

Jana Bačová

**LEGITIMACY – SUPERIORITY – SUBORDINATION:
THE IMAGE OF DANIL ROMANOVICH IN THE CONTEXT OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS IN THE *GALICIAN-VOLHYNIAN CHRONICLE***

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

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Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

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I, the undersigned, **Jana Bačová**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on the copyright of any person or institution. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2010

Signature

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INTRODUCTION

During the thirteenth century a new literary tradition developed in the region of Kievan Rus', the tradition of secular biography. This secular literature, originating in the translation of several Byzantine secular works, was dedicated to the life and deeds of some outstanding Old Rus' princes.¹ One of these biographies was to the life of Galician Prince Danil Romanovich. It was preserved in the so-called *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, written at Danil's court by an unknown author(s). This chronicle, in addition to reflecting nearly all the military episodes of the thirteenth-century Rus' principalities of Galicia and Volynia, is mainly a narration of Danil Romanovich's deeds. It functions as his individual princely propaganda, at that time a customary practice of Rus' princes.

Previous scholars have already noted and appreciated this Chronicle, considering it a masterpiece of the southwestern Rus' literary tradition: "From the stylistic point of view, Daniel's 'biography' is one of the most outstanding works of old Ukrainian literature."² Or in the words of Dimitri Obolensky: "Its author was clearly a learned man who affected an ornate and bookish style, derived in part from translated Byzantine literature and from the *Primary Chronicle*. Some of his imagery is strongly reminiscent of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*."³ The *Primary Chronicle* and the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* are the basis of early Rus' literature. Yet, even though the Chronicle has been appreciated and studied from many perspectives, scholars have never analysed separately the image of the main character, Danil Romanovich, within it.

¹ Dimitri Obolensky, "Early Russian Literature," in *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London: Variorum, 1982), 81-82.

² Dmytro Čyževs'kyj, *A History of Ukrainian Literature: From the 11th to the End of the 19th Century*, tr. Dally Fergusen, Doreen Gorsline, Ulana Petyk, (Littleton, CO: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1975), 185.

³ Dimitri Obolensky, "Early Russian Literature," 82.

I touched upon the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* for the first time during my previous research, dedicated to the Hungarian-Polish-Rus' relationship in the thirteenth century. Even though I was using the Chronicle only as a factual source for my research, already at that time I recognized that the Chronicle functions as princely propaganda for Danil Romanovich. From there was only one step towards the study of his image presented by the author of the Chronicle.⁴ Consequently, this thesis seeks to examine the construction of Danil's image in the compositional strategy of the Chronicle, with a special focus on foreign affairs.

The *intentio operis* of the Chronicle was to promote Danil Romanovich in the eyes of his contemporaries and to help Danil legitimize his rights to the Galician principality, as they were quite weak. My task is to recognise and distinguish how the promotion of Danil was done. On the analysis, and consequently on the interpretation, I should also be able to distinguish what kind of rhetorical tools the author(s) is using, and, subsequently, I should be able to say what kind of image of Danil the author(s) created.

Image, however, is not created in a vacuum, but in a certain milieu. The environment of the thirteenth-century principalities of Galicia and Volynia, forming the western border of Kievan Rus', was full of interactions with their neighbours. Naturally, all the neighbouring connections are present in the text of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* as well as the relationship of Danil with the neighbouring rulers. These mutual relationships form the basis of Danil's image because in order to create an image it is also necessary to use contraposition with others. Even though, for the author(s), it was a historical necessity to describe all of Danil's interactions with other foreign rulers, the important fact of how is Danil represented in the framework of these contacts remains. According to the information given in the Chronicle, I have selected significant political factors which I have divided into four groups –

⁴ Here I would like to thank Judith Rasson and Gerhard Jaritz for encouraging me to deal with this topic.

the Hungarian kings, the Polish dukes, the pope, and the Mongols. My task, then, is to analyse how Danil is represented with each group individually and then to compare them in order to obtain a full image of Danil Romanovich in connection with foreign rulers and to see whether his image is homogeneous and compact or shows some signs of ambiguity. By doing this I will contribute to a discussion of the role of Danil Romanovich in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, a better understanding of the rhetoric of the Chronicle vis à vis political realities, and my analysis of Danil's image may also be helpful for the question of the authorship of the Chronicle.

By looking beyond the standard practice of examining just the traditional rhetoric of the place and period, the narrator's attitude and construct of Danil's representation can be distinguished. In order to achieve this, I shall be applying the methods of textual analysis and subsequently textual interpretation. The textual analysis will be carried out by searching for anomalies in the text – the identification of various passages which follow a different pattern than only being descriptive and from which the image of Danil can be recognised. The interpretation of selected passages will follow afterwards. Yet, here one must be careful when interpreting the text because, as Richard Rorty states, the interpreter: “beats the text into a shape which will serve for his purpose.”⁵ To avoid this possible pitfall during the interpretation I will take into account the possible authorship of certain passages and also the intention of the text.

⁵ Richard Rorty, *Consequences of Pragmatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 151 cited in Umberto Eco, “Interpretation and History,” in *Interpretation and Overinterpretation*, ed. Stefan Collini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 25. For this issue see also Gabrielle M. Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997).

The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle

For the discussion of the text itself it is quite important to know in what form the Chronicle has survived until today. The text of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* was preserved in the *Hypatian Codex* (named after the Monastery of St. Hypatius where it was found), an early fifteenth-century manuscript comprising the Chronicle alongside other Old Rus's chronicles.⁶ The manuscript contains the earliest surviving copy of the original text of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. The Hypatian text has already been published five times and there are also an annotated English and Russian translations.⁷ Besides the Hypatian manuscript, four other copies of the *Hypatian* text exist. The *Xlebnikovskij* and the *Pogodinskij* manuscripts are from the sixteenth century.⁸ The two other versions are copies of the *Pogodinskij Codex*; the *Jermolaevskij Codex* is from the end of the sixteenth century and the other one, a Latin script version of the Hypatian text called the *Cracow Codex*, is from the eighteenth century.⁹

The Chronicle itself consists of two sections: the *Galician* and the *Volhynian*. The *Galician* part is the section I shall be mainly dealing with here. However, as my analysis

⁶ The *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (covers almost the whole thirteenth century) was at the beginning of the fourteenth century (or according to some scholars already at the end of the thirteenth century) joined together with the *Primary Chronicle* (known also as the *Tale of Bygone Years*) (covering the years 872-1117) and the *Kievan Chronicle* (years 1118-1199) into one unit, called the *Hypatian Chronicle*.

⁷ In this MA thesis I am going to use the critical edition of the *Hypatian Chronicle* from 1962. See "Ipat'jevskaja letopis" [The Hypatian Chronicle], in *Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisej* [The Complete collection of Russian Chronicles], vol. 2, ed. Aleksandr A. Šaxmatov (St. Petersburg: Tipografia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1908, reprint Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj literatury, 1962), (hereafter PSRL 2); for English translation see: *The Hypatian Codex: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, ed. and tra. George A. Perfecky (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1973); the Russian translation is available at <http://www.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4961>, last accessed May 25, 2010). However, in this thesis I am using predominantly my own translation, in case that I use another translation I mention it in a footnote.

⁸ The *Xlebnikovskij Codex* was probably copied in Volhynia for Prince Kostjantyn Ostroz'kyj. The *Pogodinskij Codex* was copied in Zhyvotiv for Prince Stefan Chetvertyn's'kyj. These two manuscripts were published only once and in facsimile; before they appeared only as part of the critical edition of the *Hypatian Codex*. See *The Old Rus' Kievan and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles: The Ostroz'kyj (Xlebnikov) and Cetvertyn's'kyj (Pogodin) Codices*, intro. Omeljan Pritsak (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

⁹ For the Stemma Codicum of the *Hypatian Chronicle* see Márta Font, *Geschichtsschreibung des 13. Jahrhunderts und der Grenze zweier Kulturen: das Königreich Ungarn und das Fürstentum Halitsch-Wolhynien* (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 2005), 29.

covers Danil's whole life, and his death is given under the year 1264, part of the *Volhynian* section will also be discussed. The *Galician* part describes events from the beginning of the thirteenth century up to the 1260s. Written at the court of Danil Romanovich, it heavily promotes the prince. The second part, the *Volhynian* section, is a continuation of the *Galician* part and covers events until almost the end of the thirteenth century. This part was probably written at the court of Danil's brother, Vasilko, in Volynia and later continued at the court of Vasilko's son, Volodimer, and at the court of Danil's son, Mstislav Danilovich.¹⁰

With the manuscript history of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* discussed above, I can now address the issue of composition, starting with the question of authorship. Since the discovery of the *Hypatian Codex*, the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* has been studied many times and from different perspectives. Linguistic and textual analyses carried out by many scholars have demonstrated that the Chronicle was written by several authors and the writing process had several stages. Although many Russian and Ukrainian scholars have tried to identify authors of the Chronicle, their definite identity still remains unknown.¹¹ Here I must emphasize that for ease of reading I will use the term author and not authors, while noting here the knowledge that there was more than one writer of the Chronicle.

In spite of the absence of names, other various aspects of the author have been identified. Scholars have agreed that most of the authors of the Chronicle were from the local church hierarchy and were in close contact with Danil. Despite the fact that the writers were members of the local church, the Chronicle, in contrast to other Old Rus' narratives, has a strong secular character. Another important element is that some passages of the Chronicle

¹⁰ See Appendix, figure 1.

¹¹ Three prominent scholars have tried to identify the authors, however, all of them identify different writers and different redactions of the Chronicle, see Vitalij Terentejevič Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi* [Studies on the history of Galician-Volhynian Rus'] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk, 1950); Anton Ivanovych Hensors'kyj, *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj lytopis: Proces skladannja redakcii i redaktory* [The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle: The Compiling Process, Redaction and Compilers] (Kiev: Vydovnyctvo UAN, 1958); Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 3 [The History of the Ukrainian Literature] (Kiev, 1923). Márta Font in her article provides a good summary and comparison of Pašuto and Hensors'kyj opinion about possible authorship of the Chronicle. See Márta Font, *Geschichtsschreibung des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 33. See also Appendix, figure 1.

indicate – by use of the personal pronoun “us” – that the writer could have been an eyewitness to certain events.¹² On the other hand, the narrator demonstrates not only a good knowledge of events that took place in Kievan Rus’, but also in the far West; for instance, quite often he provides information about the Holy Roman Empire and he also proves his familiarity with the internal situation in the Kingdom of Hungary.¹³

The second most-discussed problem of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is the chronology. This issue particularly still creates a great many troubles for historians dealing with the history of thirteenth-century Kievan Rus’ as well as its neighbours. The author(s) of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* did not date the entries; this was done only by the later compiler of the Hypatian manuscript.¹⁴ The largest attempt in this field was done by Ukrainian historian Mychajlo Hruševs’kyj,¹⁵ however, many shorter works are also dedicated to the problem of chronology. As my thesis does not deal with the issue of chronology, however, when referring to the certain events, I use the dates given by the later compiler. All this information must be taken into consideration while analysing and interpreting the text of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, especially the question of the authorship.

¹² For instance when the chronicler describes the battle of Kalka, he use expression “All of us crossed the Dnieper,” *Всѧмъ по сууху же Днѣпръ перешедшимъ*. PSRL 2, 741. However, according to Pašuto *Всѧмъ* can also be just a distortion of the text.

¹³ The chronicler, for instance, mentions the murder of Gertrude, wife of Hungarian King Andrew II or the death of the Austrian and Styrian Duke Friedrich II Babenberg, PSRL 2, 729, 814.

¹⁴ The author himself states in the Chronicle that the years of the events will be written later when he finishes the work, see PSRL 2, 820.

¹⁵ Mychajlo Hruševs’kyj, “Хронологія подій Галицько-волинської літописи” [The Chronology of the events in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle], *Zapysky* 41 (1901): 1-72.

CHAPTER I

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

The image of Danil Romanovich presented in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* was not created apart from any circumstances but was done in a certain political context which naturally influenced the whole composition of the Chronicle. The author was fully aware of these political circumstances and he inserted his main character Danil within them. Before approaching the main discussion it is necessary to give a short overview of the political situation in this region, although, some of aspects of Danil's rule will be also discussed in the following chapters when it is required by the certain text.

Danil Romanovich, a Kievan Rus' prince, became the legitimate ruler of Vladimir in Volynia at the age of four. The second part of his domain, Galicia, was more problematic due to the fact that Danil had no dynastic claim to Galicia, but his claim was justified on the grounds that he had the right to sit on the throne of his father, Roman Mstislavich.¹⁶ Roman was the first Rus' prince who united the principedom of Volynia with Galicia in 1199. The latter one became the meeting point of the ambitions of the Hungarian rulers, Polish dukes and Kievan Rus' princes.

Here the importance of Galicia and also Volynia must be stressed. These two principalities formed the western borders of Kievan Rus'; on the southwest border, separated by the Carpathian Mountains, was the Kingdom of Hungary and on the west were the Polish principalities of Cracow-Sandomierz and Masovia. Along the southern frontier of Galicia and the northern border of Volynia were pagan tribes of Polovtsians, Iatviags, and Lithuanians.¹⁷ This geographical location of Galicia and Volynia secured them economic prosperity because

¹⁶ Martin Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146-1246* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 251.

¹⁷ Marek Klatý, "Ethnic-cultural Perception of 'Otherness' in a Frontier Region as Reflected in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle," MA thesis (Budapest: Central European University, 1999), 5.

the long-distance trade between Constantinople and Kiev as well as between Kievan Rus' and Western markets crossed their territories. Galician towns were connected via its rivers with the Black Sea and with the Baltic Sea, while the overland routes linked them with the Kingdom of Hungary. The main routes from Kiev to Cracow and Prague led across the principality of Volynia.¹⁸ Consequently, control of Galicia as well as Volynia would enable the holder to regulate all the trade passing through these lands,¹⁹ which meant economic and political advantages. This is the main reason why both frontier regions, but especially Galicia, become a place of political interests for their western neighbours, mainly for Hungary and the Polish principality of Cracow. Due to the political interests of Western countries and also thanks to their frontier location, Galicia and Volynia, even though following the Orthodox Church rite, had absorbed a significant amount of Western cultural influence.²⁰

The Hungarian King Andrew II (1205-1235) claimed the Galician throne due to the fact that before Roman's death they had made an agreement to take care of each other's children if one of them (Andrew or Roman) died.²¹ Not only did this agreement entitle Andrew to occupy the capital city of Galicia, Galich, but also the fact that Roman's second wife, Anna, was the step-daughter of his sister Margareth (wife of Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos)²² and Anna also asked Andrew for help. Thus, in 1205, the Hungarian King Andrew became a protector of Roman's children and finally had an open door into western Rus' territories.²³

¹⁸ John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia: 1200-1304* (London: Longman, 1983), 77.

¹⁹ Martin Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov*, 331.

²⁰ Marek Klatý, "Ethnic-cultural Perception," 5.

²¹ Stanisław Szczur, *Historia Polski średnioecze* [The History of Medieval Poland] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2002), 259.

²² John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 24.

²³ For the political situation in Galicia after the death of Roman Mstislavich see Márta Font, "Ungarn, Polen und Galizien-Wolhynien im erste Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Studia Slavica* 38 (1993): 27-39.

Andrew was not the first Hungarian ruler who oriented his foreign policy toward the eastern borders of the Hungarian Kingdom and wanted to seize the capital of Galicia, Galich.²⁴ Hungarian kings had been interested in this region from the beginning of the twelfth century onwards. It was only Andrew's father King Bela III, however, who was the first to try to establish an independent rule in Galicia and to install his son, Andrew, as a prince here.²⁵ Maybe the unsuccessful rule of Andrew in this southwestern Rus' territory later forced him to wage more than a dozen campaigns for Galicia and other Rus' territories between the years 1205 and 1235.

Yet, it was not only the Hungarian king who was attracted by the economically powerful territory of Galicia. Two hostile families of Kievan Rus' were fighting for the empty throne of Galicia, the Rostislavichi and the Ol'govichi, as well. One branch of the latter family, sons of Igor Svyatoslavich, somehow managed to take the Galician and Volynian throne for five years (1206-1211).²⁶ At that time Danil and Vasilko together with their mother, had to take refuge in Poland and Hungary. Furthermore, there was one more candidate who wanted to seize Galich, the duke of Cracow-Sandomierz, Leszek the White (1186-1227),²⁷ and of course, the Galician boyars also tried to determine who would sit on their throne.

At the beginning Andrew chose the tactic of supporting the rights of Danil and his mother Anna and he waged several campaigns to Galich on their behalf. However, when Andrew recognized that he would not succeed in taking control over this territory by

²⁴ Antal Hodinka has collected and also translated into Hungarian all the passages from the *Kievan Annals* and from the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* that discuss the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. See Antal Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek magyar vonatkozásai* [Hungarian References in the Rus' chronicles] (Budapest: A Magyar tudományos akadémia kiadása, 1916).

²⁵ Márta Font, "On the Frontiers of West and East: the Hungarian Kingdom and the Galician Principality between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 177.

²⁶ John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 30.

²⁷ For the Polish-Rus' relationship in the Middle Ages see Bronisław Włodarski, *Polska i Ruś 1194-1340* [Poland and Rus': 1194-1340] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966); Gotthold Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens: politische Entwicklung, kulturelle Bedeutung und geistige Auswirkung*, vol. 1, *Im Mittelalter bis zum Jahre 1401* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1955); Stanisław Szczur, *Historia Polski średnioecze*.

supporting Danil's rights, he started to promote his own sons for the Galician throne. In 1214 a meeting of Andrew with Leszek the White took place in Spiš; they agreed to co-operate closely in capturing Galich. Andrew's son, Coloman, was then crowned king of Galicia with a crown sent by the pope.²⁸ Danil with his brother, Vasilko, were displaced to capital of Volynia, Vladimir. However, neither the Hungarian-Polish co-operation did not last long, nor did Coloman's rule in Galich.

Coloman was banished from Galicia by Novgorodian Prince Mstislav Mstislavich the Bold (*Udaloy*), later an important figure in Galician affairs. His two campaigns to Galicia in 1218 and 1221, the first one supported also by Leszek of Cracow, who now took an anti-Hungarian attitude, secured him Galician throne. This situation remained unchanged until 1228 when Mstislav Mstislavich fell ill and died. Again there were two candidates claiming the free Galician throne, both sons-in-law of Mstislav Mstislavich. Danil, who in 1219 married Mstislav's daughter Anna,²⁹ and Andrew, the namesake and third son of the Hungarian King Andrew II. As if it were not enough, one more local candidate from the Ol'govichi family, Prince Mikhail of Chernigov, tried to gain this territory.³⁰

In spite of the fact that Andrew waged several more campaigns together with his sons, Bela and Andrew, in order to establish firm rule of the latter in Galich, he never managed to hold this town for long. However, after the death of the Prince Andrew in 1234 and enthronement of Bela on the Hungarian throne in 1235, the expansionist policy of Hungarian rulers towards Galicia ceased for several years.³¹ Thus, Danil was able, within the next three years, to fully establish his rule in his whole patrimony, Volynia as well as Galicia. Even

²⁸ Márta Font, "On the Frontiers of West and East," 178.

²⁹ *По а оу него Данилз дщерь именемъ Анноу и родилася ѿ нея сынови и дщери.* PSRL 2,

³⁰ For the role of Mikhail of Chernigov in Galician affairs see, Martin Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev, 1224-1246* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981).

³¹ Gyula Kristó, *Die Arpadendynastie: Die Geschichte Ungarns von 895 bis 1301* (Budapest: Corvina, 1993), 198.

before the Mongol army approached Kievan Rus' territories, Danil had managed to gain control over the capital of Rus', the city of Kiev.³²

Despite the fact that Danil with control over Galicia, Volynia, and Kiev, appeared to be the strongest prince of Rus', he was not able to prevent the Mongols from taking his lands.³³ The Mongols appeared suddenly and during their two campaigns into Rus' territories, quickly overran nearly all of the Rus' towns. On December 6, 1240 the capital, Kiev, also fell into their hands. Then they continued their invasion into Kingdom of Hungary and Polish princedoms and Mongol political control over the Rus' lands started. The Rus' princes rushed to Mongol headquarters in Sarai to pay homage to the khan and to secure the right to rule their principalities.³⁴

Nevertheless, even this Mongol invasion could not keep some of the Rus' princes from making attempts to deprive Danil of his throne in Galicia. This time it was a son of Mikhail of Chernigov, Rostislav, who with the support of his father-in-law, the Hungarian King Bela, tried to occupy Galich.³⁵ Yet, in 1245 a coalition of Rostislav, Hungarians, and Poles was totally defeated by the Romanovich brothers with the help of Polovtsians. This was the last attempt of the Hungarian ruler, Bela, to secure control over the neighbouring northeastern territory. He finally recognized Danil as the legitimate ruler of Galicia, and to ensure his loyalty Bela gave his daughter, Constancia, to Danil's son, Lev, in marriage.³⁶

The Hungarian King Bela used the newly established alliance with Danil not only against the frightening Mongols, but also against the Bohemian king, in the War of the Babenberg inheritance. Thanks to the mediation of Bela, Danil got involved in this affair as

³² Márta Font, "On the Frontiers of West and East," 178-179.

³³ John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 75.

³⁴ Paul Harrison Silfen, *The Influence of the Mongols on Russia: A Dimensional History* (Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1974), 13-16.

³⁵ Rostislav married Bela's daughter Anna. *Ростиславъ розгнаша татарове во Боркоу и бѣжа Оугры . и вѣдасть за нѣ пакы король Оугорьскыи дѣчѣрь свою*. PSRL 2, 794.

³⁶ Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth Century* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1996), 201.

well when his son, Roman, married Gertrud of Babenberg, the heiress of Austrian and Styrian lands.³⁷ Danil then, in order to establish Roman's rule in these far western lands came for aid to Bela when he waged campaign for the Bohemian lands in 1253.³⁸

Danil, during his journey home from Opava, met the papal legate Opizo in Cracow. Opizo offered Danil a royal crown from Pope Innocent IV and consequently Danil was crowned king, the first among the Rus' princes.³⁹ However, many steps preceded Danil's accepting the royal title and crown. First, relations were established when the Franciscan missionary John of Plano Carpini travelled through the principalities of Galicia and Volynia on his way to the Mongol headquarters.⁴⁰ Subsequently two Romanovich princes sent a legation to the pope concerning the military aid against the Mongols. However, for Pope Innocent IV this mainly meant the intention to return back under the jurisdiction of the Latin Church.⁴¹ Yet, due to the fact that both sides tried to achieve different aims, the union of Rome with Galicia and Volynia did not last long.

During the last ten years of Danil's rule his foreign policy was restricted only to the battles with the Jatvingians and Lithuanians. He also had to somehow accept the Mongol dominance over his principalities as the long awaited help from the West had never arrived.

³⁷ *И посла к Даниловичи рекши . Пошли ми сына Романа . да вдамъ за нь сестро герциковоу . и вдамъ емоу землю Нѣмѣцкоую.* PSRL 2, 821. Márta Font, "On the Frontiers of West and East," 179.

³⁸ The campaign of Bela with the help of Danil together with the Polish dukes to Bohemian region of Opava is documented not only in the *Galicia-Volhynian Chronicle* (PSRL 2, 821-826) but also in some Polish and Bohemian sources. See "Přiběhy krále Přemysla Otakara II" [The Tales about the King Přemysl Otakar II], in *Prameny dějin českých* [The Sources of Bohemian History], vol. 2, ed. and tr. Josef Emler (Prague: Nákladem Musea království českého, 1874), 315; "Rocznik kapitulny Krakowski" [The Annals of the Cracow Canonry], in *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 2, (Lviv: Nakładem Własnym, 1872), 805.

³⁹ For the relationship of Rus' with the See of Rome: Vitalij Terentejevich Pašuto, "O politike papskoj kurii na Rusi (XIII v.)" [On the Policy of the Papal See toward Rus' in the Thirteenth Century], *Voprosy istorii* 5 (1949): 52-76; Boleslaw Szczesniak, "The Mission of Giovanni de Plano Carpini and Benedict the Pole of Vratislavia to Halicz," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 7 (1956): 12-20.

⁴⁰ Ioannes de Plano Carpini, "Ystoria mongolarum," in: *Sinica Franciscana*, ed. A. Van den Wyngaert, (Florence, 1929), 1-130; german translation see Johannes von Plano Carpini, *Kunde von den Mongolen 1245-1247*, ed. Felicitas Schmieder (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1997).

⁴¹ Sophia Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine*, vol. 1, *To the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1993), 432-439.

According to the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* Danil died in 1264,⁴² although some Polish sources quote the year 1266.⁴³

⁴² PSRL 2, 862.

⁴³ For instance, “Rocznik Franciszkański Krakowski” [The Annals of the Cracowian Franciscans], in *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, vol. 3, ed. August Bielowski (Lviv: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1878), 48.

CHAPTER II

DANIL ROMANOVICH AND HIS DEALINGS WITH THE WEST

Naturally, the chronicler reflected all the above mentioned struggles in his work. It is worth examining how the author constructed Danil's image in confrontation with foreign rulers and their attempts to capture the principality of Galicia. This chapter seeks to examine how Danil Romanovich's political ambitions, the ambitions of the foreign rulers, and Danil's mutual meetings with these figures were presented by the author of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. My aim is to examine the construction of Danil's image in the compositional strategy of the chronicle. From the text I have chosen three significant political groups from the Latin West – the Hungarian kings, the Polish dukes, and the pope – who seem to have been the strongest influences on the formation of Danil's image. Since Danil's right to rule in Galicia was ambiguous, the author's main task was to construct the legitimacy of Danil's reign in Galich. Danil's candidacy to the throne was both challenged by external, foreign candidates and internally by Galician nobility, thus, it is not possible to deal solely with the foreign affairs in the text. Therefore some parts of this chapter will consider also some internal factors of Danil's rule.

2.1 Danil Romanovich and the Hungarian kings

The anonymous writer of the Chronicle starts his work with a panegyric of Danil's father, Roman Mstislavich, who first united the principality of Volynia with Galicia. To promote and celebrate someone's predecessor was a usual rhetorical device. The author uses this technique to emphasize the "good" qualities that Danil has inherited from his father and

to show that Danil continues his father's fights for Galich. The author then continues with Danil's struggle for his inheritance.

Danil spent the first thirty years of the thirteenth century in a fight for his domain, from which he had been banished as a child, together with his brother Vasilko, by Galician boyars. Danil found shelter for several years at the Hungarian court of Andrew II and, as the chronicler points out, Andrew "received her [Anna's, the mother of Danil] son Danil as if he were his own."⁴⁴ It should be emphasized that this expression is used in the Chronicle only once (with the relation to Andrew II) and the rest of the time the chronicler uses the phrase "received with a great honour."⁴⁵ With this small comment, the chronicler presents not only the mutual confidence and trust between the two main characters⁴⁶ but he also presents Danil as a relative of the Hungarian ruler, since Danil is treated like his own son. This was done most likely in order to show Danil in a better position than he was, because at that time Danil was just a puppet in Andrew's plans to occupy Galich. This passage can also be seen in a different light if one takes it from the point of view of Andrew II, who could better claim control over Galicia by treating Danil as his own son and acting as his tutor. However, this seems improbable as the chronicle's intention was to legitimize Danil in his patrimony and not to support the Hungarian's claims.

A similar treatment of Danil during his stay at the Hungarian royal court follows shortly after this passage. "When Danil was in Hungary, King Andrew, the Hungarian nobles and the whole land wanted to give Andrew's daughter in marriage to Prince Danil, although both were still children, because he [Andrew] had no son."⁴⁷ Several layers of meaning can be discerned in this paragraph. First the narrator places Danil in the position of the obedient

⁴⁴ *Приязь бо бѣ Данила, како многа сына своего.* PSRL 2, 717.

⁴⁵ *с великою чтью приа.* These two examples refer to Danil meeting with Leszek the White. PSRL 2, 719, 729.

⁴⁶ Marek Klatý, "Ethnic-cultural Perception," 24.

⁴⁷ *Данилови сущю во Оугръхъ, король же Андри и бояръ Оугорьстѣи и вса земля хоташе дати дщерь свою за князя Данила, шѣвша дѣтскаго бывша, зане сна оу него не бѣ.* PSRL 2, 723.

“son” of Andrew, as a social inferior; the author subsequently tries to soften Andrew’s strong position by saying that not only the king but also the Hungarian nobles and whole land wanted him (Danil) to marry a Hungarian princess. Thus, he also presents Danil as significant member of the Hungarian court and shows the important role Danil played in Hungarian policy. This passage definitely placed Danil on a high ranking position within Hungary and subsequently in Galicia. The narrator naturally tries to promote Danil’s position at the neighbouring royal court even if this passage can be simply only the chronicler’s imagination in order to promote Danil’s position. Even if Danil had gone to Hungary in 1205, when the first born son of Andrew (Bela) had not yet been born,⁴⁸ it seems improbable that Andrew would have made Danil his successor on the Hungarian throne as the words “because he [Andrew] had no son” appear to suggest.

Immediately after the information about the planned marriage of Danil in Hungary, the chronicler proposes the explanation why it did not become a reality. Instead of accusing King Andrew for the marriage ending in failure, he blames Andrew’s consort, Gertrude, for it. “She [Gertrude] gave her daughter in marriage to Ludovik Lonokrabovich, for he was a strong man and ally of her brother. The latter is now known as Alžbit, before this her name was Kineka.”⁴⁹ The chronicler chose not to show Hungarian King Andrew as the decision maker and thus represent him in a negative fashion. It was rather Gertrude who became the agent of a political decision that diminished Danil’s status.

⁴⁸ Bela was born in 1206.

⁴⁹ *и на же ...и да дщерь свою за лонокрабовича за Лоудовика Бѣ бо мужъ силенъ и помощникъ брату еѣ юже нынѣ стоу нарѣчю именемъ Алъжьбитъ предне бо има еи Кинка.* PSRL 2, 723. Scholars still discuss the question of which one of the Andrew’s daughters might have become Danil’s consort; whether it was Mary or Elizabeth, later canonized as saint. See Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [The Genealogy of Romanovich, the Princes of Galicia-Volhynia] (Poznan: Wydawnictwo Historyczne, 2002), 64-65.

Even if it may appear in the Chronicle that the Hungarian ruler was supporting Danil's rights over Galich, we know that he himself laid claim to this territory.⁵⁰ Besides the Hungarian king there were others dukes and princes to whom Danil's rights to his patrimony were an obstacle in their ambitions to seize his land. However, Danil's position in this matter was also not strong. As I have already mentioned above, Danil had the right to sit on the throne of his father, Roman, but Roman did not get Galicia by dynastic claim; he took control over it by force only a few years before his death. This brought Danil into a difficult situation since he needed to legitimize his rule in the inherited dukedom. This became a task not only for Danil, in a real sense, but later also for the writer of the Chronicle. That is why one can read:

Volodislav Kormilichich escaped to Hungary and Soudislav and Filip [Galician boyars] as well. They found Danil in the Hungarian land, and he was still a child, they asked the Hungarian King: 'Give us Danil, the heir of Galich, so that with him we can receive it from the Igorichevich.' The king with a great willingness sent a well armed army.⁵¹

In this comment can be seen the chronicler's intention to presents Danil as the legitimate ruler of Galicia. He managed to show Danil as a rightful successor not only in the eyes of Galician boyars, but also in the eyes of the Hungarian king. The chronicler, by putting the words "the heir of Galich" into the mouths of Galician boyars, strengthened Danil's legitimacy showing support from the local element. It was a common practice of Kievan Rus' to gain the support of the local ruling circles in order to establish rule in certain principedom.⁵² This was also the case of Danil who needed a strong support of local Galician nobility (boyars) to establish his rule there. This functioned as an approval of Danil's position in Galicia by local nobility. The second layer, the military help of the Hungarian ruler, was

⁵⁰ The Hungarian King Andrew II was using the official title: the King of Galicia and Lolodomeria. See Stanisław Szczur, *Historia Polski średnioecze*, 259.

⁵¹ *Володислав же кормилитиць бѣжа во Оугры. и Сoudислав. и Филипъ. наидоша Данила во Оугорской землѣ. дѣтѣска соуца. и просиша оу корола Оугорьского. дан намъ втчину Галицію Данила. а тѣ с нимъ примемъ и ѿ Игоричевъ. король же с великою любовью. посла воевъ в силѣ тащѣхъ.* PSRL 2, 724.

⁵² Márta Font, "On the Frontiers of West and East," 177.

naturally necessary in order to conquer the capital city of Galicia but by mentioning it the chronicler also emphasized the legitimacy of Danil from the side of the Hungarian king; who as a potential aspirant on Galician throne confirmed Danil's position. Only few lines later, after the victorious battle, the chronicler is openly saying, that it was the Hungarian King Andrew who placed Danil on his inherited throne.

At that time the Vladimirian and Galician boyars and Vjacheslav of Vladimir and all the Vladimirian and Galician boyars as well as the Hungarian vоеvodas [military leaders] placed Prince Danil upon the throne of his father the great Prince Roman, in the Church of Mother of God. Thus, King Andrew did not forget his previous love to his brother, the great Prince Roman but sent his soldiers and placed his son in Galich.⁵³

Again the author is playing with the question of Danil's legitimacy to rule in Galich. He could just simply give the information that Danil started to reign in this territory. However, with remark that Danil was placed by "all the Vladimirian and Galician boyars as well as the Hungarian vоеvodas" he expresses that it was their will and their confirmation of Danil as a rightful ruler. With the following comment that Danil was placed "upon the throne of his father the great Prince Roman" the author confirms his right to sit on the inherited throne. Again Andrew II plays an active and important role in approving of Danil's position. Despite the fact that the authority of the king helped Danil, the chronicler, by making a mention of it, created an ambiguous situation where Danil plays a less important role than the Hungarian king in the process of his installation on the Galician throne. The chronicler put Danil into a subordinate position, which can also be seen in other places in the text of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*.⁵⁴ The question why the chronicler stressed Andrew's help

⁵³ Тогда же бояре володимѣрьстии и галичѣи и Вячеславъ Володимѣрьскѣи и вси бояре володимѣрьстии и галичѣи и воеводы Оугорьскѣи и посадиша князя Данила на столѣища своего великаго князя Романа во церкви свѣтѣи Богородица приснодѣвица Марѣи . Король же Андрѣи не забы любви своѣи первѣи . иже имѣаше ко братоу си великому князю Романови но посла боа своа и посади сына своего в Галичи. PSRL 2, 726-727.

⁵⁴ For instance, in my opinion, the author depicted Danil as under the direct control of the Hungarian King when he wrote "Danil left with his mother to Poland, after he obtained leave from the King." Данилъ же ѿиде с мѣрью своєю в Ляхи ѿпросивша ѿ короля. PSRL 2, 729.

and confirmation of Daniel so much when only a few pages later Andrew is presented as the usurper of the Galician throne needs some further study and analysis.

Shortly after that, the Hungarian King Andrew II changed his tactics for how to bind the Galician princedom to his kingdom and he started to promote his sons on the Galician throne. Thus, he installed his second-born son Coloman and later his son Andrew on the Galician throne. With the help of the Cracowian duke Leszek the White, Andrew even managed to gain the crown for Coloman, who was crowned King of Galicia. This is reflected by the chronicler, whose presentation of Andrew's image changes a bit according to Andrew's ambitions to seize control of Galich.⁵⁵ How does Danil's image change in relation to the Hungarian king? First of all, one gets the impression that the chronicler does not blame Andrew for placing his son Coloman on the Galician throne, but he proposes that this idea came from the Cracowian Duke Leszek the White.⁵⁶ After that, Danil with his brother, Vasilko, started to rule in the city of Vladimir in Volynia. Only at this point the image of Danil Romanovich which the chronicler presents evolves and becomes the image of an independent personality, the image of somebody who, also by his bravery, fulfilled the idea of the medieval warrior. This was also the time when Danil came to the age when he was regarded as a real ruling prince.⁵⁷ The image of the "new" Danil is naturally present in connection to the Hungarian sovereign, Andrew.

In the meantime another Rus' prince, Mstislav Mstislavich the Bold, began to rule over Galich. However, Andrew II still continued in his plan to seize Galicia, now for his third son, his namesake, Andrew. According to the chronicler, Andrew became the Galician ruler due to the fact that some boyars persuaded Mstislav to give his daughter and rule over Galich not to Danil, but to king's son saying:

⁵⁵ For the perception of the Hungarian King and Hungarians in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* see Marek Klatý, "Ethnic-cultural perception." In his opinion the previous image of the Hungarian King remained almost unchanged.

⁵⁶ PSRL 2, 730-731.

⁵⁷ Márta Font, "On the Frontiers of West and East," 178.

if you give [Galich] to the king's son, you will be able to take it back from him whenever you want. If you give it to Danil, Galich will never be yours again. But the inhabitants of Galich wanted Danil and sent [envoy] to speak about this. Mstislav gave Galich to the young king Andrew.⁵⁸

In this passage Danil is presented, contrary to previous ones, much stronger than his rival Hungarian Prince Andrew and through him, stronger than his father, King Andrew, as well. Here, without any doubt, Danil is shown in a superior position over the neighbouring sovereign. One more time the chronicler considers as necessary to emphasize the will of the Galicians to have Danil and not a foreigner on their throne. This passage also functions as an accusation against Mstislav, Danil's father-in-law, for giving the principality of Galicia to the Hungarians and not to Danil; which the author somehow tries to diminish by blaming for it also the "unprincipled" boyars. Generally, the chronicler's attitude towards Mstislav Mstislavich in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is not positive⁵⁹ due to the fact that Mstislav occupied the throne which according to the chronicler belonged to Danil.

The last reference to Danil's attitude to King Andrew came in the situation when the king again seized Galich, but subsequently was defeated and his son and namesake Andrew was captured there. At this point the chronicler invokes the "very" good relationship that Danil once had with his old supporter: "as Danil was occupying the town [Galich], he remembered King Andrew's friendship, and released his son, accompanying him to the river Dniester."⁶⁰ Why does the chronicler put the remark about Danil's friendship with King Andrew here? He probably wants to stress the good character of Danil, who in spite of the opposing actions of the Hungarian king still treats his previous protector with respect. In this way the Chronicle presents Danil in a better light.

⁵⁸ *Аже даси королевичю, когда восхоцещи, можеш ли взати под нимь . Даси ли Данилови, в вѣкы не твои боудеть Галичъ. Галичаномъ бо хотащимъ Данила, ѿтоуду же послаша въ рѣчи . Мьстиславъ дастъ Галичъ королевичю Андрѣви.* PSRL 2, 750.

⁵⁹ Vitalij Terentejevič Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi*, 30-33.

⁶⁰ *Данилови же приемшоу градъ. поманувшю любовь корола Андрѣа. и поустит сына его и проводит и до рѣкы Днистра.* PSRL 2, 759.

When Bela IV succeeded to the Hungarian throne after his father Andrew in 1235, the mutual relationship of Danil with the new Hungarian ruler changed somewhat in a positive way compared with his relation to Andrew. However, during the first five years of Bela's rule the image of Danil in the context of his representation together with Bela in the Chronicle does not really change. A mutual change of relationship is documented by Danil's presence at Bela's coronation.⁶¹ This event is not mentioned in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, but there is a reference to Danil's presence in Hungary.⁶² An important fact that influenced a change in Danil and Bela's relationship was that by that time Danil had managed to gain nearly all his patrimony and Bela accepted the *status quo* on the northeastern Hungarian border or simply he was not interested in this region any more.⁶³ The first mention of Danil together with Bela again indicates Danil's subordination to the Hungarian sovereign:

In that time Danil had gone to Hungary with his brother to see the king because he had summoned Danil to honor [him]. At that time the Emperor Frederick had gone to war against the archduke [Austrian Frederick]. Danil and his brother Vasilko wished to come to the Archduke's aid, but since the king [Bela IV] forbade them, they returned to their land.⁶⁴

From the first sentence it is not clear why Danil went to Hungary and the explanation that it was in order to be honoured by Bela is probably only a rhetorical device to promote Danil. As other relevant sources are silent about this journey, it is likely that the author put it into text for the purpose of honouring Danil in the eyes of his contemporaries. The second part of the quotation is more important. Probably this event happened in a later period, when

⁶¹ *Rex quippe Bela post obitum genitoris sui regis Andree diadema regni et sceptrum regale cum nimia magnificencia honoris in Alba Regali in ecclesia cathedrali suscepit, [...] Daniele vero duce Ruthenorum equum suum ante ipsum summa cum reverencia ducente. Vitae et miracula sanctae Kyngae ducissae Cracoviensis, in: Monumenta Poloniae Historica, vol. 4, ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński (Lviv: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1884), s. 684.*

⁶² *Данилови оувѣдавшоу крамолю ихъ изиде Оугры. PSRL 2, 774.*

⁶³ Márta Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek* [The Árpád Kings and the Rurik Princess] (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2005), 235.

⁶⁴ *Данилъ же в то время шелъ баше со братомъ своимъ . Оугры ко королевн . бѣ бо звалъ его на чѣсть . в то время пошелъ баше Фридрихъ царь на гѣрцика воиную . и восхотѣста ити . Данилъ со братомъ Василкомъ гѣрциковн во помощь . королевн же возбранившоу има . возвратистася во землю свою. PSRL 2, 776-777.*

Bela waged war against the Austrian duke in 1246⁶⁵ or the time of the War of the Babenberg inheritance when Danil actively intervened on the side of the Hungarian king. The compiler of the Chronicle most likely placed it later under the wrong year. The reference to Bela's prohibition is twofold. On the one hand it serves the function of an apology for Danil and Vasilko for returning home and not continuing to wage their campaign. On the other hand, as could have already been seen in the case of the Danil-Andrew relationship, the position of Danil is not on the same level as that of Bela.

As already Marek Klatý has pointed out, the representation of the Hungarian King Bela in the Chronicle generally has a positive tone and he is treated with respect.⁶⁶ But why does the author so often emphasize the authority of the Hungarian king and why does he present him as more powerful than Danil? If one takes into consideration that the members of the audience of the Chronicle were also Danil's contemporaries, the author did not have so much space for imagination and he simply could not lie about the Hungarian ruler. However, the Chronicle functioned as princely propaganda and the main goal was to show Danil in the best possible light, which phrases like "Danil obtained leave from the king" or "Bela forbade them" contradict. Nevertheless, in my opinion this passage functioned as a positive statement supporting the two brothers who, in order to achieve fame wanted to wage war in the far western territories and as their apology for returning back home without no significant achievement. Consequently, while the author was blaming Bela for it, he put Danil and Vasilko into situation of obedient followers of Bela's command.

In the meantime, the representation of Danil in a connection to the Hungarian ruler changed. I infer that this was mainly due to the fact that during the 1230s or 1240s the narrator of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* changed and probably also the place where it was being written. Even if the scholars have still not agreed on the year when this change

⁶⁵ Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, *Hungary in the Thirteenth*, 201.

⁶⁶ Marek Klatý, "Ethnic-cultural Perception," 26.

happened and who this new author was, some important changes in style are visible.⁶⁷ The text of the following period bears the stamp of a strong pro-Danil orientation and offers strong praise for him.⁶⁸ Together with Danil, his brother Vasilko starts to be promoted more and he gets more space in the Chronicle than before.⁶⁹

The shift in the style of the Chronicle is clearly visible in the event that later played such an important role in the change of the Danil-Bela relationship. After the Mongol attack on Hungary, Bela changed his policy toward Galicia and similarly to his father, he tried to acquire the Galician principedom for himself, now with the help of another Rus' prince, Rostislav of Chernigov.⁷⁰ Yet, their troops were defeated and Bela hurried to make peace with Danil. According to the chronicler, it was the Hungarian King Bela who was eager to reach an agreement and conclude a peace.

That year the Hungarian king sent a messenger saying: 'take my daughter [in marriage] for your son Lev,' for [Bela] was fearing him, since he had been among the Tatars and had defeated Rostislav and his Hungarians. After consulting with his brother, [Danil decided] not to believe him since he had previously told lies to him with his promise to give his daughter. The Metropolitan Kuril was sent by Danilo and Vasilko to be confirmed as the Metropolitan of Rus'. While he was with the king, he convinced him with words and many gifts, promising to escort [him] to Greece with great honor, if Danil makes a peace with him. ... And Vasilko said: [to Danil] 'go to him [to the king], because he is a Christian.' Thus, Danil went to the king in Izvolin [present day Zvolen, Slovakia], taking also his son Lev and the metropolitan. He took the [Bela's] daughter as wife for his son and returned to him the captured boyars whom God had delivered into his hands when he and his

⁶⁷ For instance Pašuto distinguishes two authors during this period: one in 1238 - the end of *Kievan Notes* written by Petr Akerovitsch and in 1246 written in Xolm by Metropolitan Kiril. See Vitalij Terentejevič Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii*, 89-91. On the other hand Hensors'kyj sees the change in 1234, the Xolm *svod* was written by Ivan, Bishop of Xolm and then, only in 1266, written again in Xolm and by Dionisij. Anton Ivanovyč Hensors'kyj, *Halycko-Volynskij lytopis*, 65. However, every scholar distinguishes different years and different authors.

⁶⁸ Márta Font, "Gesta Danielis regis," in *Magyaroknak Eleiről: ünnepti tanulmányok a hatvan esztendő s Makk Ferenc tiszteletére* [On the Beginnings of the Hungarians: Studies in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Ferenc Makk], ed. Ferenc Piti (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000), 155-156. Márta Font sees the strong pro-Danil orientation of the author between the years 1244-1264 but in my opinion the last four years of Danil's life (1260-1264) are more against than for Danil.

⁶⁹ Physical and mental descriptions of Vasilko can also be found in this section of the Chronicle. The narrator describes him with these words: "Vasilko was of medium height, of great intellect and valor." *Василко бо бы възростомъ середнии . оумомъ великъ и дерзостью*. PSRL 2, 799.

⁷⁰ Márta Font, "On the Frontiers of West and East," 179.

brother won at Jaroslav. Than, he concluded peace with the king and returned to his own land.⁷¹

What is really evident in this passage is that the author is using all the necessary methods to show Danil as a strong and powerful ruler in comparison to Bela. First of all the chronicler tries to convince the reader that it is Bela who desires Danil to make a peace with him through the marriage of their children, which may not have been true, but rather the contrary.⁷² Although Danilo won the battle against Rostislav and Bela was disconcerted to hear that Danil had visited Batu's capital in Sarai, it was still the Hungarian king who was the more influential person and is it not probable that he would "fear Danil" and consequently "beg" for the a union with him, at least not in the way the author presents here. Yes, it is true that the important decision to marry one of the royal daughters to the Kievan Rus' prince must have come from the side of the Hungarian king and that he needed an ally against the Mongols on the northeastern border, but the chronicler presents this event in such a way only for the sake of glorifying Danil.

The second thing is that in order to praise the main character the author of the Chronicle tries to use the contrast of a good and a bad ruler. Bela is presented as the one who had previously told lies or who had to gain the metropolitan's trust by many gifts and promises, so Bela is shown as a rather untrustworthy and weak person compared to "good" Prince Danil. The method of showing Danil in contrast to the "bad" Hungarian king helped the narrator to create a better image of Danil. Danil is the one shown in the active position of a decision maker and the image of the Hungarian sovereign is downplayed.

⁷¹ *Въ то лѣто присла король Оугорьскыи. вицькаго река .поним дщерь ми за сына своего Ава. Боиаше бо са его. яко былъ бѣ в татарѣхъ. побѣдою побѣди Ростислава и Оугры его. Помыслив же си с братомъ . глаголюу его не оутѣ вѣры . древле бо того избѣнилъ бѣ . вѣщавъ дати дщерь свою . Коурилъ бо митрополитъ нѣаше посланъ Даниломъ и Васиномъ на поставление митрополье Рускои. Бывшоу же емоу оу корола, убѣди и король словесы многими дары оувѣщова яко проведоу тѣа оу Грькы с великою чѣстью аще створить со мною миръ. ... Васиномъ рекшоу . Иди к нему . яко крестыанъ есть . Итоуда же Данилъ поиде . поемъ сына своего Ава и митрополита . иде к королевѣ . и во Изволинъ . и поа дщерь его сыноу си женѣ и ѿдасть емоу ѣтъна бояры . еже Богъ едасть в роуцѣ его . идолевшоу емоу с братомъ Ирослава . И створи с нимъ миръ и воротиса в землю свою. PSRL 2, 809.*

⁷² Márta Font, "Gesta Danielis regis," 156-157.

This strongly laudatory style of the Chronicle continues further; in my opinion the most elaborate and the most ornamental piece of the Chronicle connected to Danil and Bela is during their meeting in Bratislava (Lat. Posonium, Germ. Pressburg, Hung. Pozsony). This face-to-face meeting was a consequence of the previous treaty of alliance after which Bela used the help of his new Galician ally against the Bohemian King Přemysl Otakar II in the war for Austrian and Styrian lands. This chronicler's masterpiece, although using some quotations from the Byzantine sources, starts with Bela's request for Danil's help. Upon his arrival in Hungary, according to the Chronicle, there were some other allies of Bela as well. The chronicler takes this opportunity to show how great Danil and his troops were and how wealthy he was.

The king with them [the German envoys] went to meet the Prince Danil and Danil came to him together with all his people. The Germans marvelled at Tatar armour; all the horses were equipped and were in leather and the riders wore armour. And the splendour [of Danil's people] was great due to the lustre of their weapons. He himself [Danil] rode next to the king in accordance with the tradition of Rus' because his horse was great to behold and his saddle was from gold and arrows and sword were adorned with gold and other ornaments, and fur coat trimmed in Greek style and gold lace and boots made of green leather together with gold. The Germans were admiring [him] a lot and the king said to him: 'I would not take a thousand pieces of silver because the fact that you [Danil] are coming in accordance with the tradition of Rus' and their fathers [is more important].'⁷³

Even if, according to Alexander Orlov, this passage is derived from the *Chronicle of Malalas*,⁷⁴ it still carries the intended effect, which is to show Bela's appreciation of and respect for Danil. However, not only his respect but also the admiration of Western

⁷³ ВЪЗВѢХА же король с ними противоу же Данилоу князю. Данила же приде к нему. исполни вса люди своѣ. Немьци же дивациса оружью татарьскомуу. бѣша бо кони в личинахъ и в конарѣхъ кожаныхъ. и людье бо ярыцѣхъ. и бѣ полковъ его свѣтлостъ велика ѿ оружья блистающаса. Самъ же бѣхъ, подлѣ короля. по обычаю роускоу бѣ бо конь под нимъ дивлению подобенъ. и сѣдло ѿ золота жъжена. и стрѣлы и сабля золотомъ оукрашена. иными хитростями. ѿкоже дивитиса. кожую же шовира грѣцького и кроуживы золотыми плоскими шитъ. и сапози зеленого хъза шити золотомъ. Немцем же зрацимъ много дивациса. Рече ему король Не взалъ быхъ тысяще серебра за то иже еси пришелъ обычаемъ роускимъ шцевъ своихъ. PSRL 2, 814.

⁷⁴ Alexander S. Orlov, *K voprosu ob Ipat'evskoj letopisi* [On the Question about the Hypatian Chronicle], (1926), 105-106, cited in *The Hypatian Codex: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, 138 as the original source was not available.

noblemen. This shows the cleverness of the author, who, in order to satisfy his prince, used all the necessary tools to show him as a respected ruler. Then he continues: “he [Danil] asked him [Bela] to enter the dwelling because it was really hot that day. He [Bela] took his hand and led him indoors, undressed him and put his own clothes on him. And such was the great honour that [the king] showed him, and he returned home.”⁷⁵ Danil is shown here as highly valued by the Hungarian king, which would have put him in a high-ranking position in the eyes of his contemporaries. As the Chronicle was most likely intended for the close surrounding of Danil and for the Galician boyars, this passage helped to depict their ruler as equal to the Hungarian king. The elevation of Danil on the same level as the king was most likely meant for a group of the pro-Hungarian boyars in Galicia, who had many times created troubles for Danil by supporting the Hungarian ruler’s desire for their throne.

Klatý assumes that this passage is the only occasion when the king is given more than an equal position in relation to Danil because the author puts the stress on the active role of the king and Danil is only the passive receiver.⁷⁶ As I have already pointed out, the Hungarian king is presented as superior to Prince Danil more than only once in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. What were the chronicler’s reasons for putting Danil in a subordinate position while creating the positive image of him are difficult to explain. However, in my opinion, this passage presents Danil in the position of being treated by Bela as somebody equal to him. These two examples show the changes by which the writer of the Chronicle helped to develop a more positive image of Danil Romanovich, the image which is not as contradictory as before. However, one also must take into consideration also the fact that the political circumstances changed during the 1250s and Danil no longer had to justify his position as Galician Prince and Bela needed his alliance in the War of the Babenberg

⁷⁵ И просиша оу него въ станѣ. зане знои бѣ великѣ дне того. и нѣ же я и за роукоу и веде его в полатоу свою. и самъ соволауашеть его. и вблауашеть и во порты своѣ. и такую чѣсть творашиеть емуу. И прииде в домъ свои. PSRL 2, 814-815.

⁷⁶ Marek Klatý, “Ethnic-cultural Perception,” 27.

Inheritance, so important for Bela. This reality gave the author more space for the creation of a more elaborated picture of Danil.

Danil's image, created by the author of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, is not stable but evolves according to political circumstances. From the beginning it seems that the most important intention of the text is to stress Danil's legitimacy to hold the Galician Princedom in the eyes of his contemporaries and his image is adjusted to this aim. It was especially necessary in connection to the Hungarian ruler, Andrew II, who made a great effort to gain Galicia for himself using different strategies to achieve his goal. In accordance with these strategies the representation of Danil also changes. At the beginning (when Danil is still a child and has the support of Andrew) the author's intention was to present Danil as the rightful heir of Galicia and to legitimize his rule there. However, during this process the author sometimes placed Danil into position of "obedient son" of the King Andrew II, which naturally meant being in an inferior position toward the Hungarian king. But as the strategy of the Hungarian ruler changed and he no longer supported Danil's rights, the image of Danil toward him gradually changes as well and he is later presented as an independent ruler over his patrimony.

Danil's representation in connection to the new Hungarian King Bela IV still bears some features of the previous image. At the beginning of their mutual representation there are still some slight signs of ambiguity as here were before (Danil is shown as a silent follower of Bela's commands). Later, with the change of the Chronicle's writer, the author gave Danil the position of being equal and once even superior to the Hungarian king. The author ascribes an important role to Bela in the Chronicle. He does this in order to emphasize Danil's position in Galicia, who, by receiving honour from the Hungarian king, receives also his approval to rule over his patrimony and consequently Danil is treated as nearly equal to him.

2.2 Danil Romanovich and the Polish dukes

Like the Hungarian rulers, the Polish dukes were also interested in the economically powerful region of Galicia. The two Polish principalities located on the border with Galicia and Volynia, Cracow-Sandomierz (also called Little Poland) and Masovia, were the most interested.⁷⁷ This is apparent in the intervention in the internal affairs of Galicia by two brothers, Leszek the White, duke of Cracow-Sandomierz, and Conrad of Mosovia. Asserting their interests during the battle for the Galician throne, the two brothers started the war for the Galician inheritance. During the battle between them and Danil's father Roman Mstislavich at Zawichost in 1205, the brothers were successful. Roman was defeated and killed.⁷⁸ As a consequence, the empty Galician throne became an attractive target for all the neighbouring countries.

The role of the Polish dukes in the chronicle is therefore an important topic to examine. In addition to the brothers Leszek the White and Conrad of Masovia, the chronicler includes also their successors: their sons. In addition, the author makes references to the Poles as an ethnic group, but, these passages will not be part of the analysis here. They do not contribute to the creation of Danil's image because they are usually connected only with military actions and sometimes oppose to the policy of the Polish dukes. This subchapter will focus only on the image of Danil in connection with the Polish dukes. References to them in the chronicle are scarce. The references that do exist concentrate mainly on the military actions among them and Rus' princes, and those several passages which involve the two of them together with Danil lack an elaborated and laudatory style. This is in stark contrast to the chronicle's references to the Hungarian kings. This can be observed in both parts of the Chronicle. This means that unlike the creation of Danil's image in relation to other

⁷⁷ For the literature dealing with the Polish-Rus' relationship during the Middle Ages see footnote no. 27.

⁷⁸ John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 28.

foreigners, the change in authorship did not have much of an impact on the creation of Danil's image in connection to the Polish dukes.

Though references to the Polish dukes can be found throughout the Chronicle, they mainly appear in the first half of the Galician section predominantly during the struggle for the Galician principedom. The first reference to Danil together with Leszek is connected to the Danil's escape from Vladimir because the Rus' princes, sons of Igor Svyatoslavich, gained control over Galicia and Volynia.⁷⁹

But they [Danil, Vasiko and their mother] did not know where to flee for Roman was killed in Poland and Leszek had not yet concluded peace. But God helped [them]. Leszek made no mention of the enmity but received his sister-in-law and her children with great honour. He had mercy on them and said: 'It was the devil who caused the enmity between us.' For Volodislav deceived them [Leszek and Roman] and was jealous of their love.⁸⁰

This is also the first reference in the chronicle to the place of and reason for Roman's death. As one can see, the author blames Volodislav for his death and not Leszek. It is surprising that although Leszek the White was responsible for Roman's death and that actively participated in seizing control over the Galician and Volynian towns for himself, the chronicler still treats him with respect. The author also expresses that even though Danil's father was killed on Polish soil the mutual relations of Danil and Leszek changed for the better. The chronicle, however, is formulaic in its depiction of the scene: the expression that Leszek "received them with great honour" functions here only as a rhetorical device. This passage therefore speaks only about the quality of the Danil-Leszek relationship. Considering that Danil was still a child and refugee at this moment in the Chronicle, it is likely that the

⁷⁹ Ibid., 30.

⁸⁰ *не вѣдахоу бо како бѣжаще . бѣ бо Романъ оубыенъ на лахоуъ . а Лестко мира не створиъ . Богоу же бывшу поспѣшникуу . Лестко не поманоу вражды . но с великою честью приа гатровъ свою . и дѣтатѣ . сожаливъ си и рече . яко дьяволъ есть вовергълъ враждоу сню межи нами (Бѣ бо Володиславъ леста межи има и зазоръ имѣа любви его. PSRL 2, 719.*

chronicler could do little to present the protagonist in a positive light other than to set the scene.

The first promotion of Danil in relation to Polish duke is expressed soon afterwards, by Leszek's admiration of Danil's troops. "Danil's soldiers were greater in number and stronger [than the troops of other Rus' princes] because there were all great boyars of his father with him. Seeing that, Leszek started having great love to Prince Danil and his brother Vasilko."⁸¹ The intention of this section of text is to show Leszek's respect for the Romanovichi brothers and their father, Roman. In order to do this the author, similarly to the case of Danil's meeting with the Hungarian King Bela in Bratislava, uses the factor of admiration of Danil's troops.

Shortly afterwards, Leszek decided to change his Galician policy and started to co-act with the Hungarian ruler. Even after this turn, Leszek is still depicted in quite a good way and as a supporter of Romanovichi brothers but not any more for the Galician throne but only for the Volynian.

Leszek sent [a messenger] to Aleksandr saying: 'Give Vladimir to Danil and Vasilko Romanovichi. If you not give it I will march with Romanovichi against you.' However, he [Aleksandr] did not give [the city of Vladimir]. Then, Leszek placed Romanovichi brothers in Vladimir.⁸²

Similarly to the case when Danil was placed on the Galician throne by the Hungarian king, he was also placed on the Volynian throne with the help of a foreign power. Danil is here again depicted only as a passive recipient. Moreover, the bare and descriptive style of this event suggests that for the author it was not necessary to stress the legitimacy of Danil to the Volynian throne because as I have already mentioned, Danil was the rightful heir of Volynian principality.

⁸¹ Бѣ бо вои Даниловѣ болши и крѣпѣиши бяху божре велиции ѿца его вси оу него . Видивъ бо Лєстько се . и почѣ имѣти любовь великоу ко князю Данилоу и братоу его Василкоу. PSRL 2, 729-730.

⁸² Лєстько посла ко Александрови рекыи Дан Володимѣрь Романовичема . Данилови и Василькови . Не даси ли ндоу на та и с Романовичема . иному же не давшю . Лєстько же посади Романовича в Володимери. PSRL 2, 731.

After the death of Leszek the White in 1227, his brother, Conrad of Masovia, became the main figure among the Polish dukes presented by the chronicler. “After the death of his brother, Conrad established amicable relations with Danil and Vasilko and asked them for help.”⁸³ However, this quotation again speaks only about the quality of their mutual relationship, and says little about Danil himself. This pattern, describing mostly the quality of Danil’s relationship with the Polish dukes, can also be seen in several other places in the Chronicle. One such instance is when Conrad passed away: “The great Polish prince Conrad died, he was illustrious and gracious and Danil and Vasilko grieved for him.”⁸⁴ The author of the *Volhynian* part of the Chronicle provides also just the same kind of information:

And after that there was a meeting of Rus’ princes with Polish princes and with Boleslav⁸⁵ which took place in Ternav. Prince Danil with both his sons, Lev and Svarno and Prince Vasilko with his son Volodimer [were there]. And they have concluded an agreement between them concerning the Rus’ and Polish lands and they confirmed it on the Holy Cross and returned home.⁸⁶

As all the quotations are more or less only descriptive; it is not possible to distinguish the construct of Danil’s image within them. Only once does the chronicler use the highly elaborated style to promote Danil’s character and at the same time mention the Polish dukes. However, as one can not differentiate whether the alleged laudatory speech is said by the Poles or the Rus’ princes, it can not be taken into consideration.⁸⁷

To conclude my examination of this aspect of the chronicle, I assert that the depiction of Danil in relation to the Polish dukes does not bear any stamp of laudatory style because the

⁸³ *По смерти брата своего Кондратъ приа Данила и Василка в великую любовь и проси ею . а быста шла емоу на помощь.* PSRL 2, 754. In the translation of *приа в великую любовь* as “established amicable relations” I have followed the English translation of George A. Perfecky, see *The Hypatian Codex: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, 34.

⁸⁴ *Оумре князь великий ладъскыи Кондратъ . иже бѣ славенъ и предобръ . Сожалиси по немъ Данило и Василько.* PSRL 2, 809-810.

⁸⁵ Boleslav the Shy (1226-1279), duke of Cracow and son of Leszek the White.

⁸⁶ *Посем же бысть снемъ . рѣускимъ княземъ . с ладъскимъ княземъ . с Болеславомъ . и снимашася в Тернавѣ Данило князь со вѣвѣи сыномъ своимъ . со Лвомъ . и со Шьварномъ . а Василко князь со своимъ сыномъ Володимеромъ . ни положиша радъ межн собою в землю Роускую и Ладъскоу оутвердивъшеся крестомъ честнымъ . и тако розвѣхашася во свояси.* PSRL 2, 857-858.

⁸⁷ PSRL 2, 831.

author does not consider it necessary. The Polish dukes were not as serious a threat as, for example, the Hungarian rulers. Furthermore, their rank of the princes did not place them on the same level as the Hungarian kings. From these examples, one can see that the author does not try to promote Danil at the expense of Polish dukes. Unlike the depictions of other foreigners, the chronicle's presentation of Danil in relation to the Polish dukes is more or less neutral.

2.3 Danil Romanovich and the pope

The representation of Danil's relations with the head of the Western Latin Christianity has directly relate to the next discussion about the Mongols. The problem of the Mongol presence in Kievan Rus' led Danil into negotiations with the Roman curia, which resulted in his coronation. Danil Romanovich was the first and also the last Rus' prince who was crowned as the Galician king by papal legates. The communication with the papal curia started when the Franciscan friar John of Plano Carpini, bearing papal letter to the great Khan, passed through the Kievan Rus' principalities on his way to the Mongol territory.⁸⁸ Danil and his brother Vasilko were willing to negotiate with the papacy in order to obtain military aid against the Mongols from him and other Western rulers, whereas Pope Innocent IV saw an opportunity to unite Orthodox Galicia and Volynia with the Latin Church and to place these lands under the protection of St. Peter.⁸⁹

The pope, represented by his legates, appears in the Chronicle only in relation to the Danil's coronation. The first mention appears when Danil was returning from a campaign in Bohemia. "At that time the Pope's legates were in Cracow, and they brought a blessing from

⁸⁸ Johannes von Plano Carpini, *Kunde von den Mongolen 1245-1247*, 119-120.

⁸⁹ Dmitry Pospelovsky, *The Orthodox Church in the History of Russia* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1998), 82.

the Pope and a crown and a royal title. They wanted to see Prince Danilo. He said to them: ‘it would be improper for me to meet with you in a foreign land but later.’⁹⁰ First of all it is worth noting that even if the probable author of the Chronicle was a member of the Orthodox Rus’ clergy, the description of the pope himself and the papal envoys bearing the crown for Danil, does not show any traces of a hostile attitude towards Latin Christianity. This was most likely thanks to the frontier position of Galicia and Volynia bordering on the Western Latin Christian countries, the Kingdom of Hungary and Polish dukedoms.⁹¹ This fragment, however, does not offer a great deal of space for interpreting Danil’s image, as it is written more in a descriptive and informative way than as a representation of Danil. The second reference to the pope which follows soon afterwards is more expressive, but still brief:

The Pope sent venerable legates, having brought a diadem, a sceptre and a crown, which symbolizes the royal title. They said: ‘Son accept from us the royal crown.’ Before that he [the Pope] had sent the Bishop of Beren and Kamenec to him [Danil] saying him: ‘Accept the royal crown.’ However, he did not accept it saying: ‘The Tatar army keeps living with us in a hostility. How can I accept the crown without your help?’ Opizo came carrying the crown and promising: ‘You will have the help from the Pope.’ He [Danil] however, did not want but his mother and Boleslav, Somovit, and the Polish boyars persuaded him saying that he should accept the crown: ‘And we will help you against the pagans.’ Thus he accepted the crown from God, from the Church of the Holy Apostles, from the throne of St. Peter, from his father Pope Nekentij [Innocent IV] and from all his bishops. For Nekentij condemned those who abused the true Greek faith and wanted to summon a Council about the true faith and the reunification of the Church. Danil received his crown from God in the city of Dorohychyn [Drohiczyn, Poland].⁹²

⁹⁰ Тогда же во Краковѣ бѣша послѣ папѣ . носѣще благословеніе ѿ папѣ и вѣнѣць и санъ королевѣства . хотѣше видѣти князя Данила . онъ же рече имъ . Не подобаетъ ми видѣтисѣ сѣ вами чужден земли нзъ пакы. PSRL 2, 826.

⁹¹ For the perception of the pope in the Chronicle see Marek Klatý, “Ethnic-cultural Perception,” 40-43. Also, Sophia Senyk is of the same opinion that hostility to Latin Christianity did not exist in Danil’s environment, see Sophia Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine*, 439.

⁹² Присла папа послѣ чѣстны носѣще вѣнѣць . и скипетръ и короуноу еже наречѣтьсѣ королевѣскыи санъ . рекши Сыноу прими ѿ насъ вѣнѣць королевѣства . Древле бо того прислалъ къ нему . пискоупа Беренского и Каменецкого . река ему . И прими вѣнѣць королевѣства . онъ же в то время не приналъ бѣ . рѣка Рать татарскаѣ не престаеъ заъ живуци сѣ нами то како могуъ приати вѣнѣць бесѣ помощи твоеи . Опиза же приде вѣнѣць носѣ вѣнѣцаѣмѣако Помоць имѣти ти ѿ папы . мномоу же одинако не хотѣшоу . и оубѣди его мати его . и Болеславъ . и Семовитъ и бояре Ладьскыѣ . рекоуще да бы приналъ бы вѣнѣць . а мы есмь на помощь противоу поганымъ . онъ же вѣнѣць ѿ Бога приѣ . ѿ церкви свѣтыхъ Апостолъ . и ѿ стола свѣтаго Петра . и ѿ отца своего папы Некѣнтиѣ . и ѿ всѣхъ епископовъ своихъ . Некентинъ бо клянаше тѣхъ хулацимъ вѣроу грѣцкоую правовѣрноюу . и хотѣшоу емуъ своръ

Although, in this passage the author gives more detailed information about the process of Danil accepting the crown, the description is still laconic and lacks the grandeur of such an important act as a coronation. If one takes into consideration that the Chronicle was written at the court of Danil, one would also expect that his coronation would be elaborated more by the author; for instance, the honourable reception of Danil by the Hungarian King Bela in his dwelling bears the stamp of more laudatory style than the concise style used to describe Danil's coronation.⁹³ Here it should be stressed that both quotations were written within the same time span, the passage about Danil and Bela is placed under the year 1252 and the one about Danil's coronation is under the year 1255, and also scholars agree that both passages are probably by the same author.⁹⁴ The author does not seem to consider this event as important as one might assume. It seems that for the author the honour showed by the Hungarian king is more important than accepting the royal crown sent by the pope. This may well be due to the absence of a tradition of royal coronations in Kievan Rus'. Another possible explanation of this occurrence can be seen in a fact that as the author wrote this passage retrospectively, means at the time when was definitely evident that the promised help from the pope would never come, he did not emphasize the coronation as Danil's main reason for accepting the crown was the awaited aid.

In both cases related to the pope's offer of a royal crown, the author stresses Danil's refusal to accept it. The first time Danil refuses the royal crown because he does not want to meet the papal legates in a foreign country and the second time because of the Mongol

творити в правон вѣрѣ . в воединеньи церкви Данило же приа ѿ Бога вѣнѣць . в городѣ Дорогычинѣ. PSRL 2, 826-827.

⁹³ Even the Polish chronicler Ioannis Dlugossii two centuries later (in the fifteenth century) describes Danil's coronation in a more laudatory way. Jan Długos, *Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, vol. 7 and 8, ed. Danuta Turkowska (Warsaw : Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), 57-59.

⁹⁴ Pašuto is of opinion that the author of this period was Bishop Ivan of Xolm, See Vitalij Terentejevič Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii*, 92. For Hensors'kyj the author of these events was boyar Dionisij Pavlovich, see A. I. Hensors'kyj, *Halycko-Volynskij lytopis*, 67. See also Appendix, figure 1.

danger,⁹⁵ with Danil's alleged question to the pope: "How can I accept the crown without your help?" The author presents that even after the papal legate promised papal help against the heathen Mongols, Danil still did not wish to accept the royal title. Whether the author wants to show Danil as a humble person who refused the dignity of being a king is difficult to say.

It is evident however, that the author does not hide the intentions of both involved parties. Danil accepts the crown only after the pope and the Polish dukes promise him the long – awaited help against the Mongols. The pope, on the other hand, wanted the unification of the Danil's lands with the Roman Church – "wanted to summon a Council about the true faith and the reunification of the Church." Some degree of the dignity of a coronation act can only be seen when the author stresses that Danil received the crown from God, that Danil became the king by the grace of God.⁹⁶

The fact that the author does not ascribe such great importance to Danil's coronation can be also seen in the author's usage of a term "king" (король). The author, or rather the authors, as one cannot distinguish when the change of authorship occurred, do not always call Danil king, but they simultaneously use for him also title "prince" (князь). Until Danil's death, described in the Chronicle under the year 1264, there are only two years when Danil is consistently called as the King Danil (years 1256 and 1260), the rest is a mixture of both terms. This inconsistent appellation of Danil is a good example of the author(s)'s indifferent perception of Danil's rank as king.

Danil's coronation is more or less presented only descriptively. The author does not give more information about Danil's relation with the pope and vice versa. Even if Danil is

⁹⁵ Mongols could easily have learnt about Danil's dealings with the West as he was searching help against them, and that could have endangered his throne as well as his life. Sophia Senyk, *A History of the Church in Ukraine*, 437.

⁹⁶ For this issue see Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957).

depicted as the one who decides and he accepts the royal title only at the pope's and the Polish dukes' insistence, his representation is rather neutral than laudatory.

After having looked individually at the western political factors, I must now sum up the chapter by comparing all of them. My examination has shown that Danil's image greatly depends on which foreign rule he is depicted with. When placed with the Hungarian kings, the chronicle predominantly focuses on emphasizing his legitimacy in Galicia and promoting his status by frequently noting the honour shown to him by these characters. Since the Hungarians were the most powerful rulers in this region, it is understandable that the author decides to present Danil as equal to their kingly status. In contrast, the chronicler does not consider necessary to do the same when depicting Danil with the Polish dukes. Given a minor role in the chronicle, these figures do not contribute much to the creation of Danil's image. The final western political factor, the pope, cannot be described as praiseful. Instead of being laudatory as one would expect from a depiction of a coronation, the chronicle rather focuses on the political bargaining of the two parties. Therefore it can be said that while in some parts of the chronicle Danil appears as the subordinate figure, he is typically presented by the chronicler in a positive light in order to promote his authority and legitimacy.

CHAPTER III

THE IMAGE OF DANIL ROMANOVICH AND THE MONGOLS

The thirteenth-century principalities of Kievan Rus' as well as other Eastern European countries were strongly affected by invasion of this tribal confederation.⁹⁷ The Mongols, also called Tatars, appeared for the first time in Rus' at the beginning of 1220s and in their first battle with Kievan Rus' princes on the Kalka River, the princes suffered an overwhelming defeat. This battle is well elaborated in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, with the rhetorical conclusion that the regiments of Rus' were defeated "because of our sins."⁹⁸ At this point, Danil is also mentioned for the first time in connection with the Mongols. The chronicler makes a remark that when Danil heard that the Mongol army was getting closer "he mounted a horse to see this unusual enemy."⁹⁹ After that the Mongols returned back to the steppe and there is no reference to them in the Chronicle for the next fourteen years. When they appeared again, their invasion ended with the conquest of the Rus' principalities.

During their two campaigns the Mongols captured the "mother of all towns of the Kievan Rus'" – Kiev itself – and their leader Batu imposed his overlordship over the Rus' principalities. Batu's first campaign (December 1237–Spring 1238) was oriented towards the northeastern part of Rus' and the second campaign (1239–1240) towards the south and southwestern Rus'.¹⁰⁰ According to some historians, the second Mongol invasion to the south had a more devastating effect than the invasion of the northeastern lands.¹⁰¹ After Kiev fell in 1240, Batu placed his administration there and continued his campaign towards the western territories of Rus'. He captured the capital city of Volynia, Vladimir, as well as the capital of

⁹⁷ See Bertold Spuler, *History of the Mongols: Based on Eastern and Western Accounts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (New York: Dorset Press, 1988).

⁹⁸ *Грѣхъ ради нашихъ . роускимъ полкомъ побѣженымъ бывшимъ*. PSRL 2, 744.

⁹⁹ *Слышавъ же Данилъ Романовичъ и гна всѣдъ на конь видѣти невиданную рати*. PSRL 2, 742.

¹⁰⁰ John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 77.

¹⁰¹ Paul Harrison Silfen, *The Influence of the Mongols on Russia*, 15.

Galicia, Galich. According to the author of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, Danil was not in his lands at that time but he learnt about it on his journey home from Hungary and sought refuge in Poland.¹⁰²

An important point for the following discussion is how the administration of medieval Rus' principalities looked after the Mongol invasion.¹⁰³ The presence of the Mongols and the fear of their new aggression was a powerful element in the everyday life and also in the politics of the Kievan Rus' princes. Even though the principalities still kept their original ruling classes, they were subordinated to the Mongol chief, Batu. In the words of Charles J. Halperin: "the Tatars allowed the Russian princes to keep their thrones, though each had to make a personal obeisance to the khan. Though the Mongols were the ultimate arbitrator of succession in the Russian principalities, they strictly respected the dynastic legitimacy of the Rurikid clan."¹⁰⁴

Mongol chief Batu became the arbitrator of succession in his newly built camp at Sarai. All the princes were obliged to go there in order to receive a confirmation of their right to rule their patrimonies. This shows the full submission of the Rus' rulers to the Mongols. As Danil was one of them, he had to show submission to Batu as well, at least on the question of his right to rule in Galicia. The author of the *Chronicle* does not make many references to the relations between the Mongols and Rus' princes and he tries to avoid saying frequently that they were subordinate to the Mongols. The only time that the author is willing to admit that Danil's position on the Galician throne depended on Batu's confirmation is when he writes about Danil's visit to Sarai. It is surprising how little space is dedicated to the Mongols in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* when the Mongol dominion over the principalities was

¹⁰² PSRL 2, 787-788.

¹⁰³ To have a full picture of Mongol administration of the medieval Rus' and to see the steps that the princes were obliged to follow in order to hold their principalities, see Thomas T. Allsen, "Mongol Census Taking in Rus', 1245-1275," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 5 (1981): 32-53.

¹⁰⁴ Charles J. Halperin, *Russia and the Golden Horde: The Mongol Impact on Medieval Russian History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1985), 48.

evident. The author sometimes sketches the problem of their presence in Rus' (especially at the end of the *Galician* part of the Chronicle), but not as often as he mentions the presence of other heathen tribes in Rus', for instance, the presence of Jatvingians or Lithuanians. Halperin proposes some possible explanations of this dichotomy:

Thus writers from various parts of Rus' avoided the issue of Russia's change of sovereignty. Chroniclers, hagiographers and preachers from Vladimir-Suzdal, Novgorod and Galicia-Volhynia either did not concede the fact of Mongol rule or, in describing its manifestations, left them in a logical vacuum. ... by leaving unspoken the causal links between the arrival of Batu's armies and Mongol rule, the Russian bookmen skirted the intellectual dimension of the Mongol conquest.¹⁰⁵

This argument seems to be a reasonable explanation of the chronicler's indifference to the Mongols. He simply does not want to dedicate more space to them than is necessary. Although the chronicler neglects the Mongol rule over Rus' in general, a few times he makes reference to their supremacy, also in connection with Danil. Here it must be stressed that the Mongol supremacy and the subordination of the princes gave the chronicler only limited space for the creation of a purely positive image of Danil. The created image is rather ambiguous. There was no space for Danil's heroic deeds since except for communicating with the pope and calling for a crusade against the Mongols, he could simply do nothing more against them. Maybe one of the possible reasons why the chronicler is silent about the Mongols is that by avoiding them he simply does not have to show Danil's dependence on their power so often. However, this does not keep the chronicler from describing the journey of Danil to the main Mongol camp in Sarai.

The author of the Chronicle says that the reason why Danil went to see Batu was because one of his commanders asked Danil and his brother, Vasilko, to give him Galich,¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 68.

¹⁰⁶ *Приславшюу же Могоу-тѣви . посолъ свои к Данилови и Василкови . боудущюу има во Дороговьскыи Да и Галич.* PSRL 2, 805.

without any reference to why Danil was obliged to do so.¹⁰⁷ Then the text continues: “and he consulted with his brother and he set out to Batu saying: ‘I do not give half of my fatherland, I will go to Batu myself.’”¹⁰⁸ Subsequently the author shows Danil’s strong resolution to fight for his inherited (*вѣщина*) land and the author also justifies Danil’s decision to formally submit to Batu. The author’s claim that it is Danil’s decision to see khan Batu helps to show Danil in the better light even if it may be rather the contrary.¹⁰⁹ The author’s description of Danil’s visit is in a dialogue between Danil and Batu, which is the usual rhetorical style of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*.

He [Danil] bowed according to their custom and entered [Batu’s] tent. Batu said to him: ‘Danil, why haven’t you come before, but now you are here and that is good. Do you drink black milk, our mare’s milk – kumys?’ And he [Danil] said: ‘I have not drunk it yet, but now as you request, I will drink.’ And he [Batu] said: ‘And now you are one of us – a Tatar. Take our drink!’ He [Danil] having drunk, bowed in accordance with their custom and saying his words he said: ‘I am now going to pay homage to the Grand Princess Barakcinova.’ And [Batu] said: ‘Go!’ Thus, [Danil] went and paid homage as was their custom. And he [Batu] sent him a goblet of wine and said: ‘as you have not got used to drink milk, drink wine.’¹¹⁰

In this dialogue the author does not deny the formal submission of Danil and superior position of Batu over him, but at the same time he shows the honourable reception of Danil by Batu. Even in these quite unfavourable conditions, the author tries to elevate Danil in the way that he puts statements like “and now you are one of us” or “as you have not got used to drink milk, drink wine” into the mouth of Batu. He shows that even the heathen Mongol chief

¹⁰⁷ To place this event in a political context: some scholars suppose that Batu asked Danil to surrender his capital in order to prevent his attempt to assert his independence from the Mongols because after Danil’s victory over Rostislav of Chernigov and the Hungarian king in 1245, he became the strongest ruler in the East Central Europe. See George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, vol. 3, *The Mongols and Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 144.

¹⁰⁸ *И доумавъ с братомъ своимъ . и поѣха ко Батыеви река Не дамъ полоу вѣчины своен . но ѣдоу к Батыеви самъ.* PSRL 2, 806.

¹⁰⁹ It may well be that it was Batu himself who demanded that Danil come to him in person. See Boleslaw Szczesniak, “The Mission of Giovanni de Plano Carpini,” 15.

¹¹⁰ *И поклониса по вѣыгалоу нхъ . и вниде во вежю его. Рекшоу емоу Данило чему еси давно не пришеалъ . А нынѣ вже еси пришеалъ . а то добро же. Пьещи ли чѣрное молоко . наше питье кобылини коумоуъзъ. вномоу же рекшоу . Доселѣ есмь не пилъ. Нынѣ же ты велишь пью . ни же рече Ты оуже нашъ же тотаринъ. Пии наше питье ни же испивъ . поклониса по вѣыгалоу нхъ . изъмолва слова своа . рече Идоу поклонитъся великон княгини . Баракъцинови. Рече иди Шедъ поклониса по вѣыгалоу. И присла вина чюмъ и рече Не вѣыкли пити молока . пии вино.* PSRL 2, 807.

Batu treats Danil with the respect. This intention is also documented by the author's next sentences:

Oh, more evil than evil is the Tatar honour. While Danil Romanovich the great prince who possesses the lands of Rus' – Kiev, Volodimer and Galich and other lands with his brother, now he is on his knees and is calling himself a slave. [The Tatars] demand tribute from him, and he cannot be certain of his life and threats are coming. Oh the evil honour of the Tatars! His father was the emperor of Rus', who conquered the Polovcian lands and waged war against all the other lands. If his son can not be honoured, then who else can be?¹¹¹

The Tatar honour is a binary opposition for the author. On the one hand honour has generally a strictly positive meaning, but, on the other, Tatar honour bears in itself a sense of dishonour. So Danil, by being honoured in the Mongol camp, is actually greatly degraded. That is probably why the author followed this episode with the panegyric of Danil and to exalt him even more, the praise of his father, Roman, as well. The last part of the passage with a rhetorical question "if his son can not be honoured, then who else can be?" is the most laudatory section of Danil. Both passages bear a strong anti-Mongol tone and the author tries to point out that even if Danil has to abase himself to the Mongols he is still the greatest prince of Rus'. The text than continues with Danil's arrival back home:

Prince [Danil] spent twenty-five days with them and then was released and his land was guaranteed to him together with those that were with him. He returned to his own land and met his brother and his sons. There was much crying because of his humiliation, but also great rejoicing that he had returned safe.¹¹²

¹¹¹ *Въ зѣбѣ зла . чѣсть татарьская Данилови Романовичюу . князю бывшоуу великоуу . вѣладавшоуу Роускою землею . Кыевомъ и Володимеромъ и Галичѣмъ со братомъ си инѣми странами . нѣмѣ сѣдитъ на колѣнуу и холопомъ называється . И дани хотать живота не чаетъ . И грозы приходать . въ злаа чѣсть татарьская . Его же втець бѣ царь въ Роускои земли . иже покори Половецкую землю и воева на инѣе страны всѣ . Сынъ того не приа чѣсти . То нынѣ кто можетъ прияти . PSRL 2, 807-808. According to Orlov this passage is most likely modelled after a passage in the *Romance of Alexander the Great*. See Alexander S. Orlov, *K voprosu ob Ipat'evskoj letopisi*, 115-116, cited in *The Hypatian Codex: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, 137.*

¹¹² *Бывшоуу же князю оу нихъ днии к . и ѣ . ѿпоущенъ бысть и пороучена бысть земля его емоу иже бѣахоу с нимъ . И приде въ землю свою . и сретѣ его братъ и сынови его . и бысть плачь въ видѣ его и большая же бѣ радость въ здравьи его . PSRL 2, 808.*

The author states openly that Danil's journey to the Mongols is humiliating for him, but by going there Danil achieved his main aim: "his land was guaranteed to him." Even if the author presents Danil's subordination to Batu, which is strongly suggested by the use of an expression "Danil was released," he later turns this degrading journey to Danil's advantage. "All regions came to know that Danil had come back from the Tatars, and that God saved him."¹¹³ This is followed by the already discussed passage where the Hungarian King Bela proposes to Danil to marry their children to each other because, as the author states, Bela "was fearing him, since he had been among the Tatars." The author cleverly turns things around and from the Danil's subordination to the Mongols creates the image of the Galician Prince Danil, respected because he visited Batu's camp. Most likely the author's intention is to persuade his audience that Danil's reputation was not damaged because he went to see the Mongol chief¹¹⁴ but his reputation became even better.

The same model, when the author uses the "Godless" (*безбожнии*) Mongols to promote Danil, can be seen only a few pages later: "Izjaslav [Prince of Smolensk] asked aid from them [the Tatars] to go against Galich. But they said: 'how can you go against Galich? Danil is a fierce prince, if he wants to take your life, who would save you then?'"¹¹⁵ The chronicler presents this short imagined speech of the Mongols to express their respect for Danil because no one is stronger than him. The author goes as far as to even use, in his perception,¹¹⁶ a strongly negative connotation of Mongols to praise Danil.

One of the passages connecting Danil with the Mongols was probably not intended to promote Danil's image, but more as a description of the Mongol commanders, Kuremsa, and his successor, Burondaj. "Danil used to wage war against Kuremsa and he was never afraid

¹¹³ *БЫСТЬ ЖЕ ВЪДОМО СТРАНАМЪ ПРИХОДЪ ЕГО . ВСИМЪ ИС ТАТАРЪ . ЯКО БОГЪ СПАСАЪ ЕСТЬ ЕГО*. PSRL 2, 808-809.

¹¹⁴ Vitalij Terentejevič Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii*, 87.

¹¹⁵ *ИЗАСЛАВ ЖЕ ПРОСИ ОУ НИХЪ ПОМОЩИ . ИТИ НА ГАЛИЧЪ . ИНИ ЖЕ РЕКО ЕМОУ . КАКО ИДЕШИ В ГАЛИЧЪ . А ДАНИЛО КНАЗЬ ЛЮТЪ ЕСТЬ . ИЖЕ ВНИМЕТЪ ТИ ЖИВОТЪ ТО КТО ТА ИЗБАВИТЬ*. PSRL 2, 829. *НИХЪ* refers to the previous passage before when the Mongols return back to their land and subsequently Izjaslav asked them for help.

¹¹⁶ For the perception of the Mongols in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, see Marek Klatý, "Ethnic-cultural Perception," 53-67.

of him because Kuremsa could not do him any harm, until Burondaj came with a great force.”¹¹⁷ This passage can be seen from two perspectives: firstly it points out the distinction between Kuremsa and Burondaj, and secondly it represents Danil’s attitude towards them. However, one cannot distinguish whether the author’s perception of Danil is positive or negative. It is rather neutral.

At the turning point from the *Galician* part of the Chronicle to the *Volhynian* part, the image of Danil shifts. As was discussed in the introduction, the *Volhynian* part was probably written at the court of Danil’s brother, Vasilko Romanovich. The change of author is fairly visible and this part bears the stamp of a quite anti-Danil attitude.¹¹⁸ This is also evident in how Danil is represented in relation to the Mongols. The most obvious it is when the author describes the arrival of the new Mongol commander, Burondaj, to Danil and Vasilko.

During the feast in the city of Volodimer the news came to Prince Danil and Vasilko that bad and cursed Burondaj is approaching. ... And he [Burondaj] sent them to say in such a way: ‘If you are my allies meet me! And who will not meet me, will become my enemy.’ Prince Vasilko went to see Burondaj with his nephew Lev. Prince Danil did not go with his brother, but sent his Bishop of Xolm, Ivan, instead. ... When he [Bishop Ivan] arrived to Prince Danil, he told him about what happened and he also told him about Burondaj’s anger. Danil became frightened and fled to Poland and from Poland to Hungary.¹¹⁹

The intention of this above mentioned passage is to promote Danil’s brother, Vasilko, and Danil plays only a secondary role. Vasilko is shown as the one who does not fear the Mongols compared to Danil who is presented as weaker than before. Vasilko is promoted

¹¹⁷ Данило же держаше рать с Коуремьсою и николи же не бояса Коуремьсь . не бѣ бо могаз зла емоу створити никогда же Коуремьса донже приде Боуранда со силою великою. PSRL 2, 846.

¹¹⁸ For the bias against Danil in the *Volhynian* part of the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*, see George A. Perfecky, “Studies on the Galician Volynian (Volhynian) Chronicle” *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 12 (1969-1972): 62-112.

¹¹⁹ И бывшоу же веселью не малоу в Володимирѣ городѣ . И приде вѣсть тогда Данилови князю и к Василкови . вже Боуронда идеть иканныи проклатыи ... Прислалъ бо баше тако река вже есте мои мирници сръбѣта ма . А кто не сръбитъ мене . тыи ратныйи мнѣ . Василко же князь поеха противоу Бурандаеви со Левомъ сыновцемъ своимъ . а Данило князь не вѣха с братомъ . послалъ бо баше себе мѣсто владыкоу своего Холмовьского Ивана ... Владычи же прихавшию к Данилови . и нача емоу повѣдати и бывшем и ипалоу Боурандаевоу сказа емоу . Данилови же оубоавшоу . побѣже в Лахы . а из Лаховъ побѣже во Оугры. PSRL 2, 848-850.

here at the expense of Danil. The *Volhynian* section of the Chronicle can be seen as princely propaganda, but no longer of Danil, only as propaganda for his brother Vasilko. This example shows the importance of the authorship and also the place of writing for the creation of Danil's image.

To sum up, the image of Danil in connection to the Mongols is not homogeneous, but turns from Danil's subordination to them to the respect rendered to him. Even though the author presents Danil in situations that are not really favourable for him, for instance, his visit to Batu, subsequently he turns these events to benefit the image of his Galician prince. Altogether is Danil mentioned in conjunction with the Mongols seven times, however, he is presented as the superior one only once (in the alleged Mongol speech to Izjaslav). Twice, the representation of Danil bears the stamp of his subordination to Mongols (Daniel's visit to Batu and Burondaj's request to see Danil and Vasilko, although as I noted this is mainly due to the change of the author). One of the passages representing Danil with the Mongols is rather neutral, without any special intention of praising Danil (Danil and two Mongol commanders, Kuremsa and Burondaj). The rest of the Danil-Mongol depiction is connected with the description of the Mongol campaigns to Kievan Rus'. As I have already pointed out the author, taking into account the factual conditions of the Mongol dominion over Rus' probably could not create a purely positive image of Danil. Yet, on the other hand the author is sometimes willing to take advantage of the Mongols in order to create the image of respected Danil. It is the author and the patron of the author who is the most influential factor in the creation of, whether positive or negative, image of Danil in connection with the Mongols.

CONCLUSION

The image of Danil Romanovich in relation to foreign affairs presented in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* is not homogeneous, as one would expect from the genre of princely propaganda, but bears some signs of ambiguity. Danil's image changes according to the political context as well as according to the necessity, and naturally a great deal depends on the authorship as the chronicle had more than one author. Despite this, the representation of Danil in the chronicle is still a worth examining.

My aim was to examine the construction of Danil's image and to study the rhetorical tools that the author uses to represent and to promote Danil. Four significant foreign factors have been chosen in order to do this, each of them was discussed separately in relation to the image of Danil. My analysis shows that even though the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* functions as propaganda for Danil, his image differs according to which foreign ruler he is depicted with.

In regard to the Hungarian rulers, Danil's representation in the Chronicle strongly promotes him. The author presents him in this manner in order to legitimize Danil's position in the Galician principality. This is because the Hungarian rulers, Andrew II and his son, Bela IV, were a serious threat to his right to rule. As a consequence of this situation, the author's aim of promoting Danil's legitimacy in the chronicle can be observed in nearly all references connecting Danil with the Hungarian rulers. Yet, due to the events described in the chronicle, the author, while following his aim of legitimizing his main character, Danil, sometimes puts him in a subordinate position which seems to be in opposition to the intention of praising him. In spite of this, predominantly due to the change of the author, the image changes to show Danil as equal to the Hungarian ruler. The chronicler succeeds in achieving his purpose of promoting Danil by repeatedly depicting the honour shown to him by the Hungarian ruler.

The same pattern of ambiguity in presenting Danil can be noted in connection with the Mongols. In this case, the image turns from Danil's subordination to them to the respect they rendered to him. However, in contrast to the Hungarians, the Mongol domination of Kievan Rus' was a strong factor which hindered the author from promoting Danil at the expense of the Mongol leaders. In spite of this, the author uses the fear of Mongols as a tool in the Chronicle and the fact that Danil visited them in order to show him as a respected ruler in the eyes of his neighbours. Moreover, in the case of the Mongols as well as in the case of the Hungarians, Danil's image strongly depends on the authorship.

Quite a different image of Danil is presented in relation to the Polish dukes and the pope. Here the depiction of Danil does not bear the stamp of a laudatory style. In the case of the Polish dukes, this different image was mainly due to the fact that they were not considered as such a huge threat to Danil as the Hungarians or the Mongols. Compared to the power of the Hungarian king and the Mongols, the military and political power of the Polish dukes of Cracow and Masovia was negligible. This influenced the Chronicle in how it represents Danil's relationship with them. The author does not feel the necessity to justify Danil's position on the Galician throne, nor feel the need to show him in a better light as regards the Poles. In a similar manner, the depiction of Danil accepting the royal crown from the pope is laconic and lacks splendour. This event is not stressed by the author most likely because the coronation is perceived as only a diplomatic exchange between the pope, who wished for the unification of Galicia and Volynia with the Papal See, and Danil, who was requesting aid against the Mongols. As a consequence of their lesser authority in Galicia and Volynia, and the less risk they posed to Danil's legitimacy, the depictions of Danil with the Polish dukes and the pope are rather neutral.

This examination has shown that the image of Danil Romanovich is strongly connected to the foreign leaders with whom he is depicted. In addition, there is no doubt that

the change in author and commissioner influenced the image. From this point of view, the image of Danil is the most elaborated and the most complex in the depiction of the period from 1245 to 1260. These years are most likely the work of only one author. With the knowledge this thesis has revealed concerning the image of Danil Romanovich, this authorship issue is more clearly defined. Consequently, this investigation of the image of Danil has not only provided a greater appreciation of the composition of the chronicle in its attempt to put forward the case for his legitimacy, but it has also provided greater understanding of the construction of the Chronicle itself.

However, this analysis is not fully complete. Further study of the image of Danil in connection to his internal affairs in the principalities of Galicia and Volynia can contribute to the complete representation of Danil Romanovich in the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*.

APPENDIX

The Redactions and the Authorship of the <i>Galician-Volhynian Chronicle</i> ¹²⁰		
Redaction	Place	Author
	H RUŠEV S'KYJ ¹²¹	
1255	?	secular follower of Danil
1263	Xolm	local priest
1268	Xolm	?
1292	?	Fedorok Jurjevich
	PAŠUTO ¹²²	
1238	Kiev	Peter Akerovich
1246	Xolm	Metropolitan Kuril
1263	Xolm	Bishop Ivan
	court of Vasilko	
1269	Romanovich	?
	court of Volodimer	
1289	Vasilkovich	Bishop Evstignej
	court of Mstislav	
1290	Danilovich	?
	HENSORS'KYJ ¹²³	
1234 (finished 1255)	Xolm	Bishop Ivan
1266 (finished 1269)	Xolm	boyar Dionisij Pavlovich
1285 (finished cca. 1286)	Peremyšl'	Bishop Memnon
1289 (finished 1289)	Ljuboml'	local clergyman
1292 (begin. of 14th c.)	Pinsk	inhabitant of Pinsk

Fig.1

¹²⁰ The table was built according to Márta Font, *Geschichtsschreibung des 13. Jahrhunderts and der Grenze zweier Kulturen: das Königreich Ungarn und das Fürstentum Halitsch-Wolhynien*, (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 2005), 33 and George A. Perfecky, "Studies on the Galician Volhynian (Volhynian) Chronicle," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 12 (1969-1972): 62-112.

¹²¹ Mychajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 3 [The History of the Ukrainian Literature] (Kiev, 1923).

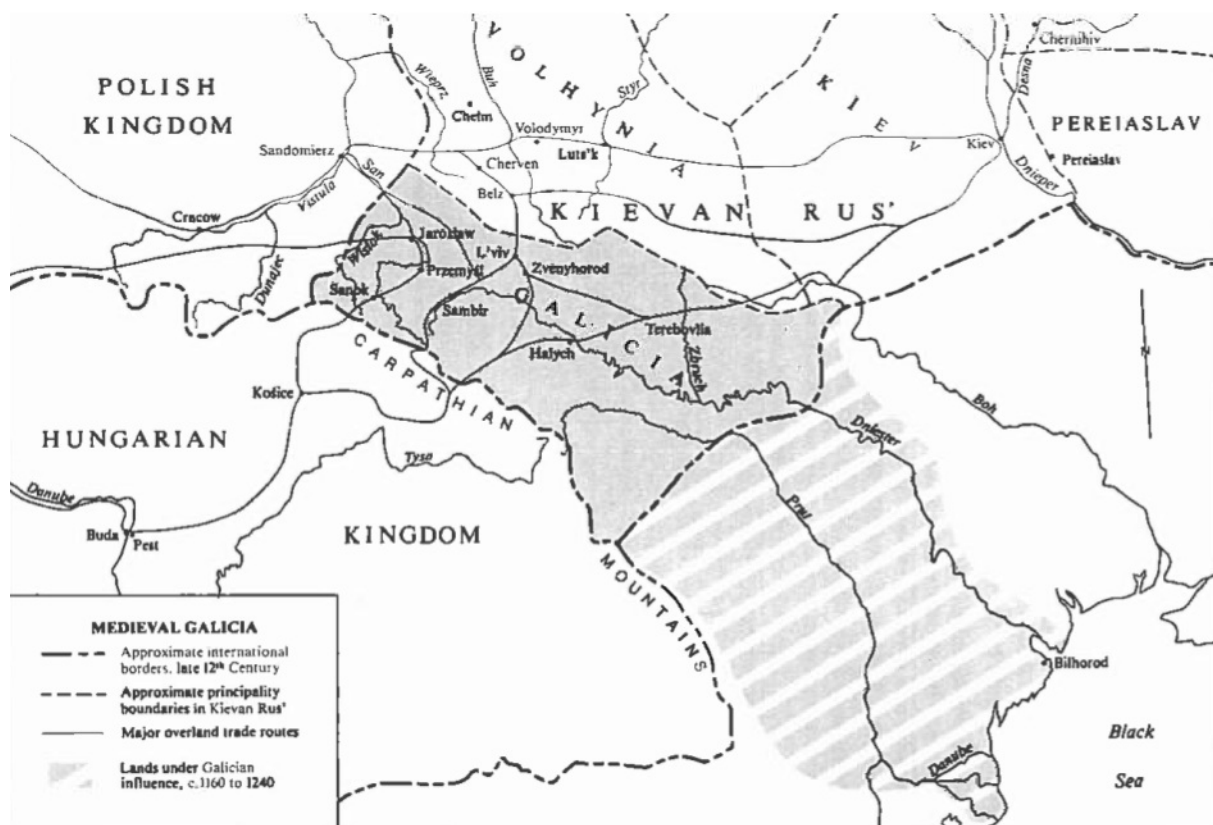
¹²² Vitalij Terentejevich Pašuto, *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi* [Studies on the history of Galician-Volhynian Rus'], (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk, 1950).

¹²³ Anton Ivanovych Hensors'kyj, *Halycko-Volynskij lytopis: Proces skladannja, redakcii i redaktory* [The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle: the Compiling Process, Redactions and Compilers], (Kiev: Vydovnyctvo UAN, 1958).



Map 1: Central Europe around the year 1250

Paul Robert Magocsi, *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), map no. 6.



Map 2: Medieval Principdom of Galicia

Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 51.



Map 3: The Mongol invasions into Kievan Rus', Hungary and Poland

Medieval Russia: A Source Book, 850-1700, ed. Basil Dmytryshyn, (Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, 1991), 150.

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