

HUNGARY AND THE HUNGARIANS IN THE GALICIAN-VOLYNIAN CHRONICLE

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The Middle-Ukrainian¹ Galician-Volynian Chronicle (hereafter GVC) – the most important historical source of events in 13th century southwestern Rus', an area which is now Western Ukraine – has many references in the Galician half of the chronicle to Hungary and the Hungarians, for in the first half of the thirteenth century the royal Árpád dynasty attempted to gain dominion over Galicia and create a second kingdom on its territory to be ruled by the younger members of the royal house of Hungary.² Yet no study has been undertaken to date to collect and systematize these references and to extract the most salient examples in order to show how the image of Hungary (identified very often with that of the Hungarian king) and of the Hungarians who attempted to conquer Galicia was tempered by the vicissitudes of history. Drawing on my English translation³ of the chronicle, I will cite references which illustrate these vicissitudes. At the same time, because I am a Slavic philologist and translator of medieval Slavic texts and not a historian and, moreover, a "visitor" in the field of Hungarian history, I invite the comments of my Hungarian colleagues dealing with medieval Hungarian history on the accuracy and/or inaccuracy of the chroniclers' account of Hungarian affairs as depicted in the GVC. I also beg the indulgence of specialists in this field for any oversimplifications or omissions I may have inadvertently made. Their comments will only aid me in my work on the preparation of a critical edition of this very important historical and literary monument.

Thus, at the very beginning of the chronicle, after the death of Great Prince Roman Mstislavič, the father of the four-year old Danilo and two-year old Vasilko, who are the protagonists of the GVC, the Hungarian king appears as the protector of the orphaned children and Roman's widow against Prince Rjurik Rostislavič of Kiev, while Hungary is depicted as the haven for Danilo:

a) (1205) 6710 (1202)⁴ . . . In the meantime after Roman's death the Hungarian king [Andrej II] had met his sister-in-law⁵ in Sanok; he had received her son Danilo as if he were his own and had left a garrison [in Halyč consisting of] the tall Mokij, who was blind, Volpt Koročjun and his son Vitomir, Blaginja, and many other Hungarians. And because there were so many other Hungarians [in the city], the Galicians could not act on their own initiative [when Rjurik appeared before the city walls].

b) (1207) 6711 (1203). Prince Lestko [Leszek Biały of Poland] sent Danilo to Hungary in the company of his envoy Vjačeslav Lysyj with [the following] message for the king: "I have forgotten

my dispute with Roman for he was your friend. You had sworn an oath that [in case of his death] you would live in peace with his remaining kin. Now that they are in exile, let us go wrest their patrimony [from the hands of their enemies] and return it to them". Upon hearing these words, the king regretted that such had come to pass. He kept Danilo by his side while the princess and Vasilko stayed with Lestko.

The Hungarian soldiers led by Benedict Bor and sent by the king in the year 1210 (erroneously recorded under the year 1120) to wrest the capital city of Halyč from Prince Roman Igorevič, Danilo's contender for the Galician throne, receive, however, a very negative treatment from the chronicler:

(1207) 6711 (1203) . . . (1210) Upon learning of the disorder and revolt⁶ in Halyč [the Hungarian] King Andrej sent Benedikt [Bor] with an army [to Halyč]. Benedikt captured [Prince] Roman [Igorevič] as he was bathing in a bath-house and sent him to Hungary. [At that time] in Halyč there was a very wise bibliophile named Timofej,⁷ a Kievan by origin. He expressed himself allegorically about this tormentor Benedikt: "In our time the Antichrist will be known by three names" and then fled from him, for [the latter] tortured boyars and citizens alike and was addicted to lechery. [He and his soldiers] defiled married women, nuns, and the wives of priests. And indeed he was the Antichrist⁸ for his horrendous deeds bore witness thereof.

But when Prince Roman Igorevič does succeed in taking back Halyč from the Hungarians in 1211 (erroneously recorded under the year 1206), the king is shown to be not beyond receiving gifts to assuage his anger over the expulsion of Bor:

6714 (1206) . . . (1211) [In the meantime Prince] Roman [Igorevič] had escaped from Hungary, and the Galicians sent the following message to his brother Volodimer: "We have sinned before both of you. Save us from this tormentor Benedikt". [Thereupon] the brothers advanced with their army [upon Halyč], and Benedikt fled to Hungary. [Then] Volodimer [Igorevič] set himself up as prince in Halyč, Roman [Igorevič] – in Zvenigorod, and Svjatoslav [Igorevič] – in Peremyšl'. Volodimer gave his son Izjaslav the city of Terebovl' and sent his [other] son Vsevolod bearing gifts to the king in Hungary [in order to placate him for the expulsion of Benedikt] .

Yet the king's relationship with Danilo remains untouched by these events, for the above passage ends with a rumor of a plan to make Danilo heir to the Hungarian throne, a plan which, however, was never realized:

While [Prince] Danilo was in Hungary, King Andrej, who had no son, the Hungarian boyars, and the whole land wanted to give Andrej's daughter in marriage to Prince Danilo, although both were still children.

Indeed, it is truly interesting that outside of his acceptance of gifts from both the enemy and ally alike, the king remains beyond reproach for the Galician chronicler even though his own troops may be shown to be less than heroic when fighting alone (see Marcel's "dishonor" in quote *b* below). He is still Danilo's ally when the pro-Hungarian Galician boyars are driven from Halyč by the Igorevič princes and come to him for Hungarian aid to place Danilo on the Galician throne:

a) (1211) 6716 (1208) . . . Volodislav Kormiličič fled to Hungary as did [the boyars] Sudislav and Filip. Finding Danilo in Hungary – and he was still a child – they made the [following] request of the Hungarian king: “Give us Danilo, the [rightful] heir of Halyč, so that with him we could take it from the Igorevič princes”. The king joyfully sent a large army which he entrusted to the great dvorskij Pot. Herewith are the names of the boyars that were with him: the first [was] Petro Turovič, the second – Banko, the third – Mika Bradatyj, the fourth – Lotoxarot, the fifth Mokian, the sixth – Tibrec, the seventh – Marcel, and many others, but to count them off and to write them down would be impossible.

b) (1211) 6716 (1208) . . . The Polovcians, however, together with Izjaslav Volodimerič came to the aid of the [besieged] Roman [Igorevič]. The Hungarians could not withstand the [Polovcian] attack and ran from their camp. Mika was wounded, and Tobaša cut off his head. When the Polovcians saw [that they had routed the Hungarians], they attacked them fiercely [once again], but the Hungarians fled [offering no resistance] to the river Ljuta, with the Polovcians hard at their heels, because [their reinforcements] – the Poles and Rus'ians had not yet arrived. The Hungarians went down [to the ford] and barely managed to cross the river. [By that time the reinforcing] Rus'ians [arrived and] exchanged a barrage of arrows with the Polovcians. [In his haste to cross the river] Marcel left his standard behind, but the Rus'ians recovered it and Marcel was greatly disgraced. The Hungarians returned to their tents – that is their camp.

c) (1211) 6716 (1208) . . . Then [the allies] returned to Halyč and the Great Roman's [wife] Princess [Anna] arrived to see her beloved son Danilo. At that time the Galician and Volodimerian boyars – Vjačeslav of Volodimer' [Volodislav of Halyč]⁹ – and all the [other] Volodimerian and Galician boyars as well as the Hungarian voyevodas placed Prince Danilo upon the throne of his father – the Great Prince Roman – in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Thus, King Andrej did not forget his former agreement with his “brother”¹⁰ – the Great Prince Roman – but sent his soldiers and placed his “son” on the throne of Halyč. When the [Igorevič] princes – Roman, Svjatoslav, and Rostislav were captured, the Hungarians wanted to take them to their king. The Galicians, however, requested their permission to hang the princes in revenge. The Hungarians were persuaded with costly gifts, and the princes were turned over [to the Galicians] for hanging in the month of September.

Moreover, when Danilo's mother is driven out of Halyč by the faithless Galician boyars, the Hungarian king returns with her in 1211/12, reinstates her, but when he goes back to Hungary, the Galicians drive her out again (this time with both sons) and invite Prince Mstislav Jaroslavič Němyj of Peresopnica to be their ruler:

(1211) 6716 (1208) . . . When the king learned of her banishment, he grieved [greatly].

(1211/12) 6717 (1209). The [Hungarian] king came to Halyč bringing along his sister-in-law – the [Grand] Princess, Roman's spouse – and the boyars of Volodimer'; [Prince] Ingvar [Jaroslavič] arrived from Luck [and] other princes [joined them in Halyč] also. The king [held a council with his sister-in-law and the boyars of Volodimer' [during which] he stated that [the boyar] Volodislav [Kormiličič] had assumed authority [in Halyč] and had banished his sister-in-law [from the city]. [Thereupon] Volodislav, Sudislav, and Filip were captured and subjected to torture. Sudislav, however, gave much wealth [to his captors] and “changed into gold” – that is having given them much gold, he was able to save himself. [Then] Volodislav was put in chains and led off to Hungary. While he was being led away, Javolod and Jaropolk – his brother – fled to Peresopnica to [Prince] Mstislav. They summoned him and in their company [he marched upon the city of] Bozk. Gleb Potkovič, Ivanko Stanislavič and his brother Zbyslav, however, fled from [the city] and

ran to Halyč warning [its rulers] of the, [approaching] enemy and of the treachery of the Galicians. [Thereupon] Roman's [spouse, the Grand] Princess escaped to Hungary with her son Danilo and Vjačeslav Tolstyj, while Vasilko and [the tutor] Miroslav rode off to Belz. After some time had passed, the king hurriedly began to gather a great army.

However, the image of the Hungarian king changes drastically for the Galician chronicler with the Council of Spiš in 1214, at which time Andrew together with Leszek Biały (in text: Lestko) of Poland reached the decision that Halyč must now be captured for Andrew's son Koloman, thereby turning Galicia into a second Hungarian kingdom for the Árpád dynasty. At first the Galician chronicler only records the contents of this council without noting his disapproval:

(1212) 6719 (1211) . . . Then the [Hungarian] king marched against Lestko¹¹ whom Danilo was visiting at that time. [Thereupon] Lestko sent his envoy Lestič and the boyar Pakoslav [to the king] with the [following] message: "It is not proper for a boyar to reign in Halyč, marry my daughter to your son Koloman and let him rule in Halič". The king liked Pakoslav's [advice]. He held council with (1214) Lestko in Spiš¹² and took Lestko's daughter for his son. Then sending [troops], he captured Volodislav in Halyč. [The king] sent him into exile where he died, bringing misfortune upon his children and kin because he wished to rule. And this is why all the princes looked with disfavor upon his children. The king placed his son in Halyč, presented Lestko with Peremyšl' and gave [the boyar] Pakoslav the city of Ljubačev, for he was a friend of Roman's wife and her children.

However, when military operations actually begin, the Galician chronicler expresses his approval over the Hungarian loss to Danilo's father-in-law, Prince Mstislav Mstislavič Udalyj of Novgorod and Halyč, for the Hungarians had been guilty of the sin of pride and had defiled the Church of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary in Halyč by turning it into a fortress:

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

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

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

(1221) 6727 (1219). Then Lestko marched against Danilo to Ščekarev to prevent him from coming to the aid of his father-in-law Mstislav. [Prince] Kondrat arrived to reconcile Lestko with Danilo, but recognizing Lestko's treachery he did not wish Prince Danilo to go [and] see Lestko. In the meantime, Filja was preparing for war. He was convinced that no one could oppose

him on the field of battle. He left Koloman in Halyč where he [had] fortified the Church of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary. [But] she would not tolerate the defilement of her temple and allowed [Prince] Mstislav to capture it. With Koloman [at that time in Halyč] were: Ivan Lekin, Dmitr, and Bot.¹³

[Mstislav's allies] the Polovcians came to reconnoitre. The Hungarians and Poles gave chase, but one Polovcian turned around and shot Uz in the eye with an arrow. Uz fell [dead] from his horse and [the Hungarians] took his body away and mourned for him. The next day, on the eve of the feast of the Blessed Virgin, Mstislav marched early in the morning against the proud Filja and his Hungarians and Poles, and a great battle ensued which Mstislav won. Many of the Hungarians and Poles were killed as they fled [from the battlefield]. The haughty Filja was captured by the youth Dobrynin, whom the treacherous [boyar] Žirolav had kidnapped. Because of Dobrynin [Žirolav] had been exposed and had lost his patrimony. After winning [on the battlefield], Mstislav advanced upon Halyč. First [his soldiers] fought for the possession of the city gates. [When these fell into their hands] the Hungarians fled to the church vault because it had been fortified, and some climbed up on ropes; their horses had been captured [by Mstislav's troops]. [From there] the [Hungarians] shot and threw stones at the inhabitants of the city, but they [soon] became exhausted from thirst, for they had no water. When Mstislav arrived, they surrendered to him and were led down from the church. Danilo came with a small retinue in the company of his tysjackij Demjan. However, he came at the wrong time [after the fighting was already over] and went to Mstislav. [Then] there was great rejoicing that God had delivered them from the foreigners, for all the Hungarians and Poles were either killed or captured or had drowned while fleeing through the land. Still others were killed by peasants, so that no one escaped. And thus God favored the land of Rus'.

Although Danilo did not take part in the victory described above, he did defeat the Hungarians ten years later when they attempted to take Halyč after he had just wrested it from them, and this Hungarian defeat is described in Biblical terms. Note that in this passage Béla IV who did not rule Hungary alone until 1235 appears as co-regent with his father Andrew II under the year 1230 in the GVC, a fact which is historically accurate. Moreover, the Galician chronicler has a soft spot in his heart for King Andrew's third son Andrew who at this time has replaced his brother Koloman as the contender for the throne of Halyč (See Note 13):

Danilo rose the following morning, rode around the city and gathering [all] the inhabitants of the Galician land, surrounded it by dividing his troops into four battalions. He had collected [his vast army] from the Bobrka as far as the river Ušica and the Prut. [Thus] he laid siege [to Halyč] in great force. Its inhabitants [soon] became exhausted and surrendered the city. As Danilo was occupying the city, he remembered King Andrej's affection [for him] and released his son, accompanying him to the Dniester. The only person to leave Halyč with the king's son was Sudislav. The Galicians threw stones at him and said: "Depart from our city, you instigator of rebellions in our land!"

Andrej came to his father and brother [in Hungary]. And Sudislav constantly exhorted them: "March against Halyč and occupy Rus'. If you won't go, they will gain in strength against us". [Thereupon] Bela Rex – that is, the Hungarian king – set out in great force. He [boasted] that the city of Halyč would not remain (on the face of the earth), for there was no one to deliver it from his hands. But as he was going through the Hungarian Mountains,¹⁴ God sent against him the Archangel Michael [who] released the torrents of heaven [upon him]. The horses of the Hungarians drowned [in the ensuing flood], while they themselves sought succor on high ground. [Despite this Bela] was bent on occupying the city and the land. [Then] Danilo prayed to God and He

delivered him from the hands of the mighty. The king besieged the city and sent a messenger who cried out in a loud voice: "Listen to the great Hungarian king. Let not Demjan prepare you [for battle] with the words 'God will deliver us from [the evils of this] earth', and let not your Danilo place his trust in God and tell you that this city would not surrender to the Hungarian king.¹⁵ I have led so many [successful] campaigns against other lands. Who indeed can oppose me and the power of my regiments?" But Demjan nevertheless continued building up his forces and was not frightened by this threat, for God was with him. Danilo summoned the Poles and Kotjan's Polovcians to his side, while the king had Begovar's Polovcians as his allies. But God sent down Pharaoh's plague [upon the enemy. Thus], the city grew stronger and stronger, and Bela – weaker and weaker; [finally] he withdrew from the city, abandoning many men – [from] both infantry and cavalry. When the inhabitants of the city attacked them, many of them fell in the river, some were killed, some wounded, and some were taken captive. As has been said somewhere: "[Just as] the Skyrt river played a bad trick on the inhabitants of the city", so did the Dniester play a bad trick on the Hungarians.¹⁶

From [Halyč] the king went to Vasilev, crossed the Dniester, and headed toward the Prut. But the Lord sent a plague [upon the Hungarians] and His angel struck them down. And thus they perished: some shed their skin as they would their shoes,¹⁷ some found their way into the midst of a herd of horses and perished there, while still others died as they gathered around a fire and were raising a piece of meat to their lips. They died of many different afflictions while heavenly torrents inundated them without discrimination. Thus, [Bela] fled because of the infidelity of the Galician boyars, while Danilo took possession of his city – Halyč.

However, only one year later – and in an apparent paradox when contrasted with the above passage – when King Andrew is successful in capturing the cities of Jaroslavl', Halyč, and Volodimer', the Galician chronicler records this without any bias against the Hungarians, but rather with a reproach against Danilo's subordinates who had surrendered so easily. The passage begins with the escape of Danilo's adversary, Prince Oleksander Vsevolodovič to Hungary:

(1231) 6739 (1231) . . . And thus he arrived in Hungary and went to Sudislav, [who] was at that time in Hungary. Sudislav went to King Adnrej and persuaded the Hungarian king [to march against Danilo]. And King Andrej advanced (1232) upon Jaroslavl' in the company of his son Bela and his other son Andrej. The boyar David Vyšatič and [the voyevoda] Vasilko Gavrilovič barricaded themselves in Jaroslavl', [defending it] in Danilo's name. The Hungarians fought until sunset but the city repulsed them. In the evening [the besieged] held a council [during which] David became frightened because his mother-in-law, the wife of the steward Nezdilo, whom he addressed as mother, was faithful to Sudislav and told him that he would not be able to hold the city. But Vasilko [exhorted] him: "Let us not disgrace our prince. [Their] army cannot take this city," for he was a strong and brave man. David, however, would not heed him and was bent on giving up the city. Then Čak came from the Hungarian regiments and reported that they could not defeat them, for they had been badly beaten. Yet despite Vasilko's heated insistence not to surrender the city, David delivered it to [the Hungarians], for fear had paralyzed his heart. He walked out unharmed with all his troops, and the king occupied Jaroslavl', [from which] he then advanced upon Halyč. But [the boyar] Klimjata of Golyje Gory fled from Prince Danilo to the king, and following his example all the Galician boyars surrendered.

From [Halyč] the king advanced upon Volodimer'. When he came to Volodimer' he was amazed [by what he saw] and said: "Such a city I did not find in the German lands," for armed soldiers were astride its ramparts and both the soldiers and their shields glistened like the sun.¹⁸ [The voyevoda] Miroslav was in [command of] the city; at [all] other times he had been dauntless [in the face of battle] but this time – and God [alone] knows [why] – he became alarmed and made peace

with the king without consulting with Prince Danilo and his brother Vasilko. In accordance with the [provisions of] the peace treaty he gave Belz and Červen to [Prince] Oleksander. The king [in the meantime] placed his son Andrej [on the throne of] Halyč upon the advice of the unfaithful Galicians. [Later] Miroslav denied that he had delivered Červen according to [the stipulations of] the treaty for both brothers reproached him strongly: [they could not understand] why he made peace with so many soldiers at his disposal. While the king stayed in Volodimer, Prince Danilo took much booty ravaging the outskirts of Bužsk. Then the king returned to Hungary.

After Danilo's visit to pay homage to the Tatar khan Batu (in text: Batyj) in 1245/46 (erroneously recorded under the year 1249), the image of the Hungarians and Hungary as personified by the Hungarian king seems to be the most balanced, and peace is concluded through the marriage of Danilo's son Lev to Bela's daughter Constance of Hungary. Yet even here there is a trace of distrust of the king on the part of the chronicler which was never present at the beginning of the GVC:

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

And apparently the Galician chronicler had good reasons for this distrust, for the Hungarian king Béla IV proved to be treacherous just seven years later (1252–1253/54, erroneously recorded under the year 1257). Despite Danilo's loyalty to him against the Babenbergs of Austria¹⁹, Béla does not give aid to Danilo's son Roman when as a contender for the Austrian throne after the death of Duke Friedrich Babenberg II, Roman is besieged in the castle of Himberg (GVC: *Ineperec*) by the Czech king Přemysl Ottokar II (in text: *hercjuk* — i.e. (Arch)duke).

Then, as we had mentioned previously,²⁰ the [Hungarian] king [Béla IV] made a solemn promise to [Danilo's son] Roman, but he did not keep it. He abandoned him in the city of Ineperec and went away; he [had] promised to [help] him [in Austria], but did not [keep his promise], for he had treachery in his heart: he wanted [Roman's Austrian] cities for himself. He had sworn a solemn oath before God to Roman and his wife that after he had conquered [this] German land,²¹ he would give all of it to Roman. However, since [Roman's] wife knew [Béla's] character,²² she

made him swear on the cross, but he never came to [Roman's] aid. [In the meantime] the (Arch)duke [Peremysl]²³ repeatedly attacked [Roman in Ineperec]. Once he came with a great force and both sides fought [fiercely]. He camped [only] a thousand paces away, but could not take the city. Therefore, in an attempt to ingratiate himself [to Roman] he said: "Leave the Hungarian king, for you are my relative and kinsman,²⁴ and I will share [this] German land with you. The Hungarian rex — that is — king — is promising you many things, but he will not keep [his promises]. But I speak the truth. I will give you my [spiritual] father — the Pope — and twelve bishops as witnesses who will testify that I plan to present you with half of the German land."²⁵ But [Roman] replied: "I have sworn an oath to my "father" — the Hungarian king — and [therefore] cannot follow your advice for if I were to break my oath, I would bring shame upon myself and commit a [grievous] sin." He dispatched [a messenger] to the Hungarian king [to relate] everything that the (Arch)duke said and promised him, and to request aid from him. But he did not send him any aid, [for] he wanted [the Austrian] cities for himself. [Instead] he promised to give [Roman] other cities in the Hungarian land. However, since [Roman's wife] knew his cunning ways, she said [to his envoy]: "[First] he took my son²⁶ for his daughter and is holding him hostage, and now [he] wants our cities, while we suffer [under siege] and die of hunger for his sake."

Roman finally had to abandon his wife in Himberg and to give up his dreams for the Austrian throne as a "lost cause."

In contrast to the Galician part of the GVC, the Volynian section, which begins with the year 1261, mentions Hungary and the Hungarians only two or three times in passing, each of which, however, is both too short and not enough to give any picture of the Volynian chronicler's views of his close neighbor on the other side of the Carpathians.

Notes

1. For an analysis of the specifically Middle Ukrainian and general East Slavonic vernacular features which penetrated the literary Church Slavonic in which the chronicle was written, see my "Studies on the Galician-Volynian Chronicle" in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, 12, no. 33-34, New York, 1972 — a series of articles on the language, authorship and composition, chronology, bias, and bibliography of the GVC.
2. Hrycak, P., *Halyc'ko-Volyns'ka deržava*, New York, 1958, p. 36.
3. Perfecky, G., *The Hypatian Codex Part Two: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle — An Annotated Translation*, published as volume 16, II in the *Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies*, Munich (Fink Verlag), 1973.
4. The first parenthesis is (1) the correct date of the event in the chronicle. (The reconstruction of the spurious chronology of the Hypatian text of the GVC was the main contribution to the study of the chronicle of the great Ukrainian historian M. Hruševs'kyj. See his monograph "Xronol'ogija podij Halyc'ko-volyns'koji litopysy" in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenko*, 41 (L'viv, 1901), 1-72 [= "Chronology of the events in the GVC," *Notes of the Ševčenko Scientific Society*]) What follows is (2) the hypothetical year since the Creation given for this event by the chronicler, followed by (3) the transformation of the latter into A.D., the second parentheses. In the translation the missing words, historical identifications, and substitutions of nouns for pronouns (and vice-versa) for the sake of clarity have been enclosed in square brackets.
5. According to western researchers, although the chronicler referred to Anna as Andrew's sister-in-law, she may have been at best only distantly related to him through marriage to Roman, but nothing definite is known about the kinship of Roman to Andrew. However, according to L.

- Maxnovec ("Halyč'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys," *Žovten'*, L'viv, 7, 182, p. 15), Anna was Andrew II's niece. She was the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelus from his second wife, Margaret-Maria, who was the sister of the Hungarian king Andrew II and daughter of Béla III.
6. The GVC omitted the very important fact that Roman Igorevič, even before his capture by Benedict (in text Benedikt) was driven out of Halyč by Rostislav Rjurikovič, who was summoned by the boyars; however, Roman was brought back very quickly; this is attested by the Voskresenskij text, which reads as follows (the year is 1210): "They [sic: i.e., the Galician boyars] drove off Roman Igorevič, and Rostislav Rjurikovič began to reign in Halyč; that very same autumn they drove off Rostislav Rjurikovič and placed Roman Igorevič with his brother on the [sic: Galician] throne." In Hruševs'kyj's opinion the brother may have been Svjatoslav. Also according to Hruševs'kyj, the words "disorder and revolt in Halyč" in the GVC itself are an allusion to this omitted event (Hruševs'kyj, *M. Istorija Ukrajinjy - Rusy*, vol. 3, L'viv, 1905, pp. 24-25, photomechanical reprint: New York, 1959).
 7. Čerepnin's suggestion that Timofej was the author of the introductory tale of Anna and her young sons, a tale supposedly written around 1211, is without foundation. The intentional (? - G.P.) mention of the "wise bibliophile, a Kievan by origin" is certainly not conclusive proof of authorship. Moreover, it is doubtful whether one can successfully isolate such a tale, since the text is riddled with "non-Romanovič" interpolations. Čerepnin's entire article, devoted only to the first half of the GVC, while excellent where comparisons between the chronicle and the *Igor' Tale* are drawn, founders where it touches on questions of authorship and composition (Čerepnin, L. "Letopisec Danila Galickogo", *Istoričeskie Zapiski*, No. 12, Moscow, 1941, pp. 244-253).
 8. Timofej based his conclusion that Benedict was indeed the Antichrist on the numerical value of the latter's name in its Greek pronunciation [Benediktos]. The number 666 which is the sum total of all the numbers each of the sounds in his name represented (b=2; e=5; n=50; e=5; d=4; i=10; k=20; t=300; o=70; s=200; total=666) stood for the "sign of the beast" - I. e. the Antichrist, according to the Apocalypse. Timofej's designation of Benedict Bor as the Antichrist was consequently proof that both he and the chronicler were familiar with the interpretative Apocalypse (Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Halyč'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys (Proces skladannja; redakcii i redaktoryj)*, Kiev, 1961, p. 14).
 9. Found in the 16th century Klebnikovskij and 17th century Pogodinskij texts but absent from the 15th century Hypatian text of the GVC.
 10. The term "brother" here as in many other places throughout the chronicle simply denotes princely kinship, i.e. all the princes whether actually related or not were brothers.
 11. The unreliability of this report about hostilities between Andrew and Leszek before the Council of Spiš has been successfully demonstrated by Hruševs'kyj. (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 3, pp. 510-511).
 12. The Council of Spiš in 1214 represented a turning point in the attitude of Andrew and Leszek toward Roman's sons. Where before they tried to help them win back their patrimony, now with the ascendancy of Volodislav Kormiličič to the throne of Halyč they gave up this endeavor and decided to divide the Romanovič "Galician patrimony" between themselves. Danilo and Vasilko were to get only Volodimer', while Eastern Galicia was to go to Hungary and Western Galicia to Poland. Nothing was said about Volynia, but Hruševs'kyj suspected that Leszek took the regions of Zabužje and Berestja for himself, when he forced Oleksander to give Volodimer' to Roman's sons. The agreement was to be confirmed by the marriage of Leszek's daughter Salomea to Andrew's son Koloman, who was to become the King of Halyč. According to Hruševs'kyj, this plan was in all probability masterminded by the Polish boyar Pakoslaw (in text Pakoslav), although this is not evident from the text of the GVC, which states that he only carried the plan to Andrew. Hruševs'kyj's supposition is based on the fact that Pakoslaw, paradoxically called "a friend of Roman's wife and her children" by the chronicler, received the city of Ljubačev from the partitioned Romanovič patrimony, in Hruševs'kyj's opinion, as reward for his endeavor. And indeed in accordance with these provisions agreed upon at Spiš, Koloman and Salomea were engaged and sent to Halyč with a large Hungarian force under Benedict Bor,

- who ousted Volodislav Konmiličič. Koloman, however, was not crowned before the winter of 1215/16, because negotiations between Andrew and Innocent III for a papal crown for Koloman took quite some time. Andrew craftily promised Innocent a Union of the Galician populace with the Roman Church (*Ibid.*, pp. 30–31). The partition of the “Galician patrimony” in accordance with the Spiš agreement and the Polish–Hungarian alliance lasted very briefly. Andrew took Western Galicia with its center Peremyšl’ away from Leszek, who in revenge summoned Mstislav Mstislavič of Novgorod to the throne of Halyč. Furthermore, the Hungarian occupation was unpopular among the populace as were Andrew’s attempts to Latinize the local church and bring about a Union with Rome. According to the Voskresenskij text, “The Hungarian king placed his son on the throne of Halyč, drove its bishop and priests from the church, and brought in his own Latin priests to say Mass.” However, very little is known about these attempts at a Union. Andrew apparently planned a synod of local bishops in 1215, but in the meantime an uprising broke out against Koloman and these plans were dropped; Innocent III’s legate got only as far as Andrew’s court. Andrew himself was forced to come to his son’s aid and take him back to Hungary (*Ibid.*, pp. 32–35).
13. Koloman was sent to Torčesk and after long negotiations returned to Hungary. In order to free Koloman, Salomea, and other important Hungarians, however, Andrew had to give up all attempts to win Galicia for Koloman. Instead Mstislav and Andrew reached an agreement by which Galicia was to pass to Andrew’s third son Andrew who was to marry Mstislav’s daughter Marija. (*Ibid.*, pp. 39–41; Pašuto, V., *Očerki po istorii Galicko–Volynskoj Rusi*, Moscow, 1950, pp. 204–205).
 14. The Carpathian Mountains.
 15. As noted already by Hruševs’kyj, this passage imitates the style of Isaiah 36. 13–15: “Then Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews’ language, and said: ‘Hear ye the words of the great king, the king of Assyria.’ Thus said the king: ‘Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you.’ Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying: ‘The Lord will surely deliver us: this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.’” Hruševs’kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 3, p. 48.
 16. This passage beginning with “But God sent down Pharaoh’s plague. . .” is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, A., “K voprosu ob Ipat’evskoj letopisi,” *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk*, vol. 31, Leningrad, 1926, p. 100).
 17. The phrase “some shed their skin as they would their shoes” apparently had its source in Joshua 9. 4–5 (*Ibid.*, p. 111).
 18. This description of the soldiers’ arms is derived from the Chronicle of Hamartolus (*Ibid.*, pp. 120–121).
 19. Perfecky, *The Hypatian Codex*. . . , p. 61.
 20. This is a reference to the text under the year 1254. Note reference to Austria as “Germany” and “German land.”
 21. I.e. Austria.
 22. Béla IV had been appointed Gertrud Babenberg’s guardian by Pope Innocent IV (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 255).
 23. In the fall of 1251 Přemysl Ottokar II supported by some of the Austrian barons and clergy entered Austria with his troops and proclaimed himself (Arch)duke (i.e., Herzog) of Austria. He consolidated his position by marrying Margarete Babenberg, the sister of the late Herzog Friedrich II, who had died on the Lajta River in 1246 fighting the Hungarians and had left no heirs. Béla IV with the full support of Innocent IV challenged Přemysl’s position. He decided to give Gertrud in marriage to Danilo’s son Roman and thus make him and not Přemysl the new Herzog of Austria. The marriage took place in the first half of 1252 in the castle of Himberg (*Ibid.*, pp. 255–256).
 24. Only through Gertrud and her cousin Margarete (Scharanewitsch I., *Die Hypathoschronik als Quellen-Beitrag zur österreichischen Geschichte*, L’viv, 1872, p. 68).

25. The reference to the Pope and twelve bishops as witnesses appears to be an exaggeration by the chronicler to show Přemysl's sincerity, since it is a well-known fact that Béla had Innocent's support.
26. Apparently by former marriage to Herman, the Markgraf of Baden (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 74), if not an exaggeration by the chronicler to make Béla appear in a negative light.