I have used the critical edition of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, the relevant fragments of this text have been compared with *The Tale of Bygone Years*, *The Kievan Chronicle*,<sup>36</sup> and other texts that could have served as sources of borrowings.<sup>37</sup> Another important issue is that of the chronological and narrative strategy applied. The precise dating of individual fragments requires their comparison with other European sources, both those written in Latin<sup>38</sup> and in Cyrillic.<sup>39</sup> The fact that the popes' responses to letters from the Romanovichi have been preserved to this day attests<sup>40</sup> that there was a bilingual administrative office at the courts of the rulers of Halych-Volhynian Rus', as suggested also by the Latinisms in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, such as рѣ́жа́ Бѣла (rex Bela).

However, in this work I primarily wish to tackle the issue of the chronological strategy applied, which to date has not been the subject of in-depth considerations. In my description of the strategy, I will attempt to indicate all the insertions disrupting the text's chronological narrative. In order to achieve this objective, I have ordered the chapters according to the idea of the knizhnik regarding the dating. A synthetic description of the narrative method applied in this source can be found at the end of the book, while a partial one – in the summaries of each individual chapter. In the first chapter ("The encomium of Roman Mstislavovich and the chronicles of the late 12th to the early 13th century"), I raise the issue of the chronicler having substituted the textual material

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- 35 *Chronica* 2017. For a review of the source, see: Tęgowski J. 2018, 230–236. If need be, I refer to the manuscripts of the southern Rus' group, of which the following have been preserved: *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*: LRAS, ref. 16.4.4: Ipat'evskii spisok; LRAS, ref. 21.3.14: Spisok IA. V. Iarockogo; NLR, ref. F.IV.231: Ermolaevskoi spisok; NLR, ref. sobr. M.P. Pogodin, No. 1401: Pogodinskii spisok; NLR, ref. F.IV.230: Khlebnikovskii spisok.
- 36 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908; *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001.
- 37 Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek 1994; Aprakos 1983; Iosif Flavi 2004; Istrin" 1893; Istrin" 1920; Meshcherskii N.A. 1958; Paterik 1911; Rossiiskoe zakonodatel'stvo 1984; Uzhankov A.N. 2014.
- 38 *Annales Frisacenses* 1879, 65–67; *Annales Melicenses* 1851, 480–569; *Chronici hungarici compositio* 1937, 217–505; *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* 1971; *Johannes Neplachonis Abbatiss Opatovicensis Chronicon* 1882, 443–484; *Kalendarz krakowski* 1872, 905–941; KDM 1886; *Kronika Dzierzwy* 2013; *Kronika wielkopolska* 1970; *Letopisy české* 1874, 282–303; *Livländische Reimchronik* 1876, 251–253; *Rocznik cystersów henrykowskich* 1878, 699–704; *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej* 1978, 19–106; *Rocznik Krasieńskich* 1878, 127–133; *Rocznik małopolski* 1878, 135–202; *Rocznik świętokrzyski* 1878, 53–87; *Rocznik Traski* 1872, 826–861; Ioannis Dlugossii 1964; Ioannis Dlugossii 1975; *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* 1955.
- 39 *Vladimirskii letopisets* 1965; *Galits'ko-Volins'kii litopis* 1994; *Ermolinskaia letopis'* 2004; *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908; *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001; *Tverskaia letopis'* 2000; *Letopis' po Voskresenskomu spisku* 2001; *Litopis rus'kii za Ipats'kim spiskom* 1989; *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod* 2004; *Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis'* 2000; *Radzivilovskaia letopis'* 1989.
- 40 *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum* 1951.

from the period between 1198 and 1205, which in all probability was included in the Rostislavichi *Kievan Chronicle*, with Roman Mstislavovich's encomium. In the second one ("The *Kievan Chronicle* of the Rostislavichi"), I focus on the issue of the Kievan monument having been used as the chronicle's chronological skeleton. In the third ("The so-called Danilo Chronicle"), I discuss the use of this text to maintain dating continuity and the issue of the intrusions introduced by the bookman from Vladimir Vasilkovich's milieu. The fourth chapter ("Inspired chronicling") refers to the layout of the text, which was fully chronological within the framework of the descriptions of, for example, the Babenberg-Hungarian motif, the Yatvingian-Lithuanian aspect, and Mongolian or Polish issues, etc. The subject of the fifth chapter ("The Chronicler of Vladimir Vasilkovich") is the chronicler's professional background and methods. The analyses conducted herein make it possible to determine the dating of the inclusion of the last pieces of information into the chronicle to the beginning of the 14th century. Based on these studies, four clear chronological strategies emerge, ones encompassing the periods 1205–1228, 1228–1244, 1245–1259, and 1260–1290 – as well as a narrative method strongly rooted in the literary canons of Kievan Rus'.

This book fulfils the declaration made in the critical edition of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* – namely, my aim to prepare a deep analysis of the chronological and narrative strategies of this monument.<sup>41</sup> This was made possible thanks to funding received from the National Centre of Sciences (id number: NCN 2017/01/X/HS3/01618). The completed English translation was financed by the Tadeusz Manteuffel Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences.

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41 *Chronica* 2017, XXIII, with n. 65.

## The Encomium of Roman Mstislavich and the *Letopis'* of the Late 12th to Early 13th Century

*The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* has survived only in the southern Rus' group of Ipatiev-type chronicles as its third part. The first part consists of *The Tale of Bygone Years* (whose entries continue until the year 6625 from the creation of the world, i.e., until AD 1117), while the second consists of what is known as *The Kievan Chronicle*, with its narration ending in 6704 (1196) in the Khlebnikov edition and 6706 (1198) in the Ipatiev edition. This historiographic collection (according to Aleksander Gieysztor's terminology),<sup>1</sup> otherwise referred to as a historical collection (in Jacek Wiesiołowski's understanding)<sup>2</sup> – i.e., various manuscripts bringing the texts of historiographers together on the basis of various ideological premises, albeit never randomly so – is preceded by a list of Kievan princes that ends with Danilo Romanovich:

(Herein are the first names of the Kievan great princes ruling | in Kiev up until its conquest by Batyja's people living in heathenism. | In Kiev, the first to begin reigning together were Dinar and Askold, | after them came Olga, | after Olga [came] Igor, | after Igor [came] Sviatoslav, | after Sviatoslav [came] Yaropolk, | after Yaropolk [came] Vladimir, who during his reign in Kiev | elucidated Rus' land through its holy baptism, | after Vladimir Sviatopolk began his reign, | after Sviatopolk [came] Yaroslav, | after Yaroslav [came] Iziaslav, | after Iziaslav [came] Sviatopolk, | after Sviatopolk [came] Vsevolod, | and after him [came] Vladimir Monomakh, | after him [came] Mstislav, | after Mstislav [came] Yaropolk, | after Yaropolk [came] Vsevolod, | after Vsevolod [came] Iziaslav, | after Iziaslav [came] Rostislav, | after Rostislav [came] Mstislav, | after Mstislav [came] Gleb, | after Gleb [came] Vladimir, || after Vladimir [came] Roman, | after Roman [came] Sviatoslav, | after Sviatoslav [came] Rurik, | after Rurik [came] Roman, | after Roman [came] Mstislav, | after Mstislav [came] Yaroslav, | after Yaroslav [came] Vladimir Rurikovich. | Danilo placed him

<sup>1</sup> Gieysztor 1969, 197.

<sup>2</sup> Wiesiołowski 1967.

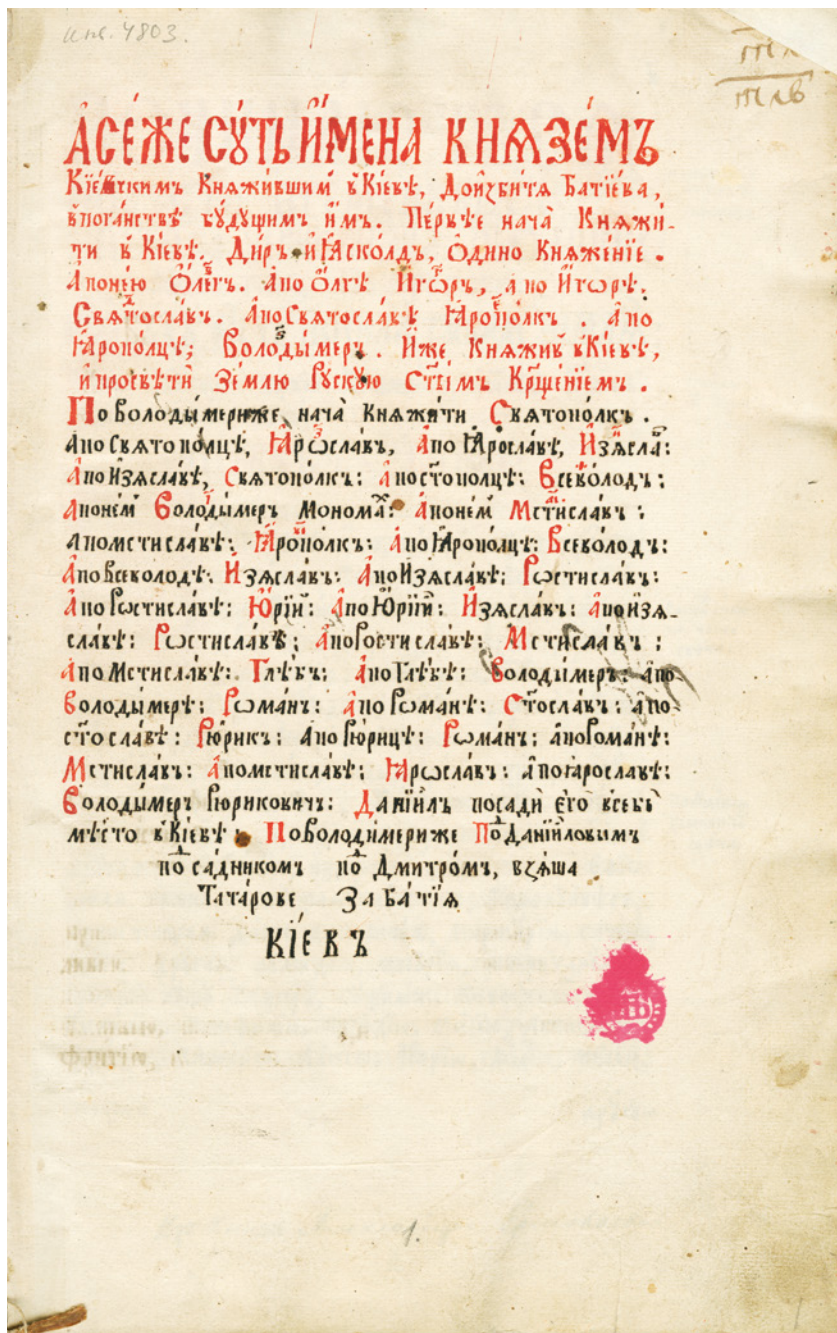


FIGURE 3 The initial page of the Ermalaev manuscript, NLR, ref. no. F.IV.230: *Ermalaev spisok*, p. 1

[on the throne] in Kiev instead of himself. | After Vladimir, in place of Danilo's *posadnik*,<sup>3</sup> | in place of Dmitry, the Tatars occupied Kiev.<sup>4</sup>

This passage brings *The Tale of Bygone Years*, *The Kievan Chronicle*, and *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* together to form a whole. Ending the list of great princes with Danilo indicates that the *terminus post quem* of the creation of the page would be AD 1240. It would be difficult to assume that the arrangement of the names, from Askold and Dir to Danilo Romanovich, is random. In addition, it is worth noting that the figure of *tysiatsky*<sup>5</sup> Dmitry mentioned in this passage

3 *Posadnik*. The term comes from the word “posaditi” with the meaning “to appoint”, “to nominate”, “to assign”. By the ruler’s mandate, the *posadnik* exercised administrative, military, fiscal, and judicial authority over a specific territory with its headquarters based in a *grad*-town centre (implicitly, smaller *grad* units, as well as entire lands-provinces). This counselling institution was set up to streamline the territorial management of the state and belonged genetically to the institutions of the early feudal monarchy; hence, in the 11th century, the *posadnik* did not officiate in the capital cities, where we would encounter high-ranking officials (e.g., the *tysiatsky*, the voivode) – with important, but not so universal competences – directly attached to the prince. Along with progressing regional fragmentation, the proliferation of the royal dynasty and the independence of an increasing numbers of principalities, the counselling institution began to wane in importance, ultimately disappearing in the 13th century. For the effective exercising of his office, the *posadnik* had at his disposal an apparatus of subordinate officials (e.g., *tivuns*, *detskys*, etc.). He also performed police and fiscal functions (tax-collector). In literary monuments, the *posadnik* is referred to as “властель града”, “старейшина граду”, “градникам”. See Poppe 1970, 239–240 (see herein for literature).

4 NLR, ref. no. F.IV.230: *Khlebnikov spisok*, 1. “Асеже суть имена кнѣземъ киевскимъ кнѣжившѣмъ | въ Киевѣ до избитиѣ Батыева въ поганствѣ будущѣ(мъ)[ъ] имѣ. | Первое нача кн[а]жити въ Киевѣ Дѣнаръ и Аскольдъ единѣ | Кнѣженіе | А по нихъ Олга, | А по Олгѣ Игорь, | А по Игорѣ Святославъ, | А по Святославѣ Ярополкъ, | А по Ярополцѣ Володимѣръ иже кн[а]жи въ Киевѣ | и просвѣти землю рѣсскую с[ва]тымъ кр[е](с)щеніемъ, | а по Володимери же нача кн[а]жити Сватополкъ | А по С[ва]тополцѣ Ярославъ | А по Ярославѣ Изаславъ | А по Изаславѣ С[ва]тополкъ | А по С[ва]тополцѣ Всеволодъ | А по немъ Володимеръ Мономаха | А по немъ Мстиславъ | А по М(с)тиславѣ Ярополкъ | А по Ярополцѣ Всеволодъ | А по Всеволодѣ Изаславъ | А по Изаславѣ Ростиславъ | А по Ростиславѣ Юрій | А по Юрій Изаславъ | А по Изаславѣ Ростиславъ | А по Ростиславѣ М(с)тиславъ | А по Мстѣславѣ Глѣбъ | А по Глѣбѣ Володимеръ || (iv) А по Володимерѣ Рѣманъ | А по Рѣманѣ С[ва]тославъ | А по С[ва]тославѣ Рюрикъ | А по Рюрике Романъ | А по Романѣ Мстиславъ | А по Мстиславѣ Ярославъ | А по Ярославѣ Володимеръ Рюриковичъ | Даніло посади егѣ в себе мѣсто въ Киевѣ | По Володимери же под Даніловымъ посадникѣмъ | под Дѣмитронѣмъ Вѣша татарове Киевѣ”. This source was published in *Chronica* 2017; thus, in the above passage I have retained the markings indicating the end of the verse or page, while bold print has been introduced in place of vermillion.

5 *Tysiatsky* (тысяцкий; тысяцкий). In the 13th century, this was the governor/commander of the *tysiachi* (thousand) of a territorial unit (e.g., we have *tysiachi* in Przemyśl, in Kiev, etc.). *Tysiatsky* was an official with an administrative and sometimes military function.

can be referred to descriptions included in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.<sup>6</sup> The editors of the critical edition of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* noted in their analysis that the text had been created at the court of Danilo Romanovich and is testimony to the fact that this chronicle, from its very beginnings, functioned within the framework of a historical collection.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, the conclusions reached by Vladimir Pashuto, Adrian Jusupović, and Dariusz Dąbrowski should be expanded upon. The list of Kievan rulers only functions in the Ipatiev-type chronicles (to the exclusion of the damaged Pogodin manuscript and the Iarocki/Bundur Codex). This fact indicates that the first editor of the chronicle (though it is more precise to refer to the bookman who prepared the so-called *Danilo Chronicle*<sup>8</sup>), in wanting to create a complete genesis of the Romanovich dynasty, decided to precede it with the oldest possible history of the Rurikovich dynasty.<sup>9</sup> To this purpose, it was necessary to associate it with *The Tale of Bygone Years*<sup>10</sup> and *The Kievan Chronicle*. The fact that the list of great princes ends with Danilo might indicate that the first edition of *The Danilo Chronicle* was prepared in the early 1240s, while later bookmen<sup>11</sup> made transcripts or introduced alterations into the text without adding to the list of Kievan rulers. It is also possible that the bookman came to the decision that the period of free (i.e., autonomous from the Tatars) Great Princes ended with Roman Mstislavich's eldest son. Regardless which solution is correct, it remains a fact that there are numerous references in the Chronicle to *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*<sup>12</sup> (a matter further analyzed

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In *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* this term was used thirteen times (we know of such tysiatsky as Yarun, Dmitry, Demian, etc.). In narrative sources, sometimes tysiatsky is referred to as voivode (in the meaning of "commander of forces"). See Jusupović 2013b, 44–47, 118–125, 135–138, 176–179, 180–182, 275–276.

6 Pashuto 1950, 18.

7 *Chronica* 2017, XLI, LXXX. Similarly see: Pashuto 1950, 17–18.

8 Most researchers are convinced that the last bookman who prepared *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* did not use *The Danilo Chronicle* (prepared at Danilo's court), even though at that time it might still have been available. See: Uzhankov 2009, 287–422; Jusupović 2017a, 171–188.

9 I used the term "Rurikovich dynasty" in the meaning of the descendants of Rurik. I am aware that *letopisi* were written from the perspective of a single branch of the Rurikovich dynasty (see conclusion, and also: Ostrowski 2018, 30–49, compare with: Litvina, Uspenskii 2020).

10 As noted by A.S. Orlov (2014, 112), *The Tale of Bygone Years* was considered the most important synthesis of the whole history of Rus'.

11 A lot of literature exists on various bookmen whose works were used by the last bookman to prepare the final version of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. For a more in-depth discussion and relevant literature, see Jusupović 2017a, 171–188.

12 See *Chronica* 2017, LXXIII–LXXIV, LXXXVII–XC.



in chapters 1 to 5). The replacement of seven years (1198–1205) of the latter work with the encomium of Roman Mstislavich<sup>13</sup> is thought-provoking. In this chapter, I would like to consider the purpose of such an operation.

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It should be emphasized as by no means coincidental that the author of the Romanovichi Chronicle substituted the period encompassing the years between 1198 and 1205 in *The Kievan Chronicle* with the encomium of Great Prince Roman. Along with the actions taken by the ruler in agreement with the Olgovichi family against his own father-in-law, Rurik Rostislavich, the flattering description of the Halych great prince ends with the Rus' chronicles linked to Rurik Rostislavich.

In *The Laurentian Chronicle*, in the entry for the year 6705 (1193), we read the following about Roman: “this devil enemy did not cease to subdue the Christian nation and that is why he put anger into [the hearts of] all the Rus' princes: Romanko [Mstislavich] began to return Rurik Rostislavich's daughter [back to him]”.<sup>14</sup> As can be observed, Roman appears in the chronicle's narrative as the instrument of the devil himself. The dismissal of his own wife, who was also Rurik Rostislavich's daughter, is shown as a sign of him being possessed. The chronicler's use of the term “поча”<sup>15</sup> should be translated as the beginning of certain signs of change, but also of the transitioning to a new situation. In the case of Roman, this involved siding with infernal forces. It is telling that we will not read of this in *The Kievan Chronicle*.

Roman is no longer portrayed in such a negative light later in *The Laurentian Chronicle*. This is due to the fact that the chronicle itself was connected to

13 We do not have any evidence of the loss of pages in the protograph. The analyses done by V.T. Pashuto (1950, 18) shows that we are probably dealing with a conscious replacement.

14 “И врагъ дьяволъ иже не престаеъ воюя на род[ъ] хр[е]с[т]ьяньскѣи, тако и всѣ князи Русскѣи вл(о)жи на вражду: Романко поча пущати дщерь Рюрикову” – *Lawrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001, 412. Similarly, in *The Radziwiłł Chronicle*, “Въстави же искони злыи врагъ дьяволъ, иже не престаеъ воюя на родъ христьяньскыи, и тако и вси князи рускыи, вложи вражду. Романъ поча пущати дщерь Рюрикову, хотящеть ю постричи. Рюрикъ же посла к великому князю Всеволоду, река: ‘Брате и свате, Романъ бо от нас отступилъ и целовалъ крестъ ко Олговичем. Но, брате и свате, послѣ грамоты крестныи, поверзи им, а самъ полъзи на конь’” – *Radziwilovskaia letopis'* 1989, 158. It should be noted that *The Radziwiłł Chronicle* is linked to the court of Vsevolod the Big Nest. Its narrative is similar to that of *The Laurentian Chronicle*; however, there are certain departures. Aleksey Shakhmatov argues that it shows traces of the chronicle of Vladimir, which ended in circa 1200. See: Shakhmatov 2011, 50–74.

15 SDIA 2004, 394–395.

Vladimir land and to Vsevolod Yurevich the Big Nest, with whom Roman Mstislavich had allied himself. In 1202, both princes occupied Kiev, banished Rurik Rostislavich, and replaced him with Ingvar Yaroslavich (“and the Great Prince Vsevolod [Yurevich] and Roman [Mstislavich] placed Ingvar Yaroslavich in Kiev”).<sup>16</sup> Along with the change in alliances, i.e., Vsevolod Yurevich switching sides to Roman, Rurik began to be portrayed as a negative character. When in 1202 the prince took back Kiev, it was described in *The Laurentian Chronicle* thus: “Kiev was taken by Rurik, the Olgovich family, along with all the Polovtsian lands, and a great evil formed in Rus’ land as had never existed there since the Christianization of Kiev”.<sup>17</sup> Further in the text, this evil was described in detail. The ‘pagans’ plundered Kiev’s Orthodox church buildings, murdered monks and nuns, as well as other inhabitants of the castle town unfit to fight.<sup>18</sup> The behavior of the Kievan ruler did not befit a Christian ruler and the “theology of a monarch” inculcated in Rus’ by Hilarion.<sup>19</sup> In *The Kievan Chronicle* connected to Rurik Rostislavich, we can read the following in the entry for the year 6704 (1196):

After Vsevolod reconciled with Yaroslav, he sent a [trusted] man to Rurik, telling him, ‘I have become reconciled with Yaroslav, and he has kissed the cross for me [promising] that he would not seek Kiev from you nor Smolensk from your brother’. Upon hearing of Vsevolod’s covenant, Rurik did not find [it] to his liking and became angry at him, as he had not stood by what he had promised. He sent his man to Vsevolod to tell him, ‘My *svat*,<sup>20</sup> you kissed the cross for me [promising] that whosoever is my enemy would also be yours. And you asked of me a share in Rus’ land, I gave you the best estates, not due to my wealth, but by depriving my brothers and son-in-law Roman for your sake. He now has become my enemy, because of no one else but you. You promised to mount your horse and help me, but you stalled for the summer and winter, only now mounting. How have you helped me? You yourself entered this agreement! Who is to blame for the war that has broken out with my son-in-law? Certainly,

16 “И посади великий князь Всеволодъ и Романъ Ингвара Ярославича в Киевѣ” – *Lavrent’evskaia letopis’* 2001, 418.

17 “Взять бы(с)[тъ] Киевѣ Рюрикомъ и Олговичи и всюю Половецкою землею и створиса велико зло в Русѣи земли якоже зла не было ш(т) кр[е]щенья надѣ Киевомъ” – *Lavrent’evskaia letopis’* 2001, 418.

18 *Lavrent’evskaia letopis’* 2001, 418–419.

19 On the “theology of monarchy”, see Chapter 5.

20 “Svat” is a term from Old Rus’ian used to refer to the parents or relatives of the bride; sometimes also used in the meaning “matchmaker”, *SDIA* 2013, 600–601.

it was in regards to his matters that you had me reach an agreement with Yaroslav and to the estates that I gave him! For whom did I have you mount the horse? Had I in any way been mistreated by the Olgovichy? Neither had they sought to take Kiev from me, but you did not live in harmony with them, and I also for this reason did not live in harmony with them, and I fought with them, and I let my estate be burnt. Yet now, without heed that you had an agreement with me, [sealed with] your kissing of the cross, you have not kept all [your promises]'. He became so angered that he retrieved his father's strongholds that he had given him on Rus' land and distributed them once again to his brothers.<sup>21</sup>

The message conveyed in this text is very significant when compared with *The Laurentian Chronicle*. It shows the dependence of the narrative strategies at the court where the source was written. For Rurik, Vsevolod was an enemy who had betrayed him and caused the conflict between him and his son-in-law.<sup>22</sup> For Vsevolod, in turn, Rurik was the enemy as he had become allied to the Polovtsians and attacked Kiev. By contributing to the pillaging of the Orthodox churches and the deaths of monks, he had committed sins that discredited him as the prince of Kiev. In turn, Roman, while initially hostile towards the ruler of Vladimir (on the Klyazma river),<sup>23</sup> later redeemed himself and fought on his side until the end of his days. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that

21 "Всеволодъ же оумирился . съ ярославомъ и посла моужь свои ко Рюриковѣ . повѣдая емоу . со Ярославомъ есми оумирился . и кр[е](с)тъ ко мнѣ целоваль ако же имѣ Кыева подѣ тобою не искати . ни подѣ братомъ твоимъ Д[а]в[и]домъ Смоленска . Рюрикъ же слышавъ снемъ Всеволодъ и не оулюби пожалова на нь . занеже чим са башеть емоу вѣбчалъ . и того не исполнилъ . и посла моужь свои ко Всеволоду . река емоу сватоу кр[е](с)тъ еси ко мнѣ целоваль на томъ . Кто мнѣ ворогъ . то и тобѣ ворогъ и в Роуской землѣ части просить еси оу мене . Язъ же тобѣ есмь далъ волость лѣпшыю . не в(т) вбиля но в(т)тоима оу братъи своеа . и оу зата своего . Романа тебе дѣла . внѣ же нѣнѣ ворогъ ми са оучинилъ . ни про кого же яко же про та ты же како ми са еси вѣбчалъ . всѣсти на кона и помочи ми . ты же еси то лѣто и зимоу . а нѣнѣча еси в[е](с)ѣлъ то како ми еси помоглъ . и свои еси радѣ взаль . а про кого ми была и рать про зата своего . а того далъ еси Ярославу . радити и с волостью своею котороу же есмь емоу далъ . а про кого же та есмь и на конь всадить а мнѣ с Олговичи которая вбида была . ни вни подо мноу Кыева искали . но аже было тобѣ не добро азъ про тебе же с ним[ъ] ес[ъ]мъ не добръ . и воевальса . с ними и волость свою зажегль нѣнѣ же како еси со мноу оумолвилъ . на чемъ еси ко мнѣ кр[е](с)тъ цѣловаль того еси всего не исправиль . и тако пожаловав[ъ] на нь и в(т)а в(т)тни городы . ты которыя же башет[ъ] емоу далъ в Роуской земли . и розда впадѣ братъи своей" – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 700–702.

22 This account simultaneously absolves Roman Mstislavich, as will be discussed below.

23 Two towns called Vladimir exist in Rus', one on the Klyazma River and the other in Volhynian land.

Mstislav Izyaslavich's son was portrayed in a positive light in a source linked to Yuri Vladimirovich Dolgorukiy's son.<sup>24</sup> Ultimately, information of the details of his death<sup>25</sup> and about the fact that "the Halychans kissed the cross for his son Danilo"<sup>26</sup> has been preserved in *The Laurentian Chronicle*.

The further one was from the battleground, the more cursory the descriptions of events became. In the Novgorod chronicles, we can encounter only one "objective" summary of the battles for Kiev and the conflict between the prince of Kiev with that of Halych.<sup>27</sup> Significantly, in all the chronicles except for one, Rurik Rostislavich is portrayed in a negative light in the context of Kiev's seizure in 1202. Only in *The Kievan Chronicle*, written at the behest of the Kievan ruler's family, is he depicted positively. The rulers that had stood against Rurik are in this text shouldered with the blame for all the misfortunes. We will investigate the narrative of this source.

Towards the end of *The Kievan Chronicle*, we can read in the entry for the year 6704 (1196):

... that autumn, Roman Mstislavich, Rurik's son-in-law, sent his people to ravage Rurik's and David's estates, aiding the Olgovichi, to which [he had sworn] by kissing the cross while keeping it a secret from his father-in-law. In turn, Rurik had kissed the cross for his father-in-law earlier, [promising] he would renounce the Olgovichi completely and submit to his will and follow his lead. Rurik then forgave him [upon Nicephorus' mediation], giving him the Kievan metropolitan bishop and the Polonne, putting his faith in him in return for kissing the cross. Roman then sent his people to Polonne and told them to ravage by raiding [Rurik's estates]

24 See: *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001, 419–421.

25 *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001, 425.

26 "Галичане же цѣловаша кр[е](с)тъ къ с[ы]ну юго Данилу" – *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001, 425. We can say that the Halychans took an oath of allegiance.

27 "Рюрикъ съ Олговици и с погаными Половци, Кончакъ и Данила Кобяковиць, взяша градъ Кыевъ на щить, въ 1 день генваря, на святого Василья; а кого доидеть рука, чернца или черницю, или попа или попадью, а тых ведоша в поганья; а что гости, иноземца всякого языка, а тѣ затворишася въ церквахъ, и вдаша имъ живот, а товаръ с ними роздѣлиша на полы; а что по манастиремъ и по всѣмъ церквамъ, всякыя узорочья и иконы одраша и везоша в поганѣи в землю свою; а градъ пожгоша. [...] Того же лѣта посла Романъ Вячеслава, веля ему Рюрика пострици в чернци" – *Novgorodskaia perviaia letopis'* 2000, 240; "В лѣто 6711 Рюрикъ Олговичъ с Половци взя Кыевъ на щить, а игумены и черницы и попы и попадьи и ведоша ихъ в поганіи. Ходи Рюрикъ и Романъ и иніи князи многіе Рустіи на Половцѣ и полонѣи и стада поимаша. Посла Романъ Вячеслава, постриже Рюрика в черньци" – *Novgorodskaia chetvertaia letopis'* 2000, 592.

from there. Rurik, upon hearing that they were ravaging the estates of his brother, David, and his son, Rostislav, during raids from Polonne, wanted to march on his son-in-law for this reason, while sending his nephew Mstislav [Mstislavich] to Halych to Vladimir [Yaroslavich] to tell him, 'My son-in-law has not kept the pact and has ravaged my estate. Thus, you, my brother, and my nephew must ravage his estate. I myself wanted to march on [Vollhynian] Vladimir, yet I have received word that Vsevolod, my *svat*,<sup>28</sup> has mounted his horse, as he had promised, to aid me against the Olgovichs and stand at Chernigov. They have also informed me that he has joined with my brother David and are burning their [the Olgovichs] estates and they have taken the Vyatich strongholds and burnt them down. Thus, I am at the ready, waiting for reliable word from them'. In turn, Vladimir went to Mstislav and burnt down Roman's estate near Peremyshl, and from there Rostislav Rurikovich, along with the Vladimirovichi and the Chorni Klobuky went to Roman's estate near Kamyenyets<sup>29</sup> to plunder and burn it. After which, he took servants back with him, and upon avenging himself, returned home.<sup>30</sup>

28 See fn. 20.

29 This refers to Kamyenyets near the Sluch River.

30 "Тое весени Романъ Мъстиславъличъ зать Рюриковъ. пославъ люди своя воевать волость Рюрикову и Д[а]в[и]д[о]воу помогая Олговичемъ на чем же башеть к нимъ и и кр[е](с)тъ целовать ѿтаи тести свое(г)[о] (моу) а к тѣсти своему Рюрикови. кр[е](с)тъ башеть целовать передъ тѣмъ . како са емоу Олговичъ . боле того лишити. а въ его волѣ быти и зрѣти на нь. Рюрикъ же башеть и гнѣва емоу ѡ(т)даль. Никифоромъ митрополитомъ Киевскымъ. и Полонъ емоу даль. има емоу вѣрѣ по крестномуу целованию . Романъ же восла люди своя в Полонъ и ѡ(т)толѣ повѣлѣ имъ ездачи воевати. слышавъ же Рюрикъ. аже ис Полоного. ехавше воевали волость брата его Д[а]в[и]д[о]воу и с[ы]на его Ростиславлю. и того дѣла хотѣ ити на зата своего а с[ы]н[о]вца своего Мъстислава. посла в Галичъ. к Володимерю. река емоу. зать мои перестоупилъ радѣ. и воевалъ волость мою . а ты брате ѡ(т)толѣ со сновцемъ моимъ . воюита волость его. а Язъ самъ хотѣлъ есмь ити к Володимерюу . но есть ми вѣсть . ажь Всеволодъ сватъ мои всѣлъ на кона како ми са бѣлъ ѡбѣчалъ помочи на Олговича. и стати оу Чернигова . а творять ми како же са оуже совокоупилъ с братомъ моимъ Д[а]в[и]домъ. и волость ихъ жьжета и Ватьскыѣ городы по(й)малѣ и пожыглѣ . а Язъ сѣжю dospѣвъ . жда ѡ(т) ни вѣсти правои . Володимеръ ехавъ со Мъстиславомъ . повоева и пожже волость Романовоу . ѡколо Перемилъ . а ѡ(т)селѣ Ростиславъ Рюриковичъ . с Володимеричи . и с Чернымъ Клобукомъ . ехавше и повоеваша и пожгоша . волость Романовоу . ѡколо Каменца . и тако ѡполонившеса челядью и скотомъ . и ѡ(т)местившеса возвратишаса во свояси" – *Ipate'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 696–98. Compare the description of the conflict to that on p. 701.

In this fragment, Roman Mstislavovich is portrayed as a breaker of oaths and a person who violates God's commandments. In principle, this fragment itself could serve as an argument that the editing of the Ipatiev-type chronicles was not done at the Romanovichi court. On the other hand, the lack of such mention would disrupt the further part of the narrative, in which Mstislav Izyaslavich's son was partially absolved. This refers to the above-quoted passage concerning the conflict between Vsevolod and Rurik, in which the Kievan prince justifies his son-in-law "speaking in a princely manner", using the following words:

And you [Vsevolod] asked of me a domain in Rus' lands, and I gave you the best estate, but for your sake taking from my brothers and from my son-in-law Roman. Now he has become my enemy [...] On whose account did the war with my son-in-law begin? It was for his sake that you told me to reach an agreement with Yaroslav and in the matter of the estate that I had given him!<sup>31</sup>

In the passage, the Halych great prince is shown to be the person who was wronged and whose actions had been determined by the father-in-law's unfair approach. If *The Kievan Chronicle* had ended before Roman's stand was made against Rurik, it would have led to the loss of two important points of reference to Danilo's father and Vasilko Romanovich. The portrayal of Roman's raid on the Yotvingians, found under the entry for the year 6704 (1194), would also have been lost, "that winter, Roman Mstislavovich moved against the Yotvingians to exact revenge as they had ravaged his estate. They could not withstand his force, escaping to their strongholds, while Roman set their estate on fire and after finding his revenge, returned home".<sup>32</sup> The source depicts the success of Mstislav Izyaslavich's son, who had beaten the Yotvingians, thereby attaining the ideal of a Christian ruler. "The Apology of Rurik"<sup>33</sup> would also not have been preserved, despite being such an important passage and an excellent

31 "И в Роуской землѣ части просиль еси оу мене . Язѣ же тобѣ есмь далѣ волость лѣпшю . не ѡ(т) ѡбиляю но ѡ(т)тоима оу братьи своеа . и оу зата своего . Романа тебе дѣла . шнѣ же нѣнѣ ворогѣ ми са оучинилѣ [...] а про кого ми была и рать про зата своего . а того далѣ еси Ярославѣ . радити и с волостью своею которою же есмь емоу далѣ" – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 700–02.

32 "Тое же зимѣ ходи Романъ Мъстиславичъ . на Атвагы . штомъщиватьса . бахоутъ бо воевали . волость его И тако Романъ вниде в землю ихъ . шни же не могоучи стати противѣ силѣ его . и бѣжаша во свои тверди . а Романъ пожегѣ волость ихъ и штомъстивса возвратиса во своаши" – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 702.

33 *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 709–715.

point of transition to Roman Mstislavovich's encomium, which comes in place of the events from 1198–1205.

Thus, Roman's encomium was given the task of substituting inconvenient, from the perspective of the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* and his protector and readers, passages of *The Kievan Chronicle* that depicted the actions of Mstislav Izyaslavich's son in a negative light. In his analysis of the chronicle of Jan Długosz, who probably used some version of the Great Prince's 1238 *Kievan Chronicle*,<sup>34</sup> connected to Rurik Rostislavich, Vladimir Pashuto notes that Roman Mstislavovich was depicted in a negative manner (perhaps, after the occupation of Red Ruthenia<sup>35</sup> in the 14th century by Casimir the Great, the scriptoria there were also seized; as a result, Jan Długosz might have had access to *The Kievan Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*).<sup>36</sup> Indirect confirmation of the use of some version of *The Kievan Chronicle* affiliated with the Rostislavichi by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* rests with the fact that in *The Radziwiłł Chronicle*,<sup>37</sup> linked by researchers with Vsevolod the Big Nest,<sup>38</sup> Roman is described in a positive light during the period between 1198 and 1205.<sup>39</sup> This indicates that the bookman did not have access to codices that in their content were connected to Vladimir on the Klyazma river.

34 In the second chapter, I use the term *The Letopis' of the Rostislavichi* to refer to this chronicle. However, it should be noted that Długosz used a different version than the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* – one probably connected to Mstislav Mstislavich, see Chapter 2.

35 Red Ruthenia or Red Rus' is a term in use since the 14th century. It is usually applied in the meaning of the territories of Rus' incorporated into Poland, Hungary, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Red Ruthenia consists of the following Lands: Sanok, Przemyśl, Chełm, Belz, Halych, and Lviv.

36 V.T. Pashuto (1950, 18) writes that in the chronicle he was "very negative towards Roman".

37 A comparison of the texts of the chronicles of Jan Długosz and *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* indicate that there were at least two versions.

38 See fn. 39. Vsevolod the Big Nest was in dispute with the Kievan Rurik Rostislavich between 1198 and 1205.

39 In the entry for the year 6709 (1201): "Того же лѣта исходяча, февраля въ 16 приходи Романъ ко Вручему на Рюрика, отводя и от Олговичи и от половець. Целова Рюрик к великому князю Всеволоду и к сыномъ его Костянтину и ко Всеволоду и ко его братии. И рече Романъ к Рюрикови: 'То уже еси крестъ целовать. Пошли ты мужа своего ко свату своему, а я слю своего мужа ко отцю и господину, великому князю Всеволоду. И ты ся моли, и я ся молю, абы ти дал Киевъ опять' [...] целоваша крестъ Олговичи к великому князю Всеволоду и къ его сыномъ и к Романови и возвратишася восвояси [...] Въ лѣто 6712. Присла Романъ мужа своего к великому князю ко Всеволоду, моляся о Олговичех, дабы его прияли в миръ, и ко кресту водили, великий же князь Всеволодъ посла мужа своего Михаила Борисовича, и води Олговичи ко кресту, а Олговичи прославиша мужи свои, и водиша великого князя Всеволода ко кресту, а Романа в Руси. И бысть миръ. В лѣто 6713. Ходиша рустии князи на

After the death of the great Prince Roman, who remains in our memory as the sole ruler of all of Rus', who was victorious over the heathen nations, through the wisdom of his mind, acting in accordance with God's commandments, [who] would pounce upon the pagans like a lion, become enraged like a lynx, eradicate them like a crocodile, traverse the land like an eagle. He was brave like an aurochs.<sup>40</sup>

In the critical literature, a text that begins in such a manner is widely considered to be an apology, even though this literary genre is connected to speaking out in someone's defence. In my opinion, it would be more correct to refer to it using the term "encomium". The knizhnik begins his story by informing us that it will begin with the times that ensued after the death of the son of Mstislav Izyaslavich. The ruler himself is referred to as "great prince"; however, the context of the information suggests that this is not meant to designate the ruler's position,<sup>41</sup> but to pay tribute to him as one who is deceased. It is interesting to note the use of the term "и самодръж[ъ]ца всеа Роуси", i.e., "sole ruler of

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половци Рюрикъ Киевський, Ерославъ Переяславський, великого князя Всеволож сынъ, Романъ Галицкий Мстиславич, и иньи князи. Бысть же тогда зима люта, и половцем бысть тегота велика, посланая на нь казнь от Бога. И взяша руский князи полону много, и стада их взяша, и возвратишася восвою с полономъ многимъ. И бысть радость велика всѣм христьяном Руский земли. Единъ же дьявол печален бысть, иже не хошет роду христьянскому добра. Приехаша во Треполь Рюрикъ и Романъ. И Ростислав приѣхавъ, бывъ у шюрина своего у Переяслави. Ту было мироположение влостех, кто како терпелъ за Рускую землю. И дьявол положи смятение великое: Романъ емъ Рюрика, и посла в Киевъ, и постриже в чернции, и жену его, и дщерь его, юже бѣ пустил; сына Рюрикова и брата его Володимира, а тою поя съ собою. И услышавъ то великий князь Всеволод, еже ся сотворилъ у Руской земли, и печалень бысть велми, зане всякий христьянин радуется о добром, печалуется же ся о злемъ. Великий же князь Всеволод сватом своим Рюриком печалень бысть и зятемъ своим, и детми его, и вложи ему Богъ в сердце опечалитися Рускою землею, мога то мстити, но и христьянъ дѣля отложити, и посла мужи свои к Романови в Галичъ. Романъ же послуша великого князя и зятя его пусти, и бысть князь киевский, и брата его пусти" – *Radziwilskaia letopis'* 1989, 158, 160–62. In *The Radziwilt Chronicle*, after Roman Mstislavovich became the ally of Vsevolod Yuryevich the Big Nest, the former is described in a positive manner as a Christian ruler fighting the pagans. His conflict with Rurik was the result of "дьявол положи смятение великое" [the devil evoking great conflict].

40 "По см[ъ]рти же великого кнаса Романа, паматнаго и самодръж[ъ]ца всеа Роуси, одолѣвша всѣм[ъ] поган[ъ]ским[ъ] языком[ъ], оума мѣдростію ходаще по заповѣдемъ Б[о] жїимъ. Оустремил[ъ] бо са баше на поганыя, яко левъ срѣдит[ъ] же бѣ, яко и рысь, и гоубаше, Яко и коркодиль, и прохожаше землю их[ъ], Яко и орель, храбор же бѣ, яко и тоуръ" – *Chronica* 2017, 1–2.

41 See Chapter 5, 132–133, 162–163.



the entire Rus’” in reference to the Halych ruler. This is of course a calque of the words *monocrat* and *autocrat* from Byzantine terminology.<sup>42</sup> In *The Tale of Bygone Years*, Yaroslav the Wise was referred to as “самовластець Русьѣй земли” [the sole ruler in the land of Rus’].<sup>43</sup> In turn, Hilarion in *The Sermon on Law and Grace* refers to Vladimir the Great by the term “monocrat”, i.e., еди-нодержцем.<sup>44</sup> Thus, in writing about Roman that he was the autocrat of all Rus’ was meant to emphasize his ideological and propagandist role, as well as the high esteem he was held in. From the first sentences of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, the knizhnik shaped the appropriate mindset of the reader towards the protoplast of the Romanovichi dynasty, and – in consequence – towards his successors.<sup>45</sup> The passage analyzed continues with this idea by attributing the son of Mstislav Izyaslavich with the traits of a Christian ruler.<sup>46</sup> In turn, wanting to emphasize even more strongly the widespread “high esteem” he was held in, the chronicler correlates him with one of the most well-known monarchs of medieval Rus, Vladimir Monomakh, “he rivals his grandfather Monomakh, who destroyed the heathen Ishmaelites, called the Polovtsians”.<sup>47</sup> The reference to this ruler and then the comparison of his achievements with Roman Mstislavovich’s successful endeavours aim to additionally strengthen the encomium. The author of the source continues the narrative:

He banished Otrok<sup>48</sup> to Obez<sup>49</sup> beyond the Iron Gates. In turn, Syrchan, left at the Don [river], sustained himself with fish. At that time, Vladimir

42 See: Litavrin 1999, 473; Poppe 1968, 227; Brzozowska 2014, 36; Boróń 2010, 33–54.

43 *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001, 150.

44 Litavrin 2000, 473; Brzozowska 2014, 36.

45 See: Golovko 2001, 211–212.

46 As G.G. Litavrin notes (2000, 472–473), the ideal of the knightly Christian monarch was adopted in Rus’ when Christianity was introduced.

47 “Ревна ж[е] дѣдоу своему Мономаху, погоубившему поганья измаилтаны, рекомыя полов[ь]ци” – *Chronica* 2017, 2.

48 Otrok (Atryk), a Polovtsian khan, son of Sharukan. According to Georgian sources, in 1118, Emperor David IV the Builder formed an Alliance with the Polovtsians. As a result, they came to Georgia, while the agreement was strengthened through matrimony. Otrok became the father-in-law or son-in-law of the Emperor (we shall not go into the details of the debate into this issue). Of course, the migration of the Polvtians to the Caucasus was the consequence of a series of defeats they suffered against the expeditions of the Rus’an princes, organized mainly by Vladimir Monomakh in 1103, 1109, 1111 and 1116, while as of 1109 the Rus’ians were ravaging areas along the Don River. See Radovskii 2012, 212–217; Pashuto 1968, 204–205; Pletneva 1990, 95–97; Pletneva 2014, 45.

49 *Obez*. Two explanations of the term “Obez” exist in academic literature. First of all, the Obez would refer to the Abazin (e.g., Lavrov 1946, 161–170) or the ancestors of modern Abkhazians (Papaskir 2005, 350–365, 483–486 with n. 1448–1523). However, the prevailing

Monomakh drank from a golden shlom<sup>50</sup> from the Don [river] upon occupying their land and banishing the accursed Hagarians. After Vladimir's death, only one bard, Or, remained at Syrchan's [court]. And he [Syrchan] sent him to Obez to say [that] 'Vladimir has died. Return brother, go to your land. Tell him [Otrok] my words, sing him Polovtsian songs, and if he does not want to go, let him smell the herb called [y] evshan'. [However], he did not want to move [out] nor listen, and [Or] gave him the herb. Upon smelling it, he [Otrok] began to cry and said: 'Yes, it is better to lay one's bones in one's own land than to be famous in a foreign one', and returned to his own land. Of him was born Konchak, who crushed Sula, travelling on foot, carrying a cauldron upon his back. Prince Roman imitated these [Monomakh's actions] and attempted to eradicate foreigners.<sup>51</sup>

Alexandr Orlov has indicated that the chronicler "begins with the Rus' Polovtsian bylina [traditional East Slavic oral epic narrative poem] about tarsal grasses from the Polovtsian steppes – wormwood, here referred to as 'yevshan' from Turkish".<sup>52</sup> Nazar Fedorak emphasized that the author of the encomium of Roman Mstislavovich copied the imagery of *The Hymn of the Soul* (*The Hymn of Pearl*) from the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*.<sup>53</sup> Dariusz Dąbrowski and Adrian Jusupović noted that "in such a case, we would be dealing with evidence of knowledge of non-canonical literature, which could equally well

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opinion links the identity of the *Obezy* to Georgia (Cugaia 1975, 99–105; Pletneva 1990, 96). It has been noted that in their titulature the rulers of Georgia at that time first placed an "Abkhazian" title, which can be identified as the "Obezky" from Rus'ian sources (Salia 1983, 247; Curtis 1995, XLIII).

50 Shlom (old rus: шлѣмъ = шлемъ; pl. szłom or szyszak; en. the lobster-tailed pot helmet or *zischägge*). It is a kind of helm.

51 "Изгнав[ъ]шю Отрака въ обезы за Желѣзныя врата, Сърчанови ж[е] вставшюу Доноу, рыбоу вживши. Тогда и Волхдимеръ Мономах[ъ] пил[ъ] золотым[ъ] шело-мом[ъ] Донь, приѣм[ъ]ши землю их[ъ] всю, изагнавшю окаан[ъ]ныя агараны. По см[ъ] рти же Вьлодимери остав[ъ]шю оу Сырчана единомуу гвд[ъ]цоу же Ореви, и посла и въ обезы, река: 'Вьлодимеръ оумерль е[сть]; а вьротиса, брате, поиди въ землю свою. Молви же емоу моа слѣвеса, пой же емоу пѣсни половец[ь]скіа, аже ти не вьсхощеть, даи емоу пооухати селіа именемъ емшанъ'. Ономоу же не восхотѣвшю обратитиса ни послушати, и дасть емоу селіе. Ономоу же обоухав[ъ]шю и вьспла-кав[ъ]шю, реч[е]: 'Да лоучше естъ на своеи земли костью лечи неж[е]ли на чюжей славноу быти'. И приѣде въ свою землю; вт[ъ] него рѣдив[ъ]шюса Кончакоу, иже снесе Соулоу, пѣшь хода, котел[ъ] носа на плечоу. Роману же кнасю рев[ъ] новавшю за то, и тѣдасеа погоубити иноплемен[ъ]ники" – *Chronica* 2017, 2–5.

52 Orlov 2014, 120. Concerning yevshan, see: *Chronica* 2017, 4–5, with n. 13.

53 Fedorak 2005, 116–122.

be treated as an act of creative translation”.<sup>54</sup> Paradoxically, it is precisely the Polovtsian motifs that bring original elements to the text, thanks to which it can be linked to *The Danilo Chronicle*. The first wife of the elder Romanovich, Anna, was the daughter of Mstislav Mstislavovich; her mother, whose name remains unknown, was the daughter of the Polovtsian Khan Kotyan. We can also encounter the Cumans in service to Roman Mstislavovich’s son.<sup>55</sup> The Polovtsian bylinas could also have been well known at the courts of Mstislav Mstislavovich and Danilo Romanovich. In later periods, the relations with the Polovtsians were in no way highlighted. Therefore, we have indirect evidence that the last editor of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* incorporated *The Danilo Chronicle* into his text.

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This chapter has therefore shown that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* functioned within the framework of a historical collection. The list of Rus’ princes preceding the chronicles of the south-Rus’ group suggests that *The Tale of Bygone Years*, *The Kievan Chronicle*, and the chronicle discussed constituted building blocks of the narrative history of the Romanovichi and their role in the broader framework of the history of the Rurikovich Dynasty. This fact also corresponds to the general surmise of Gelian Prochorow that as of 6585 (1177) work on the chronicles is revived,<sup>56</sup> while as of 1205/1206 we can observe the cultivation of chronicle-writing in various centres in Rus’.<sup>57</sup> The absence of the events that took place between 1198 and 1205 in the south-Rus’ group of chronicles is also very suggestive. Some researchers believe that originally the chronicle of Vladimir and perhaps *The Kievan Chronicle* ending in 1206 functioned for this period.<sup>58</sup> Thus, they tacitly assume that within the Ipatiev-type manuscripts, the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* replaced these seven years depicting Roman Mstislavovich negatively with the encomium, linking *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle* with *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.<sup>59</sup> This praise can most easily be linked to the Romanovichi period, more specifically to *The Danilo Chronicle*. Unfortunately, as Vladimir Pashuto noted, the researcher must remain aware that “the Chronicle of Danilo

54 *Chronica* 2017, LXXXV–LXXXVI.

55 *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* mentions, for example, the Polovtsian Aktay, who served the court of Danilo Romanovich. See: Jusupović 2013b, 101.

56 Associated with the chronicle of Vladimir and *The Kievan Chronicle*.

57 Prokhorov 2014, 64–65, 75.

58 Ibidem, 66–67.

59 See: Jusupović 2018b, 363–367.

Romanovich” has survived to our times as one of the sources of the text written at the court of Vladimir Vasilkovich in the 1280s. The ideological and political bases of the chronicle of Vladimir do not make it possible to determine the extent to which older material encompassing the history of the Halych and Chełm lands have been preserved.<sup>60</sup> This signifies that we can only attempt to extract elements of *The Danilo Chronicle* and earlier sources from under a layer of later redacted texts, which ultimately took on the form of the currently surviving work of Rus’ writing known as *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.

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60 Pashuto 1950, 18.

## *The Kievan Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*

There is a significant issue in the way in which the text of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is constructed after Prince Roman Mstislavich's encomium ends. Its author begins the narrative with the following brief information: "Great sorrow came to the land of Rus'. He left behind two sons, one [was] 4 years old, the other – two".<sup>1</sup> In the critical edition of the source text, Dariusz Dąbrowski and Adrian Jusupović emphasize that:

... one might have the impression that the passage 'Great sorrow [...]' refers directly to the phrase preceding the story of Otrok's fate, more precisely – to the words: '[...] called the Polovtsians' or '[...] the accursed Hagarenes'. This may well be proof of the division of a once uniform text through the addition of the 'Polovtsian' insertion. Or perhaps this was a stylistic bracket adopted from the start, one fitting into the spirit of the simultaneous narration applied in our source text?<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, M. Hrushevsky considered an even longer text to be such an insertion, containing the words '*the autocrat of the entire Rus'* [...] *attempted to eradicate foreigners*' (quoting the source with surprising imprecision), considering it to have been 'praise' of Roman, inserted later, with the addition of a description of Monomakh's struggles against the Polovtsians and a fragment of a Polovtsian epos.<sup>3</sup> The analyses conducted in the previous chapter show that not only Roman's encomium, but also Rurik's praise should be seen as an extensive addition introduced by the chronicler. The above-cited passage should also be considered an authorial text introduced by the Romanovichi *knizhnik*. It is precisely this short sentence that indicates the main characters of the story, i.e., the young princes Danilo and Vasilko, and – by implication – also their descendants. Volodimir Pashuto tabled the hypothesis that the chronicler probably included into the text of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* what was referred to as *The Kievan Letopis' of the Great Princes*<sup>4</sup> – a Kievan chronicle

1 "Великоу матежю въстав[ъ]шю въ земли роуской, вставившима же сѧ двѣма с[ы]нѣма его, един[ъ] ѿ лѣта, а другыи двѣ лѣт[ѣ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 6.

2 *Chronica* 2017, 6.

3 Hrushevsky Mikhaïlo 1993b, 134–135.

4 In the text, I use the term *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* (= *The Letopis' of the Rostislavichi*), which in my opinion was indisputably the term in use until 1228.

from the end of the 12th century, later continued until 1238.<sup>5</sup> In analyzing the presence within this source of the term ‘pechatnik’ (печатник), translated as ‘chancellor’, Pashuto hypothesized the existence of a princely chancellery at the courts of Danilo and Vasilko.<sup>6</sup> This signifies that the chronicle’s author had access to documents from the princely archives. If we were to adopt this assumption, it could be stated that we are dealing with a *letopis’* of Kievan provenance, preserved in trace amounts within the Ipatiev-type manuscripts, linked – in my opinion – to the Rostislavichi family (for brevity, I will use the term *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*) and with archival documents serving to create a narrative in which the main role seems to have been played by Roman Mstislavich’s descendants. These sources should also have had a clear chronological strategy.

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Volodimir Pashuto’s supposition seems partially confirmed by the passage found after the presentation of the narrative’s main characters. In it we read:

Upon gathering the Polovtsians and many of the Rus’ians, Rurik came to Halych, abandoning the monkhood that he had adopted from fear of Roman. When he came to Halych, he was met by the Halych and Vladimir boyars at Mykulyntsi on the Seret river. And they fought all day for [passage across] the Seret river, and many were wounded. And as they could not withstand [them], they returned to Halych. When Rurik came to Halych, he did not achieve anything, as earlier, before Roman’s death, the king had met with his sister-in-law in Sanok and received Danilo as his beloved son. [The king] had left his men with him: Mokyа the great, the blind-eyed, and Korochiun, and Volpt, and his son Vitomir, and Blagina, and many other Hungarians. For this reason, the Halychans had not dared to do anything [evil] as there were many Hungarians. At that time, the two Polovtsian princes, the Sutoia family, Kocian and Somogur both attacked the infantry and their steeds beneath them were slaughtered, [and this is why] they were almost taken captive. Therefore, Rurik returned to Kiev.<sup>7</sup>

5 Pashuto 1950, 86, 89.

6 Pashuto 1950, 73–74, 80–81, 87.

7 “Събравшю же Рюрикоу полов[ъ]ци и роуси мно҃го, прїиде на Галич[ъ], оставивъ мнишескїи чинъ, бѣ бо прїалъ боазни ради Романовы, и пришедшю емоу на Галич[ъ], и срѣтоша его бодре галич[ъ]скїи и вѣлѣдимер[ъ]стїи оу Микоулина, на рѣцѣ Серетѣ, и бив[ъ] шимса имъ вес[ъ] д[ъ]нь о рекоу Серетѣ, и мнози язвени быша, и не стерпѣв[ъ]ше, възвратишася в Галич[ъ]. И пришедшю же Рюрикоу в Галич[ъ], и не оустѣв[ъ]шю

In this short passage it can be observed that the narrative focuses not on the Romanovichi, but rather on Rurik, who had once again begun his reign in Kiev. He had wanted to subjugate Halych in order to strengthen his own position. We discover that he did not achieve anything, because Roman's widowed wife had held a meeting in secret with the Hungarian King Andrew II in Sanok in the summer of 1205, during which she had probably recalled an alliance her husband had previously entered into with this ruler,<sup>8</sup> reminding the king of the commitment to provide armed assistance to Roman Mstislavich's heirs.<sup>9</sup> The listing of the Hungarian aristocrats in the source seems to indicate that the chronicler had become acquainted with a document from the Romanovichi chancellery containing details (including the names of the Hungarians delegated to support the Romanovichi's aspirations) about the agreement reached between Danilo and Vasilko's mother and the Hungarian ruler. After this short fragment, Rurik once again becomes the lead character. Thus, we can observe the utilization of a *letopis'* that had been written from the perspective of the ruler of Kiev, which paradoxically introduces a certain modular chronological order and provides proof of the use of documents from the princely chancellery in this source text.

The subsequent fragment is not as straightforward as the previous one, with the chronicler writing the following:

After some time had passed, the Halychans brought back the Kormilichichi, whom the Great Prince Roman had banished due to their infidelity as they had supported the Igorevichi. Having listened to them [the Kormilichichi], the Halych boyars sent for the Igorevichi and placed Vladimir in Halych, and Roman in Zvenyhorod. [For this reason], the princess [Roman's wife] took her children and escaped to [the city] of Vladimir. And Vladimir [Igorevich] also wanted to eradicate the tribe of Roman with the aid of the godless Halychans. Thus, following the council given by the Halychan boyars, Vladimir sent a priest with [this] matter to the citizens of Vladimir to tell them, 'Your city will not remain

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ничто же за то, бѣ по см[ѣ]рти Романовѣ снималса корол[ѣ] съ ятровью своею в Саноцѣ и приахъ бѣ Данила яко милога с[ѣ] на своего. Уставил бо бѣ оу него засадоу: Мокыя Великого слѣпоокого и Корочюна, и Волпта, и с[ѣ]на его Витомира, и Благыню, и иные оутры мнѣгы. И за то не смѣша галичане ничтоже сътворити, бѣ бо инѣх[ѣ] мнѣгог[о] угорѣ. Тогда же два княза половец[ѣ]скаа, Сжтєовича Котанѣ и Съмогоурѣ, пот[ѣ]коста на пѣш[ѣ]цѣ, и оубієна быста кона пѣд[ѣ] нима, за мало и их[ѣ] не аша. Рюрик[ѣ] же вѣротиса къ Кієвою" – *Chronica* 2017, 6–10.

8 See: Szaraniewicz 1872, 42; Hrushevsky 1993b, 10–11; Włodarski 1925, 30 [268].

9 Dąbrowski 2012b, 34–37 (and further literature therein).

standing if you do not surrender the Romanovichi [and] if you do not let my brother Sviatoslav rule in Vladimir'. The Vladimirans wanted to kill the envoy. [However,] Mstibog and Monchiuk and Nichifor stated, 'We are displeased with the killing of an envoy', for they had treachery in their hearts and wanted to betray their town. [Thus], they saved the priest's life.<sup>10</sup>

The passage begins with a phrase meant to introduce order into the chronological events,<sup>11</sup> i.e., "when some time had passed". In other places, we can read such terms as: *времени же минувшю* (after some time), *малу же времени минувшю* (when not much time has passed), *в то же время* (at the time), *зиме же* (in the winter), *весне же бывши* (when spring arrived), *лету же наставшю* (when summer arrived), *траве же бывши* (when the grass had grown), *мы же на преднее возвратимся* (in the meantime, we will return to the previously [described events]), *в та же лето или преже или потомъ* (that year or earlier, or later), *рекамъ наводнившимся* (the rivers flooded). Mykhailo Hrushevsky is of the opinion that by using such means the chronicler links the described events with "chronological and stylistic indicators".<sup>12</sup> This enables dividing the text into sequences and merging different types of source texts. As I will attempt to show in this chapter, this is not completely true. The discussed passage indicates that we are dealing with eyewitness accounts, perhaps supplemented by information from another codex describing events from the first half of the 13th century. It should be remembered that the *Voskresenskaia Letopis'* provides an ideal addendum to the chronology of events in Volhynia and Halych in the first years of the 13th century. In addition, the following people were knowledgeable about Danilo and Vasilko's childhood: Roman Mstislavich's widowed wife, Miroslav the Guardian (who had accompanied the Romanovichi from the very beginning), Vyacheslav the Fat, and perhaps also Demian. Before we return to the text under analysis, I would like to highlight that in the critical literature no one to date has indicated Danilo and Vasilko's mother as the

10 "Малоу ж[е] времени минов[ъ]ши, и приведоша Кормиличича, иже бѣ загна[ъ]и великий князь Романъ, невѣры ради, словаж бо Игоревича. Послоушав[ъ]ше же ихъ галицкіи боаре, и послаша по нихъ, и посадиша в Галичи Волхдимера, Не имат[ъ] встатиса град[ъ] вашъ, аще ми не выдасте Романовичов[ъ], аще приимете брата моего С[ва]тослава княжити въ Волхдимери'. Волхдимерцем[ъ] же хотащим[ъ] оубити посла. Мьстиб[ог]ъ, и Мончюкъ, и Ничифоръ, и рѣша: 'Не пѣдობает[ъ] нам[ъ] оубити посла'. Имѣахъ бо лєсть въ с[ъ]рд[ъ]ци своем, яко предати хотахъ свой град[ъ]. С[ъ]п[а]сен[ъ] же ими быс[ъ]тъ поплъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 10–11.

11 According to research findings, initially *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was not arranged in an annalistic form. See: Bestuzhev-Riumin 1868, 153; Kotliar 1993, 8; *Kronika* 2017, 68.

12 Hrushevsky 1903, 2.



bookman's source of information. Meanwhile, if she in fact was Byzantine and closely related to an imperial dynasty (the Angelos, the Kamateros or another family),<sup>13</sup> it cannot be excluded that she had kept various forms of notes as she was well-educated. This, of course, is only a very probable hypothesis, one that – unfortunately – is impossible to verify. Ultimately, the eyewitness whose account the chronicler used need not have been mentioned on the pages of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*; thus, he might just as well have been a foreign diplomat or merchant.

The passage in question was primarily meant to present the situation of the Romanovichi and their enemies, mainly the Kormilichich and the Igorevich families. The chronicler did not fail to provide the text with a sententious tone. He showed that the majority of the community of Vladimir noted the wrongs that had befallen the Romanovichi and, as a result, they were eager to kill the envoy who had dared to ask for the descendants of Prince Roman to be handed over. It was only the approach taken by three noblemen from Vladimir – Mstibog, Monchiuk, and Nichifor<sup>14</sup> – that saved the envoy's life. The use of a narrative strategy should be assumed in this fragment, since envoys to Rus' were considered the personification of the person who had sent them.<sup>15</sup> Murdering them would have meant the impending threat of open conflict. Therefore, the approach taken by the three leaders of the meeting essentially mirrored the rational interests of the Vladimiran society, while the desire to kill the envoy reflected expectations of absolute loyalty to the Romanovichi.

Oleg Kupchins'kiy considers the sentence “your city will not remain standing if you do not surrender the Romanovichi [and] if you do not let my brother Sviatoslav rule in Vladimir”<sup>16</sup> to be proof that the Halych boyars came to Vladimir with a letter from the Igorevichi. He indicates that this is an example of a diplomatic and chancellery formula. The chronicler was supposed to have used a letter kept in the princely chancellery.<sup>17</sup> However, the question

13 H. Grala (1982, 124–125) indicated that Roman Mstislavich's second wife, who was also Danilo and Vasilko's mother, was named Maria. For a discussion of the critical literature, see Dąbrowski 2008, 264–266. Recently, A.V. Maiorov (2011, 287–410) conducted an in-depth analysis of the source material concerning Roman Mstislavich's second wife. He came to the conclusion that she was the eldest daughter of Isaac II Angelos from his first marriage, with the secular name Euphrosine and the monasterial name Anna.

14 See, pp. 30–31.

15 Likhachev 1946 45.

16 Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 235. “не имать встатиса градъ вашъ аще ме не выдасте Романовичю аще примете брата моего С[ва]тослава княжити в Володимирѣ.”

17 Oleg Kupchins'kiĭ considers the letter to have functioned either as a separate piece of paper or in the legation books, Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 234. In his text, the most important documents published by this researcher from Lviv have been discussed. Therefore, I refer

remains as to whether a speech made by the prince can be considered a trace of diplomatic correspondence. This cannot be ruled out with complete certainty. Dmitriy Likhachev emphasized that frequently the words of a message being sent were conveyed literally, i.e., as if the sender was himself speaking to the addressee.<sup>18</sup>

The further part of the narrative focuses on events surrounding Roman Mstislavich's widowed wife, e.g.: "The following day, the Princess learnt of this. She held council with Miroslav, the tutor [of her children] and that night she fled to the Lyakhs."<sup>19</sup> These two sentences indicate the source of the information. The specificity of the description of the Romanovichi's escape and their surroundings is not coincidental, similarly as the further information provided that they made their way to Leszek the White's court.<sup>20</sup> The passage depicting the dispatch of the underaged Danilo accompanied by Vyacheslav the Bald (a nobleman from Cracow who, according to various documents, in 1217 bore the title of Castellan of Cracow)<sup>21</sup> to King Andrew II of Hungary was also written using the same narrative style, i.e., in the form of an eyewitness account.<sup>22</sup> The information about the Igorevichi came from the same source. The detailedness of the conveyed messages indicates that the events are depicted according to the perspective of a person present at the court in Cracow (which once again suggests Roman Mstislavich's widow or someone in her closest surroundings). In this part of the narrative, the Hungarian king, if he even appears, is shown as a person cooperating with the ruler of Cracow, which should in fact be ascribed to the eyewitness's incomplete knowledge of what was going on at the Hungarian court. This is readily observable in the brief description (showing that the information was overheard) of the Hungarian aid Roman was provided in conquering Halych.<sup>23</sup> The expedition to Vladimir, embarked upon by Leszek the White, Konrad Mazowiecki, and Alexander Vsevolodovich from Belz, is described much more precisely.<sup>24</sup> In this account, we can find citations containing testimonies in commemoration of Roman Mstislavich<sup>25</sup> and

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readers to Oleg Kupchinskii's publication, in which one may find a full list of the supposed traces of the functioning of a chancellery in Halych-Volhynian Rus'.

18 Likhachev 1946, 43–45.

19 "Наутрїи же оувѣдав[ъ]ши кнѣгини, съвѣт[ъ] сътвори с Мирославом[ъ] съ дад[ъ] кѡм[ъ], и на нощ[ъ] бѣжаша в лахы" – *Chronica* 2017, 12–13.

20 *Chronica* 2017, 13–14.

21 КДМ 1886, no. 384; *Urzędnicy małopolscy* 1990, 59, no. 111; Dąbrowski 2012b, 41 with n. 94.

22 *Chronica* 2017, 14–15.

23 *Chronica* 2017, 15–16.

24 *Chronica* 2017, 16–18.

25 E.g., in regards to Alexander: "се ес[тъ] с[ы]нѡвѣць Романови" – *Chronica* 2017, 17; "This is Roman's nephew".

details of the expedition itself. The subsequent fragment should be deemed to be taking into account the Khlebnikov and Ipatiev manuscript. Supplementing the narrative with a text from an older codex completely changed its meaning. In the Khlebnikov manuscript, the only information that has been preserved is the following: “They captured Sviatoslav and led him to the Lyakhs. Alexander came to reign in Vladimir [...]. Leszek took his [daughter of Ingvar Yaroslavich]<sup>26</sup> daughter [in marriage] and then left her”.<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, in the Ipatiev chronicle there is a fragment that comes between the words ‘Vladimir’ (‘Волхдимери’) and ‘Leszek took’ (Поа оу него Лест[ъ]ко): “At that time, they captured Vladimir of Pinsk, because Ingvar was with the Lyakhs and Mstislav. Then Ingvar came to reign in Vladimir”.<sup>28</sup> It is worth reiterating that, based on where it was written, *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is divided into the Halych part (until 1259, from the perspective of the Halych lands) and the Volhynian part (from 1260 to 1290, from the perspective of the Volhynian lands). The account of Roman’s widow (or someone from her closest circles) as its source was written strictly from the Volhynian perspective and takes into consideration the interests of her descendants in this area. It contains various specific pieces of information, such as the only direct (non-anonymous) mention of Vladimir of Pinsk, the son of Sviatopolk Yurevich, and a princess of an unspecified name.<sup>29</sup> In addition, we learn from this fragment about Ingvar Yaroslavich’s daughter, who became Leszek the White’s wife.<sup>30</sup>

The next passage provides an ideal illustration of the above observations: “He went to Orelsk [and] the people of Brest came to Leszek, and they asked Roman’s wife and child, as [the child] was young, and [Leszek] gave both of them [Roman’s wife and Vasilko] to rule over [the people of Brest], who greeted

26 This fragment (in the Ipatiev variant) provided D. Dąbrowski with the basis for the claim that Leszek the White first married/became engaged to N., daughter of Ingvar Yaroslavich, and then – shortly afterwards – left her. The relationship lasted until the end of 1207/beginning of 1208, at the latest to the autumn of 1209. The daughter of Ingvar would thus not be the same person as Grzymisława, who according to Dąbrowski was probably the daughter of Vladimir Vladimirovich (the former Prince of Veliky Novgorod), related by marriage to Vseovolod the Big Nest and simultaneously a close relative (as great uncle – the son of his father’s grandfather) to Mstislav Mstislavich the Daring (Dąbrowski 2006, 67–93; Dąbrowski 2008, 334–337, 588–595, 616–621, 687–689).

27 “С[ва]тослава же яша и ведоша его в лахы. Олѣзандръ же сѣде въ Волхдимери. Поа оу него Лест[ъ]ко дъщерь и поусти и” – *Chronica* 2017, 18.

28 “Тогдаже аша Володимера пиньскаго бѣ бо Ингваръ с лахы и Мьстиславъ. Потом же сѣде Ингваръ в Володимеръ” – *Chronica* 2017, 18.

29 Baumgarten 1927, tab. 11; Donskoï 1991, 90, 127; Voïtovich 2006, 361.

30 Dąbrowski 2006, 67–93; 2008, 334–337, 588–595, 616–621, 687–689.

them with great joy, as if they were seeing Roman himself resurrected”.<sup>31</sup> It is worth emphasizing that by mentioning the living memory of Roman, the chronicler was once again highlighting the fact that he had been the suzerain of Volhynia.

Oleg Kupchins'kiy published the following passage, taken from *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, as a separate document: “яко сии всю нашу и ѿ(т) чиноу держить а с[ы]нъ мои во ѿдиномъ Берестѣи”<sup>32</sup> / “While [Alexander] reigns over our land and his patrimony, my son only [reigns] over Brest”. The researcher concluded that a diplomatic and chancellery formula had been used here. He considered the document to have been an epistolary monument. In his opinion, the letter had been written either by Roman's widow, someone from her closest circles, or by a writer from the chancellery who had repeated her words precisely.<sup>33</sup> I agree with the observations of Oleg Kupchins'kiy (the researcher from Lviv) that the chronicle's narrative was written from the perspective of Roman's widow. Kupchins'kiy's assumption that the letter was copied into the legation books<sup>34</sup> suggests that a chancellery served the Romanovichi or that there was at least a chancellor who meticulously copied the royal correspondence and documents to the chartularies. This of course cannot be excluded, yet it remains only speculation. We know of the existence at a later period of a sealer (chancellor) named Kirill,<sup>35</sup> but did this function belong among the most important ones during the period when the Romanovichi court was constantly moving around? If so, this would mean that the princess, Roman Mstislavich's wife, made sure that the court functioned normally (as far as her situation and that of her children allowed) and did not neglect diplomatic activities, which were extensive – as can be attested by *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. This can be observed, for example, in the subsequent fragment, which should also be linked to the princess (or her milieu) and which contains a description of the political turmoil during that period and of the Romanovichi establishing their position. We learn from this fragment that in ca. 1210<sup>36</sup> Vasilko became the ruler of Belz.<sup>37</sup>

31 “Приехаша берестане ко Лестькови и просиша Романовое и дѣтате, баста бо млада сжца. И вдасть им[ъ], да владѣет[ъ] ими. Ъни ж[е] с великою радостію стрѣтоша и, яко великого Романа, жива видаще и” – *Chronica* 2017, 19.

32 Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 237.

33 Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 236.

34 See remark on p. 25, fn, 15.

35 Jusupović 2017b, 621–632.

36 Hrushevsky 1901, 10.

37 *Chronica* 2017, 19–20.

The next passage about the invasion of the Balts in ca. 1210<sup>38</sup> should be linked with Volhynian matters. The chronicle highlighted that Alexander Vsevolodovich began to reign in Vladimir, while his brother Vsevolod reigned in Cherven (Czerwień). In addition, the losses experienced by the elites were listed quite precisely (Maciej, Lubov's son-in-law and Dobrogost died).<sup>39</sup> If the hypothesis put forward concerning the source of the information used by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is considered correct, the account analyzed here should be seen as suggesting cooperation among the Volhynian rulers against their common enemy.

The subsequent passage requires quotation in its entirety:

We will [now] return to the previous [subject] of what occurred in Halych. Upon seeing the disorder and feuding in Halych, King Andrew sent Benedict out with warriors; they captured Roman in a bathhouse as he was washing himself and sent him to Hungary. [At that time], there was a wise bookman in Halych, Timofey, whose father's family had come from the city of Kiev, who spoke of the tormentor Benedict [using] proverbs, [stating] that in the last century the Antichrist would be known by three names. Timofey fled before him [i.e., Benedict] as he [Benedict] tortured both boyars and citizens of the city, performing acts of debauchery, defiling married women, nuns, and *popadias* [the wives of priests]. He was truly the Antichrist due to his horrendous deeds.<sup>40</sup>

38 Hrushevsky 1901, 10.

39 *Chronica* 2017, 20–22.

40 “Мы ж[е] на преднее възвратимса случивших[ъ]са в Галичи. Андрѣи же и корол[ъ] оувидѣвъ безаконіе галиц[ъ]ское и матеж[ъ], и посла Бенедикта съ вои, и яша Романа в бани мыющиса, и посла их[ъ] въ оугры. Бѣ бо Тимоѣѣй в Галичи премѣдрый книжникъ, wt[ъ]чество имѣа въ градѣ Кіевѣ, прит[ъ]чею реч[е] слово сем[ъ] томители Венедикте, яко въ послѣд[ъ]на времена трети имени нарѣчетса антихристъ. Бѣгаше бо Тимоѣей wt[ъ] лица его, бѣ бо томител[ъ] бодром[ъ] и гражdanом[ъ], и блоуд[ъ] твора, и оскврѣнахъ жены же и чрѣници и попад[ъ]и – въ правдоу бѣ антихристъ за сквернаа дѣла его” – *Chronica* 2017, 22–24. In a comment to the Polish translation and critical edition of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, we can read the following: “the passage ‘who spoke of the tormentor Benedict [using] proverbs, [stating] that in the last century the Antichrist would be known by three names’ is a reference to the Bible. See Rev. 13, 18. This is an example of the author's erudition. To create a more persuasive and appalling description of Benedict, he might perhaps have used the commentary on the *Book of Revelations* by Andreas of Caesarea (563–637), a text known in Rus' in its condensed form already in the mid-13th century. The aim was to show that three names existed (Benedict, Lampetis, and Titan), with their numeric value when using the Greek alphabet amounting to 666, the number of the Beast. An opinion exists, not lacking in credibility, that this borrowing was of an indirect nature and was introduced based on

This passage is also significant as it shows how bookmen (who were not only erudites, but had also been educated in the skill of writing) travelled across Rus'. It cannot be ruled out that various ideas and knowledge from the manuscripts from other self-governing principalities travelled along with them. It remains an open question whether the bookmen studied the other available chronicles as intensely as they did the Holy Bible. This would mean that memorization was an element of their learning, and that human memory constituted a handy form of storing information. The source directly states that Timofey came from Kiev. It is difficult to determine whether at that time he served the Halych princes, the Volhynian ones, or others. Based on the narrative, it should be assumed that he had close relations (perhaps even on an 'employer-employee' basis or as a co-worker) with a source for Mstislav Mstislavich's chronicle or with its creator (this issue will be discussed further in the book), which would be attested in the following sentence by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*: "прит[ъ] чєю реч[е] слово сем[ъ] томители Венедикте" ("who spoke of the tormentor Benedict [using] proverbs"). However, if we assume that the Timofey mentioned in this fragment of the text is the same Timofey as Mstislav Mstislavich's priest (confessor)<sup>41</sup> mentioned in the fragment describing the rebellion of the Halych boyars against their prince,<sup>42</sup> then the above-quoted sentence acquires new interpretative possibilities in terms of the use of other source texts by the editor working at the Romanovichi court. The phrase "прит[ъ] чєю реч[е]" can be understood as "I will quote the words of Timofey". This assumption has determined the next one, which is closely linked to the subject of our research: in the text used by the chronicle's editor, either Timofey was ascribed the role of the author of the source used, or in the 13th century this knowledge was widespread among the *knizhniki* (or maybe simply at the courts). The above assumption would indicate that, on the one hand, we are dealing with information from the Romanovichi's closest circles, while – on the other – with a codex which functioned and was written at the court of Mstislav Mstislavich,

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a collection of wise sayings and teachings (Gen'ors'kii 1958, 14 with n. 2; *Litopis rus'kii za Ipats'kim spiskom* 1989, 371 with n. 5; Tolochko 2008, 204–207). Recently, another explanation of the genesis of the fragment concerning the Antichrist's three names was presented by A. Herucová (2012, 130–132) in her book *Palatine Then Antichrist. Benedict in the Chronicle of Galicia-Volhynia*. In Herucová's opinion, this is a reference to the second book of St Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which there is a phrase referring to the Antichrist's three traits. See the English version of this sentence (2 Thes 2, 3–4): "the man of sin is revealed, the son of perdition, who opposes and exalts himself above all that is called God" (New King James Version).

41 See: Rybakov 1972, 161–172; Karpov 2016, 402.

42 *Chronica* 2017, 108–109.

with its chronological and informational framework constituting the foundations for the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The verification of this assumption comes indirectly through analysis of the chronicler's rendering of the Battle of the Kalka River. It seems highly probable that its description was created at the court of the Halych prince, and it was certainly written from the perspective of south-western Rus'.<sup>43</sup> This statement places the researcher in quite a difficult situation, as it shows that it will be very hard to separate the fragments based on eyewitness accounts from the *Mstislav Letopis'*, otherwise referred to – if applying Dariusz Dąbrowski's terminology – as *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*, continued by Timofey. At the end of the considerations dedicated to this passage, it is worth emphasizing that in identifying Timofey mentioned in 1209 as Mstislav Mstislavich's priest, it should be assumed that at the beginning of the 13th century (it is difficult to determine the *ante quem* date) there was a princely chancellery (or a scriptorium at the Halych court) functioning in a continuous manner and employing qualified people. The chancellery functioning at Roman Mstislavich's court was relatively efficient and it cannot be excluded that this was also true for its predecessors.

The next passage, referring to the arrival of Mstislav Yaroslavich the Dumb at the summons of the Halychans, seems to confirm the above hypothesis. The detailed information<sup>44</sup> included indicates that it was written in Halych or was based on an eyewitness account.<sup>45</sup> This is suggested by the information about the prince, about those who had summoned him, and about Ilia Shchepanovich – a nobleman who conducted conversations with the ruler of Peresopnytsia, as well as by the topographic data, especially information about the arrival of the monarch at the Halych burial mound.<sup>46</sup> The above observation seems to indirectly confirm the sentence that ends the analyzed passage: "And after, we will tell [you] about the Halych burial mound and about the beginnings of Halych, about how it originated".<sup>47</sup> The editors of the critical edition and Polish translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* commented on this fragment as follows: "However, the promise was never fulfilled, which to

43 *Chronica* 2017, XXX.

44 See: *Chronica* 2017, 24–25.

45 However, taking into account the moment of the writing of the first edition of the chronicle of the Romanovichi treated as a whole, i.e., along with *The Tale of Bygone Years* and what is referred to as *The Kievan Chronicle*, it seems improbable that information about the event survived until the mid-13th century in the form of an oral account.

46 The kurgan located at the Kaczkiw site, not far to the south-west of the grod of Kryłów in the former Halych. See: Gutsuliak, Drogomirets'kiĭ, Tomenchuk 2005, 14–26.

47 "И посем[ъ] скажем[ъ] о Галичинѣ могилѣ и о началѣ Галича, ѡт[ъ]коудоу са почал[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 25.

some extent can be considered proof that we are dealing with an unfinished text, at least as compared to the author's intentions.<sup>48</sup> The above statement only holds true if we assume that the declaration of presenting a description of Halych was written by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. This issue can be seen in a different light if we consider the discussed passage to be part of the creative output of the local scriptorium (perhaps that of Timofey). We are then dealing with a traditional compilatory approach to Rus'ian chronicle-writing, and – as a result – with indirect proof of the functioning of a scriptorium at the princes' court in Halych at least since the beginning of the 13th century. Thus, the author of the chronicle made use of various available sources (ones not surviving to present times), with his own assumptions in terms of the construction of the text and creating his own narrative.

Unsolved is the question whether the narrative concerning Roman's escape to Hungary and Vladimir's seizure of Halych arose under the influence of the Great Prince's *Kievan Chronicle* (vel *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*) and/or if it perhaps came from the local scriptorium.<sup>49</sup> These events were also described in other chronicles.<sup>50</sup> However, we are probably dealing with the first of these situations. In the following passage (cited after the above-described events),<sup>51</sup> “Сгрѣшихомъ к вамъ избави ны томителя сего Бенедикта” / “We have sinned against both of you. Save us from the tormentor Benedict”,<sup>52</sup> Oleg Kupchins'kiy sees traces of a letter/notes which the Halychan boyars sent to Vladimir through his brother Roman<sup>53</sup> (“Roman escaped from Hungary and the Halychans sent him to his brother Vladimir saying ...”).<sup>54</sup> If the speculations of Oleg Kupchins'kiy are correct, we would be dealing with a trace of correspondence between the noblemen and the prince, preserved in the Halych archive/chancellery/scriptorium. As shown by Simon Franklin, the culture of writing in Rus' was much more widespread than is commonly thought.<sup>55</sup> Thus, this is possible, but the hypothesis remains unverifiable.

One extremely interesting passage refers to King Andrew II's matrimonial plans. According to the chronicle, the Hungarian ruler wanted to give his daughter in marriage to Danilo Romanovich – in all probability, this was to

48 *Chronica* 2017, 25 with n. 89.

49 *Chronica* 2017, 25–27.

50 See: *Letopis' po Voskrenskomu spisku* 2001, 116–117.

51 *Chronica* 2017, 26.

52 Kupchins'kiy 2004, 238.

53 Kupchins'kiy 2004, 237.

54 “Роман[ъ] же оутече изъ Оугорь, и послаша галичане рго къ братоу его Волвдимероу, гл[аголю]ще” – *Chronica* 2017, 25.

55 Franklin 2011.



have been Anna (Maria), the later wife of the Tsar of Bulgaria, Ivan Asen II.<sup>56</sup> The chronicler wrote that at the time when Danilo was in Hungary, Andrew II did not have any sons.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, we know that Bela (later – the IV) was born in 1206, Coloman in 1208, while Andrew – in 1210. We may only speculate where the chronicler got this information. Perhaps it was not the credibility of the information that he considered to be the most important aspect, but rather the creation of a message according to which the eldest Romanovich constituted an attractive match even for the Hungarian king. However, the highly gossipy character of the fragment does give cause to wonder. Should then the analyzed fragment be counted among information overheard at the Árpád court? If we adopt this assumption, the fragment should be linked to the following one:

In those years, the great Roman Emperor Philip was killed at the instigation of the Queen's brother. [He] asked his sister to find him an aide. She could not in any way help her brother. And she gave her daughter [in marriage] to a landgrave, to Ludvik, as he was a strong man and her brother's ally. They call her [the queen's daughter] a saint now, named Elizabeth. Her previous name was Kineka. After her husband's [passing], she served God well, and [for this reason] they named [her] a saint.<sup>58</sup>

In this fragment the events have been muddled, as have some of the characters. The chronicler wrote about King Philip of Swabia (died on June 21, 1208), who had never been an emperor. He was murdered by the Bavarian palatine Otton Wittelsbach in Bamberg, the bishop of which was the Hungarian Queen Gertrude's brother – Ekbert von Andechs Meranien.<sup>59</sup> In addition, Elizabeth, Gertrude and Andrew II's daughter, became the fiancée in 1211 not of Ludvik, but of his brother Herman, who died in 1216.<sup>60</sup> At this point, we encounter the most important hint in the text, i.e., information that Elizabeth had become a

56 Dąbrowski 2012b, 52–54.

57 *Chronica* 2017, 27.

58 “В та ж[е] лѣта оубиень быс[ъ] ц[ъ]са[р]ъ великїи Филипъ рим[ъ]скїи. Съвѣтом[ъ] брата королева молашеса сестрѣ, да бы емоу нашла помочника. Она ж[е] никако не могоуци помощи брату своему и да дъщерь свою за Лонокрабовича за Лоудовика, бѣ бо мжж[ъ] силенъ и помощник[ъ] брату еа, юже н[ы]нѣ с[ва]тоу нарѣчют[ъ], именем[ъ] Альжбѣта, пред[ъ]нее бо има ей Кинека. Мнѣго бо послужа Б[о]гови по мжжи своем[ъ], и с[ва]тоу нарѣчют[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 27–29.

59 See: Zientara 1997, 171; Schütz 1993, 72–73, 76–77; Hucker 1998, 111–127; 2001, 371; Eickels 2003, 287.

60 Heinemeyer 1987, 422–423.

saint. Her canonization took place on May 27, 1235.<sup>61</sup> The mechanism behind the creation of this information was discussed by Dariusz Dąbrowski,<sup>62</sup> who showed that it could have been added to the chronicle after 1235. If the information about the attempt to have Danilo become engaged to Andrew II's daughter is also to be considered a later insertion (added perhaps during Danilo Romanovich's reign, probably at the same time as the information about Philip of Swabia's death), then it should be seen as some gossip that was being circulated at the Romanovichi court meant to add a more "worldly" atmosphere to the text. A certain problem also arises linked to the issues surrounding oral history, i.e., the unreliability of human memory and the tendency to confuse facts. I would like to emphasize once again that the message conveyed here is very significant as it reveals yet another element of the construction of the Romanovichi tradition by portraying them as world leaders (participants in European politics). It cannot be excluded that this gossip gained new life precisely at the moment when Danilo and Vasilko became involved in the struggle for inheritance left behind by the Babenbergs.

The fragment about the deaths of Yuri Vitanovich and Ilia Shchepanovich in 1211 and the various other great Halychan boyars should be considered the result of the *knizhnik* merging information from the Halych scriptorium with eyewitness accounts.<sup>63</sup> Once again, we are provided with exact personal data of the people who were killed (in this case, we can guess that Yuri Vitanovich and Ilia Shchepanovich stood at the head of the part of the city in opposition to the Igorevichi reign). In the further fragment of the source text, we are informed of the exact personal data of the Hungarian noblemen who were placed in charge of the expedition. It is significant to note that all these people are mentioned in the Hungarian documents of this period.<sup>64</sup> It remains an open question whether the chronicler had a list of the warriors or if their names were provided to him by an eyewitness (or eyewitnesses). The slight distortion of the names might indicate the latter. This would therefore be a person (or people) well acquainted with the Hungarian court, which would indicate

61 Jasiński 1997, 200; Reber 2006, 168.

62 Dąbrowski 2016d, 103–17.

63 *Chronica* 2017, 29–41.

64 Dvorsky Pot = Pat, of the Győr family, son of Stefan (mentioned in the 1199–1215 sources); Peter Turovich (mentioned in the 1193–1213 Hungarian sources), Benko/Banko (mentioned in the 1199–1222 sources), Mika the Bearded (mentioned in the 1198–1226 sources), Lotokharot = Lothard of the Gut-Keled family (mentioned in the 1211–1213), Mokyan = Makayan (mentioned in the 1211 sources), Tabrec = Tiborc (mentioned in the 1198–1222 sources), Marcel (mentioned in 1206–1214 sources). See: Zsoldos 2011, 17, 286–287, 323, 326, 343, 355; Font 1995, 34.

a member (or members) of the Halych elites, perhaps someone of the rank of Volodyslav Kormilichich or Sudyslav. The closest circles of Roman Mstislavich's widow can also not be excluded, since Vyacheslav the Fat, Miroslav, Demian, and Vorotyslav took part in the expedition.<sup>65</sup> It should be emphasized that they were not in any way highlighted in the text, except for being listed as the first (which might be the result of later editing), as immediately in the next lines we are informed of the composition of the remaining troops supporting the expedition.<sup>66</sup> One argument in favour of the first possibility is the fact that Volodyslav Kormilichich was depicted in a positive light. The future villain of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* gave a speech to the inhabitants that included the following words:

**'Brothers! Why are you agitated? Was it not them [the Igorevichi] who murdered your fathers and your brothers? Was it not them who plundered your properties and gave your daughters to your bondsmen? While your patrimonies were ruled over by other newcomers. Do you really wish to surrender your souls for them?' [emphasis by A.J.].** They regretted the past [and] surrendered the city. [Next,] they captured their prince, Sviatoslav.<sup>67</sup>

Oleg Kupchins'kiy considered the fragment in the source I have highlighted to be a trace of a document produced by a nobleman, in this case Volodyslav.<sup>68</sup> As already mentioned, this is difficult to verify. However, I would like to agree with the observations made by Kupchins'kiy that the events were described from the perspective of Halych.

Moving on from the description of the occupation of Przemyśl, the chronicler smoothly transitions to a detailed story of the battles at Zvenyhorod. He provides such topomastic details of this city as the Ostrogowe Wrota (Gates),<sup>69</sup> the Lyuta river (probably the Bilka, a tributary of the Poltva river),<sup>70</sup> as well as

65 *Chronica* 2017, 34.

66 Who came with Leszek the White, Mstislav the Dumb of Peresopnytsia, Alexander Vsevolodovich of Vladimir, and Ingvar Yaroslavich of Lutsk, Drohobuz, and Szumsk. *Chronica* 2017, 34.

67 "Братіє, почто смоуцаетеса? Не сеи ли избиша шт[ь]ци ваши и братію вашню, а иніи имѣніа ваша разграбиша и дѣщери ваша даша за рабы ваша, а шт[ь]чествіи вашими владѣша иніи пришел[ь]ци? То за тѣх[ь] ли хочете д[у]шю свою положити?. Они же бывших[ь] съжалишас[а], предаша град[ь] и княза их[ь] С[ватослава] яша" – *Chronica* 2017, 33.

68 Kupchins'kiy 2004, 239–241.

69 See: *Chronica* 2017, 34; Nosov 2010, 14–17, 60–61.

70 *Chronica* 2017, 36.

the place where Roman Igorevich was captured – on a bridge.<sup>71</sup> It is also significant that not only the names of the princes participating in the skirmishes were provided, but also those of members of the elites: Mika the Bearded and Tobash, an important Polovtsian.<sup>72</sup> Oleg Kupchins'kiy treats the fragment “Предантеса князь вашъ æть быс(т)[ь]”<sup>73</sup> (“Surrender, your prince has been captured”) as proof of the existence of notes or a letter from those attacking the city to its defenders.<sup>74</sup> In adopting such an assumption, it would be proper to take any speech made by a prince as proof of the functioning of developed epistolary communication, also between the defenders and the attackers of a besieged town or city. However, from the fragment about the expedition to capture Kalisz we may gather that the peace talks were probably conducted face to face.<sup>75</sup> Let us nonetheless return to our earlier analysis. Generally, the description of the war operations that were to lead to capturing Halych ends with the following passage: “From there, they advanced towards Halych. Vladimir escaped from Halych, as did his son Iziaslav, and they were pursued as far as the Gnezna river. Iziaslav fought [them] on the Gnezna and his pack horses were captured. Next, [the allied forces] returned to Halych”.<sup>76</sup>

Immediately following this fragment, information is included that came from Roman Mstislavich's widow or from her closest circles, especially the court. The chronicler mentions Vyacheslav of Vladimir (previously figuring under the sobriquet “the Fat”),<sup>77</sup> an aristocrat from the Romanovichi court, and later Volodyslav Kormilichich,<sup>78</sup> who played a leading role during the expedition to Halych. The term itself used in the text “next” (тогда),<sup>79</sup> which opens this part of the narrative, indicates a borrowing from another written or oral source (“Next, Princess Romanova [i.e., Roman's wife] came to see her beloved son, Danilo” / “Тогда прїеха княгини великаа Романова видѣти с[ы]на своего пр[и]снаг[о] Данїила”).<sup>80</sup> The fragment that follows is an

71 *Chronica* 2017, 37.

72 *Chronica* 2017, 36.

73 Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 242.

74 Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 241.

75 *Chronica* 2017, 132–145.

76 “Шт[ь]тоудж ж[е] поидоша в Галич[ь], и Волѡдимеръ бѣжа из Галича и с[ы] нъ его Изаславъ, и гнаша и до Нѣзды. Изаслав[ь] же биса на мѣсте Нѣзды рѣкы, и шт[ь]аша кона шт[ь] него сжмныа. Потом[ь] же възвратишас[а] в Галич[ь]” – *Chronica* 2017, 38.

77 This is probably the same person as Roman Mstislavich's boyar, mentioned in the *Novgorod First Chronicle* (*Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis'* 2000, 240). Jusupović 2013b, 267–270.

78 See: Jusupović 2013a, 137–146.

79 *Chronica* 2017, 38.

80 *Chronica* 2017, 38–39.

exceptionally important one for the dynastic legend of the Romanovichi as it legitimizes (once again) Danilo's rights to the Halych throne. The prince ascended the monarch's throne in the eparchial Orthodox church building dedicated to the Holy Mother of God, the traditional place for the coronation and burial of the Halych princes.<sup>81</sup> In all probability, the information about the hanging of the Igorevichi should be linked to the activities of a local scriptorium, though it is worth mentioning that this event was also noted in the northern Rus'ian group of chronicles.<sup>82</sup>

The fragment located directly after the information concerning the hanging of the Igorevichi indicates Roman's wife or someone from her circle (it cannot be excluded that the chronicler made use of *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*). Once again, the narrative becomes more detailed and this can be linked to the presence of Roman Mstislavich's widow at the court. The text continues as follows:

After [some] time had passed, the Halychans banished Danilo's mother from Halych. Danilo did not wish to be parted from his mother and cried after her, for he was young. And [then] Alexander, a tivun<sup>83</sup> of Shumavinsk arrived and held [the prince's horse] by the reins. He [Danilo] then took out his sword, struck him [Alexander], and hurt the horse beneath him. Next, his mother took the sword from his hand, calmed him, then left him in Halych among the disloyal Halychans, while she herself went to Belz. [Following] Volodyslav's advice, they [the boyars] themselves

81 *Chronica* 2017, 40–41. See: Pasternak 1961, 621–624; Rappoport 1993, 65; Chudzik 2014, 43–54.

82 See, e.g.: *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod* 2004, 108 – “Того же лѣта Галичане приведоша к собѣ Угры отаи черес горы и изымаша князя своѣ Игоревичи з, Романа съ братома, и бивше ихъ повѣшаша ихъ”; *Ermolinskaia letopis'* 2004, 63 – “Галичанѣ, приведѣ Угры к себѣ отаи, изымаша князи свои Игоревичи з, Романа з братьею, и бивша ихъ повѣшаша”; *Tverskaia letopis'* 2000, 310 – “Того же лѣта Галичане, приведше къ себѣ Угры отай, изымаша князей своихъ Игоревичевъ трехъ, Романа и братію его, бивше ихъ повѣшаша”. As can easily be observed, these fragments constitute a summary of the detailed descriptions of events in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. At the same time they show how powerfully the hanging of the princes from the Rurikovichi dynasty resonated in Rus'. However, it should be noted that O. Gushchin (1993, 96–97) conducts a detailed analysis of all the chronicles that mention this incident and reaches the conclusion that only Roman and Sviatoslav Igorevich were hanged. See: Pritsak 2008, 150–151.

83 Tivun appears twice in *The Halych-Volhynia Chronicle*. Researchers believe that Tivun can be understood as the servant of the administer of the house, financial adviser, servant of the prince and official, who sometimes even manages the town. For a discussion of the literature, see Jusupović 2013b, 55.

wanted to rule. Upon learning of her banishment, the king [Andrew II] was saddened.<sup>84</sup>

We find out about the previously unidentified Alexander, on whose life an attempt had been made by Danilo Romanovich. It can be discerned from the description that we are dealing here with a description of the princess and her entourage being escorted by Roman Mstislavich's elder son and his advisors. The negative depiction of Volodyslav in the narrative again suggests that the source of this information was either Roman's widow herself or her court. The further part of the narrative seems to confirm this observation.<sup>85</sup> The Hungarian king, upon learning of Danilo's mother's banishment, organized an expedition during which the oppositional boyars were captured, including Volodyslav Kormilichich, because "he was making himself out to be a prince".<sup>86</sup> It is worth noting that in the earlier fragment the term "кнѧжѣти"<sup>87</sup> (to rule: in the pejorative meaning of seizing power due the prince) was used in reference to the Halychan noblemen. The boyars' aspirations for the prince's reign supposedly discredited them. As noted by Pëtr Stefanovich, the chronicler emphasized two main ideas: 1) the right of inheritance of one or another land would appear upon the succession of the elder son to the throne; 2) the prince's authority over this territory was constituted by God.<sup>88</sup> If, according to the source text's narrative, Roman Mstislavich's descendants had been "anointed" by God as defenders of the Christian people, then the word "кнѧжити" cannot be used to refer to the boyar elites not predestined for such a role. The use of such a technique was meant to dispose the reader negatively towards the noblemen. This fragment is one of many with a didactic and moralizing tone. The events described are important,<sup>89</sup> but not to the extent as the need to remind the noblemen of their responsibility to remain loyal to the monarch.

84 "Миноувшоу ж[е] времени, галичане ж[е] выгнаша Даниловоу м[а]т[е]р[ъ] из Галича. Данил[ъ] же не хотѣ остати м[а]т[е]ре своеа и плакашесѧ по ней, млад[ъ]сый. И приехал[ъ] Алеѡандрѣ, тивон[ъ] щюмавин[ъ]скый и я за повод[ъ]. Онѣ же измѡк[ъ] меч[ъ] и та его, и пота конц[ъ] пѡд[ъ] ним[ъ]. Мати ж[е] взем[ъ]ши мечъ из рѧжоу, оумолив[ъ]ши его, остави в Галичи а сама иде в Белзь. Остави оу невѣр[ъ]ных[ъ] галичан[ъ] Вълѡдиславим[ъ] съвѣтом[ъ], хотяще бо кнѧжѣти сама. Оувѣдав[ъ] же корол[ъ] ѡ изгнанїи ея, съжалиси" – *Chronica* 2017, 41–42.

85 *Chronica* 2017, 42–45.

86 "кнѧжит[ъ]са" – *Chronica* 2017, 43.

87 See: *Kronika* 2017, 108 with n. 143.

88 Stevanovich 2008, 81. See: Jusupović 2017c, 503–515.

89 However, it is worth noting the precision with which the princess's supporters were described (Gleb Potkovich, Ivanko Stanislavovich, Zbyslav, Vyacheslav the Fat, Miroslav), as were her opponents (Volodyslav, Yaropolk and Yavolod Kormilichich, Sudyslav and

Such interventions introduced by the *knizhnik* should be approached with a high degree of caution.

It is difficult to directly link the sentence discussing the Hungarian king's preparations for the expedition to Halych with the Halych scriptorium or the princess's entourage.<sup>90</sup> The further part of the narrative should certainly be attributed to the latter.<sup>91</sup> The events that took place in Volhynia in 1213 were described in detail. Prince Alexander Vsevolodovich of Belz was depicted as unfavourably disposed towards the Romanovichi. With the aid of Leszek the White, Alexander seized the hitherto headquarters of Vasilko Romanovich and his mother – namely, Belz.<sup>92</sup> Next, Alexander forced Vasilko, his mother, and the noblemen faithful to them to move to Kamyenyets.<sup>93</sup> The subsequent fragment is extremely significant:

The [Hungarian] king released Volodyslav [Kormilichich] and [upon] gathering many warriors, he moved on Halych. When he stopped at the monastery in Lelesov, the disloyal boyars wanted him killed and they murdered his wife, while his *shurin*,<sup>94</sup> the Patriarch of Aquileia, barely escaped [with his life]. And numerous Germans were slaughtered, while the others scattered. Due to the rebellion, the king could [thus] not wage war because of [the rebels'] lawlessness.<sup>95</sup>

Queen Gertrude was killed on November 29, 1213,<sup>96</sup> but her *shurin* (brother-in-law), i.e., Bertold von Andechs Meranien, the Patriarch of Aquileia, was murdered on February 10, 1218.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, the editing of this part of the chronicle could not have been done earlier than in 1218.

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Philip). Such a detailed narrative suggests that it was created within the circles linked to the princess, Roman's widow.

90 *Chronica* 2017, 45.

91 *Chronica* 2017, 45–48.

92 *Chronica* 2017, 45–46.

93 Probably to Kamyenyets by the Sluch River. See: *Chronica* 2017, 45–46 with n. 146.

94 Shurin – brother-in-law.

95 “Корол[ъ] же поустѣ Володислава, и събра много вои, и иде на Галич[ъ]. Ставшѣ ж[е] въ манастири Лелесовѣ, невѣрнии же бодрѣ хотѣша его оубити, и оубиша ж[е] женоу его, а шюрин[ъ] его одва оутече, патріархъ явлейскіи и мнози нѣм[ъ]ци избитыа быша, а дroupиі разбѣгошас[а]. Матежю ж[е] быв[ъ]шю, королеви не могшю войны оучинити за безаконіе их[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 45–47.

96 See: Wertner 1892, 419–421; Kosztolnyik 1996, 45–49 with n. 158; Huber 1884, 163–175; Włodarski 1925, 49 (287) with n. 4; Dąbrowski 2012b, 79.

97 Schütz 1993, 84.

From the description following the fragment pertaining to these events, we learn that the expedition was led by Volodyslav Kormilichich,<sup>98</sup> who without much trouble took Halych and “made himself a prince, ascending to the throne”.<sup>99</sup> It is worth noting that this time the term “в[ъ]кнѣжисѧ” was used in reference to him, which – if translated precisely – means that he took over the princely prerogatives.<sup>100</sup> In all probability, we have here the first tell-tale signs of a change in the political approach taken by the Hungarian king towards Halych and an attempt to have it subordinated to the Árpáds.<sup>101</sup> It was probably these events that led to the following:

Danilo and his mother left the king for the Lyakhs after they had excused themselves. Leszek received Danilo with great honors. From there, he went to Kamyenyets with his mother. In turn, his brother Vasilko and all the boyars greeted him with great joy [event from 1213<sup>102</sup> – emphasis by A.J.]. In those years, Vsevolod Sviatoslavich, who held the children of Roman’s wife in great affection, ruled in Kiev [Vsevolod the Red died in 1212<sup>103</sup> – emphasis by A.J.].

Данил[ъ] же вѣ[ъ]иде вѣ[ъ] корола съ м[а]т[е]рью своею в лахы вѣ[ъ] просивсѧ вѣ[ъ] корола, Лест[ъ]ко же прѣа Данила съ великою ч[ъ]стїю и вѣ[ъ]тѣдоу ж[е] иде в Каменець съ матерью своею, брат[ъ] же его Васил[ъ]ко и боаре вси стрѣтоша и с великою радостїю. В та ж[е] лѣта кнѣжаше Всеволод[ъ] в[ъ] Кыевѣ С[ва]тославичь, имѣа великоюю любовь къ дѣтем[ъ] Романовое.

98 The same one who had previously been transported to Hungary and who according to the chronicle had attempted to take over the prince’s prerogatives along with some other noblemen (*Chronica* 2017, 42–45). This fragment (along with the one being analyzed here) shows the inconsistencies in creating the image of the disloyal Volodyslav. If he had been such a huge threat, why was he placed at the head of the Hungarian army and then came to rule in Halych?

99 “в[ъ]кнѣжисѧ, сѣде на столѣ” – *Chronica* 2017, 47.

100 N. Daszkiewicz in fact thinks that Volodyslav Kormilichich came to power as a prince (Dashkevich 1873, 46–47; Mañorov 2001, 408–417). The function of prince-boyar is also indicated (Holly 2005, 6; see: Voloshchuk 2009a, 99–113). However, in analyzing the fragments in their entirety (i.e., omitting the chronicle’s negative insertions), it should be stated that Volodyslav was a viceroy appointed by the Hungarian king. See: Jusupović 2013a, 137–146.

101 Jusupović 2019a.

102 Hrushevsky 1901, 12.

103 Vořitovich 2006, 404; Donskoi 2008, 204–205.



Next, Mstislav of Peresopnytsia, after inciting Leszek, marched on Halych. Leszek then took Danilo from Kamyenyets, Alexander from Vladimir, and Vsevolod from Belz, each with their own warriors. Danilo's warriors were the most numerous and the strongest. All his father's great boyars were with him. Upon seeing this, Leszek began displaying his great love for Prince Danilo and his brother Vasilko [event from 1214<sup>104</sup> – emphasis by A.J.].

Потом[ъ] же Мьстиславъ Пересопниц[ьс] кій, посадивъ<sup>105</sup> Лестька, поиде в Галич[ъ]. Лестько ж[е] поа Данила с Камен[ъ]ца, а Олеѣандра из Волхдимера, а Всеволода из Белза, когождо их[ъ] съ своими вои, бѣ бо вои Даниловы бол[ъ] шїи и крѣпльшїи. Баше боаре велицїй wt[ъ]ца его вси оу него. Видѣвъ бо Лестько се, поча имѣти любовь великоу къ кѣнасю Данилоу и брату его Васил[ъ]коу.<sup>106</sup>

The informer for this part of the chronicle probably hailed from the closest circles of the Romanovich mother, which is attested by the quite detailed description of the events (once again overlapping with the princess's itinerary). The fragment in its entirety shows the diplomatic flexibility exhibited by Roman Mstislavich's widow, who upon realizing that she could not count on the king of Hungary, once again strengthened her ties to the prince of Cracow. Generally, even the mention of Vsevolod should be considered an element of building alliances,<sup>107</sup> if we connect it with the fact that around 1211 Danilo and Vasilko's sister (probably named Helena) was given in marriage to Vsevolod Sviatoslavich the Red's son – Mikhail.<sup>108</sup> Dariusz Dąbrowski seems to have rightly noted that we are dealing here with actions aimed at leading the Romanovichi away from an alliance with Leszek the White, and primarily with his enemy Mstislav Mstislavich the Daring, who ultimately stripped Vsevolod of his power in Kiev.<sup>109</sup> In the literature on the topic it has been noted that the phrase bespeaking the affection Vsevolod the Red held for the children of Roman's widowed wife gives the impression of being incomplete.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Hrushevsky 1901, 12–13.

<sup>105</sup> It is misspelled in the text: 'посадити', and should be 'повабити' (to call somebody up or incite). See: Hrushevsky 1992, 510.

<sup>106</sup> *Chronica* 2017, 47–49.

<sup>107</sup> Vladimir Pashuto only draws attention to the establishment of the alliance between Vsevolod Sviatoslavich the Red and the Romanovichi. The description of the friendly relations between the rulers is weaved into the narrative. See: Pashuto 1950, 199–200.

<sup>108</sup> See: Dąbrowski 2008, 296–300; 2016a, 73–74, 79; Grala, 1982, 124–125.

<sup>109</sup> See: Dąbrowski 2002, 54–56.

<sup>110</sup> Dimnik 2007, 270. See: *Kronika* 2017, 110 with n. 162; *Chronica* 2017, 48 with n. 153.

Its placement among the events from 1213–1214 seems anachronistic. If the fragment was supposed to remind readers of the alliances established by the Romanovichi, some sort of elaboration would be expected. In the Ipatiev-type manuscripts of the south-Rus'ian group, there are no traces that would indicate there were any missing fragments above or below the analyzed passage of the chronicle.<sup>111</sup>

However, it cannot be excluded that in the protographs (or autographs), information about Vsevolod the Red's affection for the Romanovichi was the last line on the page – while the next page, containing the elaboration of this passage, had been destroyed. This would perhaps explain why the information was included in a manner inconsistent with the narrative's chronology. On the other hand, the order of events has been preserved, i.e., the mention of the alliance between the Romanovichi and Leszek, and then with Vsevolod. In essence, only such a layout of the content would speak for the hypothesis that the fragment was placed last on the reverse side of a page. It is also possible that the text of the chronicle was re-edited at a later time, while the pertinent information was written down with the intention that it would be elaborated in the future. Ultimately, as Igor Tvorogov writes:

In analyzing the text of a literary monument such as an old Rus'ian copy of a *letopis'*, the researcher follows the footsteps of the copyist and editor, attempting to understand how and why he changed the earlier text, creating a new perspective or a new edited version. One of the most widespread traces of such work done by a chronicler is the shortening of the text created by his predecessor or – the exact opposite – its elaboration and supplementation.<sup>112</sup>

This type of work was already present in *The Tale of Bygone Years*,<sup>113</sup> as well as being observable in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.<sup>114</sup> One flaw of both hypotheses is that neither provides an easy explanation for the introduction of a record that is contradictory to chronology. Thus, they should be considered equivalent hypotheses. It provides food for thought that the chronicle

111 See: *Chronica* 2017, 48. In the variants, the appropriate pages in the codices can be specified. There are frequently annotations (or fragments left empty) in the marginalia, indicating deficiencies in the protograph.

112 Tvorogov 2009, 110.

113 See.: Ostrowski 2003, XLVII–LXI.

114 Examples from both *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* have been provided in: Jusupović 2017d, 45–46, 73–74; 2016c, 55–57.

was never fully edited<sup>115</sup> and that its factual (theme-based) layout was at times more important than its chronological one. Such a structure is reminiscent of narratives were constructed during the 1245–1259 period.<sup>116</sup> Did *Danilo's Chronicle* have a factual (theme-based) layout?

Let us return, however, to further analysis of the source text. In 1214, the expedition led by Leszek the White, Mstislav Yaroslavich the Dumb, and the Romanovichi left for Halych.<sup>117</sup> We learn the names of the noblemen who participated on the side of this coalition,<sup>118</sup> those of the defenders of the *grod*,<sup>119</sup> along with the area in which war operations took place.<sup>120</sup> In this fragment, the chronicler indirectly admits that he is describing the aspirations of the Romanovichi aimed at regaining their patrimony, thus also indicating the group of people from whom he had received this information and for whom he worked.<sup>121</sup>

One result of the expedition to Halych was the Hungarian king's retaliation against the Prince of Cracow.<sup>122</sup> The perfunctory mention that "Danilo visited Leszek"<sup>123</sup> seems to suggest that during the Hungarian expedition not only Roman Mstislavich's eldest son, but also the Romanovichi entourage (perhaps together with Roman's widowed wife) were in Cracow and had been informed of Leszek the White's plans, who:

... sent his envoy Pakosław Lasocic the Voivode [to the king] with the following message, 'It is not proper for a boyar to rule in Halych, take then my daughter in marriage for your son Coloman and let him rule in Halych'. Pakosław's advice was pleasing to King Andrew and he met with Leszek

115 See: Jusupović 2016d, 322–325.

116 See: Chapter 4.

117 *Chronica* 2017, 49–52.

118 Miroslav, Demian, Gleb Zeremeewich and Yuri Prokopovich. See: Jusupović 2013b, 118–125, 151–157, 184–185, 210–217.

119 Yaropolk, Yavolod and Volodyslav Kormilichich. See: Jusupović 2013b, 175–176, 179–180, 276–288.

120 In this short fragment, we learn of such *grods*: Halych, Terebovlia, Moklekow, Zbarazh, Bykowien, Tychoml i Peremyl and the Boberka river.

121 This refers to the passage: "Then, with Leszek's help, Danilo and Vasilko took Tychoml and Peremyl from Alexander and reigned over them with their mother, and looking to Vladimir [they said]: 'One way or another, with God's help, Vladimir will be ours'. They gazed towards Vladimir" / "Потѣм[ъ] же Данило и Васил[ъ]ко Лестьковою помощью приѣста Тихомль и Перемил[ъ] ѿт[ъ] Алеѣандра, и княжаста съд м[а]т[е]рью своєю в нем[ъ], а на Волѣдимеръ зраѣа: 'Се ли, ово ли Вѣлѣдимеръ бѣде[ъ] наю. Б[о]жю же помощю'. На Вѣлѣдимеръ призирающа" – *Chronica* 2017, 51–52.

122 *Chronica* 2017, 52.

123 "Данилови же оу Лест[ъ]ка сѣщоу" – *Chronica* 2017, 52.

in Spiš and took his [Leszek's] daughter to be married to his son. He sent [troops] who captured Volodyslav in Halych. They imprisoned [him] and [he] died in this prison. He [thus] brought misfortune to his tribe and his children as a result of his reign. For this reason, none of the princes cared for his children. The King placed his son [on the throne] in Halych, giving Przemyśl to Leszek and Lubaczów to Pakosław, because [the latter] was a friend to Roman's wife and her children. Following Pakosław's advice, Leszek sent [an envoy] to Alexander, with the following message, 'Give Vladimir to the Romanovichi.' He did not give [it to them, and] Leszek placed the Romanovichi [on the throne] in Vladimir. After [some] time had passed, the king took Przemyśl and Lubaczów from Leszek.<sup>124</sup>

It would be difficult not to link this passage with people in the closest circles of the Romanovichi, who, in my opinion, participated in the preparation of this plan, ostensibly striking at their vital interests as it created the possibility of Halych being taken. However, this issue should be looked at from a broader perspective. During the period in question, as I have written above, Volodyslav Kormilichich ruled there as governor on behalf of the Hungarian king.<sup>125</sup>

124 "посла посла своего Лестича и Пакослава воеводу, рекыи: 'Не ес[тъ] лѣпо боариноу княжити в Галичи, но поими дѣщеръ мою за с[ы]на своего Коломана и посади его в Галичи'. Оулюби ж[е] корол[ъ] Андрѣи совѣт[ъ] Пакославль, и снаса съ Лестком[ъ] въ Зпиши, и под дѣщер[ъ] его за с[ы]на своего, и послал[ъ], и а Вълхдислава в Галичи и заточи. И в тѣм[ъ] заточеніи оумре. Нашед[ъ] сло племен[и] своему и дѣтем[ъ] своим[ъ] княженіа дѣла, всѣ бо князи не призрахъ дѣтей его того ради. Корол[ъ] посади с[ы]на своего в Галичи, а Лестькови да Перемышль, а Пакославоу Любачевъ, Пакославъ бо бѣ пріател[ъ] Романовой и дѣтем[ъ] еа. Съвѣтом[ъ] же Пакославлим[ъ], Лест[ъ]ко посла къ Алѣѣandrovi, река: 'Дай Волхдимеръ Романовичема Данилови и Василькови. Не даси ли идоу на та и с Романовичема'. Оному ж[е] не дав[ъ] шю, Лестко ж[е] посади Романовича в[ъ] Волхдимери. Посем[ъ] же времени миноув[ъ] ши, корол[ъ] ѡт[ъ] а Перемышль ѡт[ъ] Лестька и Любачевъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 52–55. For a discussion of this fragment, see: Jusupović 2013a, 137–146; Dąbrowski 2012b, 81–86 (and further literature therein).

125 The quotation from the chronicle suggests that Volodyslav Kormilichich died in prison. The narrative strategy applied by the author of the chronicle aimed to discredit him. In my opinion, it is more probable that Volodyslav as Andrew II's official was simply dismissed. It should be remembered that Volodyslav was exceptionally resourceful and offered his services to various rulers. It cannot be excluded that his absence in the chronicle results from the fact that he resigned from active involvement (he might have taken on an advisory role). This hypothesis is made more probable by two Hungarian documents from 1218 and 1232, from which it can be discerned that Volodyslav lived in Hungary and also died there between 1231 and 1232. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae* 1972, nos. 229, 394, 179–180, 281–282. See V.T. Pashuto (1950, 141) noted that in 1218, the "*Ladislaw Rutheni*", who he linked to Volodyslav Kormilichich, received a vineyard in Pagran from

Danilo's crossing over from Andrew II to Leszek clearly indicates that the king was not planning to further support Danilo's efforts to take Halych, but rather that the king himself planned to take the contentious city. In this situation, the Romanovichi were left only with the option of cooperating with the ruler of Cracow, who could aid them in conquering Volhynia. In 1214, they had only two small towns: Tychoml and Peremyl.<sup>126</sup> Thanks to their growing influence at the court in Cracow, which is attested by the good relations with Pakosław the Old Abdank, the son of Lasota,<sup>127</sup> it was possible – with Leszek's aid – to take Vladimir, the heart of Volhynian land, and an ideal point of departure for subjugating the whole of Volhynia. One should of course not forget the input of Roman Mstislavich's widow toward maintaining good relations with Leszek. However, attention should be drawn to the fact that when Andrew II was executing his plan to subjugate Halych, Volodyslav Kormilichich (in one place along with other boyars having oppositional inclinations) was claimed to have expropriated princely prerogatives.<sup>128</sup> It becomes increasingly difficult to link the source text with the centre in Halych,<sup>129</sup> and seems more clearly connected with the Romanovichi and their closest circles. Generally, this one-sided narrative changes in ca. 1217, when Mstislav Mstislavich takes over in Halych.

Confirmation of this cooperation comes in the form of Andrew II taking Przemyśl and Lubaczów back from his Polish ally.<sup>130</sup> In such circumstances,

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Andrew II. M.M. Voloshchuk (2009b, 19–20) indicates one other document from 1232, based on which he concludes that Volodyslav died between 1231 and 1232. We can read the following: “*quosdam homines de villa Pagran, in comitatu Nitriensi commorantes, olim tempore bone memorie Iohannis Strigoniensis archiepiscopi, mortuo Rutheno Ladislao ...*”. See: Jusupović 2013b, 285–286; 2019a.

126 *Chronica* 2017, 51–52.

127 The voivode of Sandomierz (1206–1210), the voivode of Cracow (1212–1216), the castellan of Cracow (1222–1223), the voivode of Sandomierz 1223–1229) and Cracow (1227), the castellan of Wiślica (1230–1232), the castellan of Cracow (1234), the castellan of Żary (1237), the voivode of Cracow (1238), the castellan of Wiślica (1239–1242), the castellan of Sandomierz (1243) – see: *Urzednicy malopolscy*, nos. 112, 116, 434, 436, 439, 732, 958, 960, 1070, 1072, 1074. For more on Pakosław, see: Bieniak 1980, 38–42; Teterycz 2001, 68–69, 71–73; Dąbrowski 2009, 113–114; Jusupović 2018a, 76–81.

128 As I have tried to show in the article *The Hungarian Faction* (Jusupović 2019a), Andrew II was capable of controlling Halych only thanks to the local elites. Without their support and involvement, it would not have been possible. The analyzed passage indirectly confirms these conclusions. The blame for losing the *grod* was placed not on the rulers, but on the local noblemen who did not remain faithful to the ‘rightful’ monarch.

129 However, I consider *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* to have formed the foundations for the chronological skeleton, into which information was woven from other sources – both oral and written.

130 *Chronica* 2017, 55.

in 1217,<sup>131</sup> Halych was taken by Mstislav Mstislavich “upon Leszek’s advice”.<sup>132</sup> The chronicler proceeded to hide Danilo’s weakness at the time by introducing the phrase: “All the Halychans and Sudyslav sent for Danilo. But Danilo could not come, while Benedict fled to Hungary with Sudyslav. Thus, Mstislav was enthroned in Halych”.<sup>133</sup> Taking into account the previously observed “ruptures” in the text’s narrative, I think that even if Danilo had been summoned by the Halychans – which is very probable, as it is easier to control a weaker ruler – then he would not have had the possibility of opposing the plans held by Leszek the White or Mstislav Mstislavich (which – paradoxically – might have been accepted by Danilo and his closest circles). In addition, the Romanovichi made the strategic move of arranging a marriage between Danilo and Anna Mstislavich in 1217, which indirectly confirms their support and participation in the aspirations of the prince of Cracow.<sup>134</sup> This might have provided the prospect of Roman Mstislavich’s eldest son receiving Halych as “an inheritance” from his father-in-law. His rights to the *grod* would have resulted from the reign of both his own father and of Mstislav Mstislavich.<sup>135</sup>

When considering the moment the chronicle was edited and its author’s knowledge of Danilo’s family connections, it is very important to take into account the following fragment: “In those years, after some time had passed, Danilo took [in marriage Mstislav’s] daughter named Anna and sons and daughters were born to him. His first-born was Irakli, followed by Leo, followed by Roman, Mstislav, Shvarno, and other young ones who passed away”.<sup>136</sup> This passage was discussed in detail from the genealogical perspective by Dariusz Dąbrowski in 2016. That researcher considers the fragment

131 M. Hrushevsky (1901, 15–16) dates this event to 1219. B. Włodarski (1966, 68–72) – to 1217, referring to the *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* (1955, 136): “Sed rex magnus Nogardie Mislawe eodem tempore abierat contra regem Ungarie pugnaturus pro regno Galatie”. In the spring of 1217, the Estonians, wanting to organize an expedition to Livonia, sent envoys to Mstislav Mstislavich, who they did not find in Novgorod because at that time he was fighting for Halych. See: Bartnicki 2005, 33–36; Nagirnyj 2011, 177; Golovko 2007, 75–76; Dąbrowski 2012a, 170–196.

132 “совѣтом[ъ] Лестковымъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 56.

133 “Галичане ж[е] вси и Сждиславъ послашас[а] по Данила. Данило ж[е] не оутаже оуехати, а Бенедиктъ бежа въ оутры съ Сждиславом[ъ], а Мьстиславъ съде в Галичи” – *Chronica* 2017, 56.

134 Dąbrowski 2008, 313.

135 See: Dąbrowski 2015, 259–273; 308–326.

136 “В та ж[е] лѣта времени миноув[ъ]ши поа оу него Данил[ъ] дъщеръ именем[ъ] Анноу, и рѣдишас[а] оу него с[ы]нѣве и дъщери. Пръвенець бо бѣ оу него Ираклѣи, по нем[ъ] же Левъ, по нем[ъ] Роман[ъ], Мьстиславъ, Шеварно, инѣи бо млади шт[ъ] идоша свѣта сего” – *Chronica* 2017, 56–58.

to be a commemorative note that was written in the 1240s<sup>137</sup> in connection with Anna Mstislavich's death<sup>138</sup> (the *post quem* date of her death is 1241, while the *ante quem* date is the spring of 1246).<sup>139</sup> The analysis of these records provides interesting data concerning the date of the writing of *Danilo's Chronicle*. The author listed Danilo's sons: Irakli (Heraclius) (born in the early 1220s; died before 1240),<sup>140</sup> Leo (born between 1225 and 1229, died mid-1299 – mid-1300),<sup>141</sup> Roman (born ca. 1230–1232, died between 1258 and November 1259),<sup>142</sup> Mstislav (I)<sup>143</sup> (born in the 1230s, before 1238; died before 1247/1250; perhaps before the 1230s)<sup>144</sup> and Shvarno (born between 1236 and 1240; died in ca. 1269).<sup>145</sup> In addition, we are presented with the general statement that Anna Mstislavich bore Danilo “sons and daughters”. This refers to Anastasia (born in the 1230s, before 1238; died in ca. 1277)<sup>146</sup> and Zofia (born before 1240; died in the later 1260s).<sup>147</sup> In addition, we learn of other of their descendants who had passed away. In his text on the genealogy of the Mstislavich family, Dariusz Dąbrowski claimed that there is mention of at least two other children<sup>148</sup> born of the relationship between Danilo and Anna who

137 Dąbrowski 2016c, 11–22.

138 Dąbrowski 2008, 563–565.

139 In 1241, Anna is mentioned for the last time. In turn, as established by Dariusz Dąbrowski, Danilo Romanovich married his second wife at the turn of 1245 and 1246, the daughter (whose name remains unknown) of the Lithuanian *Kunigas* Dausprungas. Dąbrowski 2008, 314.

140 Dąbrowski 2008, 350–351.

141 Dąbrowski 2008, 352–357.

142 Dąbrowski 2008, 357–362.

143 Dariusz Dąbrowski convincingly established that there were two sons with this name: Mstislav I born of the marriage between Danilo and Anna Mstislavich and Mstislav II from the marriage between the elder Romanovichi and the daughter (name unknown) of the Lithuanian *Kunigas* Dausprungas. See: Dąbrowski 2008, 366–367, 377–381; Dąbrowski 1999, 177–187.

144 Dąbrowski 2008, 366–367.

145 Dąbrowski 2008, 373–376.

146 Dąbrowski 2008, 363–366.

147 Dąbrowski 2008, 367–372.

148 In the Polish version of his text on the Mstislavichi genealogy, Dariusz Dąbrowski mentions at least two children (Dąbrowski 2008, 376), while in the Russian extended edition – at least three (Dąbrowski 2015, 398). This discrepancy has not in any way been explained. It can be assumed that this is linked to the fact that the chronicler in this part of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* consistently applies dualism, while in this place the plural form was used (“инїи бо млади ш[ъ]идоша свѣта серо” – *Chronica* 2017, 58), which allows for the argument that at least three children died at a young age. This is highly likely; however, it is safer to assume that this refers to at least two such children.

died before 1240,<sup>149</sup> before reaching the age of three. Taking into account the dates of birth of the descendants of this couple, the *post quem* date of *Danilo's Chronicle* should be set as after 1240. However, if we adopt Dariusz Dąbrowski's hypothesis about the commemorative character of the analyzed passage, the *post quem* date would be the year of the last mention of the princess, i.e., 1241. It should also be emphasized that the text contains only the names of Danilo and Anna's children. It provides no hints as to the *ante quem* date of the writing of the commemorative note that was its prototype. This note could have been written after Anna's death and could have been added to the text of the *Chronicles* during the work on the hypothetical *Danilo's Chronicle*; thus – to the Halychan part of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* (in the times of Danilo).

Let us now further analyze *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The description of Danilo's occupation of Brest, Uhrusk, Wereszyn, Stołpie in 1218<sup>150</sup> corresponds to the earlier accounts of the Romanovichi's territorial expansion. At this point, a re-edited description begins, giving the impression that in the original version the main role was played by Mstislav Mstislavich. The noblemen listed there were in service to the Romanovichi; however, the narrative itself is written from the Halychan perspective: "After some time had passed, Danilo came to Mstislav in Halych".<sup>151</sup> Despite the chronicler's best efforts, a relationship of subordination can be noted between Danilo and Mstislav. This observation is confirmed by subsequent fragments of the source text.

In the description of Leszek the White and Andrew II's 1219 campaign,<sup>152</sup> the narrative begins with Mstislav Mstislavich ("As Mstislav was camped on the Zubrza river, Dimitry came to him. Mstislav, [who] could not fight the Hungarians, asked his son-in-law Danilo and Alexander to barricade themselves in Halych"),<sup>153</sup> which suggests that he played the main role in these events; however, it is Danilo's story that is described in more detail. We are informed with great precision about his tasks during the battle, and then about his retreat route.<sup>154</sup> Nonetheless, it is worth noting that we are also provided

149 For short biographical notes on Danilo, Anna Mstislavich, and their children, see the extended Russian edition: Dąbrowski 2015, 308–398, 589–592.

150 *Chronica* 2017, 58–61.

151 "Времени ж[е] минувшю, еха Данил[ъ] къ Мъстиславоу в Галич[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 58–59.

152 Hrushevsky 1901, 15–16. See Włodarski 1966, 68–73.

153 "Мъстиславоу ж[е] стоащю на Зоубръи, Дмитръ прибѣже к нему. Мъстиславоу ж[е] не мог[ъ]шю битис[а] съ оугры, просаше сата своего Данила и Олѣзандра, да быста затворилася в Галичи. Обѣщася Даниль емоу и Олѣзандръ ити в Галич[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 64–65.

154 *Chronica* 2017, 61–83.



information in this fragment about various noblemen connected to Halych: Dmitry (in service to Mstislav Mstislavich),<sup>155</sup> Mirosław (in service to Mstislav Mstislavich),<sup>156</sup> Mikhail Glebovich (in service to Mstislav Mstislavich),<sup>157</sup> Vasilko – a dyak referred to as Molza,<sup>158</sup> Gleb Zeremeevich (in service to Mstislav Mstislavich),<sup>159</sup> Semion of Kodin (in service to Mstislav Mstislavich),<sup>160</sup> Dobrynia (in service to Mstislav Mstislavich),<sup>161</sup> Zhyroslav (in service to Mstislav Mstislavich),<sup>162</sup> Volodyslav Vitovich,<sup>163</sup> Gleb Vasylevich<sup>164</sup> and Sudyslav<sup>165</sup> (these last three were Halychan noblemen opposing Mstislav Mstislavich's reign); only three of them were probably linked to the Romanovichi court: Gleb Sudylovich,<sup>166</sup> Gavriil Ivorovich,<sup>167</sup> and Perenezhko.<sup>168</sup> Many among them did not support Danilo at a later period in his efforts to take Halych, yet – nonetheless – they have been described in a positive light. Thus, we are dealing here with an account provided by someone from the Halych political elites, or perhaps by Danilo himself or someone from his closest circles. In the second case, the noblemen subordinated to Romanovich should have been moved to the foreground. In the first case, it should be assumed that originally, before the hypothetical re-editing of the source text, Danilo was presented as a prince dependent on Mstislav Mstislavich, to whom the Halych army troops were entrusted. It can be assumed that these are traces of the preserved fragments of a chronicle of Mstislav Mstislavich (and once again, as indirect proof that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was never fully edited). This hypothesis is confirmed indirectly by the passage ending the description of the first stage of the 1219–1221 battles for Halych, written from the perspective of the Halych prince: “From there, Danilo travelled to Mstislav. In turn, Mstislav, who received Danilo with great honors, giving him precious offerings and his swift

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155 Jusupović 2013b, 135–138.

156 Jusupović 2013b, 217–221.

157 Jusupović 2013b, 203–204.

158 *Kronika* 2017, 115.

159 Jusupović 2013b, 151–157.

160 Jusupović 2013b, 236–238.

161 Jusupović 2013b, 134–135.

162 Jusupović 2013b, 299–305.

163 Jusupović 2013b, 288.

164 Jusupović 2013b, 150–151.

165 Jusupović 2013b, 243–262.

166 Jusupović 2013b, 148–150.

167 Jusupović 2013b, 145–146.

168 Jusupović 2013b, 232–233.

horse, a grey one.<sup>169</sup> And he told him, 'Go, oh Prince, to Vladimir, I will go to the Polovtsians to seek revenge for my disgrace.' Danilo travelled to Vladimir."<sup>170</sup>

In between the descriptions of the 1219–1221 battles for Halych, an insertion was made with the following content:

At that time, as God had willed it, the Lithuanian princes sent to the Princess Romanova [Roman's wife] and to Danilo and Vasilko an offer of peace. The names of these Lithuanian princes were [as follows]: the elder ones were Zhivibud, Doviat, Dausprungas, his brother Mindaugas, [his] brother Doviau Vilkailo; and the Samogitian ones were Prince Erdvilas, Vykintas, and [then there were] the Rushkovichi: Kintibud, Vinibud, Butovit, Vizheik and his son Vishli, Kitenii, Plikosova; and the Bulevichi: Vishymut, who was [later] killed by Mindaugas, who [then] married his wife and killed his brothers – Edvilas and Sprudeik; and the Dzhevaltova princes: Yudky, Pukyik, Bikshi, Likieik. All these offered peace to the Princes Danilo and Vasilko, and there was peace in the land ..."<sup>171</sup>

This is a description of the success achieved by the Romanovichi (in 1219–1220), which has been woven in among tidings of Mstislav Mstislavich's successes and failures.<sup>172</sup> In my opinion, the *ante quem* date of the meeting of the Lithuanian princes is autumn 1219. It was precisely then that "the Great Princess Roman's [wife] took monastic vows".<sup>173</sup> It is highly probable that the

169 According to Rus' tradition, the person with a senior position would offer gifts to his liege.

170 "Вт[ъ]тждоу ж[е] прїеха Данил[ъ] къ Мьстиславоу. Мьстислав[ъ] же великоу похва-  
лоу сътвори Данилови и дары емоу дасть великы и кон[ъ] свой борзый сивый, и  
реч[е] емоу: 'Пойди княже, въ Волѣдимеръ, а азъ пойдоу в полов[ъ]ци, мьстивѣ  
сѣрома своего'. Данилови ж[е] прїехав[ъ]шю въ Волѣдимеръ" – *Chronica* 2017, 70–71.

171 "В то ж[е] время Б[о]жїим[ъ] повелѣнїем[ъ] прислаша княси литов[ъ] скїе къ  
великой княгини Романовой, и къ Даниловой, и къ Васил[ъ]кови, миръ даючи.  
Бахъ ж[е] имена литов[ъ]ских[ъ] княсей се: стар[ъ]шїй Живиньбоуд[ъ] Довьатъ,  
Довьспроуйкъ, брат[ъ] его Мидогъ, брат[ъ] Довьаловъ Виликаиль, а жемойт[ъ]скый  
князь Ердивиль, Выкынтъ, а Роускович[и]: Кинтибоуд[ъ], Вьнибоут[ъ], Боутовит[ъ],  
Виженъ и сын[ъ] его Вишли, Китенїй, Пликосова; а се Боулевеч[и] Вишимоутъ,  
егоже оуби Миндогот[ъ], и женоу его поалъ, и брат[ъ]ю его побиль Едивила,  
Съпроудѣика; а се княси изъ Лотвы Юдькы, Поукыикъ, Бикши, Ликѣикъ. Си ж[е]  
вси миръ даша княсю Данилови и Васил[ъ]коу, и бѣ земля покоина" – *Chronica* 2017,  
71–74. See: Zajączkowski 1925, 46; Łowmiański 1932, 188 with n. 2; Paszkiewicz 1933, 50–52;  
Pashuto 1959, 339; Gudavičius 1998, 118; Jankauskas 2015, 115–121.

172 Mstislav was the commander-in-chief during the battles for Halych, Danilo only followed his orders.

173 "Тогда же великаа княгини Романова въспрїа мнишрскїй чинъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 65 with n. 2014.

passage containing the names of the Lithuanians was copied from a list of witnesses recorded in a document prepared in Vladimir. Such an assumption would mean that agreements, also those with people of another faith, were concluded in writing,<sup>174</sup> secondly – that a scriptorium/chancellery existed at the Romanovichi court, and – thirdly – that such acts were kept and their fragments used by the author(s) of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.<sup>175</sup> The source of this information would have been members of the Romanovichi circle and their ‘archives’. Serving as a supplement to the above passage are the following sentences: “The Lyakhs did not cease to scheme. And [Danilo] sent Lithuania against them. They [the Lithuanians] warred with the Lyakhs, killing many people”.<sup>176</sup> Witalij Nagirnyj is of the opinion that “in 1220 (or perhaps already at the end of 1219) there was a Lithuanian incursion into Polish lands”.<sup>177</sup> However Witaly Nagirnyj did not search Polish and Czech source texts, which provide information precisely for the year 1220 about the ravaging of Polish lands by the Prussians and the Rus’ians.<sup>178</sup> I would agree with the publishers of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* that “it is difficult to assume that despite a different designation given of the invaders, this could have referred to two different military operations”.<sup>179</sup>

Following the description of the Lithuanian princes’ legation to Roman’s widow and her children, the chronicler resumes the interrupted narrative concerning the battles that took place in 1219–1221.

At that time, Filia the Haughty moved out, in hopes of taking the land by emptying the sea with his great host of Hungarians. He said, ‘One stone breaks many pots’, and he also said other words boastfully, ‘A sharp sword, a swift horse, a populous Rus’. God did not tolerate [this]. Later in time, this once haughty Filia was killed by Danilo Romanovich.<sup>180</sup>

174 Analogies should be seen in the Byzantine-Rus’ agreements from 911 and 944.

175 See: Jankauskas 2015, 115–121 (and further literature therein).

176 “Ляхом[ъ] же не престающим[ъ] пакостящим[ъ], и привед[е] на на лит[в]оу, и воеваша лахи, и много оубиства сътворишас[а] в них[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 74.

177 Nagirnyj 2011, 181.

178 *Rocznik Krasieński* 1878, 132; *Letopisy české* 1874, 283; *Johannes Neplachonis Abbatis Opatovicensis Chronicon* 1882, 472. It is worth noting that, taken as a whole, one weakness of W. Nagirnyj’s generally well-written text (2011) is the non-exhaustive use of Latin source texts.

179 *Chronica* 2017, 74 with n. 249.

180 “В то ж[е] время выиде Филаа прегордый, надѣаса обіати землю, потребити море, съ многими оугры, рек[ъ]шю емоу: ‘Един[ъ] камен[ъ] много грѣн[ъ]цевъ избивает[ъ]’, – а другоу слово емоу рек[ъ]ше прегордо: ‘Острый мечю, борзый коню, многаа

The passage shows the chronicler's craftsmanship and his level of education. In his text discussing the aphoristic maxims in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, Alexey Pautkin indicates that the phrase 'One stone breaks many pots' was taken from the late Antiquity poet Flavius Avianus.<sup>181</sup> An analogous phrase can also be found in the texts of Wincenty Kadłubek.<sup>182</sup> However, in the Rus'ian version, it is slightly distorted. In turn, the expression "древле прегордый" ("Later in time, this once haughty") is an example of the borrowing of a phrase from *The Jewish War* by Titus Flavius Josephus.<sup>183</sup> The chronicler depicts Filia<sup>184</sup> very graphically and unambiguously as a negative character; thus, we can only guess that he was reviled by Danilo. In the last two sentences of the above-quoted fragment, the author of the source text did not fail to mention his death, which was described further in the chronicle.<sup>185</sup> Filia died on August 17, 1245 after the Battle of Yaroslav. This day is thus the *post quem* date of the text's editing. The chronicler reworked the subsequent parts of the source text<sup>186</sup> discussing the battles for Halych, so that it was not only Danilo who played a main role in the events, but also Vasilko. In the passage about the defence of Halych by Danilo and Alexander Vsevolodovich of Belz,<sup>187</sup> Mstislav

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роуси'. Б[ог]оу же того не тръпащо, во ино время оубіенъ быс[тъ] Даніилом[ъ] Романовичем[ъ] древле прегордый Фила" – *Chronica* 2017, 74–76.

181 Pautkin 1996, 84–85.

182 The editors of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* noted that an "analogous proverb, perhaps taken from Avianus, was used in the chronicle by Master Wincenty Kadłubek with the following expression: 'Vincit conflictu lapis, cadet olla sub ictu [...]' (A pot that hits a stone will break at first impact [...])' (*Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek* 1994, 158; *Średniowieczna poezja łacińska w Polsce* 2007, LXXIV, 131–132). According to Pautkin, the aphorism could have actually been used by Filia as one belonging to the cultural resources of a Catholic knight, while – on the other – it cannot be excluded the Rus'ian historiographer took it directly from Master Wincenty (Pautkin 1996, 84–85). One might have the impression that the entire fragment encompassing the words 'in hopes of [...]' a populous Rus' is an adaptation of Master Wincenty's story about Casimir the Just's victory over the Rus'ians and Polovtsians with forces led by Vsevolod Mstislavich, who was in fact Danilo's paternal uncle. Aside from references to the scuffle between a pot with a stone, the text also includes the motif of the sea attempting to unsuccessfully flood a rock surface and about a horsed attack by numerous Rus'ians (*Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek* 1994, 216–219). Perhaps this is also an example of various knightly topics which at least partially have their sources in Latin poetry, widespread in courtly circles in Lesser Poland (Małopolska), Hungary, and primarily at the Romanovichi court" – *Chronica* 2017, 75–76 with n. 252–253.

183 Meshcherskii 1958, 99; Pautkin 1998, 130.

184 For more on this Hungarian nobleman, see: Zsoldos 2011, 54, 198, 303; Voloshchuk 2011, 189–196. See also: Jusupović 2011, 145–163.

185 *Chronica* 2017, 284.

186 *Chronica* 2017, 76–77.

187 *Chronica* 2017, 64–65.

Mstislavich was in a position of command over both princes. In the meantime, most probably as a result of the re-editing of the text, the following phrase was inserted: “Alexander withdrew [his support] from Danilo and from Vasilko and [went] to Leszek”.<sup>188</sup> Right after this fragment, there is a passage indicating that Mstislav Mstislavich played the main role in the events: “[They] had no aid from others except from God until Mstislav arrived with the Polovtians. Filia retreated with his great host of Hungarians and Lyakhs from Halych, taking [with him] the Halychan boyars and [his] father-in-law Sudyslav and Lazarus, and others, while the others scattered as [Filia] was boastful”.<sup>189</sup> This might perhaps be a trace of *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*, slightly re-edited at a later time (when Danilo was still alive).

The subsequent passage begins with the words “в то же время”<sup>190</sup> (“at that time”). This phrase, providing chronological order to the narrative, might indicate the beginning of a story parallel to neighbouring events and the supplementation of the narrative with information from another source. In 1221,<sup>191</sup> Leszek the White set out for Szczekarzew (present-day Krasnystaw).<sup>192</sup> This was a diversionary tactic aimed at pulling the Romanovichi away from their battles aimed at capturing Halych. We also learn that Konrad I of Mazovia undertook the role of arbitrator. This prince also, “upon learning of Leszek’s duplicity, did not allow Prince Danilo to go to Leszek”.<sup>193</sup> This passage should in its entirety be associated with the Romanovichi’s closest circles. Konrad I of Mazovia’s support for the Vladimir side of the conflict might be proof of earlier diplomatic contacts. Perhaps the princes had reached some sort of agreement.

The story of Halych being taken in 1221 by Mstislav Mstislavich begins with the words, “Filia prepared for battle ...”<sup>194</sup> and ends with “... showing [Sudyslav] great honours, he gave him Zvenyhorod”.<sup>195</sup> In this passage, the

188 “Олеѡandroу ж[е] вт[ъ]стѡпив[ъ]шю вт[ъ] Данила и вт[ъ] В[а]сил[ъ]ка къ Лест[ъ]кови” – *Chronica* 2017, 76.

189 “не бѣ бо има помощи ни вт[ъ] коле же, развѣе вт[ъ] Б[ог]а, дон[ъ]деже прійде Мьстиславъ с Полов[ъ]ци. Изыде ж[е] Фила съ многыми оугры и лахы из Галича, поем[ъ] боаре галиц[ъ]кый, и Сждислава ц[ъ]та, и Лазора, и ины, а инїи разбѣгшас[а], загордѣл[ъ] бо са бѣ” – *Chronica* 2017, 76–77.

190 *Chronica* 2017, 77.

191 Hrushevsky 1901, 17.

192 *Chronica* 2017, 77 with n. 258.

193 “познавшю ж[е] емоу леств Лест[ъ]ковоу, и не велѣ княсю Данил[ъ]лови ехати къ Лест[ъ]коу” – *Chronica* 2017, 77–78.

194 “Фила ж[е] ст[р]оашеса на брань ...” – *Chronica* 2017, 78.

195 “ч[ъ]стїю великою почтивъ его, и Звенигород[ъ] дасть емоу” – *Chronica* 2017, 76–83.

Hungarian knights<sup>196</sup> and Halychan boyars<sup>197</sup> are listed in altogether careful detail, while we also learn that Danilo Romanovich and his *tysiatsky* Demian were late for the siege of Halych.<sup>198</sup> The story was written from the perspective of Mstislav Mstislavich. However, it is worth noting that this conflict has also been described in other chronicles,<sup>199</sup> as well as in Jan Długosz's account,<sup>200</sup> erroneously placed under the year 1209. For example, the Polish historiographer provided the names of the Rus' princes who supported Mstislav Mstislavich in his fight against the Lyakhs and who were not mentioned in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*: Vladimir IV Rurikovich, Rostislav Davidovich, and Rostislav Mstislavich. According to researchers, Długosz probably did not use this chronicle, but rather some version of a Kievan *letopis'* connected to the Rostislavichi.<sup>201</sup> In all likelihood, neither did this source text have the layout typical for annals, which can be attested by Długosz's incorrect dating of the event discussed. The account is much broader in the Polish historiographer's text. It is very probable that the description was significantly cut by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. Ultimately, it is not Mstislav Mstislavich who is the main character, but the Romanovichi.

This fact is so suggestive that the authors of the Polish translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* translated the words “В тѣмъ жѣ врѣмѣ вѣстѣхъ бѣхъ Алѣксѣндръ, и сѣтвори миръ съ Лѣстѣкомъ, и сѣ Коломаномъ, и сѣ Филею грѣдымъ, Романовичема не прѣстааша хѣта сла”<sup>202</sup>

196 Ivan, Lekii, Dmitry, Filia, Bot and Uz. See: *Chronica* 2017, 78–79 with n. 262–266.

197 Zhyroslov, Dobrynia and Dobrynia's farmhand. See: *Chronica* 2017, 268; Jusupović 2013b, 134–135, 299–305.

198 Jusupović 2013b, 118–125.

199 “Въ лѣтѣ[о] 6729 Мстиславъ Мстислави(ч)[ъ] биса сѣ Угрою и побѣди я” – *Lavrent'evskaia letopis'* 2001, 445; “Мстиславъ Мстиславич биса сѣ Угрою и изби ихъ множество и королевича яль и сѣде в Галичи” – *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod* 2004, 118; “Мстиславъ Мстиславичъ биса сѣ Угрою и побѣди я и я множество ихъ а королевича яль” – *Simeonovskaia letopis'* 2007, 51 (under the entry for the year 6730); “Поиде князь Мстиславъ и Володимиръ ис Кыева къ Галицю на королевича, и выидоша галицяне противу, и Чехове и Ляхове и Морава и Угре, и сѣступишася полкове. И пособи богъ Мстиславу, и въ городъ Галиць вѣха, а королевича рукама яша и сѣ женою, и взя миръ сѣ королевѣ, а сынъ его пусти, а самъ сѣдѣ въ Галици, а Володимиръ Рюриковиць Кыевъ” – *Novogrodskaia perviaia letopis'* 2000, 59, 261 (under the entry for the year 6727). An analogous record to the one in the Novgorod chronicle can be found in the *Letopis' po akademicheskomu spisku* 2001, 502 and the *Tverskaia letopis'* 2000, 333–34 (under the entry for the year 6729). From the quoted chronicles, we can learn of Volodimir Rurikovich's participation in the battles for Halych.

200 Ioannis Dlugossii 1964, 206–209.

201 See: Dąbrowski 2012b, 106–107. See: Shchhaveleva 2004, 447–448; Pashuto 1950, 28, 38–39.

202 *Chronica* 2017, 83.

as meaning “At that time, Alexander withdrew [his support from the Romanovichi] and made peace with Leszek and with Coloman and Filia the Haughty, as he did not cease to want evil to befall the Romanovichi”. As can be observed, they added almost automatically that Alexander withdrew his support from the Romanovichi, in accordance with the narrative used by the chronicle’s author, which justifies such a translation. Meanwhile, as I have attempted to show above, it was Mstislav Mstislavich who was the commander-in-chief; thus, he should have been inserted in brackets and not the Romanovichi, or rather the sentence should have been “Alexander withdrew [from the alliance]”. However, it should be noted that this sentence is an elaboration of the previously quoted sentence: “Alexander withdrew [his support] from Danilo and from Vasilko and [went] to Leszek”.<sup>203</sup> On this basis, I am inclined to assume that we are dealing with the application of a chronological strategy typical for the periods 1228–1244 and 1260–1290.<sup>204</sup> The chronicler began the insertion, defined in this chapter as a parallel narrative, with information that the prince of Belz withdrew from supporting his allies. Following this fragment, events encompassing a longer period were described in chronological order. Next, information about Alexander’s betrayal was repeated, which rewound the account to the moment when the insertion began. One might have the impression that the substantive (plot-based) layout<sup>205</sup> in *Danilo’s Chronicle* was reconstructed by its last editor to give it chronological order. This is indirectly confirmed by the parallel stories. Thus, we are dealing with a situation in which Danilo’s *knizhnik* used *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* in his narrative, and subsequently the chronicler Vladimir Vasilkovich used *Danilo’s Chronicle* in his work. All the examples cited thus far show that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is an unfinished text.

The next passage of the chronicle can be divided into three parts. The first is a description of the peace agreement reached by the Romanovichi and Leszek: “After Mstislav’s victory and after the Lithuanians battled the Lyakhs, Leszek made peace with Danilo and Vasilko [through the mediation of] Derzhislav Abrahamovich and Florian Voitsekhovich, while the Romanovichi made peace

203 “Олеѣandroу ж[е] wt[ъ]стѣпив[ъ]шю wt[ъ] Данила и wt[ъ] В[а]сил[ъ]ка къ Лест[ъ]кови” – *Chronica* 2017, 76. The fact that they are referring to one and the same event seems only logical. Why would Alexander Vsevolodovich of Belz go over for a second time to the Polish-Hungarian camp after Mstislav Mstislavich’s victory over them?

204 See: Chapters 3 and 5.

205 See: Chapter 4.

[through the mediation of] the *tysiatsky* Demian”.<sup>206</sup> The basis of this fragment was probably a passage in *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* about the peace agreement reached between Leszek and Mstislav Mstislavich. The second part is a description of the battles between Danilo and Vasilko on the one side and Alexander of Belz on the other: “Leszek [then] withdrew [his support] from Alexander. On Saturday night, [everything] around Belz and Cherven was plundered by Danilo and Vasilko, and all the land was plundered”.<sup>207</sup> It remains an open question whether the ruler of Halych participated in this campaign. The chronicler suggests that he did. This is indicated by the passage following the third part that I have distinguished: “Mstislav said, ‘[Danilo] spare your brother Alexander’ and Danilo returned to Vladimir, withdrawing from Belz”.<sup>208</sup> It is also worth noting that in both parts the role of Vasilko has been highlighted, though earlier it had not been. It is difficult to establish whether we are dealing with an attempt made by the chronicler, Vladimir Vasilkovich, to underline the fact of Vasilko becoming politically active (he was 18–19 years old at that time), or whether it was actually true that when the prince came of age the Romanovich brothers ruled together. It is worth noting that in 1220 Roman Mstislavich’s widowed wife became a nun. We can only guess that this might have been caused by the fact of her younger son coming of age. The hypothesis about the chronicler Vladimir Vasilkovich’s intervention in the text is supported by Mstislav’s words directed exclusively to Danilo.<sup>209</sup> In my opinion, both descriptions should be associated with an information source from the Romanovich’s closest circles, while what is referred to as *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* served as chronological skeleton, enabling the arrangement of events. The third part of the passage discussed constitutes a display of the chronicler’s erudition, in which he refers to the Holy Bible and Malalas.<sup>210</sup> The author makes the description of the war operations more attractive by adding the following phrases: “Boyars ransacked [other] boyars, smerds ransacked

206 “Побѣждени[и] Мьстиславлѣ, и по литов[ѣ]ском[ѣ] воеваніи на лахы сътвори миръ Лест[ѣ]ко съ Даніилѣм[ѣ], и Васил[ѣ]кѣм[ѣ], и Дръжиславом[ѣ] Абрамовичем[ѣ] и Творіаном[ѣ] Вѣтиховичем[ѣ], а Романовичи сътвориста миръ съ Деманом[ѣ] тысац[ѣ] кым[ѣ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 83–84.

207 “Ѡтстѣпи Лест[ѣ]ко ѡт[ѣ] Алеѣандра. В сѣботѣ ж[ѣ] на нѡч[ѣ] поплєнено быс[ѣ]тъ] околѡ Белза и околѡ Черв[ѣ]на Данилом[ѣ] и Васил[ѣ]ком[ѣ], и вса землѣ поплєнена быс[ѣ]тъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 84.

208 “Мьстиславоу ж[ѣ] рек[ѣ]шю: ‘Пожалоуи брата Олєѣадра’, и Данил[ѣ] воротис[ѣ] въ Волѣдимеръ, ѡтѣде ѡт[ѣ] Белза” – *Chronica* 2017, 85.

209 *Chronica* 2017, 85.

210 Malalas John, chronicler; born ca. 490, died 570s. See: Baldwin 1991, 1275.



[other] smerds, the city dwellers – [other] city dwellers”,<sup>211</sup> “Not a stone was left upon another stone”<sup>212</sup> and “It [the night] played an evil trick on them.”<sup>213</sup>

From the point of view of dating the events, the most significant fragment is an insertion that was most probably prepared at the Romanovichi court, concerning the order in which the bishops in the Vladimir eparch were seated.

During the reign of Danilo and Vasilko Romanovich, the city of Vladimir had the following bishops: there was Asaf the blessed, the venerable priest of the Holy Mountain, then there was Vasily of the Holy Mountain, and then there was Nicephorus with the agnomen Stanilo, who had previously been Vasilko’s servant, and then there was Kuz’ma the gentle, humble, and venerable bishop of Vladimir.<sup>214</sup>

The list of bishops of Vladimir opens with Asaf. Some researchers think that he should be identified as the bishop of Uhrusk mentioned in the chronicle,<sup>215</sup> while others believe that we are dealing here with two separate individuals.<sup>216</sup> The remaining bishops exercised their ministry during the reign of Danilo

211 “Боарин[ъ] боарина пленив[ъ]шю, смердъ смерда, град[ъ] града” – *Chronica* 2017, 84. Reference to Is. 19: 2; Jr. 15: 9.

212 “Не оставляшюся камени на камени” – *Chronica* 2017, 85. Mk. 13: 2 (Aprakos 1983, 154–155, л. 109a.21–22), Mt. 24: 1–2 (Aprakos 1983, 103, л. 63r). See: Orlov 1926, III; *Litopis rus’kii za Ipat’skim spiskom* 1989, 379; *Chronica* 2017, 85 with n. 278.

213 “Слоу игроу имъ зыгра” – *Chronica* 2017, 85. As the editors of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* noted: “The aphorism about the evil trick night had played on them is considered a borrowing of a passage from Book II of *The Chronicle of John Malalas*; however, it remains unknown whether it was introduced based directly on this source text or through the mediation of what is referred to as the *Judean Chronograph*, or perhaps some other compilation (Orlov 1926, 99)”. *Chronica* 2017, 85 with n. 279.

214 “В лѣта ж[е] Данила и Васил[ъ]ка Романович[ю] бахж вълдимер[ъ] скїи бискоупи, бѣ бо Асафъ, бл[а]жен[ъ]нии пр[е]п[о]д[о]бнии с[ва]т[ите]ль С[ва]тое горы и потом[ъ] бѣ Василии ѿт С[ва]тое горы, и потом[ъ] бѣ Никифор[ъ] прор[о]кѡм[ъ] Станило, бѣ бо слоуга Васил[ъ]ковъ прежде. И потом[ъ] Коузма, кроткый смирен[ъ]нии пр[е]п[о]д[о]бнии, бискоуп[ъ] вълдимер[ъ]скїи” – *Chronica* 2017, 85–87.

215 This includes Andrzej Poppe, who was not a supporter of proliferating names. Poppe 1996, 464–465; Jusupović 2014b, 44–62; Jusupović 2014a, 11–26. The authors of the entry in the *Pravoslavnaia Ėntsiklopediia* in vol. 8 emphasize the weakness of the hypothesis concerning the identification of Asaf of Vladimir (in their terminology – Iosaf, perhaps to be identified as the same person as the Iosephi mentioned towards the end of the 18th century, see: Gil’, Skochilias 2013, 15–16) as the Uhursk bishop. Nazarenko, Floria, Turilov 2004, 727–729. The impossibility of settling this issue has been indicated by A.I.U. Karpov (2016, 188–189).

216 See: Shchapov 1989, 53–54; Dąbrowski 2016b, 72.

and Vasilko Romanovich.<sup>217</sup> The mention of the individuals Nicephorus and Kuz'ma is important for determining the time of the writing or supplementing of this fragment. We know that the latter individual (referred to as "Cosmas" in the list of bishops in Vladimir from the end of the 17th century)<sup>218</sup> began performing his ministry during Vasilko Romanovich's lifetime and that he was active during the reign of Vladimir Vasilkovich. Towards the end of Vladimir's life, in ca. 1288, Bishop Eugene is mentioned. The *ante quem* date for the writing of this fragment would thus be 1288. The fact that Nicephorus is present on the list (noted as "Niciphorus" on the list of bishops of Vladimir from the end of the 17th century),<sup>219</sup> who had previously been in service to Vasilko<sup>220</sup> (perhaps as his chancellor), indicates that he became a bishop after Vasilko began to rule independently in Vladimir, i.e., after 1238, when Danilo Romanovich took Halych.<sup>221</sup> Therefore, the *post quem* date of the writing of this information would be 1238 (it was probably after that year that Nicephorus became the Bishop of Vladimir). However, it seems that this insertion was written after Danilo and Vasilko Romanovich's deaths, i.e., after ca. 1269. This would thus be tangible proof of the editor having worked at Vladimir Vasilkovich's court. He probably had at his disposal some documents from the prince's chancellery<sup>222</sup> or had access to the bishopric's documentation.

The continuation of the analyzed narrative goes as follows:

Because God allowed it, Danilo built a grod named Chelm. We will tell the story of its construction another time. Ivan was chosen by the will of God and appointed by Prince Danilo to be bishop, [selected] from among the clergy of the Great [Orthodox] church of the Holy Mother of God of Vladimir. Before that, Asaf of Uhrusk had been the bishop, who ascended the metropolitan chair and was for this reason dethroned and brought to the bishopric in Chelm.<sup>223</sup>

217 See: Gil', Skochilias 2013, 15–16; Karpov 2016, 75–76; Nazarenko, Floria, Turilov 2004, 727–28; *Chronica* 2017, 86–7 with n. 282–87.

218 Gil', Skochilias 2013, 15–16.

219 Gil', Skochilias 2013, 15–16.

220 The princes had a significant influence on the appointment of bishop positions. See: Poppe 1997, 311–392 (for an extended version, see: Poppe 2007).

221 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 28; Nazarenko, Floria, Turilov 2004, 727–728.

222 Since the prince had some influence on bishopric appointments, some documentation concerning this matter might have been preserved.

223 "Б[ог]оу же изволив[ъ]шу, Данилъ създа град[ъ] именем[ъ] Холмъ. Създаніе же его иногда скажем[ъ]. Б[о]жїю волею избраненъ бысѣ[тъ] и поставлен[ъ] быс[ъ] Иван[ъ] бискоупъ княсем[ъ] Данилѡм[ъ] ѡт клироса великое ц[ъ]ркви С[ва]тыа Б[огороди]ци Волхдимер[ъ]ское. Бѣ бо преже того бискоупъ Асафъ въ Оугров[ъ]

It should be noted that both this and the previously analyzed passage were written at the same time and their goal was to show the reader the Romanovichi's base in the Church, as can be deduced from the sentence (which could just as well have been omitted in the text) stating that the construction of Chełm would be described later in the text, as was in fact done.<sup>224</sup> It is significant to note that the transferral of the cathedral from Uhrusk to Chełm took place after 1241.<sup>225</sup> In the critical literature on the topic, the opinion has been adopted that Chełm<sup>226</sup> is where *Danilo's Chronicle* was written.<sup>227</sup> To date, no one has attempted to establish when and where the various inserts (or – to use Aleksandr Uzhankov's terminology – the “prophetic phrasing”) of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* were created.<sup>228</sup> The presently analyzed fragment enables establishing the date of both passages as some point after 1241, perhaps, as has already been emphasized, dating them to Vladimir Vasilkovich's reign. Only a comparison of all such insertions and an analysis of the adopted chronological strategy can lead to a constructive hypothesis. The period of our focus here, encompassing the years 1205–1228, is especially difficult due to the adaptation of what is referred to as the *Rostislavichi letopis'* and

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скоу, иже сѣпи на стол[ъ] митрополии и за то свръжень быс[тъ] съ стола своего и приведен[ъ] быс[тъ] на бископ[ъ]ю в Холмъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 87–89.

- 224 For a list of all mentions of Chełm and for further literature, see: Jusupović 2016a, 161–186. For the state of research and a further discussion, see: Gil, Skoczylas 2014, 62–63. On the expansion of Chełm and the stages of its construction, see: Puts'ko 1997, 116–120; Aleksandrovich 2007, 143–153.
- 225 This was probably the result of the destruction of Uhrusk by the Mongolian invasion. Jusupović 2014b, 52, 58. It should also be emphasized that Mikhailo Hrushevsky was right in considering Chełm not to have been destroyed by the Mongolian invasion because, in contrast to Uhrusk which was the seat of the bishopric (See: Aleksandrovich 2007, 139), it was not an important centre. Hrushevsky 1992, 63.
- 226 According to Andrzej Buko's conclusions, the archaeological material found in Chełm at what is referred to as High Hill [Wysoka Górka], i.e., in the place where Danilo's court was located, comes from the mid-13th century (Buko 2005, 77–80). A similar opinion was expressed by Andrzej Poppe, who emphasized that when the prince's court was being moved to Chełm in 1240–1250, a bishopric also began to function there (Poppe 2007, 360–361). See: Jusupović 2014a, 58.
- 227 In the critical literature on the subject, it is assumed that Bishop Ivan wrote this chronicle. See: Cherepnin 1941, 228, 230, 249–253. For further literature, see: Poppe 1967, 20–21; Pashuto 1950, 73–74, 80–81, 86–101; Gens'ors'kii 1958, 4, 16, 23, 66–67, 90–99; Uzhankov 2009, 317–318. In his earlier publications, Aleksandr Uzhankov proposed a much broader period as the one during which the first edition was to have been prepared: the late 1240s and the early 1250s. Uzhankov 1989, 265–273; 1992, 149–180. Also see: Font 2005, 32–34. For a list and discussion of the available literature on the topic, see: Jusupović 2013b, 24–28.
- 228 Uzhankov 1989, 265–273; 1992, 149–180.

its inclusion into *Danilo's Chronicle*, and next – of the latter into *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.

In my opinion, the largest preserved fragment of *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* is the description of the Mongolian invasion in 1223.<sup>229</sup> This fragment was used in descriptions of the Battle of the Kalka River included in other chronicles. As a result, it has been preserved in abbreviated and expanded forms. It has also undergone slight modifications in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. I base this assumption on the prosopographic analysis of the presence of members of the elites and their origins in the discussed fragment of the chronicle.<sup>230</sup> Precise analysis shows that the individuals listed were connected only to Halych or Volhynia. Semion Oluevich and Vasilko Gavrylovich, who participated in the battle,<sup>231</sup> were linked to the Romanovichi,<sup>232</sup> Yuri of Domamerich and Derzhikrai Volodyslavich – to Halych.<sup>233</sup> Yarun should also be noted, about whose participation in the Battle of the Kalka River we learn thanks to the *Novgorod First Chronicle in the older and young editions*. According to the information within the source text, Yarun not only commanded his own unit, but also that of the Polovtsians.<sup>234</sup> This is probably the same individual as Mstislav Mstislavich's voivode, who in 1216 barricaded himself in the town of Rzhev with a hundred people and fought off Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich's unit consisting of 10 thousand warriors, supporting his brother's operations.<sup>235</sup> Yet another mention of Yarun is linked to the events that took place in 1219.<sup>236</sup> At the time, he was a *tysiatsky* in Przemyśl.<sup>237</sup> The most difficult task is determining who the above-mentioned Ivan Dmitriovich served at that time.<sup>238</sup>

229 *Chronica* 2017, 89–102. For the available literature and its discussion, see: Bulanin 1987, 346–348; Fennell 1980, 18–19, 23–26, 30–31.

230 This part of the book is based on analyses conducted in Chapter VI of the chronicle (*Chronica* 2017, LXII–LXXV) and on the article I wrote on the topic (Jusupović 2017a, 171–188).

231 “Семешн[ъ] Олюевич[ъ] и Васил[ъ]ко Гаврилович[ъ], потькоша в полкы татар[ъ] скіа. Васил[ъ] кови ж[е] збоден[ъ]нѣ быс[тъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 98–99.

232 Jusupović 2013b, 143–145, 235–236.

233 Jusupović 2013b, 138–139, 186–192. These were Mstislav Mstislavich's voivodes leading the unit of Halych vygotse. See: Jusupović 2012b, 114–133.

234 *Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis'* 2000, 63, 266; *Paterik* 1911, 266; *Letopis po Voskresenskemu spisku* 2001, 131.

235 *Novgorodskaia pervaiia letopis'* 2000, 255. See: Kotliar 2008, 202–203; Khrustalev 2004, 16.

236 Hrushevsky 1901, 15–16. See: Włodarski 1966, 68–73.

237 “Корол[ъ] же посла вои много и Лест[ъ]ко, и прїдоша к Перемышлю. Аронови же тогда тысашю дръжашю в Перемышли, избѣже пред[ъ] ними” – *Chronica* 2017, 62.

238 “Ѵттоуду ж[е] идоша ѣ д[ъ]нїи до рѣкы Кал[ъ]кы, срѣтоша сторожеве татар[ъ]скїи. Сторожем[ъ] же бив[ъ]шимса с ними, и оубїенъ быс[тъ] Иванъ Дмитріевич[ъ] и инаа два с ним[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 97.

Similarly as the above-described noblemen, he should probably be linked either to Halych or Volhynia.<sup>239</sup>

The defeat during the Battle of the Kalka River was portrayed in many chronicles; thus, it could not be omitted by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. As a result of these events, ones significant for the whole of Rus', we have at our disposal very valuable material showing how information was re-edited by the authors of the chronicles. In the others describing the battle against the Mongolians in 1223, the account of the Battle of the Kalka River is more extensive than in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*; however, all of the boyars mentioned in them are connected to Halych-Volhynia lands. Even Mstislav Mstislavich's activities were presented in greater detail. This leads to two conclusions: 1) the account of the Battle of the Kalka River was written within the circles associated with the Halych prince and was then included in other chronicles; 2) the editor of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* included it into the story about the Romanovichi, albeit editing it slightly. These considerations lead to the assumption that a scriptorium functioned at Mstislav Mstislavich's court.<sup>240</sup> The prince probably came to Halych with a manuscript containing *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*, to which *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was added at a later time – to serve the purposes of the Romanovichi. Mstislav Mstislavich belonged to a group of older princes, e.g., he was in charge of the expedition against the Mongolians. Perhaps, similarly as the Romanovichi, he also made sure his achievements were described. He was also related to Rurik Rostislavich, Roman Mstislavich's father-in-law, and Danilo and Vasilko's father. The need to replace the description of 1198–1205 with Roman's encomium indicates that the codex used by the Romanovichi was linked to the Rostislavich family from which the ruler of Halych was also derived. This is indirect proof that Mstislav Mstislavich might have had the manuscript containing *The Tale of Bygone Years* with an extension going up to at least 1205, supplemented until about the late 1220s. It should be remembered that this monarch came to Halych from Veliky Novgorod, a place with a developed chronicling tradition. Aleksey Gippius compared the records under the entries for the years 6722–6724, 6726, 6732 from the *Novgorod First Chronicle* with the years 6654, 6656, 6658–6659 from *The Ipatiev Chronicle*. He concluded that the Kievan source text strongly influenced the Novgorod chronicle. He found it a more credible solution that Mstislav Mstislavich had brought the Rostislavichi chronicle to Novgorod and then to Halych. After Danilo Romanovich was confirmed on the throne of Halych, the codex came

239 Jusupović 2013b, 164–165.

240 Earlier analyses confirm the functioning of something like a scriptorium in Halych.

into his possession, following which it went on to leave a clear mark on the historiography of southern Rus'.<sup>241</sup>

Let us now return to our analysis of the text. Researchers have not paid much attention to this fact, but the Battle of the Kalka River also had influence on the contents of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. It seems that the losses on the Romanovichi side were significant. For a period of about 3–4 years, the number of passages portraying the perspective of the court in Vladimir decreases. The author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was not fully able to erase the main role played by Mstislav Mstislavich, which the ruler certainly had in *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*. The narrative begins with a conflict that took place in 1224,<sup>242</sup> between Alexander Vsevolodovich of Belz, who was supported by the ruler of Halych (bringing with him the Polovtsians and Vladimir Rurikovich), and the Romanovichi supported by the Lyakhs.<sup>243</sup> The chronicler placed the blame for the conflict on the ruler of Belz, while "Mstislav received his son-in-law with friendship and honoured him with great gifts, granting him also his swift horse, Aktaz,<sup>244</sup> the like of which was not seen in those years, and he gave valuable offerings also to his daughter Anna. Upon seeing his brothers in Peremy, they confirmed the peace [treaty]."<sup>245</sup>

The description of the conflict between Zhyroslav and the Halych prince in 1226<sup>246</sup> was also depicted from the perspective of Halych.<sup>247</sup> A local nobleman had supposedly spread a rumor among the Halych elites that the monarch was planning to kill them. As a result, the boyars escaped to Przemyśl to broker an agreement with the Hungarians. Ultimately, the conflict was defused thanks to Mstislav's priest – Timofey. Revealing the lie forced Zhyroslav to escape to a

241 Gippius 2009, 70–77. I would like to thank Prof. A. Gippius for indicating this article.

242 According to Mikhaïlo Hrushevsky (1901, 19), the battles took place in 1224.

243 *Chronica* 2017, 102–107.

244 The term "актаз" used in the source text has been interpreted in various ways. For example, according to M. Fasmer, it signified a white Arabian horse (see: Fasmer 1986, 66–67: Ак-біалы; таз-арабски). According to I. Gens'ors'kiï, it should be understood as a proper noun: "White skull" (Gens'ors'kiï 1961, 95; similarly, Dąbrowski 2016a, 270: "White Head"). From A. Zajączkowski's explanation, which is the most developed and convincing, it can be concluded that this might refer to a "skewbald horse" (Zajączkowski 1949, 45–46).

245 "Мъстислав[ъ] же прїа сата своего любовію, и почтив[ъ] его вел[и]кими дар[ъ] ми, и да емоу кон[ъ] свои борзый актаз[ъ] якож[е] в та лѣта не быс[ъ]. И дъщеръ свою Анноу даривъ великими дарьми, и съ братією видевъ[с]ѧ в Перемили, и оутвердиша миръ" – *Chronica* 2017, 107.

246 Hrushevsky 1901, 20. In my opinion, one could even assume that this took place right before the Polish-Hungarian coalition at the turn of 1226 and 1227.

247 On this conflict, see: Jusupević 2013b, 299–303; Tolochko A.P. 2006b, 252–255; Golovko 2006, 294–295; Dąbrowski 2012b, 127–128.

foreign court.<sup>248</sup> The chronicler attempted to quite pointedly show the nobleman in a negative light, embellishing his description with quotes taken from the Bible:

He cast out Zhyroslav, as God had banished Cain from His presence, with the words: ‘So now you are cursed, moaning [and] shaking on the Earth, which has opened its mouth to receive your brother’s blood.’ So also did Zhyroslav open his mouth against his master: ‘May there be no one supporting [him] in all the lands of Rus’ or Hungary, or in any other lands! May he roam the Earth! He shall want for food! He shall lack wine and olive oil! And may his court be empty and may there be not a living soul in his hamlet!’<sup>249</sup>

It seems that the passage about Zhyroslav’s intrigues is strictly linked to the subsequent one. Once again we are dealing here with a parallel narrative, which is attested by the phrase used by the chronicler not only ordering the narrative chronologically, but also revealing his participation in the operation: “We have returned to the previous”.<sup>250</sup> The narrative goes back in time to 1224 or 1225,<sup>251</sup> when the marriage between Mstislav’s daughter Maria and Andrew II’s son, Prince Andrew, took place: “At the advice of the deceitful Halych boyars, Mstislav gave his younger daughter [in marriage] to Prince Andrew and presented him with Przemyśl”<sup>252</sup> (the chronicler goes back to this event later in the text). At this point, I will grant myself the liberty of presenting a certain reconstruction. In all probability, the original record in *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* was as follows: “Мѣстислав[ъ] же вѣдасть дѣщерь свою мен[ъ] шоую за королевича Андрѣа и дасть емоу Перемышль” (“Mstislav gave his

248 *Chronica* 2017, 107–111.

249 “Жирослава, и гна и шт себе, якоже изгна Б[ог]ъ Каина шт лица своего, рекыи: ‘Проклат[ъ] ты бѣди, стона, трасыиса на земли, якоже раздвиже земла оуста своа пріати крѣвь брата твоего’. Тако же и Жирославъ раздвиже оуста своа на г[о]с[по]дина своего. Да не бѣдет[ъ] емоу приставника въ всѣх[ъ] землах[ъ] роуских[ъ] и въ оугор[ъ]ских[ъ], ни в[ъ] кыих[ъ] же странах[ъ], да ходит[ъ] шатааса въ странах[ъ], желаніе брашна да бѣдет[ъ] емоу, вина же и влоу поскоудоу да бѣдет[ъ] емоу, и да бѣдет[ъ] дворь его поустъ, и въ селѣ его не бѣдет[ъ] живущего” – *Chronica* 2017, 109. See: Gen. 4: 11–12; Ps. 69 (6): 26; Acts 1: 20; Lev. 10: 20; Deut. 29: 6; *Litopis Rus’kii za Ipats’kim spiskom* 1989, 382. Vasilik 2009, 41.

250 “И мы ж[е] на пред[ъ]нее възвратихом[ъ]са” – *Chronica* 2017, 111–112.

251 See: Dąbrowski 2012b, 121–122; Hrushevsky 1901, 20.

252 “Мѣстислав[ъ] же по съвѣтъ л[ъ] живых[ъ] боарь галиц[ъ]ких[ъ] вѣдасть дѣщерь свою мен[ъ] шоую за королевича Андрѣа и дасть емоу Перемышль” – *Chronica* 2017, 112.

younger daughter [in marriage] to Prince Andrew and presented him with Przemyśl"). As a result of the editing done by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, the following was added: "по съвѣтѣ л[ѣ]живых[ѣ] боярь галиц[ѣ]ких[ѣ]" ("At the advice of the deceitful Halych boyars"). It is worth noting that the lack of support among the Halych elites was the most difficult factor for Danilo Romanovich in taking Halych. This is clearly observable in the discussed source text. The chronicler points out all the various acts of disloyalty the noblemen displayed towards the princes – Danilo, Mstislav the Daring, and Mstislav the Dumb.

In the further part of the chronicle, the author smoothly transitions to events that took place at the turn of 1226 and 1227,<sup>253</sup> when Andrew II embarked on an expedition to Halych supported by the Poles.<sup>254</sup> It should be noted that it was precisely then that Zhyroslav's rebellion took place, which supposedly aided the Hungarian-Polish forces. At this point, the chronicler refers to the rebellion of the Halych elites.<sup>255</sup> The passage was embedded in the chronological skeleton of *The Rostislavichi Chronicle* and edited appropriately. Despite this, the Halych perspective permeates the text, e.g., in the description of Mstislav Mstislavich sending envoys to Danilo to deliver the words: "Do not renounce me".<sup>256</sup> Oleg Kupchins'kiy sees in this sentence an excerpt from a letter-communicue that has not been preserved.<sup>257</sup> Traces of the epistolary activities of Rus'ian princes are supposedly also to be found in the answer given by the elder Romanovich, the ruler of Halych: "I have truth in my heart".<sup>258</sup> This part of the text is also interesting for me for one other reason. It lacks any reference to Vasilko, who in the construction of the narrative up until this point had been linked with Danilo. This is indirect proof that after the death of the elder Romanovich, the version of the chronicle in existence at that time was re-edited and supplemented by adding in the younger son of Roman Mstislavich via introducing the dual form or by praising Vasilko. This

253 Hrushevsky 1901, 20.

254 For a description of the operations, see: *Chronica* 2017, 112–117.

255 Towards the end of the analyzed passage we can read the following: "And the Hungarian king went [back] to Hungary. Then Iziaslav with the deceitful Zhyroslav caught up [to the king and] they both went with him to Hungary" – *Kronika* 2017, 132 / "а корол[ѣ] оугор[ѣ]скыи иде въ оугры. Тогда же оугони Изаславъ съ льстивым[ѣ] Жирославом[ѣ], идоста с ним[ѣ] оугры" – *Chronica* 2017, 117. This connects with the final account about Zhyroslav's revolt: "Cast out from there, he went to Iziaslav" – / "Ѡтѣдоу выгнан[ѣ], иде къ Изаславоу" – *Chronica* 2017, 110.

256 "Не ѡтстѣпай ѡт[ѣ] мене" – *Chronica* 2017, 114.

257 Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 243–244.

258 "Имам[ѣ] правдоу въ с[ѣ]рд[ѣ]ци своем[ѣ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 114. See: Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 244–245.



does not mean that the younger of the Romanovichi brothers was not present in *Danilo's Chronicle*, but rather that he was a subsidiary character.<sup>259</sup>

After this part of the text ends, yet another insertion appears, one encompassing the period of ca. 1224–1225<sup>260</sup> and explaining the events from 1226–1227:

Next, Sudyslav, wanting to deceive Mstislav, told him: 'Prince, give your betrothed daughter [in marriage] to the prince and give him Halych. You cannot hold your position there, and the boyars do not want you.' He did not want to give [it] to the prince, but rather preferred to give [it] to Danilo. Gleb Zeremeevich and Sudyslav, wanting to stop him from giving [Halych] to Danilo, both told him: 'If you give [it] to the prince, then you can take it from him whenever you please, but if you give it to Danilo, [then] Halych will never, in all eternity, be yours.' Since the inhabitants of Halych wanted Danilo, they sent a message.<sup>261</sup>

In accordance with the adopted dating strategy, the reference once again to Andrew's marriage with Maria Mstislavich is undoubtedly meant to bring the narrative back on track to its chronological order. However, it is very important to note that in contrast to the first mention of the wedding, this one was formulated within Danilo Romanovich's circles. The *knizhnik* openly discredits the Halych elites who are reluctant towards the reign of Roman Mstislavich's elder son. This passage simultaneously explains why Mstislav Mstislavich sent Sudyslav to Danilo with the words "Do not renounce me" during the battles in 1226–1227.<sup>262</sup> He was clearly afraid that the marriage between his daughter and the Hungarian prince would lead to the disintegration of his alliance with Danilo. It cannot be excluded that the previously described battles with Alexander Vsevolodovich of Belz<sup>263</sup> were the result of this marriage being held ca. 1224–1225. Such an assumption would suggest that the wedding took place already in 1224. This would also explain the chronicler's statement that

259 E.g.: Danilo sent Vasilko.

260 See: Dąbrowski 2008, 569.

261 "Потом[ъ] же Сждиславоу льстащю пвд[ъ] Мстиславом[ъ], рече емоу: 'Кнаже! Даи дъщерь свою оброчен[ъ]ною за королевича и даи емоу Галич[ъ]. Не можешь бо дръжити сам[ъ], а боаре не хотат[ъ] тебе'. Оному ж[е] не хоташю дати королевичю, но пач[е] хотя дати Данилови, Глѣбови же Зьеремѣвичем[ъ] и Сждиславоу претаща емоу не дати емоу Данилови, рѣста бо емоу: 'Аже и даси королевичю, тогда въсхощеши и можеши взати пвд[ъ] ним[ъ]. Даси ли Данилови в в[ѣ]кы не твои бѣдет[ъ] Галич[ъ]. Галичаном[ъ] бо хотащим[ъ] Данила, штѣдоу ж[е] послаша в рѣчех[ъ]'" – *Chronica* 2017, 117–118.

262 "Не штѣжапаи шт[ъ] мене" – *Chronica* 2017, 114.

263 *Chronica* 2017, 102–107. See: p. 64.

Alexander “heard that Mstislav had no love for his son-in-law, Prince Danilo, he [Alexander] was overjoyed [and] incited Mstislav to wage war”.<sup>264</sup> This marriage would fully explain the strained relations between Mstislav and Danilo after 1224, when the previous alliances were reshuffled. At that time, the Romanovichi established friendly relations with Leszek the White, while the ruler of Halych – with the Árpáds. The way in which the narrative of the chronicle is written indicates that despite the activities of the disloyal Halychans, Danilo retained the support of a group of noblemen.

Following the above insertion, the chronicler returns to the chronological skeleton borrowed from the *Rostislavichi Letopis'*: “[Thus,] Mstislav gave Halych to Prince Andrew, and took Ponizie for himself. From there, he went to Torchesk. Mstislav the Dumb gave his patrimony to Prince Danilo and entrusted his son Ivan [to his care]. But Ivan died, and he [Yaroslav] took Lutsk, while the Pinyans took Czartorysk”.<sup>265</sup> These sentences are exceptionally helpful in the correct dating of the events in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, and in a certain way they divide it into modules within which we encounter parallel stories.

Directly after this passage, there is an insertion separating the information about Mstislav the Dumb giving land to Danilo from the continuation of the story. At this point, the chronicler states: “We will begin the story of countless conflicts, enormous difficulties, frequent wars and numerous disputes, frequent uprisings and numerous revolts – as since their youth both [Danilo and Vasilko] had known no peace”.<sup>266</sup> The use in the last part of the sentence of a dualism (a dual form) indicates that the text was edited after Danilo's death. The passage itself is an announcement of the intensification of the Romanovichi efforts to strengthen their position in Volhynia and in Halych. Next, we have a description of the period between 1227 and the beginning of 1228,<sup>267</sup> presented from the perspective of Roman Mstislavich's elder son. Initially, we learn of

264 “яко Мъстиславъ не имѣт[ъ] любве къ зятю своему князю Данилови, радости исплънивъса, поноужеваше М[ъ]стислава на рат[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 103.

265 “Мъстиславъ дасть Галич[ъ] королевичю Андрѣви, а сам[ъ] взъ Понизіе. Втѣждоу иде къ Тръцескому. Мъстиславоу ж[е] Нѣмому дав[ъ]шю шт[ъ]чиноу свою князю Данилови и с[ы]на своего поржчил[ъ] Ивана. Ивану ж[е] оумръшю, и пріа Лоуческъ, и Арославль, и Черторыекъ, и Пинескъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 118–119. In the Khlebnikov Codex, this text was doubtless distorted. The correct form is in the Ipatiev version: “и приа Лоуческъ Арославль. а Черторыекъ. Пинане” (*Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 750; see *Chronica* 2017, 119 with variants from “j” to the “m”).

266 “Начнем[ъ] же сказати бесчислен[ъ]ныя рати, и великіа трѣды, и частыа воины, и мнѡгыа крамолы, и частаа вѣстаніа, и мнѡгыа матежи, измлада бо не бы има покоа” – *Chronica* 2017, 119–120.

267 Hrushevsky 1901, 20–22.

the Romanovichi's victorious campaign against Prince Yaroslav, as a result of which they took Lutsk.<sup>268</sup> "Therefore, his brother gave Lutsk and Peresopnytsia to Vasilko. He had already given him Brest earlier".<sup>269</sup> This passage clearly shows the seniority of Danilo over Vasilko. What is more, in contrast to the introduction announcing a description of countless conflicts, this has been written from the perspective of Roman Mstislavich's elder son who plays a lead role in the events.<sup>270</sup> The story of the Yotvingian incursion in early 1228 is maintained in a similar tone.<sup>271</sup> Not only did Danilo and the inhabitants of Vladimir beat the invaders, but also at the moment when he could have defeated Nebr (one of the Yotvingian commanders), upon seeing that Vasilko, who had just arrived with reinforcements, was in trouble, "[Danilo]<sup>272</sup> stopped and turned to help his brother",<sup>273</sup> enabling the enemy to escape.<sup>274</sup>

Following the description of the battle against the Yotvingians at Brest, the chronicler continues the story of the Pinyans occupying Czartorysk.<sup>275</sup> We learn that Danilo asked Mstislav Mstislavich for help in the battle against the Pinyans. In depicting the territorial expansion of the Romanovichi dominion, the chronicler added statements legitimizing Danilo's future possession of Halych, e.g.: "Son,<sup>276</sup> I have sinned by not giving Halych to you but to someone of another tribe following the advice of the liar Sudyslav, who has deceived me".<sup>277</sup> The statement clearly shows that this fragment of the text was written from Danilo's perspective. Ultimately, Czartorysk was occupied by the forces of the prince of Vladimir in 1228.<sup>278</sup>

268 *Chronica* 2017, 120–122.

269 "Брат[ъ] же да Васил[ъ]кови Лоуческъ и Пересопницю. Берестѣи же емоу бѣ прежде дал[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 121–122.

270 Was the introduction, which could just as well have been omitted, perhaps the result of the editor's work done after Danilo's death (the description itself of the military operations should be linked to what is referred to as the Chelms editing) aimed at emphasizing Vasilko's role?

271 Hrushevsky 1901, 21–2.

272 There is a mistake in this fragment of the translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The subject of the sentence is Danilo and not Vasilko. See: *Kronika* 2017, 133.

273 "Оному ж[е] вставшю, обратиса брату на помощь" – *Chronica* 2017, 123.

274 *Chronica* 2017, 123.

275 In the fragment, "не подобаеъ Пинаномъ держати Черторыиска, яко могоу имъ перпѣти" Oleg Kupchinskii sees a letter or notes in which the diplomatic or chancellery formulas typical for a prince's dictate have been preserved. See: Kupchinskii 2004, 245–246.

276 Mstislav is speaking to Danilo.

277 "С[ы]ноу, сгрѣших[ъ], не давь тобѣ Галича, но дах[ъ] иноплемен[ъ]никоу Сждислава лестца съвѣтом[ъ], обольсти бѣ ми" – *Chronica* 2017, 124.

278 *Chronica* 2017, 123–125. See: Hrushevsky 1901, 21.

Directly after the presentation of these events, we can read the following: “Mstislav the great and skillful prince passed away”.<sup>279</sup> It seems that this sentence should be linked to *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*, in contrast to its continuation, which indicates the Romanovichi chronicler, more specifically *Danilo’s Chronicle*: “He wished to see his son Danilo. However, Gleb Zeremeevich, made obstinate by his hatred, would not let him. Meanwhile, he [Mstislav] had wanted to leave his house and his children in his [Danilo’s] hands, because he had in his heart great love for him”.<sup>280</sup> Yet again the chronicler laid the blame on the Halych elites’ fostering of the Árpáds for Danilo not ascending the throne in Halych in accordance with – as the chronicler claimed – Mstislav Mstislavich’s will. In this quote, Oleg Kupczins’kiĭ sees a typical chancellery formula with a dictate from Mstislav Mstislavich’s chancellery. This document was supposed to have been delivered by Demian to the elder Romanovich.<sup>281</sup> Next, it supposedly made its way to the envoy’s books that were used by the chronicler in his work. This hypothesis seems to be incorrect. The use itself of a chancellery dictate in the chronicle would come as no surprise. In all probability, the creator of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was affiliated with the chancellery (as a sealer, scribe, or in some other capacity). It should therefore not be seen as remarkable that he made use of forms typical for a chancellery in his work. The text of the Chronicle must have been suggestive for the boyar elites and other Rurikids as a didactic and legal monument. The chronicles were frequently used as a legal source and for attesting a precedence.<sup>282</sup> However, this does not mean that the narrative must have been

279 “Потом[ъ] же Мъстиславъ великий Оудатный княз[ъ] оумре” – *Chronica* 2017, 125.

280 “жадающъ бо емоу видети с[ы]на своего Даніила, Глѣбъ же Зеремеевич[ъ] оубѣжен[ъ] быс[тъ] завистію, не поусташе его. Оному ж[е] хоташю поржчити дом[ъ] свои и дѣти въ рѣце его, бѣ бѣ имѣа до него любовь великоу въ с[ъ]рд[ъ]ци своем[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 126.

281 Kupchins’kiĭ 2004, 247–248.

282 In a document from 1415 referring to the separation of the Kiev archbishopric from Moscow and the consecration of Gregory Tsamblak as the metropolitan bishop of Kiev, a “Rus’ *letopis*” was quoted as the source where a precedence had been noted involving such an appointment by a council of bishops during the times of Iziaslav of Kiev, the metropolitan bishop of Kiev and the whole of Rus’: “И сами но теперно слышимъ то и видимъ, што церковь скудѣть, а царь и патриархъ строителя добраго къ намъ церкви не дасть: по правиломъ, намъ годиться митрополита зборомъ поставити, какъ и перво сего такожъ было; при великомъ князи Изяславѣ Кіевскомъ събрався епископи зборомъ, и поставиша митрополита Кіеву и всеи Руси, а то нашли есмо, написано стоитъ въ лѣтописцѣхъ Русскихъ, въ Кіевскомъ и въ Володимерскомъ, и въ иныхъ” – *Okruzhnaia gramota* 1846, 36, no. 25.

based on a real act. In this case, the note was meant to strengthen Danilo's claim to Halych.

The subsequent passage fits into the narrative about the Romanovichi's territorial expansion and strengthening of their political position in Volhynia: "And then they both [the Romanovichi] released Yaroslav and gave him Peremyl and later Medzhybizh".<sup>283</sup> Yaroslav received two centres that were distant from each other, thus becoming a prince that was dependent on the Romanovichi. Perhaps the editor, probably affiliated to the Vladimir court, wanted to emphasize Vasilko's role, since he was also in fact a dependent prince.<sup>284</sup> The use of the dual form was most probably meant to erase this fact.

"That year, Kirill was the metropolitan bishop, most blessed and holy, and he came to introduce peace, but he could not".<sup>285</sup> Kirill I was confirmed as the metropolitan bishop of the whole of Rus' in 1224 by Patriarch of Constantinople (in exile at Nicaea) Germanus II Nauplius in Nice. Towards the end of the year, he came to Kiev, where on January 6, 1225 he was made the metropolitan bishop in Saint Sophia's Cathedral following a four-year-long *sede vacante*.<sup>286</sup> This passage completely disrupts the chronological order. It was not included in the module consisting of information introducing order into the narrative, and which was taken from *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* (or – as is also possible – from another manuscript that ordered the events), after which one, two, or more parallel stories were told, sometimes mutually referring to each other, encompassing one, two, or more years. The chronicler provides information about Kirill I in a way that raises suspicions that we are dealing with his first attempt at ordering the available sources and gathered information. As a result, he may have added the previously omitted information from *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* with a slight delay. This shows indirectly that the source text was never subjected to final editing. The fact that after an event from 1225 the author goes on to describe the battles of 1228,<sup>287</sup> presented from Danilo's point of view, provides food for thought. At that time, a coalition of Rus' princes was formed under the leadership of the Kievan Great Prince Vladimir Rurikovich, supported by the Polovtsian Khan Köten against Danilo's usurpation of the

283 "И потѣм[ъ] же поустиа Ярослав и даста емоу Перемил[ъ] и потѣм[ъ] Межибожіе" – *Chronica* 2017, 126.

284 Danilo finally granted him Lutsk and Peresopnytsia.

285 "В то ж[е] лѣто бѣ Куриль митрополит[ъ] пребл[а] жен[ъ]ныи с[ва]тѣи прїехал[ъ] мира сътворити и не може" – *Chronica* 2017, 126–127.

286 See: Poppe 1996, 464.

287 Hrushevsky 1901, 22.

rights to Czartorysk.<sup>288</sup> Since nothing was achieved, the coalition was forced to reach a peace agreement.<sup>289</sup>

After these events, the following information is provided: “In those years, the Lyakh great prince was killed. He was murdered during a council [meeting] by Sviatopolk [and] Odovich Vladyslav upon the advice of the disloyal boyars”.<sup>290</sup> In the passage, the names of the Great Prince of Eastern Pomerania Sviatopolk II – Prince of Pomerania and son of Mestwin I, and of Władysław Odonic, Prince of Greater Poland – are listed as those who had caused Leszek the White’s death.<sup>291</sup> This information was not included in any other chronicles. In all probability, the Romanovichi received it from Konrad I of Mazovia, with whom good relations were maintained, which was especially important when he began his struggle for the throne of Cracow. It seems highly unlikely that the informer (perhaps a witness of the arrival of an envoy from Konrad?) remembered the names of Leszek the White’s murderers correctly. I would be more inclined to assume that some sort of correspondence, perhaps a letter from Konrad, had been preserved in the Romanovichi archive/chancellery. This is indicated by the fact that in the Ipatiev manuscript we have the transcription “Удовичемъ Володиславомъ”, while in the Khlebnikov manuscript we have been provided with the following: “Улговичем[ъ] Волѣдиславѡм[ъ]”.<sup>292</sup> The 16th-century copyist had problems with the correct re-writing of the patronymic of the prince of Greater Poland (Wielkopolska), whom he had probably associated with the Olegovichi. At Danilo’s court, a chancellery functioned that exchanged correspondence with Pope Innocent IV,<sup>293</sup> which signifies that its staff read and prepared documents and correspondence in Latin and in Old Rus’ian. We can guess that these were the circles with which the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was affiliated. This hypothesis indicates that there was a specialized chancellery at the court in Vladimir as early as 1229.

288 See: Kotliar 2003b, 277. Oleg Kupchins’kiĭ considers the passage “ѡт[ъ]че измѣти воинѡу сѡ приими ма в любовь собѣ” to be a trace of the correspondence conducted between Danilo and Kōten. The letter was supposed to have been delivered by Paweł. See: Kupchins’kiĭ 2004, 248–250.

289 *Chronica* 2017, 127–130.

290 “В та же лѣта Лестько оубіень быс[тъ], великыи княз[ъ] лад[ъ]скыи, на сонмѣ оубіень быс[тъ], С[ва]тополкѡмъ Улговичем[ъ] и Волѣдиславѡм[ъ], съѡтом[ъ] боарѣ невѣр[ъ] ных[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 130.

291 For more literature on the Gąsawa massacre, see: Dąbrowski 2009, 93–118.

292 See: *Chronica* 2017, 130, variants ‘o’ and ‘p’.

293 For proof of such documents being written in Latin, see: Kupchins’kiĭ 2004, 763–773. Since Danilo received answers to his letters from Innocent IV, this signifies that the earlier questions must have had a written form and been delivered to Rome.

Was some skeleton of the future chronicle already being created at that time? This question must remain unanswered for now.

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To summarize this part of our considerations, it should be stated that until 1228 a non-surviving source text written in circles linked to the Rostislavichi, with the working name *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*, formed the skeleton for what is referred to as *The Danilo Chronicle*, which in turn was used to create *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The chronicler must have gathered information about the history of the Romanovichi family from certain documents, but also from Roman Mstislavich's widow or her closest circles. To a certain extent, the detailedness of the information found in the chronicle is dependent on the itinerary of the princess and her court. It should be emphasized that Roman's wife last appears in the narrative of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* in relation to events that took place in 1253 (she advised her son to accept the crown from Pope Innocent IV). At the time, she was close to the court. A certain suggestion concerning the date of her death is related to the fact that Vladimir Vasilkovich was the heir to the inheritance she left behind.<sup>294</sup> This would suggest that the princess outlived Danilo and that after his death she went to stay with her younger son in Vladimir, where she was in fact later buried. Nonetheless, we do not know exactly when this happened. It should also be emphasized that *The Rostislavichi Chronicle* probably made its way to Halych through the mediation of Mstislav Mstislavich. It could have been used in *Danilo's Chronicle*. This last source text, probably analogously to what we can observe for the period between 1245–1259, was constructed around the contents (threads) of the described events. It was re-edited by Vladimir Vasilkovich's chronicler. As a result, parallel stories and insertions were made, making it difficult to date the events.

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<sup>294</sup> See: Chapter 5, 173.

## The Hypothetical *Danilo's Chronicle*

Mstislav Mstislavich's death is the point in time when the chronicler ceased to use *The Rostislavichi Chronicle* and substituted it with *Danilo's Chronicle*. The narrative began to take on a more personal character, indicating that the author was making use not only of the princely archives, but also delving into the memories of his informants, and perhaps also his own memory. It was written mainly from Danilo's perspective, and focuses on describing the stages by which he took control of Halych, and on the territorial expansion of the Romanovichi domain. In this part of the text, *Danilo's Chronicle* constitutes the chronological skeleton, later supplemented by insertions – short stories spanning from a year to a few years – and extensive commentaries of Vasilko Romanovich's role in his brother's political activities. These insertions sometimes have equivalents within the chronicle. This manner of narrating the events in the source text functions until 1245 (the moment of its writing probably falls to 1246/47). From this perspective, it should be stated that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* we know was created after the death of the king of Rus', probably during Vladimir Vasilkovich's reign, while the last information included in the text comes from the beginning of the 14th century.

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Upon Mstislav Mstislavich's death, immediately following the information about Kirill I being appointed as the Kievan metropolitan bishop, the chronicle's narrative becomes chronological and begins to focus on Danilo. This arrangement, to the exclusion of the insertions added by the later bookman, is maintained until 1244, when a change in the narrative and chronological strategy ensues. This observation is confirmed by the almost memoir-like description of the expedition to Kalisz in 1229,<sup>1</sup> which contains a story that had occurred at that same time involving Vladimir of Pinsk, who as a prince dependent on Danilo was to defend the northern border of the Romanovichi domain from Lithuania.<sup>2</sup> The story about the expedition to Kalisz contains a very detailed description of the battle, of the negotiations between the defenders of the town and its besiegers, and it includes humorous elements, as well as

<sup>1</sup> Hrushevsky 1903, 22; Włodarski 1966, 101–102.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica* 2017, 131–132.



a list of all the princes and noblemen participating in the battle.<sup>3</sup> This fact suggests that for this period the memories of informers were used to a significantly higher extent. We also learn of the first Polish-Rus'ian treaty: "The Rus'ians and the Lyakhs pledged each other that if there were ever a feud between them, the Lyakhs would not plunder Rus'ian subjects nor would the Rus' plunder that of the Lyakhs".<sup>4</sup> We can assume that, as in the case of Rus'-Greek treaties, the contents of the agreement were written down. The agreement was observed, as can be attested by a note from Vladimir Vasilkovich's times.<sup>5</sup> It is also worth noting the following passage: "Потом[ъ] же възвратистася шт[ъ] Кондрата в дѡм[ъ] свой съ ч[ъ]стїю: Б[ог]оу поспѣвающю има, сътвори-ста емоу помощь великоу. И внидоста съ славою въ землю свою, иный бѡ кнась не въходилъ бѣ ..." <sup>6</sup> / "Later, they [Danilo and Vasilko] both returned from Konrad to their homes with honor, because God had favoured them both and aided him greatly. And both of them entered their lands in glory. As no other prince had ever entered ...". The editors of the Polish translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* indicate that "in [this] passage, it would seem we have [...] clear traces of a quite inept re-editing of the text, probably done during the times of Vasilko or Vladimir Vasilkovich. It can be observed that the singular and the dual forms are used alternately to refer to the main character/characters of the events".<sup>7</sup> The passage goes on to discuss Vladimir the Great and the issue referred to as the Cherven Towns (i.e., the capture of Przemyśl, Cherven, and other strongholds in 981).<sup>8</sup> Thus, the chronicler refers to a motif from *The Tale of Bygone Years* in order to emphasize Danilo's greatness.

The chronological arrangement of the text enables monitoring the following passage: "Later, after [some] time had passed, Vasilko travelled to the Great Prince Yuri in Suzdal for the wedding of his *shurin* [brother-in-law],<sup>9</sup> taking

3 *Chronica* 2017, 130–142.

4 "Сътвориша межѣ собою клатвою роус[ъ] и лахове, аще по сем[ъ], коли бѣдет[ъ] межѣ ими оусобица, не воеватилахѡм[ъ] роуское челади, ни роуси лад[ъ]ское" – *Chronica* 2017, 141.

5 "Among the Lyakhs, the law was as follows: take not the retinue, do not fight, but plunder" / "Закон[ъ] же баше в лахах[ъ] таковъ: челадиѣ не имати, ни бити но-аі лоупахоу" – *Chronica* 2017, 505.

6 *Chronica* 2017, 141.

7 *Kronika* 2017, 138 with n. 150.

8 See: Jusupović 2019b; 2017a, 31–105.

9 Vasilko was married to Yuri Vsevolod's daughter. Vsevolod Yurevich was his brother. See: Dąbrowski 2002, 82.

Miroslav and others with him”.<sup>10</sup> This information was written down before 6738 (1230) in *The Laurentian Chronicle* (“That year, the Great Prince Yuri married off his elder son Vsevolod to the daughter of Vladimir Rurikovich; the wedding took place in the grand *katholikon* of the Holy Mother of God, the ceremony was conducted by Bishop Mitrofan, on 14th April”),<sup>11</sup> in *The Moscow Chronicle* from the end of the 15th century (“the Great Prince Yuri will marry his elder son Vsevolod to the daughter of Vladimir Rurikovich and the wedding took place in the orthodox church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir [on the Klyazma river] on 14th April”),<sup>12</sup> and in *The Tver Chronicles* (“Then the Great Prince Yuri will marry his son Vsevolod to Vladimir Rurikovich’s daughter”).<sup>13</sup> These mentions make clear that Yuri’s son Vsevolod and Vladimir Rurikovich’s daughter were married in Vladimir on the Klyazma river. As we can see, the event was noted in many source texts and it might be expected that the year would have been indicated, but – in fact – this was not the case. It is passages such as these that make it possible for us to consider *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* to have never been subjected to a final editing process. It is significant that the information about the marriage was either copied from *The Great Prince’s Kievan Chronicle* (nomenclature used by Vladimir Pashuto) or it constitutes the original text of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. Comparing the above-quoted passages, I would be inclined to favour the second solution as the excerpt shows traces (e.g., in listing the accompanying guests) of an individualized and personal approach. The issue remains open of whether the mention was created in the 1230s and survived within chancellery notes (or in some form of the chronicle) or whether it was later introduced into the source text.

During Vasilko’s journey to Vladimir on the Klyazma river, Danilo travelled to Halych. According to the passage in the chronicle, the Vladimiran prince had previously received news from the Halych elites supporting his aspirations to take control of the city: “Sudyslav had travelled to Ponizie, while the prince

10 “Потом[ъ] же, времени миноув[ъ]ши, еха Васил[ъ]ко к Соуждалю на весел[ъ] шорина своего к великомуу князю Гюрьгю, поем[ъ] Мировслава съ собою и ины” – *Chronica* 2017, 142–143.

11 “Того же лета велики князь Юрги ожени сына своего старейшаго Всеволода Володимерною Рюриковича; и венчанъ в великой церкви зборней святыя Богородица, священнымъ епископомъ Митрофаномъ, месяца апреля въ 14 день ...” – *Lavrent’evskaia letopis’* 2001, 453–454.

12 “Князь велики Юрьи жени сына своего Всеволода старейша Володимерною Рюриковича и венчан бысть въ церкви святыя Богородица в Володимери априля въ 14” – *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod* 2004, 124.

13 “Тогда же князь великий Юрій жени сына Всеволода у Володимера Руриковича” – *Tverskaia letopis’* 2000, 354.

remained in Halych. Go forth quickly".<sup>14</sup> The entire campaign is written from Danilo's perspective. We learn the details of the march, about the battle fields, the names of certain members of the Halych elites who supported Danilo, the equipage of Sudyslav's manor, the course of the siege of Halych, and many other such particulars.<sup>15</sup> Following the information about the taking of Halych, the chronicler did not hesitate to emphasize Sudyslav's negative role, as he had stood in the way of the city being taken by Roman Mstislavich's son: "Only Sudyslav left with him [Prince Andrew]. They hurled stones at him, saying, 'Leave the city, you instigator [of rebellions] in the land'".<sup>16</sup> An unfavourable opinion about this nobleman also appeared in the next story about the unsuccessful seizure of Halych by Andrew II, who was to have decided to embark on the expedition after being prompted by Sudyslav. With great erudition, the chronicler described the campaign, especially emphasizing "the Pharaoh's plagues" that struck the Árpád forces.<sup>17</sup> He also embellished the text with numerous other references to the Holy Bible<sup>18</sup> and book xvii of John Malalas' *Chronographia*.<sup>19</sup>

Following this story, there is a phrase bringing order to the text that reveals the author's narrative intentions, "Next, we will tell of the great unrest, numerous intrigues, and countless wars".<sup>20</sup> The way in which it is formulated (especially 'По сем[ъ] скажем[ъ]') suggests that the sentence was written for the chronicler himself in order to later construct the final version (fair copy) of the text, rather than for the reader's benefit.<sup>21</sup> It also seems to constitute a chronological determinant of the events. It is followed by a description containing

14 "Сѣдиславъ шель ес[тъ] в Понизье, а королевич[ъ] в Галичи всталъ – а поиди борже" – *Chronica* 2017, 143. Oleg Kupchins'kii (2004, 250–251) sees this passage as a letter to Danilo from the Halych elites favourably inclined towards the Romanovichi.

15 *Chronica* 2017, 143–148.

16 "Изыде ж[е] с ним[ъ] единъ Сѣдиславъ, нанъ же мета каменїеа, рекоуще: 'Изыди из града, матеж[ъ]ниче земли!'" – *Chronica* 2017, 147–148.

17 *Chronica* 2017, 148–153.

18 See: *Chronica* 2017, 148–153; Dan 3, 15; 10, 13; 12, 1; Rev 9, 13–16; Gen 7, 11; Ps 42(41), 8; Mal 3, 10; Ps 18(17), 18; 1; Jer 47, 3; Jer 18, 13; Jer 15, 21; 31, 11; Mic 4, 10; 2 Kgs 18, 25–30, 35; Isa 36, 13–15, 18–20; 1 Sam 13, 5; 1 Sam 19, 8; 2 Sam 3, Ezra 10, 3; Amos 1, 11; 1 Cor 3, 9; Rom 16, 3 Exod 7–12; Hag 2, 22; Josh 9, 5; 9, 11; *Litopis rus'kii za Ipats'kim spiskom* 1989, 387 with n. 12 & 21; Gens'ors'kii 1961, 179.

19 See: Orlov 1926, 99–101.

20 "По сем[ъ] скажем[ъ] мно҃гыа матежи, и великы лсты и бесчислен[ъ]ныа рати" – *Chronica* 2017, 153–154.

21 This is more indirect proof that the Chronicle should be treated as a rough draft version of a text that was never completed.

references to Book VII of Malasas' chronicle<sup>22</sup> and *The Tale of Bygone Years*.<sup>23</sup> In 1230 or at the beginning of 1231,<sup>24</sup> a group of Halych noblemen led by Philip, who opposed Roman Mstislavich's elder son being in power, along with the silent participation of Sudyslav and Alexander Vsevolodovich of Belz, decided to lure Prince Danilo to Wisznia and kill him. The monarch was warned by his *tysiatsky* Demian. As a result, the conspirators escaped to Przemyśl along with Alexander Vsevolodovich.<sup>25</sup> At this point, I would like to conduct a separate analysis of the beginning and ending of the passage, as they contain elements attesting to the fact that they were re-edited at some later point in time, probably after 1253:

**It was a conspiracy of the godless Halych boyars. They were in collusion with his [Danilo's] *bratuchad*<sup>26</sup> [cousin] Alexander to kill him [Danilo] and deliver his land [emphasis by A.J.]. When they [the Romanovichi] were at home, they wanted to set fire [to the building]. [However,] the merciful Lord placed [the thought] inside Vasilko's heart to leave. And he unsheathed his sword to fence with a royal servant, [while] another grabbed his shield in feigned battle. When the disloyal Molibogovichi saw this, fear was [sent down] onto them by God, and they said, 'Our plot has been thwarted', and they fled like the accursed Sviatopolk. They fled [even though] Prince Danilo and Vasilko had not yet learned of this. Vasilko went to Vladimir, while the godless ones invited Prince Danilo to Wisznia. [For] they had entered into another conspiracy with his *bratuchad* Alexander to kill him [emphasis by A.J.].<sup>27</sup>**

22 In the critical literature, the use of the phrase "играа на слоугоу" / "fence with a servant" (*Chronica* 2017, 154) in the description of a small tournament provoked by Vasilko Romanovich is considered to be a lexical borrowing from translations. See: Orlov 1926, 112–113.

23 The chronicle is referring to the accursed Sviatopolk ("оканныи С[ва]тополкъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 155), son of Vladimir the Great – who had killed his brothers Boris and Gleb.

24 Hrushevsky 1901, 23. See: Jusupović 2013b, 140.

25 *Chronica* 2017, 154–158.

26 *Bratuchad* – cousin; the father's brother's son; a relative of the second degree, i.e., related through having common grandparents.

27 "Крамолъ же бывши въ безбожныхъ[ъ] боарехъ[ъ] галицъ[ъ]кыхъ[ъ], съвѣтъ[ъ] сътворъ[ъ]ше съ браточадѣмъ[ъ] его Олѣѡандромъ[ъ] на оубѣиѣ и преднее земли его. Съдашимъ[ъ] же имъ[ъ] в домъ и хоташимъ[ъ] огнемъ[ъ] зажещи и, м[и]л[о]стиво-моу Б[ог]оу вложивъ[ъ]шю въ с[ъ]рд[ъ]це Василъ[ъ]коу изыти вонъ, и обнаживъ[ъ]шѹ мечъ[ъ] свой играа на слоугоу королева иномоу похвативъ[ъ]шю щитъ[ъ] играючи – невѣр[ъ]нымъ[ъ] Молибоговичемъ оузрѣвши се, страхъ[ъ] имъ[ъ] быс[ъ]тъ[ъ] шт[ъ] Б[ог]а, рекшимъ[ъ], яко 'свѣтъ[ъ] нашъ[ъ] раздроушиша'. И побѣгъ[ъ] шимъ[ъ] имъ[ъ], яко

The fragments of the chronicle that were probably created at Danilo Romanovich's court have been highlighted in bold, while the remaining text was added by a chronicler from Vasilko or his son's circles after Danilo's death in 1264. This can be attested by the twice repeated information<sup>28</sup> about the plot to assassinate the prince. In the insertion, the chronicler uses the dual form or lists only Vasilko in the aim of including Vladimir Vasilkovich's tutor into his father's narrative. The editors of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* rightly noted that – contrary to popular opinion in critical literature<sup>29</sup> – the use of the phrase “слоугоу королева” / “royal servant” does not apply to Andrew II's servant, but to Danilo as the king of Rus'. In short, Vasilko drew his sword along with an unspecified knight of his brother's. This, in turn, signifies that the *post quem* date of the source's edition was 1253, when the coronation of Roman Mstaslavich's elder son took place in Drohiczyn. This is one of the most important passages in the whole of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, making it possible to better understand the history of how it was created. It shows that Vasilko Romanovich's role in his brother's life came to be highlighted – as I assume – following Danilo's death.<sup>30</sup> The next assumption results from the previous one: initially, the text that served as a basis for creating *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was linked to Danilo.

The final sentence of the description discussing the plot against the Halych ruler should be noted. Upon learning of the planned assassination, Danilo sent his *Sedelnicy*<sup>31</sup> Ivan Mikhailovich to capture the Molibogovichi clan and Voldrys for being part of the plot.<sup>32</sup> The prince's servant performed the task, but “they were not surrendered onto death, but were shown mercy. Another time, when [Danilo] was making merry during a feast, one of these godless boyars threw [drink] from his goblet onto him, and he bore [even] this [insult].

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и оканнии С[ва]тополкъ. Унѣм[ъ] бѣгающим[ъ] и еще не оувѣдав[ъ]шю князю Данилоу и Васил[ъ]коу. Васил[ъ]ко же поеха къ Волдимерю, а Филиппъ безбож[ъ]ный зва княса Данила в[ъ] Виш[ъ]ню, **дроугѣже съвѣт[ъ] сътвориша на оубіеніе его съ Алеѣандром[ъ] братоучадом[ъ] его**” [emphasis by A.J.] – *Chronica* 2017, 154–156.

28 This is a deliberate technique used so that the appropriate description, created at Danilo Romanovich's court, did not cease to make sense.

29 See: Aleksandrovich, Voïtovich 2013, 98; Jusupović 2013b, 222.

30 It seems improbable that such interference with the text would have taken place while Danilo Romanovich was still alive.

31 This term is used only on the pages of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. We should perhaps associate the term with the word “saddle” (“седло”). Such an analogy would make it possible to presume that this office was something like a “cavalry commander” or “master of the horses”. See Jusupović 2013b, 56.

32 See: Jusupović 2013b, 165–166.

**God will retaliate against them some day** [emphasis by A.J.].<sup>33</sup> The passage is written from the perspective of the elder Romanovichi and was probably an integral part of his biography. The last sentence indicates that it was created from a certain temporal distance. Perhaps this retaliation took place after the Battle of Yaroslav on August 17, 1245, when many Halych boyars and Filia were killed.<sup>34</sup>

The rebellion of part of the Halych elites against Danilo evoked a strong response from the ruler. The monarch convened a meeting and asked 18 faithful *otroks*<sup>35</sup> and his *tysiatsky* Demian for advice.<sup>36</sup> The *setnik*<sup>37</sup> Mikula gave him the following counsel: “Master, without first crushing the bees, you will not eat the honey”.<sup>38</sup> As the publishers of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* noted,<sup>39</sup> this sententia had already been registered in Master Wincenty Kadłubek’s text (“melle securius uti apum non posse”)<sup>40</sup> as Roman Mstislavich’s favourite saying. We can only assume that the chronicler put the words in the setnik’s mouth to in some way commemorate Roman in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. As the author of the chronicle mentions, many of the great boyars of Mstislav Mstislavich’s son remained true to Roman’s widowed wife. It cannot be excluded that they were thus introducing efforts to ensure their father’s memory remained alive among their prince’s children.<sup>41</sup> The chronicler’s quoting of this adage indicates that he may have been linked to the Romanovichi and known the family history. This fragment of the chronicle also exhibits a certain artificiality of the dialogues it includes. This leads us to approach with greater

33 “и тїи смрѣти не прїаша, нѡ м[и]л[о]сть полоучиша. И нѣкогда емоу в пиру веселашас[я], один[ъ] ѡт[ъ] тѣх[ъ] безбожных[ъ] бояръ лице зали емоу чашею, и то емоу стерпѣв[ъ]шю, **иногда ж[е] да Б[ог]ъ им[ъ] възмездїе**” [emphasis by A.J.] – *Chronica* 2017, 158.

34 See p. 98.

35 “Otrok” is not an office, but rather – similarly to “boyar” – it refers to a social position. This term is a homonym and could be used to describe: a child, a youth, a member of the prince’s retinue, a servant, etc. See Jusupović 2013b, 51–54.

36 *Chronica* 2017, 158–160. For a description of these events, see: Jusupović 2013b, 205–206; Belikova 1990, 103–104; Kuchkin 2008, 412.

37 The office of Setnik office (similar to that of *tysiatsky*) was part of the decimal Rus’ organization. Researchers believe that this office existed in the smaller administrative centres and carried out administrative-fiscal duties. In addition, Setniks had, similar as *tysiatsky*, troops at their disposal. They were also, as the example of Mikula shows, advisers to the prince and fulfilled diplomatic tasks. See Jusupović 2013b, 54, 205–206.

38 “Г[о]с[по]д[и]не! Не погнет[ъ]ши пчель, медъ не асти” – *Chronica* 2017, 160.

39 *Kronika* 2017, 142 with n. 505; *Chronica* 2017, 459.

40 *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek* 1994, 186.

41 It would also be possible to look for a topos that cannot be located with greater precision, but it seems that we are dealing with a saying characteristic for specific circles.

skepticism Oleg Kupchins'kiĭ's reconstruction of some documents based on the dialogues included in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.<sup>42</sup> Let us return to the previously described events. Danilo gathered the army and attacked Przemyśl in 1231.<sup>43</sup> As a result, a year later Andrew II<sup>44</sup> organized a successful expedition to Halych and Vladimir.<sup>45</sup> The chronicler did not hesitate to emphasize the deceitfulness of the Halych elites. Describing the defenders of Vladimir, he made use of the chronicle written by Hamartolos,<sup>46</sup> thus also highlighting his erudition.<sup>47</sup> Nonetheless, it should be emphasized that the passage is written from Danilo's perspective, except for the last sentence:

From there, King [Andrew] advanced towards Vladimir. Upon arriving in Vladimir, he was amazed and said: 'I have never seen such a city even in German lands.' The shields and armor of the armed men standing on the ramparts glistened like the sun. Miroslav was inside the city. At other times, he had been dauntless – God knows – [but] this time his mind was muddled and he made peace with the king. Without seeking the counsel of Prince Danilo and his brother Vasilko, in accordance with [the peace treaty], he gave Belz and Cherven to Alexander. The king placed his son Andrew [on the throne] in Halych following the advice of the disloyal Halychans. Miroslav denied it, [saying], 'I did not hand over Cherven in accordance [with the agreement].' He was strongly reprimanded by both brothers, who stated, 'Why did you make peace when you had so many warriors [at your disposal]?' While the king stayed at Vladimir, Prince Danilo took great bounties as he battled near Busk.<sup>48</sup>

42 See: Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 229–353.

43 Hrushevsky 1901, 23.

44 Hrushevsky 1901, 23.

45 *Chronica* 2017, 158–167.

46 George Hamartolos ("the sinner") or George the Monk, author of a universal chronicle encompassing history from Adam to 842. For salient literature and discussion see: Kazhdan, Cutler. 1991, 826.

47 "Блистахъся щити, и оружѣ[ъ]ници пѣдобни с[ъ]лн[ъ]цю" – *Chronica* 2017, 166. See: Istrin" 1920, 203–204; Matveenko 2006, 340.

48 "Ѡт[ъ]жда корол[ъ] поиде к Волѡдимерю. Пришед[ъ]шю же емоу к Волѡдимерю, дивившюся емоу, рек[ъ]шю, яко 'така града не избрѣтох[ъ], ни в нѣмец[ъ] кых[ъ] странах[ъ] тако сѣщоу' Ороужникѡм[ъ] стоащим[ъ] на нем[ъ], блистахъся щити, и оружѣ[ъ]ници пѣдобни с[ъ]лн[ъ]цю. Мирослав[ъ] же бѣ въ градѣ; иногда же храброу емоу сѣщо, Б[ог]ъ вѣдает[ъ], тогда ж[е] смѣтиса оумѡм[ъ], сѣтвори миръ с королем[ъ] без совѣта кнаса Данила и брата его Васил[ъ]ка. Радѡм[ъ] же дасть Бел[ъ]зъ и Червень Алеѣandroу. Королеви же посадив[ъ]ши сына своего Андрѣа в Галичи, сѣвѣтѡм[ъ] невѣр[ъ] ных[ъ] галичан[ъ]. Мирославоу ж[е] запрѣвшюся, яко 'радѡм[ъ] чрѣв[ъ]нане не предать есмь'. Порѡк[ъ] же имѣще емоу великъ ѡт[ъ]

During this time, Danilo continued to be the superior prince, most probably returning to Vladimir after losing Halych. However, at the time of the described battles Vladimir still formally belonged to Vasilko. For these reasons, it is difficult to say whether this is a sentence rewritten after Danilo's death or one that was in place earlier.

It is worth noting that in this part of the source text there are practically no parallel stories, ones analogous to the 1205–1228 period. The chronicler then goes on to tell of the battles between Danilo and the Árpáds which took place between 1232–1233<sup>49</sup> and culminated in the unresolved battle of Torchesk-Szumsk.<sup>50</sup> Describing the event, the author used a quotation from *The Alexander Romance*,<sup>51</sup> introducing them as Danilo's words: "He who hesitates to do battle has a cowardly soul".<sup>52</sup> Analyzing the description of the battle, one can find interjections emphasizing Vasilko's role in it:

Danilo struck a soldier with his spear [and] having broken it, he unsheathed his sword. After looking this way and that and seeing Vasilko's flag upright, fighting well and pursuing the Hungarians, he drew his sword and came to his brother's aid [and] wounded many [emphasis by A.J.]. And others died from his sword.<sup>53</sup>

The highlighted fragment was probably an addition made by a later chronicle editor who wanted to emphasize Vasilko's role in the reported events. He seems to have inadvertently broken up a sentence that probably initially had something like the following form: "Данил[ъ] же вбодѣ копіе свое в ратного, изломив[ъ] шю ж[е] са копію и обнажи меч[ъ] свои, и иніи же шт[ъ] меча его оумроша" ("Danilo struck a soldier with his spear [and] having broken it,

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обою братѣ: 'Почто миръ сътвори, сжщю ти съ великими вой?'. Королю стоащю въ Волхдимера, княз[ъ] же Данило пріа велик[ъ] плѣн[ъ], школо Бозкоу воюа" – *Chronica* 2017, 165–167. At the end, he changed Belz to Busk on purpose. In the Khlebnikov manuscript, the form "Бел[ъ]за" is used, while in the older Ipatiev chronicle we have "Бозкоу". Earlier, we have the information that Vasilko was fighting near Belz. In turn, Busk indicates that Danilo was retreating in the direction of Volhynia.

49 Hrushevsky 1901, 23.

50 *Chronica* 2017, 167–179. The battle took place in April 1233. See: Hrushevsky 1901, 23.

51 Istrin" 1893, 61, 174. See: *Kronika*, 145 with n. 528; *Chronica* 2017, 172 with n. 480.

52 "Медлаи на бран[ъ] страшливоу д[у]шю имат[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 147.

53 "Данил[ъ] же вбодѣ копіе свое в ратного, изломив[ъ] шю ж[е] са копію и обнажи меч[ъ] свои. Позрѣв[ъ] же сѣм[о] и сѣм[о] и видѣ стагъ Васил[ъ]ковъ стоаще и добрѣ бороушъ, и оугры гонащю, шбнаживъ меч[ъ] свой, идоущю емоу брату, на помощь. Мншгыа ж[е] язви, и иніи же шт[ъ] меча его оумроша" – *Chronica* 2017, 173–174.



he unsheathed his sword and others died from his sword”]; thus, the subject of the described events was switched from Danilo to Vasilko. As a result of this procedure, the reader has the impression that it was Vasilko who met with Miroslav and that it was he who chased off the Hungarians. The authors of the translation almost automatically resolved the issue of Danilo being the default subject of the sentence following the words “seeing ...”, and not Vasilko, despite the above modification involving Roman Mstislavich’s younger son taking on the role of the subject of the sentence. The context of the narrative leaves no doubt that it was written from Danilo’s perspective. A few lines later, there is another interjection that describes Vasilko chasing the Hungarian regiment to their tents:

Upon reaching them [his soldiers], Danilo urged his men to go against them [the Hungarians]. **Vasilko’s regiment chased the Hungarians to their tents and the prince’s banners were cut down. Many other Hungarians fled, stopping only in Halych. One group stood at the top [of a hill], while the other at the bottom. Danilo and Vasilko both urged their people to descend upon them** [emphasis by A.J.]. And by God’s will, Danilo’s retinue was made to flee because of their sins.<sup>54</sup>

The highlighted passage was clearly introduced by a later editor. First, Danilo addressed his men. Next, for the sake of the text’s continuity, Vasilko’s editor twice used the phrase about urging his men to attack the Hungarians: “поноуживаше свое ехати на на” (“Danilo urged his men to go against them”) and “поноужающими людѣи своих[ъ] съехати на на” (“both urged their men to descend upon them”). In the first case, the subject of the sentence is Danilo, while the second – it is Danilo and Vasilko. Thirdly, despite the joint attack, it was Danilo’s regiment that took flight because of its sins. Finally, the events in question are followed by the sentence, “Next morning, Danilo assembled [his soldiers], not knowing with whom or where his brother was”.<sup>55</sup> Presumably, this statement was meant to explain to the reader why Vasilko was not present in this part of the narrative. Therefore, it confirms that we are dealing with an

54 “Пріехав[ъ] же к ним[ъ], поноуживаше свое ехати на на, Васил[ъ]ковъ полкъ гнал[ъ] бѣ оутры до становъ, и стаги королевича пшд[ъ]тали бахж. Дроузіи же мнѣси оутре бежаще али в Галичи становишас[а]. Столцим[ъ] же сим[ъ] на горѣ и сим[ъ] на оудолѣ, *Данилови ж[е] и Васил[ъ]кови поноужающими людѣи своих[ъ] съехати на на* [both emphases by A.J. Б[ог]оу же тако изволив[ъ]шу за грѣхы, наворотиса дружина Данилова на бѣгъ.” – *Chronica* 2017, 176–177.

55 “Данилови ж[е] наутріа събравшюся, не вѣдаше о братѣ, съ кым[ъ] гдет ес[ть]” – *Chronica* 2017, 177.

insertion created during Vladimir Vasilkovich's time in power. This means that the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* used *Danilo's Chronicle* as one of many elements of Romanovichi history. It is worth noting that, based on his analysis of the account of the Battle of Torchesk-Szumsk, Dariusz Dąbrowski believed that Danilo Romanovich could read.<sup>56</sup> This is, of course, a supposition, but one that allows for an attempt at reconstructing the process of the writing of the chronicle to form a logical whole.

In the next part of the source text, the events from 1233–1235, arranged in chronological order, are described from Danilo Romanovich's perspective.<sup>57</sup> Thus, in connection to the events from 1233,<sup>58</sup> we learn of Danilo, Vasilko, and Alexander Vsevolodovich's expedition to Plesnesk,<sup>59</sup> Prince Andrew's most recent march to Volhynia,<sup>60</sup> the Romanovichi expedition to Halych<sup>61</sup> and Prince Andrew's death – which probably occurred at the turn of 1233 and 1234.<sup>62</sup> Under the entry for 1234,<sup>63</sup> we are provided with an account of Danilo's capture of Alexander Vsevolodovich,<sup>64</sup> after which the chronicler reports on Danilo's expedition to Kievan lands in 1234 and early 1235,<sup>65</sup> the ravaging of the Chernigov lands<sup>66</sup> between January 6 and May 17, 1235,<sup>67</sup> Danilo's defeat in the battle against the Polovtsians at Torchesk,<sup>68</sup> and his departure from Halych at the advice of Sudyslav Ilich.<sup>69</sup> Finally, the chronicler notes that Danilo fled to Hungary, where – according to local sources – he participated in the coronation of Bela IV on October 14, 1235.<sup>70</sup>

56 See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 261. See: *Kronika* 2017, 145 with n. 528.

57 The references to Vasilko Romanovich in the passage do not allow tabling the hypothesis that we are dealing with interjections by a later editor, nor does the single textual awkwardness (perhaps the passage was corrupted) discussed by the publishers of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. See: *Kronika* 2017, 148 with n. 537.

58 Hrushevsky 1901, 23–24.

59 *Chronica* 2017, 179.

60 *Chronica* 2017, 179–182.

61 *Chronica* 2017, 182–185.

62 Hrushevsky 1901, 24.

63 Hrushevsky 1901, 25.

64 *Chronica* 2017, 185.

65 Hrushevsky 1901, 25.

66 *Chronica* 2017, 185–189.

67 See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 183.

68 *Chronica* 2017, 189–194. See: M. Hrushevsky 1901, 25.

69 Jusupović 2013b, 262–263.

70 *Chronici hungarici composition* 1937, 467. See: Hrushevsky 1901, 25; Dąbrowski 2012a, 187–188.

These descriptions present events from Danilo's perspective,<sup>71</sup> followed by an account of the victorious expedition within which Vasilko is the main character: "When winter came, Vasilko went to Halych, taking the Lyakhs [with him]. At that time, Danilo came to join his brother from Hungary and they ravaged [Halych]. Not having reached Halych, they returned home".<sup>72</sup> The passage allows only for a cautious assumption that the order of the sentences was changed. As a result, it was possible to place emphasis on the significant diplomatic and military contribution made by Roman Mstislavich's younger son to the growth of Romanovichi power.

This passage, difficult to evaluate, is followed by an account of the expedition of the Halychians and Bolokhiv princes to Kamyenyets and the expedition of the Lyakhs, Rus'ians, and Polovtsians to the Romanovichi domain.<sup>73</sup> Danilo is the main character of this part of the source text. In subsequent information provided about the Romanovichi looting expedition to the Halych region, which ended with the signing of a peace treaty, the chronicler consistently uses the dual form to refer to Roman Mstislavich's sons.<sup>74</sup> Comparing the account with the earlier ones and the analyses presented below, one can be sure that we are dealing with editorial interference that occurred after Danilo's death. Let us move on to an analysis of this account and the content that follows it.

The Romanovich expedition to Halych took place in 1236,<sup>75</sup> after which the chronological continuity is disrupted. We read the following in the chronicle:

And when spring came, they both marched against the Yotvingians, and arrived in Brest. Because the rivers had become flooded, they were not able to attack the Yotvingians. Danilo [then] said, 'It is not right to let our fatherland be in the hands of the Crusaders, the Templars, known as Solomonites.' And they both marched against them in great force.

71 During this period, Danilo Romanovich participated in many intense, not always victorious battles. The prince had to save himself by escaping from Halych; he also lost the battle of Torchesk. Not surprisingly in this case, Vasilko's editor did not want to introduce his tutor into the text.

72 "Симѣ ж[е] приспѣ|в[ъ]ши, иде Васил[ъ]ко к Галичю, пойма лахы. Данил[ъ] же в то время прїиде къ брату си изъ оугоръ, и воеваша, не дошед[ъ]ша Галича, воротистаса домовъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 194.

73 *Chronica* 2017, 194–198.

74 *Chronica* 2017, 198–199.

75 Mikhailo Hrushevsky (1901, 26) dates this event to the autumn of 1237. However, one should agree with Dariusz Dąbrowski's opinion that this took place in the autumn of 1236. See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 195.

And they took the city in the month of March. They captured their elder Bruno and his warriors, and returned to Vladimir.<sup>76</sup>

Specialists discussing this passage agree that we are dealing here with a later insertion.<sup>77</sup> The date of the events is assumed to be 1238,<sup>78</sup> more rarely 1237.<sup>79</sup> Dariusz Dąbrowski argues that – on the one hand – the mention is part of a cause-and-effect sequence, with the reservation that chronologically it would be correct to state that the information concerning the Templars should have been included after the following sentences: “That summer/year,<sup>80</sup> Danilo [had] marched against Mikhail in Halych. Upon asking him for peace, they gave him Przemyśl. After that year, Danilo sent the Lithuanians [under] Mindaugas and Iziaslav of Novgorod against Konrad.”<sup>81</sup> The first sentence would supposedly refer to the year 1237, the next to the summer of that year (in my opinion, the word “Лѣто” (summer/year) is incorrectly used by Dariusz Dąbrowski to refer to the season), after which the capture of Drohiczyn took place in March 1238. However, the above hypothesis has some serious loopholes. If we assume that we are dealing with an insertion mistakenly introduced here, then the starting point for conclusions should be the preceding insertion, the already-mentioned chronological sentence:

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- 76 “Веснѣ ж[е] бывши, пойдоста на атвасѣ и прїйдоста к Берестью Рѣкам[ъ] наводнив[ъ] шим[ъ] са, не возмогоста ити на атвасѣ. Данилови рек[ъ] шу: ‘Не лѣ[по] ес[ъ] дер- жати нашео ѿ[ъ] чины крижев[ъ] ником[ъ] Те[м] пличем[ъ], рекомым[ъ] Соло- моничем[ъ]. И пойдоста на нѣ въ силѣ тажцѣ, и прїаства град[ъ] м[ѣ]с[ѣ]ца марта, старѣшиною их[ъ] Броуна аша и вои изоимаша, и възвратиса в[ъ] Волхдимерь” – *Chronica* 2017, 199–200.
- 77 Hrushevsky 1901, 26; Dąbrowski 2012a, 201–202; Poppe 2003, 47; Jusupović 2006, 7–18 (therein for a discussion of the relevant literature).
- 78 See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 202–203; Polkowska – Markowska 1926, 145–210; Kotliar 1994, 24. Kotliar dates this text to 1238, as he claims that in 1237–1238 such an expedition would not have been possible, because Danilo was leading an expedition against the Yotvingians aimed at securing his borders. See Starnawska 1999, 62–3.
- 79 O.M. Masan (1996, 54) conducts an analysis of this text and notes that in the chronicle there is mention that Danilo returns to Vladimir, which had been the previous capital, while as of 1238 Chełm became Danilo’s “capital” city. In addition, he considers the year 1238 to not be very credible, also due to the Mongolian incursion into Rus’.
- 80 “в том[ъ] ж[е] лѣтѣ” can be translated as both “that year” and “that summer” since “лѣтѣ” has a double meaning.
- 81 “Данилови ж[е] в том[ъ] ж[е] лѣтѣ пошед[ъ] шу на Михаила на Галич[ъ]. Онѣм[ъ] же мира просащим[ъ], даша емоу Перемышль. По тѣм[ъ] ж[е] лѣтѣ Данил[ъ] же възведе на Кондрата литвою Мин[ъ]дога, Изаслава новъггорѣд[ъ]ского” – *Chronica* 2017, 201.

**When summer came, upon gathering [their forces], they both** [emphasis by A.J.] advanced upon Halych, against Mikhail and Rostislav. They had barricaded themselves in the city, and there were many Hungarians there with him. They [Danilo and Vasilko] turned back and waged war near Zvenyhorod. [Though] they both wanted the city, they could not take it. For there was the holy Mother of God, a miraculous icon. **That autumn, they both made peace** [emphasis by A.J].<sup>82</sup>

This passage is the beginning of an insertion introduced by the editor working on the text during Vladimir Vasilkovich's times, while the information about the capture of Drohiczyn is its continuation. It is also a further development of the sentence (which was part of *Danilo's Chronicle*) written during the lifetime of Roman Mstislavich's elder son. Therefore, let us compare the passages (on the left-hand side – the insertion, on the right – the chronological *Danilo's Chronicle*):

[A.J. – 1236] Лѣтоу ж[е] наставшю, събрашас[а], идоста на Галич[ь] на Михаила и на Ростислава, затворила бо са баста въ градѣ, и Оугоръ мнѡж[ь]ство баше оу него, и възвратившиса, воеваста около Звинигорода, города ж[е] хотяща, не взаста, бѣ бѡ с[ва] таа Б[огороди]ца в нем[ь] чюд[ь]наа икона. Тое ж[е] ѡсени оумиристаса. / **When summer came, upon gathering [their forces], they both** advanced upon Halych, against Mikhail and Rostislav. They had barricaded themselves in the city, and there were many Hungarians there

[A.J. – 1236] Данилови ж[е] в том[ь] ж[е] лѣтѣ пошед[ъ]шю на Михаила на Галич[ь]. Онѣм[ъ] же мира просащим[ъ], даша емоу Перемышль. / **That summer, Danilo [had] marched against Mikhail in Halych. Upon asking him for peace, they gave him Przemyśl** [emphasis by A.J.].

[A.J. – 1237] По тѡм[ь] ж[е] лѣтѣ Данил[ъ] же възведе на Кондрата литвою Мин[ь]дога, Изаслава новѡгорѡд[ь]ского. / After that summer/year, Danilo sent the Lithuanians [under] Mindaugas and Iziaslav of Novgorod against Konrad.

82 “Лѣтоу ж[е] наставшю, събрашас[а], идоста на Галич[ь] [emphasis by A.J.] на Михаила и на Ростислава, затворила бо са баста въ градѣ, и Оугоръ мнѡж[ь]ство баше оу него, и възвратившиса, воеваста около Звинигорода, города ж[е] хотяща, не взаста, бѣ бѡ с[ва] таа Б[огороди]ца в нем[ь] чюд[ь]наа икона. Тое ж[е] ѡсени оумиристаса” – *Chronica* 2017, 198–199.

with him. They [Danilo and Vasilko] turned back and waged war near Zvenyhorod. [Though] they both wanted the city, they could not take it. For there was the holy Mother of God, a miraculous icon. **That autumn, they both made peace** [emphasis by A.J.].

[A.J. – after 1236, probably between 1236 and 1247] Веснѣ ж[е] бывши, поидоста на атвасѣ и прїйдоста к Берестю Рѣкам[ъ] наводнив[ъ] шим[ъ]са, не возмогоста ити на атвасѣ. Данилови рек[ъ] шу: ‘Не лѣпо ес[тъ] держати нашеє ѡт[ъ]чины крижев[ъ]ником[ъ] Те[м] пlichem[ъ], рекомым[ъ] Соломоничем[ъ]’. И поидоста на нѣ въ силѣ тажцѣ, и прїаства град[ъ] м[ѣ]с[ѣ]ца марта, старѣшиноу их[ъ] Броуна аша и вои изоимаша, и възвратиса в[ъ] Волѣдимерь. / And when spring came, they both marched against the Yotvingians, and arrived in Brest. Because the rivers had become flooded, they were not able to attack the Yotvingians. Danilo [then] said, ‘It is not right to let our fatherland be in the hands of the Crusaders, the Templars, known as Solomonites.’ And they both marched against them in great force. And they took the city in the month of March. They captured their elder Bruno and his warriors, and returned to Vladimir.

We can observe here the “classical” narrative and chronological strategy used by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, applied to the description of the events in 1228–1244 (earlier for parallel stories). The insertion as a whole

is in no way unique. The editor who worked on the text after Danilo's death included fragments emphasizing Vasilko's role in the battle to improve the Romanovichi's position in Volhynia and Halych. To this end, he used the dual form, indicating both Romanovichi brothers. At the same time, he expanded the account significantly. The insertion as a whole is a short story, characteristic of *letopis'* writing techniques from *The Tale of Bygone Years* onwards. It consists of a description of an event from 1236 and an account of Danilo's seizure of Drohiczyn at an unspecified time, which we can pinpoint as having occurred after 1236. Immediately following an insertion covering a longer period (more than one year), the chronicler returns to the interrupted narrative repeating after *Danilo's Chronicle* the events described at the beginning of the insertion, that is: "Данилови ж[е] в том[ъ] ж[е] лѣтѣ пошед[ъ]шу на Михаила на Галич[ъ]. Онѣм[ъ] же мира просащим[ъ], даша емоу Перемышль" / "That summer, Danilo [had] marched against Mikhail in Halych. Upon asking him for peace, they gave him Przemyśl" (cf. the fragment in bold in the table). This rhetorical device restores the chronological framework of events. From this perspective, *Danilo's Chronicle* replaces the *Rostislavichi Chronicle* in this part of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The chronicler returns once again to the battle for Halych in 1236, after which he presents a chronological account of the alliance between Roman Mstislavich's elder son and Mindaugas ("По тѣм[ъ] ж[е] лѣтѣ Данил[ъ] же възведе на Кондрата литвою Мин[ъ]дога, Изаслава новѣгород[ъ] ского" / "After that summer/year, Danilo sent the Lithuanians [under] Mindaugas and Iziaslav of Novgorod against Konrad"). This reasoning is also confirmed by the fact that after the description of Mindaugas' incursion against the Lyakhs, in accordance with the ordering by year applied by the author of *Danilo's Chronicle*, the chronicler moves on to an account of 1238 by stating that "at that time, Frederick the Emperor had gone to war against the [Austrian] Archduke".<sup>83</sup> Therefore, we have a situation in which the insertion refers in the first part to well-dated events from 1236 and then to events linked to the capture of Drohiczyn, much more difficult to pinpoint in time. This also indicates that the editor worked on the text long after the events described had taken place and did not know when exactly the Templars had been captured. However, he did associate the capture of the town with the battles of the Hungarian-Polish-Rus' coalition.

At this point it should be emphasized that a short account of the incorporation of Drohiczyn into the Romanovichi domain has survived on further pages of the sources. For greater clarity, below I have provided a comparison of both passages about the conquest of Drohiczyn:

83 "В то ж[е] время пошель баше Фридрих[ъ] ц[ъ]са[р]ъ на герцика" – *Chronica* 2017, 202.

[A.J. – between 1241 and 1247] Данилови рек[ъ]шю: “Не лѣ[по] ес[тъ] держати нашеѡ ѡт[ъ]чины крижев[ъ]ником[ъ] Те[мпличем[ъ], рекомым[ъ] Соломоничем[ъ]”. И поидоста на нѣ въ силѣ тажцѣ, и прѣаста град[ъ] м[ѣ]с[а] ца марта, старѣишиноу их[ъ] Броуна аша и вои изоимаша, и възвратиса в[ъ] Волѡдимерѣ. / Danilo [then] said, ‘It is not right to let our fatherland be in the hands of the Crusaders, the Templars, known as Solomonites.’ And they both marched against them in great force. And they took the city in the month of March. They captured their elder Bruno and his warriors, and returned to Vladimir.

[A.J. – 1241] и възвратиса въ землю свою. И прѣиде къ градуу Дорогычиноу, и въсхоти внити въ град[ъ], и въс[тъ]но быс[тъ] емоу, яко “не видеши въ град[ъ]”. Ономоу рек[ъ]шю, яко “сѣи был[ъ] град[ъ] нашъ и ѡт[ъ]цѣ наших[ъ], в неже не изволисте внити во н[ъ]”, ѡтиде, мысласи, иже Б[ог]ъ послѣди ж[е] ѡт[ъ] местіе сътвори дръжателю града того. / And he [Danilo] returned to his own land. And he came to the city of Drohiczyn. And he wished to enter the city, but he was told that he could not enter. And he said, ‘This was our city and our forefathers’ city, and you have not let us enter,’ and he went away thinking that God would later retaliate against the ruler of the city.

[A.J. – between 1241 and 1247] и вдасть и в рѣци Данилоу. / And [indeed God] returned it into Danilo’s hands.

[A.J. – after Drohiczyn was captured] И обнови вы и, създа ц[ъ]рк[ъ] въ прекрасѣ въ има С[ва]тыа Б[огороди]ца и реч[е]: “Се град[ъ] мои, преже бѡ прѣах[ъ] ег[о] копием[ъ]”.<sup>84</sup> / And he restored it and built a beautiful church dedicated to the Holy Mother of God. And he said: ‘This is my city; for I have conquered it by the sword’.

On the left, we can see the second part of the later editor’s interjection discussed earlier. Probably because of the considerable time difference between the events and the writing of the source – the editor put the event in the wrong place. There may be various reasons behind this mistake. Perhaps



the informant's memory of the events was faulty, or perhaps the author of the source text wrote the information in a blank space with the intention of introducing changes later, or maybe he did not realize that the information had already been included in *Danilo's Chronicle*. It should be emphasized that the passage on the right, consistently rejected by supporters of the thesis that Drohiczyn was captured in 1238, is a story spanning over a dozen, if not more, years.<sup>85</sup> First, the bookman describes the return of Prince Danilo and his family to Vladimir after the Mongols retreated in 1241. At that time, a commander of Drohiczyn, unspecified by name, did not let him into the city. Next, we learn that this very brave heart fell into Danilo's hands, and we can only guess that this occurred as a result of the use of force. The next information refers to the development of Drohiczyn. The sentence "this is my city; for I have conquered it by the sword", which appears after the construction of the church of Holy Mother of God, indicates that it was a form of thanksgiving for aid provided in expanding his dominion.

The next question we should ask refers to when the conquest of Drohiczyn took place. Andrzej Poppe established the *post quem* date as 1241, while the *ante quem* date as 1247.<sup>86</sup> Adrian Jusupović limited this period to 1241–1244<sup>87</sup> as during this last year Danilo and Vasilko besieged Lublin, fighting on Konrad of Mazovia's side,<sup>88</sup> whom they later continued to support until his death. Therefore, in the source text we have three possible dates for the capture of Drohiczyn: March 1241, March 1242, and March 1243, but 1242 seems doubtful since the land of Halych-Volhynia was at that time invaded by the Tatars.<sup>89</sup> In addition, following the Mongol invasion, for a long time Danilo was strengthening his position in Halych lands, fighting against Gregory Vasylevich, Dobroslav Sudych,<sup>90</sup> as well as against the incursion organized by Rostislav Mikhailovich and the Bolokhiv princes. It should be remembered that following the Mongol invasion, the earlier alliance between Mikhail Vsevolodovich and his son Rostislav on one side and Konrad of Mazovia on the other was

85 See: Jusupović 2017a, 45–46, 73–74; Jusupović 2016c, 55–57.

86 Poppe 2003, 43–47.

87 Jusupović 2006, 9–17.

88 See p. 106 with n. 146.

89 See Hrushevsky 1901, 29–30. In this author's words, "according to the [Hypation] Letopis', the Tartars were in Hungary for 3 years; with chroniclers usually taking into account the year in which an event began and the year in which it ended. Thus, in fact, the Tatars stayed in Hungary for a little over two years and around April 1242 Batu began his return." Aside from the Tatars returning, the expeditions of Rostislav Mikhailovich to Halych and of Danilo against Rostislav took place in the spring of 1242. It seems that Danilo had quite a busy spring and would probably not have had time to take Drohiczyn.

90 Jusupović 2013b, 128–134, 157–163.

revived. It is possible that Danilo, during this period of intense activity, decided to seize Drohiczyn in March 1243. He would thus have been taking advantage of Konrad's weakened position following his defeat at Suchodół in May of that year.<sup>91</sup> Konrad needed help after the battle and obtained it from the princes of Halych and Vladimir, who supported him in his efforts to gain the Cracow throne. These circumstances fully explain why the ruler of Mazovia did not later try to regain Drohiczyn. In all probability, the relinquishment of the rights to this town was the precondition for the Romanovichi providing him with aid.

It is also worth noting that we indirectly find out from *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* about the Romanovichi's involvement in the struggle against the Mazovian princes. Around 1241, Danilo organized an expedition to Bakota.<sup>92</sup> This event is followed by a description of the elder Romanovichi's expedition against the Bolokhiv princes – in the original version and as edited later.<sup>93</sup> The second insertion contains a mysterious story:

For the Tartars had left them [the Bolokhivians in peace] to grow wheat and millet for them. Danilo held a great grudge against them because they had placed their hopes in the Tartars. He had [in fact previously] rescued them from the hands of Bolesław, Prince of Mazovia. Bolesław said, 'Why did they enter my land, when I gave them no reason?' He said [further], 'And they are not your warriors, but independent princes'. And he wanted to plunder them. They [the Bolokhiv princes] then promised to serve [the Romanovichi]. They then asked [for help]. Danilo and Vasilko were willing to wage war with him [Bolesław]. Vasilko, having gone there, persuaded and begged him, and gave him many gifts [so that he would] save them ...<sup>94</sup>

This insertion disrupts the chronological continuity of the passage wherein it appears. As late as 1236, the Bolokhiv princes were still fighting on the side of Mikhail Vsevolodovich. Their conversion to Danilo's side must have occurred

91 See Włodarski 1971, 56–57; Gieysztor 2006, 155–156.

92 *Chronica* 2017, 247–251.

93 See pp. 103–104.

94 “встави́ли бо их[ъ] татарове, да имъ шроут[ъ] пше́ницю и проса. Данил[ъ] же на на. бол[ъ]шоу враж[ъ]дѣ держа, яко ѿт татаръ надежѣ имѣахѣ. Кн[а]са же их[ъ] иза ѿт[ъ] рѣкѣ Богославлю, кн[а]са мозавского, рекша Болеславѣ: ‘Почто сѣт[ъ] вош[ъ] ли в землю мою, яко не вдах[ъ] имѣ?’ реки: ‘И | не сѣт[ъ] вои твои, но сѣт[ъ] всобни́и кн[а]си, и хоташе разбрани́ти их[ъ]. Шны же вбещаса работны быти. Шным[ъ] же молащим[ъ], да ниже и Васи́лко, зане хотѣ с ным[и] бран[ъ] ...’ – *Chronica* 2017, 251–252.

later, but certainly before the end of 1241. The most logical time seems to be 1239–1241. In 1239, Mikhail and Rostislav lost their lands, becoming unattractive allies. The situation was probably exploited by Roman Mstislavich's elder son, who reached an agreement with the Bolokhiv princes after they, as the cited account indicates, had submitted to the Mongol invaders. It is worth noting that the description confirms the conflict between these princes and Bolesław I, son of Konrad of Mazovia. The fact that Vasilko bought out the Bolokhiv princes suggests that the Romanovichi were at war with Mazovia.

Let us return to the second part of the above insertion describing the conquest of Drohiczyn. Chronological errors in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* are also confirmed by Latin sources. Based on a privilege from March 8, 1237,<sup>95</sup> Konrad of Mazovia,

Prince of Mazovia and Kuyavia, with the general consent and unanimous approval of my sons, namely Bolesław, Prince of Mazovia, Casimir, Prince of Kuyavia, and also the remaining two, the youngest Siemowit and Ziemomysł, [...] we give Master Bruno and his brothers, of the Order of the Knights of Christ of the House formerly of Dobrzyń, the town of

95 This document has been interpreted as a bestowal granted to the Dobrzyń brothers. This is indirectly contradicted by Pope Gregory IX's bull of 1235, which approved the dissolution and incorporation of the Order of Dobrzyń into the Teutonic Order with the consent of the Bishop of Płock ("Eapropter, dilectj in domino filij, uestris precibus inclinati incorporationem de Magistro et fratribus de Dubrin, Venerabilis fratris nostrj. Plocensis Episcopi, diocesanj eorum, accedente consensu, ordini uestro factam prout in eiusdem Episcopi litteris plene perspeximus continerj. sicut pie ac prouinde facta est, auc toritate apostolica confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus", *Zbiór* 1919, 402, v. 1–7.), as well as by the phrase used in the privilege itself '*domus quondam Dobrinensis*' ("of the House formerly of Dobrzyń"). It should also be remembered that the Order of Dobrzyń was founded as a new one, with its monastic rule of St. Bernard modeled on the rule of the Order of the Brothers of the Sword in Livonia. These in turn based theirs on the rule of the order officially called "the Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon", i.e., the Templars (see: Polkowska – Markowska 1926, 208; Masan 1996, 46). The presence of the Templars in Drohiczyn has ultimately been specified by A. Jusupović (2006, 7–18). In addition to the arguments presented above, the researcher has noted that an important indication, thus far overlooked, that the privilege of 1237 mentions the Templars is the fact that the original document granting Drohiczyn to the Templars was found in the archives of the Order of St. John in Sonnenberg. It was not until 1865 that it was identified as the granting of the privilege to the Dobrzyń brothers, sidelining the once meaningful *quondam*, and it was transported to Königsberg, where other documents of the order were being kept. This privilege could only have found its path into the archives of the Knights Hospitallers by way of the Templars. In 1312, after the dissolution of the Knights Templar, both their property and their archives were given to the Knights of St. John.

Drohiczyn, as well as the entire territory stretching to this side of the town, between the Bug and Nur rivers as far as the border with the Rus'ians.<sup>96</sup>

The capture of Drohiczyn is placed between events that took place in 1236; meanwhile, the prince of Mazovia's bestowal occurred in 1237. There can be no doubt that at that time the town belonged to Mazovia as in the document we read the following: "usque ad metas Ruthenorum / as far as the border with the Rus'ians". In addition, the bestowal of Drohiczyn to the Templars was supplemented by other such acts. In 1239, Prince Bolesław I additionally gave them<sup>97</sup> the villages of Skuszew, Dręszew, and Orzechowo.<sup>98</sup> This privilege confirms that the occupation of Drohiczyn by Danilo Romanovich could not have taken place in 1239. On the other hand, on August 26, 1247, we read the following in Pope Innocent IV's bull: "In response to your humble requests, we agree that no crusader or other order should interfere in any matters in the lands you have already obtained and those to be obtained in future, and that they should not be able to meddle in anything or take possession of lands without your permission".<sup>99</sup> Danilo requested this document from the Pope during talks about the royal crown as a method of strengthening his authority in the newly incorporated territories and at the same time of silencing the protests of the Knights Templar, who as late as in 1249 or 1250 continued to ask the Holy See for a privilege confirming their "watchtowers on the Bug river".<sup>100</sup>

96 "dux Masouie et Cuiaue cum communi consensu et unanimi uoluntate filiorum meorum. uidelicet B. ducis Mazovie. K. ducis Quyaue. nec non aliorum duorum. S. et Z. iuniorum, pro nostrarum remedio animarum conferimus et donamus magistro B. et fratribus suis, ordinis militum christi. Domus quondam Dobrinensis, castrum Drohicin et totum territorium. quod ex eadem parte castri continetur a medietate fluminum Bug et Nur. usque ad metas Ruthenorum" *Zbiór* 1919, 421, v. 14–22; Kotliar 1994, 23. Kotliar considers Konrad of Mazovia to have bestowed land that did not belong to him, which is also reiterated in: Kotliar 2003b, 320.

97 Another possibility exists that the three villages were given in exchange for Drohiczyn, which they had lost. This hypothesis should be verified by tracing the history of the villages. The above analysis of the account in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* seems to contradict such a supposition.

98 *Zbiór* 1919, no. 392.

99 "Vestris itaque supplicationibus inclinati, ut nullus Cruceferorum, vel aliorum Religiosorum in vestris terris acquisitis, et acquirendis, de aliquo se intromittere, vel possessionem aliquam acquirere absque beneplacito vestro valeat, auctoritate vobis predicta indulgemus". *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum* 1951, 36, no. 21. V.I. Matuzova and E. Nazarova (2002, 356) associate the papal bull with the events in Drohiczyn.

100 "... super castris apud fluvium Buch". *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Templerordens* 1987, 38, no. 37. In the translation, I have used the word "watchtowers" on purpose, even though the word "castris" appears in the document. While Drohiczyn can be referred to as a castle or stronghold, there were probably only small wooden

The document has not survived in its entirety; it is known only from a regest, but it can be assumed that it referred to Drohiczyn, where the commandery and the estates administered by the Templars were located, i.e., Skuszew, Dręszew, and Orzechowo. Therefore, based only on Latin sources, the conquest of Drohiczyn should be specified as having occurred between 1239 and 1247. This period is also indicated by the passage from *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. It is the combination of these two types of sources, the Latin and the Cyrillic ones, that provides a fuller picture of the events that took place on the Polish-Rus' border and confirms the observations made regarding the narrative and chronological strategy applied by the chronicle's author.

Let us now return to our analysis of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. As already mentioned, the information about the conflict of the last of the House of Babenberg, Frederick II the Quarrelsome, who was supported by Bela IV, with Frederick II the Hohenstaufen fits into the chronological sequence of the source text as can be observed in the records pertaining to 1228, excluding later interjections which, as I have attempted to prove, fundamentally disrupt the order of events. The message about the Romanovichi's willingness to join the conflict on the Babenberg's side was again written using the dual form.<sup>101</sup> Following this event, we can once again observe the narrative from Danilo's perspective. The chronicler moves on chronologically to the year 1238,<sup>102</sup> in which Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Suzdal took Kiev; however, he probably decided to leave the city upon learning of his brother Yuri's defeat against the Mongols in the Battle of the Sit River on March 4, 1238. Mikhail Vsevolodovich took advantage of the situation to capture Kiev.<sup>103</sup> As we are informed in the source text, at that time Rostislav made his way to Lithuania,<sup>104</sup> leaving Halych without sufficient defense. Danilo probably took advantage of the situation, capturing the contentious city. Through referencing the Holy Bible, the chronicle attempted to show that the elder Romanovichi had regained Halych with

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watchtowers in the remaining villages to defend the nearby lands and provide support for the parish organization that was in the process of forming there.

101 *Chronica* 2017, 201–203.

102 Hrushevsky 1901, 27.

103 *Chronica* 2017, 203.

104 This reference is yet another that contradicts the fact that the Romanovichi were at war with Lithuania in 1238. It was probably due to this war that Danilo was able to take Halych. For Mikhail's son was probably providing assistance to his ally Konrad, who was plagued by Lithuanian incursions.

God's aid.<sup>105</sup> Rostislav was left with only the option of escaping to Hungary.<sup>106</sup> At this point, an insertion ensues,<sup>107</sup> telling of the Mongol invasion, encompassing the period from the end of 1237 to 1239.<sup>108</sup> As rightly noted by the publishers of the Polish translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*,<sup>109</sup> it is difficult to determine where this note was created. However, it was written from the perspective of southern Rus'.<sup>110</sup> Taking into account all the insertions that have appeared so far in the chronicle, I am inclined to think that the passage discussed was included after Danilo's death and I would not link it to *The Rostislavichi Chronicle*. As precise analysis of the passages shows, this chronicle was used until Mstislav Mstislavich's death.<sup>111</sup> After this period, as I have indicated above, the narrative is chronological upon removing all the insertions.

After the insertion describing the Mongol invasion, the chronicler indirectly returns to the information about Rostislav Mikhailovich escaping to Hungary with the following words: "Then Mikhail fled from the Tartars following his son to Hungary, and Rostislav Mstislavich of Smolensk took the throne in Kiev".<sup>112</sup> Next, the author of the source text informs us about Danilo's capture of Kiev and the installation of a garrison under Dmitry's command,<sup>113</sup> which

105 Luke 11, 26 (see Aprakos 1983, 124, k. 836-B); Matt 12, 45 (see Aprakos 1983, 72, k. 37-5); Matt 27, 63 (see Aprakos 1983, 210, k. 156.3; 218, k. 162.13); Matt 22, 26 (see Aprakos 1983, 100, k. 61.13); 2 Pet 2, 20. See Gens'ors'kii 1961, 180. See: *Chronica* 2017, 206, 208 with n. 565 & 570; Jusupović 2017d, 505–506.

106 See: *Chronica* 2017, 203–208.

107 It is significant that after the interjection the narrative continues as if there had been no interruption whatsoever. Thus, immediately after the insertion concerning the Mongol invasion the chronicler writes that Mikhail also fled to Hungary soon after his son had done so. See *Chronica* 2017, 221.

108 *Chronica* 2017, 208–221.

109 See: *Chronica* 2017, LXXXIX–XC.

110 For the relevant literature and its discussion, see: Fennell 1977, 67–68, 78; Prokhorov 1987, 363–365.

111 N.I. Miliutenko (2008, 23–45) considers the chain of southern Rus' information that has survived in the group of chronicles she refers to as the Laurentian-Troitian-Radziwiłł chronicles to have been written up until Mstislav Mstislavich's death. As indicated by the publishers of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* (*Kronika* 2017, 74): "Earlier this dependence was explained by A.A. Shakhmatov (2011, 21–3, 25–9, 78–5, 129–32) through the existence of an unpreserved early 14th-century Polychrone, which was supposedly reflected in the Pereyaslav Suzdal *Letopis'*, ending in 1216. As one can see, this is a multi-layered hypothesis. According to M.D. Priselkov (1996, 95–04), it came from the Pereyaslav Suzdal *Letopis'*, which as we already know ended in 1216. Meanwhile, such a chronological order and nature of the information is in fact reflected in the source text".

112 "Потѣм[ъ] же Михаил[ъ] бѣжа по с[ы]ноу своем[ъ] перед[ъ] татары въ Оугры, а Ростислав[ъ] Мъстиславич[ъ] смолен[ъ]скаго съде в[ъ] Киевѣ" – *Chronica* 2017, 221.

113 *Chronica* 2017, 222.

took place in the winter of 1239/1240.<sup>114</sup> This passage also became the point of departure for various side stories, e.g., about Yaroslav Vsevolodovich capturing Mikhail Vsevolodovich's wife.<sup>115</sup> The end of this story is also the beginning of an intervention in the text introduced by the editor working after Danilo Romanovich's death, who added a dual form to the description. We learn, for example, of the Romanovichi's agreement with Mikhail and Rostislav and the latter two's escape at the turn of 1240/1241 to Wrocław after they had found out about the capture of Kiev.<sup>116</sup>

It is difficult to determine precisely the original text from Danilo's time and what was added by a later editor, who again made a minor infringement into the description's chronology, moving onward to events taking place after the capture of Kiev by the Mongols. He attempted to remedy this temporal anticipation of events with the words: "But let us return to the previous [narration]".<sup>117</sup>

Following this phrase, a description ensues of the seizure of Kiev on December 6, 1240 and the capture of Dmitry, while Danilo's journey to Hungary was described in parallel to these events.<sup>118</sup> Next, the author of the source text discusses Batu Khan's expedition against Volhynia and his later attack on the Árpád Kingdom.<sup>119</sup> The description itself focuses on the losses sustained by Vasilko as a result of Mongol activities, to the complete disregard of the damages incurred by the Halych lands. As a result, I am inclined to think that we are dealing with an insertion, as also evidenced by the following two sentences: 1) "At that time, Danilo was travelling to Hungary [to visit] the king, for he had not yet heard of the coming of the heathen Tartars to Kiev";<sup>120</sup> 2) "Before [what is here described], Prince Danilo had travelled to the king in Hungary, as he had wanted to establish [good] relations with him through marriage".<sup>121</sup> Both accounts refer to the same event. The first was an introduction to the description of the damages incurred in Volhynia, while the second was the beginning of a description (probably from *Danilo's Chronicle*) of Danilo's escape from the Mongols, including his stay with the Mazovian princes, and then his return and not being granted access to enter Drohiczyn with his entourage in 1241.<sup>122</sup>

114 Hrushevsky 1901, 28.

115 *Chronica* 2017, 222–223.

116 *Chronica* 2017, 223–227.

117 "Мы же на пред[ъ]нее възвратимса" – *Chronica* 2017, 227.

118 *Chronica* 2017, 227–231.

119 *Chronica* 2017, 231–234.

120 "В то ж[е] время ехалъ баше Даниль въ оугры къ королеви и еще бо баше не слышалъ прихода поганых[ъ] татаръ на Кыевъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 231.

121 "Преж[е] того ехалъ бѣ Данило князь къ Королеви въ оугры, хотя имѣти с ним[ъ] любовь сват[ъ]ства" – *Chronica* 2017, 234–235.

122 *Chronica* 2017, 235–239.

(an event described earlier).<sup>123</sup> At this point, the description is consistently written from the perspective of the elder Romanovichi, in the singular form. It is not until directly after the discussion of these events that the phrasing “the Romanovichi” returns, along with a description of the Volhynian losses sustained.<sup>124</sup>

After recounting the return of Danilo and his family to their lands, the chronicler presents the story of Mikhail Vsevolodovich, Rostislav Mikhailovich, and Rostislav Vladimirovich.<sup>125</sup> The account appears to be the result of later editing from after Danilo’s death. What followed was a very detailed description of the elder Romanovichi’s struggle to subjugate the Halych lands and its elites, who refused to recognize him.<sup>126</sup> It ends with Danilo and Vasilko arriving in Halych for a meeting with Dobroslav Sudych and Gregory Vasylevich, which ended with the two noblemen being captured. What is striking in this passage is the transition of the narrative from the perspective of the elder prince to a description presented through the eyes of both Romanovichi brothers, and the return to the singular form at the very end: “he [Danilo] commanded that they both be seized”.<sup>127</sup> This passage shows that sometimes the later changes were symbolic, intended only to emphasize Vasilko’s participation in his brother’s successful endeavors.

We encounter a similar situation in the case of Rostislav’s expedition to Bakota. I surmise that the original passage in *Danilo’s Chronicle* was as follows:

Then Rostislav gathered the Bolokhiv princes and the rest of the Halychians and came to Bakota. [...] When Danilo heard that Rostislav and the Bolokhiv princes were invading Bakota, he immediately rushed to attack them, set their cities afire, and dug up their ramparts. And Vasilko, the prince, [who] had stayed to guard the land from Lithuania, sent his troops with his brother. Danilo returned, having taken great spoils, and occupied their towns: Dereviche, Gubin and Kobud, Kudyn, Gorodiec, Božskij, Diadkov.<sup>128</sup>

123 See pp. 83–88.

124 *Chronica* 2017, 239–240.

125 *Chronica* 2017, 240–241.

126 *Chronica* 2017, 241–247. See: Jusupović 2013b, 128–134, 157–163, 169–170, 171–173, 198–199; Dąbrowski 2012a, 297–313.

127 “Повелѣ а изымати” – *Chronica* 2017, 247.

128 “Потѣм[ъ] же Ростиславъ събрал[ъ] князи болохов[ъ]ские и останок[ъ] галичан[ъ], прїиде ко Бакотѣ. [...] Слышав[ъ] же Данил[ъ] прихвд[ъ] Ростиславль съ князи болохов[ъ]скими на Бакотоу, абїе оустребиса на на, грады их[ъ] огневи предасть и гребла их[ъ] роскопа. Васил[ъ]ко же княз[ъ] осталь бѣ стеречи землѣ шт[ъ] литвы, послалъ баше воа своа съ братѣм[ъ], Данил[ъ] же въземь плѣн[ъ] мнѣгъ, воротиса и



In fact, the entire description between and after both passages<sup>129</sup> should be seen as an insertion introduced by the editor working on the text after Danilo's death. It should be noted that Kirill was sent by the elder Romanovich, while when addressing Rostislav, the bookman used a dual form, indicating both of Prince Roman's sons.<sup>130</sup>

Editorial amendments are also visible in the story of Rostislav's failed expedition to Halych<sup>131</sup> in 1242.<sup>132</sup> In turn, the subjugation of the Halych and Przemyśl lands was definitely described from Danilo's perspective (with one mention of Vasilko). In the process, we learn many details about the ruler of Przemyśl<sup>133</sup> and people abiding there.<sup>134</sup> In the subsequent parts of the source text, we can read the following: "At that time, Rostislav was dispersed by the Tatars in Bork and he fled to Hungary and the Hungarian king gave him his daughter [in marriage]".<sup>135</sup> This is the beginning of yet another of the inserts introduced by the editor working on the text after Danilo's death, which discusses the period from 1242 to 1245/1246. The beginning of this short story comes in the form of a sentence referencing an earlier passage about Rostislav's Halych expedition: "News arrived that the Tatars had left Hungary [and] were marching into Halych lands. [Thanks to] this news, [Rostislav] was saved, [but] some of his boyars were captured".<sup>136</sup> As we can see, the editor's strategy involved supplementing the text with new facts by referring to already existing information and developing them into short stories, requiring separate dating. In this case, we hear once again about Rostislav saving himself following the skirmish in Bork. Next comes the theme of his escape to Hungary, where he married Bela IV's daughter. The first part of the sentence refers to events in 1242, while the second may refer to a later event. Dariusz Dąbrowski believes that the

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поима грады их[ъ]: Деревичъ, Гоубинъ и Кобоуд[ъ], Коудинъ, Городецъ Бож[ъ]скый, Дад[ъ]квв[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 247, 249–251.

129 An analysis of this passage has been conducted on pp. 97–98.

130 *Chronica* 2017, 247–249.

131 *Chronica* 2017, 253–255.

132 Hrushevsky 1901, 30.

133 This refers to Constantine of Ryazan. For more on Constantine, see: Nosenko 2015, 161–164, 166–171.

134 *Chronica* 2017, 255–256.

135 "В то же время Ростислава разгнаша татарове в Боркѣ, и бежа в[ъ] оугри, и вдаст[ъ] им[ъ] за н[ъ] паки корол[ъ] оугорскій дщерь свою" – *Chronica* 2017, 256–257.

136 "Вѣст[ъ] прииде по нем[ъ], яко татарове сѣт[ъ] выишли из земли Ѹгорское, идѣт[ъ] в[ъ] землю галиц[ъ]кѣю, и тою вѣст[ъ]ю сп[а]сеса, и никол[ъ]ко шт[ъ] боарь его ятъ былъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 254–255.

marriage took place before the spring of 1244.<sup>137</sup> Next in this insertion, we have events that probably occurred towards the end of 1245 or the beginning of 1246:

And when Danilo was in Chełm, his half-brother [...] from Hungary hastened to [see] him, informing him that Batu had returned from Hungary and **dispatched** two bogatyrs, Manman and Balay, against you. Next, Danilo barricaded Chełm [and] went to his brother Vasilko, taking the metropolitan bishop Kirill with him. And the Tartars warred [in the country] as far as Włodawa and the lakes and back, and committed much evil against the Christians.<sup>138</sup>

Thus far, these events have been dated to 1243 in the critical literature.<sup>139</sup> This was due to the conviction that the source maintained chronological continuity, and furthermore, researchers have suggested that Aktai came from Hungary, automatically linking him to the retreating Hungarians. Historians have long been aware of various interjections in the chronicle, but no one has tried to isolate them precisely. The account analyzed here is chaotic, but it fits in with Vladimir Vasilkovich's editor's working strategy, according to which events within the short stories are presented in chronological order. Therefore, the *post quem* date of the described events is Rostislav's marriage to Bela IV's daughter. In my opinion, this passage refers to Danilo's expedition to the Orda for a *yarliq* (a decree issued by a Mongol khan).<sup>140</sup> We know that the prince was accompanied by Kirill during the trip, who was referred to as the metropolitan bishop by the editor who had written the passage later in time.<sup>141</sup> There is one other possibility. Based on the phrase "Дай Галич[ь]" / "Give Halych",<sup>142</sup> used in connection to Danilo's journey to the Orda in 1245/1246, Witalij Nagirnyj stated that the Romanovichi had recognized Mongol sovereignty over Volhynia

137 At that time, an expedition to Przemyśl took place during which Bela IV was referred to as Rostislav's father-in-law. See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 240 with n. 615. Mikhailo Hrushevsky dates this marriage to 1243. See: Hrushevsky 1901, 31. Similarly, see Khrustalev 2004, 239.

138 "Данилови же бѣдѣщемъ въ Холми, прибѣже къ[ъ] немѣ полочинъ его изъ оугоръ, и внѣ радиль есть на та два багатыра въ[ъ]зыскати тебе: Манмана и Балаа. Даниль же затвориль Холмъ, еха ко братѣ си Василкови и поима со собою митрополита Кѣрила. И татарове воеваша до Володавы и по взеромъ, и воротишася, много зла сотвориша хр[и]стіаномъ[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 257–258.

139 Khrustalev 2004, 240.

140 See p. 99.

141 See: Uzhanov 2009, 326–329, 335–337; Jusupović 2017c, 630–631.

142 *Chronica* 2017, 287.

as early as in 1242.<sup>143</sup> The chronology of the analyzed insertion would allow for such a possibility.

After these events, in the next insertion, the editor working on the text after Danilo's death includes another story, this time the history of Mikhail Vsevolodovich, parallel to the previously described one, covering the period from Rostislav Mikhailovich's marriage to Bela IV's daughter until 1246, i.e., to Mikhail Vsevolodovich's death while at the Orda.<sup>144</sup>

After this insertion, the narrative returns to its main chronological track. *Danilo's Chronicle* bears traces of having been rewritten and it uses the dual form. We read of Danilo and Vasilko's expedition<sup>145</sup> against Bolesław the Chaste in 1243.<sup>146</sup> Probably at the end of that year or the beginning of the next one, a retaliatory expedition led by the prince of Cracow took place, which,

143 Nagirniĭ 2009, 9–12.

144 “Слышавъ же корола Михаил[ъ], в[ъ]даль дщеръ за с[ы]на его и бѣже оу оутры. Король же оугорскїи и с[ы]нъ его Ростиславъ чести емѡ не сотвориша. Ун[ъ] же розгнѣвал[ъ]са на с[ы]на, вовратиса к[ъ] Чернѣговѡ. Ут[ъ]тѣдѡ еха Батїевы, проса оу нег[о] волости свои. Батїевы же рекшѡ: ‘Поклониса штецъ нашихъ законѡ’. Михаил[ъ] же ут[ъ] вѣща: ‘Аще бы са ны ест[ъ] предаль и власть нашѡ, грѣх[ъ] ради наших[ъ]. Тобѡ кланяемъса и чести приносимъ ти; а законѡ ут[ъ]цѣ твоих[ъ] и твоего бл[а]гочестивомѡ повеленїю не кланяемъса’. Батїи же яко сверѣпны звѣръ воз[ъ]яриса, повелѣ и заклати, и закланъ бысть беззаконныкомъ пѣтивлицемъ нечестивымъ, и с кимъ закланъ бысть боаринъ его Феодоръ, мѣченически пострадаша восприаста вѣнца ут[ъ] Хр[и]ста Б[о]га” – *Chronica* 2017, 258–259.

145 In 1241, Konrad of Mazovia took advantage of the fact that Bolesław the Horned was reluctant to take the Cracow seat, which had been vacant since the death of Henry the Pious during the battle of Legnica, and that same year captured it himself. In 1243, the Cracow elites appointed Bolesław the Chaste, son of Leszek the White and Grzymisława, as prince of Cracow. In this situation, Konrad asked Danilo and Vasilko for help. See Головки 2006, 242–247.

146 *Chronica* 2017, 259–260. In the Polish chronicles, we can find the following mentions: “Cladem suam apud Suchdol acceptam Conradus Mazovie dux ulturus, Lithuanos, Pruthenos et Jaczwingos contra nepotem suum Boleslaum Pudicum Cracoviensem”. *Ioannis Dlugossii, Annales* 1975, liber 7, 46. We know that this was not Konrad, but Danilo Romanovich. This event is confirmed by four other accounts: the Annals of the Cracow Chapter (*Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej* 1978, 80): “Pruteni per diversos insultus Lublin devastant et ecclesias succedunt. Kylcia per milites ducis Cunradi devastator”; the so-called short Annal (*Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej* 1978, 241): “Rutheni per diversos insultus in suburbio Lublin vastant et succedunt”; the Małopolska Annual (*Rocznik małopolski* 1878, 167): “Rutheni per frequentes insultus Lublin, Lucov et Seczechov vastaverunt”; the Świętokrzyski Annual (*Rocznik Świętokrzyski* 1878, 72): “Rutheni per diversos insultus Lublin et totum territorium devastant et succedunt et castrum pro se aedificare ceperunt et turrin muratam fecerunt”. The events are analyzed in more detail in: Myśliński 2000, 229–236. M. Hrushevsky (1901, 31) dates these events to ca. 1243. Jan Długosz describes them under the entry for 1244. B. Włodarski dates the episode to the spring of 1244, which he deduced based on a mention of it in *The Halychan-Volhynian Chronicle* (*Chronica* 2017,

according to the author of the chronicle, was stopped by both Romanovichi.<sup>147</sup> The subsequent passage, referring to the expeditions of the Hungarians and Rostislav to Halych in 1244,<sup>148</sup> creates the impression of not having been fully edited. The chronicler writes about Danilo and Vasilko, but the ending indicates that the information was originally written from the perspective of the elder Romanovichi. This is evidenced by the final part of the passage: "And when Danilo received news [of this], he moved out, [after] gathering numerous warriors and infantrymen. And he drove [Rostislav] out of the land, who fled to Hungary".<sup>149</sup> Included within this same chronological sequence of *Danilo's Chronicle* is yet another piece of information, one pertaining to the expedition of the Lithuanians to Peresopnytsia.<sup>150</sup> It seems that the same story was described a dozen or so lines later. Both parts of the story are separated by two interludes devoted to the Lithuanian invasions. The first discusses the Lithuanian invasion of Mielnik<sup>151</sup> a few years later, though generally unspecified in time; the second recalls the Yotvingian invasion, which took place "before Danilo's Chernigov campaign, when he reigned in Halych and Vasilko in Vladimir [emphasis by A.J.]. The Yotvingians warred near Ochoża and Busówno and pillaged the entire area. Chełm had not yet been erected by Danilo".<sup>152</sup> The highlighted fragment points to late 1234 or early 1235. This is not the first time that the editor working on the text after Danilo's death resumes the narrative from where he had left off after the inserted fragment. Let us compare the two passages separated by such interjections:

That year, the Lithuanians, led by Ayshvno Rushkovich, came and ravaged [the area] around Peresopnytsia. Danilo and Vasilko both went to Pinsk before he came, and they arrived before him. They were crossing the fields [of Pinsk] and came

So Vasilko gave chase from Vladimir and caught up with them, and on the third day after [leaving] Vladimir he was near Drohiczyn. And when they were fighting at the gates of Drohiczyn, Vasilko joined them. And they went out to meet them. And when

260: "не могоша бо переихати реки, понеже бо навод[ъ]ниласа баше" – These were already spring river floods), Włodarski 1966, 125. See Jusupović 2006, 13; 2008, 167–168.

147 *Chronica* 2017, 260–262.

148 Hrushevsky 1901, 31; *Chronica* 2017, 262–263.

149 "Данилови же був[ъ]ше вѣсти, пойдє собра вои многи и пѣсци, и прогна из земли, и иде во оутры" – *Chronica* 2017, 263.

150 *Chronica* 2017, 262–265.

151 *Chronica* 2017, 265–267.

152 "Преже войны Даниловы Чернѣгов[ъ]ское сѣдаши емоу в Галичи, а Васил[ъ] коу въ Волдимероу. Воеваша ятвасѣ около Вхожѣ и Боусовна, всю страну тоу плѣниша, и еще бѣ Холмоу не поставленоу быв[ъ]шу Данилѣм[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 267–68.

out onto them from the stronghold. And they drove away the heathens, with their hearts filled with pride. And they [the Lithuanians] could not endure it, and fled. When they fled, they fell from their horses. And Vasilko brought the *first saigat* [spoils] to his brother. All his [Ayshvno's] warriors were killed. Rushkovich himself escaped with only a few people and there was great joy in the town of Pinsk over Danilo and Vasilko's victory. They took all the spoils. God had helped [them].<sup>153</sup> [emphasis by A.J.]

they could not stand before Vasilko, with God's help the evil heathens were forced to flee. And they were slaughtered mercilessly, and they pursued them many *poprishche*<sup>154</sup> [a large distance], and 40 princes were killed, and so were many others, and they could not withstand it. And he sent them to Halych to his brother. And there was great joy in Halych that day.<sup>155</sup> [emphasis by A.J.]

As can be observed, the first story presents the Volhynian point of view, while the second – that of Halych. The first seems a little disjointed and careless, with the theme of God's aid highlighted. On the one hand, we read that both brothers went to Pinsk and fought against the invaders, and – on the other – that Vasilko brought his brother *saigat*, i.e., trophies, spoils.<sup>156</sup> The Halych perspective comes later, but there is no contradiction between the two. Danilo ruled in Halych and Vasilko ruled in Vladimir; thus, the latter was responsible for

153 “Втое ж[е] лѣто прїйдоша литва и воеваша школо Пересѣпници, Айшвно Рѣшковиць. Данилови же и Василкѣ ехаста в[ъ] Пинскѣ и пред[ъ]вариста его, дон[ъ]деже прихоть его бысть. Шнымъ же идѣщимъ по полю пинскомѣ, изыйдоста на ни з града. Поганым[ъ] же ѿднако гордост[ъ] имѣющим[ъ] во с[ъ]рд[ъ]ци своемъ, погнаша и, шнымъ же не стерпѣвшимъ, побегоша, бежѣвшим[ъ] же имъ, падахѣ ис коней. Васил[ъ]ко же приведе превыша града къ братѣ же, всѣ же вои его избити быша. Самомѣ же Рѣшковиць в малѣ оутекшѣ. И бысть радост[ъ] велика во градѣ Пин[ъ]скѣ ѿ побѣдѣ Данила и Василка, весь бо плѣнь ѿт[ъ]аста, Б[о]гѣ помогшимъ [sic!]” – *Chronica* 2017, 262–265.

154 *Poprishche* – a unit of measurement used in Rus', amounting to ca. 1 mile.

155 “Гна же по них[ъ] Васил[ъ]ко из Волѣдимера и оугони а, и бывшу емоу третїи д[ъ]нь из Волѣдимера оу Дорогичинѣ. Шнѣм[ъ] же бѣющимъ оу ворот[ъ] дорогычин[ъ]ских[ъ], прїиде на нѣ Васил[ъ]ко. Онѣм[ъ] же възъехавшим[ъ] имъ противоу, и не сътерпѣвшим[ъ] ѿт[ъ] лица Васил[ъ]кова, Б[о]г[о]у помог[ъ]шѣ, побѣгоша сїи поганїи, и быс[ъ]тъ на нѣ сѣча люта, и гнаша а за мнѣга. поприць, и оубито быс[ъ]тъ кнасен ѿ, и инїи мнѣси избїени быша, и не воистояша. И посла и въ Галич[ъ] къ братоу си, и быс[ъ]тъ радѣс[ъ]тъ велика в Галичи въ ден[ъ] тїй” – *Chronica* 2017, 267–268.

156 For the meaning of the term, see: Tolochko P. 2007, 356–359.

defending the northern borders. It should come as no surprise that he wanted to highlight his accomplishments in fighting the pagans. Hence, the next entry begins with a brief encomium presenting Vasilko and his military successes.<sup>157</sup> This is probably a re-edited fragment of *Danilo's Chronicle*, which is suggested by the phrase indicating the strategy taken by the editor of the chronicle: "We did not want to list them because there were too many of them."<sup>158</sup>

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The chronicler then returns to the chronologically arranged *Danilo's Chronicle*. However, Vasilko's encomium begins a portion of text with a slightly different narrative and chronological strategy resulting, it seems, from the author's knowledge of events. It is worth recalling that in this part of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, covering the period from 1228 to 1244, there is not a single account that can be unambiguously associated with *The Rostislavichi letopis'*. The inclusion of information that also appeared in other Russian codices can be relatively easily explained. For example, the information cited above regarding the wedding between Vsevolod Yurevich and Vladimir Rurikovich's daughter may have been included since Vasilko Romanovich attended the ceremony.

To summarize this part of our considerations, it should be stated that for the period 1228–1244 *Danilo's Chronicle* constitutes the chronological skeleton of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, taking the role of the earlier *Rostislavichi letopis'*. The contents of *Danilo's Chronicle* were supplemented by the editor working on the text after Danilo Romanovich's death (probably in the 1280s), who wanted to emphasize Vasilko's participation in the Romanovich's efforts to establish their position. He also developed the existing account by adding previously unknown details. His insertions take on the form of short stories describing a span of one to a few years. Frequently, the dating of these descriptions requires finding analogous accounts – if any such exist – in the fully chronological *Danilo's Chronicle*. Unfortunately, this does not always allow for precise dating, but rather provides a range encompassing *post* and *ante quem* dates.

157 "Васил[ъ]ко бо бѣ възрастѣм[ъ] середній, оумѣм[ъ] велик[ъ] и дрѣзостію, иже иногда мнѣгажды побѣжаше поганые, или иногда мнѣгажды посылающема има на поганые, еже Скомойд[ъ] [sic] и Бороут[ъ], слаа войника, иже оубіена быста посланіемъ. Скомойд[ъ] [sic] бѣ бѣ влѣхвъ и кобникъ нарочит[ъ], борз[ъ] же бѣ яко свѣрь, пѣшь бо хода, повоева страноу пин[ъ] скоую и ины страны. И оубіень быс[ъ] нечестивый, и глава его взот[ъ]кнена на коль. И въ ина времена Б[о]жїею м[и]л[о]стію избіени быша поганїи ..." – *Chronica* 2017, 269–270.

158 "их[ъ]же не хотѣхом[ъ] писати шт[ъ] множ[ъ]ства ради" – *Chronica* 2017, 270.

## Inspired Chronicling

The title of this chapter is somewhat subversive. It was taken from Mikhailo Hrushevsky, who believed that the impulse to begin historical work on the first Halych part of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was the battle of Yaroslav, which took place on August 17, 1245.<sup>1</sup> This was the moment of the consolidation of Danilo Romanovich's power in Halych-Volhynian Rus'. The critical literature assumes that around 1246/1247 the first editing of the source text was done,<sup>2</sup> with some researchers identifying the author as the Metropolitan Bishop Kirill.<sup>3</sup> That literature also incorrectly assumes<sup>4</sup> that the "prophetic insertions" disappear ca. 1247.<sup>5</sup> However, it seems impossible to identify the author of *Danilo's Chronicle*. Nor does it seem correct in my opinion to identify him as Kirill, who at that point was strongly supported by Danilo for the seat of metropolitan bishop of Kiev. Such an elaborate text should be linked to a bookman who may or may not have been associated with the princely chancellery. The number of references to the Holy Scripture and a range of translated literature makes it possible only to generally indicate the circles from which he may have originated.<sup>6</sup> However, let us return to Mikhailo Hrushevsky's statement. In fact, from 1245 onwards the content of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* becomes more detailed. The closer we get to the 1260s, the more the fragments we find blended into the narrative of the *Danilo's Chronicle* by the editor working on the text after Danilo's death (during Vladimir Vasilkovich's reign), who probably gave the *Chronicle* its final form. Hence, it is extremely difficult to isolate them from the text written by the bookman working at the court of the elder Romanovichi. There are minor editorial shortcomings, such as the use of the singular when both brothers are the protagonists of the given passage.

1 See: Hrushevsky 1993b, 142, 165–179, 201.

2 Uzhankov 2009, 318.

3 See Introduction, pp. 9–10.

4 It should be remembered that during the feast with the Molibogovichi Danilo was named king. This indicates that this "prophetic insertion" was drafted after 1253; see: pp. 83–85.

5 Uzhankov 2009, 317–318. In earlier publications, Uzhankov delimited the period during which the first edition was supposedly created much more broadly: between the end of the 1240s and the beginning of the 1250s; Uzhankov 1989, 265–273; Uzhankov 1992, 149–180. See n. 66.

6 On his system of working on the text, see especially pp. 152, 159, 162–163, 171–174, 190–191.

These shortcomings show who was in fact the superior prince of Halych and Volhynia, and who was the dependent ruler.

• • •

Let us return to analysis of the contents of the chronicle. As noted above, Vasilko's unexpected encomium was followed by a return to the chronological order of *Danilo's Chronicle*, in which, as a result of inaccurate editing, the narrative referred once to Roman Mstislavich's elder son, and in other places to both of his descendants. The account was resumed in 1245, when Rostislav Mikhailovich marched on Halych aided by the Hungarians. We learn the details of the expedition including the configuration of the alliances and may read a precise description of the climactic moment of the expedition, the Battle of Yaroslav, which took place on August 17, 1245. After this battle, Danilo finally consolidated his position in the Halych lands, killing many of the nobles reluctant towards him, along with the Hungarian commander Filia. The account ends with information about Danilo's return to Chełm, about the Polish and Lithuanian allies who were late for the battle, and Rostislav's fate.<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to determine what constitutes the original text of *Danilo's Chronicle* and what was added later. After 1237, the incursions of the new editor into the text are so great that they almost blend together. The situation is similar in the passage analyzed here, whereby only the beginning (or more precisely, the first sentence) and the information about Danilo's return to Chełm are presented from his perspective. The remainder of the text is dominated by the two Romanovichs and their offspring taking part in battle. In the narrative, the chronicler uses references to the Bible,<sup>8</sup> as well as to various literary works in translation.<sup>9</sup> Petr Tolochko<sup>10</sup> indicated that the following passage, "He clashed with Danilo's regiment, moving more hastily, he battled against Rostislav's regiment with great vigour. And the lances broke. There was a crash

7 *Chronica* 2017, 270–287.

8 See: *Chronica* 2017, 282–283, 285 with n. 755–756, 760; Mark 15, 38 (Aprakos 1983, k. 116b., v. 10, 163; ibidem, k. 172r., v. 8, 231); Luke 23, 45 (Aprakos 1983, k. 121r., v. 19, 170; ibidem, k. 155b., v. 1, 209; ibidem, k. 159b., v. 9, 213); Matt 27, 51 (Aprakos 1983, k. 154r., v. 13–14, 208; ibidem, k. 162a., v. 6–7, 217); 1 Sam 9, 21; 1 Sam 10, 19–21; Ps 18(17), 3; 28(27), 7; 30(29), 11; 40(39), 18; 52(51), 9; 119(118), 162; Exod 15, 9; Isa 8, 1; 9, 2(3); 53, 12; Prov 30, 6.

9 See: *Chronica* 2017, 275 with n. 748; Gens'ors'kiĭ 1961, 176.

10 Tolochko P. 2009, 202–205.



like thunder”,<sup>11</sup> alludes to *The Tale of Bygone Years*<sup>12</sup> and *The Kievan Chronicle*,<sup>13</sup> whereby he situated the *Chronicle* within the group of southern Rus’ian manuscripts. However, as the editors of the critical edition and Polish translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* have rightly pointed out, the cited “evidence as such is, nonetheless, based on too weak a foundation. Moreover, we still cannot be sure that this is a case of using phraseologies and not of referring to a specific monument of historical writing”.<sup>14</sup> The extensive description of the Battle of Yaroslav was followed by an account of Danilo’s journey to the Orda, during which he was accompanied by Kirill, to obtain a *yarliq* for his lands. The fact that Vasilko did not go indirectly indicates that the younger Romanovichi was a dependent prince, so his presence in the Ulus was not necessary. However, this did not prevent the editor from beginning the story by stating that the envoy came to see both Danilo and Vasilko.<sup>15</sup> The rest of the account is presented from Danilo’s perspective. We learn about the prince’s march and his negotiations with Batu Khan. This is followed by Roman Mstislavich’s recollection.<sup>16</sup> In a natural way, in order to make the reader aware of the danger in which the elder Romanovich had found himself and how God had favoured him, the chronicler quotes a story – very different from the interjection of the above-discussed later editor<sup>17</sup> – about Mikhail Vsevolodovich’s death while at the Orda, which took place a few months later.<sup>18</sup> The entirety was closed off with information of Danilo’s return to Halych<sup>19</sup> in 1246.<sup>20</sup> I believe that this is one of the few accounts from *Danilo’s Chronicle* concerning the period after 1237 that was not significantly altered later in time, during the work done on the text by the chronicler of Vladimir Vasilkovich.

11 “срасится с полкѡм[ъ] Даниловым[ъ], оускорив[ъ] съразиса с полком[ъ] Ростиславим[ъ] крѣп[ъ]ко. Копієм[ъ] же изломив[ъ]шимся, яко шт[ъ] грома трѣсновеніе быс[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 278–279.

12 “И польцѣ Русьстѣи и зразишася первое с полкомъ . и трѣсну аки громъ сразившима челома и брань бы(с)[ъ] люта межи ими и падаху ѡбои” – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 267.

13 Petr Tolochko indicates *Ipat'evskaia letopis'*, 437, as the source from which the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* drew inspiration. However, aside from the mention of the broken lance it is difficult to find an analogy. See: Tolochko P. 2009, 202–205.

14 *Chronica* 2017, 279 with n. 751.

15 *Chronica* 2017, 287.

16 *Chronica* 2017, 287–294.

17 See p. 92.

18 *Chronica* 2017, 294; Hrushevsky 1901, 31.

19 *Chronica* 2017, 294–295.

20 Hrushevsky 1901, 33.

It is impossible to determine whether the events written down after Danilo's return are an insertion by a later editor or whether they belonged to the original source text: "That winter Konrad sent for Vasilko, he said, 'We will go to the Yotvingians'. As the snows had fallen and were frozen over, they could not advance [and] turned back at the Nur river".<sup>21</sup> These events are chronologically parallel to the description of the elder Romanovich's expedition to the Orda – in the winter of 1245/1246.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the sentence "and news of his [Danilo's] return from the Tartars [and] that God had delivered him [back safely] was known in all the lands"<sup>23</sup> indicates that the chronicler wanted to return to the chronological framework. This shows that either the information was added later as an interjection (by Vladimir Vasilkovich's chronicler) or that the author of *Danilo's Chronicle* used the same narrative and chronological strategy as the late 13th-century bookman; however, this would be the only such case. Thus, I am more inclined to support the first solution.

After information about Danilo's safe return from the Orda is provided once again, a sequence of chronologically continuous events follows, in which we can see elements indicating the rewriting of *Danilo's Chronicle*.<sup>24</sup> These are: 1) the year 1246<sup>25</sup> – Bela IV's proposal of a peace treaty with Danilo by giving his daughter Constantine's hand in marriage to Leo Danilovich;<sup>26</sup> 2) 1246–1247<sup>27</sup> – Kirill's journey to Nice in order to obtain consent for him assuming the function of Kievan metropolitan bishop and for him to bring about peace between Bela IV and Danilo, and the marriage of the king's daughter to the prince's son.<sup>28</sup> This is followed by an extensive Mazovian motif, maintained in chronological order: 1) on August 31, 1247,<sup>29</sup> the death of Konrad of Mazovia;<sup>30</sup> 2) on December 5, 1247,<sup>31</sup> the death of Bolesław I, son of Konrad of Mazovia,

21 "Тое ж[е] зимы Кондрат[ъ] присла посолъ по Васил[ъ]ка реч[е]: 'Пойдем[ъ] на АТВАЗѣ!' Пад[ъ]шю снѣгоу и сереноу, не могоша ити, въротишас[а] на Ноурѣ" – *Chronica* 2017, 295–296.

22 Hrushevsky 1901, 33.

23 "Быс[тъ] же вѣдомо странам[ъ] прихѡд[ъ] его всѣм[ъ] с татаръ, яко Б[ог]ъ сп[а]слъ его" – *Chronica* 2017, 296.

24 E.g., the inclusion of Vasilko in the narrative in paragraphs indicating that the decision rests with Roman Mstislavich's elder son – e.g.: dynastic politics and the marriage of his son Leo.

25 Hrushevsky 1901, 33.

26 *Chronica* 2017, 296–297.

27 Hrushevsky 1901, 33.

28 *Chronica* 2017, 297–299.

29 See: Jasiński 2001, 33.

30 *Kronika* 2017, 180; *Chronica* 2017, 299.

31 Grabowski 2012, 433–434.

and the marriage of Anastasia Alexandrovna<sup>32</sup> to the Hungarian boyazhyn Dmitry;<sup>33</sup> 3) the joint expedition of Siemowit I and the Romanovichi against the Yotvingians,<sup>34</sup> which probably took place in the winter of 1248/1249.<sup>35</sup> The expedition was represented in detail, with references to Rus'ian proverbs<sup>36</sup> and the Bible.<sup>37</sup> What is striking about the description is that the narrative began by relating that the Romanovichi had proposed to Siemowit I a joint expedition, while the warfare and the end of the account are presented from Danilo's perspective.

The next section of the source text does not raise any doubts about the perspective of the presented events, for it is clearly Danilo's. However, an issue arises in relation to the dating of the events.<sup>38</sup> The passage refers to Danilo's arrival in Hungary at the request of Bela IV.<sup>39</sup> The king had supposedly asked the Halych ruler for aid in his efforts to obtain the Babenberg inheritance.<sup>40</sup> Thus begins a new factual thread. This section of the source, like the earlier Mazovian thread, was introduced with the words: "В та ж[е] лѣта" / "In those years/summers".<sup>41</sup> The publishers of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* commented on this phrase as follows:

This is another elaborate narrative in a row beginning with a vague chronological statement ("in those years/summers"). In our opinion, this is evidence of it having been written from a certain temporal perspective, which blurred a detailed memory of the chronological connections between the events taking place, and – on the other hand – it was an

32 Dąbrowski 2008, 394–399.

33 *Chronica* 2017, 299–300.

34 *Chronica* 2017, 300–310.

35 Hrushevsky 1901, 33–34. For an overview of the literature on the dating, see: Dąbrowski 2012a, 295–296 with n. 774. On the issue of the dating, I lean towards the opinion of Mikhailo Hrushevsky.

36 See: Gens'ors'kiĭ 1961, 176–178; *Kronika* 2017, 181–182 with n. 931, 936, 943; *Chronica* 2017, 307, 309 with n. 805, 818.

37 See: Ps 27(26), 14; 31(30), 25; 107(106); Isa 5, 28; Ezek 39, 3; 39, 9; Sreznevskii 2003, 140–141; *Chronica* 2017, 307–309 with n. 806, 813, 817.

38 For a discussion of the relevant literature, see Dąbrowski 2007, 56–59 (the author dates the events to the summer of 1247); Martyniuk 2015, 149–160 (who dates the events to 1252). See: Hrushevsky 1901, 35.

39 The passage contains an extensive description of Danilo entering Bratislava, which in Orlov's opinion was modeled on Book XVII of Malalas' *Chronicle* and *Alexander's Romance*. Orlov 1926, 105–106. See: *Chronica* 2017, 315 with n. 831.

40 *Chronica* 2017, 311–315.

41 *Chronica* 2017, 311.

expression of the need to write the series of events occurring more or less simultaneously in a certain order.<sup>42</sup>

Let us begin our commentary to this paragraph from its ending. The chronicler had extensive enough knowledge of events after 1245 that he had to change the narrative strategy. He began to organize events occurring simultaneously into parallel stories (a method more widely used by the bookman in the section up to 1227), ones arranged according to a factual key. This is an important hint when working on the chronology of the chronicle's creation. The aforementioned arrangement of content may indicate that it was written from a certain temporal perspective, but in my opinion, no longer than 10–15 years. This is evidenced by the detail of the descriptions indicating that the author of *Danilo's Chronicle* used eyewitness accounts, perhaps even those of the prince himself. But let us return to the passage itself. It contains two important pieces of information necessary for establishing the *post quem* and *ante quem* dates of the events described: "For the emperor was already in possession of Vienna, Rakushskaia land, and Styria land, for the Herzog had already been killed".<sup>43</sup> Therefore, the events must have taken place between the death of Frederick II the Quarrelsome (June 15, 1246) and that of Frederick II Hohenstaufen (December 13, 1250), who is mentioned as still alive. Another clue, this time concerning the time of year, is provided by the fragment stating that "great was the tiring heat of that day",<sup>44</sup> which would indicate summer. Furthermore, the factual arrangement of the motifs is useful for dating. The Hungarian (or rather Hungarian-Babenberg) theme, interrupted earlier, ends with Danilo meeting with Bela IV, probably in 1247. At that time, the Rus'ian ruler handed the Hungarian nobles captured at Yaroslav over to the king, made peace, and reached an agreement on Leo's marriage to Constance.<sup>45</sup> This would mean that the *post quem* date can be moved to the summer of 1247. This is also confirmed by the date of the capture of Vienna by Frederick II Hohenstaufen – before May 24, 1247.<sup>46</sup> After the Hungarian-Babenberg theme, the chronicler returns to the Lithuanian-Yotvingian motif, which probably covers the period from the end of the previous account of the joint expedition by the Lyakhs and Rus'ians to Yotvingia, i.e., from about 1249 to 1252, when

42 *Chronica* 2017, 311 with n. 821.

43 "Бѣ бѣ ц[а]рѣ обдержал[ъ] один[ъ] землю ракоуш[ъ]скоу и штир[ъ]скѣ герцоукъ бѣ оуже оубиенъ быс[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 311–312.

44 "Зной бѣ великѣ д[ъ]не того" – *Chronica* 2017, 314.

45 See pp. 99–100.

46 Mika 2008, 22.

the peace treaty between Mindaugas and the Romanovichi was concluded.<sup>47</sup> The following elements form this motif: 1) 1249–1250<sup>48</sup> (account written from the perspective of the Romanovichi) – the conflict between Mindaugas and Tautvilas allied with Edivydas, into which the Romanovichi were drawn on the side of the latter two; as part of the description, we learn of the negotiations with the monastic knights and other princes, and of Danilo and Vasilko's war expedition;<sup>49</sup> 2) 1251<sup>50</sup> (account described from the perspective of Danilo Romanovich) – Mindaugas' baptism at the hands of the pope; Mindaugas' war against Vykintas;<sup>51</sup> 3) the winter of 1251/1252<sup>52</sup> (account described from the perspective of the Romanovichi) – the expedition to Novogrudok and the plunder of the Novogrudok region;<sup>53</sup> 4) 1252<sup>54</sup> (account described from the perspective of Danilo Romanovich) – Grodno occupied by the army of the prince of Halych;<sup>55</sup> attempted peace talks between Mindaugas and Danilo.<sup>56</sup> A narrative conducted from two perspectives shines through in this voluminous tale, indicating editorial intervention in *Danilo's Chronicle*. Once again, the meticulous account indicates that the chronicler likely gathered information from those involved in these events.

The bookman comments on his strategy for this section of the chronicle immediately after the above-discussed events:

In these years, [when] time passes, it is the chronographer's duty to write about everything and anything that has occurred. Sometimes running forward [in time], sometimes going backwards. The wise reader will understand. We have not written down the yearly dates here, but will add them later, following the Antiochian method, [according to] the Olympiads – the Greek system of counting, [according to] the Roman leap years, as

47 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 35.

48 Hrushevsky 1901, 35.

49 *Chronica* 2017, 315–321.

50 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 35.

51 *Chronica* 2017, 321–326.

52 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 35; Latkowski 1892, 47–48; Zajaczkowski 1925, 61–62; Paszkiewicz 1933, 67; Dąbrowski 2012a, 301.

53 *Chronica* 2017, 326–329.

54 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 35.

55 The paragraph begins with the account: “Потѣм[ъ] же посла съ братѣм[ъ] и с[ы]нѣм[ъ] Романѣм[ъ] люди своѣ, и вѣста Городен[ъ]...” – *Chronica* 2017, 329. The subject of this sentence is implicit, but it is clearly Danilo.

56 *Chronica* 2017, 329–330.

Eusebius Pamphilius and other chronographers did, [recording events] from [the times of] Adam to Christ; we will write down all the years after we have calculated them.<sup>57</sup>

This account shows that the author did not regard the chronicle as a completed work since he had not yet included the dating. Why did he decide to locate such remarks at precisely this point in the text? In my opinion, this was because the next thread combines several themes: the Babenberg-Hungarian motif, the Polish motif, and the Yotvingian-Lithuanian motif. The author wanted to explain his reasons for departing from the chronological arrangement of the text.

With the Lithuanian thread complete, the chronicler moved on again to the Hungarian-Babenberg thread, using the aforementioned strategy of repeating the already discussed events in a summarized form:

After the killing of the herzog called Frederick, [who] fought and defeated the Hungarian king, but was killed by his boyars in battle, dissension set in amongst the powerful men over the title [and] domain of the slain herzog, over the lands of Rakushskaia and Styria. And the king of Hungary, rex [sic!<sup>58</sup>], and the king of Bohemia fought over it.<sup>59</sup>

This passage is followed by an account written from Danilo Romanovich's perspective, including: 1) the year 1252<sup>60</sup> – the marriage of Roman Danilovich

57 “В та ж[е] лѣта, времени минову[ѣ]шю, хронографу же нужа ес[ѣ]ти писати все и вса быв[ѣ]шаа, овогда ж[е] писати въ преднаа, овогда ж[е] въстѣпати въ заднааа, чтый мѣдрый разумѣт[ѣ]. Числѣ ж[е] лѣтом[ѣ] зде не писахм[ѣ] в заднааа впишем[ѣ], по антиохійским[ѣ] съборам[ѣ], алѣмпіадам[ѣ], грец[ѣ]кими ж[е] числьницами, рим[ѣ]скы же высикустом[ѣ], яко ж[е] Евъсевіи, и Памфилово, и иніи хронографи списаша, ѡт[ѣ] Адама до Хр[и]стоса. Вса ж[е] лѣта спишем[ѣ], росчет[ѣ]ше, в зад[ѣ]наа” – *Chronica* 2017, 330–331.

58 In the original text we have “Королеви ж[е] оугор[ѣ]скоу риѣоу и королеви”. The word “риѣоу” is a Latin transliteration of rex (king). To preserve the character of original text I translated the word ‘korol’ (король) as king and leave the Latin word rex.

59 “А о оубіеніи герциковѣ, рекомаго Фридриха: бивса, одолѣвъ королеви оугор[ѣ]скомоу и оубіен[ѣ] быс[ѣ]тѣ ѡт[ѣ] своих[ѣ] боарѣ въ брани. Матежю же быв[ѣ]шю межю сильными люд[ѣ]ми о ч[ѣ]стѣ, ѡ волость герцикову оубіенат[ѣ] о, о землю ракоуш[ѣ]скоу и о землю штир[ѣ]скоу Королеви ж[е] оугор[ѣ]скоу риѣоу и королеви ческою бѣюущимаса ѡ ню” – *Chronica* 2017, 331–332.

60 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 36; Meier 1927, 5–38. D. Dąbrowski considers the marriage to have taken place at the turn of 1251/1252. See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 323.

to Gertrude, niece of Frederick II the Quarrelsome;<sup>61</sup> 2) 1253<sup>62</sup> – Danilo Romanovich's expedition to Moravia together with his son Leo, Vladislaus I – the prince of Opole-Racibórz, Bolesław V the Chaste, Tautvilas, and Edivydas.<sup>63</sup> The description of the expedition includes: reminiscences of Sviatoslav and Vladimir the Great<sup>64</sup> (which might be evidence of using *The Tale of Bygone Years*), a meeting of the Polish-Rus'ian-Lithuanian coalition in Koźle,<sup>65</sup> the battles near Opava,<sup>66</sup> a description of Danilo's eye disease,<sup>67</sup> the capture of the Nasiedle stronghold,<sup>68</sup> and the siege of Głubczyce;<sup>69</sup> 3) the year 1253 – Danilo and Bolesław V the Chaste's return from the expedition via Cracow and a meeting there with Pope Innocent IV's envoys, who urged Danilo to accept the royal crown, and finally the return of the elder Romanovichi to Chełm.<sup>70</sup> In a sense, the description of the circumstances of Danilo's acceptance of the royal crown from Pope Innocent IV's legate, Opizo of Mezzano, is an extension of this narrative.<sup>71</sup> The account was written from the perspective of the elder Romanovichi. The coronation was to take place in Drohiczyn.<sup>72</sup> The choice was of practical importance, since the town also became a rallying point for the Polish-Rus'ian coalition that was about to march into Lithuania. The coronation also brought together two other plotlines: the Lithuanian-Yotvingian and the Polish. Earlier in the text, the theme of the Romanovichi's northern neighbour had ended in 1252, while the western one was a continuation of the Opava expedition. After the ceremonies, presented from King Danilo's perspective, the victorious campaign against the Stekint that took place in late 1253 and early 1254 was described.<sup>73</sup>

As already mentioned, not all of the motifs are continuous. These include, for example, the Mongol theme, which appears after the Lithuanian expedition.

61 *Chronica* 2017, 332–333.

62 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 37–38. D. Dąbrowski (2012a, 344–345) specifies that this refers to June 1253.

63 *Chronica* 2017, 333–346. On the expedition, including the relevant literature, see: Hosak 1960, 279–284; Komendova 2014, 185–192.

64 *Chronica* 2017, 335.

65 *Chronica* 2017, 336.

66 *Chronica* 2017, 336–341.

67 *Chronica* 2017, 341–343.

68 *Chronica* 2017, 343–345.

69 *Chronica* 2017, 345–346.

70 *Chronica* 2017, 346–349.

71 *Chronica* 2017, 349–351.

72 For more on the topic, see: Poppe 2003, 43–47; Jusupović 2008, 159–170; Dąbrowski 2021a, 349–366.

73 *Chronica* 2017, 351–355. See: Hrushevsky 1901, 37.

This motif was taken up in Rus'ian chronicles only with some reluctance.<sup>74</sup> Similarly, in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynian*, it appears only in the case of significant events. As a result, the chronology of the Mongol theme is preserved, but with significant time gaps.<sup>75</sup> Thus, six years (1246–1252) pass from Danilo's expedition to Batu Khan's court to the next Orda thread.<sup>76</sup> The chronicler resolved this situation as follows:

74 J.Ch. Halperin wrote that:

Russian writing from the Mongol period clearly show a rejection of the fact of conquest [by the Tartars]". He bases his assessment of the situation on the vocabulary used in Rus' chronicles, remarking that only a comprehensive analysis of all narrative texts from the Mongol period of Rus'ian history could present all the texture and nuances of the Rus'ian perception of the Rus'-Mongol relations (Halperin 1987, 64).

However, despite this confident declaration, his analysis remains selective. It concentrates on the words used, only sometimes conducting an analysis of the source texts. J. Ch. Halperin concludes that when:

the Rus'ian chronicles record that the Mongols captured a city or principality, the verbs they usually use are 'vziali' and 'plenili'. The former is clearly a generic term meaning 'to take' in the military sense but nothing more. It does not connote that a city that was captured was held afterwards. Consequently, this verb is ambiguous, and just what it describes must be determined on a case-by-case basis. 'Pleniti' is far more complex. It invariably translates as to 'conquer', but Sreznevskii (more recently we have also another medieval dictionary of Old Rus'ian, e.g., Dictionary of Old Rus'ian 1988–2019, Dictionary Rus'ian 1975–2015), our only medieval dictionary of the Old Rus'ian language, actually gives a variety of meanings. The root '*plen*' means either 'capture' or 'captive'. Thus, '*plenniki*' are the prisoners of war. The city which had been 'captured', like the one that had been 'taken', could still either be held or abandoned. For the latter, a better translation of '*plenili*' would be 'they plundered'. Rus'ian chroniclers also left out any explanations in the narrative of subsequent Mongol administration – for instance, why must the Rus' princes travel to Sarai or to Karakorum to obtain *yarliqs* (Mongol patents) to confirm their own rule? In fact, we may say that the verbs Rus'ians used to describe the Mongol conquest contain no hint of a change of overlordship. (Halperin 1987, 64)

If we look closer, J. Ch. Halperin's hypothesis is not obvious. I agree with Charles Halperin that in Rus'ian chronicles we find words like 'прїдоша', 'вѣзати (вѣзѣмоу)', and 'плєньше копїем'. The first term means 'to attack, show up, set in (during an episode), spread', the second means 'to come up with, take something by storm, take over', the third means to 'to plunder with a lance', but with the meaning of taking prisoners-of-war, livestock, simple movable goods. The first and third of these terms cannot be used as a foundation based on which one could establish whether the Rus' principalities changed their overlordship. The second term can be understood in two ways: either the Rus'ians changed their overlordship or the Mongol impact was incidental on their rule. In the oldest chronicles (e.g., *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*), we find some scraps of the authentic accounts of the situation in Rus'. See: Rudakov 2014.

75 This principle also applies to plotlines abandoned for a longer time; however, it is most easily observable in the case of the Mongol theme.

76 Hrushevsky 1901, 37; Dąbrowski 2012a, 372–376; Vořtovich 2011, 272–273.



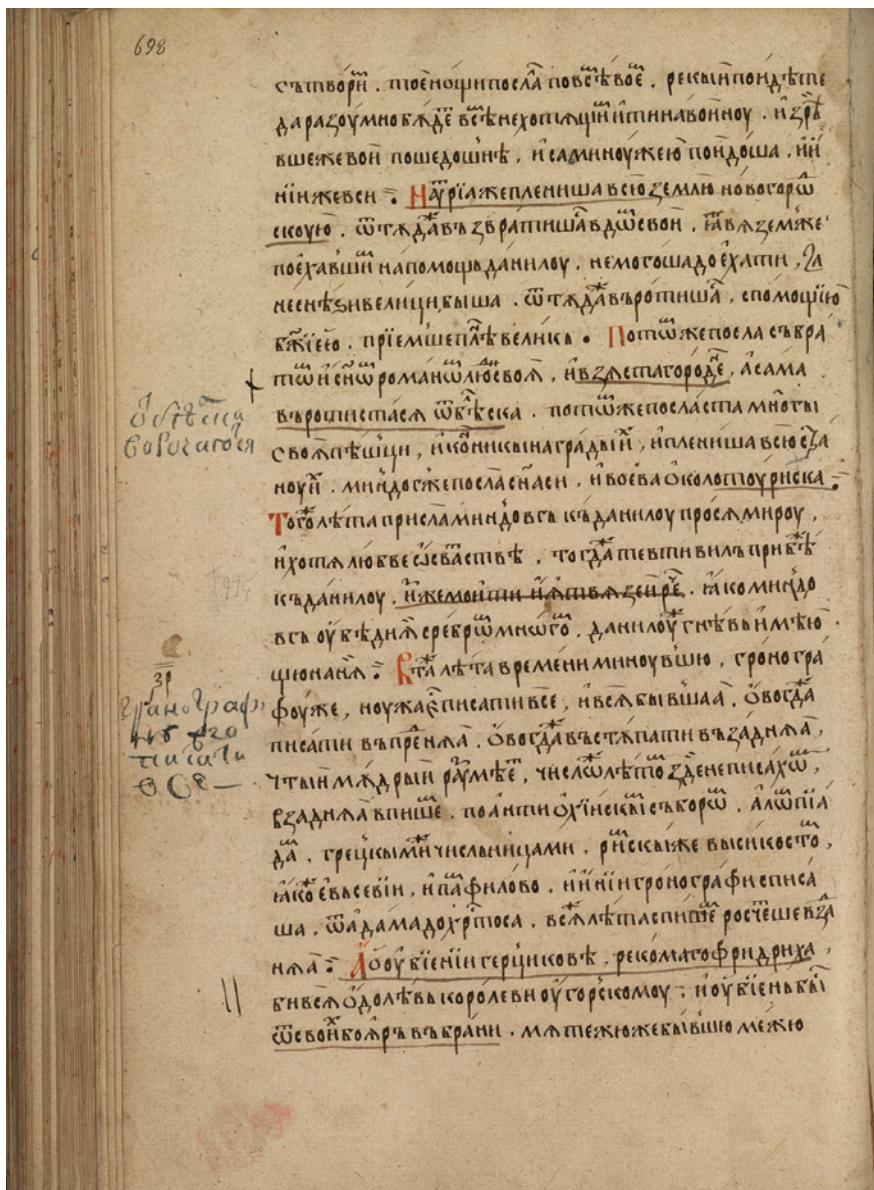
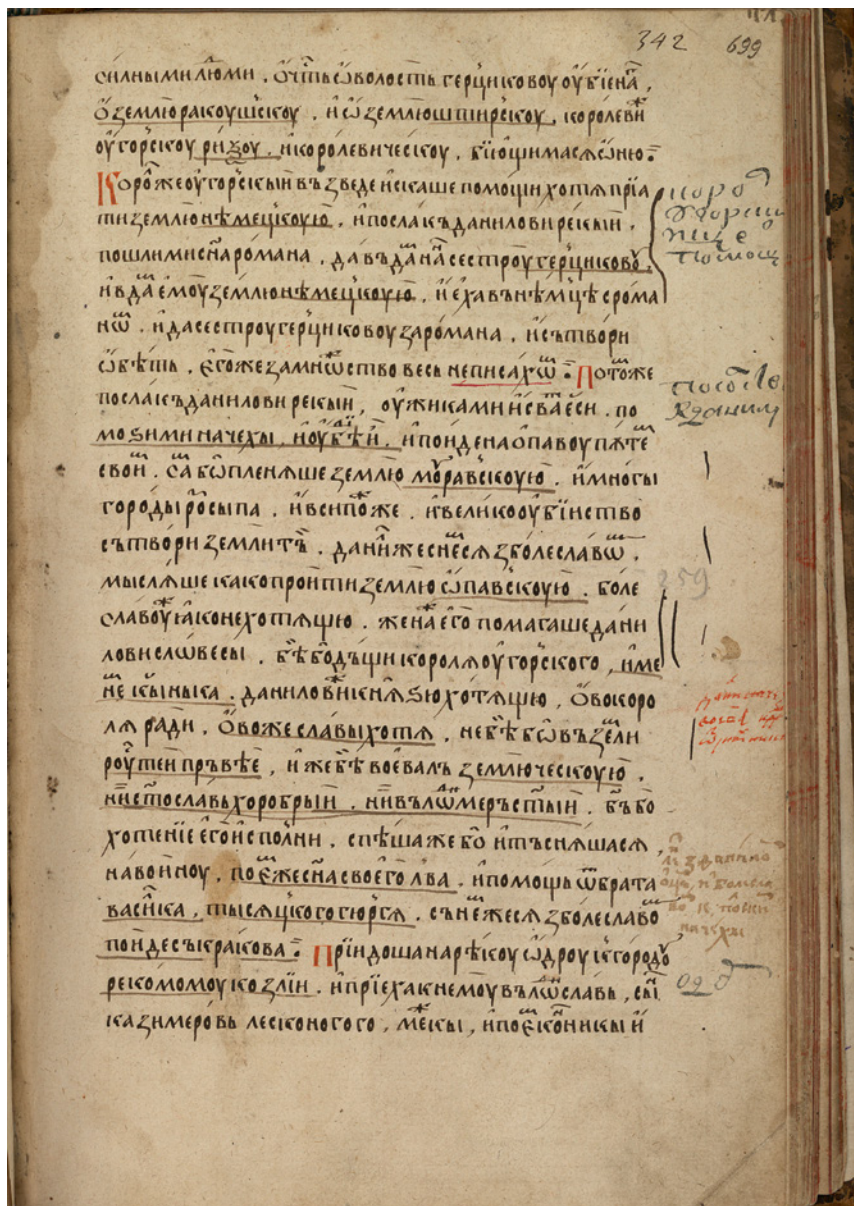


FIGURE 4 Page from the Khlebnikov manuscript (NLR, ref. F.IV.230: *Khlebnikovskii spisok*, k. 341v-342)



In those years, [perhaps somewhat] earlier or later, the Tartars came to Bakota, and Miley joined them. After Danilo had gone to war in Lithuania, to Novogrudok, there was a thaw, and he sent his son Leo to Bakota. Leo sent a courtier ahead of him. When they arrived, they captured Miley, the basqaq. And Leo brought Miley back to his father. And Bakota once again belonged to the king, his father. And he conferred with his son, and set him free, and his guarantor was Leo, who said that he [Miley] would be loyal. And when the Tartars came again, he committed treason, and delivered Bakota again unto the Tartars.<sup>77</sup>

At this point, the chronicler made use of the chronological layout (events occurring one after the other) of the Lithuanian story thread, especially the 1252 expedition to Novogrudok,<sup>78</sup> to highlight the moment from which the Mongolian motif would be resumed. The previous Mongolian thread had ended with events in 1246, as a result of which the chronicler could not pick it up here, as this would suggest that what was being described referred to 1247. The new story thread had to first be located on the timeline. Such an approach enables maintaining a consistent factual arrangement of the thematic threads, and – in the case of the lack of a chronological layout, typical for the *letopis'* – allows both the bookman and the potential reader to grasp the chronology of the events. The text itself is also very interesting because Miley – Danilo's subject,<sup>79</sup> but also a Tartar one (as a basqaq)<sup>80</sup> – is accused of treason. The Mongol theme

77 “В та ж[е] лѣта – или преже, или потом[ъ] – прїехавше татаре къ Бакотѣ, и приложиса Милей к ним[ъ]. Данилови ж[е] пошед[ъ]шю на воиноу на литвою на Новъгородок[ъ] быв[ъ]шю роскалю, посла с[ъ]на си Л[ъ]ва на Бакотоу. Пославъ Левъ двор[ъ]ского пред[ъ] собою. Изъехав[ъ]ше, яша Милѣа и баскака и приведе Левъ Милѣа вт[ъ]цоу си, и быс[ъ]тъ паки Бакота королева, в[ъ]тъца его. Потом[ъ] же здоумавъ съ с[ъ]нѣм[ъ] си и вт[ъ]поусти, а пороучникъ быс[ъ]тъ Левъ, яко вѣр[ъ]ноу емоу быти. И паки прїехавшим[ъ] татаром[ъ], и сѣтвори лѣсть, и предасть ю паки татаром[ъ], Бакотоу” – *Chronica* 2017, 355–357.

78 See p. 116.

79 On the subject of recruitment of clerical staff by the Tartars from among the elites of the conquered land, see Jusupović 2012b, 81–86.

80 In the Golden Horde, there were two terms describing officials who represented the Khan in the conquered territories: ‘daruga’ (a term of Mongolian origin) and ‘basqaq’ (a Turkic term). Both prefixes (*bas-* and *daru-*) are formed from the same verb meaning ‘to press’ (see Vásáry 1978b, 203; 1978a, 187–8). The office of *ta-lu-hua-ch’ih* is a Chinese transcription of the Mongolian word *daruyazi*. This office was created by the Mongols with the express purpose of controlling conquered territories. The office evolved from a military-conquest institution into a civilian bureaucratic institution (see Endicott-West 1988, 6, 18). István Vásáry believes that basqaqs existed as a bureaucratic office already in the 11th century in the Khanate of the Qara Khitai (which had formerly belonged to the Qarakhanids).

is continued in the next section, discussing 1253–1254 (maintaining chronology within the threads), in which the Temnik Kuremsa arrived in Krzemieniec. The continuation of these events shows the agreement reached between Iziaslav Vladimirovich, son of Vladimir Igorevich, and the Tartars to capture Halych. The plan was successful, but the town was soon retaken by Roman.<sup>81</sup> During the battle for Halych, an important motif was recalled: “He [Iziaslav], unable to flee anywhere, ran up to the church galleries, where the heathen Hungarians had [once] fled”.<sup>82</sup> This is an obvious reference to Coloman, who in 1221 had done the same. The passage was written from Danilo’s perspective and one cannot observe any traces of later modifications. The reference itself was woven into the description of events very casually. To my mind, this is also indirect evidence that *Danilo’s Chronicle* in its entirety was written after 1245 – probably in the 1260s, which excludes Kirill, later metropolitan bishop, from being one of its authors. Contrary to the majority of researchers, I believe

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These basqaqs were the representatives of the sovereign, acting as a sort of ‘supervisor’, in charge of tax control (Vásáry 1978b, 204–5).

During the great western campaign between 1219–25, the Mongols came into contact with more civilized [sic] territories, especially in Transoxiana for the first time in their history. Here they have probably taken over the Turkic institution of basqaqs and created a loan, [a term] which translated into Mongolian was ‘daruga’. This became the general Mongol term for governors in the subjugated lands, as later in Yüan-China. The existence of these administrative chiefs or governors became an urgent need only when the Mongol Empire extended beyond its “natural” boundaries (the nomadic primordial habitat of the Mongolian plateau), and, through conquest, foreign civilized territories and towns had to be attached to the Empire and organized” (Vásáry 1978b, 205. See also Vásáry 1978a, 187–8).

This office was fully integrated into the regular bureaucracy of nations conquered by the Mongols. Nevertheless, it has for a long time been disputed in critical literature when precisely the basqaqs’ system was introduced in Rus’. We know the duties of the daruga (basqaq) in the Ulus of Jochi were established in 1243 (Endicott-West 1988, 18). Thus, the basqaqs most likely also represented the Khan’s authority in the Rus’ principalities. From the *Novgorod First Chronicle* we know that in Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma, there was a great basqaq called Amgaran (*Novgorodskaiia pervaiia letopis’* 2000, 88, 319). From other chronicles, we know about, e.g., a basqaq called Ahmat (*Simeonovskaia letopis’* 2007, 79), Kutlubug (*Lavrent’evskaia letopis’* 2001, 528). According to the Franciscan friar John of Plano Carpini (1182? – 1st August 1252), who describes his journey to the Tartars, the system existed on Rus’ territory in 1245. We also have two references to basqaqs in Carpini’s text: in the first, he is called a praefectus (we cannot associate him with an official from Rus’ territory) and the second one describes, in general, the functioning of the basqaqs’ system in the Mongol Empire (without indicating a particular land (Giovanni di Plano Carpini 1996, 80–81). For the salient literature and discussion see: Jusupović 2021, 235–248.

81 *Chronica* 2017, 357–361.

82 “Оному ж[е] не възмог[ъ]шно коуда оутечи, възбѣже на комары ц[ъ]рковныя, идеже безакон[ъ]ные оутре възбѣгли бяхъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 360.

that the location of the more elaborate and detailed stories in the source text is testimony to the fact that the author drew much more on his own (or his informant's) recollections than on the Romanovichi chancellery, and also on the information preserved in other chronicles, which the bookman had probably learned during his "studies" and memorized, like he had the Holy Scriptures. As a result, any recipient of the source text should be very careful, because it is very easy to make a mistake and weave in the conveyed information in the wrong place, as we can see, for example, in the description of the capture of Drohiczyn by the Templars.<sup>83</sup> Let us continue with the further analysis of the chronicle. There is a return to the Yotvingian-Lithuanian plotline, interrupted in 1254. The opening phrase of the narrative – "then" – refers either to that same year, or (more likely) to 1255.<sup>84</sup> At that time, Vaišvilkas had come to see Danilo to arrange a marriage between Shvarno and Mindaugas' daughter, giving part of his property to Roman, after which he went through the ritual hair-cutting initiation ceremony to be accepted into a monastic order and readied himself to embark to Mount Athos.<sup>85</sup> After this information, we can read the following:

Then Danilo moved against the Yotvingians with his brother, his son Leo, and Shvarno, who was still young. And he sent for Roman to Novogrudok, and Roman came to him with all the people of Novogrudok, with his father-in-law Gleb, and with Iziaslav of Svislach, and from the other side came Siemowit with the Mazovian people and reinforcements from Bolesław [v the Chaste] and the people of Sandomierz and Cracow.<sup>86</sup>

As we can see, the chronicler uses the word "then". It is clear that this refers to events that occurred after Vaišvilkas had left for Athos. It seems logical that the expedition took place in 1255 or 1256, according to the chronological scheme adopted by the chronicle's author.<sup>87</sup> The campaign ended in victory and with

83 See pp. 82–88.

84 D. Dąbrowski (2012a, 384) dates Vaišvilkas' visit to Danilo Romanovich as having occurred at the turn of 1254 and 1255.

85 *Chronica* 2017, 361–362.

86 "Потѣм[ъ] Данило поиде на ятѣвѣ съ братѣм[ъ], и с[ы]нѣм[ъ] Л[ъ]вѣм[ъ], и съ Шеварном[ъ], младѣу сѣщѣ емоу, и посла по Романа въ Новѣгородѣкъ. И прїиде к нему Роман[ъ] съ всѣми новогорѣд[ъ]ци, съ цѣм[ъ] своим[ъ] Глѣбѣм[ъ] и со Изаславѣм[ъ] съ Вислѣчским[ъ], и зѣ сѣе стороны прїиде Сомовит[ъ] з Мазѣв[ъ] шаны и помѣч[ъ] шт[ъ] Болеслава съ сѣдомирьци и краковланы" – *Chronica* 2017, 362–363.

87 H. Paszkiewicz (1935, 215–216) dated this event to 1255/1256, as did B. Włodarski (1956 [1958], 44–46), G. Białuński (1999, 102) and D. Dąbrowski (2012a, 377–378, 389–394). The following researchers date it to 1254/1255: Hrushevsky 1901, 39; Nagirnyj 2011, 280–281.



the Yotvingians being obligated to pay Danilo tribute.<sup>88</sup> The end of the account of the campaign is very interesting in terms of the references used:

After the great prince Roman, not a single Rus'ian prince had waged war against them, except his son Danilo. Therefore, this tribute was given to him by God, and [Danilo] made the Lyakh land witness [thereof, as] he wanted his children to remember that he had shown his God-given valour. And as the wise chronographer had written, behold, great deeds are glorified throughout the ages.<sup>89</sup>

The passage reveals the intentions of the chronicle's author, who wrote it in order to give testimony to posterity. At the same time, the bookman in mentioning Roman Mstislavich referred to *The Kievan Chronicle*, where we can read the following: "That winter, Roman Mstislavich went to the Yotvingians to take revenge because they had warred on his domain. And so Roman invaded their land. And they could not stand up to his strength ..." <sup>90</sup> Moreover, the passage written by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is probably a paraphrase of Chronicle v by John Malasas,<sup>91</sup> which he had access to through a Rus'ian chronograph containing Byzantine texts.<sup>92</sup>

The subsequent passage is very important in preparing the reader for the return to the Hungarian-Babenberg plotline: "As, behold, we have described many wars, and now we have written of Roman. We [should] have written of it a long time ago, but now here it has been inserted most recently".<sup>93</sup> First of all, this introduction suggests that the concluded Yotvingian motif precedes the Babenberg-Hungarian thread by several years. Let us recall that the motif ended in 1253: with the return from the Moravian expedition, Danilo's coronation and the battles against the Yotvingians. Thus, a certain illogicality is formed. If Roman had married Gertrude of Babenberg, what was he doing in

88 See: *Chronica* 2017, 363–375.

89 "По великом[ъ] бѣ князи Романъ никтож[е] не бѣ воевал[ъ] на нѣ в роуских[ъ] князех[ъ], развѣ с[ы]на его Данила. Б[о] гѣм[ъ] же дан[ъ] наа емоу дан[ъ] послуу шество сътвори лад[ъ]скою землею, сирѣч[ъ] въ памат[ъ] дѣтем[ъ] своим[ъ], яко шт[ъ] Б[о]г[а] мжж[ъ] ство емоу показав[ъ]шу, якоже премѣдрый хронографъ списа, якож[е] добродѣаніа въ вѣкы свататса" – *Chronica* 2017, 375.

90 "Тое же зимы ходи Романъ Мѣстиславичъ . на Атвагы . штомѣщиватса . бахоутъ бо воевали . волость его И тако Романъ вниде в землю ихъ . вни же не могоучи стати противоу силѣ его" – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 702.

91 Orlov 1926, 108–109.

92 Tvorogov 1975, 19–20.

93 "Якож[е] сказахм[ъ] о ратех[ъ] мнѣгых[ъ], и си же написахом[ъ] ѡ Романѣ, древле бѣ бѣ писати си и н[ы]нѣ же зде писано быс[ъ] в послѣднѣа" – *Chronica* 2017, 376.

Novogradok? To explain this, the chronicler returns to 1253.<sup>94</sup> He recalls that Bela IV had made a promise to Roman and then betrayed him and forced him to return to his father.<sup>95</sup> This whole thread was neatly attached to the Yotvingian theme, making the latter fully logical and possible to date.<sup>96</sup> “We reported earlier that Vaišvilkas had given Novogradok to Roman”.<sup>97</sup>

Following this passage, there is a return to the Mongol motif, interrupted in 1254.<sup>98</sup> We may read: “After Kuremsa’s expedition to Krzemieniec, Danilo began a campaign against the Tartars”.<sup>99</sup> In my opinion, organizing the expedition must have taken some time; thus, the resumption of the narrative applies to the period 1255–1256.<sup>100</sup> That year, Danilo’s army took Medzhybizh and fought in the Bolokhiv and Pobozhe region.<sup>101</sup> Following this information, we read the following: “When spring came, he sent his son Shvarno against Gorodek and Siemocz and all the [other] towns”.<sup>102</sup> The information about the beginning of spring would indicate the year 1256.<sup>103</sup> It was then that the king of Rus’ assembled a coalition that included Mindaugas’ Lithuania. The chronicler described in detail the course of the campaign probably aimed at capturing Kiev. We also learn about the dissatisfaction of the Lithuanians, who did not share in the spoils from Vozviakhl, as a result of which they began to loot Rus’ian land. This was met with an immediate response from the army led by Danilo, who defeated Mindaugas’ men.<sup>104</sup> Immediately after the description of these events we read: “Then Kuremsa unexpectedly marched against Danilo and Vasilko”.<sup>105</sup> The wording is unclear. Does it refer to the same year or perhaps to the following one? The matter is complicated by the fact that when describing the events that took place near Lutsk, the chronicler again notes: “Then, [when] Kuremsa

94 See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 378; Dąbrowski 2008, 360–361; Mika 2008, 48–51.

95 *Chronica* 2017, 376–381.

96 Because it explains why Roman participated in the Yotvingian battles, instead of fighting for the Babenberg inheritance.

97 “Се же прежде сказахом[ъ], яко Вышел[ъ]къ бѣ далъ Новѣгородокъ Романови” – *Chronica* 2017, 381.

98 See pp. 106–107.

99 “По рати ж[е] креманиц[ъ]кой Коуремсинъ Данил[ъ] въздвиже рат[ъ] противу татаром[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 381.

100 The narrative is most often resumed a year later.

101 *Chronica* 2017, 382.

102 “Веснѣ ж[е] бывшии, посла с[ы]на своего Шварна на Городокъ, и на Семочъ, и на всѣ города, и вза Городок[ъ], и Семоч[ъ], и вса города” – *Chronica* 2017, 382–383.

103 Here, I am specifying the dating proposed by D. Dąbrowski (2012a, 388–404, and literature therein).

104 *Chronica* 2017, 383–389.

105 “Потѣм[ъ] же Коурем[ъ]са пойде на Данила и Васил[ъ]ка, без вѣсти” – *Chronica* 2017, 389.

was standing near Lutsk, God performed a great miracle”.<sup>106</sup> It would be safest to assume that Kuremsa’s campaign would include the period 1256–1257.<sup>107</sup>

As part of the description of this campaign, we learn that:

Because of its sins, Chełm caught fire due to an accursed woman. And we shall later write about the founding of the city and the adornment of the church, and its great destruction, so that everyone may regret [its loss]. There were such flames that the glow could be seen all across the land, and when looking from Lviv to the fields of Belz, one could see the high flames from the fire. When people saw [this, they thought] that the Tartars had set the city on fire, and they fled to the forests, and that is why they [the Romanovichi] could not assemble [in force].<sup>108</sup>

The chronicler reveals his narrative strategy by alerting the reader that the story of the Chełm uprising would be placed in a separate insertion. He fulfilled this obligation after he had finished his account of the battle against Kuremsa. In order to avoid any misunderstandings or misleading of the reader, he again repeats that he intends to disrupt the chronology by introducing the previously announced fragment: “As we wrote earlier in [the story of] the Kuremsa war about the burning of the city of Chełm. The city of Chełm was built in the following way at the Lord’s command”.<sup>109</sup> This insertion includes a brief history of Chełm from Danilo’s founding of Uhrusk<sup>110</sup> until the 1250s. A discussion

106 “Потом[ъ] же Коурем[ъ]сѣ стоащю оу Лоуцка, сътвори Б[ог]ъ чудо велико” – *Chronica* 2017, 393.

107 *Chronica* 2017, 389–394.

108 “Прилоучи же са сице за грѣхы – загорѣтиса Холмови, шт[ъ] окан[ъ]ное бабы. Си ж[е] потом[ъ] спием[ъ]: ѡ созданіи града, и оукрашеніи ц[ъ]ркве, и оной погибели мношѣ, яко всѣм[ъ] съжалитиси. Сицю ж[е] пламени быв[ъ]шю, якоже съ всеє землѣ зарю видѣти, якож[е] и съ Л[ъ]вова зраци видѣти по полем[ъ] бельз[ъ]ским[ъ], шт[ъ] горен[ъ]а сил[ъ]наго пламене. Людем[ъ] же видащим[ъ], яко шт[ъ] татаръ заж[ъ]жен[ъ] бѣ град[ъ], в[ъ] бѣжаша в мѣста лѣсна, и тѣм[ъ] не могоста събратиса” – *Chronica* 2017, 391–392.

109 “Якож[е] древле писахом[ъ], въ Коурем[ъ]синоу рать, о заж[ъ]женіи города Холма. Холмъ бо горѣд[ъ] сице быс[ъ] създан[ъ] Б[о]жіймъ повеленіемъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 394–395.

110 In the narrative, the chronicler mentions the period when Danilo Romanovich reigned in Vladimir: “If one takes the source literally, and there is no reason not to, the following time periods could formally come into play: early 1215–early Apr. 1230, after Sept. 1231/early 1232–winter 1233/1234, late May 1235–after Mar./summer 1238, as Danilo reigned in Vladimir at those times (Dąbrowski 2012a with n. 467). Undoubtedly, Uhrusk must have been established soon after the recapture of the Zabożhe areas from Leszek the White,



of the circumstances of the founding of the city is followed by a description of the magnificence of its buildings and church furnishings.<sup>111</sup>

After the insertion about the construction of Chełm, the chronicler returns to the Mongol theme: “After [some] time had passed, there came Burundai, godless and evil, with a multitude of Tartar regiments powerful in force. And he replaced Kuremsa”.<sup>112</sup> Once again we encounter a time reference, but in this case the bookman emphasizes that a longer period is involved. The events can be cautiously dated to around 1258–1259<sup>113</sup> (rather 1258), i.e., about a year after the battles against Kuremsa. Burundai demanded that Danilo and Vasilko declare their allegiance to the Khan. Next, the chronicler describes the battles fought jointly by the Romanovichi and Mongol armies in Lithuania and Yotvingia.<sup>114</sup> At this point, the bookman reveals himself. He mentions that Danilo had prayed to the icon of God the Savior, “which is in the city of Mielnik, in the church of Our Blessed Mother of God”.<sup>115</sup> This sentence is followed by an insertion indicating that the passage was written from a certain temporal perspective: “And which is now held in great reverence”.<sup>116</sup> The sentence that ends the story of the battles in Lithuania and Yotvingia is very important: “He [Danilo] sent Leo and Shvarno away, and [also] Vladimir, and said to them, ‘If you are to be with me, [you must] go to their encampments. Unless I also be ...’”.<sup>117</sup> At this point, the sentence unexpectedly stops. In all codices up to the mid-18th century in which *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* has survived (the Ipatiev, Khlebnikov, Pogodin, Bundura/Iarotski, and Ermolaev), the text ends abruptly.<sup>118</sup> This is probably where the page ended in the autograph, while the interrupted thread was continued on a missing piece (or pieces) of paper. This once again reveals the draft-like nature of the source text we are analyzing. The narrative then moves on to focus on Vasilko. Despite the editor’s best efforts, at times the leading role of Roman Mstislavich’s elder son shines through.

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i.e., in 1218 at the earliest. Its construction in the 1220s is likely.” After *Chronica* 2017, 395 with n. 1047.

111 *Chronica* 2017, 395–404.

112 “Времени ж[е] минуув[ъ]шю, и прїиде Боурондай безбожный сльй съ мнѡж[ъ] стѡм[ъ] полковъ татар[ъ]скихъ[ъ] въ силѣ таж[ъ]цѣ, и ста на мѣстѣхъ[ъ] Коурем-синѣхъ[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 404–405.

113 Similarly Dąbrowski 2012a, 407–409.

114 *Chronica* 2017, 405–410.

115 “яже ес[тъ] в городѣ Мѣл[ъ]ници, въ ц[ъ]ркви С[ва]тыа Б[огороди]ца” – *Chronica* 2017, 406.

116 “и н[ы]нѣ стоит[ъ] въ велици ч[ъ]сти” – *Chronica* 2017, 406.

117 “послаша Л[ъ]ва и Шварна вонѣ и Вълѡдимера – реч[е] имь: ‘Аще вы бждете оу мена ездити оу станы к ним[ъ], аще ли азъ бждоу’ ...” – *Chronica* 2017, 410.

118 See: *Chronica* 2017, 410.

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This part of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* clearly stands out from the others in terms of the strategy employed for the 1205–1228 period. The interference of the last editor with the source he used, probably *Danilo's Chronicle*, seems minimal. This may have been due to the fact that he himself found it difficult to control the detailedness of the narrative and therefore chose to maintain, albeit with minor changes, the threads of the narrative and chronological strategy. It is also possible that, for unknown reasons, he did not manage to rewrite *Danilo's Chronicle* according to the pattern we see for the events of 1205–1244 and 1260–1290. The detailedness of the accounts allows us to assume that the manuscript used to compile *The Chronicle of Halych-Volynia* was written in the early 1260s. The chronicler writing in the 1260s probably relied on his own memories and those of his informants from Danilo Romanovich's circles. Aware of the detailed nature of the account, the author decided to include a warning, as it were, perhaps better an instruction, concerning how the work he had prepared should be used.<sup>119</sup> It is this part of the source that best shows that according to the typology proposed by Elisabeth Van Houts we are dealing with a dynastic chronicle<sup>120</sup> – an account focused on presenting the history of one family – the Romanovichs, linked to south-western Rus'.<sup>121</sup> In addition, *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* is not written in the form of a *gesta*, but rather a narratively structured story that sometimes loses its chronological order.<sup>122</sup> We are dealing with a monument of historical writing devoid of an annalistic layout, consisting of various types of stories gathered under various themes: the Mongol motif, the Yotvingian-Lithuanian, the Babenberg-Hungarian, the Lyakh, and others. Another indicator used by Elisabeth Van Houts of a dynastic chronicle is that the narrative begins with a description of an ancestor<sup>123</sup> and encompasses at least 3, 6, or more generations. In the case of the source in question, the starting point of the narrative is Roman Mstislavich and his praise. The memory of Roman as the progenitor of the dynasty is preserved throughout the chronicle. The source itself describes the history of the dynasty from the founder of the family to the fourth generation (1: Roman Mstislavich; 2: Danilo and Vasilko; 3: Vladimir Vasilkovich, Roman, Mstislav, Leo and Shvarno Danilovich; 4: Yuri Lvovich). Other details that form a dynastic chronicle have

119 See: *Chronica* 2017, 330–331.

120 Van Houts 1995, 33–42.

121 Van Houts 1995, 34.

122 Van Houts 1995, 34–35.

123 Van Houts 1995, 35.

also been maintained. We learn the names of those serving the dynasty,<sup>124</sup> the history of the neighbouring countries (Lithuania and Yotvingia, Poland, Hungary, Austria, and various Rus'ian principalities). The members of the family are presented as the founders of monasteries and churches, and as defenders of the faith.<sup>125</sup> In turn, at the time of writing the text, the chronicler had access to information from a period of about 60 years, that is, he obtained it both from eyewitnesses<sup>126</sup> and from the princely archives.<sup>127</sup>

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124 See: Jusupović 2013b.

125 Van Houts 1995, 36.

126 Van Houts 1995, 37, 41.

127 For more on this, see Preface.

## The Chronicler of Vladimir Vasilkovich

Along with the end of the entries for 1259, the chronicler abandoned the plot-based/factual description of events and returned to the narrative strategy used for the 1228–1244 period. The closer we get to the 1280s, the more detailed the account becomes, and the chronicler is more open about his work, revealing the sources he used to create the chronicle. There was also a final change in the writing perspective – from that of Halych to that of Vladimir: the domain of Vasilko and his son became the focal point of the events described. As a result, we can learn quite a bit about the history of the Yotvingians, Lithuania, and, above all, Mazovia, which bordered the Volhynian lands. The chronicler made sure that neither Vasilko Romanovich nor Vladimir Vasilkovich were presented as dependent princes in this part of the source text. The two men appear as equal partners of the remaining Romanovichi. It is only at the moment of Vladimir's death that his moral and learned superiority is emphasized. The process of changing the central figure of the narrative begins with information on the year 1205, but became more pronounced from 1260 onwards.

...

The change in the chronicle's protagonist raises the question of whether the source's editor retained the narrative strategy of *Danilo's Chronicle*. We encounter this problem in the fragment following the unfinished sentence: "And after that two years passed, during which there was quiet in all the land".<sup>1</sup> For the first time in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, there is a precise designation of a period of quiet across the land. The question that remains is how the bookman reckoned time. Was it from 1258, when Burundai first appeared, to the turn of 1259/1260, when the second expedition of the Mongol *temnik* took place? This would mean that the account following this sentence, concerning the wedding of Olga, daughter of Vasilko Romanovich, to Prince Andrew Vsevolodovich of Chernigov, which took place in Volhynian Vladimir,<sup>2</sup> occurred during the period when "there was silence in all the land". This means

1 "Посем[ъ]а же минов[ъ]шима двѣма лѣтома, и быс[тъ] тишина по всей земли" – *Chronica* 2017, 411.

2 See: *Chronica* 2017, 411–412. D. Dąbrowski (2012a, 414) dates this event to 1259. See: Jusupović 2016d, 63.

that there was a modification of the text's chronological strategy. In fact, the wedding itself was a sign that the Romanovichi were looking for new allies to fight the Mongols.<sup>3</sup> It was this activity of Danilo and Vasilko's that led to Burundai once again organizing an expedition into their domain.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the editor introduced changes in the lexis. Foreign borrowings, such as 'piskup/пискуп' / "bishop", disappeared in the chronicle, and in their place appeared typically Rus'ian terms, such as 'władyka/владыка' – this term was used to refer to the bishop of Chełm, Ivan, in the story about Burundai's second expedition.<sup>5</sup>

The account that ensues of Burundai's second expedition shows how deeply the text was rewritten. The khan's *temnik* demanded that Vasilko destroy the *grods* of the Volhynian lands, including Danilov, Stożek, Krzemieniec, Lutsk, and Vladimir.<sup>6</sup> At that time, "because he was frightened, Danilo fled to the Lyakhs, and then from the Lyakhs to Hungary",<sup>7</sup> probably in the aim of acquiring military aid from his allies. The ruler first went to the court of Bolesław v the Chaste, and probably after the Mongols and Rus'ians entered the Cracow prince's district, he went to Hungary.<sup>8</sup> On July 12, 1260, the king of Rus' participated on the side of Bela IV in the Battle of Kressenbrunn (Groissenbrunn), which is confirmed by numerous Hungarian sources.<sup>9</sup> As can be observed, the bookman unceremoniously discredited Danilo. At this point, one might ask whether the description reflects a dispute between two political approaches to the Mongols: Danilo's of armed independence and Vasilko's of conciliatory cooperation with the invaders.

Next, having mentioned the destruction of the fortifications of the city of Vladimir, the chronicle's author extensively describes the failed attempt to destroy the walls of Chełm.<sup>10</sup> In the account of these events we read the following: "This great prince Vasilko, sent as if by God to aid the inhabitants of the city".<sup>11</sup> This clearly shows who is the main protagonist of the narrative from that point onwards. In addition, the bookman refers to Vasilko using the term

3 Jusupović 2016d, 63.

4 *Chronica* 2017, 412–414.

5 *Chronica* 2017, 412–414.

6 *Chronica* 2017, 414–416.

7 "Данило ж[е] оубоавса, побѣже в лахы, а из лаховъ побѣже въ оугры" – *Chronica* 2017, 415.

8 Jusupović 2016d, 64.

9 E.g.: *Annales Melicenses* 1851, 509; *Annales Frisacenses* 1879, 66. For more detailed data, see: Dąbrowski 2012a, 425 with n. 1138.

10 *Chronica* 2017, 416–420.

11 "Си же великий княз[ъ] Васил[ъ]ко акы шт[ъ] Б[ог]а посланъ быс[тъ] на помоч[ъ] горожанш[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 419.

“great prince”.<sup>12</sup> This phrase can designate the title of the ruler or it can be used as an obituary formula,<sup>13</sup> corresponding – simply put – to the Polish phrase “świętej pamięci władca” / or the English “the late great ruler”. If we assume the second solution as correct, which seems appropriate due to it being applied in reference to Danilo in relation to events in 1288,<sup>14</sup> this would mean that the editing of this part of the source text was done after Vasilko’s death, during the reign of his son Vladimir. The fact that the bookman returned to a narrative strategy similar to the one used in the description of the years 1228–1244 supports the second solution. This fact indicates that the above information was added from a certain temporal perspective.

Following the description of destroying the fortifications of the towns and cities of Volhynia, we read:

And after [all] that, Burundai hastened to Lublin, and from Lublin he went to Zawichost, and they came to the Vistula river, and here they found a ford across the Vistula, and went to the other side of the river, and began ravaging the Lyakh lands. Then they came to Sandomierz and encircled it from all sides, surrounding it with their fortifications, and setting up siege machines.<sup>15</sup>

In this account, the bookman uses two expressions of time, i.e., “and after [all] that” and “then”. Both in this case signify a short period of time and refer to the beginning of 1260. From the point of view of the description of the expedition to Sandomierz and Łysiec, this is a continuation of the Mongol plotline;<sup>16</sup> we can even refer to them as thematic threads in the sense of descriptions discussing the period between 1245 and 1258/1259. The story seems to be based on the account of an informant, perhaps a participant in the events, using motifs from Flavius Josephus’ *The Jewish War*.<sup>17</sup> It should be emphasized that in his

12 On the title of great prince, see Poppe 1984, 423–439; Boroń 2010, 81–99.

13 See e.g., *The Tale of Bygone Years* under the entry for the year 6562 (1054): “преставися великий князь Руський Ярославъ” / “the Great Prince of Rus’ Yaroslav has passed away” – Lavrent’evskaia letopis’ 2001, 161.

14 See pp. 23, 162.

15 “посем[ъ] поиде Боурундаиас въборзѣ к Люблиноу, шт[ъ] Люблина ж[е] поиде къ Завихвосту, и прїйдоша к рѣцѣ к Вислѣ, и тоу изнаидоша собѣ брѣд[ъ] оу Вислѣ, и переидоша на оноу сторону рѣкы, и начаша воевати землю лад[ъ]скоую. Потѣм[ъ] же прїйдоша къ Сѣдомироу, и остѣпиша съ всѣх[ъ] стран[ъ], и огорѣдиша около своим[ъ] городѣм[ъ], и пороки поставиша” – *Chronica* 2017, 420–421.

16 See: *Chronica* 2017, 421–428.

17 Such phrasemes as “they dropped [...] like ears of grain [...] walking over the corpses like over a bridge” are borrowings from Flavius Josephus’ *The Jewish War*. See: Orlov 1926, 119;

description of the expedition to Poland the author of the source text does not even once mention Vasilko or the Rus'ian regiments accompanying Burundai. The bookman took care not to tarnish the image of the Vladimiran prince in any way. From the further part of the chronicle's narrative, we know that the campaign contributed to destabilizing the alliances meticulously constructed by Danilo Romanovich, i.e., with the Polish princes and the Hungarians.

Then Lithuania went to war against the Lyakhs [sent] by Mindaugas, accompanied by the lawless and accursed Eustace Konstantynovich, who had fled from Ryazan. Thus, Lithuania captured Jazdów on the eve of St. John's Day. Here they also killed Prince Siemowit, and captured his son Konrad, and after taking much loot, they returned to their own land.<sup>18</sup>

This passage shows how much the narrative strategy changes in comparison to the part referring to the period between 1245 and 1258/1259. From Polish sources<sup>19</sup> we know that Siemowit was killed on June 23, 1262. The date is concurrent with the account from the chronicle. What is even more significant, the phrase “then” / “потомъ” refers to a period of two years in this case.

The continuation of the thread referring to the early summer of 1262<sup>20</sup> is a description of two expeditions of Mindaugas to the vicinity of Kamień, taking place over the course of a week: “That same week, another Lithuanian army ravaged the outskirts of Mielnica”.<sup>21</sup> This wording might indicate that the campaign was recounted by an informant familiar with the events who remembered that both attacks occurred during the same week. The first expedition managed to withdraw without any losses, while the second was crushed at the *grod* of Nebel.<sup>22</sup> Some attention should be drawn to that fact that the

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Meshcherskii 1958, 100; Pautkin 1998, 132; Iosif Flavi 2004, 9. See: *Chronica* 2017, 424 with n. 1097.

18 “Потом[ъ] же идоша литва на лахы воевати шт[ъ] Миндовга и Остафїи Константиновичъ с ними окаанный и проклатый, бѣ бо забѣгъ из Резана. Литва ж[е] изогнаша Ездовъ на каншн[ъ] рож[ъ]ства с[ва]т[о]го Іоанна. Тоу ж[е] и Съмовита кнаса оубиша, а с[ы]на его Кондрата яша, и полона мнѣго поимаша, и тако възвратишас[а] въ своа си” – *Chronica* 2017, 428–429.

19 E.g.: *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej* 1978, 89–90; see: Jasiński 2001, 67.

20 Dąbrowski 2012a, 432–433.

21 “Дроугаа же рат[ъ] воева тое ж[е] нед[е]ли, литов[ъ]скаа ж[е], около Мел[ъ] ници” – *Chronica* 2017, 430.

22 *Chronica* 2017, 229–434.

noblemen listed in the account – e.g., Zhelislav,<sup>23</sup> Stefan Miedusznik,<sup>24</sup> Boris,<sup>25</sup> and Izebolc<sup>26</sup> – served Vasilko Romanovich. This indirectly attests that we are dealing with a bookman writing from the perspective of Volhynia.

The next account, concerning the *saigat* (spoils of war) sent by Vasilko to Danilo, is very important. It is very likely that this is a surviving, slightly edited fragment of *Danilo's Chronicle*. It consists of two passages:

Then [Vasilko] sent the *saigat* to his brother the king along with Boris and Izebolc. At that time [in the summer of 1262 – A.J.],<sup>27</sup> the king [Danilo] had left for Hungary. And Boris caught up with him at Podtylicz [...]. Boris arrived and brought the *saigat* to the king: saddled horses, shields, short spears, helmets. The king then began to inquire after the health of his brother and nephew. And Boris said, 'They are both healthy.' And he told him of all that had passed. And the king was greatly pleased because his brother and nephew were in good health and because their enemies had been destroyed. And he gave Boris some gifts, and sent him back to his brother.<sup>28</sup>

Between these two accounts, which seem to have originally formed a single narrative sequence, the bookman working on the text after the death of the king of Rus' inserted words of praise about Vasilko, which made use of much of the relevant information included in *Danilo's Chronicle* (e.g., about the king's sorrow and distress):

And the king was greatly concerned about his brother and his son-in-law Vladimir, who was still young. One of his servants came in and said: 'My lord, some people have arrived on horseback with shields and short spears, and some pack horses. The king jumped for joy and raised his

23 Jusupović 2013b, 293–298.

24 Jusupović 2013b, 242–243.

25 Jusupović 2013b, 113–114.

26 Jusupović 2013b, 170–171.

27 See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 433–437.

28 "Посла ж[е] сайгат[ъ] брату своему королеви съ Борисом[ъ], съ Изеболком[ъ]. Корол[ъ] же баше тогда поеха въ оугры, и оугони а Борис[ъ] оу Под[ъ]телича [...] Борисъ же прѣха и приведе сайгат[ъ] королеви: и конѣ и в седлѣх[ъ], щиты, сѣлици, шоломы. Корол[ъ] же нача въспрашати о здравіи брата своег[о] и с[ы]новца. Борисъ же повѣда здравіе обою и вса събыв[ъ]шааса сказа емоу. И быс[ъ] радвс[ъ] велика королеви о здравіи брата своего и с[ы]нв[ъ]ца – а ворози избитїи. Бориса ж[е] одаривъ, вт[ъ]пусти къ брату своему" – *Chronica* 2017, 434–436.



hands in praise to God and said: ‘Glory to thee, O Lord, [behold], Vasilko has won against Lithuania.’<sup>29</sup>

The next account confirms that the events were arranged chronologically even within the years discussed. It refers to the convention in Tarnawa which took place in August 1262. It was attended by: Bolesław v the Chaste, Danilo with his sons – Leo and Shvarno, and Vasilko with Vladimir. The chronicle provides quite general information that an agreement was then reached, confirmed with the “the True Cross”.<sup>30</sup> The account should be considered written from the perspective of Danilo Romanovich, probably taken over in its entirety from *Danilo’s Chronicle*.

The fact that this account was used, albeit with significant additions, by an editor probably working at Vladimir Vasilkovich’s court, is also indicated by another extensive account, one on the death of Mindaugas. It consists of stories about Vaišvilkas, the death of Mindaugas’ wife, and Daumantas’ killing of Mindaugas and his two sons Ruklys and Repeikis.<sup>31</sup> The account referring to 1263<sup>32</sup> was introduced into the chronological sequence by using the phrase “after this council, when one year had passed, in the autumn the Great Prince Mindaugas of Lithuania was killed”.<sup>33</sup> Next, the chronicler warns the reader that he will insert a fragment pertaining to the genesis of the king of Lithuania’s death: “We will [now] relate [the circumstances leading to] his death”.<sup>34</sup> His

29 “Корол[ъ] же баше печалоуа о брате повеликоу и в с[ы]нѣхъ своим[ъ]. о Волхди-мери, зане молвд[ъ] баше. Нѣкто шт[ъ] слоугъ его вѣшед[ъ], нача повѣдати сице: Т[о]с[по]д[и]не! Людиеі каѣиси едоут[ъ] за щиты съ сжицами, а кони съ ними повод[ъ]ниі. Корол[ъ] же шт[ъ] радости въскочи и и, въздѣв[ъ] ржци, хвалоу въздавѣ Б[ог]оу, реч[е]: ‘Слава Тебѣ, Г[оспод]и! Тотъ Васил[ъ]ко побѣдил[ъ] литвою” – *Chronica* 2017, 434–435.

30 See: *Chronica* 2017, 436–437. From the perspective of the narrative and chronological strategy, what was discussed during the meeting is not very significant, which is why I refer the reader to the appropriate literature, while emphasizing that I agree with the conclusions reached by B. Włodarski (1966, 148–149) and D. Dąbrowski (2012a, 438–439; therein see the discussion of the literature) that the council was not limited to brokering peace between the Romanovichi and the prince of Cracow after Burundai’s incursion, but primarily was held in regards to Bela iv’s conflict with Stephen. In addition, the issues of the Lithuanian and Yotvingian invasions of Poland and Rus’ were discussed. The situation of Halych-Volhynian Rus’ under Mongol rule should not be forgotten either. Therefore, many different topics were brought up.

31 *Chronica* 2017, 437–445.

32 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 43.

33 “По сем[ъ] же сѣн[ъ]мѣ минуовшю лѣтоу одиному, оу всен[ъ] оубит[ъ] быс[ъ]тѣ] великий кнз[ъ] литов[ъ]скый Мин[ъ]довгъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 437.

34 “Оубийство ж[е] его сице скажем[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 438.

account repeats, with the addition of minor details and in chronological order, the theme described in the previous chapter. When analyzing the dynastic chronicle of the Romanovichi, Volodimir Pashuto concluded that an editor working at the court of Vladimir Vasilkovich around 1290 used a Lithuanian *letopis'* written in Novogrudok. This statement was based on the observation that this source contains many references to 13th-century Lithuania and a description of the history of the princes of the area. Furthermore, in the story of Vaišvilkas, we read: "Then the fear of God entered his heart. He thought to himself that he wanted to be baptized. And he was baptized here in Novogrudok. And he began to abide in Christianity".<sup>35</sup> At this point, it should nonetheless be noted that the basic meaning of the word "тоу" in Old Rus'ian is "there, then, at that time", and only at the end "here", but in the meaning of "near here".<sup>36</sup> In turn, the meaning "here" was rendered with "тоутъ; тоуто".<sup>37</sup> Early on, I.P. Eremin questioned the existence of what is referred to as the "Lithuanian *Letopis'*" (the Novogrudok chronicle). He concluded that the Volhynian part of the chronicle was a uniform text, created at the court of Vladimir Vasilkovich, in its narrative covering the period up to 1259–1260.<sup>38</sup> In fact, together with Dariusz Dąbrowski, I expressed a similar view concerning the existence of the "Lithuanian *Letopis'*".<sup>39</sup> At this point, it should be noted that historians dealing with *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* consistently divide this monument of historical writing into the Halych and Volhynia parts, drawing a line between the two fragments at 1260; from a textological point of view, the line should be moved to after the information about the comet.<sup>40</sup> With this important information in mind, we can proceed with the analysis of the insertion, which

35 "Посем[ъ] же вниде страх[ъ] Б[о]жїи въ с[ъ]рд[ъ]це его, помысли въ собѣ, хотя прїати с[ва]тоє кр[ъ]щенїе, и кр[ъ]стиса тоу в Новѣгородѣ, и нача быти въ хр[ъ]стіан[ъ]ствѣ" – *Chronica* 2017, 439. See Pashuto 1950, 113, 120–121, 129; this view was adopted by Ulashchik 1985, 103; for a discussion of the literature, see Font 2005, 32–34.

36 Sreznevskii, vol. 3, 1030–1031.

37 Sreznevskii, vol. 3, 1039.

38 Eremin 1966, 164–184.

39 *Chronica* 2017, LXXXIX–XC.

40 The Halych part ends with the phrase: 'Аще вы бждете оу мена ездити оу станы к ним[ъ], аще ли азъ бждоу' (*Chronica* 2017, 410), while the Volhynian part begins with: "Посем[ъ] же минов[ъ]шиа двѣма лѣтома, и быс[ъ] тишина повсеи земли" (*Chronica* 2017, 411). However, as A.S. Orlov noted (Orlov 1926, 103–111; also the research done by Irina Juriewa; for the relevant literature, see *Chronica* 2017, xcvi), from the perspective of the textology, the situation is more complex as the stylistics of the Halych part, within which the last editor of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* intervened in the text, disappears after the information about the comet: "В та ж[е] лѣта явиса свѣзда на вѣстоцѣ хвостатаа образѣм[ъ] страшным[ъ], испоущаючи ѡт[ъ] себе лууча великы. Си же свѣзда нарицашеса 'власатаа'" (*Chronica* 2017, 452–453).

begins with information about the murder of Mindaugas in 1263,<sup>41</sup> in its further part once again mentioning his killing in the course of the narration,<sup>42</sup> finally restoring the chronology of events to 1263, recalling the death of Mindaugas.<sup>43</sup> The entire narrative covers 2 pages of the Khlebnikov manuscript. The murder of Mindaugas becomes a narrative element allowing the bookman to be well-acquainted with the sequence of events described<sup>44</sup> and marking the beginning and end of the insertion.

An additional element that should be taken into account when analyzing the insertion is the fact of the repetition of an episode in the life of Prince Vaišvilkas, described earlier. Tat'iana Vilkul distinguished two variants of the description of these events in the text of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*: "A" from the Halych part and "B" from the Volhynian.<sup>45</sup>

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#### Variant A

**Then Vaišvilkas made peace with Danilo and gave Mindaugas' daughter, his own sister, to Shvarno [in marriage].<sup>46</sup>**

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#### Variant B

While he was reigning in the Lithuanian land, he began murdering his brothers and nephews, and others he cast out of the land, and he began to rule alone in the entire Lithuanian land, and he became immensely proud. And | he exalted himself [above others], due to his

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41 "По сем[ъ] же сън[ъ]мъ минуушню лѣтоу одиному, оу всен[ъ] оубит[ъ] быс[ъ]тъ] великий княз[ъ] литов[ъ]скый Мин[ъ]довъ, самодръжец[ъ] быв[ъ] всей земли литов[ъ]ской. Оубиство ж[е] его сиче скажем[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 437–438.

42 "Довмонтъ баше с ними ж[е] пошел[ъ] на войноу, и оусмотри врѣма пѣдобно собѣ, и воротиса назад[ъ], тако р[е]ка: 'Кобъ ми не дасть с вами пойти'. Воротив[ъ] же са назад[ъ] и погна въборзѣ, и изогна Миндовга, тоу ж[е] и оуби его, и оба с[ы]на его с ним[ъ] оуби, Роукла ж[е], Репьскеа, и так[о] быс[ъ]тъ] конецъ Миндовговоу оубитію" – *Chronica* 2017, 444–445.

43 "Въ преж[е]реч[е]ннѣм[ъ] же лѣте Миндов гова оубитіа быс[ъ]тъ] же весел[ъ]е оу Романа княса оу дръбен[ъ]ского: нача вѣ[д]ати милоую свою дѣщеръ именем[ъ] Олгоу за Волдимера княса, с[ы]на Васил[ъ]кова, вноука великого кн[а]са Романа галицког[о]" – *Chronica* 2017, 448–449.

44 The chronology, before introducing the insertion, i.e., from 1260 to 1263, had the correct layout. The question is whether this was a clue for the bookman or for the reader. If the former is true, it means that we are dealing with an unfinished edition of the Chronicle.

45 Vilkul 2007a, 26–37.

46 "Потѣм[ъ] же Воишелъ сътвори мир[ъ] съ Данилѣм[ъ], и въда дѣщеръ Миндовговоу за Шварна, сестроу свою" – *Chronica* 2017, 361.

(cont.)

## Variant A

## Variant B

He came to Chełm to Danilo, leaving behind his principality. He joined a monastic order and gave Novogrudok to Roman, the king's son, from Mindaugas, and from himself – Słonim and Vawkavysk, and all the *grods*,<sup>47</sup>

glory and great pride, he considered no one his equal. He had a son Vaišvilkas and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Shvarno Danilovich in Chełm.<sup>47</sup>

Vaišvilkas began to reign in Novogrudok while he was still a heathen. And he shed much blood, killing 3 or 4 people every day. If he killed no one on a certain day, he would feel bereft. If he did kill someone, then he would be happy. Then the fear of God entered his heart. He thought to himself that he wanted to be baptized. And he was baptized here in Novogrudok. And he began to abide in Christianity.<sup>48</sup>

Next Vaišvilkas travelled to Halych, to see Danilo and Vasilko, for he wanted to join a monastic order. At that time, Vaišvilkas had Yuri Lvovich baptized. Afterwards he went to Polonina to see Gregory in the monastery there and he

47 Быс[тъ] княжащю емоу въ земли литов[ъ]ской, и нача избивати братію свою и с[ы]нѡвци своа, а другѡѡ выгна изъ землѣ, и нача княжити один[ъ] въ всей земли литов[ъ]ской, и нача грѣдѣти, великѡи възнесеса славою и грѣдостію великою, и нетвораше противоу себе никогож[е]. Баше же в него сын[ъ] Вѣишелкъ же и дѣчи. Дѣщер[ъ] же ѡт[ъ]да за Шварна за Даниловича до Холма” – *Chronica* 2017, 438.

48 “Воишелк[ъ] же нача княжити в Новѣгорѡд[ъ]ци, в поган[ъ]ствѣ боудѣ, и нача проливати крови мнѡго, оубивашет[ъ] бо на всак[ъ] ден[ъ] по ̑, по ̑, которого ж[е] д[ъ]ни не оубіаше того, печаловаш[е] тогда, коли же оубіаше кого, тогда весел[ъ] бываше. Посем[ъ] же вниде страх[ъ] Б[о]жїи въ с[ъ]рд[ъ]це его, помысли въ собѣ, хотя прїати с[ва]тое кр[ъ]щенїе, и кр[ъ]стисѣ тоу в Новѣгорѡдцѣ, и нача быти въ хр[ъ]стіан[ъ]ствѣ,” – *Chronica* 2017, 438–439.

49 “и прїиде в Холмъ къ Данилови, оставив[ъ] княженїе свое, и въспрїемъ мнишескїи чин[ъ], и въдаст[ъ] Романови, с[ы]нѡви королевоу, Новогородокѡ ѡт[ъ] Мин[ъ]дога и ѡт[ъ] себе,и Слоним[ъ], и Волковыескѣ, и всѣ города” – *Chronica* 2017, 362.

(cont.)

## Variant A

## Variant B

and he asked permission to go to the Holy Mountain, and the king arranged a route for him with the Hungarian king.<sup>51</sup>

He could not reach the Holy Mountain and turned back in Bulgaria.<sup>53</sup>

was shorn a monk. And he remained at the monastery with Gregory for three years.<sup>50</sup>

From there, he travelled to the Holy Mountain, after receiving Gregory's blessing, who was so holy a man as there had never been before him nor would there ever be after him.<sup>52</sup>

Vaišvilkas could not reach the Holy Mountain as there was great unrest at that time in these lands.<sup>54</sup>

[Thus,] he returned to Novogrudok and established a monastery by the Neman river, between Lithuania and Novogrudok, and there he lived.<sup>55</sup>

Hie father Mindaugas was angry at him for leading such a life. He in turn did not care much for his father.<sup>56</sup>

50 “и посем[ъ] иде Воишелкъ до *Галича къ Данилови кнасю и Васил[ъ]кови*, хотя пріати мнишескый чинь. Тогда же Воишелкъ кр[ъ]сти Юрїа Л[ъ]вовича, то же потѣм[ъ] иде в[ъ] Полониноу къ Григоріеви в монастыри и пострижеса в черньци, и быс[ъ]тъ в[ъ] монастыри оу Григорїа три лѣта” – *Chronica* 2017, 439–440.

51 “а сам[ъ] просиса ити в[ъ] С[ва]тоую гороу. И наиде емоу корол[ъ] поу[ъ] оу корола оугор[ъ]скаго” – *Chronica* 2017, 362.

52 “ѡт[ъ]толѣ ж[е] поиде в[ъ] С[ва]тоую гороу, прїемъ бл[аго]с[ло]веніе ѡт[ъ] Григорїа. Григорїи же баше ч[е]л[овѣ]къ с[ва]тъ, якож[е] не быс[ъ]тъ пред[ъ] ним[ъ] и по нем[ъ] не бждет[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 440–441.

53 “и не може дойти С[ва]тое горы, и воротиса в[ъ] блъгарех[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 362.

54 “Воишелк[ъ] же не може дойти до С[ва]тыа горы, зане матеж[ъ] быс[ъ]тъ великъ тогда в тѣх[ъ] землях[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 441.

55 “И прїиде ѡпат[ъ] в Новьгородѡк[ъ], и оучини събѣ монастырь на рѣцѣ на Немнѣ, межи Литвою и Новым[ъ] горѡд[ъ]кѡм[ъ], и тоу живаше” – *Chronica* 2017, 441–442.

56 “Ѳтець же его Миндовгъ оукариоваше его про его житїе, он[ъ] же на ѡт[ъ]ца своего нелюбоваше вел[ъ]ми” – *Chronica* 2017, 442.

Variant A realistically describes the backstage process of brokering the peace treaty between the Romanovichi and Lithuania. It is this and the relevant passages from the last Mongol plotline described in parts 1244–1259 of the Chronicle that allow us to logically explain the killing of Vaišvilkas by Leo. This fact was also described by the Polish Annals (“Dux Leo Danielis regis Rusie occidit Woyslaum filium Mendogi ducis Lithwanorum / Prince Leo, son of King Danilo, killed Vaišvilkas, son of Lithuanian Prince Mindaugas”).<sup>57</sup> It was most probably Vaišvilkas who captured and killed Roman Danilovich, while Leo only avenged his death. I fully agree with Tat’iana Vilkul’s observation<sup>58</sup> that variant A linked to Danilo’s court was secondarily reused by Vladimir Vasilkovich’s bookman to create an ideal hagiographic story.<sup>59</sup> David Goldfrank<sup>60</sup> has already noted that the last editor of the Chronicle not only created an important didactic story about how Vaišvilkas had become a champion of the Lord, capable of identifying the true faith and converting, through Christian Rus’, pagan Lithuania, but above all he emphasized the dependence of the Lithuanian prince on Vasilko. Such narrative methods were intended to emphasize the role played by Vladimir Vasilkovich’s father. It was at the court of his son that the work on editing *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was initiated.

The question of whether the author of the Chronicle in fact made use of some Lithuanian *Letopis’* must be answered in the negative. In the further narrative of variant B, we do read about events that were chronologically arranged, describing in detail the situation in Lithuania, the death of Mindaugas, the death of Tauvtilas in the winter of 1263/1264, and Treniota in 1264, and others (more on this later), but – as D. Goldfrank rightly points out – foreign policy concerning their northern neighbour’s internal struggles was of internal use to the Romanovichi.<sup>61</sup> The role of Lithuania in Danilo Romanovich’s politics is perfectly illustrated by the fact that his son Shvarno married Mindaugas’ daughter. Here I would like to draw the reader’s attention to a very important fact. The description of the Lithuanian plotline in the part referring to 1244–1259 actually ends in 1255, i.e., with Shvarno’s marriage to Mindaugas’ daughter and Vaišvilkas’ subsequent expeditions to Athos. It is followed by the Yotvingian-Polish plotline that covers the period of 1255, with a reference

57 *Rocznik Traski* 1872, 840.

58 Vilkul 2007a, 26–37.

59 On the functioning of the hagiographic story about Vaišvilkas, see Dąbrowski 2007a, 31–66; Kibin’ 2011, 11–28.

60 Goldfrank 1988, 44–76.

61 Goldfrank 1988, 47.

to 1257,<sup>62</sup> the Babenberg plotline from 1253,<sup>63</sup> and the Mongol one beginning in 1255/1256 and leading up to 1260. In the last of these, there are scattered mentions of Lithuania, but it should be stressed once again that they are woven into the Mongol plotline, not the Lithuanian one, which was actually cut off in 1255. In the Volhynian section (in the period 1260–1263 of interest to us), there are also mentions of the Romanovichi's northern neighbour, but they are mainly written from Vasilko's perspective. Danilo was in Hungary at the time, while his brother was in charge of all domestic and foreign policy. He appears as the undisputed leader only in the description of the council in Tarnawa in August 1262,<sup>64</sup> which in my opinion was in its entirety taken from *Danilo's Chronicle*, with observable alterations introduced by the bookman working on the text towards the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. These interventions in the text are manifested by Danilo being referred to as prince ("княземъ") and not as king ("королем").<sup>65</sup> It is unlikely that such an error was made by Danilo's chronicler. The narrative for 1260–1263 is therefore not so much a supplement to the threadbare arrangement of 1244–1259 as it is a description of Vasilko's successes. Above all, it contains a gap for the 1255–1264 period as regards the internal situation of Lithuania, which was always an important element of the narrative, also when describing contacts with other neighbours towards whom the Romanovichi pursued an equal policy (the Mongols are an exception, with the dependence of Rus' concealed from the reader).

In fact, the continuation of the interrupted Lithuanian theme from *Danilo's Chronicle* comes in the form of the above-quoted variant B, with its original shape strongly modified by Vladimir Vasilkovich's bookman. In spite of this intervention, elements typical for what we call *Danilo's Chronicle* are readily observable. The resumption of the interrupted motif is signalled by the information: "He had a son Vaišvilkas and a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to Shvarno Danilovich in Chełm" / "Баше же в него сын[ъ] Вѣишелкъ же и дѣчи. Дѣщер[ъ] же ѡт[ъ]да за Шварна за Даниловича до Холма". Thus, we have a rather unusual situation in which an insertion intended to be a story about the death of Mindaugas and the situation in Lithuania is in fact the result of a rephrasing of *Danilo's Chronicle*. After stripping it of its hagiographical wrappings and raising the position of Vasilko Romanovich, we see a continuation

62 *Chronica* 2017, 362–376.

63 *Chronica* 2017, 376–381.

64 Bolesław v the Chaste, Danilo with his sons Leo and Shvarno, and Vasilko with Vladimir participated in the meeting.

65 *Chronica* 2017, 436.

of the factual arrangement that was described in the fourth chapter. This observation is important for showing how the last editor of the chronicle worked. The hagiographic description and the subsequent killing of Vaišvilkas by Leo Danilovich further strengthen and even predestine the line of Vasilko Romanovich to rule as *velikij* Great Prince on a par with Danilo Romanovich.

After the story of Mindaugas' death we read, in chronological order, of the situation in Lithuania and the death of Tautvilas in the winter of 1263/1264<sup>66</sup> and of Treniota in 1264.<sup>67</sup> The last date is confirmed by the *Rocznik Kapituły Krakowskiej* (Annals of the Cracow Chapter). In addition, the bookman provides information that Daumantas (Timothy) and Vaišvilkas were behind the killing.<sup>68</sup> This information is indirectly confirmed by a passage introduced immediately after the information about the murder:

When Vaišvilkas learned of this, he went with the men of Pinsk to Novogrudok, and from there he took the men of Novogrudok with him and went to Lithuania to rule. All of Lithuania welcomed its heir with great joy. Thus, Vaišvilkas came to rule in his Lithuanian lands. And he began to kill his enemies. And he slaughtered a countless multitude of them, and the others fled, scattering to wherever they could. And he killed Eustace the wretched, the heathen, the accursed. We have written about him previously.<sup>69</sup>

In this fragment, the bookman openly admits to being the author of the description of the Lithuanian expedition (that of Mindaugas and Eustace Konstantynovich) of 1262 to Jazdów, during which prince Siemowit had died.<sup>70</sup>

By including an extensive account of Mindaugas' death and its sequel describing Vaišvilkas' capture of Lithuania, the chronicler had to disrupt the

66 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 43.

67 *Chronica* 2017, 445–447.

68 *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej* 1978, 90–91.

69 “Се ж[е] слышав[ъ] Воишелкъ, поиде с пинаны к Новьгорwd[ъ]коу, и шт[ъ] толъ пона съ собою новьгорwd[ъ]ци и поиде в литвою княжити. Литва ж[е] вса пріаша и съ радостію великою, своег[о] госпѣдичича. Воишелк[ъ] же нача княжити въ своей земли литов[ъ]ской, и поча ворогы своа избивати, и изби их[ъ] бесчислен[ъ]ное мнѣж[ъ]ство, а дѣрусій розбѣгошас[а] камо кто вида, и оного Ѡстафіа оуби окан[ъ]ног[о], безакон[ъ]ного, проклатаго, о нем[ъ]же напредѣ списахѣм[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 447–448.

70 *Chronica* 2017, 428–429. See: p. 115.



chronology of events. In order to make the events in the Lithuanian-Rus'ian borderlands understandable to the reader, he wrote:<sup>71</sup>

In the previously mentioned year of Mandaugas' murder, there was a wedding at the house of Roman, prince of Bryansk. He was to give away his lovely daughter named Olga to the prince of Vladimir, son of Vasilko, grandson of great prince Roman of Halych.<sup>72</sup>

As a result, we know that the account refers to the year 1263: "And at that time, a Lithuanian army attacked Roman".<sup>73</sup> The prince of Bryansk defeated the invaders and gave his daughter in marriage to Vladimir.<sup>74</sup> After this description, the bookman provides information about returning to the events in Lithuania in 1264: "We will now return to our previous narration".<sup>75</sup>

I will take the liberty of quoting the following passage in full because it is very important for understanding why – beginning with the events of 1260 – the narrative was conducted from the perspective and according to the chronological framework of the chronicler working on the text after Danilo's death, probably already at Vladimir Vasilkovich's court. In my opinion, we are dealing with the person referred to in the introduction as the bookman, who gave *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* its final shape. The quotation of interest is as follows:

**[When] Vaišvilkas ruled in Lithuania, prince Shvarno and Vasilko began aiding him. Vaišvilkas named Vasilko his father and liege, while the king had contracted a serious illness at that time. It ended his life. And they laid him [to rest] in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Chełm that he himself had built. This king Danilo was a good, brave and wise prince. He constructed numerous grods, built churches, and decorated them with various embellishments. For he was renowned for his brotherly love for Vasilko. This Danilo was second only to Solomon. Then Shvarno went to help Vaišvilkas, while prince Vasilko sent him aid [the words written**

71 Frequently used in the narrative describing the 1245–1259 period. Are we dealing with a trace of *Danilo's Chronicle* with a plot-based/factual arrangement of events?

72 "Въ преж[е]реч[е]ннѣмъ же лѣте Миндов гова оубитѣа быс[тъ] же весел[ѣ]е оу Романа кнаса оу дръбен[ѣ]ского: нача ш[т]ѣ давати милоую свою дъщерь именем[ѣ] Олгоу за Волхдимера кнаса, с[ы]на Васил[ѣ]кова, вноука великого кн[а]са Романа галицког[о]" – *Chronica* 2017, 448–449.

73 "И в то время рат[ѣ] прїиде на Романа литов[ѣ]ского" – *Chronica* 2017, 449.

74 *Chronica* 2017, 449–450.

75 "Мы же пред[ѣ]лежащее възвратимса" – *Chronica* 2017, 450.

in italics come from the Ipatiev manuscript – A.J.] [in the form of] **his entire army. Vaišvilkas named Vasilko his father and liege.**<sup>76</sup>

The publishers of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* commented on the portions of the text in bold as follows: “In essence, we have a repetition of a phrase that has already appeared above. Could this be testimony to the rather inept disruption of the narrative of Lithuanian matters by the later insertion of Danilo’s obituary? One does have that impression”.<sup>77</sup> Undoubtedly, these passages refer to the same issue. The chronicler followed the same chronological strategy as in the description of the events for the 1228–1244 period. In this account, however, *Danilo’s Chronicle* provided the chronological framework of the source, while in the presentation of later events the core of the story is the chronicler’s own text, probably written in the late 1280s, and the accounts of his informants. The annalist took only relevant information from *Danilo’s Chronicle*, e.g., the obituary of the king of Rus’. Therefore, he began the text by informing about the sequence of events. He then added an insertion from *Danilo’s Chronicle*, independent of the chronological framework, to alert the reader to the fact that subsequent mentions may or may not refer to the same year. After the story of the king’s death, in keeping with the observed strategy he repeated the information about sending reinforcements for Vaišvilkas, which was meant to give a clear signal that there was a return to the basic dating structure. This observation leads to the conclusion that for later editors *Danilo’s Chronicle*, like *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*, was purely an indispensable part of the description of how Vasilko and later his son Vladimir gained their positions in Volhynia. Perhaps that is why the carrier and creator of dynastic power in the chronicle (especially in descriptions of events after 1260) was not Danilo but Roman Mstislavich.

One would expect that after Danilo’s death the narrative would focus on Vasilko and his son. However, Shvarno, who probably took over Chełm from his father, becomes the main protagonist. It remains an open question whether he

76 “Княжащо же Воишелкови в литвѣ, и поча емоу помагати Шварно княз[ъ] и Васил[ъ]ко, нареклъ бо баше Васил[ъ]ка вт[ъ]ца собѣ и госпѣдина, а корол[ъ] баше тогда впал[ъ] в болѣсть великоу, в неижѣ и скон[ъ]ча живот[ъ] свой, и положиша его въ ц[ъ]ркви С[ва]тыа Б[огороди]ца в Холмѣ, юже бѣ сам[ъ] създа[ъ]. Сѣи же король Данило княз[ъ] добрый, и хоробрый, и мѣдрый създа ж[е] города мнѣгы, и ц[ъ]ркви постави и оукраи а разноличными красотами. Баше бо братолюбиемъ светаса съ братѣм[ъ] своим[ъ] Васил[ъ] кѣм[ъ]. Сѣи же Данило баше вторый по Соломонѣ. Посем[ъ] же Шварно пойдѣ в помощь Воишелкови а Василко князъ вт[ъ] себе посла емоу помочь всю свою рат[ъ]. Воишелк[ъ] же нареклъ баше Васил[ъ]ка яко вт[ъ]ца собѣ и госпѣдина” – *Chronica* 2017, 450–452.

77 *Kronika* 2017, 219 with n. 1402.

also assumed supreme rule. Vasilko is correlated with Shvarno as he had been earlier (1205–1259) with Danilo, e.g.: “And Vaišvilkas was aided by Shvarno and Vasilko ...”<sup>78</sup> (after this sentence, the author of the source text lists the gains made by the Rus’ian-Lithuanian coalition).<sup>79</sup> The next three events referring to 1264 seem to have been copied from some chronicle. They include: 1) the appearance of a comet in the east,<sup>80</sup> 2) the death in that year (before February 29, 1265, according to the March/ultra-March style) of Helena, Vasilko’s wife,<sup>81</sup> and the civil war among the Tartars<sup>82</sup> between Hulagu and Berke in 1263–1264. All the information basically refers to the year 1264 and is in chronological order. Therefore, the phrase that follows, i.e., “after this”,<sup>83</sup> should be treated as having occurred after a year had passed. In 1265, we learn of the joint reign of Vaišvilkas and Shvarno in Lithuania and about the expedition of the Lithuanian forces against Bolesław the Chaste. This resulted in a conflict between Bolesław and Halych-Volhynian Rus’, which culminated with the Battle of Wrota on June 19, 1266.<sup>84</sup> The whole story was presented from Shvarno’s perspective. The listed noblemen, Andrew and Lavrenti,<sup>85</sup> were also connected with the prince of Chełm. Is this a trace of *Danilo’s Chronicle* being continued after the death of this ruler in Chełm? Did something like *Shvarno’s Chronicle* exist? This cannot be excluded. The content of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, which was shaped in large part through the modification of other sources, allows us to table such a supposition.

After the description of the Polish-Rus’ian battles, the bookman – wanting to retain chronological continuity – once again uses the phrase “and then” / “посемъ”. Next, we learn that Bolesław the Chaste made peace with Vasilko and Shvarno.<sup>86</sup> Mikhailo Hrushevsky conservatively dates this event to 1266/1267.<sup>87</sup> It is worth noting that the princes of Volhynia and Halych participated in

78 “И видѣ Воишелкъ помоч[ъ] Шварновоу и Васил[ъ]ковоу” – *Chronica* 2017, 452.

79 *Chronica* 2017, 452.

80 *Chronica* 2017, 452–453. “This refers to a comet marked with the symbol C/1264 N1, which was visible from the second half of July to October 2, 1264” (according to A. Guillemin [1877, 146] the comet became visible in France in mid-July); Sviatskii 2007, 190–191 (perihelium 19 VII); Seargent 2009, 96–99 – after *Chronica* 2017, 453 with n. 1171.

81 *Chronica* 2017, 453–454.

82 *Chronica* 2017, 454.

83 “Посем[ъ] же” – *Chronica* 2017, 454.

84 *Chronica* 2017, 454–463. The precise dating of these events is confirmed by such source texts as: *Rocznik kapituly krakowskiej* 1978, 91–92; *Kronika Dzierzwy* 2013, 79; *Kronika wielkopolska* 1970, 121.

85 See: Jusupović 2013b, 111–112; 197–198.

86 *Chronica* 2017, 463–464.

87 Hrushevsky 1901, 46.

the conclusion of the peace treaty. This would indicate that the division into Danilo's domain and Vasilko's dependent principality was also maintained in the later period. Did Roman Mstislavich's younger son remain a dependent prince after the death of his older brother? According to the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, he was equal in standing to Shvarno. However, it should be remembered that the sources used during the final editing of the chronicle were most likely modified. Moreover, everything indicates that these final modifications took place at the court of Vladimir Vasilkovich. Efforts were made there to highlight Vasilko's role in the politics of Halych-Volhynian Rus'. As a result, it is unclear who took over after Danilo's death and whether there was one or several decision-making centres at the time.

"Next, Vaišvilkas gave the principality to his son-in-law Shvarno, while he himself wished again to join a monastery".<sup>88</sup> Once again, we are unable to pinpoint the exact date. Observation of the narrative strategy points tentatively to 1266/1267. It is only after the recounting of Shvarno's ascension to the throne in Lithuania and Vaišvilkas once again being shorn<sup>89</sup> that the chronicler writes of Leo's desire to meet with the Lithuanian prince. He asked his uncle to arrange the meeting. "Vasilko sent for Vaišvilkas during Holy Week",<sup>90</sup> i.e., between April 11 and 17, 1267. Ultimately, the meeting took place at the residence of Markolt the German, who was host to the princes and treated them to a meal.<sup>91</sup> Following the feast, Vaišvilkas and Leo returned to the Monastery of Michael the Great in Vladimir, where they stayed. There, after drinking from some goblets of wine, "the Devil, [who] from the very beginning has wished mankind ill, put [an evil thought] into Leo's heart, and he killed Vaišvilkas out of envy that he was giving the Lithuanian land to Shvarno. And this was how he met his end. After preparing his body for burial, they laid it in the Church of Michael the Great".<sup>92</sup> The date of Vaišvilkas' death is also known from other sources. In *Rocznik Traski* [Traska's Annals] under the entry for 1267, we read: "Prince Leo, son of Danilo the king of Rus', killed Vaišvilkas, son of Mindaugas the prince of Lithuania".<sup>93</sup> In this

88 "Посем[ъ] же Воишелкъ да княженіе свое сатию своему Шварнови, а сам[ъ] опать въсхотѣ пріати мнишескый чинъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 464.

89 *Chronica* 2017, 464–466.

90 "Васил[ъ]ко ж[е] посла по Воишелка Стр[а]стное нед[ѣ]ли" – *Chronica* 2017, 466.

91 *Chronica* 2017, 466–467.

92 "Діавол[ъ] же не хоташе искони добра ч[е]л[овѣ]ч[ъ]скому родоу вложи въ с[ъ]рдце Л[ъ]вови, и оуби Воишелка завистію, иже баше дал[ъ] землю литов[ъ]скоую его Шварнови. И тако быс[ъ]ть конец[ъ] оубитіа его. Спратавшє ж[е] тѣло его и положиша въ ц[ъ]ркви с[в]ят[о]го Михаила Великого" – *Chronica* 2017, 467–468.

93 "Dux Leo filius Danielis regis Rusie occidit Woyslaum filium Mendogi ducis Lithwanorum" – *Rocznik Traski* 1872, 840.

part of the chronicle, Leo is presented as a negative character. He was the oldest living son of Danilo, older than Vladimir by about 15–20 years. After the deaths of both Romanovichi sons and Shvarno, the most intense disputes were between Leo and Vladimir. However, Danilo's surviving children included also Mstislav (II), who was close in age to Vasilko's son, but, unlike his brother, he cooperated with the ruler of Vladimir.

Analyzing the above passage, two protagonists can be identified: Shvarno and Vaišvilkas, i.e., the rulers of Lithuania. We can observe once again that the narrative is conducted from the perspective of Danilo Romanovich's son. The same is true in the next two references: "After Vaišvilkas, Shvarno reigned in the Lithuanian land. He reigned for only a few years as he [soon] passed away. They laid his body in the Church of the Holy Mother of God near his father's grave".<sup>94</sup> The passage contains a chronological marker about reigning "for only a few years". Researchers have established that Shvarno died in 1269.<sup>95</sup> The last mention of reigns in Lithuania refers to the rule of Traidenis.<sup>96</sup> One wonders why the period of Shvarno's rule in Chełm was presented in correlation with Vaišvilkas. Perhaps Danilo's son was in some way dependent on Lithuania, which was his main area of interest. If so, who was in charge of Volhynian and Halych affairs at that time? The bookman tentatively suggests that the guarantor of security in this area was Vasilko.<sup>97</sup> In my opinion, the author of the source text used a narrative strategy that was intended to prepare the reader for the new leader of Vladimir. The aim was to divert the reader's attention from Chełm as the centre of power created by Danilo and to suggest that the death of the king and the rule of his successor in Lithuania caused disorder within the domain of the Romanovichi. This method is similar to the one presented in the first chapter, in which the bookman replaced the description of the 1198–1205 period with Roman Mstislavich's encomium. This seems to be confirmed by the extensive information (as compared to the description of the circumstances of Shvarno's death) about Vasilko's passing in 1269: "At that time, the law-abiding prince passed away, [he was] a good Christian and a great Vladimiran, named Vasilko, son of Great Prince Roman, and they laid his body

94 "Кнажащю ж[е] по Воишелцѣ Шварнови в литов[ь]ской земли. Кнажив[ь] же немного лѣт[ь] и тако престависа, и положиша тѣло его въ ц[ь]ркви С[ва]тыа Б[огороди]ца близ[ь] гроба вт[ь]на" – *Chronica* 2017, 468.

95 Hrushevsky 1901, 47; Dąbrowski 2008, 375–376.

96 *Chronica* 2017, 468–470.

97 Vaišvilkas' death at the hands of Leo does not change the message of the passage, because Danilo's son and the devil who supports him are blamed.

in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in the bishopric of Vladimir”.<sup>98</sup> Above all, this is suggested by the text itself: “And after him, his son Vladimir came to reign as prince in his place. He was renowned for his love of justice for all his brethren, for the boyars, and the common people. And Leo came to rule in Halych and in Chelm after his brother Shvarno”.<sup>99</sup> This passage aims to bring the reader to an understanding that Vladimir was equal in standing to Danilo’s remaining living sons, while his fully Christian moral integrity predestined him for the position of superior prince.

It is the equal footing of Danilo and Vasilko’s descendants that shines through in the subsequent passages. “After that, they made peace with the Lyakhs, with Bolesław the prince. Next, Bolesław started a war with the prince of Wrocław. Leo and Mstislav came to his aid, and [thus] Vladimir did not go [to battle] himself, but sent his army under [the command of] Zhelislav”.<sup>100</sup> The fact of concluding a peace treaty indicates that a conflict which violated the 1266/1267 settlement had taken place. It must have happened before spring 1271, because it was then that Bolesław v the Chaste along with Rus’ian and Mazovian reinforcements attacked Henryk iv Probus.<sup>101</sup> Further narration concerning the turn of 1271/1272 is also conducted in the spirit of the code-termination of the fate of Halych-Volhynian land: “Then the princes decided to set out against the Yotvingians. When winter came, the princes themselves did not go, but sent their voivodes [with] the army”.<sup>102</sup> The expedition was a success. The Yotvingian princes asked the rulers of the lands of Halych and Volhynia for peace.<sup>103</sup>

It is very difficult to establish the period referred to by the next passage about relations between Traidenis and Leo with Vladimir.<sup>104</sup> We know that the

98 “В то ж[е] врѣмѣ престависѣ бл[а]говѣр[ъ]ный княз[ъ] хр[и]столюбивый великий вълѣдимер[ъ]скый именем[ъ] Васил[ъ]ко, с[ы]нъ великого княса Романа. И положиша тѣло его въ ц[ъ]ркви С[ва]тыя Б[огороди]ца въ еп[и]ск[о]пыи волѣдимер[ъ]ской” – *Chronica* 2017, 470.

99 “И по нем[ъ] нача княжити в него мѣсто с[ы]нъ его Вълѣдимеръ, правдолюбиемъ светас[а] къ всей своей брати, и къ боаршм[ъ], и къ простым[ъ] людем[ъ]. А Левъ нача княжѣти оу Галичи и в Холмѣ по братѣ своем[ъ] по Шварнѣ” – *Chronica* 2017, 471.

100 “Посем[ъ] же оумиришас[а] съ лахы и з Болеславом[ъ] княсем[ъ]. Болеслав[ъ] же тогда заратил[ъ]са съ врот[ъ]сла[в]скым[ъ] княсем[ъ], и идоша емоу в помоч[ъ] Левъ, Мьстислав[ъ], а Волѣдимеръ сам[ъ] не иде, но посла свою рат[ъ] съ Жилиславшм[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 471.

101 Grodecki 1933, 261–262; Dąbrowski 2001, 46 (see literature therein).

102 “Посем[ъ] же здоумаше княси пойти на ятвасѣ. Приспѣвши ж[е] зимѣ, сами княсѣ не идоша, но послаша воеводы своа рат[ъ]ю” – *Chronica* 2017, 472–473.

103 *Chronica* 2017, 473–474.

104 *Chronica* 2017, 474–475.

ruler of Lithuania was at war with the prince of Vladimir throughout the year. We do not know when it began. In this part of the source text, the bookman does not narrate the events year by year, but rather skipping one, two, or three years. He attempts to maintain chronological continuity; however, without comparing the information he provides with other source texts, it is impossible to place them in time. It can nonetheless be assumed that these events took place ca. 1273–1274. Next, the chronicler returns to the formula which indicates the chronological continuity of the episodes discussed: “Next, Traidenis, having forgotten his love for Leo, sent out the Grodnians with orders to capture Drohiczyn. Trid went with them as he knew the *grod* [well] and how it could be taken. He approached it during the night and they captured [the *grod*] during Easter”.<sup>105</sup> Most researchers date this event to April 14, 1275.<sup>106</sup> This passage is interesting as it indicates that Drohiczyn belonged to Leo, who was also in possession of Chełm and Halych.

After the loss of Drohiczyn, Leo went to Mengu-Timur, probably that same year. The Khan assigned him an army. Both of Danilo’s sons, together with Vasilko and the dependent princes, reinforced by Tartar forces, set out for Lithuania. The account mentions the frosts,<sup>107</sup> which enables dating the expedition to the winter of 1275/1276.<sup>108</sup> The coalition moved towards Novogrudok. Next, the chronicle’s author describes the capture of the *grod*, during which he condemns Leo’s approach:

Leo deceived his brother. Having concealed it from Mstislav and Vladimir, he captured the outer city with the [help of the] Tartars, but the *grod* itself remained untouched. The next day, after taking the *grod*, Roman and Gleb arrived in great force. And all the princes were angry with Leo – Mstislav, Vladimir and his father-in-law, Roman of Bryansk, and Gleb of Smolensk, and many other princes. They were all angry with him for not seeing them as [equals and for] taking the stronghold himself with the [help of the] Tartars. They had [earlier] thought that if they took

105 “Посем[ъ] же Троидени, забывъ любве Л[ъ]вовы, пославъ городнаны велѣ взати Дорогычии[ъ], и Трид[ъ] с ними ж[е] баше, съй же вѣдаше о городѣ, како мощ[ъ]но взати, излѣзь же в[ъ] ночи, и тако взяша и на самыи Велик[ъ] д[ъ]нь” – *Chronica* 2017, 475–476.

106 It is dated to 1275 by, e.g.: Hrushevsky 1901, 49; *Litopis rus'kii za Ipats'kim spiskom* 1989, 428. It is dated to April 1, 1274 by A. Dubonis (2009, 112, 187).

107 *Chronica* 2017, 479.

108 For a description of the expedition, see *Chronica* 2017, 476–482.

Novogradok jointly, they would attack the Lithuanian land. But they did not because of their anger at Leo. And thus, they returned home.<sup>109</sup>

Roman of Bryansk was a dependent prince, and it remains unknown whether Vladimir and Vasilko held a similar status. However, the most important aspect to note was that Leo had behaved in an undignified manner as the expedition's commander, for he had not taken care of ensuring equal distribution of the spoils. Could such a person be followed by others as a superior prince? Could such a person be the leader of the Volhynian and Halych princes? These questions cast a shadow over this part of the chronicle, which from this point onwards begins to take on a moralizing character with commentary provided, as evidenced by the ending of the account of Vladimir's conversations with his father-in-law.<sup>110</sup> In fact, the entire narrative presenting the campaign is saturated with details indicative of the bookman's use of his own memories of the events or those of an informant.

Following these events, i.e., probably in 1276,<sup>111</sup> the narrative begins to concentrate increasingly on Vladimir. At the same time, the chronology becomes compact once again, i.e., events begin to be described in more detail. We learn of Traidenis settling the Prussians who were fleeing from the Germans (probably the Teutonic Knights) in Grodno and Słomim. Leo and Vladimir organize a joint expedition against Lithuania, which results in Traidenis' retaliatory attack on Kamień. Vladimir then strikes at Turzysk. Probably at the turn of 1276/1277, inasmuch as the chronicle describes "they made peace and began to live in great harmony".<sup>112</sup> We should probably understand "оумиристасѧ" / "made peace" as also including Leo. However, the chronicler increasingly shifts the focus of the narrative towards Vladimir.

109 "Левъ же леств оучини межи брат[ъ]ею своею: оутаивса Мьстислава и Волѡдимера, взѧ окол[ъ]нїи город[ъ]. с татари, а дѣтинець остана. Заутра же по взатїи города прїиде Роман[ъ] и Глѣбъ съ великою силою, и гнѣвахъса вси князи на Лва: Мьстиславъ, и Волѡдимеръ, и тестъ емоу Роман[ъ] дебран[ъ]скїи, и Глѣбъ смолен[ъ]скїи, и инїи князи мнѡзи – вси гнѣвахъса на нь про то, иже не потвори их[ъ] люд[ъ]ми противоу себе, сам[ъ] взѧ горѡд[ъ] с татари, здоумали бо бахъ тако, аже бы им[ъ] всѣм[ъ] възем[ъ]ши Новѡгородѡк[ъ], то ж[е] потом[ъ] пойти в литов[ъ]скѡю землю, но не идоша гнѣвѡм[ъ] про Л[ъ]ва, и тако възвратишас[ѧ] въ своѧ си" – *Chronica* 2017, 480–482.

110 *Chronica* 2017, 481–482.

111 Hrushevsky 1901, 49.

112 "Оумиристасѧ и начаста быти въ велици люб[ъ]ви" – *Chronica* 2017, 484. For a description of the battles, see: Paszkiewicz 1933, 134–136; Powierski 2001, 96–97; Kibin' 2014, 168–169.



This is evidenced by another story in which Vasilko's son decided to find a location for a *grad*. In order to do so, he consulted the Holy Scriptures and, according to the words of the Bible, found a place that had been "abandoned earlier", to which he dispatched "an experienced man named Oleksa, who had built many cities during his father's reign".<sup>113</sup> Ultimately, Oleksa ended up constructing Kamyenyets (later Lithuanian) by the Leśna river.<sup>114</sup> The events themselves are not as interesting as the bookman's use of the Bible. He did not quote the Scriptures *verbatim* but rather from memory. The authors of the Polish translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* took great pains to render the chronicler's exact words, and they quoted the translation of the relevant biblical passage in a footnote for comparison. However, it is worth comparing the text of the critical edition<sup>115</sup> with the Holy Bible in Old Church Slavonic.<sup>116</sup>

Towards the end of 1277,<sup>117</sup> Nogai sent envoys to Leo, Mstislav, and Vladimir along with his armies and an order that they march on Lithuania. The campaign took place in the winter of 1277/1278. The Tartar troops headed for Novogradok, while the Rus'ian troops for Grodno, which they did not conquer because – as we can read in the chronicle – Mstislav and Yuri, son of Leo, in secret from Vladimir sent their best boyars and men to loot the area. As a result, their armies were shattered and the noblemen were captured. In consequence, after capturing a stone keep before Grodno, an agreement was reached with the besieged. In exchange for the release of the Halych nobles, the *grad* would be left untouched.<sup>118</sup> This passage once again emphasizes the dependence on the Tartars of all the princes who were forced to cooperate with them. Moreover, the independence of the rulers of Halych-Volhynian Rus' from each other is again suggested.

The next passage, discussing the battles of the Lithuanians and Yotvingians on the outskirts of Lublin,<sup>119</sup> is very important. Right before it begins, the number 86 appears, which most probably refers to the year 6786, which in the case of the use of the March style<sup>120</sup> would refer to the period from March 1, 1278 to February 28, 1279. The date was introduced correctly and was probably already

113 "Мѣжа хитра именемъ[ъ] Олеѣоу, иже бѣше и при вѣ[ъ]ци его многы города рѣубѣ" – *Chronica* 2017, 487.

114 *Chronica* 2017, 484–488.

115 *Chronica* 2017, 485–486.

116 The appropriate fragment can be found on the webpage: <https://azbyka.ru/biblio/?Is.61&utfcs> [accessed: December 7, 2018].

117 Hrushevsky 1901, 49.

118 *Chronica* 2017, 488–493.

119 *Chronica* 2017, 493–494.

120 This is probably precisely the type we are dealing with. See: Tolochko A.P. 2005, 88; *Chronica* 2017, LXXXI.

present in the protographs of the Khlebnikov, Ipatiev, Iarocki/Bundura, and Ermolaev manuscripts. It is very likely that it already functioned in the autograph of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. If this was the case, the chronicler must have been fully acquainted with the chronology of events from that moment onwards. Moreover, the use of the March style shows how the chronicler perceived the sequence of time in his text.

The next passage of the author's source text begins with great precision: "After that year".<sup>121</sup> This phrase indicates the next year according to the March style (March 1, 1279–February 28, 1280).<sup>122</sup> The bookman wrote about the famine in Rus', Poland, and among the Yotvingians at that time. The last of these asked Vladimir to sell them some of their reserves. While they were being transported to Pułtusk, Vladimir's servants (who transported the goods) of the prince were killed. Konrad II of Czersk was accused of committing the deed. His guilt was confirmed by Bolesław V the Chaste, which resulted in an expedition to Mazovia. Eventually, the conflict ended with a peace treaty between Vladimir and Konrad.<sup>123</sup> In this part of the source text, the narration is consistently written from the point of view of Vasilko Romanovich's son and contains a precise chronological skeleton.

The following passage is correctly dated:

That year [December 7, 1279 – A.J.], the great prince of Cracow Bolesław passed away, [who was] good and quiet, meek and humble, loving of his brethren, not easily angered. He had lived many years. In his ripe old age, he departed to God. After his body was prepared for the funeral, it was laid to rest in the Church of St. Francis in the *grod* of Cracow.<sup>124</sup>

It can be observed that the bookman knew the situation in Poland very well. This is confirmed by another account from which we learn that Leo wanted to ascend the throne in Cracow.<sup>125</sup> However, he had some competition: "Bolesław has five nephews, two sons of Siemowit, Konrad and Bolesław, and three sons

121 "Потѣм[ъ] же лѣтъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 494.

122 See: Hrushevsky 1901, 50.

123 *Chronica* 2017, 494–498.

124 "Того ж[е] лѣта престависа великий княз[ъ] краков[ъ]ский Болеславъ, добрый и тихый, кроткий, и смирен[ъ]ный, незлобивый, братолюбивый. Пожив[ъ] же лѣта многа, и тако въ старости добръ ѡт[ъ]иде къ Б[ог]у. Тѣло ж[е] его спратав[ъ]ше, положиша е въ ц[р]кв[у] ркви с[в]ят[о]го Франциш[ъ]ка въ городъ в Краковъ" – *Chronica* 2017, 498–499.

125 *Chronica* 2017, 499.

of Casimir: Lestko, Ziemomysław, and Vladislaus”.<sup>126</sup> As the publishers of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* noted:

The list may seem incorrect at first sight, for after all, towards the end of 1279, Casimir had not three, but five sons. The two youngest, Casimir and Siemowit, were only twelve or so years old at the time of Bolesław's death. Undoubtedly, they were not considered contenders for the Cracow throne, and therefore – one may assume – they did not arouse the interest of the Rus'ian chronicler, who considered the matter from a political point of view, and therefore mentioned only 'adult' heirs.<sup>127</sup>

In an unambiguously negative manner, the bookman describes Leo's efforts to gain control over the Principality of Cracow. In 1280,<sup>128</sup> the monarch asked Nogai for help, as a result of which all the Halych-Volhynian rulers were forced to participate in the campaign.<sup>129</sup> From the political perspective, the source author's approach to Leo was clearly determined. Vladimir enjoyed good relations with Bolesław v the Chaste's successor, Leszek the Black. It is probably from this that the moralistic narrative follows, combined with the chronicler revealing himself: “As we have previously written about Leo, he had set out with his regiments [and] they began to spread out to wage war. And God visited his will unto him, for the Lyakhs killed many boyars and good servants from his regiments, as well as some of the Tartars. And Leo returned in great dishonor”.<sup>130</sup> The retaliatory expedition of Leszek the Black to Przeworsk, which resulted in the town being burnt down, was also described with some understanding of his actions.<sup>131</sup> There is no doubt that Leo must have had solid support in Lesser Poland (Małopolska). Without it, he could not have put forward claims to the throne in Cracow. Moreover, asking Nogai for help was a way to force the Halych-Volhynian princes to participate in the expedition. Hence, it can be deduced that the younger Romanovichi's resistance to Leo's plans must have been strong.

126 “Баше бо в Болеслава с[ы]нъвѣць ё: Съмовитовича два – Кондрат[ъ] же и Болеславъ, а Казимеричов[ъ] три – Лестько, Земомысль Волхдиславъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 499–500.

127 See: *Chronica* 2017, 500 with n. 1286; Jasiński 2001, 95–132.

128 Hrushevsky 1901, 50–51.

129 *Chronica* 2017, 500–504.

130 “якож[е] выпреди списахом[ъ] о Левѣ, быс[тъ] же идоущю емоу полкы своими, начаша рощхдити воеват[ъ]. Б[ог]ъ оучини над ним[ъ] волею Своею, оубиша бо лахове wt[ъ] полкоу его много боаръ и слоугы добрыа, и татаръ часть оубиша, и тако възвратиса Левъ назад[ъ] съ великым[ъ] бесчестіем[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 503–504.

131 *Chronica* 2017, 504.

Vladimir's involvement in Mazovian matters and – it would seem – his lesser interest in those of Lesser Poland is presented in the subsequent passage referring to 1282.<sup>132</sup> We read of the conflict between Konrad II of Mazovia on the one hand, who was supported by Vladimir Vasilkovich, and Bolesław II and Władysław Łokietek on the other.<sup>133</sup> As a result, the latter two invaded and plundered Jazdów.<sup>134</sup> Again, the bookman uses the phrase “after that”, which indicates that the chronological order has been preserved, but makes it difficult to locate the events in time. We know that Konrad asked for military support from Vladimir, who

sent [a messenger] to his nephew, Yuri, to ask for help. His nephew said to him: “My uncle, I would gladly go with you myself, but I cannot. I am travelling to Suzdal, my Lord, to get married, but I am taking only a few people with me. Here are all my men and boyars [whom] I am delivering into your hands and God’s. And when it is convenient for you, take them with you”.<sup>135</sup>

The account of Yuri's marriage to the daughter of Yaroslav Yaroslavich of Tver allows us to date the events precisely. In *The Voskresensk Chronicle* under the entry for the year 6790 (1282) we read: “that year, the daughter of Yaroslav Yaroslavich of Tver [was given in marriage] to Prince Yuri of Volhynia”.<sup>136</sup> The same chronicle includes the following passage under the entry for the year 6790 (1282): “That year, the daughter of Prince Yaroslav Yaroslavich of Tver was given in marriage to Prince Yuri of Polotsk”.<sup>137</sup> However, it should be remembered that the bookman probably preferred the March style, which suggests that the expedition might have taken place at the beginning of 1283.<sup>138</sup> This assumption is confirmed by the information provided by Jan Długosz under the entry for 1283 concerning the destruction of the “*grad* of Gostynin by Konrad

132 Hrushevsky 1901, 51. See: Włodarski 1938, 618–619.

133 Bolesław and Konrad was supported by Leszek the Black.

134 *Chronica* 2017, 504–506.

135 “с[ы]нѡвцоу своему къ Юрьєви посла, помочи проса. С[ы]нѡвѡц[ь] же емоу тако реч[е]: ‘Стрюю мой, рад[ъ] бых[ъ] и сам[ъ] с тобою шел[ъ], но нѣколи ми: едоу, госпѡдине, до Сжждала женитиса, а съ собою поймаю немнѡго людѣи, а се вси мои людие и боаре Б[ог]оу на рѣцѣ и тебѣ. А коли ти бѣдет[ъ] любо, тогда с ними поиди” – *Chronica* 2017, 507–508.

136 “Того же лѣта ведена въ Вельнь дщи Ярослава Ярославича Тверскаго за князя Юрья Вольнскаго” – *Letopis’ po Voskresenskomu spisku* 2001, 176.

137 “Того же лѣта дана бысть дщи князя Ярослава Ярославича Тѣрскаго за князя Юрья Полотцкаго” – *Vladimirskii letopisets* 1965, 96–97.

138 The March style encompasses the period from March 1, 1282 to February 28, 1283.

the prince of Mazovia".<sup>139</sup> Let us return to *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. Information about the wedding of Leo Danilovich's son is followed by a detailed description of the campaign. It provides an in-depth account of how secret signs were used during the mission, whereby the armies of Vladimir and Konrad of Czersk merged, as well as a description of the capture of Gostynin, Bolesław II's favourite *grod*.<sup>140</sup> Next, the author of the source text meticulously describes the losses incurred and the circumstances in which Vladimir's people had died.<sup>141</sup> The bookman shows great knowledge of the situation at the courts of the Piasts. He even knew about such nuances as the fact that "there were disloyal boyars at his [Konrad of Czersk's] court. So that they would not inform Bolesław, Vladimir's envoy"<sup>142</sup> they conveyed the message from his prince in secret.

After describing the campaign against Bolesław II, the chronicler recounts two events that took place at the same time, i.e., the Tartar expedition to Hungary and the Mazovian prince's attack on Szczekarzew (Krasnystaw), with some elements of a flashback. Under the entry for 1285<sup>143</sup> the bookman wrote: "They [the Tartars] ordered the Rus'ian princes to march with them: Leo, Mstislav, Vladimir, and Yuri Lvovich. Vladimir was then lame in one leg, so he did not join them because the wound was bad, but he sent his army with Yuri, his nephew. For at that time, the princes of Rus' were in the power of the Tartars".<sup>144</sup> As we can see, when Tartar assistance was sought by Leo for his political purposes, it was presented in an unambiguously negative way. However, when the princes were forced to go on a campaign as part of their "vassal" duty, each time the bookman stressed that "the princes of Rus' were in the power of the Tartars". Emphasis on the impossibility of opposing the Orda was meant to justify their actions.

139 "Et oppidum Gosthnnin per Cunradum Maszowie ducem vastatur" – Ioannis Dlugossii 1975, 225. T. Nowakowski (2012, 292; therein – a reconstruction of the Płock Annal) identified the quotation as information from the Płock Annal that has not survived. See: Nowakowski 2012, 51–52.

140 *Chronica* 2017, 508–515.

141 *Chronica* 2017, 515–518.

142 "бахж бо оу него боаре невѣрній, а бы не дали вѣсти Болеславоу. Посол[ъ] же Вълдимиров[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 509–510.

143 Hrushevsky 1901, 52.

144 "Велѣша ж[е] поити съ собою и роускым[ъ] кнасем[ъ]: Лвови, Мьстиславоу, Вълдимирови і Юрію Л[ъ]вовичю. Вълдимир[ъ] же баше тогда хром[ъ] ногою, тѣм[ъ] не иде, зане быс[ъ] рана сла на нем[ъ], но посла рат[ъ] свою съ Юрьемъ, сыновцем[ъ] своим[ъ]. Тогда бо бахж кнаси роустіи во воли татар[ъ]ской" – *Chronica* 2017, 519.

Bolesław II wanted to take advantage of the situation that had occurred by attacking Szczekarzew (Krasnystaw).<sup>145</sup> As can be judged from *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, this attack resulted in the Tartars releasing Leo from his obligation to participate in the expedition to Hungary. Prince Leo, together with Vladimir, sent troops to Wyszogród without waiting for Lithuanian reinforcements.<sup>146</sup> During the campaign, Vladimir was joined by the Lithuanians who were sent to Lublin because

... Vladimir mentioned that earlier Lestko [Leszek the Black] had sent the men of Lublin [and] had taken a village from him in the Ukraine [= borderland]<sup>147</sup> called Wohyń, and Vladimir kept reminding him many times over to return his serfs to him. But he would not give them back. Thus, he sent the Lithuanians against him, and they warred near Lublin, and captured a great number of serfs, and after taking a lot of spoils, they returned with honor.<sup>148</sup>

The passage contains an interesting moment of retrospection. After the description of the raid of Gostynin in 1282/1283 by the Polish-Rus'ian army, the bookman moves on to the events of 1285, suggesting that nothing interesting happened in the meantime. This indicates that probably in 1283, or in 1284 at the latest, a retaliatory expedition took place, organized by Leszek the Black allied with Bolesław II.

Next, the source's author returns to the events of 1285 and mentions the victorious return of Vladimir and Leo's army from Wyszogród.<sup>149</sup> Next, as in

145 In the Płock Annal, reconstructed by T. Nowakowski (2012, 292), the invasion of Szczekarzew can be found under the entry for 1285: "Boleslaus Maszovie dux filius Semoviti potenciis gencium suarum tam ex pedite quam ex equite contractis terram Russie ingressus, illam spoliis, igne et cedibus vastat et magna spolia Maszoviam refert. Cuius exercitu ad propria dilapso Rutheni Maszoviam repentina irrupcione ingress illam vastant et Boleslao Maszovie dectractante pugnam spolia et ipsi frequentia in Russiam referunt". See: Ioannis Dlugossii 1975, 237.

146 *Chronica* 2017, 519–523.

147 In the Old Rus' language Ukraine (украина) refers to outlying territory. The closest meaning is borderland.

148 "И воспоминаю Волѡдимеръ, иже преже того Лест[ъ]ко послал[ъ] люблин[ъ]ца, взал[ъ] баше оу него село на вокрайници именем[ъ] Воинъ, и и напомнимася емоу Волѡдимеръ о тѡм[ъ] мнѡго, а бы емоу воротил[ъ] челади[ъ]. Он[ъ] же не воротил емоу челади его, за се же и посла на н[ъ] литвоу, и воеваша около Люблина, и поимаша челади мнѡж[ъ]ство, и ополонив[ъ]шиса, и тако поидоша назад[ъ] съ ч[ъ]стїю" – *Chronica* 2017, 523–524.

149 *Chronica* 2017, 524.

a factual-based arrangement, he returns to the events from 1280, when Leo attempted to acquire the throne of Cracow:

In previous years, when Lestko had taken Leo [Danilovich]'s city of Przeworsk, the Lyakhs plundered the outskirts of Brest and [the area] along the Krosna River. They captured ten villages and went back. The residents of Brest assembled and gave chase. There were two hundred Lyakhs and seventy citizens of Brest led by the voivode Tytus, renowned everywhere for his bravery both during war campaigns and hunting expeditions. And they caught up and fought with them. Thanks to God's mercy, the people of Brest were victorious over the Lyakhs. They killed eighty of them, captured others, and recovered the spoils. And so they returned to Brest in glory, revering God and His Virgin Mother for all the ages.<sup>150</sup>

In this passage, the bookman used other events to locate his account in time, doing so analogously to the plot-based system of the 1245–1259 chronicle. This makes one wonder why the above fragment was not placed after the description of the battle waged by Leszek the Black at Przeworsk. If we consider the work to have been written systematically in the 1280s, we can assume that the bookman initially did not know of these events. If, on the other hand, we presume that the story was introduced into the source text at the time of its initial editing, i.e., towards the end of this period, it can be assumed that the author used his own memories and those of his informants. This suggests that the chronicler gathered stories. He attempted first of all to convey events worthy of being remembered, focusing primarily on Vladimir Vasilkovich and his politics, which were largely dependent on Danilo Romanovich's descendants. In fact, the concept of the necessity for cooperation between the Halych-Volhynian princes permeates the narrative.

Next, the chronicler again goes back to events that had taken place parallel to the expedition to Wyszogród, writing that “after this, we will return to the

150 “Въ преж[е]-реч[е]на же лѣта, коли Лест[ъ]ко взѣ Переворескъ горѡд[ъ] и Л[ъ]вѡв[ъ], то ж[е] лахове воеваша оу Берестіа по Кръснѣ, и взаша сел[ъ] десат[ъ], и поидоша назад[ъ]. Берестіане ж[е] събрашас[а] и гнаша по них[ъ], баше бо лаховѣ ѿ а берестіанѣ ѿ, баше бо оу них[ъ] воевода Тит[ъ], вездѣ словыи моуж[ъ]ством[ъ], и на ратех[ъ], и на ловѣх[ъ]. И тако оугонивша а, бишас[а] с ними. Б[о]жю же м[и]л[о]стїю побѣдиша берестіане лахы и оубиша их[ъ] ѿ, а другїа поимаша, а полон[ъ] свой ѡт[ъ]полониша, и тако прїидоша въ Берестїи съ ч[ъ]стїю, славаще Б[о]га и Пр[е]ч[и]стою Ею М[а]т[е]р[ь] въ всѣ вѣкы” – *Chronica* 2017, 524–525.

previously included [information]”.<sup>151</sup> He wrote about the Mongol expedition to Hungary, supported by the Halych-Volhynian princes. He referred negatively to Talabuga and Nogai, describing them as godless. The wrath of God that the Tartars were subjected to was supposedly intensified by the fact that they reverted even to cannibalism in the face of hunger.<sup>152</sup> The passage contains a significant statement that “eyewitnesses testified”,<sup>153</sup> which would indicate the source of the chronicler’s information. This is the first *expressis verbis* disclosure of his informants. However, the credibility of the quote can be called into question as the statement refers to the Bible: “there was a hundred thousand dead”,<sup>154</sup> indicating that it was used within the frame of a narrative strategy.

Maintaining the narrative in a chronological arrangement, though with elements of retrospection, the bookman seamlessly moves on to the next description: “After [these events], it followed that prince Bolesław became even more reckless, and did not cease to commit evil against the princes Vladimir and Yuri”.<sup>155</sup> In the further part of the narrative, we learn that both princes sent their armies along with Lithuanian reinforcements against Sochaczew, which was captured.<sup>156</sup> Again, the beginning of the narrative does not make it possible to determine whether these events took place in 1285 or in 1286. Polish sources come to the rescue, mentioning the capture of Gostynin in 1286 by Konrad II supported by the Rus’ians and Lithuanians.<sup>157</sup> The source texts indicate various destinations of the expedition. It cannot be excluded that Konrad took Gostynin, while the Rus’ian-Lithuanian army captured Sochaczew.<sup>158</sup> It is also possible that the Rus’ians and Lithuanians, perhaps together with

151 “Посем[ъ] же мы на пред[ъ]лежащее възвратимса” – *Chronica* 2017, 525.

152 *Chronica* 2017, 525–527.

153 “Самовид[ъ]ци же тако рекоша” – *Chronica* 2017, 526.

154 “Оумръших[ъ] быс[тъ] ѿ тысяч[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 526. See: Judg 8, 10.

155 “Быс[тъ] же по сих[ъ] Болеславоу кнасю и еще исполнив[ъ] шеса своег[о] безоуміа, и не престааше, слое твора Вълѡдимерю кнасю і Юрієви” – *Chronica* 2017, 527.

156 *Chronica* 2017, 527–528.

157 In the reconstructed *Plock Annal*, we read under the entry for 1286: “Sed nec diuturna Conrado Maszovie et Czirnensi duci atque suis militibus fuit ea leticia: hii enim Lithwani atque Rutheni, qui illum ad conquirendum castrum Gostinense adiuvarant, sub eiusdem anni spacio Maszovian ingressi et castrum Sochaczow conquirunt et castrum Ploszko negligencius custoditum interceptiunt et exurunt trucidatis utriusque sexus hominibus, nonnullis vero in captivitatem abductis” – Nowakowski 2012, 292 (see: Ioannis Dlugossii 1975, 239–240). In the *Traska’s Annal* under the entry for 1286: “Castrum a Ruthenis et a Lithwanis nomine Gostyn aequiritur fraude videlicet Conradi ducis, multorumque sanguis effuses est innoxius; in eodem mortuorum et captivorum sexcenti et amplius sunt numerati” – *Rocznik Traski* 1872, 851 (analogous information available in: *Rocznik małopolski* 1878, 185).

158 See: Włodarski 1962, 12–13; Żmudzki 2000, 448–449; Teterycz-Puzio 2015, 64.



Polish forces, took part in the capture of both towns. The bookman limited the description of the route taken by the Rus'ian-Lithuanian army to the necessary minimum. He was interested in the political situation and not in the number of captured towns.

The bookman begins the next fragment of the chronicle with the words: "and after that, it followed".<sup>159</sup> This is an insertion beginning the description of Talabuga's expedition to Poland, ending with mention of Leszek the Black's death. Slightly preceding the actual description, the author wrote that Talabuga had wanted to attack "the Lyakhs",<sup>160</sup> at the same time recalling the failed expedition to Hungary, "about which we had written previously".<sup>161</sup> Once again using the plural form, he has admitted to being the author of the account. After the obligatory reminder that the Halych-Volhynian princes in Tartar captivity were forced to participate in these events, he moves on to the narrative proper. He describes how Talabuga was welcomed by Mstislav Danilovich and Vladimir, along with the presentation of gifts. He then states that the khan had come to see the city of Vladimir, following which a significant statement is made: "and some say that he might have also been in the *grod*, but this [remains] uncertain".<sup>162</sup> The passage suggests that the bookman collected information from other people, which is revealing of his methodology. Moreover, he makes it clear that he was writing during the period when the events were taking place. This is indirectly evidenced by another account of the sacking of Vladimir. The chronicler states with great precision that it happened "on Sunday, and they marched past the *grod* the next day after St Nicholas' Day".<sup>163</sup> A Sunday after St Nicholas' Day, i.e., December 7, fell precisely in 1287.<sup>164</sup> Latin sources also made note of Talabuga and Nogai's expedition to Lesser Poland in the year 1287.<sup>165</sup> At that time, Talabuga attacked Sandomierz, while Nogai – Cracow.<sup>166</sup> Neither of the armies did anything to the *grods*, only plundering the surrounding areas.<sup>167</sup> Returning from the expedition, Talabuga stopped in

159 "И быс[ъ] же по сих[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 528.

160 *Chronica* 2017, 528–537.

161 "о нем[ъ]же впереди списахом[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 529.

162 "а друсий молвать, аже бы и в городъ был[ъ], но то невѣдомо" – *Chronica* 2017, 531.

163 "В нед[ъ]лю же минуша горд[ъ] по нѣколици д[ъ]ни наутрїи" – *Chronica* 2017, 531.

164 See: *Chronologia* 1957, 379.

165 E.g.: "Tarthari veniunt" – *Rocznik Traski*, 852. "Anno D[omi]ni MCCLXXXVII Telebuga et Nogay principes Tartarienses ante Cracoviam veniunt" – *Kalendarz krakowski* 1872, 940.

166 *Kalendarz krakowski* [the Cracow Calendar] notes the joint arrival of Talabuga and Nogai in Cracow. This probably results from the fact that the Polish chronicler was not well acquainted with the dynastic complexities of the Golden Horde and perceived the invasion of the feuding khans as a joint expedition. See the previous footnote.

167 *Chronica* 2017, 532–537.

Lviv for two weeks, destroying its outskirts. The bookman shows his attitude towards the Mongols: "And this [calamity] God sent onto them because of our sins, punishing us that we should repent for our evil and godless deeds".<sup>168</sup>

He openly expresses the opinion also preached by Bishop Serapion<sup>169</sup> – namely, that the Mongol invasion was the consequence of sins committed. The return to leading a Christian life should thus free one from sin and from the invader. Such thinking explains the religious and moral, but not political, nature of the situation; it also suggests the temporality of the state in which the Rus'ian principalities had found themselves, though the political situation remained in a "logical void".<sup>170</sup> After describing Talabuga's expedition, the bookman inserted a fragment devoted to the losses incurred as a result of war and natural disasters in Europe in the winter of 1287/1288, as well as to the political situation of neighbouring lands, ending with a mention of the death of Leszek the Black. He begins this part of the text with information about the great sea in the land of the Lyakhs.<sup>171</sup> Next, he writes that as a result of Talabuga and Nogai's activities in Leo's principality 12,500 people died.<sup>172</sup> Next

168 "Се же наведе на ны Б[ог]ъ грѣх[ъ] ради наших[ъ], казна нас[ъ], а быхѡм[ъ] са пока-  
али слых[ъ] своих[ъ] и незаконных[ъ] дѣл[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 535.

169 Bishop Serapion wrote: "Не пленена ли земля наша? Не покорены ли города наши? Давно ли пали отцы и братья наши трупѣм на землю? Не увѣбены ли хенщины наши и дети в полон? Не порабощены ли были оставшиися горестным рабством неверных? Вот уж к сорока годам приближаются страдания и мучения, и дани тяжкие на нас непрестанны, голод, мор на скот наш, и всласть хieба своего наестся не можем, и стенания наши и горе [...] Кто же нас до этого довел Наше безверье и наши грехи, наше непослушанье, нераскаянность наша! [...] Даже язычники, божьего слова не зная, не убивают единовеуев своих, не грабят, обвиняют, не клеветуют, не крадут, не зарятся на чужое; никакой неверный не продаст своего брата [...] мы грабим и убиваем, язычникам их продаем; доносами, завистью, если бы можно, так съели б друг друга, – но бог охраняет! = Has our land not been enslaved? Have our cities not been seized? Have not our fathers and brothers perished, our women and children been abducted into slavery? Have others also not been enslaved by the heathens? For almost forty years we have suffered thus, constantly paying tribute, while famine and disease kill us and our animals, we lack our daily bread, we wither away in pain and sorrow [...] What brought us to this point? [...] Our lack of faith and our sins, our disobedience and obstinacy. [...] Even the heathens, who know not the word of God, do not kill the followers of their own faith, they do not plunder them nor spread slander against them, they do not steal from them nor do they covet their neighbour's things; no infidel would sell his own brethren [...] we pillage and kill, we sell them to the pagans; if we could we would devour the other with our denunciations and envy, if it were not for God shielding us!" *"Slova" Serapiona Vladimirskogo* 1981, 445, 455. See: Halperin 1987, 68.

170 Halperin 1987, 68.

171 *Chronica* 2017, 537.

172 *Chronica* 2017, 537.

comes the account of the death of Prince Mikhailo, son of Yuri Lvovich. The chronicler states that “his body was prepared and buried in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Chelm, which had been built by his great-grandfather, the Great Prince Danilo, son of Roman”.<sup>173</sup> The quotation is very interesting. First of all, the author mentions Danilo Romanovich, who in the part of the chronicle after 1260 was replaced by Roman Mstislavich. Secondly, as noted by the publishers of the Polish translation of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*: “yet again Danilo was referred to by the title great prince and not king. Does this attest to the opinion held by the chronicler and his master about his uncle being crowned by the pope?”<sup>174</sup> This comment is subject to a logical flaw. The term “great prince” was used in its obituary meaning.<sup>175</sup> Today – simply put – we would say “the late ruler” Danilo. Ultimately, we all become great after our deaths. This logic is confirmed by a variant of the Ipatiev manuscript, in which we read: “прадѣдъ его великий князь Данило король с[ы]нъ Романовъ”<sup>176</sup> = his great-grandfather, the great prince Danilo, **the king**, son of Roman [emphasis by A.J.]. The word “king” was added on as a continuation of the verse<sup>177</sup> between two columns,<sup>178</sup> but in some other person’s handwriting.<sup>179</sup> It is significant to note that the scribe did not cross out the words “great prince”, which for him had the same obituary meaning as for our bookman, but rather he added the term “king” after the ruler’s name. This would mean that in the 15th century and later such usage was fully legible for readers. Upon completing the thread of the narrative, the author of the source text repeats the information about the epidemic being rampant among the Lyakhs, writing that it had also visited the Rus’ians and Mongols.<sup>180</sup> He then goes on to inform of the following: “That winter, when the [new] year arrived, they began to tell the story of how in Germany the sea overflowed [from its shores] and drowned the Earth in God’s

173 “тѣло его и положиша е въ ц[ѣ]ркви С[ва]тыа Б[огороди]ца в Холмѣ, юже бѣ създа[л]ъ прадѣд[ъ] его великѣи князь Данило, с[ы]нъ Романовъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 538–539.

174 *Kronika* 2017, 242 with n. 626.

175 The quoted *casus* makes one inclined to consider the inclusion of the term “great prince” in front of Vasilko (see pp. 23, 133) as an obituary formula, which in turn would indicate that the insertions in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* were introduced during Vladimir Vasilkovich’s times.

176 LRAS, ref. 16.4.4: *Ipat’evskii spisok*, 297.

177 The word “Danilo” ends the verse. See p. 165.

178 The Ipatiev manuscript was written in two columns. The quotation is to be found in the column on the left side. See the attached scan of a page of the Ipatiev manuscript, p. 165.

179 See: *Chronica* 2017, 539, variant c-c.

180 *Chronica* 2017, 539.

wrath. Over 16 thousand<sup>181</sup> souls drowned, and 100 and 11 stone churches [were lost], not counting the wooden ones”.<sup>182</sup> This refers to the great flood that took place on December 14, 1287 in Germany and the Netherlands. It consumed 50–80 thousand people.<sup>183</sup> It is worthwhile at this point to draw some attention to the phrase “when the [new] year arrived, they began to tell the story”. First of all, this confirms the bookman’s use of the March/ultra-March style. Secondly, it indicates that the information about the great flood reached Rus’ after March 1, 1288. Thirdly, it suggests that already then, the source’s author had been working on *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. Fourthly, it confirms the bookman’s use of informants.

The chronicler then turns again to political matters. From here the narrative begins to be more detailed. The chronicler tells of the expedition by Leszek the Black’s regiment to the lands of Konrad II of Czersk. The prince of Mazovia, having gathered a team, caught up with the invader and “killed much of Leszek’s regiment, his boyars and simple serfs, and his voivode killed Maciej of Sieradz, and recaptured what they had taken”.<sup>184</sup> In his chronicle, Jan Długosz provided the date of June 25, 1288 as when the skirmish occurred between Leszek the Black’s men and Konrad’s.<sup>185</sup> Such a dating, due to the chronological arrangement of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* and the fact that the event was described almost simultaneously to its occurrence, is most certainly correct.<sup>186</sup>

That summer, all of Lithuania and all of Samogitia marched against the Germans towards Riga. The news reached them and they fled to their *grods*. They [the invaders] came to the *grod* and were unable to do anything. From there, they went to Łatygola and came to the *grod* of Miedwieża Głowa, but they did not manage to do anything against it, and so they returned home with little loot. When the Germans from Toruń

181 Only in the Ipatiev manuscript version do we read “60 thousand”. See *Chronica* 2017, 539 with variants ad.

182 “Тое ж[е] симы в настав[ъ]шее лѣто, начаша повѣдат[и], аже в[ъ] нѣмцех[ъ] вышел[ъ] море и потопило землю гнѣвом[ъ] Б[о]жїим[ъ] – боле ̑ і тисач[ъ] д[оу]шь потонѣло, а ц[ъ]рквей каманых[ъ] р̑ и ̑ і проч[е] древаных[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 539–540.

183 *Chronica* 2017, 539 with n. 1366.

184 “Мнѣгы изби вт[ъ] полкоу Лестькова бодръ и простуюю челад[ъ], и воеводу его оуби сираж[ъ]ского Матѣа, а свои полвн[ъ] вт[ъ]полони” – *Chronica* 2017, 540.

185 Ioannis Długossii 1975, 249–250.

186 The dating differs in many studies. The expedition is dated to 1287 by: Hrushevsky 1901, 54; Żmudzki 2000, 450–451; Nowakowski 2012, 202–203. To 1288 by: Włodarski 1938, 623; 1966, 206.

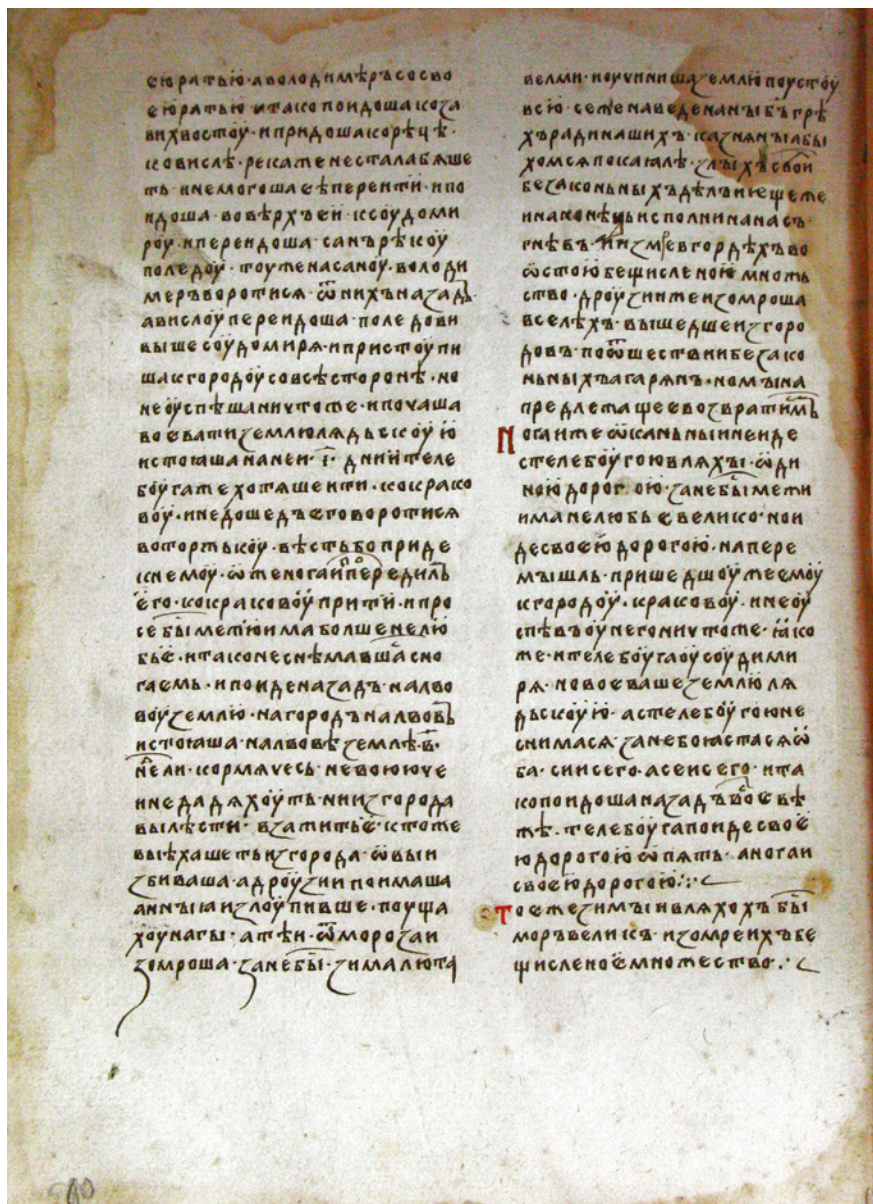


FIGURE 5 Page from the Ipatiev manuscript (LRAS, ref. 16.4.4: *Ipat'evskii spisok*, pp. 296v–297)





heard that all of Samogitia had gone to Riga, they advanced on Samogitia to help their countrymen. And they captured countless numbers [of the Samogitians], killed others, and returned with a lot of spoils.<sup>187</sup>

The arrangement of this passage leaves no room for doubt but that the bookman in writing “того ж[е] лѣта” was referring to the time of year, so the summer of 1288. We can find an analogous passage in the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle.<sup>188</sup> Dariusz Prekop dates this event to 1289,<sup>189</sup> having incorrectly identified the events described in the Ipatiev Chronicle.<sup>190</sup> Even though the rhymed chronicle was written in 1291–1298, its detailedness increases after the 1250s,<sup>191</sup> I would put *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* first, which was written at the latest at the beginning of the 14th century, while the basis of this passage was most probably some notes that were perhaps created on an ongoing basis, which is attested by the detailedness of the description.

In accordance with the applied strategy of chronological narration, following the description of the expedition to Riga, we can read about the death of Leszek the Black<sup>192</sup> (September 30, 1288).<sup>193</sup> The bookman once again shows his excellent knowledge of the situation in Poland. He presented both the course of the funeral ceremony and the ruler's burial place – the Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity in Cracow.

The information about the death of Leszek the Black closes the insertion, within which – as in similar such additions – the information is arranged in chronological order. As in other such instances, the bookman returns to the chronological narrative with a brief repetition of information about Talabuga's expedition against the Lyakhs at the turn of 1287/1288:

187 “Того ж[е] лѣта хвдиша литва вса и жемойть вса на нѣм[ъ]ци к Рису. Онѣм[ъ] ꙗже вѣс[ъ]тъ быс[ъ]тъ, и збѣгошас[а] в города, шни же пришед[ъ]ше к городоу и не в[ъ]спѣв[ъ]ше в него ничтож[е], шт[ъ]толе ж[е] идоша на Лотыголоу и дохвдив[ъ]ше города Медвежа головы, не в[ъ]спѣв[ъ]ше в него ничтѡж[е], и тако възвратишас[а] въ своа си, добывше мало полона. Се же оуслышав[ъ]ше тороун[ъ]стѣи нѣм[ъ]ци, аже жемойть вса пошла на Ригу. Идоша ж[е] нѣм[ъ]ци на жемойт[ъ], помогаючи своим[ъ] нѣмцем[ъ], и поимаша их[ъ] бесчислен[ъ]ное мнѡж[ъ]ство, а другѣа избиша, и тако прѣидоша въ своа си съ мнѡж[ъ]ством[ъ] полона” – *Chronica* 2017, 541–542.

188 Livländische Reimchronik 1876 [https://archive.org/details/livlndischereimoooreimgoog/page/n264 – accessed December 13, 2018].

189 Prekop 2004, 63–64.

190 Prekop 2004, 61.

191 See: Prekop 2004, 9 (literature therein)

192 *Chronica* 2017, 542–543.

193 For sources and literature, see: Jasiński 2001, 98–99.

When winter came, God sent his sword onto us, to wreak His wrath on us for the increase of our sins. And Talabuga and Algui set out with him in great force, and with them the Rus'ian princes, Leo and Mstislav and Vladimir and Yuri Lvovich, and numerous other princes. For at that time, all the princes were in the power of the Tartars, enslaved by the wrath of God. And so, they all advanced together.<sup>194</sup>

The chronicler again refers to the motif of God's punishment and of the Halych-Volhynian princes being "in the power of the Tartars," which I have written about in the extended account of Talabuga's expedition. Next, there is a very important account showing the reason for the use of the narrative strategy applied more often in the chronicle in describing the 1228–1244 events:

And Prince Vladimir was ill, for the wound that God had sent upon him was incurable. On their way to the Lyakhs, they reached a river called San. Prince Vladimir, alarmed by how weak of body he had become, sent word to his brother Mstislav, saying, 'Brother, you can see my infirmity, I have fallen ill, and I have no children. I bequeath unto you, my brother, all my land and my *grods* after my death. And these I give in the presence of the tsar and his advisors.' And Mstislav bowed his head before his brother Vladimir. And Vladimir sent a message to his brother Leo and to his nephew Yuri with these words: 'This I say to you. I have given my brother Mstislav my land and my *grods*.' Leo replied to Vladimir, 'You did well to give him the *grods*. I will not ask them of him after you are dead. And we are all subject to the will of God. May God grant me the right to govern my own [country] in my own time'. And then Mstislav sent word to his brother Leo and to his nephew, 'This brother of mine Vladimir has given me all his land and *grods*. If you also wish to claim anything after the death of our brother, here are the tsars, and here I am [also], tell me what do you want?' Leo spoke no word against this. Then Talabuga entered the land of the Lyakhs, along with Algai, and with them all the princes, but they turned back, because it grieved everyone to see him so sick.<sup>195</sup>

194 "Наставши ж[е] сѣмѣ, посла Б[ог]ъ на нас[ъ] меч[ъ] Свой, иже послужит[и] гнѣвоу Своему за оумнож[е]ніе грѣх[ъ] наших[ъ]. Идоущю ж[е] Телебоусѣ и Алгоуеви с ним[ъ] въ силѣ таж[ъ]цѣ, и с ними роустїи князи: Лев[ъ], и Мьстиславъ, и Волхдимеръ, і Юрїи Л[ъ]вович[ъ], и инїи князи мнози. Тогда бо бахжъ вси князи оу воли татар[ъ]ской, покорени гнѣвом[ъ] Б[о]жїим[ъ]. И тако поидоша вси въкоупѣ" – *Chronica* 2017, 543–544.

195 "Вълхдимероу ж[е] княсю бол[ъ]ноу сѣщю, зане быс[тъ] рана послана wt[ъ] Б[ог]а на нѣ неисцѣлимаа. Идоущим[ъ] же им[ъ] в лахы, и доидоша рѣкы, нарѣцаемаго



This passage is the beginning of the story of Vladimir Vasilkovich's terminal illness. Thus, the bookman began his detailed account of the last year of the prince's life, starting with the fact that the monarch, expecting his imminent end, made the decision to hand his property over to Mstislav. In order to secure the implementation of his will, he made it known to the other Romanovichi. Then his route was described: Vladimir-Luboml-Brest-Kamyenyets-Raj, during which he was informed of the results of the Tartar-Rus'ian expedition against Poland.<sup>196</sup> Next, the conflict between the prince of Vladimir and Mstislav was recounted<sup>197</sup> and the author wrote of the prince's stay in Raj.<sup>198</sup> It was from here that Vladimir sent for Danilo's younger son to hold council with him about his domain. In the description of the negotiations, we learn of many details from the life of the ruler of Vladimir: about his childlessness, about how he raised Iziaslava (whom he treated as a daughter) with his wife Olga, about his servants, etc.<sup>199</sup> Among various other details, the bookman mentioned that the prince's scribe Khodorec was to have prepared two official documents (*gramota*). In one, the monarch gave his lands to Mstislav Danilovich, in the other – he provided financial security for his wife Olga.<sup>200</sup> The writing down of these documents indicates the functioning of a chancellery at Vladimir Vasilkovich's court. In turn, the fact that both of the documents were attached

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Сана. Вълдимер[ъ] же княз[ъ] тѣскоуѣ немоч[ъ]ю тѣла своего, нача слати къ брату своему Мъстиславоу, тако река: 'Брате, видишь мою немоч[ъ], аже немогу. А ни оу мене дѣтей, а даю тобѣ, брату своему, землю свою всю и города по своему животѣ. А се ми даю при ц[а] рех[ъ] и прі его рад[ъ]цах[ъ]'. Мъстислав[ъ] же оудари чолѣм[ъ] пред[ъ] братѣм[ъ] своим[ъ] Волдимерѣм[ъ] – посла Волдимерѣ къ брату къ Л[ъ]вови и къ с[ъ]нѣвицѣ къ Юрьѣви с тѣми слѣвы: 'Се вам[а] повѣдаю: дал[ъ] еси брату своему Мъстиславоу землю свою и города'. Левъ же реч[е] Вълдимероу: 'Тако и гараздо, аже еси дал[ъ] мнѣ пѣд[ъ] нѣм[ъ] цѣ искати по своему животѣ, а вси ходим[ъ] пѣд[ъ] Б[о]гѣм[ъ]. А бы ми Б[ог]ъ дал[ъ] своим[ъ] мочи из-володѣти в се время'. И посем[ъ] посла Мъстиславъ къ брату своему къ Львови и къ с[ъ]нѣвицѣ своему, тако река: 'Се ж[е] брат[ъ] мой Волдимерѣ дал[ъ] ми землю свою всю и города. Аче и вѣсхочешъ чего искати по животѣ брата моего, и своего, оже се ти цареве, а се азъ. Мовъ со мною, што хочешъ. Лев[ъ] же не реч[е] противу тому слѣвоу ничегѣж[е]. Посем[ъ] же Телебоуга поиде в лахы и Алгоуи, и с ними вси князи, а Волдимера воротиша назад[ъ], зане быс[ъ] жалостно зрѣти на н[ъ], видачи его бол[ъ]на сѣщи" – *Chronica* 2017, 545–547.

196 If the bookman stayed with Vladimir Vasilkovich, which seems highly likely, this would explain his good knowledge of the Rus'ian-Tartar expedition against Poland.

197 It referred to Mstislav handing over Vladimiran land to his boyars while Vladimir Vasilkovich was still alive.

198 *Chronica* 2017, 547–553.

199 *Chronica* 2017, 553–558.

200 See: *Chronica* 2017, 558–562.

to the chronicle *in extenso*<sup>201</sup> is clear indication that the bookman had access to the princely archives. The negotiations ended with the ritual of kissing the cross. The chronicler wrote that the talks took place during Fyodor's week,<sup>202</sup> i.e., in the period from February 15–21, 1288. As we can see, in this part of the source text, the author discusses events month by month and not as before – year by year. Moreover, much more often than in earlier pages, the bookman would reveal himself using the plural form (“to the previous we will return”) and only once in the singular: “which I have not recorded”.<sup>203</sup> The chronicler then writes that Mstislav went to Vladimir to complete the securing of his rights to his inheritance from the prince. An extremely interesting description ensues of the issued *gramota* being made public:

he went to the bishopric to the [Cathedral of] the Holy Mother of God and summoned his brother's boyars of Vladimir and the Rus'ian and German townspeople, and ordered his brother's *gramota* be read before all of them, bequeathing the land and all the *grods* and the capital city of Vladimir. And all heard this, young and old alike. The bishop of Vladimir, Eugene, blessed Mstislav with a processional cross for his reign in Vladimir.<sup>204</sup>

This occurred after Fyodor's Week, probably towards the end of February 1288. The bookman then included an account of the last days of Vladimir Vasilkovich's life, indicating the passage of days in even more detail: “After spending several days in Vladimir, Mstislav then visited his *grods*, Lutsk and Dubno, and other towns which I have not written down”.<sup>205</sup> The account also provides information about a very important element of the author's narrative strategy. He was not interested in the property belonging to individual princes, but rather – as can be observed from the manner in which the account was conducted – in the most important aspects of internal and external politics and the profiles of

201 Kupchins'kiĭ 2004, 311–314, 315–318) is of a different opinion.

202 *Chronica* 2017, 562–564.

203 *Chronica* 2017, 565–567.

204 “еха въ еп[и]ск[о]пью къ С[ва]той Б[огороди]ци, и съзва боары вълдимер[ъ] скіа брата своего и мѣстичѣ роус[ъ] и нѣмци, и повелѣ пред[ъ] всѣми чести грамотоу брат[ъ] ню – ѡт[ъ]данье землѣ, и всѣх[ъ] городовъ, и стол[ъ]ного города Вълдимера. И слышаша вси ѡт[ъ] мала и до велика. Еп[и]ск[о]пѣ ж[е] вълдимер[ъ]скіи Евсегеніи бл[аго]с[ло]ви Мьстислава кр[ъ]стом[ъ] въздвизал[ъ]ным[ъ] на княженіе вълдимер[ъ]ское” – *Chronica* 2017, 564–565.

205 “Мьстислав[ъ] же пребывъ нѣколико д[ъ]нїи оу Волдимери и еха въ своа города: в Лоуцескъ, и в Доубенѣ, и въ ины города, их[ъ]же не списахом[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 565–566.

the most important rulers, with particular emphasis on Vladimir Vasilkovich. Hence, after describing his tutor's journey from Raj to Luboml, which probably took place in February 1288, he recalls an act of bravery he had performed when still in good health:

Here [in Luboml – A.J.] he lay all winter in pain, sending his attendants out to hunt. For he was also a good and brave hunter himself, and had never waited for his servants to help him when he went against a boar or a bear, but quickly killed all the animals himself. For this, he was famous in all the land. And God had given him good fortune, not only in hunting, but in everything, because he was a good and just man.<sup>206</sup>

Vladimir's fortitude and strength are in line with the "monarchic theology", promoted by Hilarion in his *Sermon on Law and Grace*, as it emphasizes the prince's justice and personal valour.<sup>207</sup> The phrase "when summer came"<sup>208</sup> opens the next part of the narrative, encompassing the warm months of 1288. According to the bookman, Konrad II of Czersk asked Vladimir that he be recommended to Mstislav Danilovich. The chronicler used the phrase "под[ъ] своею ржкою" ("take someone into one's care") as many as four times,<sup>209</sup> thereby emphasizing Konrad's dependence on Vasilko Romanovich's son. In this way, Vladimir is portrayed as a good and protective suzerain who had in his care all the dependent princes.

Moving on to further events, the bookman uses the phrase "and after that".<sup>210</sup> This refers to the period after the summer months, probably to September 1288, when Konrad II of Czersk travelled to Brest, and from there to Luboml, to Vladimir Vasilkovich's court.<sup>211</sup> After talks with him, he continued his journey through Vladimir and Lutsk to Gaj. There he met with Mstislav Danilovich, who took him under his wing. The account of this event resembles a homage (in accordance with Rus'ian custom, it was the person in a senior position who gave gifts to his vassal):

206 "в Любомль, тоу ж[е] и лежаше всю зиму въ болести своей, россылаа слугы своя на ловы. Баше бо и сам[ъ] ловець доборъ и хороборъ, николиж[е] къ вепреви, ни къ медведеви не ж[ъ]даше слоугъ своих[ъ], а быша. емоу помогли, но скоро сам[ъ] оубиваше всакий свѣрь, тѣм[ъ]же и прослоул[ъ] баше въ всей земли, понеж[е] дал[ъ] баше емоу Б[ог]ъ васнь не токмо на одинѣх[ъ] ловѣх[ъ], но въ всемъ за его добро и правдоу" – *Chronica* 2017, 566–567.

207 Brzozowska 2014, 33.

208 "Настав[ъ]шу ж[е] лѣтоу" – *Chronica* 2017, 667.

209 See: *Chronica* 2017, 567–570.

210 "И посем[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 570.

211 *Chronica* 2017, 570–571.

And [Mstislav] received him reverently and lovingly [taking him] into his care, following Vladimir's brotherly words, saying: 'As my brother held you in high esteem and gifted you, [so] may God allow me to hold you, honor you, gift you and stand by your side [whenever] you are | wronged.' And after that, they started making merry. And Mstislav bestowed upon Konrad beautiful horses with extraordinary saddles and precious garments. Mstislav gave him many other gifts as well, and so he sent him off with reverence.<sup>212</sup>

In this passage, Mstislav's position is very strongly emphasized. The analyzed text might serve as indirect proof that after Vladimir Vasilkovich's death, the chronicle was written at Mstislav's court. This supposition would explain why the source text suddenly breaks off and is not continued during the times of Leo Danilovich's sons.

After the description of Konrad's homage, we learn that an inhabitant of Lublin land named Yartak, who should be categorized as one of the bookman's informants, came to Luboml in search of the prince of Mazovia. He conveyed the news of Leszek the Black's death to Princess Olga,<sup>213</sup> adding that "I have been sent by the inhabitants of Lublin as they want Prince Konrad to reign in Cracow. I want to quickly find Konrad wherever he might be".<sup>214</sup> As a result, we know that the events took place after September 30, 1288 (following the death of Leszek the Black), probably in October of that year. Ultimately, the envoy found Konrad as he was returning from his visit to Mstislav in the city of Vladimir. The prince of Mazovia, upon hearing the words: "Prince Lestko is dead, and I have been sent by the inhabitants of Lublin. Come reign over us in Cracow",<sup>215</sup> once again set out to Luboml to see Vladimir, from whom he received a regiment commanded by Voivode Dunai. The expedition, having been organized in such haste, ended in failure with Lublin closing its gates to Konrad. It turned out that another envoy had been sent to Leo Danilovich, who

212 "и прїа и с ч[ъ]стїю и любовїю пшд[ъ] свою ржкоу пш братню словоу по Волхди-меревоу, тако река: 'Како та имѣл[ъ] брат[ъ] мой, и чтил[ъ], и дарил[ъ], а мнѣ дай Б[ог]ъ тако ж[е] имѣти та, и ч[ъ]стити, и дарити, и стоати за тобою въ твою обидоу'. И посем[ъ] начаша веселитиса. Мьстислав[ъ] же одари Къндрата кон[ъ]ми красными и в сѣдлех[ъ] дивных[ъ], и порты дорогыми, и ины дары мнѣгы вѣда емоу, и тако шпоусти съ ч[ъ]стїю" – *Chronica* 2017, 572–573.

213 *Chronica* 2017, 573–574.

214 "Прислали ма люблин[ъ]ци: хотат[ъ] кнаса Кондрата княжити въ Краковѣ, а наборзѣ хочю найти Кондрата, где бждет[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 574–575.

215 "Кназ[ъ] Лест[ъ]ко м[ъ]ртвь, а прислали ма люблин[ъ]ци. Поед[и] княжит[ъ] к нам[ъ] до Кракова" – *Chronica* 2017, 575.

had dispatched his son Yuri to the city.<sup>216</sup> The bookman summarized the entire expedition with the words: “after this, there was great unrest in the land of the Lyakhs.”<sup>217</sup> This refers to the struggle over Leszek the Black’s legacy, episodes of which were described in the further parts of the chronicle.

“After this had ended, some days passed”<sup>218</sup> – this is how the next fragment of the narrative begins. As observed, the bookman attempted to recount Vladimir Vasilkovich’s last days in great detail, while the phrasing he uses attests that he was an eyewitness to the events described. The phrase “some days passed” indicates that this occurred not long after the failed expedition to Lublin, probably in October or November 1288. At that time, Yuri Lvovich sent an envoy to ask the prince of Vladimir for Brest. Vladimir did not comply, and he also told Mstislav Danilovich to refuse. Next, Leo Danilovich sent another envoy in the same matter, this time the bishop of Przemyśl, Memnon.<sup>219</sup> This is a passage very important for describing the internal politics of Halych-Volhynian Rus’ and the mutual relations between the members of the Romanovichi dynasty, as well as for determining the place where some of its members were buried. The chronicler created an interesting construct, weaving into the narrative elements praising Vladimir Vasilkovich: his truthfulness (“I [have not been] two-faced nor have I been a liar”)<sup>220</sup> as well as his wisdom and erudition (“he spoke with the bishop on many [matters] from [various] books, as he was a great bookman and philosopher the like of which there has never before been in all the lands nor shall there be after his death”).<sup>221</sup> It is especially interesting that Vladimir is referred to using the term *knizhnik*/bookman,<sup>222</sup> which would indicate that the prince could not only read and write, but also create documents, chronicles, etc.

After the information about the envoys sent by Yuri Lvovich and Leo Danilovich, the chronicler moves on to describe Vladimir’s illness: “Prince Vladimir lay suffering in great pain a full four years. We will tell of his pain in the following way. His lower lip began to rot. Only a little in the first year but in the second and third year, it decayed even more, and yet he was not very ill, but rode

216 *Chronica* 2017, 575–580.

217 “Посем[ъ] же матеж[ъ] быс[тъ] велик[ъ] въ земли лад[ъ]скои” – *Chronica* 2017, 580.

218 “Быс[тъ] же посем[ъ] минѣв[ъ]шим[ъ] не по колицем[ъ] д[ъ]нем[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 580.

219 *Chronica* 2017, 580–587.

220 “Вѣдаешъ сам[ъ], иже а не двою рѣчу, ни а пакъ лож[ъ] былъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 581.

221 “повѣстивъ съ еп[и]ск[о]пѣм[ъ] много шт[ъ] книг[ъ], зане быс[тъ] книжник[ъ] великъ и философ, якож[е] не быс[тъ] въ всей земли, ни по нем[ъ] не бѣдет[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 585.

222 This will be discussed further in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*.

his horse when he wanted to".<sup>223</sup> Fedir Androshchuk and Anna Chel'strem have established that the prince probably suffered from leprosy.<sup>224</sup> After describing the symptoms of the illness, the chronicler presented the monarch's attempts to atone for his sins through almsgiving. It is worth drawing some attention to two passages: "And his father's gold belts and his own silver belts that he had received from his father [...] And his grandmother and mother's great gold necklaces".<sup>225</sup> This seemingly inconspicuous fragment provides us with some important information. Firstly, clothes and jewelry were inherited from the father and the mother. Secondly, it is natural to inherit from one's parents, but why did Vladimir Vasilkovich possess valuables left behind by Roman's wife? The last time she was mentioned was under the entry for 1253. At the time, she was trying to convince Danilo to accept the royal crown. It is known that she stayed close to her elder son's court. Thus, her personal belongings should have been inherited by Danilo, and after him by his children, unless Romanova outlived her firstborn and moved to Vasilko's court. She would then have been about 80 years old. Such an age was unusual in the Middle Ages, but entirely possible. The supposition of the longevity of the Romanovichi mother is also confirmed by the fact that she was not buried in Chełm, where Danilo would probably have placed her body, but in Vladimir.<sup>226</sup> Into the description of Vladimir's illness, the chronicler weaves words of praise for the prince, largely a borrowing of the relevant passage in the *Sermon on Law and Grace*.<sup>227</sup> A comparison of both texts shows that the bookman quoted Hilarion from memory (analogously to citations from the Holy Bible). The praise of the prince was meant to show that he was a Christian ruler, living according to God's law. It

223 "Кнасяю же Вълшдимероу лежащю в болести своей пол[ъ]но дѣт[а]. Болезнь же его сице скажем[ъ]. Нача емоу гнити исподнаа оустна – пръвого лѣта мало, на другое и на третѣ бол[ъ]ма поча гнити. И еще ж[е] емоу не вел[ъ]ми бол[ъ]ноу сщю, но ездаше на кони, когда хоташе" – *Chronica* 2017, 587–588.

224 Androshchuk, Chel'strem 2007, 243–258. However, I would like to recall that as the publishers of the Polish edition and translation of the chronicle have already indicated, Fedir Androshchuk and Anna Chel'strem did not take into account the autopsy of the remains claimed to be those of Vladimir conducted by the pathologist Munich in 1886. See: Levitskii 1892, 108–109, 114–115; *Kronika* 2017, 253 with n. 1741; *Chronica* 2017, 588 with n. 1452.

225 Brzozowska 2014, 32–35.

226 "и подасы золотые шт[ъ]ца своего и серебряные – свое, иже бѣ по шт[ъ]ци своем[ъ] стажал[ъ] [...] и мониста великаа золотая бабы своеа и м[а]т[е]ре своеа" – *Chronica* 2017, 588.

227 See: *Chronica* 2017, 639–640. See: Dąbrowski 2012a, 68–69.

thus fit in with Hilarion's "monarchic theology".<sup>228</sup> Therefore, the chronicler created a literary image of the ruler in accordance with the canons functioning in the writings of Kievan Rus'. Thus, the prince was generous, merciful, cared for his subjects, etc. The text of the Kievan Bishop was supplemented at its end with a personal comment from the bookman, who after mentioning that Vladimir had met with bishops and abbots added: "with great humility, you discussed [many topics with them] from books on life in this mortal world".<sup>229</sup> Once again, the bookman highlighted Vladimir's education.

Next, the bookman again reveals himself by using the phrase "but let us now return to what was described previously".<sup>230</sup> With this, he returns to the interrupted story of Vladimir's progressing illness: "When the fourth year passed and the winter had set in, he became more ill. All the flesh from his chin fell off, his lower teeth rotted away completely, as did his jaw".<sup>231</sup> He goes on to add: "He was the second Job, and entered the church of the holy and great martyr of Christ, Saint George".<sup>232</sup> This is a reference to the Kievan Chronicle, to the description of Igor Olgovich: "Upon hearing this, Igor went to the Church of Saint Theodore and sighed from the depths of his heart with contrition and humility, and shed tears, recalling Job's great anguish ...".<sup>233</sup> What stands out in the account is the chronicler's very personal approach to the prince, which might be an indication that he was part of his closest circles. This supposition is confirmed by his description of the following incident: "wishing to receive Holy Communion from his father confessor, he entered the small altar".<sup>234</sup> The account referring to the confessor almost immediately brings to mind the story about Timofey. I am not inclined to see the author of the chronicle in its text, but if I had to select someone, I would point to the monarch's confessor. This

228 See *Chronica* 2017, 589–593; Uzhankov 2014, 226–233 (see here the text that served as basis for writing the words of praise about Vladimir). A comparison and analysis of both source texts was conducted by: Nasonov 1969, 236–242.

229 "Мнѡго бесѣдоваше ѡт[ъ] книгѣ ѡ житіи свѣта сего тлѣн[ъ]наго" – *Chronica* 2017, 593.

230 "Но мы на пред[ъ]лежащее възвратимся" – *Chronica* 2017, 593.

231 "Исходящю ж[е] дѣмѣмъ лѣтоу и наставши сѣмѣмъ, нача бол[ъ]ма нечимо: опада емѣ все масо съ брады и зобы исподній выгниша вси, и челюсть бороднаа перегни" – *Chronica* 2017, 593–594.

232 "Съи же быс[ъ] вторыи Іевѣ, и въиіде въ ц[ъ]рквѣ[ъ] въ с[ва]т[о]го и великого м[оу]ч[е]ника Х[ристо]ва Гевргіа" – *Chronica* 2017, 594.

233 "Игорь же оуслышавъ поиде въ ц[ъ]рквѣ с[ва]т[о]го Федора и въздохнуувъ из глубины с[ъ]рд[ъ]ца скроушеномъ смиреномъ смысломъ и прослезився и поману вса Иишова" – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 350. A similar motif is to be found in the fragment about David Rostislavich, but without the reference to Job. See: *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 705.

234 "Хота взати причастіе оу ѡт[ъ]ца своего д[оу]ховнаго, и въиіде въ ѡлтаръ малый" – *Chronica* 2017, 594.

is only a guess based on this suggestive text, which indicates that the prince's companion during his last moments was the clergyman – who then described them. Even if he was not the last or penultimate (such a possibility cannot be ruled out) editor of our source text, he should certainly be included among the bookman's informants. Vladimir's prayer, in which he puts his trust in the Lord and submits to His will, gives an unusually personal impression. However, this seems to be a stylistic device applied to show the prince's deep faith. Once again, the chronicler refers to the Kievan Chronicle, and the prayers of Igor Olgovich and David Rostislavich:

The prayer of Vladimir Vasilkovich	The prayer of Igor Olgovich	The prayer of David Rostislavich
<p>Lord, my God, look upon my ailment, and see my humility overcoming me now, for in Thee I trust, I am suffering, and for all this I thank Thee, O Lord. Many blessings have I received from Thee during my lifetime, why should I not also suffer misfortune? As Thy power wills, so shall it be; as Thou hast humbled my soul, allow me to become part of your kingdom through the intercession of Thy Most Holy Virgin Mother, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Martyrs and all the venerable Holy Fathers, [as] they too endured suffering and became pleasing to Thee, they</p>	<p>And so, many tribulations and much sufferings were sent to the righteous, and yet the holy Prophets and the Apostles, and the Martyrs, have received their crown, [they] who shed their blood for the Lord, and so did the Holy Martyrs and the Blessed Fathers, many assaults, and bitter torments, and suffering have they undergone; they have been subjected to trials by the devil, like gold in a furnace. For their prayers, O Lord, accept me among Thy chosen flock with righteous sheep. And thus, have holy, righteous emperors shed</p>	<p>O Lord my God! Lord, look upon my powerlessness, see my humility, which now limits me. Let me suffer, placing my hope in Thee. For all these things I thank Thee, O Lord, that Thou hast humbled my soul, and make me a part of Thy kingdom for the prayers of Thy Most Holy Mother, the Prophets and the Apostles, and the Martyrs, and all the Blessed Holy Fathers, as they too suffered and earned [their place] before Thee, they have been tried by the devil, as gold in a furnace. For their prayers, O Lord, among Thy chosen flock</p>



(cont.)

The prayer of Vladimir Vasilkovich	The prayer of Igor Olgovich	The prayer of David Rostislavich
were tempted by the devil, like gold in a crucible. For their prayers, O Lord, accept me into Thy chosen flock of righteous sheep. <sup>235</sup>	their blood, suffered for their people. And our Lord Jesus Christ saved the world with His blood, sacred due to the devil's transgressions. <sup>236</sup>	with righteous sheep may Thou include me. <sup>237</sup>

Following Vladimir's prayer, the bookman once again refers to the description of David Rostislavich's death as presented in *The Kievan Chronicle*:

- 235 “Вл[а]д[ы]ко Г[оспод]и Б[ож]е мой, призри на немощ мою и виждь смиреніе мое, одръжащаа ма н[ы]нѣ, на Та бѣ оуповаа, трѣплю и ѡ всѣх[ъ] сих[ъ] бл[а]годарю Та, Г[оспод]и. Бл[а]гаа пріах[ъ] ѡтѣ Тебе въ животѣ моем[ъ], то слых[ъ] ли не могу трѣпѣти? Яко дръжавѣ Твоей годѣ, тако и быс[ъ], яко смирил[ъ] еси д[о]ушю мою, и въ ц[а]рствіи Твоем[ъ] причастника ма сътвори м[о]л[и]твами Пр[е]ч[и]стыа Твоеа М[а]т[е]ре, прор[о]къ, ап[о]ст[о]лъ, и м[о]уч[е]н[и]къ, и всѣх[ъ] преподобных[ъ] с[в]а[т]ых[ъ] о[т]ъцѣ, якоже и тѣмъ пострада[а]в[ъ]ше и оугождыше Тебѣ, искушени быша ѡтѣ дѣвола, яко злато въ грѣнилѣ, – их[ъ]же м[о]л[и]твами, Г[оспод]и, избран[ъ]нѣм[ъ] Твоем[ъ] стадѣ съ десными ма овцами причти” – *Chronica* 2017, 294–296.
- 236 “Тако толику стр[ъ]сти и различная см[ъ]рти на праведники находили соуѣ и како с[в]а[т]и пр[о]р[о]ци ап[о]ст[о]ли съ м[о]уч[е]н[и]къ вѣнцаш[а] и по Г[о]с[п]одѣ крови своя проляша и како с[в]а[т]и с[в]а[т]енномуч[е]н[и]ци пр[е]п[о]д[о]бни ѡтѣ многы напасти и горкуы мучы и различны см[ъ]рти приаша искушени бѣвше ѡт дѣвола яко злато въ грѣнилѣ ихже м[о]л[и]твами Г[оспод]и (избраномъ твоємъ стадѣ) причти ма избраномъ твоємъ стадѣ съ десными ма овцами и како с[в]а[т]и правовѣрнии ц[е]сари проляша крови своя стражюще за люди своя и еще же Г[оспод]ь наш[ъ] Ис[о]у[с] Х[ри]с[т]ос[ъ] ѣ искоупи мира ѡт прельсти дѣвола ч[ъ]с[ъ]тною кровію” – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 350.
- 237 “Влад[ы]ко Г[о]с[п]од[и] Б[ож]е мои! Г[о]с[п]од[и], призри на немощ мою, виждь смирение мое удържащаа ма н[ы]нѣ да тобою оуповаа терплю и ѡ всихъ сихъ Бл[а]годарю та Г[о]с[п]од[и] и яко смирил[ъ] еси д[о]ушю мою и во ц[а]рствіи твоємъ причастника ма створи м[о]л[и]твами Пр[е]ч[и]стыа твояа М[а]т[е]ри пр[о]р[о]къ, ап[о]ст[о]лъ, и муче[н]и[к]ъ и всихъ препод[о]бных[ъ] с[в]а[т]ы[х] о[т]ъцѣ якоже и тѣ пострадаше и оугодивше тобѣ искушени быша ѡт дѣвола яко злато въ грѣнилѣ ихже м[о]л[и]твами, Г[о]с[п]од[и] избраннѣ(х) омѣ стадомъ с десными ма ов[ъ]цами причти” – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 705.

*The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia**The Kievan Chronicle*

When he returned from the church, he lay down and no longer went out anywhere, for his illness became even worse. And all the flesh fell from his chin. His jawbone rotted and his larynx was visible. And he ate nothing for 7 weeks, except only for water, and that very little. And [when] it was Thursday night, he began to fail in strength. When the cocks crowed, he knew that his spirit was tired, that his soul was [ready] to depart. And he looked upwards to Heaven and gave glory to the Lord saying: 'Immortal God! I praise Thee in all things, For Thou art the True Emperor of all things. Thou hast offered to all creation wealth and happiness. For Thou hast created this entire world, watching and waiting for the souls For those Thou have sent out wilt be revered by Thee for living a good life, and if they have not followed Thy commandments – those wilt be judged. For all judgment and eternal life [is decided upon] by Thee for those who fear God, in Thy grace Thou lovest all who turn to Thee.' And he finished

And his life ended that day. And he felt ill, and being at the end of his strength before his soul departed, he looked up to heaven and gave glory to God, saying: "Immortal God! I praise Thee in all things. For Thou art indeed a King to all alike, Who hast given all riches for the enjoyment of Thy people. For Thou hast created this world and art guarding it, waiting for the souls which Thou hast sent forth; and those who have lived an exemplary life Thou wilt reward as God, and those who have not obeyed Thy commandments – Thou wilt judge. For great is Thy righteous judgment, and eternal is the life Though giveth by your grace, and Thou lovest all who come to Thee". And when he had finished praying, he raised his hands to heaven and surrendered his soul into God's hands, and went away to his fathers and his grandfathers, paying our human debt, which cannot be avoided by all who have been born. And his rule in Smolensk had lasted 18 years, and since his birth 60 years had passed without three.<sup>238</sup>

238 "Пришед[ъ]шю же емоу шт[ъ] ц[ъ]рк[ъ]ви, и леже, и потѣм[ъ] не выхѣди вонь, но бол[ъ]ма нача изнемогати, и шт[ъ]пада емоу масо все съ борода, кость борѣд[ъ]наа перегнила баше, и быс[тъ] видѣти и гортан[ъ]. И не въкоуша по 3 недел[ъ] ничтож[е], развѣ единое воды, и тое ж[е] поскудоу. И быс[тъ] в че[тъ]ртьг[о]к[ъ]: на ноч[ъ] поча изнемогати, и яко быс[тъ] в коуры, и позна в собѣ д[оу]хъ изнемагающъ ко исходу д[оу]ши, и възрѣвъ на на н[е] бо, и въздавъ хвалоу Б[ог]оу, г[лаго]ла: 'Бесм[ъ]ртный Б[ож]е, хвалю Тебе о всем[ъ], Ц[а]рь бо еси всѣм[ъ] Ты един[ъ] вѣистин[ъ]ноу, подаа всей твари все богат[ъ]ство им[ъ] и наслаженіе. Ты бѣ сътворишь мира сего, Ты съблюдаеши, ожидаа д[оу]ша, яж[е] посла, да доброу жизнь жив[ъ]шим[ъ]

(cont.)

*The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia**The Kievan Chronicle*

his prayer and lifted up his hands to Heaven and surrendered his soul into the hands of God. And he joined his fathers and his grandfathers, and paid the debt common to all, which no living person can avoid. When it dawned on Friday, the pious and Christ-loving Great Prince Vladimir, son of Vasilko, grandson of Roman, passed away. He ruled as prince after his father [died] for 20 years. His death took place in the *grod* of Luboml in the year 6797 [1288] in the month of December on the 10th day, on the Day of the Holy Father Menas.<sup>239</sup>

почтеши яко Б[ог]ъ, а еже не покорив[ъ]шюся Твоим[ъ] заповѣдем[ъ] предаси сѣдоу. Вѣсь бо сѣд[ъ] праведным[ъ] ѡт[ъ] Тебе и бесконечна жизнь [sic] ѡт[ъ] Тебе, бл[а]г[о] д[а]т[ію] Своею вса милюеши притѣкающаа к Тебѣ. И кончавъ м[о]л[и]твоу, въздѣвъ рѣци на н[е]бо и предастъ д[оу]шю свою въ рѣци Б[о]жїи. И приложиса къ ѡт[ъ]ц[е]мъ своим[ъ] и дѣдом[ъ] своим[ъ], ѡт[ъ]давъ об[ъ]щїи длѣгъ, егоже нѣс[ъ] оубежати всакомоу рож[е] ному. Свитающю ж[е] пат[ъ]коу и тако престависа бл[а]говѣр[ъ]ный и хр[и]столюбивый великий кнз[ъ] Володимеръ, с[ы]нъ Васил[ъ]ковъ, вноукъ Романовъ. Кнзѣ по ѡт[ъ]ц[и] ѿ лѣт[ъ]. Преставленїе же его быс[ъ] в Любомли городѣ в лѣт[о] ̅҃҃҃ чз̅ м[ѣ]с[а]ца декабря ̅҃҃ д[ѣ]нь, на с[в]ѣт[о]го ѡт[ъ]ца Мины” – *Chronica* 2017, 596–599.

- 239 “И бы живота его до того же д[ѣ]ни, и познавша хоудъ изнемогая ко исходу д[оу]ши и възрѣвъ на н[е]бо, и воздавъ хвалоу Б[ог]оу, г[а]го ла: ‘Бесм[ъ]ртныи Б[о]же, хвалю тебе ѡ всемъ воздаю ц[е]сарь бо еси ты всимъ единъ, во истину подавая своеи твари все ба[га]тьство имъ в наслаждение створивъ бо ты мира сего ты соблюдаеши жидая д[оу]ша, яже посла да доброу жизнь жившимъ почтеши, яко Б[ог]ъ а еже не покорившюся твоимъ заповѣдемъ предаси соуду всь бо соудъ праведенъ ѡт тебе и безъ конца жизнь ѡт тебе бл[а]годатью своею и вса милюеши притекающии к тебе’. И кончавъ м[о]л[и]твоу въздѣвъ роуцѣ на н[е]бо (молашеса г[а]го ла) и предастъ д[оу]шю свою роуцѣ Б[о]жїи приложиса ко ѡт[ъ]ц[е]мъ своимъ, и дѣдомъ своимъ ѡтавъ ѡбщїи долгъ; егоже нѣс[ъ] оубѣжати всакомоу роженому. И быс[ъ] кнзения его во Смоленскоу ѿ лѣт[ъ] а всихъ лѣтъ ѡт рж[е]ства ̅҃ бес трехъ” – *Ipat'evskaia letopis'* 1908, 705–706.

When comparing the two passages, the reader has no doubt but that the chronicler used *The Kievan Chronicle*, which was probably one of the parts of the same codex within which the chronicle functioned. The bookman expanded the narrative of the analyzed source text by providing a more individual touch, adding information specific only to the circumstances of Vladimir's death. The author referred to the ruler as "the great prince", but, as I demonstrated earlier, this phrase is a typical description used to refer to a deceased monarch.<sup>240</sup> We learn how many years he reigned after his father's death and – most importantly – the exact date of his death, i.e., Friday, December 10, 6797, which means the year 1288.<sup>241</sup> This would suggest that the chronicler used either the ultra-March or September style. Aleksey Tolochko tabled the supposition that due to the efforts to canonize Vladimir Vasilkovich, the date was given according to the Byzantine (September) style. The use of this style is supposed to explain why the bookman abandoned the thus far consistently used March/ultra-March style.<sup>242</sup> The similarities between the chronicle and *The Kievan Letopis'* do not end there. Practically the entire description of the funeral of the prince of Vladimir and the mourning of his subjects show analogies with the funerals of Mstislav, Roman, and David Rostislavovich.<sup>243</sup> This example vividly demonstrates that the bookman borrowed whole literary modules from other source texts,<sup>244</sup> which he then modified in order to construct a comprehensible narrative that conformed to the "literary etiquette" prevalent in Rus'.

"This Prince Vladimir, who professed the true faith, was tall in stature, broad-shouldered, with a handsome face ...".<sup>245</sup> So begins the account that follows the description of mourning in the land of Vladimir. An identical sentence can be found in the description of Roman Rostislavich's appearance.<sup>246</sup> The similarities end with the posture, which might suggest that in this case the bookman had applied a topos. The prince's appearance was probably described truthfully: "His hair was flaxen and curly, his beard was shorn, while his arms and legs were shapely. His voice was deep, his lower lip thick".<sup>247</sup> Next, the chronicler goes on to praise Vladimir's education, erudition, and skillfulness

240 See pp. 23, 132–133, 162–163.

241 See *Chronologia* 1957, 361. See: Hrushevsky 1901, 57.

242 See: Tolochko A.P. 2005, 88–90.

243 See: *Chronica* 2017, 599–605; Ipat'evskaia letopis' 1908, 609–610, 616–617, 702–703. See Tolochko A.P. 1999, 28–31; Eremin 1966, 179–181.

244 In this case, probably from the easily accessible Kievan Chronicle.

245 "Съй бл[а]говѣр[ъ]нии кнасъ Волѡдимеръ възрастом[ъ] бѣ выск[ъ], плечима велик[ъ], лицем[ъ] красен[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 605–606.

246 See: Ipat'evskaia letopis' 1908, 617.

247 "Волосы имѣа желты коудравы, бородоу стригѣи, рѣкы ж[е] имѣа крас[ъ]ны и ногы" – *Chronica* 2017, 606.

(“He spoke intelligibly [on topics] from books, for he was a great philosopher and a skilled and brave hunter”),<sup>248</sup> after which he listed his best qualities, such as gentleness, humility, good-naturedness, righteousness, protectiveness, etc. In this way, he emphasized that the prince was a truly Christian ruler. To reinforce his message, the bookman again made use of the *Sermon on Law and Grace*, adapting the relevant passages<sup>249</sup> and supplementing them with quotations from the Holy Bible.<sup>250</sup> As part of this accommodation, he highlighted Vladimir’s good choice of a successor (i.e., Mstislav (II) Danilovich), who also proved to be a Christian ruler “completing matters you [Vladimir’s] have left unfinished”.<sup>251</sup> It remains an open question whether this passage was written with the benefit of hindsight to evaluate the actions of the new ruler or whether it is a simple adaptation of the *Sermon on Law and Grace*.<sup>252</sup> Zofia Brzozowska’s analyses show that we are dealing with the latter. Mstislav, as Vladimir’s God-approved successor and continuator of his religious policy, was in line with Hilarion’s concept.<sup>253</sup> At this point, the reader’s attention should be drawn to an extremely important aspect. Starting from page 613 of the Chronicle’s critical edition to which we refer in this book, the chronological arrangement of events has been disrupted. The basis of the edition was the Khlebnikov manuscript, which contains the most extensive ending among all the known chronicles of the southern Rus’ian group. In the Ipatiev manuscript, on the other hand, three extensive fragments were not preserved, which is probably due to the fact that the protographer of the Ipatiev and Khlebnikov manuscripts had already confused some pages. The copyist of the first manuscript had attempted to arrange the information chronologically while transcribing the text and probably as a result left out three extensive passages. In the second case, in turn, the manuscript was transcribed mechanically, preserving the disrupted order of the pages from the original manuscript.<sup>254</sup> In an effort to get closer to the autograph, the contemporary scholar, like the copyist of the Ipatiev Codex and Aleksey Shakhmatov,<sup>255</sup> is forced to put the sequence

248 “Рѣч[ъ] же бѣ в нем[ъ] тлѣста, и оустна испод[ъ] наа дебела, г[лаго]лаше асно шт[ъ] книг[ъ], зане быс[тъ] филосѡ[фъ] велик[ъ] и ловецъ хитръ и хороборъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 606.

249 See: Uzhankov 2014, 232, 234, 238, 244; *Chronica* 2017, 606–616, 626, 641–642.

250 See: *Chronica* 2017, 606–616 with n. 1493–1494, 1500–1502, 1509, 1511.

251 “Нескон[ъ]чан[ъ] наа твоа оучинающа” – *Chronica* 2017, 611.

252 See: Uzhankov 2014, 234.

253 See: Brzozowska 2014, 32–35.

254 See: *Chronica* 2017, LIX–LXI.

255 Ipat’evskaia letopis’ 1908, 923–938.

of events in order. The basis for this will be the critical edition of the Chronicle used in this work.

The adaptation of relevant passages from the *Sermon on Law and Grace* and the Holy Scriptures to the needs of the chronicle was followed by a summary of Vladimir Vasilkovich's reign.<sup>256</sup> The bookman praised the prince, who had not only built and restored *grods* and churches, but also made valuable offerings to monasteries and churches. The analyzed account has unique information about the foundation and production of codices in medieval Rus'. We learn that in Kamyenyets the following gifts were made to the Church of the Annunciation of the Holy Mother of God:

Aprakos Gospels bound in silver, Aprakos Epistles and the Book of Parables – he also added his father's collection of prayers for the deceased. [...] He also furnished the church in Bielsk with icons and books. And in Vladimir [...] in the bishopric, in the [Church of] the Holy Mother of God, he framed the image of Christ the Savior in silver. He wrote down the Gospels and had them bound in silver, presenting them to [Church of] the Holy Mother of God, and copied Aprakos Epistles. [...] He gave the Book of the Gospels and the Epistles, having written them down himself, to his own monastery, as well as presenting them with his father's thick collection [of prayers for the dead]. He also gave a processional cross and a prayer book. The bishopric [cathedral] of Przemyśl received Aprakos Gospels bound in silver with pearls, which he himself had written down. To the bishopric of Chernigov, he sent Aprakos Gospels, written in gold [letters] and bound in silver with pearls, and in its middle the Saviour was depicted in enamel. [...] In Luboml, he constructed a stone church to the great and holy martyr of Christ, George. [...] He wrote down Aprakos Gospels, binding them in gold and precious stones with pearls, and on it – the Deësis carved out in gold, with large enamel ornaments, wondrous to behold. And another Book of Aprakos Gospels, bound in lead, with enamel ornaments placed on it, with depictions of the holy martyrs Gleb and Boris. Aprakos Epistles. He wrote out the Prologues into twelve months, in which the lives of the Holy Fathers were presented, as well as the histories of holy martyrs as their lives culminated in [the shedding of] their blood for Christ. And he wrote down the Twelve Minaea. And the Trioda and the Octoechoi, and the Irmologia. He also copied the Missal of Saint George and the evening and morning prayers, which he

<sup>256</sup> The chronological arrangement of the Khlebnikov manuscript modeled on the Ipatiev Codex refers to appropriate passages to be found in: *Chronica* 2017, 628–632.

wrote down aside from a prayer book, which he had bought from an arch-priest's wife, paying 8 grivnas worth of marten for it [...]. [In Brest], he built the Church of Saint Peter and presented them with Aprakos Gospels bound in silver.<sup>257</sup>

From this passage we learn that Vladimir himself transcribed liturgical books and that there had been scriptoria in Vladimir's lands at least since Vasilko Romanovich's times.<sup>258</sup> Vladimir Vasilkovich's activities have no analogies in medieval Rus'. We know that this prince donated 38 codices and "numerous

257 "Ев[ан]г[е]ліе-опракос[ъ], оковано сребром[ъ], Ап[о]с[то]ль-опракосъ и парам[ъ]ѧ, и събор[ъ]никъ ѡт[ъ]ца своего тоуто ж[е] положи [...] Тако ж[е] и оу Бѣл[ъ]скоу пооустрои ц[ъ]рк[ъ]въ иконами и книгами. Оу Волѡдимери ж[е] [...] Оу еп[и]ск[о]п[ъ]и же оу С[ва]тоа Б[огороди]ца образ[ъ] Сп[а]са великаго окова сребрѡм[ъ], Ев[ан]г[е]ліе списавъ, и окова сребрѡм[ъ] [...] Въ манастирь въ свой Ап[о]с[то]лы да Ев[ан]г[е]ліе опракос[ъ], нап[и]с[а]лъ сам[ъ], списавъ и съборникъ великій ѡт[ъ]ца своего. Тоуто ж[е] положи и кр[ъ]сть въздвизал[ъ]ный, и м[о]л[и]твеникъ да. Въ еп[и]ск[о]п[ъ]ю перемышльскоую да Ев[ан]г[е]ліе-опракос[ъ], окован[ъ]но сребрѡм[ъ] съ жен[ъ]чюгом[ъ], – сам[ъ] же съписал[ъ] баше. А до Чернѣгова пославъ въ еп[и]ск[о]п[ъ]ю Ев[ан]г[е]ліе-опракос[ъ], золотѡм[ъ] писано, а окован[ъ]но сребрѡм[ъ] съ жен[ъ]чюгом[ъ], и среди его Сп[а]са с финиптом[ъ] [...] В Любомли ж[е] постави ц[ъ]рк[ъ]въ камен[ъ]ноу с[ва]т[о]го и великого м[о]уч[е]н[и]ка Х[ристо]ва Георгіа [...] Ев[ан]г[е]ліе списа шпракос[ъ], окова е все золотом[ъ] и каменіемъ дорогым[ъ] съ жен[ъ]чюгом[ъ], и деисоус[ъ] на нем[ъ] скован[ъ] ѡт[ъ] злата цаты великы съ финиптом[ъ] [ъ] – чюд[ъ] но видением[ъ]. А другое Ев[ан]г[е]ліе – опракос[ъ] же – волочено ѡловирѡм[ъ], и цатоу възложи на не с финиптом[ъ], а на ней – с[ва]таа м[о]уч[е]н[и]ка Глѣбъ и Борисъ. Ап[о]с[то]ль-опракос[ъ], Прологы 574 списа – вѣ м[ъ]ц[а]ца: изложено жи[т]іа с[ва]тых[ъ] о[т]ц[ъ] и дѣаніа с[ва]тых[ъ] м[о]уч[е]н[и]къ, како вѣн[ъ]чашас[а] своєю крѣвію за Х[рист]а, и мѣнеи вѣ списа, и Триѡди, и Охтай, и Ермолои. Списа же и слоужебник[ъ] с[ва]тому Георгію, и м[о]л[и]твы веч[е]р[ъ]нии и оутрѣнии списа особъ молитвеника. М[о]л[и]твеник[ъ] ж[е] коупил[ъ] в протопопиное и да на нем[ъ] ѧ гривен[ъ] коун[ъ] [...] Постави ж[е] и ц[ъ]рк[ъ]въ с[ва]т[о]го Петра, и е[ван]г[е]ліе да опракос[ъ], оковано сребром[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 628–632. See: Stoliarova, Kashtanov 2010, 47, 165.

258 It results from the research (Stoliarova, Kashtanov 2010, 41) that in the 11th–12th centuries the writing centres were located in Pereyaslav, Suzdal, Chernigov, Volhynian, Vladimir, Kiev, Polotsk, Smolensk and Turov. However, it seems logical that they functioned adjacent to the bishoprics. The quotation shows that the demand for liturgical books was very high. See: Zapasko 1993, 185–193; Zapasko 1995, 15–50, 125–245. Iakim Zapasko describes 41 manuscripts from the territory of modern-day Ukraine up to the 13th c. (and one more from the turn of the 13th and 14th c.), of which: 12 from the 11th c., one from the turn of 11th and 12th, nine from the 12th, nine from the turn of the 12th and 13th c., ten from 13th c. Aside from the Kiev area, the state of preservation of the manuscripts is as follows, nine were located in southern Rus', one in southern or south-western Rus', three in Halych land, nine in Halych-Volhynia, two in Volhynia, two in Chełm land, one in northern Ukraine, two in western Ukraine.

books” in an unspecified number.<sup>259</sup> The account here completes the profile of the monarch-king. It also suggests that it was probably in his time that the partial final editing of *The chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* took place. Before moving on to the next module, suggesting the holiness of the deceased monarch, the chronicle’s author reveals himself once again: “Here we finish [the story] of Vladimir’s reign”.<sup>260</sup> The description of the prince’s burial ends in the following words:

And this pious prince Vladimir, who was given the name of Saint John at his baptism, the son of Vasilko, was laid to rest, and his body lay in the grave not yet permanently sealed from the 11th day of the month of December till the 6th day of the month of April. And his Princess could not be consoled, so she came with Bishop Eugene and with all the clergy. When they opened the tomb, they saw his body still whole and white, and there was a beautiful smell emanating from the tomb and a fragrance like that of the most precious aromas. And thus, she witnessed a miracle. Upon seeing this, they praised God, and they sealed up his tomb in the month of April on the 6th day, on the Wednesday of the Holy Week.<sup>261</sup>

The dating markers in this account make it possible to establish the date of the sealing of Vladimir Vasilkovich’s tomb as April 6, 1289.<sup>262</sup> The above quotation also allows us to verify the use of the Byzantine style in the description of the ruler’s death, i.e., the year 6797 from the creation of the world.<sup>263</sup> In addition, the quoted fragment seems to confirm the assumption that there was an attempt to canonize the prince of Vladimir, whose body – according to the bookman – not only had not decomposed, but also that a beautiful fragrance emanated from the grave. This was a tangible attribute of the

259 See: Zapasko 1995, 165–169.

260 “Тоуто ж[е] положим[ъ] конецъ Вълдимеровоу княженію” – *Chronica* 2017, 632.

261 “Семоу ж[е] бл[а]говѣрномуу княсю Волдимерю, нареч[е]номуу въ с[ва] тѣм[ъ] кр[ъ]щеніи Іоанноу, с[ы]ноу Васил[ъ]ковоу, вложеноу въ гробъ, и лежа въ гробъ тѣло его не замазано ѡт[ъ] аї д[ъ]не м[ѣ]с[а]ца декабра до ѡ д[ъ]не м[ѣ]с[а]ца април[а]. Княгини ж[е] его не можаше са втолити, но пришед[ъ]ши съ еп[и]ск[о]пѣм[ъ] Евсегеніемъ и съ всѣм[ъ] крилосѣм[ъ], ѡт[ъ]крыв[ъ]ши гробъ, и видиша тѣло его цѣло и бѣло, и бл[а]гоуханіе ѡт[ъ] гроба быс[ъ], и вона пѣдобна арапат[ъ] мнѣгоцѣн[ъ]ных[ъ], и так[о] чудо видѣ. Видѣвше ж[е] прославиша Б[о]г[а], и замазаша гробъ его м[ѣ]с[а]ца април[а] въ ѡ д[ъ]нѣ, в сред[у] Стр[а]стное недѣ[ѣ]ли” – *Chronica* 2017, 626.

262 In 1289, Wednesday during the Holy Week was on April 6, *Chronologia* 1957, 386.

263 See pp. 178–179.



monarch's holiness.<sup>264</sup> Before we move on to describe further events, it should be noted that this is the most extensive obituary (eulogy) in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. No other prince from the Romanovichi dynasty was the subject of such an elaborate posthumous panegyric. This clearly shows that the chronicler, and at the same time the last editor of the analyzed source, was connected with the Vladimiran court. At this stage of analysis, it remains an open question whether he next went on to serve Mstislav (II) Danilovich or continued his work for Princess Olga. After Vladimir Vasilkovich's death the chronicle was continued, but the chronicler went on to speak positively about Danilo Romanovich's descendants.

The chronological strategy applied in the subsequent passage<sup>265</sup> is reminiscent of the insertion from the 1228–1244 period. This means that the account of events from Vladimir's burial to the opening of his tomb in April 1289 was treated as an interjection. After this, the narrative resumes and moves back to December 1288 beginning with the abbreviated repetition: **"When Vladimir was laid to rest** [emphasis by A.J.], his brother did not come to bury his body, but arrived only later with his boyars and attendants".<sup>266</sup> The word "later" probably means "after a few days". Mstislav went to the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir, where Vladimir had been buried. He then wanted to send forces to all the *grods* belonging to Vladimir's domain, but he found out that Brest, Kamyenyets, and Bielsk had been captured by Yuri Lvovich, aided by some of the Brest noblemen. The new ruler of Vladimir, wanting to settle the matter without bloodshed, sent a message to his nephew and to Leo, warning that if they did not withdraw from the occupied territory, he would attack them together with the Tartars. As a result, Mstislav's relatives left the *grods*, while Danilo Romanovich's youngest son went to them and established his forces there. In the account of these events, there are two references to Talabuga's expedition. The first deals with December 1287, when Vladimir Vasilkovich announced his will to his relatives:

And he sent envoys to his nephew, saying: 'My nephew, if you had not been in the campaign, [it would be understandable that] you did not hear, but you heard well. And your father and all the army heard that my brother Vladimir gave me all his lands and his *grods* after his death, in

264 Tolochko A.P. 1999, 34–35; Tolochko A.P. 2005, 89.

265 The chronological arrangement of the Khlebnikov manuscript modeled on the Ipatiev Codex refers to appropriate passages to be found in: *Chronica* 2017, 632–636.

266 "Волхдимероу ж[е] вложеноу въ гробъ, брат[ъ] же его не притаже на схоронѣнне тѣла его, но прѣха же послѣ съ боары своими и съ слугами" – *Chronica* 2017, 632–633.

the presence of the emperors and his counsellors. And he told you, and so did I'.<sup>267</sup>

The second reference recalled the deaths of 12 500 people in Leo's domain resulting from Talabuga and Nogai's activities:

I have sent summons to the Tartars, and I myself am preparing. Let God settle my dispute with you, for the blood shall not be on me, but on he who acted wrongly. And Leo was greatly frightened by this, for he had not yet rid himself of the tightness in his throat after Talabuga's [previous] expedition.<sup>268</sup> For the rebellion of the inhabitants of Brest, Mstislav (II) Danilovich introduced a hunter's tax.<sup>269</sup> The bookman included a *gramota* into the text of the chronicle, extremely important for the study of the economy and terminology of Halych-Volhynian Rus'. At this point, however, I would like to focus on the sentence to be found immediately after this document: "And I have written [the story of] their revolt in the *letopis*".<sup>270</sup> This suggests that the chronicler and the writer of the *gramota* were not identical, which in turn indicates that the last editor of the chronicle had access to the prince's chancellery. We also learn that his narrative strategy was fully deliberate. Referring to his own work as a *letopis*' suggests that the bookman was aiming for this particular formula. This would mean that the final editing of the chronicle was never completed. According to Gelian Prokhorov, a *letopis*' is a compilation of "events" – of "quanta" obtained from various written sources, sometimes abbreviated, sometimes expanded. These were the most developed monuments of secular writing, developing alongside more elaborate Christian Orthodox texts. They are an expression of the cult of the past, a chancellery epic of the land of Rus', its people, and its rulers. The authors of a *letopis*', collective and usually nameless, were well acquainted with the works of other writing centres. After all, the

267 "И посла послы къ с[ы]нѣмъ[ъ] цюу своему, тако река: 'Сыновче, аже бы ми ты не былъ[ъ] на тѣмъ[ъ] пѣти и не слышалъ[ъ] ты – но ты самъ[ъ] слышалъ[ъ] гораздо, и шѣлъ[ъ] твой, и вса ратъ[ъ] слышала, аже братъ[ъ] мой Волѣдимеръ далъ[ъ] ми землю свою всю и города по своему[ъ] животъ при царехъ[ъ] и прѣ его радъ[ъ] цахъ[ъ], а вамъ[ъ] повѣдалъ[ъ], а а повѣдалъ[ъ] же" – *Chronica* 2017, 633–634.

268 "... послалъ[ъ] есмь възводити татарь, а самъ[ъ] пристроиваюся, а яко ма Б[ог]ъ[ъ] росѣдитъ[ъ] с вами, а не на мнѣ бѣдетъ[ъ] та кровь, но на томъ[ъ], кто кривоу вчинилъ[ъ]'. Левъ же оубоавъ[ъ] са того велъ[ъ] ми, и еще бо тому не съшла оскомины Телебоужины рати" – *Chronica* 2017, 634.

269 The chronological arrangement of the Khlebnikov manuscript modeled on the Ipatiev Codex refers to appropriate passages to be found in: *Chronica* 2017, 616–618. For a discussion of Mstislav's *gramota*, see Rossiiskoe zakonodatel'stvo 1984, 209–211; Kupchinskii 2004, 350–353.

270 "А вписалъ[ъ] есмь в лѣтописецъ коромолоу ихъ[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 618.

Rus'ian land and its princes were the main subjects of a *letopis'*. Its writer had at his disposal one or two earlier such texts. The completeness of his narrative depended on the supply of information. Depending on the content, a *letopis'* can be divided into a municipal *letopis'*, describing the history of a city and the associated land, and an all-Rus'ian *letopis'*, devoted to the history of the lands of Rus'. In practical terms, a *letopis'* has no end.<sup>271</sup> Most importantly, however, this type of writing had the layout of an annal. Thus, as I have already stressed, in relation to the analyzed source text, the term "chronicle" is more accurate.<sup>272</sup> Chronologically, the description of the Brest revolt should be followed by this passage: "And having left his forces in Brest, he went to Vladimir. When he arrived there, his boyars, young and old, came to him in countless numbers. Then Prince Konrad, son of Siemowit arrived."<sup>273</sup> In the Ipatiev Codex, these words follow after the description of Mstislav ascending the throne in Vladimir.<sup>274</sup> It should be remembered, however, that while the copyist of the Khlebnikov manuscript transcribed the protograph mechanically, the 15th-century "Ipatiev" scribe attempted to arrange the text chronologically.<sup>275</sup> He found the twice-repeated phrase confusing, for while it was consistent with the chronological strategy of the bookman, it was incomprehensible to the copyist in the 15th century: "Then Prince Konrad, son of Siemowit arrived",<sup>276</sup> which suggested to him that after Mstislav's arrival in Vladimir Konrad of Mazovia came. In my opinion, the first mention of this phrase in the Khlebnikov manuscript, which refers to the participation of the Mazovian prince in the coronation of Mstislav (II) Danilovich, is the beginning of an insertion that disrupts the chronicle's chronology. In turn, the repetition of this phrase restores the narrative to its chronological track. Thus, we are dealing with the same narrative strategy as in the 1228–1244 period.

The analyzed insertion<sup>277</sup> is closely related to the preceding information about the arrival of all the boyars of the Vladimir lands and Konrad II of Mazovia in Vladimir to participate in the ascension of Mstislav (II) Danilovich to the

271 Prokhorov 2014, 6, 16–17, 19–21.

272 See pp. xii–xviii, 129–130. See: *Chronica* 2017, xli–LII.

273 "И оутвердив[ъ] же засадоу въ Берестѣй, и поехадѡ Волѡдимерѡ. Прїѣхавшю ж[е] емоу оу Волѡдимерѡ, и съѣхашас[а] къ нему боаре его старїй и молвѣи – бесчислен[ъ]ное мнѡж[ъ]ство. Тогда ж[е] прїѣхаль баше Кондрат[ъ] кнѡз[ъ] Сѡмовитович[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 618–619.

274 See Annex no. 1, in *Chronica* 2017, 646.

275 See: *Chronica* 2017, LIX–LXI.

276 "Тогда ж[е] прїѣхаль баше Кондрат[ъ] кнѡз[ъ] Сѡмовитович[ъ] [...] Тогда ж[е] прїѣхал Кондратъ кнѡзъ Сѡмовитович[ъ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 619, 621.

277 The chronological arrangement of the Khlebnikov manuscript modeled on the Ipatiev Codex refers to appropriate passages to be found in: *Chronica* 2017, 619–621.

Vladimiran throne. The passage makes it possible to date the events described earlier (Yuri's rebellion, the writing of the *gramota* punishing the rebels, etc.), i.e., to after Vladimir Vasilkovich's death, to the period between December 10, 1288 and April 10, 1289. According to the source: "Prince Mstislav ascended the throne of his brother Vladimir on the very day of Pascha in the year 6797, on the 10th day of the month of April, and began to reign as Prince in place of his brother".<sup>278</sup> In this passage, the bookman does not use the ultra-March style, which, in the case of 6797, would have covered the period from March 1, 1288 to February 28, 1289. Meanwhile, Passover fell on April 10 in 1289.<sup>279</sup> The author of the source could therefore have used the Byzantine style (September 1, 1288–August 31, 1289) or the March style (March 1, 1289–February 28, 1290). While in the description of the death of Vladimir Vasilkovich we are dealing with the September style, which probably resulted from the efforts to canonize the prince,<sup>280</sup> in another, already discussed part of the chronicle, the beginning of the year was designated as having occurred on March 1.<sup>281</sup> It seems that Mikhailo Hrushevsky rightly noted that in this case we are dealing with the March style.<sup>282</sup> The analyzed insertion contains the following passage: "He lived in peace with the surrounding countries – the Lyakhs, the Germans, and the Lithuanians – ruling over his land [stretching from one side] as far as the Tartars, and from the other – to the Lyakhs and Lithuania [with] dignity".<sup>283</sup> It seems to be a retrospective assessment of Mstislav's reign, although it remains unknown whether it was made while the prince was still alive. Then the bookman adds: "At that time, Lithuanian prince Budykid and his brother Budywid gave Prince Mstislav their city of Vawkavysk to maintain the peace with him".<sup>284</sup> The last sentence of the analyzed insertion should be connected with the prince's later policy, and not, as Mikhailo Hrushevsky believes, with the events of the spring or summer of 1289.<sup>285</sup> It can be stated that we are

278 "Кнасъ же Мъстиславъ сѣде на столѣ брата своег[о] Волѣдимера на самый Великъ д[е]нь в лѣт[о] зѣ ѿ чѣ м[ѣ]с[а]ца април[а] ѿ д[ѣ]нь, и нача княжитѣ по братѣ сво[е]м[ѣ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 619–620.

279 *Chronologia* 1957, 386.

280 See: Tolochko A.P. 2005, 88–90.

281 See pp. 152–153, 163.

282 Hrushevsky 1901, 58.

283 "Миръ дръжа съ окол[ѣ]ными сторонами: с лахи, с нѣм[ѣ]ци и с литвою – одръжа землю свою величеством[ѣ], вл[ѣ]ны по татары, а сѣмо по лахы и по литвою" – *Chronica* 2017, 620.

284 "Тогда ж[е] литов[ѣ]ский князь Бѣдикидъ и брат[ѣ] его Боуивидъ даша княсю Мъстиславою горѣд[ѣ] свой Волковыескъ, а бы с ними миръ дръжал[ѣ]" – *Chronica* 2017, 620–621.

285 Hrushevsky 1901, 59.

dealing here with a “prophetic insertion”, introduced into the source text from a certain temporal perspective.

After these words, the chronicler again, following his chronological and narrative strategy, returns to the events taking place just after April 10, 1289: “It was then that prince Konrad, son of Siemowit, came to Mstislav, requesting aid against the Lyakhs. He wanted to march on the principality of Sandomierz”.<sup>286</sup> The prince of Vladimir assigned the voivode Chiudin with a regiment to the Mazovian prince. “And so, prince Konrad the prince ascended [the throne] in Sandomierz, thanks to prince Mstislav, the king’s son, and his assistance”.<sup>287</sup> It should be noted that in the continuation of Vladimir Vasilkovich’s narrative, the bookman refers more often to the memory of Danilo Romanovich. After this passage, the author introduces a description of the fight between the coalition consisting of Bolesław II, son of Siemowit, supported by Konrad II of Mazovia and Władysław Łokietek on one side, and Henryk IV Probus, who had placed a garrison in Krakow, on the other.<sup>288</sup> The Mazovian princes were supported by Leo Danilovich, who was portrayed in a positive way by the bookman:

That summer, Prince Leo, Mstislav’s brother, the king’s son, Roman’s grandson, went to help Bolesław in person. When he arrived in Cracow, Bolesław, Konrad, and Łokietek were glad to have him, as [if he was] his father, for Leo was a wise and brave prince, and tough in battle, for he had displayed much of his valour in many battles.<sup>289</sup>

This passage shows a change in the bookman’s political perspective, who not only emphasizes that Leo was the son of King Danilo, but also indicates that he was the grandson of Roman Mstislavich and the brother of the new Prince Mstislav of Vladimir.

286 “Тогда ж[е] пріеха Кондрать князь Съмовитович[ъ] къ Мьстиславоу, проса собѣ помочи на лахы, пойти хотя на княженіе сѣдомири[ъ]ское” – *Chronica* 2017, 621. This passage begins the narrative referring to the appropriate passages to be found in *Chronica* 2017, 621–626.

287 “и тако сѣде Кондрат[ъ] князь в Соудомірю князем[ъ] Мьстиславом[ъ], с[ы]нѣм[ъ] королевым[ъ], и его помоч[ъ]ю” – *Chronica* 2017, 621.

288 See: Tęgowski 1987, 43–67; Teterycz-Puzio 2015, 68–76 (see literature therein).

289 “Того ж[е] лѣта князь Левъ, брат[ъ] Мьстиславовъ, с[ы]нѣ королевъ, вноукъ Романов[ъ], сам[ъ] иде в помоч[ъ] Болеславоу. Пришед[ъ]шю же емоу къ Кракову, рад[ъ] быс[ъ] емоу Болеславъ, и Кондрат[ъ], и Локот[ъ]ко, яко ш[ъ]цоу своему, зане быс[ъ] Левъ князь мѣдрый, и хороборъ, и крѣпокъ на рати, немало бо показавъ мѣсто свое въ мнѣгых[ъ] мѣстех[ъ]” – *Chronica* 2017, 624–625.

This modification can also be noted in the next chronological module.<sup>290</sup> From the account of Leo's July expedition<sup>291</sup> to the lands of the prince of Wrocław, we learn that he captured "countless servants, cattle, horses and goods, because no other army had ever penetrated so deep into his land".<sup>292</sup> The end of this passage refers to the narration of *The Tale of Bygone Years* about Vladimir the Great and what is referred to as the "Grods of Cherven".<sup>293</sup> As a result, Leo is compared not only to Danilo and Roman, but also to Vladimir the Great. The passage on the pages of the chronicle a few verses below is also very significant: "Then Leo also set out to the Czech land to meet the king, for he had maintained a great friendship with him. And he made peace with him [and maintained it] until his death".<sup>294</sup> The last sentence indicates that the above reference was written after Leo's death, which occurred between mid-1299 and mid-1300,<sup>295</sup> perhaps at the beginning of the 14th century. If Mstislav II outlived Leo (date of death between 1300 and 1305),<sup>296</sup> then Vladimir would naturally be the place where the chronicle was continued – probably while the youngest son of Danilo Romanovich was still alive. It cannot be excluded that after the death of Vladimir Vasilkovich the patronage of the chronicle was taken over by his wife Olga, who was living there under Mstislav's care.<sup>297</sup> The narrative has undoubtedly been written from Mstislav's perspective with a positive view of his only surviving brother. This is confirmed by the account that follows the description of the battle for Cracow: "That summer God infused a blessed thought into Prince Mstislav's heart. He built a stone tomb over the grave of his grandmother Romanova in the monastery of Saint [...] and consecrated it in memory of the righteous Joachim and Anna, and celebrated mass there. The same year in the city of Czaratorysk castle he started the construction of a

290 Including respectively: *Chronica* 2017, 636–640.

291 "Anno Domini 1289 tercio kal. Augusti Ruteni terram Slezie intraverunt et circa Nizam et Grotkowe predam hominum tulerunt et in terram suam deduxerunt" – *Rocznik cystersów henrykowskich* 1878, 702.

292 "бесчислен[ъ]ное мнѡж[ъ]ство челади, и скота, и коней, и товара, зане вхѡдила баше никааж[е] рать тол[ъ] глоубоко в[ъ] землю его" – *Chronica* 2017, 637.

293 See: Jusupović 2019b; 2017a, 31–105.

294 "Тогда же Левъ еха в чехы на снем[ъ] къ королеви, зане любовь дръжаше с ним[ъ] великою, и докон[ъ]чавъ с ним[ъ] миръ до своего живота" – *Chronica* 2017, 638. Podobny pochwalny wydzwięk ma przekaz umieszczony kilka wersów dalej: "и пойде Лев[ъ] въ своа си съ ч[ъ]стїю великою, възем[ъ] бесчислен[ъ]ное мнѡж[ъ]ство полона, и челади, и скота, и коней, и товара, слава Б[ог]а и Пр[е]ч[и]стоую Его М[а]т[е]рь, помог[ъ]шоую емоу" – *Chronica* 2017, 639.

295 Dąbrowski 2008, 353–355.

296 Dąbrowski 2008, 377–380.

297 The chronicle does not provide information about Olga's further fate. It cannot be excluded that she remained at the court in Vladimir at Mstislav (II) Danilovich's side.

stone tower”.<sup>298</sup> *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* ends with the events taking place in the winter of 1289.<sup>299</sup> The bookman recorded two obituaries of representatives of the Turov and Pinsk lines, probably allies of the Vladimiran court: “That winter died the Pinsk prince Yuri, son of Vladimir, gentle, humble, just, and he was mourned by his wife, sons and his brother Demid prince, and all the people wept for him with great tears. The same winter, prince Ivan, the son of Gleb, the prince of Stepan’sk, also passed away. And all the people mourned for him from the youngest to the oldest. And his son Vladimir came to rule in his place”.<sup>300</sup> Chronologically the text breaks off at this point and there is no continuation.

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The construction of Vladimir’s chronicle and its continuation leaves no doubt that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* has one basic narrative strategy, i.e., to legitimize Vladimir Vasilkovich’s rights to be the supreme prince in southwestern Rus’. No prince had ever lived to see such an extensive obituary, arranged in the form of a eulogy, as the son of Vasilko Romanovich. In order to achieve his goal, the bookman used various source texts to create a narrative that would be comprehensible to readers. He used ready-made models, drawing extensively from the Holy Scriptures, Hilarion’s *Sermon on Law and Grace*, Flavius Josephus, *The Kievan Chronicle*, rarely from *The Tale of Bygone Years*, and many other literary monuments we have yet to identify. Moreover, he showed his writing skills by revealing the fact that he used informants and documents from the prince’s chancellery. The content of Vladimir Vasilkovich’s account and its continuation up to the winter of 1289 indicates that for the periods of 1228–1244 and 1260–1289 the prince’s editor followed the same chronological

298 “Того ж[е] лѣт[а] Мъстиславоу княсю вѣложи емоу Б[ог]ъ въ с[ъ]рд[ъ]це мысль бл[а]гоу. Създа гробницуо камен[ъ]ноу над[ъ] гробом[ъ] бабы своеа Романовое въ манастири оу с[в]а[т]о[го], и сваща ю во има праведникъ Юакыма и Анны, и слоуж[ъ]боу в ней сътвори. Того ж[е] лѣта в Черторыйскоу в городѣ заложи стѣпь каменъ” – *Chronica* 2017, 639–640.

299 Hrushevsky 1901, 60. The chronological arrangement of the Khlebnikov manuscript modeled on the Ipatiev Codex refers to appropriate passages to be found in: *Chronica* 2017, 626–627.

300 “Тое ж[е] зимы престависа пиньскый князь Юрій, с[ы]нъ Волхдимеровъ, кроткый, смирен[ъ]ный, правдивый, и плакаса по нем[ъ] княгини его, и с[ы]нове его, и брат[ъ] а емоу, Демид[ъ] князь, и вси людие плакахжс[а] по нем[ъ] плачем[ъ] великим[ъ]. Тое ж[е] зимы престависа степан[ъ]скый князь Иванъ, с[ы]нъ Глѣбовъ. И плакахжс[а] по нем[ъ] вси людие ш[е]т[ъ] мала и до велика. И нача княжити в него мѣсто с[ы]нъ его Волхдимеръ” – *Chronica* 2017, 626–627.

and narrative strategy, only occasionally resorting to the one used to describe the years 1245–1259, and only when defining the time of events presented in retrospect. This fact indicates that the last editor of the chronicle is the author of all the insertions. We are not able to determine with certainty whether the chronicler was still working on the text during Vladimir Vasilkovich's reign. The detail of the information concerning the 1280s allows us to table the hypothesis that one of the edited versions was created at that time, and continued at the beginning of the 14th century at the court in Vladimir. It is worth noting that all the insertions were constructed according to specific rules. They consisted of elements that were intended to make it easier for both the chronicler and the reader<sup>301</sup> to follow the chronology. The narrative of the chronicle breaks off in the winter of 1289. The current state of knowledge does not allow us to determine whether there was a continuation of this monument of Old Rus'ian writing.

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301 At least in the bookman's opinion. From today's perspective we know that this strategy was not understood already at the beginning of the 15th century by the copyist of the Ipatiev Codex.



## Conclusions

As stressed in the introduction, the content of this book focuses primarily on the chronological strategy of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, and – secondarily – on the closely related narrative strategy. The analysis of event dating methods, presented in chapters two through five, reveals four methods of working with the text within a single source. The first of these refers to the description of the years 1205–1228. In this part of the source, the chronological framework is probably based on an unknown manuscript, provisionally called *The Kievan Chronicle of the Rostislavichi*.<sup>1</sup> The leading role of Mstislav Mstislavich is often apparent in this manuscript. Parallel stories about the history of the Halych boyars were added to this previously closed source. It was probably supplemented by the account provided by Roman Mstislavich's widow or someone close to her. This is evidenced by the detail of the descriptions, clearly predicated by the location of the duchess's court. The second method is evident in the depiction of the period between 1228 and 1244. The chronological framework was probably based on the hypothetical *Danilo's Chronicles*, which has not survived, and it is arranged in an almost annalistic fashion. As analyses have indicated, its framework was disrupted by insertions made by the last editor of the source text. These were short stories covering periods of two, three, or more years. They were created in the following manner: the bookman described an event and then added a text afterwards. Its ending is an abbreviated repetition of the information commencing the inserted text. This is a cue to the reader that the narrative is circling back to the earlier chronological point that was disrupted by the insertion. The chronicle's last editor also introduced information about Vasilko into the narrative in order to emphasize his role. This section further contains numerous instances of “prophetic information”. In one case, Danilo was referred to as king; thus, it must have been written after 1253. The third dating system covers the years 1245–1259. Here, the narrative becomes more detailed and its backbone is based on several plots containing discussions of individual segments of the policies of the Volhynian-Hungarian princes: Babenberg-Hungarian, Lithuanian-Yotvingian, Mongolian, Polish, etc. Within each of these, events are basically arranged chronologically. When the bookman started a new plot and returned to a previously interrupted story, he would begin it from the moment at which it had ended or, if nothing had happened for a longer period of time, he would use a

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<sup>1</sup> *The Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* also appears briefly in the text.

different motif to place it in time.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement of the text indicates that the source included in the chronicle was written at the latest in the 1260s. The last chronological method, framing the years 1260–1290, is similar to that of the 1228–1244 period in terms of the applied insertion strategy. This indirectly indicates that all the inserted texts are the result of the work of the last editor of the chronicle. Three suggestions in the source text allow us to determine the moment when *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* was written as the last two decades of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries – namely, that the last information was created after Lev's death or during Mstislav's subsequent reign (possibly after his death). Numerous references to Hilarion, *The Kievan Chronicle*, and other sources prove that the described source functioned from the very beginning as part of historiographical chronicle collections.

The set of manuscripts of the southern Rus' type is an example of a historical chronicle collection created within circles of higher historical culture. Spatial contiguity was a major factor in gathering historiographical collections.<sup>3</sup> It should therefore come as no surprise that the Ipatiev-type codices used *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*. These were natural and obvious sources for creating the genesis and history of the Romanovich dynasty, as written down by a bookman working at the court of Roman Mstislavich's descendants. It was no coincidence that the chronicler preceded his text with a list of Rus' princes from Askold and Dir to Danilo Romanovich, to which he added *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*. These two works of historiography were an important part of the identity of the Romanovichi, and at the same time a reference point for the narrative concept of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. The replacement of the text reporting events from 1198–1205 (an extension of *The Kievan Chronicle*) with Roman Mstislavich's encomium is extremely suggestive. The reconstruction of the missing text with regards to those years on the basis of the version of *The Kievan Chronicle of the Rostislavichi* used by Jan Długosz shows that Danilo and Vasilko's father had been presented unfavourably.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, interfering in the relevant content was advisable from the point of view of the chronicle's authors and its recipients. The resulting "*Rostislavichi Chronicle*" (in what we could provisionally refer to as the "*Mstislav Mstislavich's Chronicle*" version, containing *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle* extended to ca. 1228) was also the chronological framework (until 1228)<sup>5</sup> for the parallel stories of what is referred to as *Danilo's*

2 See: Chapter 4.

3 Wiesiołowski 1967, 151.

4 Pashuto 1950, 18.

5 After 1228, there are no references to the *Rostislavichi letopis'*.

*Chronicle*, which in turn was used to create *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. For the period from 1228 to 1244, not a single account was found that can be unequivocally associated with what has been referred to as *The Rostislavichi Letopis'*. The appearance of information that can also be found in other Rus'ian codices, such as the analyzed example of Vsevolod Yurevich's wedding to the daughter of Vladimir Rur'kovich, can be easily explained by the obvious fact of Vasilko Romanovich's participation in the ceremony. This observation indicates that at that time the non-surviving *Danilo's Chronicle* constituted the chronological skeleton of the chronicle.<sup>6</sup> Its functioning is confirmed by the chronicle's description of events in 1245–1259. It seems that the last editor of the source text did not fully understand the chronological and narrative strategy (or did not manage to adapt it to the chronicle's assumptions), which consisted in the plot-organized recollection of accounts,<sup>7</sup> and therefore preserved it almost unchanged (at least in the case of the factual arrangement). Once again, Vladimir Pashuto's remarks should be repeated that the researcher must be aware that "The Chronicle of Danilo Romanovich" has survived to our times as one of the sources within a work written (according to this scholar) at Vladimir Vasilkovich's court in the 1280s. The ideological and political bases for the Vladimiran chronicle do not make it possible to determine the level to which various materials discussing the history of Halych and Chełm have survived within it.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, this signifies that we can only observe *Danilo's Chronicle* through layers upon layers of later rewritings and attempt to separate the historiographical collections that have been preserved in the work of Rus'ian historiography known today as *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*. An analysis of the last part of the Chronicle, i.e., *The Vladimiran Chronicle* and its continuation covering the times of Mstislav's reign, shows that the primary narrative strategy of the chronicle was to legitimize Vladimir Vasilkovich's rights to be the sovereign prince in accordance with the monarchical concept contained in the *Sermon on Law and Grace*, which the chronicler deliberately used. The adaptation of this work made it possible to highlight the main elements of Hilarion's concept, such as the divine origin of monarchic power, the monarch's coexistence in a state of perfect harmony with the representatives of the clergy, the support he showed for the ecclesiastical organization that formed in his domain, the ability to concentrate power in his hands, and the extension of his rule to the entire ecumenical community. It also made it possible to point

6 For a summary of the discussion of the use of *Danilo's Chronicle* by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, see Uzhankov 2009, 287–422.

7 See: Chapter 4.

8 Pashuto 1950, 18.

to the prince's positive qualities stemming from Christian ethics (godliness, charity initiatives, etc.), and to present Mstislav as Vladimir's God-approved successor and continuator of his religious policies.<sup>9</sup> Even Vladimir's vigour and strength fit into this "monarchic theology", as it emphasized the prince's sense of justice and personal valour.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the chronicler created a literary image of the ruler in line with the canons of Kievan Rus' literature. For this reason, in *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia*, as well as in the two parts preceding it in the Ipatiev-type Chronicles,<sup>11</sup> we find testimonies referring to the Holy Bible,<sup>12</sup> *Vladimir Monomakh's Instructions*,<sup>13</sup> as well as sentences from authors who were well known and read in Kievan Rus': Flavius Josephus' *The Jewish War*,<sup>14</sup> the *Alexander Romance*, Hamartolus, John Malalas,<sup>15</sup> the *Hellenic Chronicle*, what is referred to as the *Jewish Chronograph*<sup>16</sup> (the 1262 Chronograph, which brings together translated texts), the *Izbornik of Sviatoslav*, *The Bees*,<sup>17</sup> and *The Deeds of Digenes*.<sup>18</sup> Following the example of his predecessors, the bookman also drew on documents/grammars,<sup>19</sup> Polovtsian perennials and other poetic works,<sup>20</sup> folk proverbs, and used informants who were most obviously observable in connection with the events of the 1280s.<sup>21</sup> It was precisely these writing paradigms which made it possible to consider a given work as conforming to the literary conventions prevalent in Rus', that outright forced the bookman to reach for ready-made solutions. The highest accumulation of such methods can be found in *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*. Their use also indirectly proves that *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* functioned from its beginning within a historical chronicle collection.

This regularity is well corroborated in Tat'iana Villkul's research.<sup>22</sup> In her seminal article, she analyzed *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* from the

9 See: Brzozowska 2014, 32–35.

10 See: Brzozowska 2014, 33.

11 *Chronica* 2017, LXXXVI–XC.

12 Villkul 2015, 227–240.

13 Tolochko P. 2006, 257–259.

14 See: Pautkin 1998, 130–132.

15 See: Pautkin 1998, 130–132; Orlov 1926, 112–114.

16 See: Orlov 1926, 93–97; Tvorogov 1975, 8–20.

17 See: Bapvinc'kii 1914, 55–63; Orlov 1926, 102–103; Pautkin 1998, 131.

18 Tvorogov 1987, 115–116.

19 See: Kupchins'kii 2004, 205–356; Gens'ors'kii 1969, 171–184.

20 See: Chapter 1; Hrushevsky 1993b, 135, 147–152; Gens'ors'kii 1961, 175–178, 208–216, 258–262, 279; Kotliar 2013, 120–131.

21 On the informants, see Chapters 1 through 5. On how the use of informants is revealed in the text, especially see: Chapter 5.

22 Villkul Tetiana 2007b, 17–30.

perspective of the bookman's references to *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle*, focusing primarily on the information available in 13th-century sources devoted to Lithuania. She extended her research by comparing the Ipatiev-type codices with other chronicles, pointing out the prevalence of certain word combinations and sentences only in the group of southern Rus' manuscripts. She primarily indicated that even if the manuscripts use the same phrases, they have a different meaning for a particular literary monument. She also showed that in what is called the Halych part of the chronicle the bookman more often referred to *The Tale of Bygone Years*, while in the Volhynian part he referred to *The Kievan Chronicle*. As far as information about Lithuania in the chronicle is concerned, she found that the expressions used in them are universal, and also used to describe events from Polish or Rus' history. In the information devoted to Lithuania, we can note the same mannerism as in those not related to this country. They were created at the Romanovichi court.

As Jacek Wiesiołowski pointed out, a historical collection,

like any historical source, is connected with a historical process contemporary to the time of its creation. The set of messages contained in the collection constitutes a specific reflection of the present. It is, in Marc Bloch's terminology, a past understood through the present, which dictates the selection of material, and at the same time a present understood through the past, in which one seeks precedents for current events and an understanding of the genesis of the present.<sup>23</sup>

"The juxtaposition within one manuscript of materials created in different time periods and pursuing different cognitive and ideological goals relevant at the moment of their creation formed a new historiographical entirety."<sup>24</sup> Thus, the old contents gained a new interpretation. They were also a kind of declaration of a political program. Their use by the author of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* gave completely new relevance to the work and the history of the dynasty described. This allowed him to essentially individualize both his work as well as that of the Romanovichi themselves. The new narrative meant that Roman Mstislavich's offspring adopted a new literary identification, a carbon copy of the monarchic concepts that functioned mainly in Kievan Rus' and were strongly embedded by Hilarion. From this point of view, *The Tale of Bygone Years* and *The Kievan Chronicle* had a real impact on the working methods of the Romanovichi chronicler. In Rus', the year 1205/1206 marks an impor-

<sup>23</sup> Wiesiołowski 1967, 158.

<sup>24</sup> Wiesiołowski 1967, 151.

tant caesura. Chronicling began to be cultivated in various centres, focusing on the history of individual lands.<sup>25</sup> Thus, in the 13th century, historical collections provided an up-to-date synthesis and genesis of the history of Rus'. By re-using it, the writing was given a new quality, but still firmly rooted in older historiographic collections.

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<sup>25</sup> Prokhorov 2014, 64–65.

## Chronological Table of *The Chronicle of Halych-Volhynia* (The Chronicle of the Romanovichi)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
1198–1205	Roman Mstislavich's encomium	1–5	715–717	12–27	Content-based order: matters linked to Halych
1205	Rurik's first procession to Halych	5–7	717	29	
1205	The conversations of Roman's wid- owed wife with Andrew II in Sanok	7–10	717	30	
1206	The Igorevichi take control of Halych	10–11	718	30–31	
1206	Romanova escapes to Vladimir along with Danilo and Vasilko	11	718	31–32	
1206/1207	The Igorevichi send envoys to the inhabitants of Vladimir	11–12	718	32–33	Content-based order:
1206/1207	Romanova and her children leave Vladimir and travel to Leszek the White	13–14	718–719	33	
1207	Danilo Romanovich goes to see Andrew II	14–15	719	33	Matters linked to Volhynia
1208	The war between Vladimir and Roman Igorevichi	15–16	719–720	33	
1208	The expedition of Leszek the White, Konrad of Mazovia and Alexander of Belz to Vladimir, Alexander rules in Vladimir	16–18	720	33–34	
ca. 1208	Ingvar in Vladimir	18, variant s-s	720	34	
ca. 1208	The Romanovichi reign in Brest	19	720–721	34–35	
ca. 1209	Alexander takes Vladimir from Ingvar	19–20	721	35	

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
ca. 1209/ 1210	Vasilko Romanovich takes Belz	20	721	35	
ca. 1210	Lithuania and the Yotvingians invade Volhynia	20–22	721	36	
1209/1210	Hungary occupies Halych	22–24	722	36–38	
1210	Mstislav Yaroslavich's expedition to Halych	24–25	722	38–39	
1210	The expulsion of the Hungarians from Halych. Vladimir Igorevich in Halych	25–27	722–723	39	
1208–1235	Matrimonial plans and “prophetic information” about Philip of Swabia's death	27–29	723	39–41	
1211	The killing of 500 Halych boyars by the Igorevichi	29–30	723–724	41	
1211	The expedition of the Hungarian king to Halych and the hanging of the Igorevichi. Danilo reigns in Halych	30–41	724–727	41–44	
1211	The Halychans dismiss Romanova from Halych	41–42	727	44–45	
1211/2012	The capture of Volodyslav Kormilichich by Romanova supported by a Hungarian squad	42–43	728	45	
1212	Mstislav the Dumb takes Halych	43–45	728–729	45–46	
1213	Alexander of Belz aided by Leszek the White takes Belz from the Romanovichi	45	729	46	
1213	The death of Queen Gertrude	46	729	46	
1213	Andrew 11's expedition to Halych. Volodyslav Kormilichich becomes the Hungarian viceroy in the Halych lands	45–48	729	47	
	Insertion about Vsevolod the Red's love for the Romanovichi disrupting the chronology	48	729	47–49	

Content-based order: matters linked to Halych



(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
1214	The unsuccessful expedition of Leszek the White, Mstislav the Dumb, and the Romanovichi to Halych	49–52	729–730	48–50	
1214	Andrew II's retaliatory expedition against Leszek the White	52	730–731	50	
1214	Treaty signed between Leszek and Andrew in Spiš	52–55	731	50–51	
1214/1215	The Romanovichi reign in Vladimir	55	731	51–52	
ca. 2016	The Hungarian king takes Przemyśl and Lubaczów from Leszek the White and Pakosław	55	731	52–53	
1217	Mstislav Mstislavich the Daring reigns in Halych	55–56	731–732	53	
1217	The marriage between Danilo and Anna Mstislavich. A description of their progeny	56–58	732	53–55	
ca. 1218	The occupation of Brest, Uhrusk, Wereszyn, Stołpie, and Kumów by Danilo	58–61	732	55	
1219	The occupation of Halych by the Polish-Hungarian coalition	61–71	732–735	55–57	
1219– 1220	The alliance between the Romanovichi and the Lithuanian princes	71–74	735–736	57–58	
1220	The Lithuanian invasion of Polish lands	74	736	58	
ca. 1220/ 1221	Hungarian-Polish battles in Halych and Vladimiran lands. Alexander of Belz withdraws from the alliance with Mstislav the Daring and the Romanovichi. The beginning of an insertion/parallel story	74–78	736–737	58–63	
1221	Mstislav the Daring takes Halych	78–83	737–738	59–61	
ca. 1220/ 1221	Alexander of Belz withdraws from the alliance with Mstislav the Daring and the Romanovichi	83	738–739	61–62	

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
ca. 1222	The Romanovichi make peace with Leszek the White	83–85	739	62–64	Matters linked to Vladimir and Chelm
1220– after 1269, before 1288	Listing of the bishops of Vladimir and Chelm	85–89	739–740	64–67	
1223	The Battle of the Kalka River	89–102	740–745	67–69	
1224	Conflict between Alexander of Belz and the Romanovichi	102–105	745–746	69	Matters linked to Halych
ca. 1225	Mstislav the Daring makes peace with Danilo in Peremył	105–107	746	69	
1226/1227	Zhyroslav incites the Halychans	107–111	747–748	69–71	
1224/1225	The marriage of Maria, daughter of Mstislav Mstislavich, to Prince Andrew	111–112	748	70–71	
1226/1227	The Polish-Hungarian expedition to Halych	112–117	748–750	71–72	
1224/1225	The genesis of the marriage between Maria Mstislavich to Prince Andrew	117–118	750	72–73	The Romanovichi perspective
1227	Mstislav the Daring abdicates and hands over rule to Prince Andrew	118	750	73	
1227	Mstislav the Dumb passes on his patrimony to Danilo	118–119	750	73	
1228	Strengthening of the Romanovichi's position in Volhynia	120–122	750–751	73–74	
1228	The Yotvingians' incursion against Brest	122–123	751–752	74	
1228	Battles for Czartorysk	123–125	752	74	
1228	The death of Mstislav the Daring	125–126	752	75–76	
1228	The Romanovichi give Peremył and Medzhybizh to Yaroslav	126	752	76	
1224/1225	Kirill I the Metropolitan Bishop of Kiev	126–127	753	76	
1228	The coalition of the Rus' princes against Danilo	127–130	753–754	76–77	
1227	The death of Leszek the White	130	754	77–78	
1229	Vladimir of Pinsk defends the northern border of the Romanovichi domain	131–132	754	79	

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
1229	The expedition of Konrad and the Romanovichi to Kalisz	130–131, 132–142	754–758	79–80	
1230	Vasilko attends Vsevolod Yurevich's wedding to the daughter of Vladimir Rurikovich	142–143	758	80–81	
1230	Danilo takes Halych	143–148	758–760	81–82	
1230	Unsuccessful attempt at taking Halych by Andrew II	148–153	760–761	82	
1230/1231 with references to 1245	A plot against Danilo's life	153–158	762–763	82–85	
1231	Danilo attacks Przemyśl	158–162	763–764	85–86	
1232	Andrew II takes Halych. Expedition to Vladimir	162–167	764–766	86–87	
1232–1233	Battles between the Árpáds and the Romanovichi. 1233 – the Battle of Torchesk-Szumsk	167–179	766–770	87–89	
1233	Alexander of Belz and the Romanovichi march on Plesnesk	179	770	89	
1233	Prince Andrew's expedition to Volhynia	179–182	770–771	89	
1233	Danilo's expedition to Halych. End of 1233/beginning of 1234 – death of Prince Andrew	182–185	771–772	89	
end of 1234– beginning of 1235	Danilo's expedition to Kievan lands. January 6–May 17, 1235 – the ravaging of Chernigov lands	185–189	772–773	89	
1235	Battle of Torchesk. Danilo loses Halych. October 1235 – Danilo in Hungary	189–194	773–774	89	
1235/1236	Vasilko and the Lyakhs march on Halych	194	774	90	
1236	Battles between the allies of the Chernigov princes and the Romanovichi, which end in a peace treaty	194–199, 201	774–776	90	

Chronological order

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
<i>post quem</i> 1241, <i>ante</i> <i>quem</i> 1247; probably 1243	Drohiczyn is taken by the Romanovichi	199–200	776	90–100	
1237	Lithuanian expedition against Konrad of Mazovia	201	776	92–94	
1238	Description of the conflict between Frederick II the Quarrelsome, supported by Bela IV, with Frederick II of the Hohenstaufen dynasty	201–203	776–777	94	
1238	Yaroslav Vsevolodovich takes Kiev. Danilo takes Halych	203–208	777–778	100	
1237–1239	A description of the Mongol incursion into Rus'	208–221	778–782	101	
1239/1240	Danilo takes Kiev	222	782	101–102	
1240	The Romanovichi make peace with Mikhail Vsevolodovich	222–225	782–784	102	
end of 1240, beginning of 1241	Mikhail and his family on Wrocław land	226–227	784	102	
6 December 1240	The Mongols take Kiev	227–231	784	102	
1240/1241	The Mongol expedition to Volhynia and Hungary	231–234	784–785	102	
1240– beginning of 1241	Danilo escapes to Hungary and then to Mazovia	234–237	785–788	102–103	
Beginning of 1241	The Romanovichi return to Vladimir. Mikhail returns with his son to Rus'	238–241	788–789	103	
1241	Danilo fights for Halych against the boyars	241–247	789–790	103	
1241	Rostislav's expedition to Bakota. Danilo's retaliatory expedition	247–251, 252–253	791–792, 793	103–104	
ca. 1239– 1241	Insertion about Danilo's cooperation with the Bolokhiv princes	251–252	792	97–98, 104	
1242	Rostislav's expedition to Halych	253–255	793	104	

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
1242	Danilo subjugates the Principality of Halych	255–256	793–794	104	
1242–1246	Insertion. 1242 – Rostislav dispersed by the Tartars. 1244 – Rostislav's marriage to Anna, daughter of Bela IV. 1245/1246? – Manman and Balay come to see Danilo	256–258	794	104–106	
1244–1246	Insertion encompassing the period from Rostislav's wedding to Mikhail Vsevolodovich's death in 1246	258–259	795	106	
1243	The Romanovichi wage war near Lublin	259–260	795–796	106	
End of 1243– beginning of 1244	The Poles attack the Romanovichi	260–262	796–797	106–107	
1244	Rostislav's unsuccessful expedition to Halych	262–263	797	107	
1244	The Lithuanians' expedition to Peresopnytsia	262–265, 267–268	797–799	107	
End of 1234– beginning of 1235	The Yotvingians wage war near Ochoża and Busówno	266–267	799–800	107	
1245	Rostislav's unsuccessful expedition to Halych ending in the Battle of Yaroslav August 17, 1245	270–287	800–805	111–112	
End of 1245–1246	Description of Danilo's journey to Orda	287–295	805–808	112–113	
Winter 1245/1246	Konrad and Vasilko's expedition against the Yotvingians	295–296	808–809	113	
1246	Bela IV's peace proposal for Danilo	296–297	809	113–114	
1246–1247	Kirill's journey to Nice. 1247 – Leo's marriage to Constance	297–299	809	113	
31 August 1247	The death of Konrad of Mazovia	299	810	113	
5 December 1247	Death of Bolesław I, son of Konrad of Mazovia	299–30	810	113–114	

Thread-based layout

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia Ietopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
1248/1249	Expedition of Siemowit I and the Romanovichi against the Yotvingians	300–310	810–813	114	
Summer 1247	Summit between Danilo and Bela IV in Pozsony	311–315	813–815	114–115	
1249–1250	Conflict between Mindaugas on the one side and Tautvilas and Edivydas on the other	315–321	815–817	116	
1251	Mindaugas' baptism. Mindaugas' war with Vykintas	321–326	817–818	116	
Winter 1251/1252	Romanovichi expedition to the Novogrudok lands	326–329	818–819	116	
1252	Danilo's occupation of Grodno. Peace talks between Mindaugas and Danilo	329–330	819–820	116–117	
1252	Roman Danilovich's marriage to Gertrude	332–333	820–821	117–118	
1253	Polish–Rus'–Lithuanian expedition to Moravia	333–351	821–827	118	
1253	Danilo's coronation in Drohiczyn	351	827	118	
Winter 1253/1254	Polish–Rus' expedition against Stekint	351–354	827–828	118	
1252	The Tartars arrive in Bakota. Basqaq Miley	354–357 194	828–829, 774	118–123	
1253–1254	Kuremsa at Krzemieniec. 1254 – Iziaslav Vladimirovich takes Halych with the aid of the Tartars. Roman Danilovich takes back Halych	357–361	829–830	123–124	
1255	Vaišvilkas makes peace with the Romanovichi. Shvarno marries Mindaugas' daughter	361–362	830–831	124	
1255 or 1256	Danilo's expedition against the Yotvingians	362–376	831–835	124–125	
1253	Roman's struggle for the right to the Babenberg inheritance. Roman's return to Rus' at the turn of 1253/1254	376–381	836–838	125–126	
1255–1256	Danilo fights Kuremsa	382	838	126	
1256	Danilo's expedition aimed at occupying Kiev	382–389	838–839	126	

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Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
1256–1257	Kuremsa's campaign against the Romanovichi	389–394	840	126–127	
From the founding of Uhrusk to the 1250s	Insertion encompassing the period from the founding of Uhrusk to the construction of Chełm	394–404	841–846	127–128	
ca. 1258 (to 1259)	Burundai subordinates Romanovichi and a joint expedition against Lithuania and Yotvingia	404–410	846–848	128	
ca. 1259	Olga's marriage to Andrew Vsevolodovich	411–412	848	131–132	
Autumn 1259	Destruction of the fortifications of the cities in Halych and Volhynia by Burundai	412–420	848–852	132–133	
Beginning of 1260	Tatar–Rus' expedition to Sandomierz and Łysiec	420–428	852–855	133–134	
June/July 1262	Lithuanian expedition to Mazovia. June 23, 1262 – death of Siemowit, son of Konrad of Mazovia	428–429	855	134	
June/July 1262	The Lithuanian expedition to the vicinity of Kamień and Mielnica. <i>Saigat</i> for Danilo	429–436	855–857	134–136	
August 1262	Summit in Tarnawa	436–437	857–858	136	
1263	Vaišvilkas reigns in Lithuania	437, 447–	858, 862–863	136	
ca. 1249–1254	Insertion encompassing the following Lithuanian events: Description of the murder of Mindaugas (ca. 1249–1253); the history of Mindaugas' murder and his reign (1263/1264); the death of Tautvilas (1264); The death of Treniota	437–447	858–862	136–144	
1263	Marriage of Vladimir Vasilkovich with Olga Romanovich. Lithuanian expedition to Bryansk	448–450	862	144	
ca. 1264	The death of Danilo Romanovich	450–451	862	144–145	
1264	Alliance between Shvarno and Vaišvilkas	450, 451–452	862	144–146	

Chronological order

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, pages columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
July– October 1264	The appearance of a comet	452–453	863	146	
1264	The death of Helena, Vasilko's wife	453–454	863	146	
1263–1264	Civil war among the Tartars	454	863	146	
1265	Joint reign of Shvarno and Vaišvilkas	454–455	864	146	
1265–1266	Conflict between the Romanovichi and Bolesław v. June 19, 1266 – the Battle of Worota	455–463	864–867	146	
1266/1267	Shvarno and Vasilko make peace with Bolesław v	463–464	867	146–147	
End of 1266 or 1267	Vaišvilkas joins a monastery and hands power in Lithuania over to Shvarno	464–466	867	147	
April 1267	Vaišvilkas' death at the hands of Leo	466–468	867–868	147–148	
1269	The death of Shvarno Danilovich. Traidenis' reign in Lithuania	468–470	868–869	148	
1269	The death of Vasilko Romanovich. Vladimir Vasilkovich reigns in Vladimir 225	470–471	869–870	148–149	
Before spring 1271	Peace between Bolesław v and the Romanovichi	471	870	149	
Spring 1271	Bolesław v's expedition aided by the Romanovichi into Wrocław lands	471–472	870	149	
1271–1272	The Romanovichi attack the Yotvingians	472–474	870–871	149	
ca. 1273– 1274	Battling Lithuania	474–475	870	149–150	
14 April 1275	Traidenis takes Drohiczyn	465–476	870–871	150	
Winter 1275/1276	The Rus'–Tartar expedition to Lithuania	476–482	871–874	150–151	
1276	The Prussians come to see Traidenis	482–483	874–875	151	
1276/1277	Peace between Vladimir and Traidenis	483–484	875	151	



(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
Beginning of 1277– beginning of 1278	The Rus'–Tartar expedition to Lithuania	488–493	875–878	152	
1278	Traidenis wages war near Lublin	493–494	878	152–153	
1279	Famine in Poland, Rus' and among the Balts. Transport of grain to the Yotvingians. Vladimir makes an incursion against Konrad II of Czersk. Peace between Konrad and Vladimir	494–498	879–880	153	
7 December 1279	The death of Bolesław V	498–500	880	153–154	
1280	Rus'–Tartar expedition to Lesser Poland	500–504	881–882	154	
1280	Leszek the Black's retaliatory expedition	504	882	154	
1282	Bolesław II and Władysław I Łokietek take Jazdów	504–506	882–883	155	
1282 and beginning of 1283	Marriage between Yuri Lvovich and Yaroslav Yaroslavich's daughter. The Romanovichi forces support Konrad II in his battles against Bolesław II. The taking of Gostynin	506–518	883–887	155–156	
Beginning of 1285	Mongol–Rus' expedition to Hungary	519, 525–527	888, 890–891	156, 158–159	
Beginning of 1285	Bolesław II invades Szczekarzew. The Romanovichi's retaliatory invasion	519–524	888–890	156–157	
1280	The Poles wage war near Brest	524	890	157–158	
1286	The taking of Gostynin and Sochaczew by the Rus'ians and their allies	528–529	891	159–160	
1287	Invasion of Poland by Nogai and Talabuga along with the Rus'ians	528–537, 543–547	891–895 897–899	160	
Beginning of 1288	Leo's land losses as a result of Talabuga's expedition	537, 634	895	160–161	
1288	The death of Mikhailo Yurevich	537–539	895	161–162	
1288	The plague in Polish, Mongol and Rus' lands. A flood in the Netherlands	539–540	895–896	161–163	

(cont.)

Year	Content	<i>Chronica</i> 2017, pages	Ipat'evsk-aia letopis' 1908, pages columns	Discussion, pages	Construction of the narrative
June 1288	Leszek the Black's expedition against Konrad II of Mazovia	540–541	896	163	
Summer 1288	Lithuania and Samogitia attack Riga	541–542	896–897	163–166	
30 September 1288	The death of Leszek the Black	542–543	897	166	
1288	Description of the death of Vladimir Vasilkovich. Vladimir's testament. Yuri wants <i>grods</i> from Vladimir. Konrad II's "homage". Expedition to Lublin. December 10, 1288 – the death of Vladimir. Vladimir's funeral	543–616, 628–633	897–	167–184	Remark. From p. 613 of the critical edition of the chronicle, there was a disruption in the chronological order of the described events
1288–1289	Mstislav's (II) conflict with Leo and Yuri. The writing of <i>grammata</i> for Brest	633–636, 616–619	928–932	184–186	
10 April 1289	The beginning of Mstislav's (II) reign in Vladimir	619–620	932–933	186–188	
1289	Konrad II's expedition with Rus' reinforcements against Sandomierz	621–622	933–934	188	
1289	The Polish–Rus' coalition's battles for Cracow. Expedition to Tyniec. Leo meets with the king of Bohemia	622–626, 636–640	934–938	188–189	
Winter 1289	Necrologies of the Turov-Pinsk dynastic line	626–627	938	189–190	



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# Index of Historical Figures

- Ahmat basqaq 123
- Aktai 105
- Alexander Vsevolodovich, son of Vsevolod  
Mstislavich 33–36, 42, 46, 48, 50–51, 55,  
59–63, 69, 72–73, 83, 86, 89, 198–202
- Alexander, tivun of Shumavinsk  
(Shumavinskiy tivun) 44–45
- Algui, from Genghis's dynasty 167
- Amgaran basqaq 123
- Anastasia, daughter of Alexander  
Vsevolodovich 114
- Anastasia, daughter of Danilo Romanovich  
54
- Andreas of Caesarea 36
- Andrew II, king of Hungary 29–30, 33, 36,  
39–41, 45, 50–52, 55, 70–71, 82, 84, 86,  
198–200, 202
- Andrew Vsevolodovich, prince of Chernigov,  
husband of Olga Vasilkovich 113, 131, 206
- Andrew, otrok of Danilo Romanovich 146
- Andrew, son of Andrew II, king of Hungary  
70–73, 82, 89, 201–202
- Angelos family 32
- Anna Maria of Hungary, daughter of Andrew  
II, fiancée of Danilo Romanovich, wife of  
Ivan Asen II of Bulgaria 39, 41
- Anna, daughter of Bela IV, wife of Rostislav  
Mikhailovich 104, 105–107
- Anna, daughter of Mstislav Mstislavovich  
Udalego, 1st wife of Danilo  
Romanovich 26, 53–55, 69
- Anna, Saint 189
- Árpáds 40, 47, 73, 75, 82, 87, 102, 202
- Asaf, bishop of Ugrusk, then of Chełm 65
- Asaf, bishop of Volodimer 64
- Askold 14
- Ayshvno Rushkovich, Lithuanian  
kunigas 107–108
- Babenbergs 11, 41, 100, 114–115, 117, 125–126,  
129, 142, 192, 205
- Balay, mongol war chief 105
- Batu Khan VII, 8, 96, 102, 105, 112, 119
- Bela IV, Hungarian king 10, 40, 89, 100,  
104–106, 113–115, 126, 132, 136, 203–205
- Benedict, son of Korláta, Hungarian  
nobleman 39
- Benedict/Benko, Hungarian nobleman 36–  
37, 41, 53
- Berke, great Mongolian khan 146
- Bertold von Andechs Meranien 46
- Bikshi, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Blaginia; Hungarian voivode 29
- Bolesław I, son of Konrad I of Masovia 97,  
113, 204
- Bolesław II of Masovia Bolesław 153,  
155–157, 159, 188, 208
- Bolesław II the Horned, prince of Legnica  
106
- Bolesław the Brave 7
- Bolesław V the Chaste 106, 118, 124, 132, 136,  
142, 146, 149, 153–154, 207–208
- Bolokhiv princes 90, 96–98, 103, 126, 203
- Boris of Vladimir, saint, martyr 83, 181
- Boris saint 150, 181
- Boris, boyar of Vasilko Romanovich 135
- Bot, Hungarian knight 61
- Bruno, knight from Mecklenburg, master of  
Knights Templars in Drohiczyn 91, 93,  
95–96, 98
- Budykid, Lithuanian ruler 187
- Budywid, Lithuanian ruler 187
- Burundai (also known as Boroldai, Burulday,  
Borolday), Mongolian war chief 128,  
131–134, 136, 206
- Butovit, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Cain 70
- Casimir I of Kuyavia, son of Konrad I of  
Masovia 98
- Casimir II of Łęczyca, son of Casimir I of  
Kuyavia 154
- Casimir II the Just, prince of Poland 59
- Casimir III the Great 22
- Chiudin/Chudin, voivode of Mstislav (II)  
Danilovich 188

- Coloman, son of Andrew the II, king of Halych 40, 50, 62, 123
- Constance, daughter of Bela IV, wife of Leo of Danilovich 113, 115, 204
- Constantine, boyar of Ryazan 104
- Danilo Mstislavich XVI, 12
- Danilo Romanovich VIII, XIV, XVI, 12, 14–15, 19, 26–33, 39–41, 43–45, 47–48, 50, 52–68, 71–97, 99–119, 122–129, 131–136, 138–139, 140–149, 158, 162, 173, 184, 188–189, 192–194, 198–206
- Daumantas (or Dovmont)—Timothy of Pskov, saint 136, 143
- Dausprungas, Lithuanian kunigas 54, 57
- Unknown daughter Dausprungas, wife of Danilo Romanovich 54
- David Gleb Rostislavich, prince of Smolensk 19–20, 174–176, 179
- David IV the Builder 24
- Demian, boyar of Romanovichi, tysyatsky 15, 31, 42, 50, 61, 63, 75, 83, 85
- Demid, son of Vladimir? prince of Pinsk 190
- Derzhikrai Volodyslavich, boyar of Halych 67
- Derzhislav Abrahamovich, Polish noble 62
- Dir 14
- Długosz Jan 9, 22, 61, 106, 155, 163, 193
- Dmitry of Aba house, Hungarian noble 61, 114
- Dmitry, boyar of Halych 14–15, 55–56, 101
- Dobrogost, boyar of Vsevolodovichi 36
- Dobroslav Sudych, boyar of Halych 96, 103
- Dobrynia, boyar of Mstislav Mstislavich 56, 61
- Doviat, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Dunai, boyar of Vladimir Vasilkovich 171
- Edivydas, son of Dausprungas, Lithuanian kunigas 116, 118, 205
- Edvilas, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Elizabeth of Hunfary, daughter of Andrew II, St. 40
- Erdvilas, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Eugene, bishop of Vladimir 65, 169, 183
- Eusebius of Caesarea 8, 17
- Eustace/Ostafii Konstantynovich, boyar of Mindaugas 134, 143
- Filia, Hungarian voivode 58–62, 85, 111
- Fiodora daughter of Roman Mstislavich XVI
- Flavius Avianus, writer of fables 59
- Florian/Tvozhyjan Wojciechovich of Awdaniec lineage, Polish noble 62
- Frederick II Babenberg, duke of Austria 94, 100, 115, 117–118, 203
- Frederick II of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, Holy Roman Emperor 94, 100, 115, 203
- Gavriil Ivorovich, boyar of Danilo Romanovich 56
- George Akropolites XVII
- George the Monk Hamartolos, Byzantine chronicler 86, 195
- George, saint, martyr 174
- Germanus II Nauplius, Patriarch of Constantinople 76
- Gertrude von Andechs Meranien, wife of Andrew II, king of Hungary 40, 46, 199
- Gertrude von Babenberg 118, 125, 205
- Gleb Potkovich, boyar of Romanovichi 45
- Gleb Rostislavich, prince of Smolensk 150
- Gleb Sudylovich, boyar of Vladimir 56
- Gleb Vasylevich, boyar of Galich 56
- Gleb Zeremeevich, boyar of few princes 50, 56, 72, 75
- Gleb, prince of Stepansk 190
- Gleb, prince, father-in-law of Roman Danilovich 124, 150
- Gleb, son of Vladimir I of Kiev, saint 83, 181
- Gregory IX, pope 98
- Gregory monk from Polonina monastery 139–140
- Gregory Tsamblak, metropolitan of Kiev IX, 75
- Gregory Wasylevich, boyar of Halych 96, 103
- Grzymisława Ingwarevna, wife of Leszek the White 34, 106
- Helena (?), daughter of Roman Mstislavich XVI, 48
- Helena, wife of Vasilko Romanovich 146, 207
- Henry II the Pious, prince of Silesia 106
- Henryk IV Probus, prince of Wrocław and Cracow 149, 188–189

- Herman, brother of Louis IV the Saint,  
Landgrave of Thuringia 40–41
- Hilarion of Kiev, metropolitan of Kiev 17,  
24, 28, 170, 173–174, 180, 190, 193–194,  
196
- Hulagu Khan, creator of the Ilchanidzi  
state 146
- Igor of Olgovich, prince of Kiev 174–176
- Igorevichi, Igor Sviatoslavich  
descendants 30, 32–33, 41–42, 44,  
198–199
- Ilia Shchepanovich, boyar of Halych 38, 41
- Ingvar Yaroslavich, prince of Lutsk, prince of  
Kiev 17, 34, 42, 198
- Unknown by name daughter of Ingvar  
Yaroslavich 34
- Innocent IV, pope 77–78, 99, 118
- Irakli (Herakliusz) Danilovich XVI, 53–54
- Issac II Angelos 32
- Ivan Dmitriovich, boyar of Halych or  
Vladimir 67
- Ivan Glebovich, prince of Stepan 190
- Ivan II Asen, Emperor (tsar) of Bulgaria 40
- Ivan Mikhailovich 84
- Ivan Mstislavovich, son of Mstislav  
Yaroslavich 73
- Ivan, bishop of Chelm 65–66, 132
- Ivanko Stanislavovich, boyar of  
Romanovichi 45
- Ivanko, Hungarian knight 61
- Izebolc, boyar of Vasilko Romanovich 135
- Iziaslav Vladimirovich, son of Vladimir  
Igorevich 43, 71, 123, 205
- Iziaslav Yaroslavich IX
- Iziaslav, prince of Novogradok 91–92, 94
- Iziaslav, prince of Svislach 124
- Iziaslava, foster daughter of Vladimir  
Vasilkovich 168
- Joachim 189
- John Malalas XI, 63, 82, 114, 125, 195
- John of Plano Carpini 123
- Josephus Flavius 59, 133, 190, 195
- Kamateros dynasty, Byzantine dynasty 32
- Khodorec/Fiodor, scrivener of Vladimir  
Vasilkovich 168
- Kintibud, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Kirill I, metropolitan bishop of Kiev 76,  
79, 201
- Kirill II (in English literature Kirill III),  
metropolitan bishop of Kiev 35,  
104–105, 110, 112–113, 123, 204
- Kiszka Luka Lev 1
- Kitenii, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Kocian, son of Sutoia, Polovtsian prince, not  
identical with khan Köten 29
- Könchek (Konchak), Polovtsian khan 25
- Konrad I of Masovia 33, 60, 70, 77, 80,  
91–92, 94, 96–100, 106, 113, 134, 198,  
202–204
- Konrad II of Masovia, son of Siemowit I of  
Masovia 153, 155–156, 159, 163, 170–171,  
186, 188, 208–209
- Kormilichichi 30, 32
- Korochiun, Hungarian voivode 29
- Kossow Sylvester 2
- Köten, Polovtsian khan 76
- Unknown daughter of Köten, wife of Mstislav  
Mstislavich 26
- Kuremsa, Mongolian temnik 123, 126–128,  
205–206
- Kutlubug basqaq 123
- Kuz'ma, bishop of Vladimir 64
- Lasota 52
- Lavrenti (Wawrzyniec), son of tysyatsky 146
- Lazar (Lazarus), boyar of Halych 60
- Lekii, Hungarian knight 61
- Leo (Lev) Danilovich XVI, 53–54, 113, 115,  
118, 122, 124, 128–129, 136, 141–143,  
147–154, 156–158, 161, 167, 171–172,  
184–185, 188–189, 193, 204, 207–209
- Leszek II the Black, prince of Cracow  
154–155, 157–158, 160–161, 163, 166,  
171–172, 208–209
- Leszek the White, prince of Poland 33–34,  
42, 46–53, 55, 60, 62–63, 73, 77, 106, 127,  
198–201
- Likieik, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Lotokharot, Hungarian knight, eponym of  
strips Lothard of Gut-Keled house 41
- Louis IV the Saint, Landgrave of Thuringia  
40–41
- Lubov/Lub, boyar of Vsevolodovich 36

- Maciej, boyar of Vsevolodovichi 36  
 Maciej, voivode of Sieradz of Leszek the Black 163  
 Manman, Mongolian war chief 105  
 Marcel from Tétény house, Hungarian noble 41  
 Maria, daughter of Mstislav Mstislavich 70–72, 201  
 Markolt Nemchyn, citizen of Vladimir 147  
 Memnon, bishop of Przemyśl 172  
 Mengu-Timur, khan of the Golden Horde 150  
 Michael Psellos xvii  
 Mika the Bearded, Hungarian noble of Yák house 41, 43  
 Mikhail Glebovich called Skula, boyar of Mstislav Mstislavich or Romanovichi 56  
 Mikhail Vsevolodovich, prince of Chernigov and Halych 48, 91–92, 94, 96–98, 100–103, 106, 112, 203–204  
 Mikhailo Yurevich, son of Yuri Lvovich xvi, 162, 208  
 Mikula, boyar of Romanovichi 85  
 Miley, basqaq of Bakota 122, 205  
 Mindaugas, king of Lithuania 57, 91–92, 94, 116, 124, 126, 134, 136, 138–143, 147, 205–206  
 Unknown daughter, wife of Shvarno Danilovich 124, 138–139, 141–142  
 Miroslav of Halych, boyar of Halych 50, 56  
 Miroslav the guardian, boyar of Romanovichi 31, 33, 42, 45, 81, 86, 88  
 Mitrofan, bishop of Vladimir-Suzdal and Pereslavl-Zalessky 81  
 Mokyan/Mokayan, Hungarian noble, member of strips Debrey of Aba house 29, 41  
 Molibogovichi, boyar Galychian house 83–85, 110  
 Monchiuk, boyar of Vladimir 31–32  
 Mstibog, boyar of Vladimir 31–32  
 Mstislav (I) Danilovich son of Danilo Romanovich xvi, 53–54, 129  
 Mstislav (II) Danilovich son of Danilo Romanovich xvi, 54, 148–150, 152, 156, 160, 167–172, 180, 184–189, 195  
 Mstislav Izyaslavich, prince of Kiev and Volhynia 19, 21  
 Mstislav Mstislavich the Daring, prince of Novgorod, prince of Halych 20, 22, 26, 34, 37–38, 48, 52–53, 55–57, 59–63, 67–73, 75, 78–79, 85, 101, 191, 193, 199–201  
 Mstislav Rostislavich, prince of Novgorod, father of Mstislav Mstislavich 179  
 Mstislav Yaroslavich, prince of Peresopnytsia, then Lutsk 38, 42, 48, 50, 71, 73, 199–201  
 Naruszewicz Adam 2  
 Nebr, Lithuanian kunigas 74  
 Nestor ix, 8  
 Nicephorus, bishop of Vladimir 64–65  
 Nichifor/Nikifor, boyar of Vladimir 31–32  
 Nikephoros, metropolitan of Kyiv 19  
 Nogai khan, war chief of the Golden Horde 152, 154, 159–161, 185, 208  
 Oleksa, craftsman of Vladimir Vasilkovich 152  
 Olga, daughter of Vasilko Romanovich xvi, 113  
 Olga Romanova, wife of Vladimir Vasilkovich 144, 168, 171, 184, 189, 206  
 Olga, daughter of Vasilko Romanovich 131  
 Olgovichi 18–20  
 Opizo from Mezzano, pope legate 118  
 Or, Polovtsian chanssonier 25, 28  
 Otrok/Atryk, Polovtsian khan, son of Sharukan 24–25, 28  
 Otto of the Wittelsbach, duke of Bavaria 40  
 Pakosław Lasocic, Polish noble 50–52, 200  
 Pat from Győr house, son of Stefan, Hungarian noble 41  
 Paul the Apostle 37  
 Paweł, boyar of Danilo Romanovich 77  
 Perenezhko, boyar of Romanovichi 56  
 Peter Mogila 1, 3  
 Peter Turovich, Hungarian noble 41  
 Philip of Swabia, king of Germany 40–41, 199  
 Philip, boyar of Galich 46, 83  
 Plikosova, Lithuanian kunigas 57  
 Premysl Ottokar II, king of Bohemia 118  
 Pukyik, Lithuanian kunigas 57

- Repeikis, son of Mindaugas 136
- Roman Danilovich, prince of Halych xvi,  
53, 117–118, 123–126, 139, 141, 205
- Roman Igorevich, son of Igor  
Svyatoslavich 30, 36, 39, 43–44
- Roman Mstislavich, progenitor of the  
Romanovichi dynasty (known as Roman  
the Great) vii–viii, xvi, 8, 10–11, 15–19,  
21–26, 28–33, 38, 42–45, 48, 50, 52–53,  
63, 68, 71–74, 78, 82–83, 85, 88, 90,  
92, 94, 98, 111–113, 125, 128–129, 145,  
147–148, 162, 188, 192–193, 198
- Roman Rostislavich, prince of  
Smolensk 179
- Roman, prince of Bryansk 144, 151
- Romanova, wife of Roman Mstislavich,  
mother of Danilo and Vasilko  
Romanovich 29–35, 42–48, 50–51,  
57–58, 63, 78, 85, 173, 189, 192, 198
- Romanovichi dynasty xviii, 6, 9–10, 15–16,  
21, 24, 26, 28, 30–33, 35, 37–38, 41,  
43–44, 46, 48–64, 66–69, 72–79, 82–83,  
85, 89–90, 94, 97–98, 100, 102–103, 105,  
107, 109–112, 114, 116, 118, 124, 127–129,  
131–132, 136–137, 141–142, 148, 154, 168,  
172–173, 184, 193, 196, 198–208
- Rostislav Davidovich, son of David  
Rostislavich 61
- Rostislav Mikhail Rurikovich, son of Rurik  
Rostislavich 20
- Rostislav Mikhailovich, prince of Halych,  
son-in-law of king Bela iv 92, 96, 98,  
100–104, 106–107, 204
- Rostislav Mstislavich, son of Mstislav  
Romanovich 61, 101
- Rostislav Vladimirovich, son of Vladimir  
Dmitr Rurikovich 103
- Rostislavichi 8–9, 11, 22, 28–29, 38–39, 44,  
52, 60–63, 66–71, 73, 75–76, 78–79, 94,  
101, 109, 145, 192–194
- Ruklys, son of Mindaugas 136
- Rurik progenitor of the Rurikid dynasty 12,  
14–15
- Rurik Rostislavich, prince of Kiev 16–23,  
29–30, 68
- Unknown (Anastasia?), daughter of Rurik,  
wife of Gleb Svyatoslavich 41
- Rurikid dynasty 7, 15
- Salomea, daughter of Leszek the White, wife  
of Coloman of Halych 50
- Semion Oluevich, boyar of Danilo  
Romanovich 67
- Semion/Semiun of Kodin, boyar of Mstislav  
Mstislavich 56
- Serapion of Vladimir, bishop 161
- Shvarno Danilovich, son of Danilo  
Romanovich xvi, 53–54, 124, 126,  
128–129, 136, 138–139, 141–142, 144–149,  
205–207
- Siemowit i (Ziemowit) of Masovia, son of  
Konrad i of Masovia 98, 114, 124, 134, 143,  
153, 206
- Somogur son of Sutoia, Polovtsian prince  
29
- Sprudeik, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Stefan (Stepan), boyar of Vasilko  
Romanovich 135
- Stekint, Lithuanian kunigas 118, 205
- Stephen V, king of Hungary 136
- Strykowski Maciej 1–2
- Sudyslav Ilich, boyar of Halych 89
- Sudyslav, boyar of Halych 42, 45, 53, 56, 60,  
72, 74, 81–83
- Sviatopolk Yurevich 34
- Sviatoslav i Igorevich, prince of Kiev 118
- Sviatoslav Igorevich, prince of Vladimir and  
Przemysł 31–32, 34, 42, 44
- Sviatoslav Vsevolodovich, son of Vsevolod  
Yurevich the Big Nest 67
- Sviatopolk i Vladimirovich 83
- Sviatopolk ii, prince of Pomerania 77
- Syrchan, Polovtsian khan 24–25
- Tabrec, Hungarian noble 41
- Talabuga, khan of the Golden Horde  
159–161, 166–167, 184–185 208
- Tautvilas, son of Dausprungas, Lithuanian  
kunigas 116, 118, 143, 205–206
- Thomas the Apostle 25
- Timofey, bookman and father confessor of  
Mstislav Mstislavich 36–39, 69, 174
- Tobash, Polovtsian noble 43
- Traidenis, Lithuanian kunigas 148–151,  
207–208
- Treniota, Lithuanian kunigas 141, 143,  
206



- Trid, voivode of Grodno 150  
 Tytus, voivode of Brest 158  
 Uz, Hungarian knight 61  
 Vaislko Gavrylovich, boyar of Danilo Romanovich 67  
 Vaišvilkas, son of Mindaugas. Lithuanian prince 124, 126, 136–148, 205–207  
 Vasil, dyak 56  
 Vasilko Romanovich, prince of Vladimir XVI, 6, 21, 28–32, 34–35, 41, 46–48, 50, 57, 59–61, 62–65, 68, 72–74, 76, 79–81, 83–84, 86–90, 92–94, 96–97, 102–109, 111–113, 116, 126, 128–129, 131–136, 139, 141–143, 144–151, 153, 162, 170, 173, 182, 192–193, 198–199, 200, 204, 207  
 Vasily, bishop of Vladimir 64  
 Vilikailo, Lithuanian kunigas 57  
 Vinibud, Lithuanian kunigas 57  
 Vishli, Lithuanian kunigas 57  
 Vishymut, Lithuanian kunigas 57  
 Vitomir, Hungarian knight 29  
 Vizheiv, Lithuanian kunigas 57  
 Vladimir IV Rurikovich, prince of Kiev 61, 69, 76, 81, 202  
 Unknown daughter of Vladimir 80–81, 109, 194  
 Vladimir Ivanovich, prince of Stepansk 190  
 Vladimir Peter Igorevich, prince of Putivl and Halich 30, 39, 43, 123, 198–199  
 Vladimir Sviatopolkovich, prince of Pinsk 34, 79, 201  
 Vladimir Sviatoslavich called the Great, grand prince of Kiev 24, 80, 83, 118, 189  
 Vladimir Vasilkovich, prince of Vladimir XVI, 6, 11, 27, 62–63, 65–66, 78–80, 84, 89, 92, 105, 110, 112–113, 128–129, 131, 133–137, 141–142, 144–145, 147–148, 150–160, 162, 167–176, 178–184, 187–191, 194, 206–209  
 Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh, grand prince of Kiev 24–25  
 Vladimir Yaroslavich 20  
 Vladimirovichi descendants 20  
 Vladislaus I of Opole, prince of Opole-Racibórz 118  
 Voldrys, boyar of Halych 84  
 Volodyslav Kormilichich, boyar of Halych 32, 42–43, 45–47, 50–52, 199  
 Volodyslav Vitovich, boyar of Halych 56  
 Volpt, Hungarian knight 29  
 Vorotyslav, boyar of Romanovichi 42  
 Vsevolod I Yaroslavich, prince of Kiev 7  
 Vsevolod Mstislavich, prince of Belz 59  
 Vsevolod Svyatoslavich the Red, prince of Kiev and Chernigov 47–49, 199  
 Vsevolod Vsevolodovich, prince of Cherven, Belz 36, 48  
 Vsevolod Yurevich the Big Nest, prince of Vladimir 16–23  
 Vsevolod Yurevich, son of Yuri Vsevolodovich, prince of Novgorod 80–81, 109, 194, 202  
 Vyacheslav (pol. Wiaczesław/Węczesław) the Bald, Polish noble 33  
 Vyacheslav (pol. Wiaczesław/Węczesław) the Fat, boyar of Romanovichi 31, 42–43, 45  
 Vykintas, Lithuanian kunigas 57, 116, 205  
 Wincenty Kadłubek 59, 85  
 Władysław I Łokietek, king of Poland 154–155, 188, 208  
 Władysław Odonic, prince of Grater Poland 77  
 Yaropolk Kormilichich, boyar of Halych 45, 50  
 Yaroslav Ingvarovich, prince of Lutsk 73–74, 76, 201  
 Yaroslav Vladimirovich the Wise, prince of Kiev 7, 24, 133  
 Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, prince of Vladimir-Suzdal 100, 102  
 Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, son of Vsevolod Olgovich, prince of Chernigov 17–18, 21, 203  
 Yaroslav Yaroslavich, prince of Tver 155, 208  
 Unknown wife of Yuri, daughter of Yaroslav prince of Tver 155, 208  
 Yartak, envoy from Lublin 171  
 Yaron/Yaron, boyar of Mstislav Mstislavich 15, 67  
 Yavolod Kormilichich, boyar of Halych 45, 50

- Yudky, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Yuri Lvovich, prince of Halych and Belz  
xvi, 129, 139, 152, 155–156, 159, 162, 167,  
172, 184, 187, 208–209
- Yuri of Domamerich, noble of Halych 67
- Yuri Prokopovich, boyar of Mstislav  
Yaroslavich 50
- Yuri Vitanovich, boyar of Halych 41
- Yuri Vladimirovich Dolgorukiy, prince of  
Suzdal, grand prince of Kiev 19
- Yuri Vladimirovich, prince of Pinsk 190
- Yuri Vsevolodovich, prince of  
Vladimir-Suzdal 80–81
- Zbigniew Oleśnicki, bishop of Cracow 9
- Zbyslav Stanislavovich, boyar of  
Romanovichi 45
- Zhelislav, voivode of Vasilko  
Romanovich 135, 149
- Zhivibud, Lithuanian kunigas 57
- Zhyroslav, boyar of Halych 56, 61, 69–71, 201
- Ziemomysł of Inowrocław, son of Casimir I  
of Kuyavia, prince of Inowrocław 154
- Zofia (?), daughter of Danilo  
Romanovich 54

# Index of Geographical and Ethnic Names

- Athos 124, 140–141
- Bakota 97, 103, 122, 203, 205
- Balts 36, 208
- Belarus XVI
- Belz 7, 22, 33, 35, 44, 46, 48, 59, 62–63, 69,  
72, 83, 86–87, 127, 198–202
- Bielsk 181, 184
- Bilka river 42
- Boberka river 50
- Bohemia VII
- Bolokhiv 126
- Bork 104
- Bożskij 103
- Bratislava 114
- Brest XI, XXI, 34–35, 55, 74, 90, 93, 158, 168,  
170, 172, 182, 184–186, 198, 200–201,  
208–209
- Bug river 99
- Bulgaria 40, 140
- Busk 86–87
- Busówno (Busowno) 107
- Bykowien 50
- Byzantium XVII
- Chełm 6, 22, 27, 65–66, 74, 91, 105, 107,  
111, 118, 127–128, 132, 139, 142, 144–146,  
148–150, 162, 173, 182, 194, 201, 206
- Chernigov 6, 20, 89, 107, 131, 181–182, 202
- Cherven (Czerwień) 36, 63, 80, 86, 189
- China 123
- Chorni Klobuky 20
- Constantinople 76
- Cracow 2, 9, 33, 48, 50, 52–53, 77, 97, 106,  
118, 124, 132, 136, 143, 153–154, 158, 160,  
166, 171, 188–189, 209
- Cumans 26
- Czartorysk 73–74, 77, 189, 201
- Danilov 132
- Dereviche 103
- Diadkov 103
- Don river 24–25
- Dręszew 99
- Drohiczyn 84, 91–92, 94–100, 102, 107, 118,  
124, 150, 203, 205, 207
- Drohobuż 42
- Dubno 169
- Gąsawa 77
- Georgia 24–25
- Germany 46, 86, 147, 151, 162–163, 169, 187
- Głubczyce 118
- Gnezna river 43
- Golden Horde 122
- Gorodek 126
- Gorodiec 103
- Gostynin 155–157, 159, 208
- Greater Poland (Wielkopolska) 77
- Grodno 116, 151–152, 205
- Gubin 103
- Hagarians 25
- Halych XII, XVII, 6, 16, 19–22, 24, 27,  
29–39, 41–44, 46–53, 55–5, 59–61, 63,  
65, 67–75, 78–79, 80–94, 96–97, 100,  
102–105, 107–108, 110–111, 114, 116, 123,  
131, 137–139, 144, 146, 148–152, 182, 192,  
194, 196, 198–205
- Hungary VII, XVI, XXII, 22, 33, 36, 39–40,  
47–48, 51, 53, 59, 70–71, 89–90, 96,  
101–102, 104–105, 107, 114, 117, 130, 132,  
135, 142, 156–157, 159–160, 199, 202–203,  
208
- Hypatian Monastery VIII
- Ishmaelites 24
- Jazdów (Ujazdów) 134, 143, 155, 208
- Kaczkiw 38
- Kalisz 43, 79, 202
- Kalka river 38, 67–69, 201
- Kamień 134, 151, 206
- Kamyenyets (Kamieniec Litewski) 46–48,  
152, 168, 181, 184
- Kamyenyets (Kamieniec) on the Słucza  
river 20, 90

- Karakorum 119  
 Kiev VIII–IX, XIII, 1, 6, 8, 12, 14, 17–19,  
 29–30, 36–37, 47–48, 75–76, 100–102,  
 110, 126, 182, 201, 203, 205  
 Kobud 103  
 Koźle (Kędzierzyn-Koźle) 118  
 Kressenbrunn 132  
 Krzemieniec 123, 126, 132, 205  
 Krzna river (Krosno) 158  
 Kudyn 103  
 Kumów 55, 200  
  
 Latygola 163  
 Legnica 106  
 Leles, Lelesz 46  
 Leśna river 152  
 Lesser Poland (Małopolska) 59, 154–155,  
 160  
 Lithuania, Lithuanians VII, XVI, 11, 22, 58,  
 62, 79, 91, 94, 100, 103, 107–108, 111,  
 115, 117–118, 122, 124, 126, 128–131, 134,  
 136–138, 140–148, 150–152, 157, 159–160,  
 163, 187, 192, 196, 199–200, 203–209  
 Livonia 53, 98  
 Lubaczów 51  
 Lublin XXI, 96, 106, 133, 152, 157, 171–172,  
 204, 208–209  
 Luboml 168, 170–171, 178, 181  
 Lutsk 42, 73–74, 76, 126–127, 132, 169–170  
 Lviv XXII, 22, 32, 35, 127, 161  
 Lyakhs (Polish) 33–34, 47, 52, 58, 60–62, 69,  
 71, 80, 90, 94, 100–101, 111, 115, 117–118,  
 132, 134, 141, 146, 149, 154, 157–158,  
 160–162, 166–167, 172, 187–188, 192, 196,  
 200–202, 205, 208–209  
 Łysiec 133  
 Lyuta river *see* Bilka river  
  
 Mazovia 96–99, 102, 106, 113–114, 124, 131,  
 149, 153, 155–156, 163, 171, 186, 188, 198,  
 203, 206  
 Medzhybizh 76, 126, 201  
 Miedwieża Głowa (Otepää) 163  
 Mielnica 134, 206  
 Mielnik 107, 128  
 Moklekow 50  
 Mongols 11, 66–68, 91, 96, 98, 100–102, 105,  
 118–119, 122–123, 126, 128–129, 131–133,  
 136, 141–142, 159, 161–162, 192, 203, 208  
  
 Moravia 118, 125, 205  
 Moscow 75  
 Mykulyntsi 29  
  
 Nasiedle 118  
 Nebel (Nobel) 134  
 Neman river 140  
 Netherlands 163, 208  
 Nice 76, 113, 204  
 Novogrudok 116, 122, 124, 126, 137, 139–140,  
 143, 150–152, 205  
 Nur (Nurzec) river 99, 113  
  
 Obezy 24–25  
 Ochoża 107  
 Opava 118  
 Orelsk 34  
 Orzechowo 99  
 Ostrogowe Wrota 42  
 Otepää *see* Miedwieża Głowa  
  
 Pagran 51  
 Peremyl 20, 50, 52, 69, 76, 201  
 Peresopnytsia 38, 42, 48, 74, 76, 107, 204  
 Pereyaslav 6, 101, 182  
 Pinsk 34, 73, 79, 107–108, 143, 190, 201, 209  
 Plesnesk 89, 202  
 Pobozhe 126  
 Potylicz *see* Tylicz  
 Poland VII, XVI, XXII, 7, 22, 58, 130, 134, 136,  
 153, 155, 166, 168, 208  
 Polonne 19  
 Polotsk 6, 155, 182  
 Polovtsians 17–18, 24–26, 28–29, 43, 57,  
 59–60, 67, 69, 76, 89–90, 195  
 Poltava river 42  
 Pomerania 77  
 Ponizie (Podolia) 73, 81  
 Prussians 58, 151, 207  
 Przemyśl 14, 22, 42, 51, 67, 69–71, 80, 83, 86,  
 91–92, 94, 104–105, 181, 200, 202  
 Przeworsk 154, 158  
 Pułtusk 153  
  
 Qara Khitai, Khanate 122  
  
 Rajgród (Raj) 168, 170  
 Rakushskaia land 115, 117  
 Riga 163, 166, 209

- Rome 77  
 Russia XVI  
 Ryazan 134  
 Rzhev 67
- Samogitia 163, 166, 209  
 San river 167  
 Sandomierz 52, 124, 133, , 160, 180, 188, 206, 209  
 Sanok 22, 29–30, 198  
 Sarai 119  
 Seret river 29  
 Siemocz 126  
 Sit river 100  
 Skuszew 99  
 Słonim 139, 151  
 Slovakia XVI  
 Sluch river 20, 46  
 Smolensk 6, 17, 101, 150, 177, 182  
 Sochaczew 159, 208  
 Sonnenberg 98  
 Spiš 51, 200  
 Stołpie 55, 200  
 Stożek 132  
 Styria land 115, 117  
 Suchodoły 97, 106  
 Sula river 25  
 Suzdal 6, 80, 100–101, 155, 182  
 Szczekarzew (nowadays Krasnystaw) 60, 157, 208  
 Szumsk 42, 87, 89, 202
- Tarnawa 136, 142, 206  
 Tatars 14–15, 96, 104, 156, 206  
 Terebovlia 50  
 Torchesk 73, 87, 89–90, 202  
 Toruń 163  
 Transoxiana 123  
 Turov 6, 182, 190, 209  
 Turzysk 151  
 Tychoml 50, 52  
 Tylicz XXI, 135  
 Tyniec 209
- Uhrusk 55, 64–66, 127, 200, 206  
 Ukraine XVI, 6
- Vawkavysk 139, 187  
 Veliky Novgorod 6, 34, 53, 68, 91–92, 94, 116, 122  
 Vienna 115  
 Vistula river 133  
 Vladimir (Volhynia) 6, 17–18, 20, 29–34, 36, 39, 43, 48, 50–52, 57–58, 60, 63–65, 69, 74, 76–78, 83, 86–87, 91, 93, 95–97, 107–108, 127, 131–132, 134, 144, 147–150, 155, 159–160, 168–171, 173, 179, 181–182, 184, 186–191  
 Vladimir on the Klyazma river 6, 18, 22, 81, 123, 198, 200–203, 207, 209  
 Volhynia XVII, 6, 18, 31, 34–37, 46, 52, 67–68, 73, 76, 87, 89, 94, 102–103, 105, 108, 111, 131–133, 135, 137–138, 142, 145–146, 148–149, 151, 155, 182, 196, 199, 201–203, 206  
 Vozviakhl 126  
 Vyatich 20
- Wereszyn 55, 200  
 Wiślica 52  
 Wisznia 83  
 Włodawa 105  
 Wohyń (Woin) 157  
 Worota 146  
 Wrocław 102, 149, 189, 203, 207  
 Wyszogród 157–158
- Yaroslav 59, 85, 110–112, 115, 204  
 Yotvingia, the Yotvingians 21, 74, 90–91, 93, 107, 113–115, 117–118, 124–126, 128–131, 136, 141, 149, 152–153, 192, 199, 201, 204–208
- Zawichost 133  
 Zbarazh 50  
 Zubrza river 55  
 Zvenyhorod 30, 42, 60, 92–93  
 Żary 52