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THE KIEVAN CHRONICLE:
A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

By

Lisa Heinrich

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Approved:	Date:
Lucy N. Zenkovsky	Nov. 22, 1977
Gleb Struve	Nov 28, 77
Jay Ryan	Nov 22, 1977
Antonina F. Grove	Dec. 5, 1977
Richard M. Cortes	Dec 5, 1977
Morris Watcho	Dec. 6, 1977

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FOREWORD

The subject of this dissertation is a chronicle written in the twelfth century and dealing mainly with events in and of concern to the city of Kiev. Thus, it is known as the Kievan Chronicle (Kievskaja letopis').

Chronicles were a particularly important means of keeping historical records at that time, and they flourished on Russian soil. The chronicles were a vehicle for establishing and encouraging a national consciousness in Kievan Rus' and later, and they were the predominant literary mode of the first centuries of Russian literature. By the twelfth century, most large Russian cities kept their own chronicles (e.g., Perejaslavl', Novgorod, Vladimir, Černigov, etc.), and this practice continued in most places for several hundred years.

Chronicle writing began in Kievan Rus' under Jaroslav Mudryj (the Wise).[1] The chronicle which was evidently begun under his auspices and which

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[1]Lixačev, D.S., "Literaturnye pamjatniki Kievskoj Rusi," in R.S. Sofronova (ed.) Xudožestvennaja proza Kievskoj Rusi XI-XIII vekov, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo xudožestvennoj literatury, Moskva, 1957, p. ix.

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begins almost all other Russian chronicles is known as the Primary Chronicle (Povest' vremennyx" let"). Considerable amounts of time and attention have been devoted by scholars to this chronicle, and many of the works on it concern the history of its writing.

The history of writing of the chronicles is a problem for students of Old Russian literature because the extant manuscripts, which are from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries or later, are copies of the earlier ones. It is often extremely difficult to discover what parts of a chronicle were written at what time, that is, whether a given section (or even phrase or word) is from an early manuscript or from a later insertion or "correction."

The text[2] used for this dissertation is based on a manuscript called the Hypatian Chronicle (Ipat'evskaja letopis') after a monastery to which it once belonged. This manuscript was written at the beginning of the fifteenth century;[3] the only older

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[2]Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii, Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej, Tom 2, Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, Moskva, 1962.

[3]Lixačev, D.S., Russkie letopisi i ix kulturno-istoričeskoe značenie, Izdatel'stvo Akademija Nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1947.

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extant chronicle manuscript is the Laurentian, which was done in 1377.[4] The Hypatian manuscript contains three distinct sections: the first is the Primary Chronicle, the second is the Kievan Chronicle, and the third is the Galician-Volynian Chronicle.[5] The Kievan section of the Hypatian is a direct continuation of the Primary Chronicle: "After Sylvester had taken his copy, Nestor's original was returned to the Crypt /Pečersk/ monastery, where it was continued as usual and became what is known as the Kiev Chronicle, represented by the Hypatian copy."[6] The ending of the Kievan section is also a clear-cut one; the year 1200 (erroneously 1199 in the text) contains a lengthy panegyric to prince Rjurik Rostislavič ending with "Amen" and followed by "In the year 1201 was the beginning of the reign of Grand Prince Roman, prince of Galič, as autocrat of all Russia."[7]

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[4]Lixačev, Russkie letopisi, p. 431.

[5]Perfecky, George A., The Galician-Volynian Chronicle Hypatian Text: An Annotated Translation, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1971, offers an English translation of that chronicle.

[6]Gudzy, N.K., History of Early Russian Literature (translated by Susan Wilbur Jones), The MacMillan Co., New York, 1949, p. 120.

[7]Column 715. The chronicle is divided into the reigns of different princes (see Orlov, p. 85).

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The part of the Hypatian manuscript which is the Kievan chronicle was evidently originally written in the year 1200 in the Vydubeckij monastery.[8] It was compiled from various sources, including the chronicle of the city of Perejaslavl',[9] various family chronicles of the family of Vladimir Monomax (those of Rjurik Rostislavič, Igor' Svjatoslavič of the Igor' Tale and his brother Oleg, and Vladimir Glebovič), and the chronicle of the Kiev Pečersk monastery.[10] (Later, parts of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle were injected, probably in a thirteenth-century redaction.)[11]

The decline of Kiev as the center and capital of Rus' had already begun by the time of this chronicle and continued throughout the twelfth century. This political disintegration is seen throughout the Kievan Chronicle in the internecine wars among princes and in their negotiations for various treaties and alliances. The power of Kiev was declining, but it was still at least the titular capital of the Russian land.

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[8]Lixačev, Russkie letopisi, p. 432.

[9]Nasonov, A.N., Istorija russkogo letopisanija XI-načala XVIII veka, Moskva, Nauka, 1969, pp. 84-92.

[10]Lixačev, Russkie letopisi, pp. 183 and 432.

[11]Ibid., p. 432.

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Because of the unclear political and geographical terminology in the chronicle, in this study the term Rus' is used to refer to Kiev and its immediate territory, while the term Russia refers to the broader area later known by that name.

The Kievan Chronicle, because of its secular nature (its sources included family chronicles, and the writers were probably members of the court rather than monks), focuses on political and military matters. Consequently, princes are the prominent figures throughout the narrative. In the chronicle the repeated theme of the unity of the Russian land contrasts with the reality of the times.

The first part of this dissertation is a translation of the Kievan Chronicle from the Hypatian version. In many places the Russian text is unclear, for several reasons:

(1) the lack of any significant punctuation,

(2) scribes copying the original at any given time may have made errors or changes because they themselves were not personally acquainted with the events they were transcribing, or because of the gradual changes of the language,

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(3) in more ornate passages the density of literary and rhetorical devices results in complex syntax and lengthy digressions, and (4) some vocabulary used is not known at the present and thus the meanings of some words are uncertain.

I have tried to clarify these places in the translation whenever possible. For example, a prince is often mentioned only by his first name, and the reader may be uncertain who he is, so I have attempted to add patronymics or epithets when I was able to identify such princes.

In addition, I regret any errors and inconsistencies in translation that may be my own. I attempted to translate as literally as possible and still maintain logic and clarity. At some points in the translation educated guesses had to be made, while at others the text had to be translated literally even if it is unclear. For particularly difficult passages and certain unusual usages the Old Russian is given in the footnotes.

Place names and personal names are normalized if they occur in modern Russian (e.g., Vladimir is used instead of Volodimer"); otherwise they were transliterated. Names of saints and religious figures

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are translated into their English equivalents if they exist--Sv. Ioann is St. John, Fedor is Theodore, and so on. However, the Old Russian usage is followed in the case of patronymics: the suffix here is -ič rather than -ovič. Volume I of Solov'ev's Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen provided me with modern Russian equivalents of many proper names (particularly geographical ones) and occasionally with clarifications of the text.

Part II contains comments on the content, style, and language of the chronicle. In the commentary my English translation is used for examples whenever possible in order to facilitate reading. Since the text used for the translation is numbered by columns, references to that text note the column number where the example occurs. In this way the reader may compare the translation and the Old Russian. Page numbers are used to refer the reader to other sections of this study.

The Kievan Chronicle is a long-neglected work of Old Russian literature. Even the scholars most dedicated to the study of the chronicles of that period afford it scant attention in their works. I believe this is a mistake. The chronicle is long, but is worth study because it has

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a great variety of styles and topics, and because of that variety is representative of an entire era of Russian literature and history.

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PART I

THE KIEVAN CHRONICLE: A TRANSLATION

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CHAPTER I

THE LAST YEARS OF VLADIMIR MONOMAX AND THE REIGN OF MSTISLAV VLADMIRIČ (1118-1126)

In the year 1118, Jaroslav Svjatopolčič fled from the city of Vladimir /Volynskij/. The Hungarians /who were fighting with him/ and his boyars abandoned him. In this same year, on the sixth of January, Roman Vladimirič died, and Vladimir /Monomax/ sent another son, Andrej, to rule in the city of Vladimir.

In the year 1119, Vladimir took Minsk from Gleb Vseslavič, whom he brought to Kiev. That same year on the thirteenth of September, Gleb Vseslavič died in Kiev.

In the year 1120, Jurij Vladimirič (Dolgorukij) went[1] along the Volga River against the Bulgarians. He took many prisoners and defeated their armies. Having campaigned, he came back in health with honor and glory. Then Vladimir sent /his son/ Andrej with pagans against the Poles, and he defeated them. That same year Rostislav, the son of David, died.

---

[1] xodi (I.e., he went on a military campaign.)

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In the year 1121, Vladimir drove the Berendej from Rus', while the Torks and Pečenegs fled of their own accord.[2] That same year Jaroslav came with Poles to Červen' during the rule of the commissioner Foma Ratiborič, and they returned without achieving any success.

That same year the metropolitan in Kiev, Nikifor, died in the month of April, and there were signs[3] in the sun and the moon. The princess, the wife of Mstislav, died on the seventeenth of January. In that year also the foundation of the church of St. John was laid in the Kopyrev section /of the city of Kiev/.

The the year 1122, the daughter of Mstislav was taken to Greece to marry the emperor, and Metropolitan Nikita came from Greece. Bishop Daniil of Jur'ev and Bishop Anfilofej of the city of Vladimir died; the earth quaked slightly. Volodar', Vasil'ko's brother, was captured by the Poles by deceit. This same year they brought another wife to Mstislav from Novgorod--Dmitrij's daughter, the granddaughter of Zavid.

In the year 1123, David Svjatoslavič died in Černigov, and Jaroslav his brother took his place /as ruler/.[4] That

---

[2] sami bežaša

[3] I.e., eclipses occurred.

[4] sede v nego mesto

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same year, Bishop Silvestr' of Perejaslavl' and Bishop Feoktist' of Černigov died; that same year Simeon was appointed bishop to the city of Vladimir.

In that same year Jaroslav Svjatopolčič came with Volodar' and Vasil'ko and with Hungarians and Poles and Czechs to the city of Vladimir; and there was a multitude of warriors with him. They surrounded the city of Vladimir. Andrej was there in the city; Vladimir had not managed to get there from Kiev with his son Mstislav.[5] It was a Sunday. Jaroslav rode up close to the city with two other warriors early on Sunday and he threatened the people and Prince Andrej as he rode about beneath the city. Full of pride and counting on the number of warriors, he spoke to Andrej and the citizens: "This is my city. If you do not open the gates, if you do not come out and pay homage, you will see: tomorrow I will come to the city and I will capture it."

Andrej and all his people had great hope in God and in his (Andrej's) father, as well as hope in prayer.[6] While he (Jaroslav) was still riding about beneath the city, two Poles came up onto a hill and lay there in hiding.[7] And

---

[5]That is, he had not yet come to help his son.

[6]Andrej že imjaše nadežju veliku na Ba s" vsimi ljudmi svoi i na otca svoego mltvu nadejašet'sja

[7]v"šedša dva Ljaxa nad" uvoz" i tu legosta skryvšasja

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Jaroslav rode up, coming[8] from the city. And when he was on the hill, those two Poles caught him there. Casting him onto the hill, they pierced him with a spear, and they (his own men) barely managed to get him away quickly. And he was scarcely alive,[9] and that night he died. Thus Jaroslav died, alone amid such a great force of warriors, for his great pride, since he did not have hope in God, but counted on the great number of his warriors.

The Hungarians and the Poles, Volodar' and Vasil'ko dispersed to their own lands. They sent emissaries to Vladimir with petitions /for peace/ and with gifts. Vladimir then praised God for such a divine miracle and for His help. See how pride is overcome! And moreover, it is done in the heart, it is done with humility. For, as Scripture says, he who is haughty in his heart does not dwell before God. Retinue and brothers, consider who God is for--a proud man or a humble one.

Vladimir was still in Kiev, gathering many warriors and praying to God about Jaroslav's violence and pride. For he had sent Mstislav ahead of him to the city of Vladimir with a few soldiers, and he was going to follow him with all his troops. And great was God's help to the pious prince

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[8] pretiv" (preexati)

[9] edva um"čaša

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Vladimir and his sons for his honorable life and for his humility. He (Jaroslav), being young, grew proud against his uncle /Vladimir Monomax/, and likewise against his father-in-law Mstislav. See, brothers, how good and merciful is God to the humble and to the righteous, watching over and avenging them. The Lord God opposes the proud with his might, but gives grace to the humble.

In the year 1124, on the tenth of May, the earth quaked slightly, and the great church of St. Michael at Perejaslavl', which the blessed Bishop Efrem had built and decorated, fell.

In that same year they brought a Polish woman to Murom to marry Vsevolod Davidovič, and Jaroslav Svjatoslavič's wife died. That year also there was a drought, and then all of Podol burned on the eve of the Holy Birth of St. John the Baptist and the Precursor.[10] The next day the mountain burned and all of the monasteries which were on the mountain, in the city and in the Jewish section.[11] In that same year on the eleventh of August there was a sign in the sun, in the evening /the sun was/ like a small moon, and it got

---

[10] This epithet--Pred"teč--refers to St. John's prediction of the coming of Christ.

[11] See Solov'ev p. 579; and compare for the year 1203, when the Polovci burned and looted these sections. Podol refers to a section of Kiev, the mountain is the mountain on which the Pečersk (Caves) Monastery was located.

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almost completely dark. In the same year Vasil'ko Rostislavič died and after him Volodar', his eldest brother, passed away.

In the year 1125, the princess, Svjatopolk's wife, died on February the twenty-eighth.

In the year 1126, the pious and noble-born prince, the Christ-loving Grand Prince of all Russia, died: Vladimir Monomax, who had illumined the Russian land like the sun emitting rays of light, who had been heard of in all lands. Most of all he was a terror to pagans, a lover of his brothers and a lover of the poor, and a good warrior[12] for the Russian land.

His demise was on May the nineteenth. And having prepared his body, they laid him in the cathedral of St. Sophia next to his father Vsevolod and chanted the customary hymns over him. The clergy was mourning, they were weeping for the holy and good prince. All the people[13] wept for him. Like children for a father or mother all the people wept for him--also his sons; Mstislav, Jaropolk, Vjačeslav, Jurij, and Andrej, and his grandchildren. Then all of the people dispersed with great sadness. So like-

---

[12] stradalec

[13] ves' narod i vsi ljudije

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wise his sons dispersed with much weeping, each to his own territory, to the territories he had alloted to them.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF MSTISLAV IN KIEV. Mstislav, his eldest son, sat on the throne in Kiev, taking the place of his father, on the twentieth of May. The Polovci, the enemies, hearing of the death of Vladimir, came up to Baruč, saying, "Let us capture their Torks.[14] The news reached Jaropolk and he gave orders to drive the people and the Torks into Baruč and into other cities. The enemies attacked and, not having any success, desisted. Having learned that Jaropolk was in Perejaslavl', they returned to the area around the Sula River to fight.

Prince Jaropolk [15] went after them, with God's help, and did not wait for help from his brother or anyone else. With only the warriors of Perejaslavl' he overtook them. Seeing that there was only a small number of them, they turned back and, having prepared themselves, set out against them.[16] Then Jaropolk, the pious offshoot of the pious root, Prince /Monomax/, called on the name of God and his father and, with his retinue, did a courageous thing.

---

[14] I.e., the members of the Tork tribe who were helping the Russians are the intended victims of the Polovci.

[15] ukrepivša

[16] Referents of pronouns are unclear and unspecified in this sentence; the "small number" may refer to Russians.

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When the two armies met in battle, the pagans were defeated by the strength of the true cross and St. Michael. Some of them they killed, and some of them drowned in the river. God and the prayer of his father helped him (Jaropolk). All the people praised God for such a great gift and help. In the same year Proxor, abbot of the Pečersk monastery of the Holy Mother of God, died on November the fifteenth.

In the year 1127, Metropolitan Nikita died.

In that same year, the princess, the wife of Vladimir, died on the eleventh of July. Also that year the earth quaked slightly on the second of August.

In the year 1128, Vsevolod Ol'govič captured his uncle Jaroslav in Černigov, /and/ taking him away, slaughtered and robbed his retinue. Mstislav, with Jaropolk and with troops, wanted to campaign against Vsevolod for Jaroslav. But Vsevolod sent for the Polovci, and he sent Jaroslav to Murom. Seven thousand Polovci[17] came and halted at Rat'mir's forest by the Vyr' River. They sent emissaries to Vsevolod; Jaropolk's officers, having taken them captive at the Lokna River, took them to Jaropolk. The

---

[17]Seleukom" (Pogodinskaja letopis' variant is lukov; footnote in text (column 291) says to read this so selukom". The meaning of this phrase is unclear and it is omitted from the translation.)

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Polovci, receiving no news from the Ol'goviči, fled to their own lands.

Mstislav pressured Vsevolod even more, saying to him: "You commanded the Polovci, but they did not succeed in any way." Then Vsevolod began to beseech Mstislav and urge his boyars, giving them gifts and beseeching them. Thus he spent the whole year until winter. And Jaroslav came from Murom to Mstislav, and paying homage to him, he entreated him, saying: "You have kissed the cross to me; campaign against Vsevolod." Vsevolod then more strongly entreated Mstislav.

In those days there was an abbot at the St. Andrew Monastery, Grigorij, who had been loved by Vladimir Monomax and was honored by Mstislav and by all the people. He would not let Mstislav begin war on behalf of Jaroslav; he said: "It is better for you to transgress the oath of the cross and not go to war than to shed Christian blood." He called a council of the clergy--there was no metropolitan at that time [in Kiev]; they said to Mstislav: "The sin will be on us," and he did as they said.[19] And Mstislav transgressed the oath of the cross that he gave to

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[18]Jaropolči bo bjaxu posadniči ("for they were Jaropolk's commissioners") is omitted from the translation here because it does not logically fit into the sentence and because it is redundant.

[19]stvorî volju ix"

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Jaroslav. And he wept for that all of the days of his life. Jaroslav returned to Murom.

That same year Prince Mstislav sent his brothers and many Krivičí[20] along four different routes: Vjačeslav from Turov, Andrej from Vladimir, Vsevolodko from Goroden, Vjačeslav Jaroslavič from Kleck. Then he ordered (them) to go to the city of Izjaslavl', while Vsevolod Ol'govič he ordered to go with his brothers to the city of Strežev, to Boris. Ivan Voitišič he sent with Torks, and his son Rostislav he sent with warriors from Smolensk to Druck. He told them all to attack on the same day, in the month of August on the eleventh day.

Izjaslav hurried, a day ahead of his brothers, capturing people from the city. They were terrified and surrendered; but the people of Izjaslavl' began to fight with Vjačeslav and Andrej. Izjaslav waited two days at the city of Logožsk, and /then/ went to Izjaslavl' to his uncle, taking with him his brother-in-law Bračislav, who had been going to his father. And along the way, he /Bračislav/ had become terrified and was unable to go anywhere.[21] He went to his brother-in-law (Izjaslav) and gave himself into his care, and he brought the people from

---

[20]Descendants of the Krivičí live in present-day Belorussia, Polock, Brest and Druck.

[21]ni semo ni onamo

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Logožsk whom he had brought out from the Logožsk land. And the people of Izjaslavl', seeing their prince and the people of Logožsk, who had surrendered without having been harmed, themselves surrendered, saying to Vjačeslav: "Swear before God that you will not give us over to be plundered."[22]

It was evening. Vratislav, Andrej's commander and Ivanko, Vjačeslav's commander, both sent their warriors into the city. At dawn all the other warriors saw that they had captured the city during the night.[23] And they (the princes and their retinues) were barely able to protect the possessions of Mstislav's daughter. And then they had to fight /their own men/, and so they returned with many prisoners. Then the warriors of Novgorod came with Vsevolod Mstislavič to Nekloč, and the Poločane,[24] having become angered, drove out David and his sons. They went to Mstislav, asking for him (Rogvolod) as their prince, and Mstislav did what they wanted; and having taken Rogvolod, they went with him to Polock.[25]

---

[22]prizovi ny Ba jako nas ne daši na ščit", cf. Solov'ev, p. 414: "...ob"javili Vjačeslavu čto sdadutsja, esli on pokljanetsja ne davat' ix na ščit (na razgrablenie) voinam."

[23]The others then all went into the city and began to plunder (Solov'ev, p. 414).

[24]The same as Kriviči, cf. footnote 20 above.

[25]poem"še Rog"voloda idoša i ko Polot'sku

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In the same year Izjaslav Svjatopolčič passed away in December on the thirteenth day. He was buried on the twenty-fourth day.

In the year 1129, Boris, prince of Polock, died. In that same year there was a great flood. People were drowned and grain fields were flooded, and houses were carried away. That same year Mstislav, Vladimir's son, laid the foundation of the stone church of St. Theodore in Kiev.

In the year 1130, Jurij of Rostov and his military commander covered with metal the tomb of Feodosij, abbot of the Pečersk Monastery during the time of Timofej. In the same year Mixail Vjačeslavič, grandson of Vladimir, died in July on the twenty-fifth day. In that same year Mstislav sent the prince of Polock and his wife and children into exile in Greece, because they had violated the oath of the cross. That same year Jaroslav Svjatopolčič died in Murom.

In the year 1131, Mstislav sent his sons--Vsevolod, Izjaslav, and Rostislav--against the Čud' people. They captured them and imposed a tribute on them. In that same year Metropolitan Mixail came. In that year also the earth quaked slightly in July on the twenty-fourth day, in the third hour of the day. In the same year the church of St. Andrew of the Jančin" monastery was consecrated.

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In the year 1132, Mstislav campaigned against the Lithuanians with his sons and with the Ol'govičі and Vsevolod of Goroden; and they burned them and hid themselves in various places.[26] Then the Lithuanians killed many Kievans, for they had not kept pace with their prince, but had come after him separately.

In that same year the foundation stone of the Church of the Mother of God called Pirogošča was laid. Also in that year, a son was born to Mstislav, and they named him Vladimir.

In the year 1133, the pious prince Mstislav, Vladimir's son, died, leaving his territory to his brother Jaropolk, also giving his children into his hands, trusting in God. Mstislav died on April fifteenth, on Friday of Holy Week. He was laid in the church of St. Theodore which he himself had built.

And Jaropolk entered Kiev on Sunday, on the seventeenth. In that same year Jaropolk brought Vsevolod Mstislavič from Novgorod, and gave him Perejaslavl'. In the morning he took the throne there, and before noon Jurij, his uncle, drove him out. He ruled there eight days, and his brother Jaropolk deprived him (Jurij) of

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[26](?)i požgoša ja a sami sja rasxoroniša (See Solov'ev, p. 416.)

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Perejaslavl', because of his oath on the cross /to his dead brother Mstislav/. And Jaropolk sent for another of Mstislav's sons, for Izjaslav in the city of Polock. He brought him with an oath /that he would support him as ruler there/.[27]

In the year 1134, Izjaslav Glebovič died on the fourteenth of May. In that same year, an end board from the tomb of the Lord was brought by Dionisij; Miroslav had sent it. In that same year, Marko, the bishop of Perejaslavl', passed away. In that same winter, Vjačeslav, leaving Perejaslavl', went back to Turov, disobeying his brother Jaropolk.

In the year 1135, Jurij (Dolgorukij) asked his brother Jaropolk for Perejaslavl', and he gave Jaropolk Suzdal' and Rostov and other of his territories, but not all of them. Over this the Ol'govičі began to fight.

Jaropolk campaigned with his two brothers Jurij and Andrej against Vsevolod Ol'govič. They occupied villages near the city of Černigov. But Vsevolod did not come out against them to fight, for the Polovci had not yet come to /help/ him. Jaropolk stayed a few days at Černigov and returned to Kiev and released his troops, not having

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[27]privede i s" kljatvoju

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settled[28] with Vsevolod in any way.

The Polovci came to Vsevolod; he and his brothers and Izjaslav and Svjatopolk, the two Mstislavičі, set out, conquering villages and cities in the dominion of Perejaslavl', and slaughtering the people; they came as far as up to Kiev. They burned Gorodec on St. Andrew's day and rode along the other /east/ side of the Dnepr River, capturing some people and killing others. They could not cross over[29] because it was impossible to cross over due to the ice floes.[30] And they also took a countless amount of livestock. Nor could Jaropolk cross over with his warriors to fight them, because of the ice floes. They stayed three days beyond Gorodec in the forest and then they went to Černigov. From there, sending among themselves, they made peace.

And again the Ol'govičі began to beseech Jaropolk: "That which our father possessed during the reign of your father, that we also want. If you do not give it over, then do not make complaint; whatever happens, you are guilty. The blood will be on you." All that came to pass; Jurij drove Vsevolod from Perejaslavl'.

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[28] vladiv"sja

[29] I.e., to the other, Kiev, side of the river.

[30] nelze bo bjaše perevestisja krami

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Then Vjačeslav drove out Izjaslav; then the same Vjačeslav drove Izjaslav from Turov, and he (Izjaslav) went up against the Ol'govičі. There was great contention and evil among them in that matter. The Ol'govičі went, saying these words: "You began to destroy us first."

In that same winter Jaropolk gathered the Kievan troops and Jurij /gathered/ the men of Perejaslavl', and they stayed fifty days by Kiev. And Jaropolk made peace with Vsevolod, and they gave Perejaslavl' to his brother Andrej and the city of Vladimir to Izjaslav Mstislavič.

In the year 1136, Jaropolk brought his brother Andrej from Vladimir and gave him Perejaslavl', and he gave the city of Vladimir to his nephew Izjaslav.

That same year Vsevolod came with all his brothers to Perejaslavl' and stayed three days beneath the city. And they fought at the Bishop's Gate and the Princes' Gate. Finding out that Jaropolk was coming, they went above the Supoj River. Having prepared themselves there, they awaited them. Soon Jaropolk, with his retinue and his brothers, without waiting for his troops or preparing for battle, was rushing greatly into battle, thinking: "The Ol'govičі will not withstand our might." The two forces met and fought mightily, but soon Vsevolod's[31] Polovci began to flee, and

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[31]"Oleg's" (Olgove) here, in text, is in error (see Solov'ev, p. 420).

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Vladimirič's best retinue pursued them; and their princes, the Vladimirici (Monomaxovič's) [stayed and] fought there with the Ol'govici.

Then the emperor's son[32] Vasil'ko Leonovič was killed, and there was a terrible battle. And many fell on both sides. All the brothers--Jaropolk, Vjačeslav, Jurij and Andrej--seeing their armies scattered, went away to their own lands. The military commander and their boyars had earlier pursued the Polovci and defeated them; they went back to the battlefield[33] and did not find their princes. And they fell into the hands of the Ol'goviči and thus they captured them: by holding Jaropolk's banner. They capturned many boyars: David Jaroslavič, commander, and Stanislav Tukievič the Good, and other men; and the grandson of Vladimir, Vasil'ko Maričič, was killed there. Many Kievan boyars were captured.

Jaropolk and his brothers came to Kiev. This happened in August on the eighth day. Andrej returned to Perejaslavl'. Vsevolod, having crossed the Desna River, camped across from Vyšgorod with his troops. Jaropolk began to gather troops [to go] against him. Vsevolod stayed there for seven days and went to Černigov, and they sent emissaries to one

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[32] carevič, the Greek ruler's son, "vnuka Monomaxova po dočeri" (Solov'ev, p. 421).

[33] polčič

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another,[34] but could not be reconciled.

The Ol'goviči, with Polovci, came back across the Dnepr' on the twenty-ninth of December. They began to fight around Trepol', near the Krasna River and Vasilev, up to Belgorod, even as far as the Drevljan' region; and they were shooting at each other across Lybed' River.

Jaropolk had gathered a multitude of warriors from all lands. Having considered[35] in his heart, he did not go out against them; he did not cause bloodshed, but fearing the judgement of God, he did what they (the Ol'goviči) wanted,[36] and he received abuse and reproach from his brothers and everyone for acting according to what is said: "Love your enemies." And he made peace with them (the Ol'goviči) on the twelfth of January; they kissed the cross to one another--the honorable metropolitan Mixail went between them with the cross. Jaropolk gave the Ol'goviči their patrimonies which they desired. Thus the wise prince Jaropolk stilled that terrible war.

In that same year the Pirogošča church was completed.

In the year 1137, the eunuch Manuil was appointed bishop of Smolensk. /He was/ a good singer, who had come

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[34] meži soboju

[35] priem" rasmotrenie

[36] sotvorisja mnii v nix/vsex

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from Greece. He came with two others to the God-loving[37] prince Mstislav. Before this happened, there had been no bishop in Smolensk.

In the same year there was a sign in the sun in June on the ninth day. In the same year the people of Novgorod fought with the people of Suzdal' on Ždanov Mountain. And the people of Suzdal' defeated the people of Novgorod.

In that same time Jurij went to Rostov, and Vsevolod Mstislavic gave his daughter Verxuslava to the Poles.[38]

In the year 1138, the people of Novgorod drove their prince, Vsevolod Mstislavič, out of Novgorod, and brought Svjatoslav Ol'govič to /rule/ them. Vsevolod Mstislavič came to Kiev to his uncle, Jaropolk; his uncle gave him Vyšgorod.

That same year the people of Pskov came and took Vsevolod to rule them. And they took him from the people of Novgorod. That same year he died in Pskov in the month of April on the eleventh day, in the week of Shrovetide, on Thursday. There he was also buried, in the church of the Holy Trinity which he himself had built in Pskov.

In the year 1139, Evfimija, wife of Vladimir, died in the month of April on the fourth day, on Monday of Holy Week.

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[37] blgoljubivomu, a variant of bgoljubivomu

[38] Presumably, to marry someone there.

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In that same year, the people of Novgorod drove out Svjatoslav Ol'govič; the people of Smolensk took him, while the people of Novgorod took Rostislav Jur'evič to rule them.

In the same year, Vsevolod Ol'govič brought Polovci to the city of Priluk and he took other cities and captured the territory around the river Sula. Jaropolk gathered his brothers and his nephews, and troops from Suzdal', Rostov, Polock and Smolensk. The king of the Hungarians sent help--thirty thousand Berendej and troops from Turov--and gathered many troops together. He (Jaropolk) went to Černigov.

Vsevolod found out that Jaropolk had many troops, and became afraid. The people of Černigov cried out to Vsevolod: "You want to flee to the Polovci, but you will destroy your territory. To what then will you return? It is better than that to stay in your great wisdom and ask for peace. For we know of Jaropolk's mercy, how he does not rejoice in bloodshed, but for the sake of God wants peace, for he preserves the Russian land." Vsevolod, hearing that, came to himself and sent to Jaropolk with entreaties, asking Jaropolk for peace.

Jaropolk, being good and merciful by nature and having fear of God in his heart, like his father having fear of God, and having considered all [this], did not want to commit bloodshed: He made peace with him. They camped at the city of Moravsk, and having made peace, they kissed the holy

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cross and dispersed, each to his own land. That same year Prince Jaropolk died in the month of February on the eighteenth day; he was buried in the /St. John/ Jančin monastery at St. Andrew's church. His brother Vjačeslav entered Kiev that same month on the twenty-fourth, on Wednesday of Shrovetide.

Vsevolod found out that Jaropolk had died and that Vjačeslav was ruling in Kiev. Gathering a small retinue, his brother Svjatoslav, and Vladimir Davidovič, he went with them to Vyšgorod and camped there, having entered the city.

In the year 1140, Vsevolod Ol'govič went from Vyšgorod to Kiev, having prepared his troops. Having arrived, he camped by the city in the Kopyrev section and began to burn the houses which were around the city in the Kopyrev section. /This was/ in the month of March, on the fourth day.

However, Vjačeslav did not come out against him, not wanting to shed blood. But he did what he wanted[39] and sent the metropolitan to him /Vsevolod/, saying to him: "Go back to Vyšgorod, and I will go today into my territory and Kiev will become yours." And he did that: Vsevolod went back to Vyšgorod. That same day Vjačeslav went into his territory, to Turov; and Vsevolod entered Kiev on the

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[39] stovorisja mnii

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fifth day of March with honor and great glory.

And Igor' came to him, because for a long time he had promised to give Igor' Černigov to rule; and he did not give it to him. But he gave it to Vladimir Davidovič[40] and quarrelled with his brothers. And so he sent him away.

At that same time two princes' sons came from Constantinople; they had been imprisoned by Mstislav, the Grand Prince of Kiev, since they did not obey his will and did not heed him when he called them into the Russian land to help; instead they turned to[41] Bonjak Šeludivij (the Mangy). And Mstislav became angry at them about this and wanted to campaign against them; but he could not go /into their land/, since the Polovci were there attacking[42] Rus'.

And he stood against /the Polovci/, fighting and struggling with them. This Mstislav the Great followed the path of his father, Vladimir Monomax the Great. Vladimir himself stood guard at the river Don and wiped away much sweat for the Russian land; and Mstislav, sending his men, drove the Polovci back across the Don and across the

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[40] His cousin; his brothers were angry because he gave his cousin territory rather than them (See Solv'ev, p. 249).

[41] molvjaxu...vo zdorov'e

[42] nalegli

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Volga, across the Ural River,[43] Thus God delivered the Russian land from the pagans.

Mstislav, being freed from battle, and remembering the first matter, sent for the princes of the Krivsk territory, for David, Rostislav, Svjatoslav and the two Rogvolodiči. He put them in three boats and sent them to Constantinople for their disobedience; and he placed his own men in their cities. Let us return to the previous /matter/.

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[43]Jaik (text has Giik", later rewritten as Jaik)= the Ural River, renamed since 1180.

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CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF VSEVOLOD IN KIEV

In this same year, Vsevolod was ruling in Kiev, and he then began to send to the sons of Vladimir [Monomax] and to the sons of Mstislav, wanting peace with them; and he asked Izjaslav and Mstislav to come from the city of Vladimir and they did not want to do that[1] with Vsevolod; but they sent messages to one another, wanting to go to Kiev against him. Vsevolod did not wait for that, but went to Perejaslavl' against Andrej with his brother Svjatoslav. He sent Izjaslav Davidovič with Polovci, Ivan Vasil'kovič and Volodarevič from Galič, and Vladimirko against Vjačeslav and Izjaslav Mstislavič.

He himself went with his brother Svjatoslav to Perejaslavl' against Andrej; trusting in his strength[2] to hold all land himself. He sought Smolensk, which was ruled by Rostislav, and Vladimir, ruled by Izjaslav. He sent troops to Vladimir to fight Izjaslav, saying "Come out of Vladimir." Having reached Gorinki, they became

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[1] I.e., meet with him in Kiev.

[2] Here, and usually elsewhere, "strength" refers to military strength, i.e., the number of troops.

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afraid, and retreated.

Vsevolod, arriving at Perejaslavl', wanted to drive out Andrej and put his brother in his place to rule. He said to Andrej: "Go to Kursk," and Andrej said this, having consulted with his retinue:

> "It is better for me to die with my retinue in my homeland and the land of my family than to rule in Kursk. My father did not rule in Kursk but in Perejaslavl'. I want to die in my homeland. You, brother, are not satisfied holding all of Rus', but you want this territory too. If you kill me, then the territory is yours, but while I live I will not leave my territory. However, this is not a strange thing for our family; it was formerly also thus. Did[3] not Svjatopolk kill Boris and Gleb for territory? And did he himself live long? Indeed, he was deprived of life here and there [in the other world] is in eternal torment."

Vsevolod was camped by the Dnepr River, and he sent his brother Svjatoslav with troops to Perejaslavl'; they met Andrej's retinue, and they fought with them. And God helped Andrej's men against Svjatoslav, and they pursued them as far as Koran' district. Andrej would not permit his retinue to go any further.

And the next day Vsevolod made peace with Andrej, and Andrej kissed the cross. Vsevolod had not yet kissed the cross, and that night Perejaslavl' caught fire. Vsevolod was filled with the fear of God and did not send anyone to the city. The next morning Vsevolod began to say to Andrej:

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[3] *či* (cf. Polish interrogative czy)

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> "You see how I have not yet kissed the cross to you. You have burned that which God had given to me. If I had wanted to do that evil, I could have done it. Now you have kissed the cross to me. If you fulfill the oath, then that is good; if you do not fulfill it, God will be your judge."[4]

Vsevolod kissed the cross to him and, having made peace with him, came to Kiev.

Vasil'kovič and Volodarevič, prince of Galič,[5] invited Izjaslav Mstislavič to them;[6] having come to an agreement, they returned. Izjaslav went with his two sons and conquered Vjačeslav's territory, and then returned. The Poles, helping Vsevolod, /conquered/ the territory of Vladimir. Vjačeslav and Izjaslav Mstislavič sent emissaries to Vsevolod with messages to negotiate. Vsevolod did not want to submit to their will, but later considered that he could not do without them /as allies/. Having given them what they requested, he kissed the cross to them.

That same year a son was born to Vsevolod and they named him Jaroslav.

That same year the people of the city of Novgorod drove out Rostislav Jur'evič and asked for and got from

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[4]a B" budet' za vsim"

[5]Vasil'kovič že i Volodarevič' Galič'skii knz' + a plural verb (This probably refers to two people, the second being Vladimir(ko), who was then Prince of Galič and a cousin of Ivan Vasil'kovič.)

[6]I.e., they wanted him to join them as their ally.

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Vsevolod his brother Svjatoslav in Novgorod; and they set him to rule in Novgorod. But after a short time, the Novgorodians began to rise up in the veche against Svjatoslav for his evil. He, having found out that the Novgorodians were rising up against him, sent to his brother Vsevolod, saying to him: "Brother, it is difficult to be among these people, and I do not want to be among them. Send whomever else you want."

And he sent Ivan Voitišič to them, who asked from them their finest men. Taking them, he brought them to Vsevolod. He (Vsevolod) was wanting to send his son Svjatoslav, but heard that the Novgorodians were rising up in the veche and that they were killing Svjatoslav's friends because of his violence; and sympathizing with him, his compatriot and commander said: "Prince, they want to capture you." He was afraid and fled with his wife and with his retinue to Poltesk, to Smolensk.[7] Vsevolod, hearing this, would not let his son Svjatoslav go, nor the Novgorodian men whom he had brought to him.

The people of Novgorod sent their bishop and their men to Vsevolod, saying: "Give us your son. We do not want your brother Svjatoslav." And he sent them his son Svjatoslav. He was in Černigov, and the Novgorodians conferred and said to Vsevolod: "We do not want your son or

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[7]beža...na Poltesk" Smolen'sku

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your brother, or [any of] the family of Vladimir."

Vsevolod, hearing this, sent after them[8] and returned them and the bishop with them [to Kiev], and held them and the bishop [as hostages]. For they had said: "Give us your brother-in-law Mstislavič." But Vsevolod, not wanting to give Novgorod to the tribe of Vladimir, called his two brothers-in-law and gave them Brest, saying: "Do not trouble yourselves about Novgorod; let them rule themselves by their own power. Let them find themselves a prince."[9] And he held the Novgorodians and their bishop through a winter and a summer.

That same year the Polovci came with their princes for peace. Vsevolod came from Kiev and Andrej from Perejaslavl' to Maljutin and they made peace with them.

In the year 1141, one of Vsevolod's daughters was brought to the Poles. In the same year a bishop by the name of Evfimij was appointed to Perejaslavl'.

That same year in Galič Ivan Vasil'kovič died, and Vladimirko Volodarevič took his territory and ruled in both territories, reigning in Galič.

That same year, the people of Novgorod, hearing that

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[8] I.e., the delegation that had just left him to return to Novgorod.

[9] Novagoroda ne berezeta at' sedjat' sami o svoei sile kde knzja no (oni) nalezut'

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Vsevolod had captured their brothers, could not bear to be without a prince reigning, and none was coming to them from anywhere. They sent their men to Jurij and took Rostislav Jur'jevič. The Novgorodians enthroned him with great honor in Novgorod on the throne of his father.

Because of this Vsevolod was angered, and occupied Gorodec Osterskij.[10] Svjatoslav was fleeing from Novgorod and going to Rus' to his brother, and Vsevolod sent to him and said: "Brother, come here." Svjatoslav went to him at Starodub and he was not reconciled with him concerning territories. Svjatoslav went to Kursk, for he was reigning in Novgorod Seversk.

At the same time, Vsevolod divided[11] /his territory/ with his brother and gave him Belgorod.

That same winter, the pious prince Andrej Vladimirovič died in Perejaslavl' in the month of January on the twenty-second day and was buried on the twenty-third in St. Michael's Church. When they carried him to the grave there was a most marvelous sign in the sky. Three suns shone and three pillars went from the earth to the sky, and over all, higher, like an arc, was the moon, standing

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[10] =Jur'ev, gorodok na Ostre (Solov'ev, p. 792)

[11] razlučivaja

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apart.[12] And those signs remained until they buried him.

In that same time, Vsevolod captured Jurij's cities. He took horses, cattle and sheep and booty--whatever he wanted. That same year Igor' went to Černigov against Davidovič and the two made peace. In the same year Izjaslav sent to his sister, saying: "Ask for Novgorod the Great from your brother-in-law for us, for our brother Svjatopolk." She did thus.

In the year 1142, the blessed bishop of Černigov, Panteleimon, passed away. That same year, Vsevolod sent his brother-in-law Svjatopolk into Novgorod. He arranged this with the Novgorodians whom he had captured, and the Novgorodians accepted him and put him on the throne. And he sent[13] Jur'evič, his cousin (uncle's son), from Novgorod to his father in Suzdal'.

In that same year, Vsevolod sent from Kiev to Vjačeslav, saying: "You stay in the territory of Kiev, but it should be mine. Go to Perejaslavl', your homeland." And he gave the city of Vladimir to his nephew Izjaslav and he gave Turov to his son Svjatoslav. And his brothers were heavy

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[12] na nbsi byša tri slnca s"jajuče meži soboju a stolpi trie stojašče ot zemlja do nbsi i nado vsimi gore bjaše jako duga msc' osob' stojače

[13] It should be noted that "pustiti" can mean both "to allow to go" and "to send"; thus, here and elsewhere in the translation, when it is translated as "to send," it does not connotate that a person is sent against his will unless that is implied elsewhere in the text.

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at heart toward Igor' and Svjatoslav, because [Vsevolod] gave territories to his sons, but his brothers did not receive[14] anything. And Vsevolod called his brothers to him.

Arriving, they camped at Olžiči: Svjatoslav, Vladimir, Izjaslav. But Igor' camped at Gorodec, and Svjatoslav went to Igor' and said: "What does your elder brother give you?" and Igor' said, "He gives us the cities Brest and Drogičin and Čartoryjsk and Kleck, but he does not give us our homeland, the land of Vjatiči." And Svjatoslav kissed the cross with his brother Igor', and the next day Vladimir and Izjaslav kissed [the cross with] Igor'. And thus promising, they all said: "Whoever transgresses the kissing of the cross will receive the vengeance of the cross."

And Vsevolod sent to invite them to dinner, and they did not go, and the brothers sent to Vsevolod, saying: "Lo, you sit in Kiev, and we ask from you the territories of Černigov and Novgorod Seversk[15], but we do not want Kiev." He did not yield the land of the Vjatiči to them but gave them the four cities which we named above. Then they said: "You are our elder brother, [but] if you do not give us what we ask, then we will seek it for ourselves."

Having quarrelled with Vsevolod, they went away

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[14] nadeli

[15] Solov'ev, p. 432.

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from Kiev to Perejaslavl', making war against Vjačeslav. They were fighting at Perejaslavl', and Vsevolod sent Lazar Sakovskyj with Pečenegs and /other/ troops to help Vjačeslav. Izjaslav, hearing that they had come to fight against his uncle, went quickly with his regiment to Perejaslavl' and fought them. And God helped Izjaslav, and they could not withstand him and fled to their cities.

In that same time Rostislav had come with the Smolensk troops to his in-law[16] to Kiev; hearing that the Ol'goviči were fighting at Perejaslavl' with his uncle Vjačeslav and with his brother Izjaslav, he went into their territory and occupied all their territory near Gomij. Izjaslav, hearing that his brother was pillaging[17] their territory, went quickly from Perejaslavl' to the Černigov land and pillaged their villages near the Desna River and near Černigov; then, having conquered their territory, he returned to his own land with great honor.

Igor', conferring with his brothers, wanted to avenge himself. They went again to Perejaslavl' and camped there. Having fought three days without success, they returned to their own lands.

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[16] zjat'--refers to either brother-in-law or son-in-law.

[17] vojuet'

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Vsevolod sent his brother Svjatoša[18] after them, saying to them: "My brothers, take from me with love that which I give you--Gorodec, Brest, Rogačev, Drogičin, and Kleck." He said to them: "Do not fight any more with the Mstislaviči." And they did his will, and he called them to him in Kiev. They came to him, and all stayed in one place.

But Vsevolod did not like the brothers uniting in agreement.[19] He sent to the two Davidoviči and said to them: "Withdraw from my brothers and I will give you your part." They then transgressed the kissing of the cross and deserted Igor' and Svjatoslav /and went over to/ their brother Vsevolod. Vsevolod, pleased with their separation /from their former allies/ and having made peace with them about territory, gave them Brest, Drogičin, Vščiž and Ormina. And having sent to the two brothers, he gave them Gorodec Osterskij and Rogačev (to Igor') and Kleck and Čartoryjsk (to Svjatoslav). And then they dispersed.

In that same year, Vjačeslav, having agreed with Vsevolod, gave Perejaslavl' to Izjaslav his nephew, and Vjačeslav went to the city of Turov. Vsevolod gave the city of Vladimir to his son Svjatoslav; and the /other/

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[18]"Togda Vsevolod vyzval iz monastyrja brata svoego dvojurodnogo, Svjatošu (Svjatoslava--Nikolaja Davidoviča, postrigšegosja v 1106 godu), i poslal k brat'jam..." (Solov'ev, p. 433).

[19]s"v"kupila v" diny mysl', cf. Modern Russian edinomyslie

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Ol'goviči, Vsevolod's brothers, were displeased with this and protested to him: "You love the Mstislaviči, your brothers-in-law and our enemies, and you have placed them near to you, while we are left leaderless and homeless."[20] Thus the brothers spoke to him and beseeched him to make war on the Mstislaviči. But he did not do what they wanted.

That same year Vsevolod gave his daughter Zvenislava to the Poles to marry Boleslav. In that same winter Vsevolod sent his son Svjatoslav, Izjaslav Davidovič, and Vladimir of Galič to help his in-law Vladislav against his younger brothers, the Boleslaviči. And they all gathered at Černeč'sk; having fought, they returned, having captured more prisoners who were peaceful people than fighting men.[21]

In the year 1143, a bishop by the name of Onofrij was appointed to Černigov. In that same year, Vsevolod brought Vasil'kovna, daughter of the prince of Polock, to marry his son Svjatoslav. And all the brothers and heathen Poles gathered together and dined at Vsevolod's home. And then they left.

That same winter Izjaslav went away to his uncle Jurij in Suzdal'; and not having made peace with him, he went to his brother Rostislav in Smolensk, and from there he went to

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[20] i sobe (not translated, meaning unclear)

[21] v"zem"še bole mirnyx" neže raat'nyx"

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another brother, Svjatopolk, in Novgorod. There he spent the winter. And then, having visited his brothers, Izjaslav went from Novgorod to his city Perejaslavl'.

That year Izjaslav gave his daughter to Polock to marry Rogvolod Borisovič. And Vsevolod, the prince of Kiev, came with his wife and all his boyars to the wedding.

In that same year Kozma was appointed bishop to Polock. In that same year there was a great storm, such as there had never been before, near Kotelnica. It destroyed[22] homes and property, storerooms and food from the threshing floors, and to say it plainly, it was as if a war had occurred.[23] Nothing was left in the storerooms, and some found armor in the swamp that had been carried there by the storm.

In the year 1144, there was a sign across the Dnepr River in the Kiev area, flying across the sky to the earth like a fiery circle. And there remained in its path a sign in the shape of a great serpent, and it stayed in the sky for an hour and disappeared.

In the same year there was a great snowfall on the Kiev side /of the Dnepr River/, as high as the belly of a horse, on Easter. In the same year at Belgorod, the church of the Holy Apostles was consecrated. In the same year a bishop by

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[22] roznosi

[23] jako rat' vzjala

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the name of Akim was appointed to Turov.

In the same year Vsevolod quarrelled with Vladimirko[24] about his son, because his son ruled in Vladimir, and they two began to look for fault in each other. And Vladimirko returned to him the document of their treaty with each other,[25] and Vsevolod set out against him with his brothers.

That same year the Ol'govičі campaigned against Vladimirko. Vsevolod and his two brothers Igor' and Svjatoslav, Vladimir Davidovič, Vjačeslav Vladimirič, the two Mstislavici --Izjaslav and Rostislav, and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, the two Vsevolodičі Boris and Gleb, Rostislav Glebovič, and Vladislav the Polish prince all went against the garrulous Vladimirko, and against his will made him come to Vsevolod and pay homage to him. And he had brought the Hungarians to help him, but they were of no use to him.

And Vsevolod camped on this side of the city (Zvenigorod),[26] while Vladimirko camped on the other side, having come down from the hill. The river Belka was between them. And Vsevolod ordered them to make log bridges, one for each of his regiments. And in the morning they crossed the river, and captured the hills behind Vladimirko. Vladimirko had

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[24]Vladimir Volodarevič, prince of Galič (Solov'ev, p. 768).

[25]v"zverže emu gramotu xrst'nuju

[26]Solov'ev, p. 435.

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surmised that they were approaching him and stood, having prepared, before the city, between the ramparts. It was impossible for the army to fight with them in this area due to the lack of room,[27] because /on one side/ they had come to a swamp, and /on the other side/ to the foot of the hills. Then the Russian troops went up the hills and they were cut off from Peremyšl' and Galič.

And the Galičans, seeing that, began[28] to say: "While we stand here, they will capture our women over there." And Vladimir began to send to Igor', saying: "If you reconcile me with your brother, then after Vsevolod's death I will help you concerning[29] Kiev." Thus he deceived Igor'.

Then Igor' began to entreat Vsevolod, beseeching him and being angry /alternately/, he said: "Do you not wish me good? Why have you appointed me to Kiev /after your death/, when you will not accept my friends?" And heeding him, Vsevolod made peace that same day, towards evening. Vladimirko rode out and paid homage to Vsevolod. Then Vsevolod his brothers met him, and Vladimirko gave Vsevolod fourteen hundred griv'nas[30] of silver for his trouble. Earlier he (Vladimirko) said a lot and later he paid a lot. By this

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[28] s"č'nuša

[29] I.e., to rule in.

[30] griv'na = a unit of money.

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he was persuaded.[31]

Then Vsevolod, having kissed him and his brothers, and having reconciled with him, said to him: "Lo, you have kissed /the cross/. Do not transgress that oath." Vsevolod returned to him Ušica and Mikulin, and they all returned to their own territories. Vsevolod did not take the silver for himself, but distributed it to his brothers, to Vjačeslav, Rostislav, Izjaslav and all his brothers who had been with him in the campaign, dividing it /among them/.

In that same winter, Vladimirko had gone to the city of Tismjanica to hunt. At that same time the people of Galič sent for Ivan Rostislavič in Zvenigorod and brought him to them in Galič. Vladimirko, having heard, gathered his retinue and went to Galič against him, and halted near the city. And /the warriors of Zvenigorod/ rode out of the city, and they fought terribly, and many fell on both sides. And they fought nearly three weeks.[32]

In the week of fasting, Ivan came out at night against them with the Galičans and they fought a great deal. And many of Ivan's retinue were killed, and they cut him off from

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[31] tem' bjaše umolen" (This may refer to Vsevolod's acceptance of Vladimir's petition for peace, implying that the money influenced his decision.)

[32] Variants have "three days"; see columns 317-318, footnotes 5 and 6.

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the city and he was unable to return to the city. And they fled through the regiments to the Dunaj[33] River, and from there across the steppe they fled to Vsevolod, to Kiev. The Galičans fought for Ivan against Vladimirko the whole week and then opened /the gates to the city/ out of necessity in the week of fasting. Vladimirko went into Galič and killed many people and executed many others in terrible ways.

That same winter, Vsevolod gave away two of his daughters, granddaughters of Vladimir Monomax, one to marry Vladimir Davidovič and the other to marry Jurij Jaroslavič, both in the same week. That same year the foundation was laid of the church of St. George in the city of Kanev by Prince Vsevolod in the month of June on the ninth day.

In the year 1145, Vsevolod sent for his brothers, Igor' and Svjatoslav, and for the Davidoviči, Vladimir and Izjaslav, and they came to Kiev, and then there appeared a most great star in the west emitting rays of light...[34]

> "...Vladimir (Monomax) appointed Mstislav his son to rule after him in Kiev, and Mstislav appointed Jaropolk his brother; and I say that if God takes me, I give Kiev to my brother Igor' after myself."

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[33]=Danube

[34]Seven lines omitted here in text.

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And having considered a great deal, Izjaslav Mstislavič had to kiss the cross. All the brothers were sitting in Vsevolod's house. And Vsevolod said to them:

> "Igor', kiss the cross that you will deal with the brothers with love. Vladimir and Svjatoslav and Izjaslav, kiss the cross to Igor', so that he will begin to give to you, of his own will and not from necessity."[35]

And they kissed the cross in all love.

And Vsevolod said to them: "Vladislav, the Polish prince, is inciting me to go against his brothers." And Igor' said: "Do not you go, but we will go." And Igor' went with his brother Svjatoslav and Vladimir, but Izjaslav Mstislavič fell ill and did not leave the city of Vladimir.

Svjatoslav Vsevolodič went, and they /all/ went into the middle of the Polish land, and they found Vladislav's two brothers, Boleslav and Mieszko, camped on the other side of a swamp. And crossing over to this side, they paid homage to Igor' and his brothers. Having kissed the cross to one another, they spoke thus: "If anyone transgresses /this oath, sealed by/ the kissing of the cross, all of us will be against him." And they (Boleslav and Mieszko) gave four cities to their brother Vladislav, and the city of Vizna to Igor' and his brothers. And so they (the Russian princes) returned to their own lands, having taken many prisoners.

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[35] See Solov'ev (p. 440) for a different interpretation of this speech.

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That same winter Svjatoslav, Jaroslav's son, died at Murom, and his brother Rostislav took the throne there. And they sent the younger son of Rostislav, Gleb, to Rjazan'.

That same winter Vladislav the Polish prince took his man Petrko, blinded him and cut out his tongue, ransacked his house and drove him from his land with only his wife and children. And he went into Rus'. As it says in the Gospel: "That measure by which you measure you will be measured by." He,[36] having captured the Russian prince Volodar' by deceit, and having tortured him to death, stole all of his property; nor did God neglect him after several days--this was written about in previous years. In that same year the pious princess Olena Jaska[37] moved /the coffin of/ her prince, Jaropolk from the cemetery into the church of St. Andrew and buried him at Janka.

In the year 1146, Vsevolod gathered his brothers and Igor'. He left Svjatoslav in Kiev, and he and Igor' went to Galič, along with the two Davidovičі, Vladimir, Vjačeslav Vladimirič, and Izjaslav and Rostislav Mstislavič, his nephews;[38] and he brought Svjatoslav his son and Boleslav

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[36] Petrko (?)

[37] Jaska, possibly Janska, i.e., (woman) from Janka.

[38] ...Vsevolod s"vkupi brat'ju svoju Igorja i stoslava že ostavi v Kieve a so Igorem" ide k Galičju i s" Dvdčema i s" Volodimirom" (i) s" Vjačeslavom" Volodimeričem" Izjaslav" i Rostislav" M'stsislaliča snovčja ego

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the Polish prince, his in-law, and all the wild Polovci. And there was a great multitude of warriors.

They went to Galič against Vladimirko. And there was rain and snow fell by God's plan, and so they were travelling on horses and sleighs...[39]... to the city and they set fire to what was near it and outside the outer fortification on the first day; on the second day the people of Zvenigorod held a veche, wanting to surrender.

And there was among them a military commander, Vladimir's man Ivan Xaldeevič. He took from among them three men and killed them. And each of them he cut in half and cast out of the city, and in this way he frightened them (the people of the city). From then on the people of Zvenigorod began to fight without deceit.

Vsevolod, seeing that, began to make ready, as if to take the city. On the third day all the warriors came up to the city. From dawn they fought until late in the evening, and they set fire to the city in three places. The citizens with the help of God extinguished the fires.

God and His Holy Mother delivered the city from terrible war. And they called out "Kyrie eleison" with great joy, praising God and His Most Pure Mother. And they returned

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[39]Seven lines are omitted here from the text; see columns 319-20.

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from there, each to his own land.

Vsevolod, on his way[40] to Kiev, fell ill and sent for his brothers Igor' and Svjatoslav. He was very ill and halted below Vyšgorod on an island. And Vsevolod called the Kievans to him and he began to say: "I am very ill; I give to you my brother Igor'. Take him for your prince."[41] They said: "Prince, we will accept him gladly." And they took Igor' into Kiev. He went with them to the Hungarian gates and called together the people of Kiev. All of them kissed the cross to him, saying: "You are our prince." And they were accepting him deceitfully.

The next day Igor' went to Vyšgorod and the people of Vyšgorod kissed the cross to him. Vsevolod, still alive, sent Vladislav his in-law to Izjaslav Mstislavič, and Miroslav Andreevič to the two Davidovičі, saying: "Do you stand by the kissing of the cross to Igor', my brother?" And they said: "We do."

On the next day Vsevolod died, in the month of August on the first day. And having prepared his body, they buried him in the church of the Two Holy Martys (Boris & Gleb).

Igor' went to Kiev and called together all the Kievans on the hill at Jaroslav's estate. And having kissed the cross to him, all the Kievans gathered again at the Turov

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[40] prised"

[41] a se vy brat" moi Igor' imetes po n'

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church and sent for Igor', saying: "Prince, come to us." And Igor', taking his brother Svjatoslav, went to them and he halted with his retinue and sent his brother Svjatoslav to them at the veche.

And the Kievans began to make complaint against Vsevolod's commissioner Ratša and another, commissioner of Vyšgorod, Tudor, saying: "Ratša has ruined Kiev for us, and Tudor--Vyšgorod; and now, Prince Svjatoslav, kiss the cross to us for your brother: if someone of us is offended, then you will correct the matter." Svjatoslav said to them: "I kiss the cross for my brother, that no one will use force against you; and in the matter of the commissioner, do as you will."

Svjatoslav dismounted from his horse and kissed the cross on this to them at the veche. The Kievans all dismounted from their horses and began to say: "Your brother is the prince and so are you," and all the Kievans and all their children kissed the cross on this--not to plan evil against Igor' or Svjatoslav. And Svjatoslav took the foremost Kievan men and went with them to his brother Igor', and said: "Brother, I have kissed the cross to them, that you will be righteous to them and love them."

Igor' then dismounted from his horse and kissed the cross to them that he would do as they wanted, and he went to his brother's to dinner. They (the Kievans) then rushed to Ratša's estate to plunder and also [set out] against his

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retinue. And Igor' sent his brother Svjatoslav with his retinue, and he was barely able to quiet them.

At the same time Igor' sent to Izjaslav (Mstislavič), saying: "Lo, God has taken our brother[42]; do you stand by the kissing of the cross?" He, however, did not give him an answer to that question, nor did he send the messenger back to him.

The Kievans were not satisfied with Igor' and they sent to Perejaslavl' to Izjaslav, saying: "Prince, come to us; we want you." Izjaslav, hearing this, gathered all of his warriors and went there from Perejaslavl', having received a blessing[43] at St. Michael's church from Bishop Evfimij.

He crossed the Dnepr River at the Zarubskij Ford. There the Černye Klobuki and all the people from the area around the Ros' River were sent to him, and they said to him: "You are our prince, and we do not want an Ol'govič; go quickly, we will be with you."

And Izjaslav went to the city of Dveren, and there all the Klobuki and the people from around the Ros' River gathered. In that same place, the people of Belgorod and Vasilev sent to him, likewise saying: "Come, you are our prince, and we do not want an Ol'govič." Men from Kiev came

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[42] I.e., Vsevolod had died.

[43] See Sreznevskij, Volume III, column 166.

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to that place also, saying: "You are our prince. Come, we do not want an Ol'govič to be [our prince] as if by inheritance.[44] Where we see your banner, there we will be ready to follow you."

Izjaslav, having gathered the Christians and pagans together in a field, said to them:

> "Brothers, I have been true to Vsevolod, my eldest brother, because he was my brother and in-law. He was older than me, and like a father [to me]. And with these[45] let it be as God and the power of the life-giving cross will with me. Either I will lay down my life before you, or else I will attain the throne of my grandfather and my father."

And saying that, he set out to Kiev against him (Igor').

Igor' sent to his brothers, Vladimir and Izjaslav (Davidovič), and said: "Do you stand by me, brothers, by the kissing of the cross?" They requested a great deal of territory from him. Igor' gave it to them, and ordered them to come to him. They then came.

Igor' called Uleb and Ivan Voitišič, and said to them: "As you were to my brother, be thus to me." And to Uleb he said: "Remain commander of your warriors[46] as you did for my brother."

But the all-insidious devil, not wanting love between

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[44] aky v zadniči

[45] a s" simi -- i.e., those against whom he is preparing to make war (Igor' and allies).

[46] derži ty tysjačju

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brothers, put evil counsel into the hearts of the military commander Uleb and Ivan Voitišič, and they two held an evil counsel with the Kievans against their prince. Those two began to send to Izjaslav Mstislavič, saying: "Come quickly, prince. The Davidovičі are coming in aid to Igor', the Davidovičі who have received great honor from Vsevolod and from his brother." They began to be deceitful to their prince.

Izjaslav Davidovič came quickly, for he and his brother Vladimir had kissed the cross at the Church of the Holy Savior to Igor' and his brother Svjatoslav. The bishop of Černigov, Onofrij, and his clergy said: "If anyone transgresses this kissing of the cross, let him me cursed by the Lord's twelve holy days." And after a few days the two Davidovičі transgressed the kissing of the cross.

The leaders of that evil counsel were they about whom we have already spoken, Uleb the military commander, Ivan Voitišič and Lazar' Sakovskij, and--in Svjatoslav's regiment Vasil' of Polock and Miroslav (Andreevič) grandson of Xila--all of these gathered the Kievans to them[47]. And they conferred about how they could deceive their prince.

They sent to Izjaslav, saying: "Come, prince, we have conferred, speaking with the Kievans. We will cast down the Ol'govič banner and hasten with our troops into Kiev. But to

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[47] okolo sebe

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Igor' and his brother Svjatoslav they began to speak in deceit, saying: "Go against Izjaslav." Igor' and his brother Svjatoslav looked up into heaven and said: "Izjaslav kissed the cross to us that he would not try to get Kiev."

And Izjaslav came to the rampart where Nadov Lake is at Šelvov Grove, and there he placed his troops near the rampart with his son Mstislav. The Kievans, a great multitude, remained apart at Oleg's Grave. Situated between them was yet another regiment.

And Igor' saw all of his troops that the Kievans had sent and had taken from Izjaslav his military commander with his banner, and had brought him to them.[48] Then the Berendej, having crossed the Lybed' River, captured Igor''s supply carts in front of the Golden Gates and beneath the walls.[49] Igor', seeing this, said to his brother Svjatoslav and his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič: "Go, brothers, to your troops, but let it be as God wills for us with them." And he said to Uleb his military commander and likewise to Ivan Voitišič: "Go to your troops."

Uleb went to his regiment, and Ivan did likewise, and they cast down their banners and fled to the Jews' Gates. Seeing this, Igor' and Svjatoslav and his nephew Vsevolodič

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[48] I.e., Igor' sees that the Kievans have joined Izjaslav, since they have his banner and his commander.

[49] pod" otgorody

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did not become alarmed, but set out against Izjaslav. It was impossible for them to reach Nadov Lake, and they went around the lake; and there they were between two ravines, one from the lake and one from the Suxaja Lybed' River. And there troops were crowded together, and they were harmed by that.

At that time the Berendej rode in to take the regiment with sabers and began to fight them. And Igor' and Svjatoslav fled to the Dorogožič District cliffs,[50] and Izjaslav, with his son Mstislav and his retinue, rode into their flank and began to fight them, and they were separated from each other.

And no one was left with Igor', and Igor' fled into the Dorogožič swamp. And his horse got caught in the mire, and it could not carry him[51] because it was hurt in the legs. His brother Svjatoslav fled to the mouth of the Desna River, across the Dnepr River; Svjatoslav Vsevolodič fled into Kiev into the monastery of St. Irene and they captured him there. And they pursued them (Igor's retinue) to Vyšgorod to the Dnepr River, to the Kiev ford. Some of them were cut down, and others perished in the water; many were killed.[52]

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[50] v" Sludovy Dorogož'č'skija (See Sreznevskij, Volume III, column 426.)

[51] ne može emu jati

[52] sekušče ja a drugyja vo vode izbivaxu i mnogim" padenie bys

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CHAPTER III

THE REIGN OF IZJASLAV MSTISLAVIČ: THE YEARS 1146 AND 1147

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF IZJASLAV, SON OF MSTISLAV, IN KIEV. Izjaslav, looking up into heaven, praised God and the power of the life-giving cross for thus helping him. With great glory and honor he entered Kiev, and a multitude of people came out to meet him, and the abbots and the monks and the priests of the entire city of Kiev in vestments. And he went to St. Sophia Cathedral and paid homage to the Holy Mother of God, and he sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father.

And he brought Svjatoslav to him and said to him: "You are my sister's son," and began to take him about at his side. They captured many boyars: Daniil the Great, Jurij Prokop'ič, Igor' Jur'evič, Miroslav's grandson, and they captured many others in the city of Kiev. And then they released them for ransom.

This happened[1] by the help of God and the power of the life-giving cross, and by the intercession of St. Michael and the prayers of the Holy Mother of God. This

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[1] se že est'

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battle was on the thirteenth of August on Tuesday. Four days later, having captured Igor' in the swamp, they brought him to Izjaslav, and he sent him to Vydobyckij Monastery and put him in chains; and then he sent him to Perejaslavl' and put him in prison in the monastery of St. John.

And the Kievans and Izjaslav plundered the homes of Igor's and Vsevolod's retinues, and their villages and herds; and they took a great deal of property in the houses and monasteries. Svjatoslav fled to Černigov with a small retinue. He sent to his brothers, saying to Vladimir and Izjaslav: "Brothers, do you stand by the kissing of the cross, which you kissed five days ago?" They said: "We stand by it." And Svjatoslav said to them: "I am leaving you my man Kosnjatko, if you want him with you." And he himself went to Kursk, to settle the people. From there he went to Novgorod (Seversk). The Polovci princes, hearing what had happened to Igor', sent to Izjaslav, asking for peace.

And the two Davidovičі began to plot secretly, away from Svjatoslav's man. News came to Kosnjatko, Svjatoslav's man, that the Davidovičі were plotting to capture his brother Svjatoslav. And Kosnjatko sent to his prince, saying: "Prince, they plot against you, they want to capture you. If the two brothers send for you, do not go to them."

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But the cunning, insidious devil, not liking good between brothers, and wanting to add evil to evil, put the thought into them not to seek /to free/ their brother Igor' or remember their family, the oath of the cross, or the love of God, or likewise that it is good for brothers to live together, being of one mind, guarding their patrimony; but transgressing the oath of the kissing of the cross,[2] they forgot the fear of God, and they sent to Izjaslav: "As Igor' was evil to you, so he was also to us; hold him strongly." And to Svjatoslav they sent and said: "Go from Novgorod (Seversk) to Putivl', and abandon[3] your brother Igor'."

Svjatoslav said: "I do not want territory or anything else, only let my brother come to me." They then said: "Kiss the cross to us that you will not ask for your brother or seek him, and keep the territory." Svjatoslav, weeping, sent to Jurij in Suzdal'; he said:

> "God took my brother[4] Vsevolod, but Izjaslav took Igor'; go into the Russian land, into Kiev. Have mercy, find my brother; and I, here, hoping in God and the power of the life-giving cross, will help you."

In that same time, by the mercy of God, Vladimir Svja-

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[2] krest'noje utverženije

[3] liši sja

[4] bratama/bratoma (?)

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toslavič, grandson of Jaroslav, fled from his uncle to Svjatoslav in Novgorod; and then Ivan Berladnik[5] fled to him with his troops. In that same time, Svjatoslav sent to the Polovci, to his uncles, and they promptly sent three hundred men to him.

Izjaslav, leading Svjatoslav Vsevolodič to /kiss/ the cross, gave him Bužsk and Mežibož'e /and other cities/, five cities in all, and brought him out of the city of Vladimir. Vjačeslav, hearing this and putting his hope in his seniority, and heeding his boyars, did not pay homage to Izjaslav and took away the cities which Vsevolod had taken from him. Not only that, but he also occupied the city of Vladimir (Volynskij). And he place (Vladimir) Andreevič there to rule.

Izjaslav, hearing this, sent his brother Rostislav and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič against his uncle Vjačeslav, and they took Turov from him and captured Ioakim, bishop of Turov, and his (Vjačeslav's) commissioner Žiroslav Ivankovič. /Izjaslav/ placed his son Jaroslav there to rule in Turov.

The Davidovičі said: "We have begun an evil thing; we will finish the fratricide. Let us go, we will uproot Svjatoslav, and we will take over his territory." They conferred then and asked Izjaslav to go against Svjatoslav to

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[5]Ivan Rostislavič of Galič; Berlad is his native city (Solov'ev p. 445).

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Novgorod (Seversk). In that same year Izjaslav went to the Davidoviči to a meeting and said to them: "Go against Svjatoslav Ol'govič." And he sent his son Mstislav with them and warriors from Perejaslavl' and Berendej. He said to them:

> "Go against him; if he does not flee before you, stay near him. If you become tired, then I will come to you with fresh troops,[6] and I will stay and continue the siege, and you will go back to your homes."

And they went to Novgorod; having arrived, they camped and spent the night. And from there archers went from the camp to the city, to the Černigov gates, and there they fought a great deal. The next day they prepared themselves and went to the Kursk gates. And Mstislav Izjaslavič sent to Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and said to them: "Your brother and my father said this: 'Do not approach the city until I come.' And we will do as we agreed." They said: "We will do as our brother ordered." And they did not approach the city, but they camped nearby.

And Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and Mstislav Izjaslavič all came together in the same place, and they sent their archers--both Christians and Berendej--to the city, but they themselves stayed with their regiments. And they began to fight, and it was very bad for the citizens:

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[6] a ja pak" čel" (cel") pridu k vam"

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They penetrated the protective gates, and many were killed and wounded by them. In that same confrontation they killed Dmitrij Žiroslavič and Andrej Lazarevič.

Fighting until night, and then leaving, they camped at the village of Mel'tekovo. Sending from there, they plundered Igor''s and Svjatoslav's herds in the forest by the river Raxna; [they took] three thousand mares and one thousand stallions. Sending to the villages, they burned supplies[7] and residences.

At the same time Svjatoslav sent to Jurij [Vladimirič Rostovskij (Dolgorukij)], and Jurij kissed the cross to him that he would seek his brother Igor'. And Jurij came to help him.

Izjaslav Mstislavič, hearing that Jurij was coming to the aid of Svjatoslav, sent across the steppe to Rostislav Jaroslavič in Rjazan.' And Izjaslav himself mounted his horse and went against Svjatoslav in Novgorod, where Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and his[8] son Mstislav were. Rostislav, heeding Izjaslav Mstislavič, began to occupy[9] his territory.

The news reached Jurij that Rostislav was attacking his

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[7] žita

[8] Presumably, Izjaslav Davidovič's.

[9] stereči

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territory. Jurij sent his son Ivanko to Svjatoslav, and he himself returned from Kozel'sk. Ivanko Jur'evič went to Svjatoslav in Novgorod and Svjatoslav gave him Kursk and the lands along the river Sejm.

Having conferred with his men, Svjatoslav sent his priest to the two Davidovičі, saying to them: "My brothers, you have conquered my land and taken my herds; you have captured my brother and burned my stores, and you have destroyed all that I have...[10]

...according to the teaching of the devil. And they were still not satisfied but captured Igor''s village, where he had built a fine estate. And much was stored in the granary and in the cellar there was wine and meat and all sorts of heavy goods, like iron and copper; there was so much of it that it could not all be carried out. The Davidovičі ordered it to be put onto carts and taken. Then they ordered the estate, the church of St. George, and the hay barn, in which there were nine hundred haystacks, to be burned.

And the Davidovičі--Izjaslav and Vladimir--and Mstislav

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[10]Seven lines omitted here from text; according to Solov'ev (p. 446), the content of the omission is: "... ...Now all that is left is for you to kill me.' The Davidovičі answered as before, telling him to leave his brother; Svjatoslav also replied as before: 'I would rather die than abandon my brother; I will seek him as long as my soul remains in my body.' The Davidovičі continued to lay waste to the territory of the Ol'goviči."

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Izjaslavič came together, and having conferred, they sent for Izjaslav Mstislavič, and they themselves went to Putivl' on Christmas. They came up to the city and the people of Putivl' did not surrender to them; [they were resisting] until Izjaslav arrived with the Kievan forces. They fought mightily from the city.

The Davidovičі rode up to the city and said to them: "Do not fight. We swear by the Holy Mother of God that we will not give you over into captivity." But they did not surrender to them. And Izjaslav Mstislavič came to them with his troops. They then sent to Izjaslav Mstislavič and paid homage to him, and said thus: "We have waited, prince; kiss the cross to us." Izjaslav kissed the cross to them. He took away their commissioner and put his own over them.

And they divided Svjatoslav's estate into four parts, including the barn and granary, and goods which were impossible to move. And in the cellars were nine berkovecy[11] of mead and eighty korcaga[12] of wine. They robbed the Church of the Holy Ascension of silver dishes, royal vestments and clerical vestments all embroidered with gold, two censers

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[11]A measure equalling 160 kilograms.

[12]Jug, a measure of volume.

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and a small hand censer, a Evangelion bound in metal,[13] and books and bells. The princes did not leave anything, but divided everything. And they took seven hundred men as slaves.

And news came to Svjatoslav that Izjaslav Mstislavič had come and taken his city and everything which was in it. One of his father's men, who had been with Vladimir, told him that Izjaslav was coming and wanted to surround [and lay siege to] Novgorod. Svjatoslav then told Ivanko Jur'evič, Ivan Rostislavič Berladnik, and his retinue, and the wild Polovci, his uncles, Tjunrako Osulukovič and his brother Kamos: "Lo, Izjaslav Mstislavič is coming against me. Let us be concerned about ourselves."

They said: "Prince, do not delay; leave. There is no reason for you to be here, there are no supplies or anything here.[14] Go to the forest land, and from there you can send to your father Jurij; you will be near him." And so Svjatoslav fled from Novgorod to Koračev. Some of his retinue followed him, but others left him. His wife and children and his brother Igor''s wife he took with him.

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[13] eougae kovano; evangelie=Evangelion, a book of Gospel lessons.

[14] netut' ni žita ni čto

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The Novgorod-Seversk retinue...[15] ...becoming angry, he (Izjaslav Davidovič) said to his brothers: "Let me go after him; if he himself escapes me, I will take away from him his wife and children and his property." Thus, having gained permission from Izjaslav Mstislavič and his brother Vladimir, he went, taking Izjaslav's military commander Švarn and his brother's retinue. /He went/ from Putivl' to Sev'sko and to Boldyž . The way to Koračev was direct for him. And there suppliers[16] came to them, for they had captured three Berendej men from them (Svjatoslav's troops). Svjatoslav, finding out that they had come against him, sent the wild Polovci against them, and they captured a few Berendej from them.

News came to Svjatoslav that Izjaslav Davidovič was advancing against him, and boasting, he took over his brother's retinue; he went without carts, on horses, with three thousand men. Svjatoslav so loved his wife and children and retinue that he preferred to die than give

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[15]Seven lines omitted in text: Solov'ev has (p. 447): "The people of Novgorod-Seversk let Izjaslav know that Svjatoslav had fled from them. This news greatly vexed the Davidoviči; they knew that as long as Svjatoslav was free he would not stop seeking his brother's freedom."

[16]zažitnici

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them into slavery.[17]

Svjatoslav, having conferred with his brothers and with the Polovci and his men, relying on God and on the Holy Mother of God, went out to meet him, on Thursday in the month of January on the seventeenth day; on that day was the placing of chains[18] on St. Peter the apostle. And so God and the power of the life-giving cross drove them (Svjatoslav's enemies) away.

Izjaslav Mstislavič and Vladimir Davidovič sent their brother Izjaslav and Švarn; they followed him. Having arrived at Boldyž Forest, they stopped there for dinner. And a man came to Izjaslav Mstislavič and said to him: "Svjatoslav defeated your brother Izjaslav and your retinue." Izjaslav Mstislavič, hearing that, became greatly angered[19] at Svjatoslav. And he felt very brave and strong to go into battle. He prepared his troops and went against Svjatoslav to the city of Koračev. And Vladimir Davidovič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič went with him. The fleeing retinue met them and returned to Koračev.

For a long time Izjaslav (Davidovič) did not come--

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[17] Stoslavu že by iz golovy ljubov" iže dati ženu i deti i družinu na polon" ljubo golovu svoju složiti

[18] Verigi = chains worn on the body for religious/aesthetic purposes.

[19] ražeže srdce

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until midday--when he came to where Izjaslav Mstislavič and Vladimir Davidovič were. All that day they travelled, until night, towards Koračev. They camped, not having reached Koračev. It was time to go to sleep when news came to them from Koračev that Svjatoslav had heard from friends that Izjaslav Mstislavič and his brother were coming against him to Koračev. And they fought a great deal at Koračev, and Svjatoslav Ol'govič fled into the forest in the territory of the Vjatiči.

/Izjaslav Mstislavič/ said to his two brothers, Izjaslav and Vladimir Davidovič: "I have acquired the territory you wanted; Novgorod (Seversk) and what you wanted of Svjatoslav's territory are yours." And he himself returned to Kiev. Then he said: "Whatever is Igor''s in that territory, slaves or property, that is mine; and whatever is Svjatoslav's, slaves or property, we will divide." And they did that.

Izjaslav Mstislavič came to Kiev, and Igor' had fallen ill in prison and he was very ill. And Igor' sent to Izjaslav, entreating and requesting,[20] saying:

> "Brother, I am very ill, and I ask you that I may be allowed to become a monk. For I had thought about becoming a monk while I was still a ruling prince. Now I am in great need and very ill, and I do not hope to live."

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[20] moljasja i klanjajasja

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He then took pity on him and said: "If you have thought about being tonsured, that is your will; but I will release you even aside from that, because of your illness." And then sending, he ordered that he be released,[21] and so they took him out of prison very ill and carried him to a (monk's) cell. Only on the eighth day after this did God return his soul, for during that time he was unable to eat or drink.[22] And Bishop Evfimij was ordered to tonsure him; then God took away his illness. And they brought him to Kiev to the monastery of St. Theodore and he called the abbot and his brothers. And accomplishing what he had promised,[23] he was tonsured in the monastery of St. Theodore into the highest monastic rank.

And the Davidovičі went to Dobrjansk, and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič went to Koračev and sent to Kozel'sk to his uncle Svjatoslav, saying to him: "Izjaslav Mstislavič went to Kiev, and the Davidovičі and Rostislav of Smolensk want to come after you." And then the Davidovičі arrived and camped in Dobrjansk, and Svjatoslav sent from Kozel'sk to Dedoslavl', then to the Oster River, and there Ivanko

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[21] povele nad nim porub" rozoimati; i.e., the prison was subterranean and the roof/lid was taken off to enter and exit.

[22] do osmogo že dni tolko (toliko) emu B" dšju voroti ne možašet' bo ni piti ni esti

[23] sveršiv" že sja obeščal" postrižesja

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Berladnik left him and went to Prince Rostislav of Smolensk, having taken from Svjatoslav two hundred griv'nas of silver and twelve griv'nas of gold.

Svjatoslav arrived at the little town of Koltesk, and there Jurij sent him in aid a thousand Berendej of the Belozersk retinue. Svjatoslav, taking over the retinue, wanted to go with the Belozersk retinue against the Davidoviči to Dedoslavl'. And at that time, Ivanko Jur'evič began to lose his strength and was very ill. Svjatoslav did not leave him, nor did he let the retinue go.

The Davidoviči, having heard that Jurij had sent help to him (Svjatoslav), did not dare to go after him, but called the Vjatiči together and said to them: "This is an enemy of ours and of yours; capture him and kill him by deceit and kill his retinue, and his property is yours.[24] And they (the Davidoviči) returned from Dedoslavl'.

In that same time the two Jur'eviči, Rostislav and Andrej, went to Rjazan' against Rostislav Jaroslavič. Rostislav fled from Rjazan' to the Polovci to El'tuk.[25] In that same time, Svjatoslav sent his warriors to the Polovci, giving them many gifts; of them we have written previously. Many Polovci went with them.

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[24]See footnotes 72-74, columns 337-338 in text.

[25]See footnote 4, columns 339-340, ibid.

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In that same time, Ivanko Jur'evič died in February on the twenty-fourth, on Monday of the week before Lent. And on the next day, his two brothers Boris and Gleb came, and they held a great lamentation over him. And then, having prepared his body, they went with him to Suzdal', to his father, with sadness.

And Svjatoslav returned and went to the upper reaches of the Oka River, and having arrived, halted at the mouth of the Protva River in the city of Lobyns'k,[26] and there Jurij sent to him; consoling him, he said: "Do not grieve about my son. If God took that one, then I will send you another son." Jurij sent many gifts of fabric and fur, and gave magnificently also to his (Svjatoslav's) wife and retinue.

In the year 1147, Jurij set out to make war on the territory of Novgorod. Having arrived, he captured Novyj Torg[27] and all of the area around the Msta River. Jurij sent to Svjatoslav and ordered him to make war on the territory of Smolensk. Svjatoslav went and conquered the Goljad'[28] at the upper reaches of the Protva River; then Svjatoslav's retinue became rich with prisoners.

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[26]Or Ljubynsk, Kolbynsk (See footnotes 22 and 53, columns 339-40).

[27]Novyj (=New) Torg = Toržok (Solov'ev, p. 793).

[28]Goljad' - a Lithuanian tribe (ibid., p.792)

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Jurij sent, saying: "Come to me, brother, in Moscow." Svjatoslav went to him with his child Oleg and a small retinue; he took with him Vladimir Svjatoslavič (of Rjazan'). Oleg went ahead (of Svjatoslav) to Jurij and gave him a panther pelt. And his father Svjatoslav came after him, and so they two (Svjatoslav and Jurij) greeted one another lovingly on Friday, on the Day of Praise of the Holy Mother of God,[29] and then they celebrated.[30]

On the next day Jurij ordered a great dinner to be prepared and honored them greatly; and he gave Svjatoslav many gifts with love. And he gave gifts to his son Oleg and to Vladimir Svjatoslavič and Svjatoslav's men. And then he took leave of them.[31] And Jurij promised to send his son to him (Svjatoslav) and he did so.

From there Svjatoslav returned to Lobyn'sk and from there he went to Nerin'sk. Having crossed the Oka River, he halted. And it was Palm Sunday, and the good elder died--Petr Iljič, who was his father's man,[32] who because of his age could not mount a horse; he was ninety years old.

In that same year, Izjaslav appointed Klim Smoljatič (of Smolensk) Metropolitan of Kiev, having brought him from

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[29] April 15

[30] byša veseli

[31] otpusti i (ja)

[32] otca ego (emu) muž'

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the city of Zarub. He was a monk of the highest order and a scholar and philosopher the like of which has never been in the Russian land.

And the bishop of Černigov said: "I consider it proper for the bishops to meet and appoint the metropolitan." And they met together: Onofrij, bishop of Černigov, Fedor, bishop of Belgorod, Evfimij, bishop of Perejaslavl', Dem'-jan, bishop of Jur'ev, Fedor, bishop of Vladimir, Nifont, bishop of Novgorod, and Manuel, bishop of Smolensk. They said:

> "That is not in our laws, for a bishop to appoint a metropolitan without a patriarch, but a patriarch must appoint a metropolitan. And we will not pay homage to you or hold church services[33] with you, since you have not received a blessing from St. Sophia or from the patriarch. If you correct this, we will pay homage to you. We received a notice[34] from Metropolitan Michael that it is not proper for us to hold services in St. Sophia without a metropolitan. He is heavy at heart against us because of this."

Onofrij of Černigov said: "I consider it proper for us to appoint (a metropolitan); our leader is St. Clement, just as the Greeks appoint by the hand of St. John." And so the bishops, having consulted, appointed a metropolitan by the authority[35] of St. Clement.

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[33] služive

[34] rukopisanie

[35] slavoju, (probably) for glavoju; see footnote 20, columns 341-342.

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Svjatoslav, having arrived, halted at Nerin'sk. And then there came to him emissaries from the Polovci, from his uncles. They had sent sixty people with Vasilij Poločanin. They said: "We inquire about your health; and whenever you order us /to come/ to you, we will come with /our/ forces."

In that same time, a youth[36] fled there from Rus', and they told him that Vladimir was in Černigov and Izjaslav at the city of Starodub. Svjatoslav went to Dedoslavl' and there other Polovci, the Toksobiči, came to him, and he appointed to lead[37] them Sudimir Kucebic and Goren. And he sent them against the people of Smolensk, and they conquered the upper reaches of the Ugra River.

In that same time, Vladimir's and Izjaslav's (Davidoviči) commissioners fled from the territory of the Vjatiči, from Dobrjansk and from Mcensk and from Blev; and from there he (Svjatoslav) went to Devjagorsk; he went, capturing all the territory of the Vjatiči and Dobrjansk and the land around the Desna River up to Vorobin, Domagošč and Mcensk.

In that same time, troops from the city of Brody and many Polovci of his family came to him. In that same time

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[36]decky/detsky--otrok knjaževskij (Sreznevskij, Volume I, column 798).

[37]See Solov'ev, pp. 714-715 and 784.

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Izjaslav Davidovič went from Novgorod to Černigov. In that same time Gleb Jur'evič came to Svjatoslav to Devjagorsk and from there they went to Mcensk with Svjatoslavič and Jur'evič and the Polovci. And there, giving them many gifts, he went to the city against Izjaslavic.

And on the day of Salvation,[38] messengers from Vladimir Davidovič and Vsevolodič reached him, saying: "Do not hold any grievance against us about that matter, but let us all be allies;[39] forget our evil and kiss the cross to us, and take your patrimony. And whatever we have taken of yours we will return to you." And they kissed the cross and did not uphold their oath.[40]

That same year Vladimir sent Izjaslav Davidovič from Černigov to Izjaslav, prince of Kiev, saying:

> "Brother, Svjatoslav Ol'govič has taken my territory, and land of the Vjatiči. Let us go against him; if we drive him out, then let us go against Jurij in Suzdal'. Either we will make peace with him or we will fight him."

Izjaslav Mstislavič conferred with the two Davidoviči and with Svjatoslav Vsevolodič about whether to go against Jurij and Svjatoslav.

At that time Svjatoslav Vsevolodič was holding

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[38](?) v"Spaši/v"spadši

[39]no budemy vsi za odin" muž'

[40]upraviša

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Izjaslav's Bužsk and Mežibož'e and Kotel'nica, five cities in all; and he came to Izjaslav and began to ask him, saying: "Father, let me go ahead to Černigov. All of my life is there. I want to ask my brothers, Izjaslav and Vladimir, for territory." He then said: "Son, since you are entirely ready to do it,[41] go ahead quickly." And Svjatoslav went to Černigov.

And the princes of Černigov, having conferred, sent to Izjaslav, asking him to come, saying: "Our land is being destroyed, but you do not want to come." Izjaslav called together his boyars and all his retinue and the people of Kiev and said to them:

> "I have conferred with my brothers Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and with Svjatoslav Vsevolodič; we want to go to Suzdal' against Jurij, my uncle, since he has befriended[42] Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and against Svjatoslav. And we will take my brother Rostislav with us there. He will come[43] to me with troops from Smolensk and Novgorod."

The Kievans, hearing this, said: "Prince, do not go with Rostislav against your uncle. It would be better for you to make peace with the Ol'goviči. Do not have faith in them or campaign with them." Izjaslav said to them:

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[41] tako ti i gorazdo gotov" budi na perede idi dospei že na put'

[42] prijal"

[43] at' idet

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"They kissed the cross to me, and I have conferred[44] with them, and in any case I do not want to desist from this campaign. Make ready for it." The Kievans then said: "Prince, do not be angry at us; we cannot raise our hands against the family of Vladimir. If /you wanted to campaign/ against the Ol'goviči, then /we would go/ gladly and with our children." Izjaslav said to them: "He who follows me is a good man." And saying that, he gathered a great many warriors and set out.

He went to along Lto and from there to Nežatin. And from there he sent Uleb to Černigov and left his brother Vladimir in Kiev. Uleb went into Černigov and found out that Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič had kissed the cross to Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and that they wanted to kill Izjaslav by deceit.

Uleb, hearing this, hurried to Izjaslav, his prince, and told him that the Černigov princes had left him and had kissed the cross against him. And news came to him from friends in Černigov:

> "Prince, do not go anywhere from where you are. They are deceiving you.[45] They want to kill you, or capture you in place of Igor'.[46] And they kissed the cross to

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[44] vmeste dumu dumal"

[45] vedut' tja lest'ju

[46] I.e., to have him as prisoner to trade for Igor' Ol'govič.

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> Svjatoslav Ol'govič. And they sent from there to Jurij with the cross. They have also conspired with him against you."

Izjaslav, hearing this, returned and sent his messengers to Černigov to Vladimir and his brother Izjaslav (Davidovič), and said to them:

> "We have planned a great campaign and we have affirmed /the plan/ in the manner of our grandfathers and our fathers: we have kissed the cross. And let us affirm that again, so that on this campaign there will be no quarrels of any kind or any deceit, but that we will go on this campaign in truth and fight against those who oppose us."

They answered him: "Why should we kiss the cross to you for no reason, for we have already kissed it to you, and what then have we done wrong?"[47] And they did not want to kiss the cross.

Izjaslav Mstislavič's emissary said to them: "Is it wrong to kiss the cross again in love? That will bring us salvation."[48] But they did not want to do that. Izjaslav has said to his emissary: "If they cannot kiss the cross with love to you, tell them what we have heard." And Izjaslav's emissary said to them /for Izjaslav/:

> "If you stand by the kissing of the cross, then I am a brother to you, I will reveal

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[47] tako li nam" bez" lepa xrst" celovati xrst" bo esme celovali k tobe a koe nasa vina

[48] kotoryj grex" ože na ljubvi xrst" celovati to ny sobe na spsnie

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> what has come to my ears: that you deceive me, and that you have kissed the cross to Svjatoslav Ol'govič that on this campaign you will either capture me or kill me in Igor''s place. Is that so, brothers, or not?"

They could not answer but only looked at each other, and they were silent for a long time.

And Vladimir said to Izjaslav's emissary: "Go back, sit for a while,[49] we will call you back. They conferred a long time, because they were exposed,[50] and then they called him. They said:

> "Brother, we have kissed the cross to Svjatoslav Ol'govič, for it is a pity to us that you hold our brother Igor', and he is already a monk of the highest order. Let our brother go and we will follow you. Would you be pleased if we held your brother?"

And so Izjaslav's emissary came and told Izjaslav that they had defected from him.

Izjaslav sent his emissary back to them with papers to sign attesting their oath,[51] and he said to them:

> "You have kissed the cross and sworn on your life,[52] and I have given you Svjatoslav's and Igor''s territories. I have driven away

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[49] poidi von" posedi

[50] zane obliceni sut'

[51] xrs'nymi gramotami (dogovornye gramoty; Solov'ev p. 450).

[52] este krst" celovali do života svoego

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> Svjatoslav from you, and I obtained his territory for you; I gave you Novgorod and Putivl', and we have taken his possessions and divided his property into parts, and I took Igor''s. Brothers, you have transgressed the /oath of the cross/, and deceived me, wanting to kill me. May God and the power of the life-giving cross be with me, and let it be as God wills for me."[53]

Saying that, he left the papers for a treaty before them.

In that same time, Izjaslav sent his emissary to his brother Rostislav in Smolensk and said to him:

> "Brother, Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič had kissed the cross to us and had planned to go with us against our uncle. And /now/ they want to kill me by deceit, but God and the power of the cross revealed /their plan to me/; and now, brother, do not go where we had before planned to go against our uncle, but come here to me, and prepare the soldiers of Novgorod and Smolensk. Let them restrain Jurij. And let us send to our allies in Rjazan' and everywhere."

In that same time Izjaslav sent to Kiev to his brother Vladimir--for Izjaslav had left him in Kiev--and to the metropolitan, Klim, and to Lazar' the military commander, and he said to them: "Call the people of Kiev together at the courtyard of St. Sophia. Let my emissary say my speech to them and tell them of the deceit of the Černigov princes." And the Kievans all gathered, great and small, at

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[53]This is a euphemism ending negotiations; it means that the differences will be resolved by battle.

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the courtyard of St. Sophia; they held a veche.[54]

And Izjaslav's emissary said to them:

> "Your prince greets you /and says to you/: 'I have appealed to you before, that I have planned with my brother Rostislav and with Vladimir and Izjaslav, the two Davidoviči, to campaign against my uncle Jurij. And I have asked to you /to go/ with me and you have said that you cannot[55] raise your hands against the tribe of Vladimir, against Jurij, and that you will only campaign against the Ol'goviči, and against them you will go with me with your children. I inform you that Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič--to whom I have done much good--have kissed the cross to me. Now they have kissed the cross in secret from me to Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and they have sent to Jurij. They have deceived me: they wanted to capture me or to kill me for Igor'. But God and the true cross, which they kissed to me, saved me. Now, brothers, Kievans, do what you wanted, what you promised me. Follow me to Černigov against the Ol'goviči.[56] Gather everyone, great and small: whoever has a horse /should come on a horse/; whoever does not have a horse should come in a boat. For it was not me alone they wished to kill, but they also wanted to destroy[57] you."

The Kievans then said: "We are glad that God delivered you from great deceit. Our brother, we will follow you,

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[54] v"stavšem že im" v" veči

[55] "You cannot...with your children" is in first-person, a direct quote, in the text.

[56] Or Ol'govič (Svjatoslav): see column 348.

[57] iskoreniti

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and with our children, as you wish."

And one man said:

> "We will gladly follow our prince, but let us consider this first: how they acted previously in the reign of Izjaslav Jaroslavič; evil people brought Vseslav out of prison and established him as their prince. And much evil occurred to our city because of that. And now Igor', an enemy of our prince and of ours, is not in prison but in the St. Theodore monastery. Let us kill him and then we will follow our prince to Černigov, and we will finish with them."

The people, hearing this, set out from there against Igor' in St. Theodore's.

And Vladimir said to them: "My brother did not ask you to do that. Igor' is watched by guards; let us go to my brother, /as/ he asked us." The Kievans then said: "We know that with that family (the Ol'goviči) nothing will end in good, either for us or for you, at any time."[58] The metropolitan and Lazar', a military commander, and Ragujlo, Vladimir's military commander, forbid them to kill Igor'. But they began to shout and set out to kill him.

Vladimir, mounting his horse, pursued (them); and the people were going along the bridge, and he could not pass through them. He turned his horse to the right past Gleb's estate. The Kievans hastened ahead of Vladimir.

Igor', hearing /them coming/, went into the church of

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[58] koli ljubo

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St. Theodore and sighed from the depths of his heart with saddened and humbled understanding, and he shed tears and remembered all of Jehovah's words.[59] And he was pondering in his heart how such different deaths and passions had come to righteous men; and how the holy prophets and apostles were crowned as martyrs and shed their blood for the Lord; and how many of the holy blessed martyrs /and/ most-worthy fathers received many misfortunes and bitter tortures and various deaths, being tempted by the devil, like gold in a crucible: "They were, by their prayers, Lord, elected into Your flock; count me in with the elected sheep, the worthy sheep."

And /he was saying/ how the holy orthodox tsars shed their blood guarding their people, and moreover, /how/ our Lord Jesus Christ redeemed the world from the deceit of the devil with His precious blood. And saying this, he was comforted; and then he said:

> "Lord, look down upon my weakness and see my humility and terrible sadness and grief, which have now overcome me. In You do I trust, I will endure. For You, Savior, have said: 'He who believes in me, when he dies, will live forever.' And for all this I thank You, Lord, that You have humbled my soul, and deigned me to come into the light from this dark and vain and brief life, and taken me into Your kingdom.[60]

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[59] vsja Iiovova

[60] v" crstvii tvoem" pričast'nika

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> You have shown me Your imperishable and indescribable goodness with all those who are righteous and pleasing to You, Lord."

They rushed at him like ferocious beasts and captured him during vespers in the church of St. Theodore; and they tore off the monk's habit which he wore. He then said to them:

> "Oh, lawbreakers, enemies of all truth, deniers of Christ: why do you want to murder me like a robber, when you have kissed the cross to me, saying that you would have me as your prince? Now all of that has already been forgotten, since God deigned me to become a monk."

The evil and godless group[61] cried out more, saying "Kill! Kill!"

And they pulled him out of his coat.[62] He then spoke out strongly[63] saying: "Oh sinners, you do not know what you do. For you commit an ignorant act if you leave all of my body naked. For I came out of my mother's womb naked and naked I will leave here." And after he said that, they took him and brought him out of the monastery.

And Vladimir met him at the monastery gates, and Igor' said, looking up at him: "Oh brother, where are they taking me?" And Vladimir jumped down from his horse and covered

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[61] lukavyi že nečstivyi sbor"

[62] svitka

[63] velmi

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him with his cloak, saying to the Kievans: "My brothers, you cannot do this evil thing. Do not kill Igor'." And Vladimir took him to the gates of his mother's estate, and there they began to beat Igor', and they struck Vladimir while beating Igor'.

Mixail saw that and jumped from his horse, wanting to help Vladimir. Vladimir then rushed him (Igor') into his mother's estate, and closed the gates. Beating Mixail, they tore off of him a cross on a chain, and in it was a griv'na of gold.

A great many were beating Igor', and Vladimir Mstislavič pushed his way in and jumped from his horse and saved Igor'.[64] And Igor' arose and went into Mstislav's estate. And then the people took Vladimir and were going to attack him in place of Igor'.[65] Then [some] of the crowd that was standing there saw Igor' fleeing into Mstislav's, and the crowd advanced and broke down the gates. And then they covered him with wounds.

Igor', wounded, said: "Lord, into Your hands I commit my spirit; take my soul into Your world." The lawless and merciless ones, having beaten him completely, left his body naked and, having tied his legs together with rope, they

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[64] pade na Igori

[65] xoteša ubiti pro Igorja

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dragged him away.[66]

He was still alive, his royal and holy body was being abused. And they dragged him from Mstislav's estate across the Babin marketplace to the prince's estate, and there they finished him.

And thus they killed him, Prince Igor', Oleg's son. He was good and a defender of his patrimony. He committed his spirit into the hands of God. And he cast off the robes of a mortal man and dressed himself in the immortal and multipassionate robe of Christ, by whom he was crowned, having experienced martyrdom, with the crown of immortality. And thus he went away to God in the month of September on the nineteenth, on Friday.

And they laid him on a cart, and from there took him to Podol to the marketplace; and they cast abuse on him--the lawless and unthinking, blinded in their eyes, knowing that God is an avenger and extracts payment for[67] guiltless blood. Believers, coming up, were taking blood off him and from the covering on his body for their own salvation and for healing. And they covered the nakedness of his body with their clothes.

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[66] uvoroziša (uvoločiša)

[67] vziščet'

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They told Vladimir that he had been cast into the marketplace, and he sent a military commander; arriving, he saw Igor' dead and cast down and said: "You have already killed Igor'. Let us bury his body." The Kievans said: "It was not we who killed him, but the Davidovičі and Vsevolodič, who planned evil against our prince, wanting to destroy him by deceit; but God and St. Sophia are for our prince."

And the military commander ordered Igor' to be taken away.[68] And they took him and laid him in the church of St. Michael. That night God manifested a great sign over him. All the candles in that church lit up over him. In the morning people from Novgorod came and told the metropolitan. The metropolitan forbid anyone to tell, but ordered that such a blessing of God as that which appeared over him be kept secret. When Saturday was dawning, the metropolitan sent the abbot to Ananij of St. Theodore. The abbot came and saw the naked body and covered him and chanted the customary hymns over him;[69] and he took him to the edge of the city into the monastery of St. Simeon, for his father and grandfather Svjatoslav were laid there in the monastery.

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[68] povele tysckoi vzjati Igorja

[69] otpe nad nim obyčnyja pes (pesni)

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In that same time, Izjaslav was halted at the upper reaches of the Supoj River and Vladimir sent to him there, telling him of the murder of Igor'. Izjaslav, hearing that, wept and said: "If I had known that it would be thus with him,[70] then I could have sent out farther to guard, and I could have saved[71] Igor'.

And Izjaslav said to his retinue:

> "I receive all kinds of blame from people, I cannot get away from it. This is what they say: 'Izjaslav ordered /Igor''s death/; but God is a witness that I did not order or direct. It is for God to judge that."

And his men said to him:

> "It is not good for you to worry about what people say, that Izjaslav killed him or ordered him to be killed, but, prince, God and all the people know that you did not kill him, but his brothers, who had kissed the cross to you and went back /on the oath/, and were going to deceive you and kill you."

Izjaslav then said: "If it has already been done, then we should all be there. And it is for God to judge." And he was displeased with the Kievans. And Izjaslav sent for Vladimir in Gorodec and for Rostislav in Smolensk.

And the news that they had killed Igor' came to Vladimir Davidovič. Vladimir sent to Svjatoslav Ol'govič and

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[70] ože sjako semu byti

[71] s"bljusti

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told him: "They killed your brother Igor'." He then called together the seniors of his retinue and revealed /the news/ to them. And then he wept bitterly for his brother.

And in that time Gleb Jur'evič came to him from Suzdal' and they two went to Kursk. Mstislav, hearing that Jur'evič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič were coming to Kursk against him, told the people of Kursk. And the people of Kursk said to Mstislav that: "We will gladly fight for you against the Ol'goviči, and with our children; but against the tribe of Vladimir, against a son of Jurij, we cannot raise our hands." Mstislav, hearing that, went to his father.

The people of Kursk sent to Jur'evič and took from him a commissioner, and he placed his commissioner over them; and himself set out with Svjatoslav and went from there to the Vyr' River. And Gleb Jur'evič placed his commissioners around the area of the river Sejm, across the steppe. And there he added[72] many Polovci to his army. They swore an oath with him.

And Svjatoslav Vsevolodič came to him there. And they sent to the people of the area around the Vyr' River, saying, "If you do not surrender to us, we will give you

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[72]vyrja (vyrjadi)

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to the Polovci as prisoners." They then said to them: "Izjaslav is our prince and we will not surrender to you."

And from there they went to the city of V'jaxan', and there they had no success. And from there they went to the city of Popaš'. Izjaslav Davidovič came to them there, and they fought and they captured Popaš'.

And at that time news came to Izjaslav Mstislavič that V'jaxan' and other cities defended themselves successfully, but they had captured Popaš'. Izjaslav Mstislavič gathered many troops, and help came to him from Vjačeslav, and a regiment came to him from Vladimir (Volynskij). And Izjaslav set out with his troops to Perejaslavl'.

And news came to him there from his brother Rostislav that Rostislav was already coming [to help him]. And so Rostislav's emissary said to him: "Your brother says, 'Wait for me. I have burned Ljubeč here and fought much, and I have done much evil to the Ol'goviči. And let us see together what God shows us [to do].'" And hearing this, Izjaslav went quietly, awaiting his brother Rostislav. And Izjaslav halted where the Black Grave is.

And there his brother Rostislav came to him with troops from Smolensk and a multitude of troops. And so Izjaslav, having joined his brother Rostislav, praised God, rejoicing in his brother.

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And he began to plan with his brother Rostislav and his retinue and with the Černye Klobuki [73] where they would go--across to the Sula River to them (the enemies), where they were camped. And Rostislav said to his brother Izjaslav:

> "Now, brother, God has brought us together in one place, and God has delivered you from great deceit, that they wanted either to capture you or to kill you. Now, brother, let us not delay, but go directly to them where they are. And let it be for us with them as God wills."[74]

Saying that, they set out to the Sula River.

Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and the Polovci heard that Izjaslav had already joined his brother Rostislav, and that they were coming against them. And that night the Polovci went from them to their own land,[75] and only a few Polovci remained with them. And they themselves went to Glebl', to Černigov.

And Izjaslav and Rostislav, hearing that the Polovci had already scattered, went to Černigov. And they began to plan with their men and their retinue and with the Černye Klobuki where they would go across the river to them. And

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[74] rasudit'

[75] poidoša v Polovci

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the retinue and the Černye Klobuki said to them: "Let us go across at Vsevolož'." Saying this, they set out against them.

They did not reach them at Vsevolož', for Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič had already gone past Vsevolož'. Izjaslav Mstislavič and his brother Rostislav did not go after them, but, having gone to Vsevolož' with their regiments, plundered the city of Vsevolož'. And people from two other cities had come into that one.

The people of Unenež', Belaja Veža, and Boxmač, hearing that Vsevolož' had been captured, fled to Černigov, and many people also fled from other cities. Izjaslav and Rostislav, hearing this, sent after them and pursued them across the steppe. And there they caught those from the three cities, but others escaped. Then Izjaslav ordered those cities to be burnt.

The residents of the little city of Glebl' heard about Unenež, Boxmač and Belaja Veža, but did not manage to flee. And then Izjaslav and his brother Rostislav, hearing that, went to Glebl'. Having arrived at Glebl', and having prepared, their troops went to the city and began to fight outside of the city.

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The fighting was heavy,[76] and having begun,[77] they fought from morning until evening. And then God and the Holy Mother of God and the Holy Martyrs (Boris and Gleb) delivered the city from terrible war.[78]

Izjaslav and his brother Rostislav returned from there and went to Kiev, saying to their retinue and the troops from Kiev and Smolensk: "Gather everyone. When the rivers stop (freeze) we will go to Černigov, and let it be as God wills with us." Arriving in Kiev, they praised God and paid homage in the holy churches.[79] And they abided there in happiness.

And having come to an agreement with him, Izjaslav said to his brother Rostislav:

> "Brother, God gave you the upper lands; go there against Jurij and you will have the warriors from Smolensk and Novgorod and other allies (to help you). Hold Jurij there. And I will remain here, and let it be as God wills with the two Ol'goviči and the two Davidoviči."

Rostislav then went to Smolensk. After the rivers had stopped (frozen), the Ol'goviči and the Davidoviči sent their retinue with Polovci, and they captured Bragin.

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[76] krepko b'juščimsja

[77] načen"še

[78] sil'nyja rati

[79] poklonistasja stym" crkvam"

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In that same year, Gleb Jur'evič went and occupied Gorodec (Osterskij), which was his father's, from Izjaslav. Izjaslav, hearing this, sent to him, calling him to him in Kiev. Gleb promised to go to him, but did not go, heeding Žiroslav, who was saying to him: "Go to Perejaslavl', the people of Perejaslavl' want you." Heeding him, he went in haste to Perejaslavl'.

The day was dawning and Mstislav was sleeping, and guards made their way through to his retinue. They said to him: "Do not sleep, prince. Gleb has come against you, having quickly brought together his retinue. Go out against him from the city." And Gleb stayed until the next day and turned back. Mstislav, gathering his retinue and warriors from Perejaslavl', pursued him. He reached them at Nosov on the river Rudnja and captured some of the retinue. And he (Gleb) himself went to Gorodec, and Mstislav went to Perejaslavl'.

And Izjaslav heard what had happened and gathered a retinue and Berendej and went against him to Gorodec. And Gleb sent to Vladimir and to Svjatoslav Ol'govič and said to them:[80] "Mstislav is coming against me; send me help." But they could not send any help. And Izjaslav went to Gorodec against Gleb and camped near the city three days.

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[80] emu

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Gleb Jur'evič, becoming afraid, came out of Gorodec and paid homage to Izjaslav. And he made peace with him. Izjaslav then returned to Kiev. Jur'evič sent to Vladimir, saying: "I have unwillingly kissed the cross to Izjaslav, since he had besieged me in the city; and you gave me no help. Now I want to be with you anyway and I am devoted to you."

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CHAPTER IV

THE REIGN OF IZJASLAV MSTISLAVIČ: THE YEARS 1148 AND 1149

In the year 1148, Izjaslav went back to Černigov, gathering his forces, and he sent and took a regiment from his uncle Vjačeslav. He brought troops from the Hungarians to help him, and he brought warriors from the city of Vladimir, and he gathered all his Berendej troops and went to Černigov. And having arrived, he halted at Ol'govo Field. And they stayed there three days. And Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Izjaslav and Vladimir Davidovič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič did not dare to come out of Černigov against Izjaslav.

Izjaslav stayed there and burned down all their villages as far as Bolovo. And Izjaslav began to say: "Now we have burned all their villages and all their property, and they do not come out to us; so let us go to Ljubeč, where all their property[1] is." And so Izjaslav, having considered, set out to Ljubeč. They marched for five days to Ljubeč, and Izjaslav halted near Ljubeč.

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[1] vsja žizn'

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And in that time Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič, Svjatoslav Ol'govič and his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič had come there, and princes from Rjazan' and Polovci came with them. And there is a river by Ljubeč; and having arrived, they camped, being protected by it (the river).[2]

On Sunday Izjaslav, having prepared his warriors for battle, set out against them. And he could not reach their troops because of the river. But the archers were shooting from both sides of the river. And on that night there was a very great rain.

On the next day Izjaslav, seeing that the Dnepr was swollen, said to his men and the Hungarians: "Now we cannot fight their troops here because of this river, but there behind us the ice in the Dnepr has broken. Let us go across the Dnepr." And having said that, Izjaslav set out across the Dnepr on Monday.

The next day the /ice on the/ Dnepr broke[3]. Izjaslav went along the other side (of the river) to Kiev. The Hungarians, however, were going hurriedly across the lake: there (the ice) on the lake broke, and some of them drowned.

Izjaslav arrived at Kiev and praised God and the power of the life-giving cross. And Izjaslav sent to Rostislav

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[2] založivšesja eju

[3] rušisja

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his brother and said to him:

> "Brother, I will reveal to you what happened. I have gone against the Ol'goviči to Černigov, and I stayed at Ol'govo Field. And I caused much harm to them; I have conquered their territory. And there they could not come to me to fight (my) troops. And from there I went to Ljubeč and there they came to us; and the river separated us from them, and we could not fight their regiments because of that river. And that night there was a great rain and there was a great deal of ice on the Dnepr. And because of that we went across /and/ along the other side. And so God and the Holy Mother of God and the power of the life-giving cross brought us in health to Kiev. And, brother, I ask you if you are in good health, and whether God helps you there."[4]

In that same time, Vladimir Davidovič sent to Svjatoslav Ol'govič and to Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and said: "Brothers, looking at the situation, I doubt that we can maintain a war." And Svjatoslav came to them, and they sent their emissaries to Jurij and said to him:

> "You have kissed the cross to us that you would go with us against Izjaslav. Now you have not come, but Izjaslav, having crossed the Desna River, has burned our cities and conquered our land. And then Izajslav, having come back to Černigov and camped on the Ol'govo Field, has burned our villages there, as far as up to Ljubeč. And they captured all of our property,[6] but you have not come to us; you attacked Rosti-

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[4] I.e., "...whether things go well for you there."

[5] na sja zrjašče

[6] vsju žizn' našju povoevali

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> slav. Now if you want to go against Izjaslav, go--we will be with you. If you do not go, we will be justified by the kissing of the cross.[7] But we cannot perish alone in war."

In that same time Gleb Jur'evič came to an agreement with the people of Perejaslavl' and went to them from Gorodec. Mstislav Izjaslavič, having found out that he was coming against him, went out against him with his troops, with the warriors of Perejaslavl'.

Gleb saw that Mstislav was coming against him. But Gleb had only a small number of men, and he said: "The people of Perejaslavl' deceived me. I cannot withstand them. Flee!" But they, having reached them, captured his retinue; they killed some and they captured Stanislavič there. And they imprisoned him in a terrible prison.[8] And they captured many others, and Gleb himself fled to Gorodec. And he could not bear to be there, and fled to Černigov to Vladimir Davidovič.

In that same time their emissaries came from Jurij, and they had not found there any assistance from him. Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič, Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič sent their emissaries to Izjaslav Mstislavič, seeking peace. And they were saying:

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[7] my esm' v" xrst'nom" celovan'i pravi

[8] kazniša kazn'ju zloju

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> "It was the same in the time of our grandfathers and our fathers. Peace comes before war, and war before peace. Do not now hold a grievance against us about that, that we began war;[9] we were aggrieved about our brother Igor', and we wanted for you to release our brother. But our brother was killed. And he went to God, where we will all go, and it is for God to judge what is right. But how long do we want to destroy the Russian land? And we have made peace."

Izjaslav then said to them:

> "Brothers, it is a good thing to care for[10] Christians. But you have conferred with each other, and I will go to my brother Rostislav and I will confer with him again. We will send our emissaries to you."

And saying that to them, he sent back their emissaries. And to Rostislav, his brother, he sent his men, saying to him:

> "The brothers Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič, Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič sent to me, asking for peace. And I want to confer with you again about what will please both of us. Does peace please you? Even if they have done evil to us, now they seek peace from us. Or if war pleases you, I will defer to you."

Rostislav answered his brother Izjaslav; he said:

> "Brother, I bow to you. You are older than me, and I am ready to do whatever pleases you.[11] If, brother, you honor me /by asking my advice/,[12] then I, brother, would say:

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[9] ustali na rat'

[10] bljusti

[11] ugadeši

[12] See Solov'ev, p. 55.

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> 'For the sake of the Russian land and Christians, brother, I prefer peace.' They initiated war; what success did they have? Now, brother, for the sake of Christians and all the Russian land, make peace. But let them lay aside emnity about Igor', and moreover, let them not do what they wanted to do before;[13] if they lay all that aside, then make peace. If they still have emnity because of Igor', then it would be better to be at war with them, and /in that case/, let it be with us as God wills."

Izjaslav, hearing that, sent Fedor, bishop of Belgorod, and Feodosij, abbot of the Pečersk (Caves) Monastery, and his men with them, to Černigov to Vladimir Davidovič and his brother Izjaslav, to Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, saying to them:

> "You kissed the cross to me that you would not seek your brother Igor', and you transgressed that oath. You have caused me enough vexation; I will forget all of that for the sake of the Russian land and Christians. If you sent to me for peace, and you repent what you wanted to do, kiss the cross now on this: that you will not have hostility about Igor', or do what you wanted to do before."

So they kissed the cross in the church of the Holy Savior to lay aside emnity about Igor', and to guard the Russian land, and to be all for one, as brothers.

That year in the fall, they gathered at a meeting at Gorodec: Izjaslav Mstislavič, Vladimir Davidovič and his brother Izjaslav. They were all there.

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[13] I.e., conspire against Izjaslav

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In that same time, the eldest of Jurij's sons, Rostislav, had come, having quarrelled with his father because his father had not given him territory in the Suzdal' area. And he came to Izjaslav in Kiev; paying homage to him, he said:

> "My father has offended me, and did not give me territory. And I have come, calling on God and you: since you are the eldest of us, of Vladimir's grandsons, I want to strive for the Russian land and to ride with you."

Izjaslav then said to him: "Your father is older than all of us, but he cannot live with us. But may God give me you and all your brothers and all your family to live with honorably, as with my own soul.[14] But not, if your father did not give you territory, then I will give it to you." And he gave him Bužsk, Mežibož'je, Kotel'nica and two other cities. And he took Rostislav Jur'evič with him to a council at Gorodec Osterskij.

And Izjaslav said to Vladimir Davidovič and his brother Izjaslav:

> "(My) brother Svjatoslav and my nephew did not come to me; and you have all kissed the cross on this, that if someone does evil to me, then you will help me against him. Now, then, brothers, I /want to/ confer with you. My uncle, Jurij from Rostov, harms[15] my city Novgorod and has

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[14] imeti...v" pravdu ako i dšju svoju

[15] obidet'

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> taken tribute from them, and attacks them[16] along their roads. And I want to campaign against him, and I want to take care of that matter, whether by peace or by war. And you have kissed the cross that you will be with me."

Vladimir then said: "Brother Svjatoslav and your nephew have not come, but you have; and we have all kissed the cross on this, that wherever offense is done to you, we will be there with you."

And so they decided their route, when the ice (on the river) set, to go against Jurij to Rostov. The two Davidoviči and Svjatoslav Ol'govič were to go against them via the land of the Vjatiči[17] to Rostov, and Izjaslav was to go to his brother Rostislav in Smolensk. And they were all to meet at the Volga River.

And then Izjaslav Mstislavič had Vladimir Davidovič and his brother Izjaslav to dinner. And having dined and abided there in happiness and love, they dispersed. Izjaslav went to Kiev and Vladimir Davidovič and his brother went to Černigov. And Izjaslav said to Rostislav Jur'evič: "Go to Bužsk, and stay there until I go against your father and either make peace with him or settle the matter in some other way. Until then, you guard the Russian land."

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[16] deet' pakosti

[17] na Vjatiče

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In that same time Rostislav of Smolensk asked Svjatoslav Ol'govič for his daughter for his son Roman in Smolensk. And she was brought from Novgorod, along the waterways, on Sunday, in the month of January on the ninth day.

In that same time Izjaslav went against Jurij his uncle, and he left his brother Vladimir in Kiev and his son Mstislav at Perejaslavl'. And he himself went ahead to his brother Rostislav and ordered his regiment to come after him and all meet[18] in Smolensk at Rostislav's place.

And Izjaslav went to his brother Rostislav and they both praised God and the Holy Mother of God and the power of the life-giving cross when each of them saw his brother in health. And they abided with great love and happiness with their men and the people of Smolensk. And there they both gave many gifts. Izjaslav gave gifts to Rostislav that were from the Russian land and all the Greek[19] lands. And Rostislav gave gifts to Rostislav that were from the upper (Northern)[20] lands and from the land of the Varangians.

And then they decided on their route: Izjaslav went with a small retinue to Novgorod and told the warriors

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[18] snjati

[19] cr'skix

[20] ver'xnix"

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from Novgorod to go with them; and he ordered his brother Rostislav to go with his troops along the Volga River. They were all to meet at the source of the Medvedica River.

The people of Novgorod, hearing that Izjaslav was coming to them, rejoiced with great joy. And the people of Novgorod went out to meet him three days' [march] out of Novgorod, and a great number of others met him one day's trip from Novgorod. And then he entered Novgorod with great honor on a Sunday. And there his son Jaroslav met him with the boyars of Novgorod and they both went to vespers at St. Sophia.

Izjaslav and his son Jaroslav sent heralds[21] and policemen along the streets to call out, inviting everyone, great and small, to the prince's for dinner. And they dined and celebrated with great happiness and honor and then dispersed to their houses.

The next day Izjaslav, sending to Jaroslav's estate, ordered a veche to be called. And so the people of Novgorod and Pskov gathered at the veche. And he (Izjaslav) said to them:

> "Brothers, you and my son have sent to me,[22] [saying] that my uncle Jurij offends you. I

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[21] podvoiskye (see Sreznevskij, Volume II, column 1053).

[22] se brate sn" moi vy prislalisja este ko mne

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> have come here, leaving the Russian land, on your account of this offense. So, brothers, think on this: how to go against him, and whether we should make peace with him or finish the matter with him by war."

They then said: "You are our prince, you are our Vladimir, you are our Mstislav: we will gladly go with you because of the offenses we have received." And then they dispersed. And once again the people of Novgorod said: "Prince, let us go, then; all of us will go,[23] even the deacon or the abbot and whoever is tonsured and not appointed--let them pray to God."

And so the warriors of Novgorod went with Izjaslav with all their forces and the warriors of the city of Pskov and the Korela people. And Izjaslav went along the Volga River with the warriors of Novgorod to the source of the Medvedica River; and there he waited four days for his brother Rostislav. And Rostislav came to him with all the Russian troops and the troops from Smolensk. And there they gathered.

And they went down along the Volga River. For they had previously sent their emissaries from Smolensk to their uncle Jurij. But he did not let their emissary return or send his own.

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[23] vsjaka dca (See Solov'ev, p. 457.)

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And they two (Rostislav and Izjaslav) came to the city of Konstantinov. And no news came to them there from Jurij; and they began to burn his cities and villages and to attack[24] all his land on both sides of the Volga. And they went from there to the Uglec Field, and from there to the source of the Mologa River.

And news came to them there that Vladimir Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič were in the land of the Vjatiči waiting and watching to see what would happen there between Jurij and Izjaslav. And they (Vladimir and Svjatoslav) did not go to them as they had said--that they would meet at the source of the Medvedica River.

Izjaslav then said to his brother Rostislav: "If those two have not come to us as they said, then may God be with us." And then they sent the warriors from Novgorod and Rus' to make war on the city of Jaroslavl'.

At that time it was already warm, for it was already the week of Palm Sunday. And there was water on the Volga River and along the Mologa River, up to the belly of a horse, on /top of/ the ice.[25] And at that time the warriors of Novgorod came, having conquered Rus' up to the city of Jaroslavl'. And they brought many prisoners and did much

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[24] voevati

[25] po črevo konevi na ledu

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evil to that land.

Izjaslav and his brother Rostislav, having considered that the ice on the rivers was already broken,[26] decided to separate. And so Rostislav went with his troops to Smolensk and his brother Izjaslav went to Great Novgorod; and the Russian retinue went with Rostislav, and others went where they liked. And so they dispersed to their own lands.

In the year 1149, Izjaslav came from Novgorod to Kiev, and they began to speak to him against Rostislav Jur'evič, saying:

> "He has plotted much evil and spoken against you to the Berendej and the people of Kiev. Then God helped his father, and he came into Kiev[27] to take your house and capture your brother and your wife and your son; send him to his father. He is your enemy; hold him at the cost of your life."[28]

And Izjaslav, hearing that, sent for Rostislav Jur'evič.

And at that time Izjaslav was across from St. Michael's Church at the Vydobyckij Monastery, on the island. Rostislav then came there. Izjaslav then sent for his boat and put the retinue that was with him into the boat and they brought him across. And they put him in a separate tent.

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[26] iže juže reky sja rušajut'

[27] toliko by Bg otcju ego pomogl" i onomu bylo v"exavši v Kiev"

[28] deržiši na svoju golovu

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And Izjaslav ordered that Rostislav be taken from (the boat) and into the tent.

And he sent his men to him and said to him:

> "Now, brother, you came to me from your father, since your father offended you and did not give you territory; but I accepted you in good faith as my worthy brother, and I gave you territory. Since your father did not give it to you, I gave to you. And moreover, I also ordered you to guard the Russian land; and I said to you: 'Now, brother, I will go against your father and my uncle, and you guard the Russian land. I will either make peace with him, or let it be as God judges for me with him.' You, brother, had planned--if God helped your father against me--having entered Kiev, to capture my brother and my son and my wife and to take my house."

Rostislav then answered him thus:

> "Brother and father, nothing such as that was in my mind or my heart. If someone speaks against me, if it is some prince, then it is, between us;[29] if it is a commoner, Christian or pagan, then you are older than me, you judge between us."

Izjaslav then said to him: "Do not ask that of me. You want to cause me to quarrel with the Christians or with the pagans. But now I will not do that for you: go to your father."

And then leading him, they put him in the boat with four men,[30] and they took away his retinue and his supplies.

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[29] a se ja k nemu

[30] otroky

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Rostislav then, going to his father in Suzdal', bowed to him[31] and said: "I have heard that all the Russian land and all the Černye Klobuki are against you,[32] and they say: 'He has offended us; let us go against him.'"

Jurij then, in shame, having taken pity on his son, said: "There is no part of the Russian land for me or my children." Gathering his forces and the Polovci, he set out, trusting in God, in the month of July on the twenty-fourth day, and he went into the land of the Vjatiči.

Vladimir Davidovič sent to Izjaslav, saying to him: "Jurij, your uncle, is coming against you, and has already entered our land, the land of the Vjatiči. And we have kissed the cross to you to be with you. And I reveal this to you: make ready." Izjaslav then, hearing that, began to prepare, and he sent his man to Vladimir, saying:

> "Brother, may God help you, as you yourself say. We have kissed the cross that all of us will be allies. Now, brother, here is my man, and you put up your man: let us send to Svjatoslav Ol'govič."

Vladimir then said to Izjaslav's emissary: "My brother and I are prepared to uphold the kissing of the cross. God forbid that we should transgress that. But our brother Svjatoslav has only say where, and our men will be there."

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[31] udar' pered nim čelom"

[32] xoščet' tebe

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The emissaries went to Svjatoslav, and Izjaslav's emissary said to him:

> "Your brother Izjaslav says this to you: 'Brother, we have kissed the cross on this, that you would be my ally; and now, brother, my uncle is coming against me. And, brother, prepare (for war), as Vladimir and his brother Izjaslav prepare."

Vladimir's and Izjaslav's men said to him: "Your brothers, Vladimir and Izjaslav,[33] say this to you: 'We have kissed the cross that all of us will be together as allies; and we, brother, are preparing for war, but you, brother, have not done so." Then Svjatoslav was silent and did not answer them; he said only this to them: "Go to your camps and I will call you back."

And he retained the emissaries for a week and put guards around their camps so that no one could come to them. For he had sent to Jurij, saying to him: "Do you come in honor? Then show me that you will not destroy my territory or cause me trouble."[34] Svjatoslav, hearing Jurij's answer, called back Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič's and his brother Izjaslav's emissaries to him. And Svjatoslav Ol'govič said to Izjaslav Mstislavič: "Return to me the property of my brother with whatever else [you took], and I

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[33] Volodimeri že muži (i) Izjaslavli rekoša emu brat ti molvit' Volodimir" (i) Izjaslav"

[34] v tjagotu vložiši

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will be with you."

Izjaslav's emissary came to Izjaslav and his brother Vladimir. And Izjaslav's emissary told Vladimir, and he said:

> "Tell my brother Izjaslav that Svjatoslav sent to Jurij, saying to him: 'Do you go in honor against Izjaslav?' Jurij then said to him, 'How would I not be coming in honor? My nephew Izjaslav has come against me and conquered my territory and burned it; and moreover, he has driven my son out of the Russian land, and not given him territory, and shamed me. I will either put aside the shame and avenge my land or attain my honor and lay down my life."

Izjaslav's emissary came to Kiev and told him what Svjatoslav had said and what Vladimir said to him. Izjaslav, hearing that, did not delay, but sent his emissary back to Svjatoslav, saying to him:

> "Brother, you have kissed the true cross to me that you would be allied with me and put aside your emnity about Igor' and his property. Now, brother, do you observe that oath? Then remember that my uncle is coming to make war against me. Now, to uphold the /oath on the/ true cross, which you have kissed, be with me. If you do not want to be with me, then you have already transgressed the kissing of the cross. I have gone without you along the Volga and see what happened to me. And now, may God and the power of the cross be with me."

Jurij, having arrived, camped at Jaryšev. And Svjatoslav Ol'govič came to him there on the day of the Savior. And Svjatoslav invited him there to him for dinner. And having eaten, they dispersed.

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The next day, early on Sunday, when the sun had risen, a daughter was born to Svjatoslav Ol'govič. And they called her Mar'ja for her Christian name.

Svjatoslav Ol'govič then said to Jurij: "Brother, Izjaslav is an enemy to all of us; he killed our brother." On that day Jurij set out in advance with his warriors. Svjatoslav then went after him on the second day, on Monday, and he overtook Jurij. And then, having come together, Jurij and Svjatoslav sent their emissaries to the two Davidoviči, saying: "Brothers, go with us against Izjaslav." Vladimir Davidovič and his brother Izjaslav answered thus, saying:

> "You have kissed the cross to us, but Izjaslav came and conquered our land and burned our cities in the area around the Desna River. But now we have kissed the cross to Izjaslav Mstislavič; we want to be with him.[35] We cannot play with our souls or break our word."

And they sent to Izjaslav and told him that Jurij was coming against him and Svjatoslav Ol'govič was with him.

Jurij, hearing that, that Vladimir and Izjaslav had broken their oath to him, went from there to Staraja Belaja Veža.[36] And he camped at Belaja Veža for a month, waiting for the Polovci to come to him and for submission from

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[35] s temi

[36] See Solov'ev, p. 789.

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Izjaslav. And seeing that there was no news from Izjaslav, they went from there to the Supoj River. And Svjatoslav Vsevolodič came to him there. Svjatoslav did not want to desert his uncle Izjaslav, but went against his will on account of his uncle Svjatoslav Ol'govič.

And a great number of the wild Polovci came to Jurij there at the Supoj River. Izjaslav, hearing that, sent for his brother Rostislav and said to him: "We arranged that if Jurij were to pass Černigov, you would come to me. Now, brother, Jurij has passed Černigov; come, let us see together what God gives to us."[37] And he sent troops to Vladimir; and so Rostislav, gathering his troops, went to his brother Izjaslav.

Jurij then said: "Let us go to Perejaslavl', where he will come; perhaps he will submit there." And having arrived, they camped at the little village of Kud'nov, having crossed Strjakov.

Vladimir was waiting in ambush at Perejaslavl' with his brother Izjaslav's and Jaropolk Mstislavič's troops and Poršan warriors. Izjaslav, hearing that Jurij had come, said: "If he had come with only children, he could have taken any territory that he wanted; but since he brought the Polovci and my enemies the Ol'govičі against me, I want

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[37] I.e., "what we should do."

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to fight with him."

The Kievans, not wanting (this), were saying: "Make peace, prince, we will not go." He then said: "Come with me; is it good for me to make peace with them, when I have (such) forces?"[38] And the Kievans followed Izjaslav. And Izjaslav Davidovič came to help him.

Izjaslav then camped, having come to the city of Vitičev, and his brother Rostislav came to him there with a great army. And then, having conferred there, they forded the Dnepr River, and from there they went into Lto. And news came to them there at noon that archers had already crossed the Strjakov and the Polovci were already going across the Strjakov to the city. Izjaslav and Rostislav prepared their warriors for battle and went to Perejaslavl'.

At that time a wild Polovec, who had been captured at Perejaslavl', where /the archers/ were shooting, was brought to them. And they began to ask him: "From which camp have you come?" He said: "We have come from far away, and because of that Jurij came in haste; he will pretend to surrender Perejaslavl' to you." Izjaslav, hearing that, ordered the Polovec to be cut in half.[39]

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[38] at' mi sja dobro s nimi o(t) sily miriti

[39] (?)povele Polovcina peretjati tako s" oponoju

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And he sent Černye Klobuki and his young retinue in advance to Perejaslavl'; they themselves followed with their troops. When the archers arrived from Izjaslav and Rostislav, the enemy warriors drove them out of the city. And they drove them back to their armies.

Izjaslav and Rostislav, having arrived at Perejaslavl', and having crossed Ltica, went around the city with their armies and halted by the Trubež River. And Jurij stayed three days at Strjakov, and on the fourth day went from Strjakov past the city at dawn, having prepared his troops, and halted between the ramparts. He halted with his troops on one side of the Trubež River at a grove by a hunting forest. The armies stayed across from each other until evening. And the archers of both armies were fighting.

Izjaslav and Rostislav, having arrived at night, dismounted there above the city by the Trubež River. And Jurij came there and halted at the same forest and dismounted. On that same night Jurij sent to him, saying:

> "Brother, you have come against me and conquered my land, and you have taken my seniority from me. Now, brother and son, for the sake of the Russian land and Christians, let us not shed Christian blood. But give me Perejaslavl'; let me appoint my son /to rule/ at Perejaslavl', and you go reign in Kiev. If you do not want to do that, then let God be the judge of everyone."

Izjaslav, however, did not like that and did not send the emissary back. And he came out of the city with all his

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troops and halted by the swamp, /leaving/ his supplies inside the wall.

And on the next day, Izjaslav heard matins at St. Michael's church and (then) left. Evfimij, the bishop, was shedding tears and beseeching him: "Prince, make peace with your uncle. You will receive much redemption from God and you will deliver your land from great misfortune." But he did not want to do that, counting on the great numbers of his troops, saying: "I have obtained Kiev and Perejaslavl' at the risk of my life."[40] And he went against Jurij.

Jurij was by the little village of Jančin. And they stayed across from each other until time for vespers. Then Izjaslav and his brother Rostislav and Jaropolk called together boyars and all their retinue and began to plan with them, wanting to go across to Jurij on the other side of the Trubež River. Some of the men said:

> "Prince, do not go after him. He came and tried to take our land,[41] but having come here, has not succeeded in any way. And he has already gone back; tonight he will leave. Prince, do not go after him."

Izjaslav, having heard from both sides, preferred[42] to

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[40] golovoju svojeju

[41] otjati pereše̊l" zemli a trudilsja

[42] izljubi

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to go after them, and so, having prepared his warriors, he went across after him to the other side of the Trubež River. Having crossed with his troops, he did not go up onto the mountain, and halted at the meadow across from the Blacksmith Gates. And it was noon, and a deserter fled there from Jurij's army, and they were pursuing him. Izjaslav's guards, seeing that, became frightened, saying: "Attack!" Izjaslav, hearing that, prepared his troops and went out onto the field where the Krasnyj Dvor[43] is.

Jurij, Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič saw that troops were coming, then prepared their troops and set out to meet them. And crossing the rampart, they halted there, watching each other. The archers from both armies were fighting each other, and thus the armies remained until evening. Jurij then turned his troops back, and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič went to their camps.

Izjaslav, hearing and seeing that, began to confer with his brother Rostislav, Izjaslav Davidovič and his brother Vladimir, Jaropolk, his son Mstislav, and Vladimir Andrevič, wanting to go after them. They then began to counsel[44] him: "Do not go after them, but let them go to their camps; now it is probable that there will be no battle."[45]

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[43] Beautiful Estate.

[44] dumati

[45] See Solov'ev, p. 461.

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Others said: "Prince, they are already fleeing." Izjaslav liked that and went after them.

Jurij, Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič saw that troops were already pursuing them, and they returned and went with their troops against them. And Jurij placed his son on the right and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič on the left. And the armies approached, and they met as the sun was rising, and there was terrible carnage.[46] And first the Poršans fled, and then Izjaslav Davidovič, and after these the Kievans.

And there was deceit among the warriors from Perejaslavl'; they were saying: "Jurij is our prince and we have sought him for a long time." Saying that, they began to flee. Seeing that, Izjaslav's and Rostislav's warriors became confused. Izjaslav, with his troops and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and half of Jurij's retinue, had gone through them (the enemy). And they saw behind them that the Polovci had all fled and many had been killed and others captured. Izjaslav saw the troops fleeing, defeated, and he fled and forded (the Dnepr River) at Kanev with only two other men, and went to Kiev. This was in the month of August on the twenty-third day.

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[46] i bys seča zla meži imi

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And the next day Jurij, praising and glorifying God, entered Perejaslavl'. Having paid homage to St. Michael, he stayed at Perejaslavl' three days and from there went to Kiev with his troops. Arriving, he camped across from the St. Michael's Monastery[47] in[48] a meadow.

Izjaslav conferred with his brother Rostislav and they two appeared before the Kievans, saying: "Our uncle has come, and we come before you /to ask/ 'Can you fight for us?'" They then said:

> "Lords, our princes, do not completely destroy us. Now they have captured our fathers and brothers and sons who were in the army, and others were killed and their weapons were taken from them. And now, let them not take us into captivity. You two go to your territories; you know that we cannot get along with Jurij. After this, wherever we see your ensigns, there we will be, ready to fight with you."

Then Izjaslav and Rostislav, having conferred, went away. Izjaslav, returning with his wife and children, went to the city of Vladimir, and Rostislav went to Smolensk. Izjaslav took the metropolitan Klim with him.

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[47] See Solo'ev, p. 462.

[48] po

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CHAPTER V

THE REIGN OF JURIJ VLADIMIRIČ: THE YEARS 1149 AND 1150

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN IN KIEV OF THE GREAT PRINCE JURIJ (Dolgorukij), son of Vladimir Monomax, grandson of Vsevolod, great-grandson of Jaroslav, and great-great-grandson of Vladimir the Great, who christened all the Russian land. Jurij went to Kiev and a great number of people came out to meet him with great happiness. And he sat on the throne of his father, praising and glorifying God.

And he sent for Vladimir Davidovič in Černigov. And Vladimir came to Jurij and paid homage to him. And Svjatoslav Ol'govič began to say to him: "You hold my patrimony." And then he took Kursk with the area around the river Sejm and the retinue from the city of Snovsk; and from Izjaslav [he took] the cities Sluck and Kleck and all the Dregovič land. And so they made peace and dispersed.

Jurij appointed his eldest son Rostislav to rule in Perejaslavl', and Andrej in Vyšgorod, Boris in Belgorod, Gleb in Kanev, and Vasil'ko in Suzdal'.

Izjaslav, having arrived at the city of Vladimir, began to send to the Hungarians to his in-law the king, and to

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the Poles to his in-law Boleslav and to Mieszko and Genrix, and to the Czech prince, his in-law Vladislav, asking them for help--to mount their horses themselves with their troops to go to Kiev, or else if they could not come themselves, to send their troops either with a younger brother or with their military commanders. The (Hungarian) King[1] refused him, saying to him: "I am now at war with the (Greek) tsar; when I am free I will come myself or else I will send my troops." The Polish princes said to him: "We are near to you. And we will leave one of us to guard our land, and two of us will come to you." And the Czech prince said to him: "I am prepared to come myself with my troops."

Izjaslav then sent his emissaries again to the Hungarians to the king and to the Poles and Czechs with great gifts and with honor. And he said to them: "May God help you for undertaking to help me. And I say to you, brothers, mount your horses on Christmas."

And the king was not free, and sent him ten thousand Hungarians. And the king said this to him:

> "I send my troops to you, and I myself want to go to the foot of the hills against the Galičan prince to keep him from moving /against us/. You go against the one who offended you; if the troops become worn

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[1]Gejza II (Solov'ev, p. 462).

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> out, then I will send another, stronger force, or else I myself will mount a horse [and come]."

Boleslav himself went, with his brother Genrix and his troops, and they left Mieszko to guard their land from the Prussians.

Vjačeslav, hearing this, sent to Jurij and said to him:

> "The Hungarians are already coming, and the Polish princes have already mounted their horses, and Izjaslav is already preparing."

And he said to his brother Jurij:

> "Either give Izjaslav what he wants, or else come here to me with your troops and defend my territory. Izjaslav told me, 'Be like a father to me; go and rule in Kiev. I cannot live with Jurij. If you do not want to accept me with love, or go to Kiev to sit on the throne, then I will burn your territory.' Now then, brother, come. We will see together what God will give us, good or bad. Otherwise, brother, if you do not come to me, do not pity me if my territory is burned."

Jurij, hearing that, gathered his forces and set out from Kiev; he had brought the wild Polovci to assist him, and so they went with him.

In that same time, the Hungarians came to the city of Vladimir to help Izjaslav, and also Boleslav the Polish prince and his brother Genrix [came] with a large force. Izjaslav invited them to dine with him; and then, having dined, they were happy, for he had honored them with great honor and given them many gifts. And then they went away,

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each to his own camp.

The next day Izjaslav left the city of Vladimir and from there went to Luck, where he stayed three days. And there Boleslav knighted many boyars' sons with a sword.

And at that time two Jur'eviči, Rostislav and Andrej, came to Peresopnica[2], and aid came from Vladimir in Galič; and Vladimir himself had moved closer to the city of Šumsk, and the Poles and Hungarians became afraid. And Jurij went to his brother Vjačeslav in Peresopnica.

News came to Izjaslav that Jurij had gone to his brother Vjačeslav; Izjaslav gave orders to the Hungarians and Boleslav and his brother Genrix, and then they set out from Luck with their troops. And, having gone, they camped at Čemerin at Olyč.

At that same time news came to Boleslav and his brother Genrix from their brother Mieszko that the Prussians were coming to their land. Boleslav and Genrix told Izjaslav. Izjaslav was greatly displeased; he conferred with Boleslav and Genrix and the Hungarians about whether they should send their men to Vjačeslav and Jurij and /whether/ the Hungarians /should send/ their men from the king, saying:

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[2]I.e., they came to join Vjačeslav (See Solov'ev, p. 463).

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> "You are like a father to us, and now you have begun war with your brother and son Izjaslav; and we are all Christians before God and brothers to each other. And it is right for us all to be together. And between you, we want and may God grant it, that you two make peace with your brother and son Izjaslav. For you have ruled in Kiev, and you yourselves know who of you will do that. And leave Izjaslav his cities: Vladimir[3] and Luck and whichever others are his cities. Let him rule there. And besides that, let Jurij return to the people of Great Novgorod all their tribute."[4]

Vjaceslav and Jurij said:

> "God help our in-law the king and our brother Boleslav and our son Genrix, because you want good between us; but, however, if you order us to make peace, then do not stay in our land, and do not destroy our property or our villages. But let Izjaslav go to his city Vladimir and you go to your land, and we will resolve the matter ourselves with our brother and son Izjaslav."

And Izjaslav, Boleslav, Genrix, and the Hungarians, hearing that, dispersed: Izjaslav then went to Vladimir, and the Hungarians to Hungary and the Poles to Poland.

And Vjačeslav, Jurij, and Izjaslav began to negotiate peace with each other, sending to each other, as they had said. Izjaslav, however, wanted all the tribute of the people of Novgorod to be returned to them, as it was before.

And so they did not make peace, and Jurij did not obey

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[3]a Izjaslavu ose ego Volodimir" gotov"

[4]I.e., the tribute that they had paid him.

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him, having taken Jurij Jaroslavič as advisor, and he did not return the tribute. And Izjaslav did not leave them.

Jurij did this since the Poles and Hungarians had already returned; he said: "I will drive out Izjaslav, and I will take over his territory." Then Prince Jurij, with his brother Vjačeslav and all his children, went to Luck. Rostislav Jur'evič and his brother Andrej were going ahead with Polovci. And they camped at Muravicy, and that night there was a terrible fright, and all the Polovci fled with their commander Žiroslav.

Andrej was ahead and his brother Rostislav was camped behind him, and he called him to him. But Andrej did not heed him, and endured that fright. Andrej's retinue, coming to him, were complaining: "What are you doing, prince? Go back, prince, or else we will be shamed." But Andrej did not heed them, but placed his hope in God and waited until dawn. Andrej, seeing that all the Polovci had fled before dawn, praised God, who had made him brave, and he went to his brother and the Polovci princes.

Having joined with them and conferred with them, he went back with them and they camped at the city of Dubno, waiting for assistance from (Andrej's) father (Jurij). News came to them that Prince Jurij was coming with his brother Vjačeslav, and they went to Luck.

Vladimir, Izjaslav's brother, was in Luck, and as they were approaching the city, they saw his father's (Jurij's)

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ensigns. And they saw infantry who had come from the city, and they exchanged shots (arrows) with them. Rostislav and Boris and Mstislav, [the other Jur'eviči, did not think that Andrej wanted to strike the infantry, since][5] he was not great in military matters, but only sought praise from God.

With the help of God and the power of the cross and the prayer of his grandfather, he (Andrej) went out into the opposing forces ahead of everyone, and his retinue followed him. Andrej broke his spear amid his opponents.[6] The infantry were fleeing into the city along the trenches, and he himself pursued them without his retinue knowing. Only two of the younger ones,[7] seeing their prince in great trouble, charged in,[8] since he was surrounded by enemies. And they tried to reach[9] him.

His horse had been struck by two spears and, in the front of the saddle, by a third. And from the city they were throwing stones at him like rain. Then one of the

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[5]The lines enclosed in brackets here are omitted from the text (see column 389), and the information is from Solov'ev (p. 454).

[6]I.e., he engaged in battle with them.

[7]ot menšix" det'skix" ego dva

[8]upadša

[9]gnasta po

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foreigners,[10] seeing, tried to pierce /him/ with a spear, but God preserved him. For God often plunges those who love Him into attack, but by His mercy delivers them.

Then prince Andrej thought to himself in his heart; he said: "Now I will die like Jaroslav Izjaslavič,"[11] and he prayed to God and bared his sword, and called the holy martyr Theodore to his aid. God and St. Theodore saved him for his faith, for that was the day in memory of St. Theodore (February 8). One of those two young warriors was killed there.

His father Jurij, his uncle Vjačeslav, and his brothers were all rejoicing, seeing him alive, and his father's men gave him great praise because he had acted more bravely than anyone else who was there.

His horse was badly wounded; he carried his master out from the battle and died. Prince Andrej, mourning his horse, ordered him to be buried above the Styr' River.

They had surrounded the city, and they (the people in the city) could not get water for three weeks; they beseiged Luck for seven weeks in all. Izjaslav's brother. Vladimir and the people in the city were weakened; Izjaslav prepared his troops and wanted to go against Vjačeslav

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[10] nemčič'

[11] Solov'ev (p. 464) has Jaroslav Svjatopolčič here.

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and Jurij from the city of Luck to fight their troops.

And at that time Vladimir set out from Galič with his troops and, having arrived, halted at the city of Polonnyj, between Vladimir and Luck. And so he separated them--the good prince Vladimir, lit with brotherly love and great with love of peace, not wanting evil /to happen/ to anyone--because of that he halted between them, wanting them to make peace with each other. Because of this Izjaslav could not go to Vjačeslav and Jurij to give them troops.

Izjaslav then sent to Vladimir of Galič, Jurij's in-law, saying to him: "Convince my uncle and your in-law Jurij that I approach him in love; I am guilty before God and before him in everything." Vladimir then pleaded for Izjaslav to Rostislav, Jurij's son, and they could not get Jurij Jaroslavič to make peace.[12] Izjaslav then pleaded more for peace.

God then entered Andrej's heart, for he was merciful to his family and to Christians. And he began to beseech his father, saying: "Do not heed Jurij Jaroslavič; reconcile your nephew to you. Do not destroy your patrimony. Peace comes...[13]...saying to him: Father, lord, remember the word which is written, 'Lo, how good it is for brothers

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[12] s" Djurgem" Jaroslavičem" ne daduščima miritisja

[13] Three and one-half lines are absent from the text here; see column 392.

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to live together.'"

Vladimir, prince of Galič, sent more often[14] to Vjačeslav and Jurij and Izjaslav, reconciling them, saying to Vjačeslav and Jurij:

> "God has given us power in a place of evil-doing, and we will be blessed for doing good.[15] Otherwise how can we pray to Him who has created us; 'Father, forgive us our sins?' until we forgive the sins of our nephew Svjatoslav, who is of our family,[16] and did not deal rightfully with you, but now pays homage and wants your mercy. I am not a commoner petitioning[17] between you; God will not send an angel, and there are no prophets or apostles in our days."

Hearing this, Prince Vjačeslav bowed in love. Then he said: "Blessed are they who make peace, for they will be called the children of God..."[18]...the Russian land is expanded and made great by the brotherly love of princes." Prince Vjačeslav, heeding his brother and his in-law Vladimir and taking his words into his heart, yielded to order and peace.

For Prince Vjačeslav was not evil in his heart, praising most-glorious God, remembering what is written: "If you

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[14] bolma slašet'

[15] i v dokrodetel' blgočstivym"

[16] aky ot vaju rožen"

[17] ne prost" xodatai

[18] Four lines are absent here in text; see column 392.

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have faith like a grain of mustard,[19] you will say to this mountain, 'Move'; it will move." And /he was/ also remembering the word which is said: "'I love God and hate my brother' is a lie; if you love God, love your brother." Vjačeslav then began to say to his brother Jurij: "Brother, make peace. Do you want to return without having made peace? Then when you go away, Izjaslav will burn my territory."

Jurij heard that and so they made peace. Izjaslav gave Kiev to Jurij and Jurij returned all the tribute of the people of Novgorod, which Izjaslav had wanted, to Izjaslav. And so they were reconciled and kissed the cross; and they dispersed. Spring had come, and they made peace and returned to Peresopnica.

Izjaslav was pleased at the kissing of the cross, and he went to his uncle in Peresopnica. And they were all there together, and they were reconciled and they kissed the cross, /agreeing/ that whatever had been plundered from the Perejaslavl' troops--either herds or servants--whoever's it was, that person, recognizing it, would have it back.

Izjaslav then sent his men and his major domos for his property and flocks which had been taken and for his men.

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[19] sinap'n

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Some went themselves, and others sent their major domos; and then, having come to Jurij, they began to claim what was theirs.[20] But Jurij did not do all that /he had promised/,[21] and Izjaslav's men came to Izjaslav, not having obtained anything of his.

Izjaslav then sent his men to Vjačeslav and to Jurij with a complaint, saying:

> "Brothers, we have kissed the cross on this, that when someone recognizes his property, he will get it. Now, brothers, if you will uphold the /oath on the/ cross, then may God let us live. If you will not to uphold that, then we will see /what happens/."

In the year 1150, Jurij gave his daughter to marry Oleg Svjatoslavič, and another daughter to marry Jaroslav Vladimirič in Galič. Then Prince Jurij invited Vjačeslav to the throne in Kiev. The boyars then dissuaded Jurij, saying: "Your brother will not hold Kiev--neither he, nor you, nor any other /of your family/." Jurij, heeding the boyars, brought his son Andrej out of Vyšgorod and gave Vyšgorod to Vjačeslav.

In that same time, Izjaslav sent to Vjačeslav and to Jurij, saying:

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[20] poznavati svoe

[21] togo vsego ne upravi

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> "You are my brothers; you have kissed the cross that you would return what is mine. Now, brothers, I have sent to you first. And now, either uphold what you promised in the kissing of the cross, or if you will not return all that, then I cannot live in shame."

Vjačeslav in that time was ruling in Vyšgorod and Jurij in Kiev, and Jurij's son Gleb in Peresopnica and Dorogobuž. Izjaslav, as was said above, could not live in shame; and so, justified by the kissing of the cross...[22]...[His uncles did not answer him and Mstislavič again armed himself, having been called by the Kievans.][23]

And arriving, he dismounted in Luck. The next morning, he went from Luck to Peresopnica, and there he found Gleb. At that time Gleb was camped with his supplies above the city of Peresopnica at the Stubla River. And Gleb himself barely managed to flee from there into the city, and they captured supplies and his retinue and his horses.

They came across others of his retinue outside the city, and no one could withstand him (Izjaslav). Gleb sent out and said to Izjaslav:

> "As Jurij is my father, so you are also [like a] father to me; and I pay homage to you, you decide the matter yourself with my father, and let me go to my father. And

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[22]Three and one-half lines are absent here from the text; see column 395.

[23]The information enclosed in brackets here is absent from the text and is from Solov'ev (p. 465).

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> kiss to me /the icon of/ the Holy Mother of God that you will not capture me, but will let me go to my father, and I will come to you myself and I will pay homage to you."

Izjaslav then kissed /the icon of/ the Holy Mother of God to him and said to him: "You are my brother. Nothing will be said against you, but your father has offended me and cannot live with us."

Gleb then rode out and paid homage to Izjaslav. Izjaslav then invited him to dine with him; and having dined there, he went with him from there to Dorogubuž, and there he sent his son Mstislav to /go with/ him as far as Korčesk. And then, having brought him past Korčesk, Mstislav said to him: "Go then, brother, to your father; this is the territory of my father and myself along the Goryn' River." And so Gleb went to his father there in the city of Ušesk.

And Izjaslav went to Gol'sko and Kunil'ja[24] into the land of the Černye Klobuki; and there all the Černye Klobuki came to him with great joy and with all their forces. Jurij did not know that, but was acting as if he had occupied that territory where he was. But they did not know that Izjaslav had already come into the land of the Černye Klobuki.

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[24]Gol'sko ta Kunil'ja

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Jurij then could not endure to stay in Kiev and fled across the Dnepr River with his sons; and he fled into Gorodec Osterskij. Izjaslav then came with his troops into Kiev. Vjačeslav had previously entered Kiev when his brother (Jurij) went along the other side (of the Dnepr). And having entered, he dismounted at Jaroslav's estate.

The Kievans, hearing that Izjaslav was coming, came out to meet Izjaslav, a great number of them; and they said to Izjaslav: "Jurij left Kiev, and Vjačeslav rules in Kiev, and we do not want him." Izjaslav, hearing that, sent to Vjačeslav and said to him:

> "I called you to Kiev to rule, and you did not want to; and now, have you waited for this, for your brother to leave and you yourself to rule in Kiev? Now go to your city Vyšgorod."

The Kievans then said to Izjaslav: "You are our prince, go then to St. Sophia, sit on the throne of your father and grandfather." Vjačeslav then sent his men to Izjaslav, saying to him: "If you will kill me, son, on this spot, then kill me: I will not leave." Izjaslav then, having paid homage to St. Sophia, went out to Jaroslav's estate with all his troops. And a great number of the Kievans went with him.

In that same time, Vjačeslav was sitting on a balcony,[25]

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[25] na sen'nici

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and many began to say to Prince Izjaslav: "Prince, capture him and take his retinue." Others were saying: "Let us cut down the balcony [26] under him." Izjaslav then said: "God keep me from that. I am not a murderer of my brother, and my uncle is like a father to me; and I myself will go to him." He took with him a small retinue and he went to the balcony to Vjačeslav, his uncle, and paid homage to him. Vjačeslav rose to meet Izjaslav and they kissed each other and both sat.

Izjaslav then said to Vjačeslav:

> "Father, I bow to you. Can I not come to an agreement with you? Do you see the might of the people standing like an army? And they plan much evil against you. Go to your city Vyšgorod; I will negotiate with you from there."

Vjačeslav then said: "You yourself, son, called me to Kiev, and I kissed the cross to my brother Jurij; if now it is so, son, then Kiev is yours, and I will go to my Vyšgorod." And so Vjačeslav went from the balcony and went to his city Vyšgorod.

And Izjaslav ruled in Kiev and sent his son Mstislav to Kanev, ordering him to obtain Perejaslavl' from there. Mstislav sent along the other side (of the Dnepr) to the Turpej and to his retinue, ordering them to come to him.

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[26] seni

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Rostislav, hearing that, sent to his father in Gorodec, asking help from him. Jurij sent Andrej his brother as help to him. Rostislav left his brother in Perejaslavl' and himself went to Sakov and pursued the Turpej to the Dnepr River and, having caught them, he brought them to Perejaslavl'.

At that same time Jurij began to send from Gorodec to Vladimir Davidovič and his brother Izjaslav, and to Svjatoslav Ol'govič and his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, saying to them: "Izjaslav has driven me out of Kiev and he himself has sat in Kiev; come, help me." Izjaslav then began to send to Vjačeslav in Vyšgorod, and Vjačeslav began to be reconciled with Izjaslav.

At that same time Vladimir went from Galič to his in-law Jurij to Kiev in aid against Izjaslav. And news came to Izjaslav that Vladimir had crossed Boloxovo and gone past Munari to Volodarev.[27] Izjaslav sent to Mstislav his son, saying to him: "Vladimir of Galič is coming against me to Kiev and from there /will come with/ Jurij and the Ol'goviči. Go quickly, gathering the Berendej."

Izjaslav himself with his boyars went to Vjačeslav to Vyšgorod. And Izjaslav said to Vjačeslav: "You are a father to me; here, you have Kiev and whatever territory

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[27] idet' mimo Munarev" k Volodarevu

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you like, take that and give me other /territory/." Vjačeslav said with anger to Izjaslav: "Why did you not give (this) to me before?[28] But with great shame I have gone from Kiev. Now because an army comes from Galič and another from Černigov, then you give me Kiev." Izjaslav then said to Vjačeslav:

> "I sent to you, and I gave you Kiev. Then I revealed to you that I can coexist with you, /but/ I cannot settle matters with your brother Jurij. But I love you like a father; and now I say to you, you are a father to me, and Kiev is yours; go into it."

Vjačeslav, hearing that, was pleased, and so they two kissed the cross at the grave of the holy martyrs (Boris and Gleb), that Izjaslav would have Vjačeslav for a father and Vjačeslav would have Izjaslav for his son. On this their men also kissed the cross that there would be good (will) between them, and to guard their (Izjaslav's and Mstislav's) honor, and not to argue with them.

Izjaslav then, having paid homage to the holy martyrs and to his father Vjačeslav, said to him: "You, father, do not trouble yourself, but I will go to the city of Zvenigorod against Vladimir; send your troops with me, and you, father, go to Kiev if you like." Vjačeslav then said:

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[28] vo onom" dni

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"Son, I will send all of what retinue I have with you." Izjaslav then came to Kiev and, sounding[29] the trumpets, called together the Kievans and went from Kiev with his troops against Vladimir, saying: "Whoever is closer to me I will go to first."

And taking his brother Vladimir and his son Mstislav, he went to Zvenigorod. And arriving there, he camped with his troops. And news came to him that Vladimir had already crossed Perepetovo Field. Izjaslav, hearing that, went from Zvenigorod to Tumaščˇ, and there the Černye Klobuki came to him. They had closed up their wives and their children in the cities in the area around the Ros' River, and they themselves came to Izjaslav with all their troops.

The next day at dawn Izjaslav prepared his troops and went against Vladimir in battle with his troops. And he crossed the Stugna and Ol'šanica Rivers.

In that same time Vladimir was halted at the upper reaches[30] of the Ol'šanica River with his troops. And some men came there from Izjaslav, /who was/ a day's march away,[31] and they attacked his horses and captured some of his men, and they took a man from the Černye Klobuki and brought him

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[29] udarja

[30] verx"

[31] exavše do slnce

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to Vladimir. Vladimir, hearing that Izjaslav had already crossed the Ol'šanica River, prepared his troops and set out against Izjaslav.

The archers were shooting across the river. And Vladimir began to advance with his force. The pagans, seeing Vladimir's great force, became afraid; Izjaslav had only a a small force, and Vjačeslav's troops had not joined them. And the Černye Klobuki began to say to Izjaslav:

> "Prince, his force is great, and you have but a small retinue; do not let him cross the river against us. Do not destroy us or yourself. You are our prince; when you are strong, we will be with you. But now is not your time; go back."

Izjaslav then said to them: "It is better, brothers, to die here than to take shame upon ourselves."

The Kievans then began to complain, saying to him: "Go back, prince." And saying that, the Kievans fled away from him; and after that the Černye Klobuki fled to their camp. Izjaslav, seeing that, said to his retinue: "Already I can only go up into battle with just guests--with Hungarians and Poles--and already my retinue is frightened." Then he himself fled back.

Vladimir, seeing that, that the Kievans were fleeing and the Černye Klobuki were following them, said: "This is false. Izjaslav will be with his troops in the mountains." And by that all of Izjaslav's troops were saved, that they did not dare to send after them. Izjaslav then fled to Kiev.

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Vladimir's retinue came up behind him, and they captured some of them and killed others.

Vjačeslav had come to Kiev before him and he stopped at Jaroslav's estate. Izjaslav then came to his father Vjačeslav and, having conferred there, they began to dine. And at that time Jurij came with his sons and Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič to the bank opposite Kiev. Many Kievans went in boats to Jurij and others began to carry over his retinue in boats to this side, into Podol.

Vjačeslav then and Izjaslav, seeing that, said: "Now is not our time." And Izjaslav said to his father Vjačeslav: "Go father, into your city Vyšgorod, and I will go to my city Vladimir. I will then [come] back later.[32] Let it be with us as God wills." Saying that, they went: Vjačeslav went to Vyšgorod and Izjaslav to his city Vladimir.

And Izjaslav ordered his retinue to gather at Dorogožič and he himself waited for night and left Kiev.

On the next day Vladimir of Galič came to Oleg's Grave, and then Jurij came to him with Vladimir Davidovič and Izjaslav his brother and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, and there they greeted each other without dismounting from their horses at the Setomlja River at the

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[32] ja že paky po six" dnex"

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riverside. Having conferred, they sent Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Boris Jur'evič after Izjaslav. And they pursued them to the Čertov Forest and, not having reached them, they returned.

And Vladimir went to Vyšgorod to the Church of the Holy Martyrs (Boris and Gleb) to pay homage. And then, having paid homage to the holy martyrs, he went to Saint Sophia (Cathedral); and from there he went to the Holy Mother of God of the Tithe, and from there to the Holy Mother of God at the Pečersk Monastery.

Izjaslav, going then, occupied the territory around the Goryn' River, and put his son Mstislav to rule in Dorogobuž, and went to the city of Vladimir with his brother. The Kievans then, becoming frightened of Vladimir of Galič, brought Prince Jurij into Kiev. Jurij then sat in Kiev; he met with Vladimir in the Pečersk Monastery, and they made a great peace treaty with each other.[33]

Then Vladimir went from Jurij back to Galič, taking from him his son Mstislav. As he was approaching Dorogobuž, Mstislav Izjaslavič fled from Dorogobuž and went to Luck to his uncle Svjatopolk. Vladimir took away all his (Mstislav's) cities on his way and came to Luck. Svjatopolk and Mstislav closed themselves up in the city. Vladimir came and could

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[33]s"tvorista ljubov" meži soboju veliku

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not do anything, and so went to Galič. And they appointed Mstislav Jur'evič to rule in Peresopnica.

That same year the Polovci came in aid to Jurij against Izjaslav; they came to Perejaslavl'. Jurij still had not released his troops or the Ol'govičі, and he sent Svjatoslav Vsevolodič to Perejaslavl' to his son Rostislav to pacify them; he was then to return.[34] The others (the Polovci?) were plundering, and the people fled into the city and did not dare to let so much as a cow out of the city. Jurij sent his son Andrej, who came to Perejaslavl' and made peace with the Polovci. Svjatoslav Vsevolodič went to Jurij in Kiev, and Andrej remained with his brother in Perejaslavl' because it was the holy day of the Elevation of the Cross (September 14). They celebrated the honored holiday of the Cross of the Lord at the church of St. Michael. The next day Andrej went to his father in Kiev.

That same autumn Jurij gave his son Andrej the cities of Turov, Pinsk and Peresopnica. Andrej, having paid homage to his father, went and sat in Peresopnica to rule.

That same winter Izjaslav began to send to Andrej in Peresopnica, saying: "Brother, take me to your father to make peace." And he was sending to him, observing his

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[34]a by e ukrotil" i vorotil" opjat'

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organization and how the city was laid out,[35] for here in Peresopnica he had previously captured his brother Gleb, and now he also wanted to catch this one (Andrej).[36] But his intention was not realized, since the city had been fortified and its (the city's) retinue had been brought together.

Izjaslav was saying (to Andrej): "My homeland is not among the Hungarians or among the Poles, but only in the Russian land. And ask for me from your father the territory around the Goryn' River." Andrej then, for Izjaslav, asked his father, and he did not want to give him territory, Izjaslav then said:

> "My uncle will not give me territory; he does not want me in the Russian land. But Vladimir of Galič by his order took my territory and even wants to come against me to my city of Vladimir."

Izjaslav then, having considered that, sent his brother Vladimir into the land of the Hungarians to the king, his in-law, and said to him:

> "You yourself said to me that Vladimir would not dare to risk[37] his head. I have driven Jurij out of Kiev, and Jurij flees before me. And Vladimir has come, having made an agree-

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[35] stoit

[36] be bo tuto pereže iz"exal" v Peresopnici brata ego Gleba togo že i na sem" lovjašet'

[37] skloniti

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> ment with the Ol'goviči, and he drove me out of Kiev. Now, brother, as you have promised, mount your horse."

The king, hearing that, sent around all his land for his retinue and for all his troops. And then, having gathered all his forces, the king mounted his horse and sent his men to Izjaslav, saying to him: "I have already set out from here with your brother Vladimir; you go from there, gathering all your army, and Vladimir will know whose [territory], he has occupied.[38]

Vladimir had friends among the Hungarians, and they sent to Vladimir and told him that the king was already coming against him. Vladimir at that time was halted by the city of Bel'z, and there, having heard that the king had already entered Gora,[39] he left[40] his supply wagons and hurried[41] with his retinue to the city of Peremyšl'. The king went through Gora and took the city of Sanok; and they captured its (the city's) commissioner and many villages around Peremyšl'.

Vladimir, seeing this, became afraid and sent to the archbishop Kukniš and to two other bishops and the king's

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[38] a vedal"sja budet' Volodimer" kogo zaem"

[39] vsel" v Goru

[40] poverga

[41] gna

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men. He persuaded them in this manner: he gave them a great deal of gold and won them over with gifts, so that the king would turn back. And so they were telling the king to go home.

The king heeded them and began to say: "Now is not the time; the rivers are freezing over, let us go home when the rivers have halted. Then let it be with us as God wills." For it was already near St. Demetrius' day (October 26). The king, saying that, went back, having done much evil to Vladimir and his land. And he took his brother-in-law Vladimir with him to the land of the Hungarians.

In that same time, Izjaslav conferred with his in-law the king (of Hungary) and with his sister the queen...[42]

...and they took from a ban[43] his daughter to marry Vladimir. And they sent her ahead to Izjaslav, and from there to Vladimir.[44]

And because Vladimir found himself in difficulty without his retinue and his horses, he stayed at the king's house. The king honored him greatly, as did his sister and his men, and having given him all kinds of gifts, he sent

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[42]Eleven lines are absent here from text; see column 407.

[43]A ban is a type of leader in Dalmatia and Hungary.

[44]napered"

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him to his brother Izjaslav. The king said to Vladimir when he sent him away:

> "Pay homage to my father and your brother Izjaslav and tell him the Greek king is rising up in war against me. And so this winter I will not be able to mount a horse and come to your aid. Otherwise, father, your defense and mine are not separate. If I cannot come myself, and if you want help, then I will send you ten thousand or more (men). And if God grants it, in the summer I will be at your command. And then we will avenge your offense, and let it be as God wills for us."

Vladimir then went to his brother Izjaslav. Izjaslav, seeing his brother in health, and hearing the king's words from his brother, and of the king's good will, rejoiced greatly. And Izjaslav said to his brother Vladimir: "Brother, may God help you, since you have labored for my honor and for yours. I am once again indebted to my in-laws and your wife."

In that same time Izjaslav had sent to Ustilog for food. And then Izjaslav brought the ban's daughter for his brother Vladimir, and there was great happiness and rejoicing.

In that same year Svjatoslav Ol'govič moved the remains of his brother Igor' from St. Simeon's in the Kopyrev section (of Kiev) to Černigov, and he buried him at the Church of the Holy Savior in a cupola.[45]

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[45] v tereme

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Izjaslav said to his brother Vladimir: "Brother, you have been among the Hungarians at your in-law the king's; you know all their thoughts and ideas; and now, brother, you must trouble yourself again for my honor and yours." And so Izjaslav sent his brother Vladimir to the Hungarians, to the king his in-law, for help. Vladimir then said to his brother Izjaslav: "I, brother, am not troubled by this; for your honor and my brother Rostislav I will gladly go." And then Izjaslav sent his brother Vladimir to the king his in-law, saying:

> "If the (Greek) king has risen in war, let it be for you with him as God wills. If you yourself cannot come, then send help to me as you have promised me. And may God be a helper to me against Jurij and against the Ol'goviči and the prince of Galič; if, brother, you are offended, then the offense is not yours but mine, and my insult is yours."

The king, hearing that, sent ten thousand good men to Izjaslav with Vladimir. Emissaries from the king and Vladimir rode ahead to Izjaslav, saying: "Our in-law the king has sent you ten thousand men and says this to you: 'Where you are offended--here are troops for you--go there with them to avenge your offense; and, brother, when you have succeeded, rule in Kiev.

Vladimir then came to his brother Izjaslav with the Hungarian troops. Izjaslav, having joined with his brother and the Hungarians, set out to Kiev, since Vjačeslav's men

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and the Berendej and the people of Kiev were urging him to come.

And he went to Peresopnica. In that same time Andrej Jur'evič was in Peresopnica. Izjaslav came and halted above Peresopnica, and he burned Zareč'je. And news came to him there that Vladimir of Galič was coming against him. Izjaslav, hearing that, began to plan with his retinue.

The retinue began to say to Izjaslav:

> "Prince, you yourself know it will be terrible. You stand here, having gone to war and come here against Jurij, and Vladimir comes to make war against you. You go against Jurij, and these, having gathered their forces, come behind you. It will be very difficult for us."

Izjaslav then said to his retinue:

> "You have come out of the land of Rus' for me, leaving your villages and your property. And I cannot relinquish the land of my father and grandfather,[46] but I will either lay down my life or else attain my homeland and all your property.[47] Even if Vladimir overtakes me with his forces, I will see God's judgement; let it be as God judges for me with him. On the other hand, if Jurij meets me, I will see God's judgement with his forces; let it be as God judges for me with him."

Izjaslav sent his brother Svjatopolk from there into the city of Vladimir to guard it, and he himself went to Doro-

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[46] a jaz" paky svoeja dediny i otčiny ne mogu perezreti

[47] žizn'

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gobuž with his brother Vladimir, his son Mstislav, Boris of Gorodec, and the Hungarians.

The people of Dorogobuž came out with crosses and paid homage. He then said to them: "You are my grandfather's people and my father's; may God help you." And then, having greeted them, he let them go into the city. And the people of Dorogobuž said to him: "Prince, there are foreigners, Hungarians, with you; and will they not do harm to our city?" Izjaslav then said to them: "I lead the Hungarians and all the people, but not against my own people; but I lead them against whoever is an enemy to me. And do not worry at all about this." And saying that, he bypassed (Dorogobuž) and crossed the Goryn' River, and camped there at Xotrij.

And after that he went to the city of Korsun', and the people of Korsun', coming out with happiness, paid homage to him. Izjaslav then bypassed that city and halted at the river, not having reached the Sluč' River.

Vladimir of Galič sent Vasil'ko Jaropolčič to Andrej, saying: "Brother, come to me." Andrej then went to him and met with him at Milesk and they both sent guards ahead of them, and themselves followed them (the guards). News came to Izjaslav that Vladimir of Galič and Andrej Jur'evič and Vladimir Andreevič had come to Dorogobuž with a great force and crossed the Goryn' River.

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The next day Izjaslav got up and crossed the Sluč' River and from there went across Čertov Forest to the city of Ušesk. And he crossed the river Uša under Ušesk. As all of Izjaslav's troops went across the Uša, the archers of Vladimir of Galič and Andrej and Vladimir Andreevič came to the bank over the river Uša. Izjaslav, hearing that, sent his archers to fight. And they began to fight across the river.

Izjaslav retreated; there is a little stream near the city, and there he and his brother Vladimir and his son Mstislav prepared their troops. He halted at that river, and they were shooting back and forth across it.

Izjaslav's archers pushed across the river onto the other side and the Galičans pushed across to this side. And there Izjaslav's archers captured a man from the Galičans and brought him to Izjaslav. And Izjaslav questioned him, saying to him: "Where is your prince?"

> "In the first forest on the other side of the town. There he received news of you, and he halted there and did not dare to go through the forest, but said, 'If we go through the forest, then they will attack us. And our force is far behind us. Let us wait here.'"

Izjaslav, hearing that, said to his brother Vladimir and to his son Mstislav and to all his retinue: "Let us go against him again." The retinue said to him:

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> "Prince, you must not go against him. In front of you is a river, and a bad one; how do you want to go against him? And he is still there, protected by the forest. Now, prince, do not go there, but go to Kiev to your retinue. If Vladimir reaches us somewhere, we will fight with him there. As you said to us at the city of Zarečsk: 'If Jurij meets us, we will fight with him.' Now, prince, do not delay, but go. When you are at the Teterev River, there all your retinue will come to you. And if God wills it for you, and you go as far as Belgorod before him, more retinue and more troops will come to you."

And so Izjaslav, heeding his brothers, went.

Izjaslav left there and halted at Svjatoslav's spring.[48] And Vladimir crossed the Usă River and halted there. And so they were camped across from each other, so that Izjaslav's guards could see the Galičan fires and the Galičan guards could see Izjaslav's fires.

And Izjaslav decided with his retinue to go to the city of Mič'sk at night. And he ordered all his warriors to build large fires, and so they built the fires and went across at night to Mič'sk. And there a great multitude of people and retinue met them on the bank of the Teterev River, and paid homage there to Izjaslav, and the people of Mič'sk /were/ with them, saying: "You are our prince."

Izjaslav from there crossed the Teterev and dismounted there to rest the horses. Having eaten there, and having

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[48] krinice

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rested the horses, he went to the city of Vzdviženska and, having arrived at Vzdviženska, he camped there until evening.

And having mounted his horse, he called to him his brother Vladimir and his son Mstislav and Boris of Gorodec and the Hungarian men. They came to the council, and he said to them:

> "Vladimir is coming after us; and we are here; I say to you, brothers, do we want to stay here or should we again, ignoring[49] our labors tonight, march? Or do you want to stay here? Vladimir is behind us, and shortly he will overtake us, and there is another army in front of us--Jurij's. If we await him, then, brothers, it will be difficult for us. But, looking to God and not sparing our efforts, let us go. If we go into Belgorod, then Jurij will flee before us. And we will go into our Kiev; and there is a strong force of Kievans, who I know will fight for me if we go there. If we cannot go to Belgorod, then we will go into the land of the Černye Klobuki; if we go into the land of the Černye Klobuki and unite with them, then we will trust in God and not fear Jurij or Vladimir."

And the Hungarians said to him:

> "We are your guests; if you hope for good among the Kievans, then you yourself know your people; our horses are under us, and it is good, prince, to live in friendship. If there is another force behind us, then tonight, let it be as God wills with us; let us go."

And Izjaslav said to his brother Vladimir:

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[49] ne pravjače

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> "Go ahead to Belgorod, and we will send all of your younger retinue with you. Go ahead to Belgorod and we will come after you. If you go to Belgorod, and they begin to fight with you, send news to us, and you yourself fight from morning until evening. And I will either come across Abramov Bridge or else I will go into the land of the Černye Klobuki and, joining with the Černye Klobuki, I will go to Kiev against Jurij. If you capture Belgorod, then send to us, and we will come to you."

Izjaslav, mounting his horse, went through the city of Vzdviženskand there, having prepared his troops, sent his brother Vladimir ahead to Belgorod and he himself set out after him with his troops. Vladimir came quickly to Belgorod to the bridge.

At that same time Boris was feasting in Belgorod on a balcony with his retinue and the priests of Belgorod. If the tax collector had not been on guard and raised the bridge, they would have been captured. And so the troops, arriving at the bridge, called out and sounded trumpets. Boris, hearing that, fled from Belgorod.

The people of Belgorod rushed to the bridge to meet [Vladimir], bowing and saying: "Prince, come. Boris has fled." And then they quickly lowered the bridge. Vladimir entered Belgorod and sent to his brother Izjaslav and said to him: "I have entered Belgorod and Boris has fled." And no news went to Boris or to Jurij.

Izjaslav came quickly to him in Belgorod and directed his troops across the bridge before dawn. Izjaslav himself,

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having prepared his troops, went to Kiev with the Hungarians, and left his brother Vladimir in Belgorod with his troops because of Vladimir of Galič.

Boris fled to his father Jurij. At that time Jurij was at Krasnyj Dvor. Boris told his father about Izjaslav and said: "It is war."[50] Jurij, hearing that, could not find any help for himself; he got into a boat and fled to the other side of the river and went into Gorodec.

The Kievans, hearing of Izjaslav[']s arrival[], came out to meet him with happiness. Izjaslav sat in Kiev on the throne of his grandfather and his father with great honor. They captured much of Jurij's retinue around Kiev.

Izjaslav went with his brother from St. Sophia Cathedral to Jaroslav's estate and invited the Hungarians and the Kievans to dine with him. And having dined there with them in Jaroslav's great estate, they made merry. Then a great number of Hungarians held games on horses and jumping-horses at Jaroslav's estate. The Kievans marvelled at the number of Hungarians and at their champions[51] and their horses.

Vladimir and Andrej did not know of that, and they halted at Mič'sk. And they sent out guards and found out

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[50] ose rat'

[51] kmet'stva

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that Jurij was already in Gorodec and Izjaslav in Kiev. Vladimir of Galič, hearing that Izjaslav had entered Kiev and Jurij had fled from Kiev, said to Andrej Jur'evič and to Vladimir Andreevič: "How will my in-law's reign fare if a force is coming against him from Vladimir? And how did we not know that? You, his son (Andrej) rule in Peresopnica and you (Vladimir) in Belgorod. How did you not guard against that?" And he said with anger to Andrej Jur'evič:

> "If you rule in this manner with your father, then take care of it yourself;[52] I cannot go against Izjaslav alone. Izjaslav wanted to fight with me yesterday, going against your father and turning (instead) against me and being caught,[53] /having/ to fight with me. If he is now coming into all the Russian land, I cannot go alone against him."

And saying that, he returned to Galič.

And he said to the people of Mič'sk: "Give me silver, as much as I want, or else I will plunder your city." They were not able to give what he wanted of them. They then, taking silver from their ears and necks and melting it down, gave it to Vladimir. Vladimir took the silver and left. In the same way he took silver from all the cities as far as up to his own land.

To Andrej and Vladimir he said: "And you go to your

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[52] a pravite sami

[53] a na mja sja oboročivaja lovja sja

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father." Andrej and Vladimir went there, to the mouth of the Pripjat' River, to David's Church; from there they went to Gorodec-Osterskij to their father Jurij.

The next day Izjaslav sent to Vyšgorod to his father Vjačeslav and said to him:

> "Father, I bow to you. Since God took away my father Mstislav, then you are a father to me. Now I bow to you; I have sinned against you. The first time--I repent that; and once again when God granted me to defeat Igor' at Kiev and I did not honor you; and then again at Tumašč. Now, father, I repent all of that before God and before you. If, father, you forgive me that, then God will also forgive me for it. Now, father, I give you Kiev. Go, sit on the throne of your grandfather and your father."

Vjačeslav then said:

> "Son, may God help you, since you have honored me. You should have done so long ago. Since you have honored me, you have also honored God. If you say,[54] 'You are my father', then you are also my son. You have no father and I have no son; so you are my son and you are also my brother."

And on this they kissed the true cross, [swearing] that they would not be separated either in good or in evil [times], but would be together.[55]

In that same year Rostislav Jur'evič died in Perejaslavl' as Good Friday was dawning. And his brothers--

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[54] deeši

[55] jako ne razlučitis ima ni v" dobre ni v" zle no po odnomu mestu byti

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Andrej, Gleb, and Mstislav--laid him in the church of St. Michael near his uncles Andrej and Svjatoslav.

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CHAPTER VI

THE REIGN OF JURIJ VLADIMIRIČ: THE YEAR 1151

In the year 1151, Izjaslav brought his uncle and father Vjačeslav to Kiev. Vjačeslav came into Kiev and went to the St. Sophia Cathedral; then he sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father. Then he invited to dinner his son Izjaslav and all the Kievans and the king's men, the Hungarians, with their retinues. And they abided in great love. Vjačeslav and Izjaslav greatly honored the Hungarians. Vjačeslav and Izjaslav gave them many gifts: vessels and clothing and horses and fabrics and all kinds of gifts.

In that time news came to Vjačeslav and Izjaslav that Vladimir of Galič had returned to Galič and Andrej Jur'evič and Vladimir Andreevič had gone from him there to the mouth of the Pripjat' River to their father at David's Church. The next day Vjačeslav sent to Izjaslav and said to him:

> "Son, may God help you, since you have honored me as your father; and I say this to you, son: I am already old and I can no longer direct all matters. But let us both stay in Kiev. If we have to direct some matter of either Christians or pagans, let us both go together. And my retinue and my troops, let them be both of ours, and you direct them. If it is possible

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> for both of us to go somewhere, then let us both go; if not, then you go with my troops and yours."

Izjaslav with great happiness and great honor paid homage to his father and said: "Father, I bow to you. As we have said, so may God grant us: to be together as long as we live."

The third day they called the Hungarians to them and sent them to their homes in their land. And they said to them: "Go to your king and our in-law, and we will send our son Mstislav after you." And they ordered them to say to the king:

> "May God help you, brother, since you have so helped us. Only a brother by birth or a son to a father can do as much as you have done for us. Moreover, we say to you, brother, we sent to you our son Mstislav with messages."

And saying that, they sent them off with great honor to the king in the land of the Hungarians.

And then they both met together; Vjačeslav and Izjaslav sent their son Mstislav to the king in the land of the Hungarians. And they said this to the king:

> "You have done for us what only a brother by birth can do for his brother, or a son for his father,--in such a way you have helped us. We say, brother, may God grant that we never be separated from you in any way. And if you are offended somewhere, then God grant that we may be there ourselves (to fight) for your offense, or else our brothers and our sons and their troops. And we have nothing to repay you for this except our lives, as you have done for us.

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> Now, in the same way, let us complete the matter well. We do not call you yourself to us, since the (Greek) tsar is hostile to you. But send help, either the same again[1] or send a stronger /force/ than that to us with my brother and our son Mstislav, since Jurij is strong and the Davidoviči and the Ol'goviči are with him, and moreover, the wild Polovci--he lured them with gold. Now, brother, help us this spring; we will come with our troops to help you, or else if you reestablish good relations[2] with the tsar, then you will be a helper to us. And all your men and your brother Mstislav will tell you how God helped us and, moreover, how all the Russian land and the Černye Klobuki joined us."

And then, having sent Mstislav to the Hungarians, they sent their men to Rostislav (Mstislavič) in Smolensk.

And Vjačeslav said to Rostislav:

> "Brother, God has brought us together with your brother and my son Izjaslav: having attained the Russian land, he honored me and put me /to rule/ in Kiev. And, son, I say to you, come[3] to us here. Let all of us see together what God shows us to do."

Izjaslav said then to his brother Rostislav:

> "You, brother, have done much to convince me to honor my uncle and my father. Now then, God brought me into the Russian land and I have put my uncle and yours in Kiev for you and for all the Russian land. And I say to you, brother, your son and mine, Jaroslav, is there in Novgorod for God, and there you have Smolensk. Then, brother, having taken

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[1] ljubo tako že

[2] upravisisja

[3] potrudisja

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> care of everything there, come to us here. Let us all see together what God shows us to do."

Jurij sent to Černigov to Vladimir Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič, saying: "Izjaslav is already in Kiev; come to help me." Svjatoslav then did not await the great day (Easter), but set out on Monday of Holy Week. And on Tuesday a son was born to him, and they named him Jurij in Holy Christening. And his lay name was Igor'. He (Svjatoslav) celebrated the great day (Easter) in Blestovet and went from there to Černigov. And then he joined with his brother Vladimir and they both went in boats to Gorodec to Jurij. Then Izjaslav Davidovič went to Kiev to Vjačeslav and Izjaslav Mstislavič, and they camped at Gorodec; and there they celebrated St. George's day.

In that same time Rostislav came with warriors from Smolensk and a multitude of /other/ warriors to his uncle Vjačeslav and his brother Izjaslav. Vjačeslav, seeing his nephew Rostislav, and Izjaslav, seeing his brother, rejoiced with great happiness and praised God and His Holy-Most Mother and the power of the life-giving cross. They abided (there) in great happiness and in great love.

And Jurij set out to Kiev and camped at Rodupii, and many wild Polovci came there in aid to Jurij. Izjaslav observed this and forded the Dnepr River, and so they began to fight along the Dnepr River in boats, from Kiev as far

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as up to the mouth of the Desna River. Some from Kiev were going out to fight in boats and others from the camps.

And they were fighting hard, but they could not succeed against Kiev, because Izjaslav had marvellously adapted the boats, for the rowers in them could not be seen, only the oars were visible. And the men could not be seen because the boats were covered with boards and warriors were standing on top in armor and shooting. And there were two pilots, one on the bow and the other on the stern; wherever they wanted to go, they went without turning the boats.

And after that Jurij conferred with Vladimir Davidovič, Svjatoslav Ol'govič, Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, and the Polovci, wanting to go down the river to the Vitičev Ford. For they did not dare to send boats /directly/ past Kiev, but they put them into Dolobskoe Lake and after that portaged[4] to the Zolotča River. They went via the Volotča River in their boats into the Dnepr. The Polovci came across the meadow to Jurij.

Vjačeslav then and Izjaslav and their brother Rostislav, Izjaslav Davidovič and Jaroslav his brother, the prince of Gorodec and his retinue, the Kievans and the Černye Klobuki conferred, and they went along this side of the Dnepr River

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[4]ottole voločiša e beregom"

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along the shore.[5] And his (Jurij's) boats came from the village of Miroslavsk. And there they were stopped, fighting, and they came down into the boats at the ford. And they captured some of them and others /they killed/.

And they were stopped there with the others across from them; Izjaslav would not let them cross there. Neither side could cross to the other.[6] Jurij, having conferred with his sons, called Vladimir Davidovič, Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and the Polovci to him and began to say to them: "Brothers, here we stand, what are we accomplishing here? But we are caught by them.[7] How would it be for us to capture Zarubskij Ford and cross over to the other side?" And they all liked that.

Jurij then sent his son with Polovci, and Vladimir Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič sent Svjatoslav Vsevolodič. And they themselves stayed there, having prepared their troops, they began to direct their boats /to be moved/ near the sand along their side. And then, having directed all their boats near the sand, they themselves went to the boats by the bank.

Then Jur'evič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and the wild

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[5] po gore

[6] nelze by ni onem" na sju storonu ni sim" na onu

[7] no lovim" u nix togo

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Polovci came to Zarubskij Ford. On this same side was Švarn with guards, and they found a ford in the Dnepr. And the Polovci, seeing Izjaslav's guards, that there were few of them, began to cross the ford to them, on horses for defense, and with spears and in armor, as if to fight. And the Dnepr was covered from the great number of warriors; and the Russians crossed in boats.

Švarn, seeing that, took flight and fled to Izjaslav. For in that time he had sent his son Mstislav to the land of the Hungarians; because of that the ford was not defended for him, since there was no prince then and not everyone heeds a boyar. Jurij's son and both of Svjatoslav's, having crossed the Dnepr with the Polovci, sent to Jurij, saying: "We have already crossed the Dnepr; come quickly, lest Izjaslav attack us." Jurij then, with Vladimir, came quickly to Zarub, and they crossed the Dnepr.

In that same time Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and his brother Rostislav, Izjaslav Davidovič, Vladimir--Rostislav's brother, and the prince of Gorodec were all at Ivan. And news came to them there and they returned to Kiev. Vjačeslav, Izjaslav, and Rostislav, having called together their brothers, began to plan. Izjaslav and his brother Rostislav always wanted to fight against them. Vjačeslav's, Izjaslav's and Rostislav's retinue and all the princes

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resisted[8] that. And the Kievans and most of all the Černye Klobuki resisted that, saying:

> "Prince, it is not possible for you to go to him, he will go ahead of you to Rus' and you will have to leave your infantry to go after him. But we, prince, say this to you: do not do that, but go to your Kiev, and appoint over us (as leader) your brother Vladimir. Let us go to our camps, for we want to get our tents and our wives and children and our flocks and whatever is ours. Then we will go to Kiev, and you will be in Kiev before evening, and we will also. We will, for your father and in-law Vjačeslav and for your brother Rostislav and for all the brothers, lay down our lives. We will either attain honor for you, or else we will die there with you, but we do not want Jurij."

Vjačeslav, Izjaslav, and Rostislav heeded their retinues and the Kievans and the Černye Klobuki, and so they sent Vladimir their brother to get the tents with Torks, Koui, Berendej and Pečenegs,[9] and they themselves went to the city of Trepol'.

And having come to Trepol', they camped there for the night. The next day as the sun was rising, Vjačeslav, Izjaslav, and Rostislav went from Trepol' to Kiev across the small pine forest[10].

When they came, Vjačeslav and Izjaslav did not go into the city; they set up their camps in front of the Golden

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[8] ustjagyvaxut'

[9] Solov'ev (p. 475) has: "imena varvarskix narodcev, slyvšix pod obščim imenem černyx klobukov."

[10] cere(s") Brok" (borok")

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Gates at Jazina. And Izjaslav Davidovič camped between the Golden Gates and the Jews' Gates across from Borislav's estate; and Rostislav and his son Roman camped in front of the Jews' Gates, and there was a great number (of warriors) with them. And Boris camped at the Poles' Gates.

The Kievans with all their troops, on horse and on foot, stayed between the princes: they camped for the night there, from Vjačeslav and from Izjaslav on the right up to Izjaslav and Rostislav, and from Rostislav up to Oleg's Grave; and on the left from Vjačeslav and Izjaslav up to the Poles' Gates. And so they were around the whole city, a great multitude. And then Vladimir came with all the Černye Klobuki and with their tents and flocks and cattle, a great multitude.

And great harm was done both by the enemy and by the allies (the Klobuki): they broke into[11] the monasteries and burned villages and cut down all the fences.[12] Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav ordered Vladimir to go with the Berendej and their tents and flocks to Oleg's [Grave]; and they halted in the ravine by[13] Oleg's [Grave] up to the garden of the Church of St. John and in

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[11] otorgoša

[12] ogorody

[13] m'ži d'br'mi

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this direction up to Ščekovica. And the Koui and Torks and Pečenegs camped there from the Golden Gates along that fence up to the Poles' Gates, and from there right up to Klov and to Berestovo, and to the Hungarians' Gates and the Dnepr River.

And then, having organized themselves,[14] the princes and retinues and the Černye Klobuki and the Kievans did not plan to go against them (their opponents) to fight them, but to let them come to them and to fight with them there. And Izjaslav said:

> "If God helps us, we will defeat them; and they are not winged; and having flown across the Dnepr, they will sit. And if he (Jurij) has already turned away from us, then let it be as God grants us with them."

Vjačeslav then said to Izjaslav and Rostislav: "We, brothers, are already prepared (for battle); Jurij is my brother, but younger than I, and I am old. And I had wanted to send to him and to give[15] him my seniority. We will be judged before God, and God watches over Right." And Izjaslav and Rostislav said: "Do that, father, that is right."

Vjačeslav then said to his man:

> "Go to brother Jurij. Greet my brother for me. And you, brothers and sons, Izjaslav and Rostislav, take heed; I send before

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[14] tako narjad" stvorše

[15] upraviti

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you.[16] Say this to my brother: I have often said to you, brother, and to Izjaslav, to both of you: 'Do not shed Christian blood and destroy the Russian land.' I have restrained you from that. And I have not paid heed to the fact that you have offended me time and again, and dishonored me. I have troops and I have forces, God gave them to me. But I for the sake of the Russian land and Christians do not remember all of that. I have shown to you that Izjaslav, going to fight with Igor', said this: 'I do not seek Kiev for myself, but for my father Vjačeslav, my elder brother, for him I seek it.' And that is what he said, going to fight. And God helped him; and he attained Kiev for himself; and moreover, Turov and Pinsk he took from me. That is how Izjaslav offended me. And you again, brother, going to Perejaslavl' with Izjaslav to fight, said likewise: 'I do not seek Kiev for myself, but for my elder brother Vjačeslav, who is like a father to me, I seek it for him.' And God helped you. And you attained Kiev for yourself and moreover, you have taken Peresopnica and Dorogobuž from me. And thus you have offended me. And you have given me only Vyšgorod. I, however, have not paid attention to all of that for the Russian land and the Christians; and moreover, I have restrained you. And you did not heed me. It is not for me to judge what has been said, but for God. You have said to me that you cannot pay homage to one who is younger than you, Izjaslav. Although he twice broke his word, now, having attained Kiev, he has paid homage to me and honored me, and put me to rule in Kiev, and called me 'father', and I have called him 'son'. Do what you have said--'I will not pay homage to the younger. I am older than you, not by a little but by a lot. I was already bearded when you were born. Otherwise, if you want to campaign against my seniority, as you have done, then let God be the judge of all of us."

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[16] pered" vami i otrjažju

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And so he sent (that message).

Jurij at that time was at the city of Vasilev. Jurij sent his emissary back to him, and he said to Vjačeslav: "I pay homage to you, brother. It is right; as you say, you are like a father to me; if you want to make a treaty[17] with me, let Izjaslav go to the city of Vladimir and Rostislav to Smolensk, then we will make a treaty ourselves." Vjačeslav said then:

> "You have seven sons, and I will not drive them from you. But I have only two sons--Izjaslav and Rostislav--all the others are younger. But I, brother, say to you, for the Russian land and Christians, go to your cities Perejaslavl' and Kursk with your sons; and there you can have Great Rostov. Send the Ol'goviči home and we will make peace with you. And we will not have shed Christian blood. Or else go according to your plan, as you have gone before."

And Vjačeslav said: "Looking up at the Holy Mother of God who is over the Golden Gates, /I say/ 'Let that most-pure Lady with her Son and our God judge us in this age and in the next.'" Saying that, he sent back Jurij's man. The next day, having prepared, Jurij came to Kiev and halted his troops there along the other side of the Lybed' River.

And they began to fight around the Lybed'. Andrej Jur'evič and Vladimir Andreevič with Polovci charged[18] with

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[17] rjaditi

[18] nalegoša

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their forces, and so they crossed the Lybed'. They crossed to where Suxaja Lybed' is. His retinue not knowing, Andrej[19] charged with Polovci. As for Vladimir, his tutor did not let him go since he was young at that time.

Andrej (Jur'evič) had driven his warriors almost up to their troops. A single Polovec took his horse from under him, and he (Andrej) turned and abused his retinue,[20] because all the Polovci had left him. Andrej returned unharmed, preserved by God and by the prayer of his parents.

And they exchanged shots until evening across the Lybed', and others crossed and were fighting against Vjačeslav's and Izjaslav's regiments on a rise.[21] And others outside of the Poles' Gates were fighting on foot. Izjaslav, seeing that, for all his brothers ordered a retinue to be formed from the regiments, but the regiments were not to be disturbed; and he decided that they would charge them all at once.[22]

And they did so, and all of them rushed against them--as well as Černye Klobuki from everywhere--and so they drove them into the Lybed' everywhere. Some missed the ford and

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[19] pot"če

[20] i v"zvrati i laja družine svoei

[21] na bolon'i

[22] položi s"vet odinoju vsim" pot"knuti na n'

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so they were killed; others were captured, and still others fled from their horses. And many were killed there--they also killed Savenč Bonjakovič, a wild Polovec, who had said: "I want to strike the Golden Gates with my sword, just as my father did."

From then on not another man crossed to the other side, but Jurij turned his troops around and retreated. For news had come to him that his in-law Vladimir was coming to help him from Galič, and he set out to meet him. Izjaslav and Rostislav came to Vjačeslav, saying: "They have turned back, let us go after them." Vjačeslav said:

> "Son, this is the beginning of God's help. Having come here, they did not succeed in any way, but only attained shame. And you, sons, do not hurry, God will still provide. Then either at evening or else in the morning, after we have conferred, let us go after them."

Izjaslav said to Boris of Gorodec: "Now they will try to go to Belgorod; go, brother, to Belgorod through the pine forest." Boris said: "Brother, I am ready."

Jurij then went to Belgorod and said to the people of Belgorod: "You are my people; open the city to me." The people of Belgorod said: "Was Kiev opened to you? Our princes are Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav." Jurij, hearing that, went across the pine forest to Vernev and from there across the hill, and he halted at B'zjanic. For he was hoping the Galičan prince Vladimir would come there to

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him, and so he had been retreating from Kiev. He sent his nephew Vladimir Andreevič to him. Izjaslav, hearing this news, went after Jurij, watching him lest he meet with Vladimir of Galič.

Vjačeslav, Izjaslav, and Rostislav paid homage on Tuesday to the Holy Mother of God of the Tithe and St. Sophia. And they came out of the city. The Kievans said to Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav: "Let all go who can take even a twig in their hands (for a weapon); whoever does not go, give him to us, so we may kill him ourselves." And so they went--not leaving anyone, but happily--after their princes, on horses and on foot; a great multitude went and they halted at Zvenigorod for the night.

The next day on Wednesday they awakened late, and not reaching their destination, they halted at Vasilev for dinner. At that time an emissary reached Izjaslav from the Hungarians, from his son Mstislav; he said:

> "Your son pays homage to you, and says this: 'I inform you that the king your in-law sends help to you, a great multitude such as there has never been before. And already I have crossed the mountain with them. If you need us soon, send back to us, and we will come more quickly.'"

Izjaslav rode and met with Vjačeslav and with his brother Rostislav and, having conferred, they sent back to Mstislav, saying this: "We are already going to God's judgement; you, son, are always needed by us. Hurry as much as you

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can. We have reached Vasilev." And then, having prepared their troops, they went past Vasilev across the Stugna River; and having reached a rise, they did not cross the rise, but halted there with their troops for the night.

And they caught up with him (Jurij) at Perepetovo, wanting to fight with them. The guards went below Jurij's troops and pursued them. On Thursday before dawn, Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav crossed the rise onto the open[23] field. And they went to fight where Jurij was.

And they sent emissaries to each other concerning peace, but the Ol'govičі and the Polovci did not want to make peace, since they were quick to shed blood. They stood there until evening; Jurij, having crossed the Rut (Rutec) halted. When Thursday[24] dawned Izjaslav, having prepared all his troops, went to him.

Jurij did not want to fight yet, but was awaiting Vladimir. Izjaslav was approaching, and then God caused a fog that one could not see in any direction--one could only see to the end of a spear. And it began[25] to rain, and in that (rain) they both came to a lake. And the lake separated them, so that they could not reach each other. At noon the

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[23] čstoe

[24] pjat'ku (error in text)

[25] dostiže

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fog lifted and the sky became clear, and they saw troops on both sides of the lake, and then they were fighting on the flanks of the troops on both sides. But the troops themselves could not come together.

And then Jurij went across a strait[26] with his troops. Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav went after him above the lake, wanting to fight with him. Jurij, ahead of them, reached the Little Rutec River with his troops and they, crossing in the mud (where the water was low), halted there for the night. Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav came up and camped right there across from him for the night (far enough away) so that arrows could not reach them, so they were standing across from each other.

The next day on Friday, as the dawn was breaking, first in Jurij's camp they struck tambourines and sounded trumpets, and the troops began to prepare. The same (occurred) at Vjačeslav's and Izjaslav's and Rostislav's camp: they began to strike tambourines and sounded trumpets, and the troops began to prepare. Jurij and his sons and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, having prepared their troops, went to the source[27] of the Rutec.

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[26] za šolomja

[27] na verx"

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Then Jurij and Vladimir Davidovič, Svjatoslav, the wild Polovci, and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, turning their troops around, went to Great Rutec River, not wanting to fight but wanting to go across the Rutec there and await Vladimir of Galič.

Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav, seeing that they were going away from them, sent their archers, Černye Klobuki and Russians, after them. And then they began to follow the troops to exchange shots with them, and they began to take supply carts from them. Jurij, seeing that, and his son, Vladimir Davidovič, Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič saw that they could not get across the Rutec and that the enemy was pursuing their troops from behind and taking their carts. And so they turned their troops around and stood against them.

They were coming to fight them, and Andrej began to direct his father's troops, since he was the eldest of the brothers. He saw the Polovci standing in the rear and went to them and fortified them[28] for battle. And from there he rode into his own troops and fortified his retinue.

Then Izjaslav and Rostislav pushed through to their father Vjačeslav, saying: "You have wanted much good, but your brother did not want that. Now, father, we want to lay

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[28] k tem" gnav" i ukreple e

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down our lives for you or else bring honor upon you." Vjačeslav said: "Brother and son, since my birth I have not been disposed to bloodshed, but this my brother has brought upon me. Now we are already at this place, and it is for God to judge." And they they bowed to him and rode to their troops.

Izjaslav went to his regiment and sent to all his troops, saying: "Watch my regiment; however they go, you go the same way." And so the troops went to him.

And the troops were still coming to him when Andrej Jur'evič took up a spear and rode to the front and met (the opposing army) ahead of everyone. And his spear was broken off, then they pierced the horse under him in the nostrils. The horse began to buck under him and his helmet fell off of him; and they tore away his shield. By the intercession of God and the prayer of his parents he was preserved without harm.

And then ahead of all the troops Izjaslav rode out alone into enemy troops and his spear was broken, and there they cut him in the hand and speared him in the thigh. With that he fell from his horse.

When the armies met there was great carnage. God and the Holy Mother of God and the power of the true life-giving cross helped Vjačeslav and Izjaslav and Rostislav, and there they defeated Jurij. And then Jurij's Polovci, without

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letting forth a single shot, fled. Then the Ol'govičі fled and then Jurij and his children. They were fleeing across the Rutec; much of the retinue drowned in the Rutec, for it was muddy.

And as they were fleeing, some were killed and others were captured. Here they killed Prince Vladimir Davidovič of Černigov, the good and humble, and they killed many others. And they captured many Polovci princes and others they killed, as the troops--calvary and infantry--came together.

Izjaslav was lying wounded, and then he got up and the Kievan foot-soldiers wanted to kill him, thinking he was a soldier, not knowing him. Izjaslav then said: "I am a prince." And one of them said: "And so you are the one we need," and began to cut him on the helmet. And there was on the helmet, over the forehead, a golden Panteleimon, and he struck him with the sword. And so the helmet was pierced through to the forehead.

Izjaslav then said: "I am Izjaslav, your prince." And he took off his helmet and they recognized him. And many people, hearing that, raised him up with their hands with joy as their king and their prince. And so they sang a Kyrie eleison, all the troops, rejoicing, having defeated the enemy troops and seeing their prince alive.

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Izjaslav was greatly weakened from wounds, since he had lost much blood. And he heard that Izjaslav (Davidovič) was weeping over his brother Vladimir, and so ignored[29] his own weakness; and they placed him on a horse and he went there and wept over him as for his own brother. And having wept a long time, he said to Izjaslav Davidovič:

> "We can no longer resurrect that one but, brother, God and the Holy Most-Pure One (Mother of God) have defeated our enemies and now they are fleeing past /us/. But Černigov is here;[30] and you, brother, stay no more by him, but prepare yourself and, taking your brother, go to Černigov, and I will send[31] help to you. Be at Vyšgorod today by evening."

Izjaslav conferred with his brother Rostislav and they sent with him Roman, Rostislav's son, bringing his retinue.

And so Izjaslav went with Roman to Černigov, taking his brother Vladimir to the camps. As Izjaslav and Rostislav had said to them, to be in Vyšgorod by evening, so they were; that night they were transported (across the Dnepr River). The first thing the next day they went to Černigov. Izjaslav went with Roman Rostislavič into Černigov; and having buried his brother, he himself sat on his brother's throne in Černigov.

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[29] ostavja

[30] a ti nyn begajut' okolo a Černigov" ose

[31] prirjazju

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Jurij and his children had fled across the Dnepr River at Trepol', and he (Jurij) went along the other side (of the river from Kiev) into Perejaslavl'. The Polovci fled to the land of the Polovci and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič fled across the Dnepr above the city of Zarub and fled into Gorodec.

Svjatoslav Ol'govič was heavy in body and it was difficult for him to flee. From there, from Gorodec, he sent his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič to Černigov, and he himself was not able to go. Svjatoslav reached the crossing[32] at the Dnepr River, and news came to him there that Izjaslav Davidovič and Roman Rostislavič had already gone into Černigov. Hearing that, he fled back and sent back to his uncle, saying: "Do not come here, but go that way, to Novgorod (Seversk). Izjaslav Davidovič and Roman Rostislavič have already come here." And Svjatoslav heard that and they two fled to Novgorod.

Vladimir of Galič had come to Jurij his in-law in help, which he (Jurij) had hoped for, and when he was at Božeskij, news came to him there that Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav had defeated Jurij and killed his Polovci. When Vladimir heard that, he turned back with care and went to Galič.

And so Vjačeslav, Izjaslav and Rostislav, praising God

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[32] perevozu

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and his Most-Pure Mother and the power of the life-giving cross, with honor and great praise went to Kiev. And clergy came out to meet them with crosses: Metropolitan Klim and the honored abbots and priests and a great multitude of clergy. And they rode into Kiev with great honor and there, having paid homage to St. Sophia and to the Holy Mother of God of the Tithe, they abided in great happiness and in great love. And so they began to live. Vjačeslav and Izjaslav began to prepare to go against Jurij to Perejaslavl', and Rostislav went to Smolensk.

In that same time Mstislav Izjaslavič was bringing the Hungarians to help his father. And Vladimir of Galič heard that Mstislav Izjaslavič was coming from the king with Hungarians to help, and he set out after him. Mstislav did not know and halted at the city of Sapogin', and the Hungarians halted near him.

Then Vladimir Andreevič sent a great deal of food from Dorogobuž to him and the Hungarians. And then Vladimir told him: "Vladimir of Galič is coming to you." Mstislav was drinking with the Hungarians and told them: "Vladimir of Galič is coming after us." The Hungarians were drunk and boastful,[33] saying: "If he comes against us, then we will fight with him."

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[33] veličaxusja

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That night Mstislav posted guards and he himself slept with the Hungarians. The guards ran to him in the middle of the night, saying: "Vladimir is coming." Mstislav and his retinue mounted their horses and began to awaken the Hungarians. The Hungarians were lying drunk as if dead, and it was before dawn; and Vladimir of Galič attacked them, and captured a few of them and killed all /the rest/. Mstislav fled to Luck with his retinue.

Then news came to Izjaslav in Kiev that his son had been defeated and the Hungarians killed, and he said that which we have heard before: "The place does not come to the head, but the head to the place. And if God will give me and the king health, then we will be avenged." And saying that, Vjačeslav and Izjaslav went against Jurij to Perejaslavl' with Izjaslav's brother Svjatopolk and Berendej.

And having arrived, they fought at Perejaslavl' for two days. On the third day they went as usual to fight, and foot-soldiers rushed out against them from the city. And having come upon them, they killed many of the foot-soldiers and set fire to the area around the city.

Vjačeslav and Izjaslav sent to Jurij, saying: "We bow to you; go to Suzdal' and appoint your son to rule in Perejaslavl'. We cannot be with you here. You will bring Polovci against us again." Jurij did not have help from

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anywhere, and some of his retinue had been killed and others captured. Jurij was forced against his will to kiss the cross to them, and his children also /had to kiss the cross/, for the holy day of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb had come.

And Vjačeslav and Izjaslav said to him: "Go to your Suzdal'. You have kissed the cross." Jurij then sent to them and said: "I will go to Gorodec, and having stayed there /a while/, I will /then/ go to Suzdal'." Vjačeslav and Izjaslav said:

> "You are a brother to us, go to your Suzdal'. If you say you have to be in Gorodec,[34] then for this one month rest, (and) then go to your Suzdal'. If you do not go, we will come with our troops and surround Gorodec, just as we are /doing/ here (in Perejaslavl'). Kiss the cross on that, that you will do that and that you will not seek Kiev under Vjačeslav and Izjaslav."

And Jurij had to kiss the cross to all that. Vjačeslav and Izjaslav then said to Jurij: "You do not need Svjatoslav Ol'govič." And so he was not given up to Jurij.[35]

And having made peace there, Vjačeslav and Izjaslav went to Kiev. Jurij left his son Gleb at Perejaslavl', and he himself went to Gorodec. And Andrej asked for and got from his father /permission to go/ ahead to Suzdal', saying: "Father, now we have no war here in the Russian

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[34] aže Gorod"ka delja

[35] Gjurgevi ni v"meni ego

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land, or any other reason to be here. Let us go while it is warm." And his father let him go to his home, but Jurij went to Gorodec.

Svjatoslav Ol'govič heard that Jurij had made peace with Vjačeslav and Izjaslav and had been forced to leave Perejaslavl'. And so he met with his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and they two sent to Izjaslav in Černigov, saying:

> "Brother, peace comes before war and war before peace; and, brother, we are brothers to each other; take us to you (as allies). We have two patrimonies between us, one my father Oleg's and the other your father David's,--and you, brother, are a Davidovič and I am an Ol'govič. You, brother, take your father David's, and what is Oleg's, give that to us. And we two will divide this between us."

Izjaslav, acting as a Christian, accepted his brothers and returned their patrimonies. And he took his own (patrimony).

At that same time Izjaslav Mstislavič sent his emissaries to the king his in-law, saying:

> "Vladimir of Galič has killed my retinue and yours. Now, brother, reflect on this, reflect. Do not let us leave this upon ourselves,[36] but let God and your retinue avenge it. And you, brother, make yourself ready, and I will (do the same) here. And let it be with us as God wills."

And then, having prepared his troops, he went to Gorodec against Jurij, taking Berendej, Izjaslav Davidovič, Svjato-

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[36] gadai o sem' gadai nama na sobe sego ne dai položiti

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slav Vsevolodič and help from Svjatoslav Ol'govič.

Jurij barricaded himself and his children in Gorodec. They were fighting from inside the city for many days; it was difficult for him, since no help came to him from anywhere. And he kissed the cross to them that he would go to Suzdal', and they retreated from the city.[37] Jurij left his son Gleb in Gorodec and he himself went to Suzdal' from Gorodec. Jurij went there via Novgorod Seversk to Svjatoslav Ol'govič. He received him with great honor and gave him supply carts (for the trip), and Jurij went to Suzdal'.

Izjaslav reigned in Kiev with Vjačeslav--Vjačeslav in the Great Palace and Izjaslav under the Hungarian (Gates). And he appointed his son Mstislav to rule in Perejaslavl'.

That same year the people of Polock took Rogvolod Borisovič, their prince, and sent him to Minsk and held him there in great deprivation.[38] And they brought Glebovič to them, and the people of Polock sent to Svjatoslav Ol'govič with love [saying that they wanted] to have him as a father to them and to obey him. And they kissed the cross on that. In that same time the princess, Izjaslav's wife, died.

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[37] ego

[38] u velice nuži

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CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF JURIJ VLADIMIRIČ: THE YEARS 1152-1154

In the year 1152, Izjaslav Mstislavič joined with Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and, having conferred, they divided up [booty from] Jurij's city Gorodec and set fire to it. And the Church of St. Michael, whose dome was built of wood, burned also. In that same time the king (of the Hungarians) sent to Izjaslav, saying: "Father, I bow to you. You have sent to me about the offense of the prince of Galič, and I am preparing here. You prepare--let us not put that upon ourselves, but let it be as God wills with us and him." Izjaslav sent his son Mstislav to the king of the Hungarians to go with[1] the king against the prince of Galič. The king said: It is time to go." And he sent to Izjaslav and said to him: "I have already mounted my horse, and I am taking your son Mstislav with me. Now you mount your horse." Izjaslav, hearing that, gathered all his retinue and set out, taking with him all of Vjačeslav's troops and all the Černye Klobuki and the best Kievans and all the Russian retinue.

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[1] povesti

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And when he came to Dorogobuž, his brother Vladimir came to him there. Then they went to Peresopnica and there Vladimir Andreevič came to them; Prince Svjatopolk, a brother from Vladimir, also came to them there with his troops. And so, having all come together, they went to the king.

Izjaslav did not take his brother Svjatopolk but left him at the city of Vladimir and took his troops with him. And Izjaslav set out from Vladimir with his troops along the king's road--along which he had come against Andrej Vladimirič with Jaroslav Svjatopolčič, whom they also killed there, at Vladimir.

Izjaslav came to the San River, which flows by the city of Peremyšl'. And as he crossed the river San, an emissary from the king reached him there with a retinue of one hundred,[2] and he said to Izjaslav "Your in-law the king bows to you and says this to you: 'I have already stayed here five days waiting for you, come.'" Izjaslav, hearing that, went with great haste.

On the next day Izjaslav went to the city of Jaroslavl', passed it and halted for dinner. And the king sent his man to him there with more than a thousand troops. Izjaslav, having dined there, prepared his troops and went to the king. And as he approached the camp, the king mounted his horse

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[2] "v" ste družiny

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and came out with his men to meet Izjaslav with joy. They embraced there with great love and with great honor.

And they went and dismounted at the king's tent and began to plan how to go to fight early the next day to the river San. And so they made their arrangements.

Early the next day the king beat on tambourines and so prepared his troops, and went to Izjaslav. Having sent (to him), he said: "Go with your troops close to my troops, and where I halt you also halt, for it is good for us to /be able to/ plan everything /together/." Izjaslav then said to the king: "Son, so be it."

And they went to the San River, below the city of Peremyšl'; there they halted with all their troops. Vladimir (of Galič) was on the other side (of the river) with his troops. The king had seventy-three regiments besides Izjaslav's regiments and besides the horses to haul supplies and extra horses.

When they had entered the land of Galič and Vladimir, they halted, for it was Sunday. The king, according to his custom, did not go anywhere on Sunday. Vladimir did not let the troops enter his land; he met them and captured the king's foragers.

The next day the king arose and set out. Vladimir went behind the fortifications and halted. And the king began to place his troops at the fords. The people of Galič were across from them with their troops, and they could not with-

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stand the king. And Vladimir went with his regiment to the same place, and the king stood there across from him. And Izjaslav went with his troops upstream to the fords, and then, having gone, he halted above the king at the other ford. And many Hungarian troops went past Izjaslav to fords above Izjaslav.

Izjaslav said to his retinue:

> "Brothers and retinue: God has never allowed the Russian land and his Russian sons to be dishonored; they have attained their honor everywhere. Now, brothers, let us be jealous of that: in these lands and before foreign people, may God grant that we attain our honor."

And saying that, Izjaslav charged his retinue and all his troops across the ford. And the king and all his troops, seeing Vladimir's troops, did not delay, they all rushed at him, everyone fording wherever he wanted; and they rode from everywhere into Vladimir's troops. And so they trampled them and many were killed there, and others drowned and others were captured.

Vladimir, seeing the Hungarian forces, fled before them and disappeared[3] among the Hungarians and the Černye Klobuki. He fled alone, with only Izbygnev Ivačevič, into the city of Peremyšl'. They had then captured the city of Peremyšl', since there was no one there to fight; but because of this

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[3]poskoči pered nimi i vmjatasja

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they did not take it, since there was a prince's estate outside the city on the low-lying ground by the San River. And there were many goods in it, and all the warriors rushed there.

Izjaslav and the king, having gathered all their warriors and all their retinue, made camp there in front of the city above the Vagr River. Vladimir began to send to the king, asking for peace. On that same night Vladimir sent to the archbishop and to the king's military commanders and acted as if[4] wounded, and said to them:

> "Petition the king for me. I am badly wounded, and I repent this to the king: that I wounded you[5] in the heart, and moreover, that I opposed you. Now, king, God forgives sins; and you forgive me this one. And do not give me over to Izjaslav, since I am very ill; and if God takes me, take my son to you. And men will remind him, saying to him: 'Your father was blind.' And I served your father to his satisfaction with my spear and my troops. When offense was done to him, I fought with the Poles for him. Remember that of me and forgive me this."

And he sent many gifts to the archbishop and those men: gold and silver, and golden and silver dishes, and fabrics, so that they would beseech the king not to oppose him and not do what the king wanted.

The next day the king met with Izjaslav. He told

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[4] stvorisja svoeju volju

[5] veredil"

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Izjaslav; he said:

> "Father, I bow to you. Vladimir sent to me, and he beseeches and pays homage and moreover, he is also badly wounded, and he will not live. And I reveal this to you, father, what do you reply to that?"

Izjaslav said to the king:

> "Son, if Vladimir dies, then God killed him, since he has transgressed the kissing of the cross to both of us. That on which he kissed the cross, and that which he promised you -- has be done that? And still more than that, he has caused shame to both of us.[6] And now how can you have faith in him? And twice he did not uphold his oath. Now God has given him to us; let us take him and let us also take his territory."

Mstislav Izjaslavič argued very much to the king and, moreover, to his father Izjaslav about all Vladimir's faults.

The king, however, did not heed that, but heeded the archbishop and all his men, /who argued for him/ because Vladimir had sent them his possessions. And the king said:

> "I cannot kill him because he beseeches me and pays homage to me and repents[7] his sins. But if now, having kissed the cross, he transgresses that, then let it be for me with him as God wills; either I will be in the Hungarian land or he in the land of Galič."

Vladimir sent to Izjaslav and said:

> "Brother, I bow to you and repent my sins, since I am guilty. Now, brother, take me to you and give /of your possessions to/ me, and convince the king that he should also take me, and my God grant that I shall be with you."

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[6] sorom" na oboju v"zložil" naju

[7] kaet'sja

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Izjaslav did not want to consider all that, but was forced to for the king and his men; and so they began to make peace with him. And the king said to Vladimir: "Kiss the cross on that, that you will return all Russian cities and be with Izjaslav, and not leave him in good times or in evil, but be with him always." He agreed[8] to all this with joy.

Izjaslav and the king met with everyone--including Vladimir his brother and his son Mstislav--in the king's tent. And they began to send their men to Vladimir (of Galič) with a cross /to swear by/. Izjaslav did not want to lead him to the cross and said to the king:

> "Father, I say to you truly, this is the cross on which Christ God wanted to be nailed by His will, which God brought according to His will to St. Stephen; also, Christ kissed this. But if /Vladimir/ transgresses and remains alive in the hour that he transgresses the kissing of the cross, then I, father, promise[9] you: either I will lay down my life or else attack[10] the land of Galič. But now I cannot kill him."

And then they sent their man with the true cross to Vladimir.

Izjaslav sent Petr Borisovič and the king sent his men, and thus they sent their men, saying:

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[8] pristupi

[9] po to imu (podimu)

[10] nalezu

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> "You have sent to us, and God has given you and your territory to us for your sins. Now we put aside our anger at you and we will not take territory from you. But kiss the cross on that, that you will return all the territories of the Russian land, and that you will not leave Izjaslav, but be with him everywhere."

Mstislav Izjaslavič said to his father Izjaslav and to the king:

> "I say to you, thus you do what is worthy of Christians--you have taken the true cross in faith and put aside your anger at him. But I say to you before this true cross: as you lead that one to the cross, so he will transgress the kissing of the cross. But you, king, do not forget your word; as you have said, if Vladimir transgresses his oath, then you will go to Galič again."

The king then said: "You speak truly /about what will happen/ if Vladimir transgresses this kissing of the cross, until now my father Izjaslav called me for help, if he transgresses this, then I want to call my father to me for help."

And saying that, they sent their men to Vladimir, and Izjaslav's and the king's men said to Vladimir: "Brother Izjaslav and the king say this to you: 'You have sent to us and repented your guilt; we will forgive all of that and we will not take territory from you. But kiss the true cross on this, that you will return whatever Russian cities you have, and you will not leave Izjaslav for the rest of your life, as long as you live, but that you will be with him everywhere.'" Vladimir kissed the cross to all of that, but

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he lay acting as if weakened by wounds, but there was no wound on him.

Izjaslav met with the king, and they abided in great love and great happiness; and they departed--the king to his land among the Hungarians and Izjaslav to the Russian land. And Izjaslav, having come to the city of Vladimir, sent his commissioners into the cities about which he had kissed the cross:[11] into Bužsk, Šumsk, Tixoml', Vygošev, and Gnojnica. And Vladimir did not give them /up/.

Izjaslav then went to Kiev and sent his man to the king and told him that Vladimir had transgressed the kissing of the cross. And he said: "Neither you nor I can return, but I only reveal to you that Vladimir has transgressed the kissing of the cross; just do not forget your word which you gave."[12]

Izjaslav went to Kiev to his uncle Vjačeslav with great happiness and great honor. And having praised God and His most-pure Mother, they abided in great love and great happiness. Izjaslav came to Kiev and sent to his brother Rostislav in Smolensk, and he told him how he had seen the king in health and how God had enabled the two of them to defeat Vladimir of Galič and had brought them back

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[11] I.e., the cities which Vladimir of Galič had promised him (see Solov'ev, p. 484).

[12] rekl"

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to the Russian land in health. And hearing that, Rostislav greatly rejoiced and praised God.

Jurij, hearing that they had divided Gorodec and burned all the city, sighed then from his heart and began to gather warriors. And he sent to the Jaroslaviči in the city of Rjazan', saying: "Come and assist me."

Izjaslav Mstislavič, hearing that, sent to his brother Rostislav and said to him:

> "Brother, by God's will you have Novgorod, a strong city, and Smolensk; join with them and guard your land, since Jurij is coming against you. And I will come to you; if he does not come to you, then he will bypass your territory. Then you come here to me."

Then Rostislav Jaroslavič and his brothers and warriors from Rjazan' and Murom went with Jurij: they did not refuse him. Likewise the Polovci--the Oper"ljueve and Toksobiči and all of the people of the Polovci, as many as were between the Volga and the Dnepr rivers, went there against the Vjatiči. And after they took them (the Vjatiči), they went to Mcenesk;[13] from there they went to Spas', and then to Gluxov, and there they halted.

Vladimir, hearing that his in-law Jurij was going into Rus', went from Galič to Kiev. Izjaslav went to meet Vladimir, but Vladimir went back into Galič.

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[13] i tako vsjaša ja ta na Mcenesk"

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A great number of Polovci came to Ol'govo Field to Jurij. Jurij sent to Svjatoslav Ol'govič his in-law, saying: "Go with me." Svjatoslav, becoming afraid, said: "If he comes against me, then I will go against him." For Jurij was saying this: "You have burned my city Gorodec and the church, so I will burn out your land in revenge."[14]

And he (Svjatoslav) set out from there to Berez and halted at the Svinaja River with the Polovci on a Saturday. And the next day on Sunday he did not want to go to the city, but halted at Gjuričev, and just as Jurij had done, passed the territory of Smolensk.

Rostislav went out after him from Smolensk, and went ahead of him to the city of Ljubeč--ahead of Jurij, for he had planned with his brother Izjaslav to go to Černigov to help Izjaslav Davidovič. Rostislav and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič went into Černigov to help Izjaslav Davidovič and closed themselves in, together with him, in Černigov. Jurij halted at Gjuričev and sent the Polovci to Černigov to fight. The Polovci, having come to the city, captured many prisoners and burned Semyn'.

On that same night, Izjaslav, Rostislav and Svjatoslav, seeing the Polovci force, ordered all the people to flee from the outer fortification to the inner. The next day Jurij and Svjatoslav prepared their warriors and went to the

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[14]to ja sja tomu otožgu protivu

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city; and they halted, not having reached Semyn'. Then the entire multitude of Polovci went to the city to fight. And having captured the outer fortification, they burned all the outskirts of the city. And when all their force had come, they stood outside the city.

The people of Černigov were fighting from the city, and the princes decided that the retinue and the Polovci were not fighting strongly because they had not gone with them themselves. Andrej then said: "Let us do this: let me begin my day."[15] Taking his retinue, he rode beneath the city. Foot-soldiers had come out of the city to shoot, and he charged them with the retinue and the Polovci. Some they killed and others they drove into the city. Then, becoming jealous of him, the other princes rode after (him) beneath the city. The foot-soldiers, seeing the troops, did not dare to come out of the city because they were frightened. They stayed twelve days beneath the city.

In that same time Vjačeslav and Izjaslav were halted on this side of the Dnepr River at Ol'žiči,[16] and Vjačeslav and Izjaslav heard that Jurij was at Černigov and /that/ the Polovci had pushed through to Černigov and burned the city. So they went from Ol'žiči to Černigov with their troops and when they were at Morovijsk, they were seen there by guards

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[15]tako stvorim jaz" počnu dn' svoi

[16]See Solov'ev, pp. 157 and 311.

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from both sides--Vjačeslav's and Izjaslav's as well as Jurij's.

And there the Polovci took a prisoner and brought him to Jurij. Jurij and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and the princes of Rjazan' heard that Vjačeslav and Izjaslav were coming to help the people of Černigov; the Polovci became afraid and began to separate. And the princes, seeing the Polovci retreating, left Černigov and went across the Svinaja River and the Snov River.

Vjačeslav and Izjaslav, having come, halted at Boloves and there Rostislav and Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič came to them, and they began to plan, wanting to go after them. They did not decide [to pursue them] because they (the others) were retreating without stopping and because it was near the time when the rivers freeze.[17] And so they decided for each to go to his home and for all to prepare (for war) until the rivers were stopped. The Polovci went from them there to the city of Putivl' in the land of the Polovci and they took many territories.

And as he was about to go from Ryl'sk to Suzdal', Svjatoslav Ol'govič reached him there and began to beseech him, wanting to restrain him, saying to him:

> "You want to go back and leave me. Thus, you have destroyed my territory and spoiled

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[17] k zamorozu

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> the crops[18] around the city; and the Polovci have gone into their land;[19] and then Izjaslav, joining with his brothers, is coming against me because of you, and will destroy the rest of my territory."

Jurij undertook[20] to leave him help, and did not really, except that he left his son Vasil'ko with fifty of his retinue. And then Jurij went to Suzdal', and from there to the land of the Vjatiči, and so he captured the remainder of the land of the Vjatiči.

Vjačeslav came to an agreement with Izjaslav, since the rivers had stopped.[21] And Izjaslav sent to his brother Rostislav in Smolensk, saying to him: "You are there in Smolensk and Great Novgorod by God's will; restrain Jurij there with those [troops], and send your son Roman to me with help." And so, having sent the emissaries and gathered all their forces, Vjačeslav and Izjaslav went to Novgorod against Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Vasil'ko Jur'evič. And they halted at the Al'ta River. And Izjaslav said to Vjačeslav: "Father, you are already old and it is not fitting for you to toil [in warfare]; instead go to your Kiev and leave your troops with me."

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[18] a žita esi okolo goroda potravil"

[19] v Polovce

[20] em"sja

[21] jakože reky sja ustanoviša

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And having halted at Vsevolož', Izjaslav sent his son Mstislav against the Polovci with his troops and all the Černye Klobuki. Vjačeslav went to Kiev and Izjaslav went to Novgorod, and there Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and his nephew Roman Rostislavič came to him from Smolensk with their troops. Izjaslav then came to Novgorod, and the other Izjaslav--Davidovič--and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Roman Rostislavič; in the month of February they began to fight at the city at the Ostrožnye Gates. And then they broke through them into the city and broke up the outer fortification at that point.[22] And then they left from the outer wall and, retreating from the city, went to their camps.

And on the third day after the capture of the outer fortification, Svjatoslav Ol'govič sent out to Izjaslav Mstislavič, paying homage and asking for peace. And Izjaslav did not want to make peace with him, but it was already approaching spring, and because of that they made peace. And so, having kissed the cross between them, they dispersed: Izjaslav went with Izjaslav Davidovič to Černigov and Roman went to Smolensk to his father, and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič [went] to his territory, and Vasil'ko (Jur'evič) went to Suzdal' to his father.

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[22] i ostrog" v nix iz"tjaša

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And when Izjaslav came to Černigov, news came to him there from his son Mstislav that God had helped him defeat the Polovci at the Ugla River and at the Samara River. And he had taken many prisoners and driven them (the Polovci) away [from there][23] and captured their villages, taking their horses and their livestock, and had released many Christian souls from captivity. And they returned to Perejaslavl', praising God for such assistance, and he (Mstislav) released the prisoners who had been freed to their families.[24]

Izjaslav, hearing his son was in health, praised God. And he abided there in happiness with Izjaslav Davidovič. The next day Izjaslav went to Kiev and entered Kiev with his son Mstislav; with great honor and great praise they rode in to their father Vjačeslav. Vjačeslav, seeing his son Izjaslav in health, praised God and the power of the life-giving cross, and they abided there in great love and in great happiness, and then they began to live.

Izjaslav then sent to his brother Rostislav in Smolensk and told him that he himself had gone against Svjatoslav Ol'govič and had made peace with him, and [that] Mstislav had come, having defeated the Polovci and captured many

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[23] samex" progna

[24] v roženie svoe

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prisoners. Rostislav, hearing all of that, praised God and the power of the life-giving cross and rejoiced with great happiness.

In that same time Izjaslav sent Petr Borislavič to Vladimir of Galič with treaty documents, since he (Petr) had led him to the cross with the king's men in Peremyšl'. And Izjaslav said to him:

> "You have kissed the cross to the king and me that you would return all the Russian territories (which you control), and you have not done all of that. Now I will forget all that, but if you want to fulfill /the oath of/ the kissing of the cross and to be our ally, then return my cities, concerning which you have kissed the cross to the king and me. If you do not want to give /the cities to us/, then you have transgressed the kissing of the cross. And here are your treaty documents; let it be between you and the king and me as God wills."

And Vladimir said: "Look, brother, you have chosen the time against me and you have brought the king against me; but if I /remain/ alive, then either I will lay down my life or I will avenge myself."

And Petr said to him:

> "Prince, you have kissed the cross to your brother Izjaslav and to the king that you would do everything /that you promised/ and that you would be their ally; so you have already transgressed the kissing of the cross."

And Vladimir said: "Do you mean this little cross?" Petr said to Vladimir:

> "Prince, although this cross is small, its power is great in heaven and on earth; and,

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> prince, the king has shown you that true cross on which God by His will extended His hands, and God by his mercy brought it (the cross) to St. Stephen and He revealed that (cross) to you when you kissed the honorable cross; and if you transgress it, then you will not live."

And Petr said to him: "Have you not heard from the king's man about that true cross?" And Vladimir said: "You have spoken of this enough; now, leave. Go to your prince."

Petr then gave him the treaty documents and left. And they did not give Petr either a cart or provisions. Petr went on his horses. And as Petr rode away from the prince's estate, Vladimir went to the Church of the Holy Salvation to vespers; and when he was on the approach to the church, he saw Petr riding and he ridiculed him and said: "The Russian man went having taken all territories." And saying that, he went to the balcony in the church.

And having sung vespers, Vladimir left the church, and when he was again on that place--on the step where he had cursed Petr--he said: "What is this? It is as if someone has struck me on the shoulder." And he could not move from there even a little. And he would have fallen, but there they picked him up in their hands and carried him into a room and laid him in warm water. And they said: "It's an attack of rheumatic pain." Others said it was other things, and applied many [curative poultices]. And it was late evening. Vladimir began to weaken greatly, and when it was

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time to go to bed Vladimir, Prince of Galič, died.

Petr had ridden out of Galič and it was already evening. And he stopped for the night at the village of Bol'šovo, and when it was dawn (the time when birds begin to sing),[25] a messenger came to Petr from Galič, saying: "The prince says to you, 'Do not go anywhere, but wait there until I send for you.'" Petr did not know about the king's death, nor did the messenger tell him. Petr was very sad about this, that he had to go back to the city and be made to bear more torment.

Petr was grieving, and while it was still before dinner-time, they sent from the city after Petr, saying: "The Prince calls you." Petr went into the city and came up to the prince's estate, and there all the prince's servants in black cloaks came out from the house to meet him. And Petr, seeing this, wondered, "What is this?" And when he entered the house, he saw Jaroslav sitting in his father's place in a black cloak and mitre, as all his men were also dressed. And they gave Petr a stool and he sat.

Jaroslav, seeing Petr, burst into tears. Petr, not knowing [what had happened], was sitting; and he began to ask: "What is this?" And they told him: "God took the prince tonight." And Petr said: "I left [just] tonight,

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[25]jakože bys ubo k" kurom"

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and he was in good health." They then said: "Something struck him on the shoulder, and after that he began to weaken greatly, and then God took him." And Petr said: "/It is/ God's will and will happen to everyone."[26] Jaroslav said to Petr:

> "We have called you because of that. Lo, God by His will does as He wishes; thus He has done. And now go to your father Izjaslav and pay homage to him from me. And you say this to him: 'Since God has taken my father, you be to me in a father's place; and you and my father knew yourselves what was between you, but God has already judged that, since God took my father. And God has left me in his place, and his troops and his retinue are mine, only a single spear was placed at his grave, and even that is in my hands. Now, father, I bow to you, take me as your son--/like/ Mstislav, so me also; let Mstislav ride beside your stirrup on one side of you, and I will ride on the other side beside your stirrup with all my troops.'"

And then they sent Petr back.

In the year 1153, Izjaslav sent his son Mstislav to the land of the Polovci to Pesl', since they were then doing harm[27] along the Sula River. And not having reached them, he returned. In that same autumn his father sent Mstislav to meet his step-mother with Vladimir Andreevič and with Berendej. And they went as far as the Oleš'e district and,

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[26] vsim tamo byti

[27] pakostjaxut'

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not finding her, they returned. Svjatoslav Ol'govič met with Izjaslav Davidovič at Xorobr and affirmed their alliance;[28] and, kissing the cross to one another, they dispersed, each to his own land.

That same year Izjaslav Mstislavič began to prepare (to go) against Jaroslav Vladimirič in Galič. And when it was three weeks before Lent, Izjaslav went, gathering his forces against Galič, and he took Vjačeslav's troops with him. Izjaslav Davidovič sent his troops with him, and his son Mstislav came with troops from Perejaslavl' and all the Černye Klobuki. And when he came to the city of Tixomel', his brother Vladimir from the city of Dorogobuž and his brother Svjatopolk from Vladimir and Vladimir Andreevič from Brest came to him there. And so they all gathered at the city of Vladimir.

And he (Izjaslav Mstislavič) went to Stankov, and there the Galičan prince came out with his troops. Izjaslav sent Vladimir Andreevič and his son Mstislav and the Černye Klobuki to fight with them at the Seret River, and he himself went to the city of Terebovl'. The next day, on Tuesday of Fedor's week, he crossed the Seret. And there was on that day great fog, such that one could not see to the end of a spear. Izjaslav, having crossed there, halted.

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[28] utverdisja jakože za odin" muž' byti

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And news came to Jaroslav of Galič at night that Izjaslav was coming to Terebovl'; and Jaroslav, hearing that, went across the Snov River to Terebovl' and did not cross the ford.[29] Izjaslav had crossed the river Seret before them and Izjaslav's guards, seeing the Galičan armies, came and told Izjaslav. Izjaslav then, readying his troops, went against them, and when they were near to him God dispersed the fog and it was clear. And so the armies stood across from each other, looking at one another.

The Galičan men began to say to their prince, Jaroslav: "You are young; go back and watch us, your father has fed and loved us, and so we want for your father's honor and for you to lay down our lives." And they said to their prince:

> "You are our only prince; if something were to happen to you, what would we do? Go, prince, to the city; let us fight with Izjaslav by ourselves, and whoever of us remains alive will hasten to you, and then we will close ourselves up in the city with you."

And so they sent their prince back and they themselves went to fight.

And the armies met and there was horrible carnage.[30] And they fought from morning until evening. And there was confusion between them and they could not see who was

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[29] ne utjaže k" brodom"

[30] zla seča

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winning. Izjaslav was charging the troops from Galič, but his brothers were fleeing. And then Svjatopolk, prince of Vladimir, fled, and after him also Vladimir Mstislavič and Mstislav Izjaslavič. And Izjaslav halted there in the battlefield for the night, and the Galičans then fled into their city Terebovl'. Izjaslav captured (some) Galičan men, and the Galičans captured Izjaslavič on a scouting foray,[31] and Izjaslav was left with a few of his retinue on the battlefield. And he raised the Galičan banners and the Galičans went to their banners, and he thus captured many prisoners.

That night Izjaslav became afraid, since he had been left with a few of his retinue in the field, saying: "Let us hope they do not come[32] against us from the city." For there were more prisoners than men of his retinue, and he saw the great number of Galičans bound as prisoners.[33] And so he ordered them to be killed and took the best men with him. The next day Izjaslav Mstislavič went to Kiev to his house, since his brothers and his retinue had fled and scattered. There was great weeping throughout all the land of Galič.

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[31] na razgone

[32] s"vkupjatsja

[33] vjazjači

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In the year 1154, Izjaslav again sent his son Mstislav to meet his stepmother, for he was taking a wife, a daughter of the (Greek) tsar, for himself from Obez; and he (Mstislav) met her at the waterfalls and brought her to Kiev (to Izjaslav), and he himself went to Perejaslavl'. Izjaslav took her to him as his wife and had a wedding.

In that same year the people of Novgorod drove out Izjaslavič and put Roman Jaroslavič on the throne. In that same year Svjatopolk Mstislavič died at Kočer'sk; he had gone to his brother Izjaslav in aid. Izjaslav, hearing that God had taken his brother, wept for his brother, and then Izjaslav sent Jaroslav his son to Vladimir to rule.

In that same year Jurij went with troops from Rostov and Suzdal' and with all his children into Rus'. And there was plague among the horses and among all his soldiers such as there had never been. And he, having come to the land of the Vjatiči, halted, not having gone as far as the city of Kozel'sk. And the Polovci came to him. Jurij, having considered,[34] sent his son Gleb to the Polovci and he himself returned to Suzdal'.

That same year the wife of Gleb Jur'evič died in Suzdal'.

In that same year Izjaslav Mstislavič, the Grand Prince of Kiev, fell ill on St. Stephen's day (October 9) and he

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[34] sdumav"

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was very ill. And the Grand Prince of Kiev died.[35] /He was/ honorable and righteous and Christ-loving and glorious, Izjaslav Mstislavič, the grandson of Vladimir. And all the Russian land and all the Černyje Klobuki wept for him as for their tsar and lord, moreover, as for a father. On Sunday at night he died, on St. Phillip's day (October 11); and having prepared his body, they laid him in the church of St. Theodore in his father's monastery.

Vjačeslav his uncle wept for his nephew Izjaslav more than anyone else, saying: "Son, that grave was my place, but before God there is nothing that can be done." Izjaslav's son Mstislav, having prepared the body of his father and paid homage to his grave, went to his city Perejaslavl'.

And news came to Černigov to Izjaslav Davidovič. He did not delay at all and went to Kiev. And news came to Vjačeslav that Izjaslav Davidovič had come to the Dnepr River to the ford. Vjačeslav sent to him and said to him: "Why have you come? Who called you? Go to your Černigov." Izjaslav said: "I have come to weep for my brother. I was not then (at his death) beside my brother, so allow me now to go and weep at his grave." Vjačeslav, having conferred with Mstislav and with his men, did not let him into Kiev,

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[35]The words "on St. Stephen's...died" are omitted from Ipat'evskaja letopis'; information is from variants (see columns 469-470).

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since Rostislav had not yet come to Kiev from Smolensk. Izjaslav went back to Černigov.

Vjačeslav then sent after Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, saying to him: "You are a beloved[36] son to Rostislav and also to me; come here to me. Abide with me in Kiev until Rostislav comes, and then we will all arrange a treaty."[37] Svjatoslav Vsevolodič did not tell Izjaslav Davidovič or his uncle Svjatoslav Ol'govič and went to Vjačeslav in Kiev, waiting for Rostislav to come from Smolensk. Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič sent for Jurij in Suzdal'.

In that same time Jaroslav came from Smolensk to Kiev. The people of Kiev all went out with great joy to meet their prince, and they were all pleased to see him come.[38] And all the Russian people and all the Černye Klobuki rejoiced[39] that Rostislav had come to Kiev. Rostislav, together with[40] Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, went to pay homage to their father Vjačeslav. Vjačeslav, seeing his son Rostislav, rejoiced with great joy and said to him:

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[36] ljubimyi

[37] učinim dogovor

[38] byša emu radi

[39] obradovašasja

[40] skupjasja

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> "Son, lo, already I am in old age and I cannot govern everything. Son, I give to you what your brother held and governed, the same I give to you; treat[41] me as a father and honor me as your brother Izjaslav honored me and had me as a father. And you direct my troops and my retinue."

Rostislav, hearing that, paid homage to his father Vjačeslav and said to him: "I am very pleased, lord and father, to have you as a father and a lord, just as my brother Izjaslav had you and did your will."

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41 imei

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CHAPTER VIII

THE REIGNS OF ROSTISLAV JUR'EVIČ, JURIJ VLADIMIRIČ, AND IZJASLAV DAVIDOVIČ

(1154-1160)

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF ROSTISLAV IN KIEV. And the people of Kiev enthroned him in Kiev, saying to him: "As your brother Izjaslav honored Vjačeslav, so you also honor him, and to the end of your life Kiev is yours." Rostislav said to Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, his sister's son: "I give to you the cities Turov and Pinsk, because you came to my father Vjačeslav and have guarded my territory; for that I allot[1] you territory." Svjatoslav paid homage to Rostislav and took /that territory/ with happiness.

In that same time news came to Rostislav that Gleb Jur'evič and a multitude of Polovci were coming to Perejaslavl'. Rostislav and Svjatoslav went out of Kiev to the city of Peresečen, and there they began to gather retinue. And an emissary reached Rostislav and Svjatoslav from Mstislav Izjaslavič in Perejaslavl', and he told them that an army had come to Perejaslavl' and had exchanged shots with them. Rostislav, hearing that, sent his son Svjatoslav

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[1]nadeljaju

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to Perejaslavl'. Mstislav came out from Perejaslavl' to meet Svjatoslav. And then, having joined forces, they went into Perejaslavl'.

The next day the Polovci came to Perejaslavl', and they began to fight with them, riding out from the city; they were fighting strongly with them. The Polovci, seeing that help had come to them, went away from the city, and then, without halting, they went across the Sula River, for they were afraid of Rostislav and Svjatoslav. Svjatoslav Rostislavič, having driven away the Polovci, went to his father and told him that the Polovci had left.[2]

Rostislav, hearing that, began to confer with his brother about going to Černigov against Izjaslav Davidovič. And so, having come to an agreement, Rostislav did not go into Kiev, but went with his troops and took Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Mstislav Izjaslavič and Torks and warriors from Kiev. And he crossed the Dnepr River at Vyšgorod. There he halted across from Vyšgorod and, gathering his retinue, said: "We must anticipate Jurij;[3] either we will drive him out or we will make peace with him."

The next day they reached Rostislav from Kiev and they told him: "God has taken your father Vjačeslav." Rostislav

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[2]proč' pošli

[3]aby nam uperediti Gjurgja

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said: "But we left yesterday and he was well and healthy." He told him and said: "Last night he was in good spirits[4] with his retinue, and he went to sleep healthy. When he lay down he did not get up again; God took him then." Rostislav, hearing that, left his troops and rode in haste[5] to Kiev. And then he wept for his father and accompanied him to his grave with great honor with a multitude of people, and they laid him in St. Sophia Cathedral where his great-grandfather Jaroslav and his father Vladimir lay.

And then Rostislav, having buried his body, went to Jaroslav's estate. And he called together his father Vjačeslav's men and his major domos and managers,[6] ordering them to bring the property of his father before him: fabrics and gold and silver. And having collected all of it, he began to distribute it to the monasteries and to the churches and to the prisons and to the poor. And so he distributed all of it, and he did not take anything for himself, only a holy cross for his own blessing, and the rest of the property he gave away. And he left money for the memorial church services for him (Vjačeslav) for the

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[4] synoči byl" vesel"

[5] gna

[6] tiuny i ključniki

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candle and communion bread.[7] And, having arranged all that, he instructed Mstislav's wife, his mother.

And he himself took the rest of Vjačeslav's retinue and went back to the other side (of the Dnepr River) to his troops and began to plan with Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and with Mstislav Izjaslavič his nephew, and with his men, wanting to go to Černigov. The men were trying to prevent[8] him from going to Černigov, saying to him:

> "God took your uncle Vjačeslav, and you have not yet established yourself with the people in Kiev. And it is better for you to go to Kiev; establish yourself with the people, Then if your uncle Jurij comes against you, at least you will be entrenched with the people. /Then/ if you want to make peace with him, you will make peace, otherwise you can begin war with him."

Rostislav did not heed all of that, but went against Izjaslav Davidovič to Černigov.

Hearing (about that), Izjaslav Davidovič sent for Gleb Jur'evič, /telling him/ that he should come to him quickly with Polovci. Rostislav Vsevolodič and Mstislav Izjaslavič, having come, halted at Boloves. Rostislav and Svjatoslav Izjaslavič sent their men to Izjaslav Davidovič, saying: "Kiss the cross to us that you will rule in your patrimony,

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[7] čim" že nad nim dejati na poslednija dni čim" svečju i prosfuru eg pobedti

[8] borjanjaxut'

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Černigov, and we will be in Kiev. We are all united."[9] Izjaslav said: "Now I have done (this): since you have come against me, let it be as God wills to me with you." For he had sent and attained help from[10] Gleb Jur'evič with Polovci and was with him at Perejaslavl'.

The next day Izjaslav joined with the Polovci and Gleb and they went to Boloves against them. The archers were shooting across the river. Rostislav, seeing the great multitude of Polovci, became afraid, for he had come with few men. He began to send to Izjaslav Davidovič, asking peace, to give him Kiev to rule,[11] and /offered that/ Mstislav would rule Perejaslavl'.

Mstislav, hearing that, that he was being given Perejaslavl' to rule, said: "Let not Perejaslavl' be mine, or Kiev yours." And saying that, Mstislav turned his horse under him and his retinue away from his uncle; and then the Polovci surrounded their troops. And they fought with them for two days, and then the Polovci became confused[12] and all of Rostislav's warriors began to flee. And many perished, and others, a great multitude, were captured. And

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[9] my že vsi s" sebe

[10] podvel"

[11] pod" soboju

[12] smjatošas

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they fled in different directions[13]--the princes and Rostislav's and Svjatoslav's and Mstislav's retinue.

Under Izjaslav, at the first charge, his horse fell under him. Svjatoslav, his son, seeing that, jumped from his horse and defended his father, and began to fight for him. And there gathered a few of the retinue near him. And they took him a horse there.

Rostislav took flight and fled across the Dnepr River below the city of Ljubeč, and he went to Smolensk, while Mstislav Izjaslavič and Svjatoslav Rostislavič ran away and fled into Perejaslavl'; and taking his wife, he (Rostislav?) went into Luck. The Polovci captured Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, who was fleeing there. Izjaslav and his wife freed[14] Svjatoslav and many others of the Russian retinue from the Polovci, and they did good by releasing many. If someone fled from the Polovci into the city, they would not give him over.

Izjaslav sent to the Kievans, saying: "I want to come to you." But they were afraid of the Polovci, since it was difficult then for the Kievans, for not a single prince was left to them in Kiev. And the people of Kiev sent bishop Dem'jan of Kanev saying (to Izjaslav): "Come to Kiev, do not let the Polovci take us; you are our prince, so come."

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[13] razbegošasja

[14] vyručista

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Izjaslav, entering Kiev, sat on the throne and sent Gleb to Perejaslavl' to rule. Izjaslav sent to Svjatoslav Ol'govič and began to plan with him that Izjaslav would rule in Kiev and Svjatoslav in Černigov. Svjatoslav found out that Jurij was coming and it would be impossible for them to withstand Jurij. Then the Polovci did much harm around Perejaslavl' and burned all the villages and the Let'skaja Church, and they set fire to the Church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb.

In that same winter Jurij had come into Rus', hearing of Vjačeslav's[15] death, and he was across from Smolensk and news came to him: "Your brother Vjačeslav died and Rostislav was defeated, and Izjaslav Davidovič is ruling in Kiev and Gleb your son is ruling in Perejaslavl'." Then the people of Novgorod came to Jurij and took from him his son Mstislav for their prince.

In that same time Jurij went to Rostislav's territory. Rostislav, hearing that, gathered his warriors, a great multitude; he prepared[16] his troops and went against him to Zaroj, and there he halted and sent to Jurij, asking peace from him, saying: "Father, I bow to you. You previously have been good to me and I to you, and now I bow to you;

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[15] Izjaslavlju (erroneously)

[16] ispolča

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you are an uncle to me and like a father." Jurij said: "That is right, son. I could not be (allied) with Izjaslav; you are my brother and son." He forgot the evil of his brother and put aside anger toward him. And so they two kissed the cross to each other to be at peace.[17] Jurij then went to Kiev and Rostislav to his Smolensk.

In the year 1155, Svjatoslav Ol'govič met his in-law Jurij at Sinin Bridge at Radošč and they greeted each other. Then Vsevolodič met him at Starodub, and riding up, paid homage to him, saying: "I have gone out of my mind."[18] Svjatoslav Ol'govič began to beseech his in-law Jurij, urging him to accept his nephew Vsevolodič with love. Jurij then /agreed to/ give him peace, and he kissed the cross to Jurij and to his uncle to do everything he (Jurij) wanted.[19] And Jurij ordered him to go with him to Kiev, and they went to Starodub; from there they went to Černigov.

Then Svjatoslav Ol'govič sent to his brother Izjaslav in Kiev, saying to him: "Go, brother, from Kiev, Jurij is coming against you, and we both called /him there/."[20] Izjaslav did not want (to leave) and did not heed his

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[17] na vsei ljubvi

[18] izbezumil"sja esm'

[19] na vse voli ego

[20] idet' ti Gjurgi a pozvale esve oba

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brother Svjatoslav. And then Svjatoslav, having reached Černigov, halted there, and he sent again to his brother Izjaslav, saying: "Leave Kiev, let Jurij enter Kiev, and I will cede Černigov to you for the sake of Christian souls, that they not perish." Svjatoslav had been advised[21] about Izjaslav's enthronement in Kiev, and Izjaslav did not want to leave Kiev because Kiev had come to love him.

Svjatoslav left Černigov, and Jurij halted at the Morovijsk District. And Jurij sent to Izjaslav, saying: "Kiev is my patrimony, and not yours." Izjaslav then sent to Jurij, beseeching and paying homage, saying: "Did I /by/ myself enter Kiev? The people of Kiev enthroned me; but do not harm me. And Kiev is yours." Jurij, being merciful, put aside /his/ anger at him. And so Izjaslav left Kiev.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF JURIJ IN KIEV. And so Jurij, thanking God, entered Kiev; a multitude of the people came out to meet him, and he sat on the throne of his father and grandfathers; and all of the Russian land received him with happiness. Then, ruling, he was dispensing territory to his children. Andrej he appointed to rule in Vyšgorod, and Boris in Turov, Gleb in Perejaslavl', and to Vasil'ko he gave the area around the Ros' River.

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[21] sveten"

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In that same autumn the Polovci came, and they attacked the area around the Ros' River. Vasil'ko and the Berendej reached[22] them and killed them, and some they captured. And he went to his father with glory and honor.

Then his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič came to Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and he kissed the cross to him. Then he gave him three cities and took for himself the cities Koračev and Vorotynsk, since /they/ had been ceded to him. And Svjatoslav Ol'govič went to Snovsk.

Then Izjaslav began to urge to begin war against Jurij, but Svjatoslav did not let him.[23] In that same year Jurij sent Jurij Rostislavič with Žiroslav and with Vjačeslav's grandsons against Mstislav Izjaslavič, and they drove him from Peresopnica into Luck. Then Jurij ordered his in-law Jaroslav of Galič to go against him to Luck, and he himself went into the land of the Poles. Jaroslav Vladimirič of Galič[24] with Vladimir Mstislavič, his stepmother's son, stayed at Luck, and having no success, they returned. Jurij then sent after his nephew to Rostislav in Smolensk, saying to him: "Son, with whom am I to hold the Russian land? With you. Come here."

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[22] spostig

[23] ne da emu

[24] The words "and he himself...of Galič" are omitted from text and supplied from variants (see columns 479-480).

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Then Jurij went to a conference with the Polovci[25] at the city of Kanev. The Polovci, having come to him, began to ask for their brothers whom the Berendej had captured. But the Berendej did not give them over, saying: "We will die for the Russian land with your son and we will lay down our lives for your honor." Jurij did not force them, but, having given the Polovci gifts, sent them away, and he himself went to Kiev.

In that same time Jurij's wife, the princess, came from Suzdal' to Smolensk with her children to Rostislav. Rostislav, taking his uncle's wife with him, went to his uncle Jurij in Kiev with all his troops, and they greeted each other[26] with great love and great honor; and so they abided (there) in great happiness. Rostislav, having come to Kiev, began to plead for his brothers. Jurij took heed. Rostislav sent for his brother Vladimir to the city of Vladimir and for Mstislav and Jaroslav to the city of Luck and brought them both to Jurij his uncle with their troops. But he left Mstislav in Vladimir, for Mstislav did not dare to come, saying: "Jurij will capture me." Jurij, having accepted these two with love, sent to Mstislav an oath by the kissing of the cross, and he accepted him (Mstislav) with love.

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[25] na snem' protivu Polovcem"

[26] obujasta sja

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In that same year, help came to Jurij from Galič, from his in-law Jaroslav, because Izjaslav Davidovič had begun to plan war against Jurij. In that same year the Polovci came again for peace and they halted at Dubnica by the upper reaches of the Supoj River. Jurij, having joined with his nephew Rostislav and with Vladimir and with Jaroslav Izjaslavič, and taking the troops from Galič that had been sent in assistance, went to the meeting at Kanev. And he sent to the Polovci, saying: "Come to me for peace." But only a few of the Polovci came to him, as if to examine,[27] and they said: "We will all come to you tomorrow," and that night they all fled.

Jurij returned to Kiev, and then, having conferred with his newphews, he sent to Izjaslav Davidovič, saying: "Do you want to come to us in peace, or should we come to you?" Izjaslav, seeing Jurij had joined his nephews, kissed the cross to him, and then Jurij sent away his nephews. Rostislav paid homage to his uncle Jurij and went into his city Smolensk, and his brother Vladimir [went] to the city of Vladimir, and Jaroslav [went] to Luck. Then Jurij went to a meeting with Izjaslav Davidovič and with Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and they met at the city of Lutava. Then Jurij gave Korčesk to Izjaslav and Mozyr' to Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and having made peace with them there, went to his Kiev.

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[27] jako na rozgljadanie

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In that same year Andrej went from his father from Vyšgorod into Suzdal' against his father's will; and he took from Vyšgorod the icon of the Holy Mother of God which they had brought form Pirogošč out of Constantinople in a single ship. And he wrought in it more than thirty griv'nas of gold as well as silver and precious stones and large pearls. And having decorated it, he placed it in his church of the Holy Mother of God in the city of Vladimir.

In that same winter, Jurij ordered his son Mstislav to Novgorod to be married to Petrovna Mixalkoviča, and he was married.

In that same winter Jurij took from Izjaslav Davidovič in Černigov his daughter for his son Gleb in Kiev. In that same time, Rostislav Mstislavič, prince of Smolensk, kissed the cross with his brothers to be at peace. They all were looking to Rostislav [for guidance]; they held him as their father. And Vladimir his brother was ruling in the city of Vladimir, and his nephew Mstislav and Jaroslav...[28]

Then Vladimir Mstislavič sent his mother, Mstislav's wife, to the Hungarians, to his in-law the king. The king gave many possessions[29] to his mother-in-law.

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[28] i snovca ego Mstislav i Jaroslav

[29] imenija

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In the year 1156, the holy bishop of Novgorod, Nifont, came, awaiting Metropolitan Constantine from Constantinople, for news had come to him that the metropolitan was already on his way. And an illness came upon him; /after/ being ill for three days, he went to his rest[30] in the month of April on the fifteenth day, on Holy Week on Saturday. And he was laid in the Pečersk Monastery in Theodosius' Cave, for he had had great love for the Holy Mother of God and Father Theodosius.

He had told of a marvellous vision: before his illness for three days he had a dream, having come from vespers and sleeping.

> "I found myself[31] in the Pečersk Church in Svjatoša's place, and I was praying a lot with tears to the most-holy Mother of God, that I might see Father Theodosius. And many brothers were gathering in the church, and one, approaching, said to me, 'Do you want to see Father Theodosius?' I replied, 'If it is possible, show me.' And taking me, he led me into the altar, and there he showed me Father Theodosius. And going up, I paid homage to him. And arising, he began to bless me, 'It is good you came, brother, son, Nifont. Henceforth you will be inseparable from me.' For he held a scroll in his hands. And I asked him, and so he gave it to me. And I unrolled it, read it and in it was written, in the beginning, 'Lo, I and my children, whom God has given me...' And then I awoke."

For Nifont was then bishop-defender of all the Russian land; he was zealous in godliness, and it was he that Klim was

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[30] uspe s mirom

[31] obretoxsja

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persuading him to serve (hold church services) with him. He was saying to him: "You have not received a blessing from St. Sophia and from the holy great cathedral and from the patriarch. Because of this I cannot serve with you or intercede for you in the holy service, because I /must/ keep in mind the patriarch." He was tormenting him and instructing Izjaslav and his defenders against him. He could not succeed in any way with him. The patriarch sent him holy documents, praising him and comparing him to the saints.[32] And he became more firm, heeding the patriarch's documents. They two had love for Svjatoslav Ol'govič, for Svjatoslav ruled without him (the patriarch and his blessing?) in Novgorod.

In that same year Vladimirič, Izjaslav's nephew, fled from Berez into the city of Vščiž and he took there all the cities along the Desna River. Vsevolod did not betray[33] the kissing of the cross to his uncle and went over to the side of[34] Rostislav, prince of Smolensk. And he left his uncle; and Mstislavič came to him from Starodub in ambush.[35]

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[32] pričitaja k" stm" ego

[33] Vsevolož' ne stvoriv izveta

[34] jasja po

[35] v zasadu

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Then Mtislav Izjaslavič went on horses against his uncle Vladimir to the city of Vladimir, and he captured his (Vladimir's) wife and his mother. And having put them in carts, he took them to Luck. And his uncle, Vladimir, fled to Peremyšl', and his retinue looted and took away all Mstislav's goods which had been brought from the land of the Hungarians. And Vladimir fled from there to the Hungarian land to the king, his in-law.

Then Jurij went, taking Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič with him, to Zarub to a meeting with the Polovci; and he made peace with them, and there was a great multitude of them. Izjaslav, taking them [with him], went with them to Berez against his nephew Svjatoslav Vsevolodič. And Jurij went to Kiev, and he took Svjatoslav Ol'govič with him.

Then Metropolitan Constantine came from Constantinople and Prince Jurij received him with honor--and also the bishop of Polock and Manuil the bishop of Smolensk, who had fled before Klim,[36] [received him]. And then, having invalidated[37] Klim's service and ordinations, and having celebrated Divine Liturgy, they blessed Prince Jurij Vladimiric and then also performed ordinations to the deacons,

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[36] iže be begal" pered Klimom"

[37] isproverg"ši

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whom Klim, the metropolitan, had ordained. And they wrote him a paper against Klim.[38]

In that same year Svjatoslav went to his brother Izjaslav. There, stopping at Mstislav's place, they made peace with their nephew and returned to their own lands.

In the year 1157, Jurij went with his in-law Jaroslav and troops from Galič and with their sons and Vladimir Andreevič and Berendej to the city of Vladimir against Mstislav Izjaslavič. Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič wanted to go with Jurij, but Jurij did not take them, heeding his in-law (Jaroslav) of Galič, having faith in him; for with them (the ones already with him) he wanted to obtain the city of Vladimir, and because of that he did not take them. Jurij did not seek Vladimir for himself, but he had kissed the cross to his brother Andrej that forever during his life he would hold the territory for his (Andrej's) son.[39] And then he kissed the cross to Vladimir Andreevič to seek the city of Vladimir for him. And for that he went to the city of Vladimir, seeking it for Vladimir.

And Jurij met with Jaroslav of Galič at Svinusy in a

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[38] iže be Klim" stavil" mitropolit" pisaša bo k nemu rukopisanie na Klima

[39] v" živote i ešče jako po živote ego volost' uderžati snvi ego

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village, and from there they went to the city of Vladimir, and they halted at Xvalimiči. There Vladimir Mstislavič came to them from the Hungarians, and from there, on Saturday, they sent troops for plunder to the city, and shooting, they reached the (enemy's) supplies.[40] And the next day on Sunday they went up to the city with the supplies. And arriving, they halted near the city. Jurij stayed by the Gridšinyj Gates, Jaroslav by the Kiev Gates by a meadow.

And Vladimir Andreevič began to ask to fight and Jurij let him go, and he went to Červen. The people of Červen closed themselves up in the city and Vladimir rode up to the city, and he began to say: "I have not come to make war against you, since you are people dear to my father, and I am your prince's son; so open /the gates to me/." And one from the city shot[41] an arrow and hit him in the throat. And God delivered him from death. And in anger he ordered /his men/ to fight fiercely.[42]

Jurij stayed at the city of Vladimir ten days besieging the city. And they were shedding much blood; some were wounded and dying. Jurij saw his (Mstislav Izjaslavič's) disobedience to him and deplored the human destruction; and

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[40] tovary

[41] potjagnuv"

[42] i tu gnevy povele voevati mnogo

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he began to say to his children and to his boyars:

> "We cannot stay here, since he will not submit to me and I do not rejoice in its (the city's) destruction or his being driven away. But I say I will bring him to the kissing of the cross, likewise with his brother."

He (Mstislav) did not want that but, moreover, rejoiced in the shedding of blood.

Jurij, having conferred with his children and his men, returned to Kiev, and his in-law went into Galič into his territory; and not having made peace, he returned to his own land. Mstislav went after him as far as Dorogobuž, fighting and burning villages, and he wrought much evil. Jurij, having come to Dorogobuž, said to Vladimir Andreevič:

> "Son, I have kissed the cross with your father and with your brother Andrej that whoever of us is left (alive), that one will be a father to both children and will hold their territory (for them). And then I kissed the cross to you, to have you as a son to myself, and to seek the city of Vladimir (for you). Now, son, if I have not obtained the city of Vladimir for you, then here is /other/ territory for you."

And he gave him Dorogobuž and Peresopnica and all the cities around the river Goryn', and to his son Boris he gave Turov.

In that same time Jurij had brought Ivan Rostislavič, who was called Berladnik, from Suzdal', wanting him chained and /wanting/ to give /him/ to Jaroslav his in-law, because Jaroslav had already sent prince Svjatopolk and Konstantin Seroslavič with a large retinue after Berladnik. And the metropolitan and all the bishops began to speak to Jurij,

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saying,: "It is a sin for you, having kissed the cross to him, to hold /him/ in such circumstances;[43] and moreover, you want to give him over to be killed." He, heeding them, let him (Berladnik) go back to Suzdal' in chains. Izjaslav, having found out that Jurij had sent him back to Suzdal', sent him back his men and took him to himself in Černigov. And so God delivered Ivan from such terrible straits.[44]

In the year 1158, Izjaslav Davidovič began to plan war against Jurij, and he reconciled Rostislav Mstislavič and Mstislav Izjaslavič and Svjatoslav Ol'govič to him, inciting him to revolt with him against Jurij. But Svjatoslav said: "I have kissed the cross to him, and I cannot arise against him without reason." And he (Svjatoslav) did not join him,[45] and Izjaslav planned the attack[46] against Jurij with Rostislav and Mstislav. And Rostislav sent his son Roman with his troops, and Mstislav set out from the city of Vladimir.

Izjaslav was wanting to go to Kiev, and on that day the people of Kiev came to Izjaslav, saying: "Go, prince, to Kiev. Jurij is dead." He began to weep, and raising his

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[43] v tolice nuži

[44] ot velikija toja nuža

[45] jasja emu

[46] složi put'

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hands to God, he said: "Blessed are you, Lord, that you have judged between him and me by death and not by bloodshed." Jurij had feasted at the house of Petrila the tax collector, and the same day at night he became ill; and his illness lasted six days, and he--Jurij Vladimirič, prince of Kiev--died in Kiev in the month of May on the sixteenth on Wednesday night. The next day on Thursday they laid him in the monastery of the Church of the Holy Savior.

And much evil was done on that day: they looted his Krasnyj Dvor and another estate of his across the Dnepr River which he himself called Paradise. And they looted his son Vasil'ko's estate in the city. And they killed the people of Suzdal' around the city and in the villages and stole their possessions.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF IZJASLAV IN KIEV. Izjaslav Davidovič entered Kiev in the month of May on the nineteenth during the week of Pentecost. And he left his nephew Svjatoslav Vladimirič in Černigov with all his troops.

And Svjatoslav Ol'govič came with Svjatolsav Vsevolodič to Černigov. And Vladimir started not to let him into the city, but to fight with him. Svjatoslav Ol'govič and his nephew Vsevolodič, seeing that, went away from the city, and having left, they halted at the Svinaja River.

And Izjaslav came from Kiev with his troops and Mstislav Izjaslavič and Svjatoslav Vladimirič, and they halted across

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from them by the river.[47] And they began to send to one another; and thus they made peace, and they kissed the cross to each other and they gave Černigov to Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Novgorod to Vsevolodič. And Izjaslav went into his Kiev with the princess and /his/ children and with all /his/ retinue, and so they dispersed.

In that same year Izjaslav went to the city of Kanev to a meeting with the Polovci and there they made peace with him. And he returned to Kiev.

In that same year, all the people of Rostov, Suzdal' and Vladimir, having conferred, took Andrej (Bogoljubskij), Jurij's eldest son, and they set him (to rule) on his father's throne in Rostov and in Suzdal' and in Vladimir, since he was greatly loved by all for the very great number of good deeds which he had done to God and to all who were under him.

Moreover, on the death of his father he created a great memorial:[48] he decorated churches and established monasteries and completed the stone church of the Holy Savior which his father had previously begun. Prince Andrej himself laid the foundation of the stone Church of the Holy Mother of God in the city of Vladimir in the month of April

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[47] staša protivu sobe ob reku

[48] veliku pamjat' stvori

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on the eighth day, the day to the memory of the holy apostle Rodion on Tuesday. And he gave it many possessions: settlements that he had purchased with tributes, and the best villages and a tithe of his herds and one-tenth of his trade goods.[49] He had built for the church five domes, and all the domes he decorated with gold. And he made it a bishop's seat. And he founded more /buildings/ in the city of Vladimir.

In that same year Leon /was appointed/ bishop in Rostov.

In that same year the people of Novgorod drove out Mstislav Jur'evič, and they appointed Svjatoslav Rostislavič to rule in Novgorod.

In that same year Sofija Jaroslavna, Rostislav Glebovič's wife, died.

In that same year Izjaslav went against Jurij Jaroslavič to Turov and with him went: Jaroslav from Luck, and Jaropolk Andreevič and assistance (troops) from Galič, and Rjurik Rostislavič with troops from Smolensk, and Vladimir Mstislavič. He was seeking Turov.

And the troops from Polock, having come to Turov, burned the villages around it, and the Berendej fought near the city of Pinsk and across the Pripjat' River, and the fighting was very heavy. They were coming out of the city

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[49] torg"

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and many were being wounded.

And Jurij Jaroslavič, having prayed a lot, sent out from the city to Izjaslav, saying: "Brother, take me unto you in love." But Izjaslav did not want that, but wanted to take Turov and Pinsk from him. And they stayed near the city ten weeks and there was plague among the horses, and he was not succeeding in any way; they returned to their own lands, not having made peace with him, and many foot-soldiers went with that army.

In that same year the blessed princess, Gleb Vseslavič's wife, daughter of Jaropolk Izjaslavič, who had been ruling forty years in the place of her prince as a widow, died. And she was eighty-four years old. And she was laid in the Pečersk monastery in the tomb at St. Theodosius' (monastery) with the prince, next to him. Her demise was in the month of January on the third day in the second hour of the night, and on the fourth (day) she was laid in the grave.

This blessed princess--and her prince--had great love for the Holy Mother of God and Father Theodosius, emulating her father Jaropolk, for this Jaropolk gave all his possessions to the Nebl'sk territory and the Drevljanskaja land and Luck and /the territory/ around Kiev. Gleb and the princess during their lives gave six hundred griv'nas of silver and fifty griv'nas of gold, and after the prince's life the princess gave one hundred griv'nas of silver and

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and fifty griv'nas of gold; and after her life the princess gave five villages with their serving people, and she gave all before she became a nun.[50]

In the year 1159, Prince Boris Jur'evič died in the month of May on the second day, and his brothers laid him in the church of the Two Holy Martyrs which his father Jurij had built at the Nerl' River in Kidek where the camp of the two Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb had been.

In that same year the people of Novgorod, Rostov and Suzdal' drove out the bishop Leon because he had advanced himself in the church robbing churches and priests.[51]

In that same year Rogovolod Borisovič left Svjatoslav Ol'govič to seek territory for himself, taking Svjatoslav's troops, since his brothers had not been good to him, taking his territory and all his means of livelihood from him. And having come to Sluck, he began to send to the people of Druck. The people of Druck were pleased with him, and they were coming to him trying to win him over to them, saying: "Come, prince, do not delay; we are pleased with you. If /you come/ we and our children will fight for you, and we will be glad to fight for you." And they came out to meet him, more than three hundred people, people of Druck and

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[50] e sel" i s" čeljad'ju i vse da i do povoja

[51] umnožil' bjaše crkvi grjabjai popy

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Polock. And he entered the city with great honor and the people were glad of him.

And they drove out Gleb Rostislavič and the citizens looted his (Gleb's) estate and his retinue. And Gleb went to his father and there was great trouble in the city among the people of Polock, for many wanted Rogvolod. Only with great difficulty did Rostislav stop them, and having given many gifts, he led them to the cross.

And he himself went with Vsevolod and with Volodar' and with all his brothers against Rogvolod to Druck. Rogvolod closed himself up in the city and the fighting was heavy, and many from both sides were falling. The soldiers of Druck were reproaching him greatly, so Rostislav made peace with Rogvolod; and they kissed the cross to each other, and he gave territory to Rogvolod. And Rostislav returned with his brothers to his own land.

In that same year the people of Polock held evil counsel against their prince, Rostislav Glebovič, and then they transgressed the kissing of the cross. For they had kissed the cross to him, saying this: "You are our prince. God grant that we shall live with you, and we will not betray you in any way, and we swear this by the kissing of the cross." And then they broke their oath.

And they sent in secret to Rogvolod Borisovič in Druck, saying to him:

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> "Our prince, we have sinned before God and before you, that we revolted against you for no fault of yours, and we robbed all of your possessions and your retinue; and we, having captured you, gave you over to Glebovič, into great torment. If you now forget all of that which we did in our folly, and kiss the cross to us, then we are your people and you are our prince. And having captured Rostislav, we will give him over into your hands and you can do what you want with him."

Rogvolod kissed the cross to them that he would forget all of that, and he let them return.

And there were friends of Rostislav among the people of Polock [who told him that] they wanted to capture him. And they begaun to invite Rostislav deceitfully to the holiday feast to the Holy Mother of God the Elder on St. Peter's day,[52] so that they could capture him there. He went to them having dressed in armor under his clothes, and they did not dare to move against him.[53]

The next day they began to invite him to them, saying: "Prince, come to us. We have something to speak with you about; come to us in the city." The prince was at that time at the Belčica district, and Rostislav said to the emissaries: "But I was with you yesterday, and what did you not say to me, what would you have said otherwise?" Without any deceit he went to them in the city, and a servant[54] of

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[52] u brat'ščinu k" stei Bci k" Starei na Petrov" dn'

[53] ne smeša na n' d'r'znuti

[54] det'skii

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his met him. [He said]: "Do not go, prince. They are holding a veche against you in the city, and they have killed your retinue, and they want to capture you."

He returned and gathered all his retinue at Belčica, and from there he went with his retinue to his brother Volodar' in Minsk. And he did much evil to the territory of Polock, capturing both flocks and servants. And the people of Polock sent for Rogvolod in Druck, and Rogvolod went into Polock in the month of July and sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father with great honor. And so the people of Polock were happy.

And then Rogvolod gathered many troops from Polock, and Rostislav Mstislavič sent him two sons, Roman and Rjuirk, in assistance, Vnezd (a boyar of Smolensk) and troops from Smolensk and Novgorod and Pskov. And he himself had gone, but Arkadij, bishop of Novgorod, turned him back, going out of Kiev.

And they went against Rostislav to Minsk, and they came first to the city of Izjaslavl' against Vsevolod. Vsevolod closed himself up in Izjaslavl', and they surrounded [them] in the city. Vsevolod had a great love for Rogvolod and, trusting in that love, went to Rogvolod and paid homage. Rogvolod gave Izjaslavl' to Brjačeslav (Vasil'kovič), for that was his patrimony, and he gave the city of Strežev to Vsevolod.

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And from there he went to Minsk and stayed at Minsk ten days and made peace with Rostislav. And they kissed the cross and returned to their own lands. But Volodar' did not kiss the cross on that, since he was travelling near Lithuania in the forests.[55]

In that same year Jaroslav of Galič began to seek Ivan Rostislavič (Berladnik) his nephew, for Jaroslav had persuaded the Russian prince and the king (of Hungary) and the Polish prince to help him against Ivan. And they all promised him. And they sent emissaries to Kiev to Izjaslav Davidovič: Jaroslav of Galič /sent/ Izbygnev (Ivačevič), Svjatoslav Ol'govič /sent/ Žiroslav Ivankovič (a commissioner of Turov), Rostislav Mstislavič and Mstislav Izjaslavič /sent/ Žiroslav Vasilevič (a boyar of Volyn'), Jaroslav Izjaslavič /sent/ Onofrij (a boyar of Luck), Vladimir Andreevič /sent/ Gavrilo Vasilevič (a boyar of Dorogobuž), Svjatoslav Vsevolodič /sent/ a man from Kiev, the king /sent/ a man of his and from the Poles /came/ their man. Izjaslav argued with all of them, and having answered them, sent them away.

Ivan then, having fought, went to the steppe to the Polovci and, having gone with the Polovci, halted in the cities around the area of the Dunaj River. He captured

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[55] xodjase pod" Litvoju v lesex"

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two ships and took many goods in them, and did harm to the Galičan fishermen. And many Polovci came to him, and six thousand people of the area of Berlad joined them.

And he went to Kučel'mina and they were pleased with him; and from there he went to Ušica. And Jaroslav's garrison had gone into the city and the men of the garrison began to fight strongly from the city, but the peasants were jumping across the wall of the city to Ivan--three hundred of them fled. And the Polovci wanted to capture the city. Ivan would not let them take /it/; and becoming angry, the Polovci left Ivan.

Izjaslav sent for Ivan and brought him to Kiev. And Izjaslav found out that Jaroslav, Mstislav and Vladimir Andreevič wanted to go to war against him about the matter of Ivan Berladnik. And he sent Ivan Rakošič to his brother Svjatoslav in Černigov, giving him the cities of Mozyr' and Čičersk, and told him that they wanted to go to war against him. Svjatoslav said:

> "It is true, brother, I am angered at you about this, that you have not given[56] me Černigov territory; I wanted no more from you. Even if it is so, that they want to come against you, God has delivered me from obligation to help you fight for territory. You are my brother; may God grant that we live together well."

And they kissed the cross to each other in all love.

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[56] ispravil"

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Then they met at the city of Lutava: Izjaslav and Svjatoslav Ol'govič and his (the latter's) son Oleg, Igor' and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Svjatoslav Vladimirič, and there was great love between them (all the Svjatoslaviči) for three days, and /they gave each other/ many gifts. Then they sent their emissaries into Galič and to Vladimir telling of their love, and that God had gathered them together by the true cross. And /when/ the others found out that the brothers were united in love, they did not go /on the campaign against them/.

In that same year Arkadij was appointed bishop in Novgorod in the month of August on the tenth day.

In that same year Izjaslav Davidovič began war against Jaroslav of Galič, seeking territory for Ivan Rostislavič, who was called Berladnik, for the Galičans were sending to him (Berladnik) asking him to mount his horse. By saying that, they urged him to come to them,[57] saying: "If you only show your banners we will leave Jaroslav."

News had come to Izjaslav from Vladimir that they wanted to come against him, having gathered to go to Kiev. And he began to send to his brother Svjatoslav Ol'govič and to Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, asking them to go with him against Galič. He told them that they wanted to come against him to

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[57] pouščivajut' ego k sobe

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Kiev. Svjatoslav Ol'govič sent to him, saying much to him:

> "Brother, for whom do you seek territory, for your brother or son? It is not good for you to begin war; if you do, they will want to come against me. And if they come against you, boasting,[58] then God will be with you, and also I and my nephew."

Izjaslav did not heed his brother, he left Kiev.

Svjatoslav sent Jurij Ivanovič, Šakušan's brother, after him, and he reached him at Vasil'ev, and began to say to him: "Your brother does not ask you to begin war, but asks you to return." Izjaslav answered him with anger:

> "Let it be known to you, brother, that I will not return under any circumstances. I have already set out. But, Jurij, tell my brother Svjatoslav, 'If you yourself do not go or send your son, then if God grants it to me, I will succeed in Galič, and then do not complain to me when you begin crawling[59] from Černigov to Novgorod."

And Svjatoslav became very aggrieved at what Jurij told him, and Svjatoslav said:

> "Lord, see my humility and how I have gone against myself, not wishing to shed Christian blood or to have my homeland destroyed, to take Černigov with seven empty cities, /including/ Morovijsk, Ljubeč, Orgošč', and Vsevolož', and in them are only huntsmen and Polovci. And he (Izjaslav) holds all the Černigov territory for himself and for his nephew, and that does not suffice him, but he orders me to go, to leave Černigov. And he kissed the cross to me that he would

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[58] s xvaloju

[59] popolzyvati

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> not seek Černigov from me in any way. Let God judge all of us, and the true cross, [the oath on] which you transgress against me; and I, brother, did not want bad for you, telling you not to go to war, but want good for you and for the Russian land."

And Izjaslav, having reached Munarev, was awaiting his nephew there, for he had sent him to meet the wild Polovci, ordering them to come to him quickly. And news came to him that Mstislav and Vladimir and Jaroslav and the troops from Galič were going to Kiev, and [when] he was at Vasil'ev, his nephew Svjatoslav reached him there with many wild Polovci. And from there he went to Belgorod and, having come to Belgorod, he halted on the road to Kiev.

Mstislav and his two brothers came to Belgorod; they began to fight terribly, having come to the city. More help came to Izjaslav there at Belgorod, for Baškord came to him with twenty thousand of his father's--Mstislav Vladimirič's--men; his mother had fled into the land of the Polovci, and she came after him. Izjaslav showed them his armies, ordering them to leave the city. They did not leave, and they stayed in the city for twelve days.

There was treachery among the Berendej, for they were being made to fight, having come to the city. And they negotiated, talking among themselves. At this the leaders were Tudor Satmazovič, Karakoz' Mnjuzovič, and Karas" Kokei. For

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they had met[60] in the house of Kuz'ma Snovidic with a servant,[61] and they sent Kuzma's servant at night, having given him their insignia,[62] saying to him:

> "Go to Belgorod to Mstislav and say this to him, 'Prince, your fate is in our hands:[63] if you want to love us as your father loved us, and if you give us the best cities, then we will leave Izjaslav.'"

Mstislav, being pleased with what had been said, sent to them that same night by that same servant, Olbyr' Šeroševič. And he accepted them on their terms and brought an oath to them.

And it was midnight. And the Berendej and Torks went shouting to Belgorod. Izjaslav realized their treachery and, mounting his horse, rode through up to their comrades. And he saw the supplies burning and went back, taking with him his nephew Svjatoslav Vladimirič and Vladimir Mstislavič. And they fled into Vyšgorod, to Gomel', and there they awaited his wife, the princess.

The princess fled to her in-law Gleb at Perejaslavl', and from there she went to Gorodec; she was first at Glebl', then at Xorobor, then at Ropesk. Jaroslav Vsevolodič, having

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[60] jali bo bjaxu v zažit'i

[61] s" otrokom"

[62] napsavše emu svoe znamenie

[63] v nas" ti est' knže i dobro i zlo

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comforted her and paid homage to her in Ropesk, conducted her to Gomel' to Izjaslav. Izjaslav and the princess left Gomel' and went into the land of the Vjatiči and captured the princess' city for Svjatoslav's defense.[64] And from there he went to the land of the Vjatiči and occupied all the land of the Vjatiči, since Svjatoslav had not come to him, nor had he sent his son to him.

Svjatoslav, finding out that Oblov had been captured and the land of the Vjatiči was occupied, began to seek supplies. He captured Izjaslav's boyars and their wives and held them for ransom.

The Polovci fled from Belgorod to Jur'ev, and the Berendej and the people of Jur'ev captured many of them. And others drowned in the River Ros'.

Mstislav and Vladimir and Jaroslav went into Kiev in the month of December on the twenty-second. Mstislav captured many goods belonging to Izjaslav's retinue--gold and silver and slaves and horses and cattle; and he sent all of it to the city of Vladimir. Mstislav and Vladimir and Jaroslav sent for Rostislav in Smolensk, inviting him to Kiev to the throne. For they had previously kissed the cross to him that, "We will seek it (Kiev) for you."

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[64] na ščit" Stoslavlee

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Rostislav sent to them Ivan Ručečnik, and Jakun, a man from Smolensk and [someone] from the people of Novgorod, saying to them:

> "If you call me truly, with love, then I will go to Kiev of my own will, if you will truly have me as a father and obey me. And I announce to you that I do not want to see Klim as metropolitan, since he has not received a blessing from St. Sophia and from the patriarch."

But Mstislav was strongly supporting[65] Klim, saying thus: "Constantine should not[66] be the metropolitan, since he cursed my father." Ivanko heard the hard words[67] and went to Prince Rostislav. And having come to Smolensk, he repeated[68] all that had been said to his prince.

Rostislav sent his eldest son Roman to Kiev with love, and Mstislav met him in Vyšgorod. And there was disagreement between them there, Rostislav not wanting Klim as metropolitan and Mstislav not wanting Constantine, who had been blessed by the patriarch and the great synod of Constantinople. The talks continued, and there was difficulty between them.[69] And so they put aside both of them, so that neither would sit on the metropolitan's throne, and they two

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[65] prašesja po

[66] ne budet

[67] v"zmja tažky reči

[68] raspraviv"

[69] i prebyvši krepce meži imi

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kissed the cross on that, that another metropolitan would be brought to them from Constantinople.

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CHAPTER IX

THE REIGN OF ROSTISLAV MSTISLAVIČ (1160-1169)

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF ROSTISLAV, SON OF MSTISLAV, IN KIEV. In the year 1160 Rostislav, Mstislav's son, went from Smolensk to Kiev onto the throne. And he entered Kiev in the month of April on the twelfth day, on Sunday, for it was then Holy Easter. And all the people met him, and /there was/ a multitude of the people. The people received him with worthy[1] honor, and he sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father, this pious Prince Rostislav. And the people were doubly happy at the resurrection of the Lord and the enthronement of the prince.

In that same year Rostislav met with Svjatoslav Ol'govič of Morovijsk in the month of May on the first day. Their meeting was /held/ with great love. Then Rostislav invited Svjatoslav to dinner. Svjatoslav came to him without any treachery, and there was happiness on that day between them and many gifts; for Rostislav gave Svjatoslav /pelts of/ sables, ermines, black marten, polar foxes, white wolves, and fish teeth. The next day Svjato-

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[1] dostoxvanoju

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slav invited Rostislav to dinner and they celebrated more than the previous day; Svjatoslav gave Rostislav a panther (snow leopard) /pelt/ and two swift horses with wrought saddles. And then they parted, /and each went/ to his own place.

In that same year Jurij Jaroslavič conquered /the area/ from Turov to the city of Putivl'. The people of Vyrev barricaded themselves against him and they did not let him /come/ to them. He, having returned from there, went to Zartyj and, having stayed there a while, went back, returning to Vyrev. Then Oleg Svjatoslavič defeated[2] the Polovci and killed Santuza, the Polovci prince.

In that same year Rostislav sent Jurij Nesterovič and Jakun from Kiev in boats against the people of Berladnik, who had taken the Oleš'e District. And having reached them at Dcin', they defeated them and captured many prisoners.

In that same year Vladimir Andreevič and Jaroslav Izjaslavič and troops from Galič defeated the Polovci between Munarev and Jaropolč, and they freed from captivity many souls whom the Polovci had captured. Then they

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[2] izbi

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defeated the Berendej by deceit.[3]

In that same year Rogvolod went with the people of Polock against Jaroslav Glebovič to Minsk. Rostislav had sent help from Kiev to Rogvolod with Žiroslav Nazirovič: six hundred Torks. And they were dying of hunger. And foot-soldiers came, not having waited for peace. Rogvolod stayed near the city seven weeks and he made peace of his own will; and he freed Volodša from prison and Brjačeslav from chains, and they kissed the cross to him.

In that same year many Polovci came to Izjaslav Davidovič in Vyrev, and Izjaslav went to Černigov with all the Polovci forces against Svjatoslav Ol'govič. And they halted beside the Desna River along Kryrov up to the upper reaches (of the river) and below to Stonjanič (Gostjanič).

Svjatoslav then had with him his nephew and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Rjurik. Rostislav had taken from Svjatoslav his son Vsevolod, reassuring the Kievans and the Berendej, for they did not believe (him) because of his sin/fulness/. And they were fighting strongly with them around the Desna River--some were on horses and

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[3] "v" oblazne

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others in boats, and they did not let them cross the river. And while halted there, they did great harm: they burned the villages and conquered the people.

The two Svjatoslavs both sent to Rostislav, asking still more help from him. Rostislav sent Izjaslav Jaroslavič and Vladimir Andreevič and help (troops) from Galič to them. Izjaslav, with the Polovci, went away into the steppe. He had arrived,[4] but they did not find him. Both Svjatoslavs and Rjurik were pursuing him across the Desna River; and having gone about for the length of a day's march and not having found him, they returned, each to his own land.

Izjaslav Davidovič reached Igor''s Ford, and news reached him there from Černigov from his friends, who said to him: "Do not go anywhere, prince, your brother Svjatoslav is ill, and his nephew has gone from him to Novgorod, and /he has/ sent his retinue away from him," for Svjatoslav was not well at that time. Izjaslav, meeting hastily with his retinue, took his allies and he went on horses to Černigov. Svjatoslav, not knowing about Izjaslav's departure, stayed by[5] the city in boats with the princess and with their children.

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[4]si že prišedši

[5]pered"

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When it was Sunday, Izjaslav came to the Desna River across from Svenkovič, and at dawn he directed his troops across the Desna and sent them to fight, for he himself had crossed the Desna. And news came to Svjatoslav that Izjaslav was fording the Desna, and the Polovci fought and burned the little village of the Holy Savior.[6]

Svjatoslav hastily prepared his troops and sent for Vladimir Andreevič and Rjurik in haste, for Vladimir on that day had reached them with his troops and with the troops from Kiev, and Tudor Elčič came quickly with help from Galič. Vladimir brought all his troops to Svjatoslav. Svjatoslav halted, having deployed all the troops, awaiting Izjaslav. He did so so that he would come to him of his own volition, as he had come /before/.[7]

And when the young retinue had joined[8] with Berendej and Kaepiči, he sent /them/ to go against the Polovci with God's help. Having reached them, they began to fight them and killed many of them (Polovci) and others they captured. They freed their people whom the Polovci had captured. Izjaslav saw the Polovci fleeing wounded and others drowning in the Desna, and he began to ask them:

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[6] selce stgo Spsa zažgoša

[7] na svoju mysl' na njuže est' pošel"

[8] perebrav'

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"What does this mean?" They told him: "We saw many troops standing by the city." Izjaslav, becoming afraid, went back across the Desna and, having stopped for the night,[9] he went to Vyrev.

Vladimir was asking Svjatoslav to let him go after him. Svjatoslav let him go. He went after him with his own troops.[10] And he reached Vyrev and burned the outer fortification around the city, for Ivan Rostislavič had closed himself up in the city with the princess, and Izjaslav himself had gone into the steppe. And /after/ having stayed there, /his troops/ went to Zarytyj. And there, having burned /the area/ and having done much evil, they returned to their own lands.

Many Polovci came to Izjaslav and he went with them to Vorobein and to Rosus, and being victorious there, he went to his nephew in Vščiž.

That same winter, Izjaslav went from there to the Smolensk territory and attacked it. And they did much evil there. The Polovci captured more than ten thousand men, and they killed[11] others.

After that Izjaslav sent to Andrej Jur'evič and asked

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[9] založivsja

[10] ves' sam"

[11] isekoša

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his daughter from him to marry his nephew Svjatoslav (Vladimirič), and he asked for help from him. And he sent to him his son Izjaslav with all his troops and aid from Murom, since the Russian princes had come against Svjatoslav Vladimirič and they had retreated into Vščiž, and were fighting with them from the city, awaiting Izjaslav his (Izjaslav Andreevič's) uncle with help.

And the two Svjatoslavs, Ol'govič and Vsevolodič, and Rjurik and other princes, hearing that Izjaslav Andreevič was coming with a great force from Rostov, became afraid, and they gave him peace and returned. Izjaslav Davidovič and Izjaslav Andreevič, hearing, returned: Izjaslav went to the land of the Vjatiči and Izjaslav Andreevič went back to his father Andrej in Rostov; Izjaslav went along the same route to the land of the Vjatiči. Then those two met[12] at Volock with Andrej Jur'evič. Then they brought Andrej's daughter for Svjatoslav Vladimirič in Vščiž.

In that same year Svjatoslav Ol'govič went to Vščiž to the two Svjatoslavs, Vladimirič and Vsevolodič. They both went with him and Rjurik with the Kievan forces and Oleg Svjatoslavič, Roman from Smolensk, and Vseslav from

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[12] snimastasja

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Polock, /and/ Konstantin Seroslavič with troops from Galič. And they stayed by the city five weeks, and they made peace with him. And on this Vladimirič kissed the cross to Svjatoslav, that he would treat him as a father and do everything he wanted.[13] And then they returned to their own lands.

Andrej met Izjaslav at Volock and sent to the people of Novgorod, saying to them: "Let it be known, I wish to seek Novgorod by good or evil /means/, and you have kissed the cross to me in this, to have me as your prince and to want good for me." And after that the people of Novgorod began to be disturbed, and they began to hold veches often.

In that same winter, Mstislav Izjaslavič and Jaroslav, his brother Jaropolk, Vladimir Andreevič and his brother Jaropolk went to Turov against Jurij Jaroslavič. And they stayed one and one-half weeks and did not succeed in any way, and they returned to their own lands.

In the year 1161, the people of Novgorod held a veche and sent to their prince, Svjatoslav Rostislavič, and said to him: "We cannot have two princes." And they went and brought out David's brother from Novyj

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[13] imeti emu ego v" otca mesto i v" vsei voli ego emu xoditi

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Torg. He (David) did not insult them,[14] but having brought out his brother, sent him to Smolensk to Roman.

And their (the people's) evil did not stop there, but they acheived even more bitter evil. They, having waited a short time and having held a veche against Svjatoslav, transgressed the kissing of the cross to Rostislav and his son Svjatoslav.

The prince was ruling in Gorodišče (in Novgorod) at the Church of the Holy Annunciation, when a messenger reached him and said: "Prince, great evil is being done in the city; the people want to capture you." And Svjatoslav said:

> "And what evil have I done to them, that they want to capture me? And they have kissed the cross to my father that they would have me for their prince until the end of my life; and yesterday they all kissed (the icon of) the Holy Mother of God."

And when he had said that, a multitude of the people, having taken the prince, locked him in a house[15] and sent the princess into a monastery. And they put his retinue in chains and looted his and his retinue's possessions. And then they sent the prince to Ladoga, having put many guards around him.

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[14] ne veredja im" srdca

[15] zaproša v ystebke

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And news came to Rostislav in Kiev that his son had been captured in Novgorod, and he ordered the people of Novgorod (who were in the plot) to be taken and confined in the Peresečen Prison. And in a single night fourteen of their men died, and they told Rostislav that they suffocated in the prison. And he felt sorry for them and ordered them to be released from the prison and put in various places around the city.

The people of Novgorod sent to Andrej Jur'evič in Suzdal', asking from him his son to rule in Novgorod. He did not give his son to them, but tried to give them his brother Mstislav. However, they did not want him, because he had previously ruled them. And he sent to them his nephew Mstislav Rostislavič. God and the power of the true cross delivered Izjaslav; he went into Polock. Rogvolod from Polock accompanied him to Smolensk.

In that same year the stone church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir was completed by the pious, God-loving prince Andrej (Bogoljubskij), and he decorated it marvellously with various icons and countless precious stones and church vessels, and he gilded the domes. For his faith and his worthiness to the Holy Mother of God, God brought to him masters from all over the earth and he decorated it (the church) more than all other churches.

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In that same year, Rostov burned and all the churches /there/ and the great marvellous cathedral church of the Holy Mother of God, the like of which had never been nor will be.

In that same year Rogvolod went to Minsk against Rostislav Glebovič; and he made peace with him and returned to his own land. In that same year, in the month of August on the twentieth day, there was a sign in the moon: /it looked/ as if it were totally destroyed.

In that same year Rostislav sent to Svjatoslav, saying to him: "Let /my/ child Oleg come to me, so he may come to know the best of the people of Kiev and the Berendej and the Torks." Svjatoslav, without any treachery, sent him. His son Oleg, having arrived in Olžiči, sent to Rostislav, saying to him: "Brother, where do you order me to be?" Rostislav ordered him to stay in Olžiči; he himself was at the little village of Šelvovo by the pine wood, and he (Oleg) was with him at dinner for two days.

On the third day, Oleg was riding out of the camp to go to ride, and a man of Rostislav's met him and stood before him, and he said: "Prince, I have a great matter for you; promise me that you will not reveal it to anyone." And he promised him, and he said to him: "Prince, I speak to you truly, take care, they want to capture you."

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Oleg blamed his mother's illness (for wanting to leave) and began to ask Rostislav for permission to go to Černigov to his father. But Rostislav did not want to let him leave him because of love, since he did not have evil in his heart, but evil men who did not want to see good between brothers had done that (falsely made him mistrust Rostislav). Rostislav let Oleg go to his father.

Oleg, having come to Černigov, did not reveal that to his father, but had secretly become angry against his father. And he began to ask his father for permission to go to Kursk. Svjatoslav did not know all of that, /and/ let Oleg go from him to Kursk. And Izjaslav's emissaries reached /him/ with love and with loving words.

Oleg revealed what Izjaslav said to his men, for the two Vsevolodiči had already joined with Izjaslav with love. And the men said to Oleg: "Prince, is it good for you that they wanted to capture you in Kiev and that they give away Černigov from your father? And your father is still right, and you have kissed the cross." Oleg approached Izjaslav in love without his father's advice.

News came to Svjatoslav that the two Vsevolodiči and Oleg his son had joined with Izjaslav in alliance. And he was very sad about that, and Svjatoslav told his men that the two Vsevolodiči and Oleg had allied with Izjaslav.

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And the men said to him:

> "It is strange, prince, that you worry about[16] your nephew Oleg and do not guard your own life. It is not a lie to you that Roman Rostislavič sends his priest from Smolensk to Izjaslav, saying this, 'Your father[17] gives Černigov to you; live with me in peace. And he himself, moreover, wanted to capture your son in Kiev.' And already, prince, you have destroyed your territory, maintaining an alliance with Rostislav, but he only[18] lazily helps /you/."

And so of necessity Svjatoslav was brought from Rostislav's alliance to Izjaslav.

And many Polovci went to Izjaslav. Izjaslav joined the two Vsevolodiči and the brothers and Oleg, but Svjatoslav did not come from Černigov. And he went to meet the Polovci in the steppe. And having met with the Polovci, he went to Perejaslavl' to his in-law Gleb, asking him to go with him across the Dnepr River against Rostislav. But Gleb did not go with him, and he stayed at Perejaslavl' two weeks and did not succeed in any way.

News came to Rostislav that Izjaslav had come to Perejaslavl' with all his brothers. The Grand Prince of Kiev, Rostislav, gathering many warriors, went against Izjaslav. And he was in Trepol'. Izjaslav, hearing

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[16] žalueši

[17] batja

[18] vsjako

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that Rostislav was coming against him with his troops, fled. And the Polovci fled into the steppe.

In that same year Metropolitan Fedor came from Constantinople in the month of August, for Prince Rostislav had sent for him.

Izjaslav, having joined his brothers in alliance, sent for the Polovci, and many Polovci came to him. And Izjaslav, having joined with the two Vsevolodiči and with Oleg and with the Polovci, went to[19] Vyšgorod to the church. For there the Dnepr had halted, and nowhere else had it halted (frozen). Having crossed the Dnepr there at the little church, he went with his armies to Kiev, and arriving, halted at the swamps in the underbrush[20] across from Dorogožič.

The next day on the eighth day of the month of February--it was then Wednesday--Izjaslav began to deploy his troops and his brothers. And having done that, he went to Podol'. And Rostislav was standing with Andreevič at the wall, for the wall had then been burned from the mountain up to the Dnepr River. And there was a heavy battle, very terrible for both sides. And many were killed

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[19] za

[20] lozax"

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and were fleeing on both sides;[21] and it was so terrible to see, it was like the Second Coming.

And Izjaslav began to retreat, for the Polovci had already entered the city, cutting through the wall, and they were burning the estates of the priest Lixačev and Rad'slav. And the Berendej fled to the Hungarian /Gates/, and others to the Golden Gates. And Rostislav's retinue began to say:

> "Prince, your brothers have not reached you, nor the Berendej, nor the Torks. These (enemies) have a great force. So go to Belgorod and there you can await your brothers and all your /other/ help."

Rostislav, heeding them, went to Belgorod with his troops and with the princess.

On that same day Jaroslav his nephew came to him with his brother Jaropolk Andreevič; he went to Torčesk to the Berendej and to the Torks. Izjaslav entered Kiev in the month of February on the twelfth, and having entered St. Sophia Cathedral, pardoned all the Kievans whom they had captured. And Izjaslav went to Belgorod.

In that same time there was a sign in the moon, fearful and marvellous, for the moon went across the entire sky, from the east to the west, changing its forms.

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[21] i bys bran' krepka velmi zelo ot oboix" i letjaxu mnozi ubivaemi ot oboix"

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At first it gradually grew smaller until it was all gone. And it looked like a black spot,[22] and then it was as if it were bloody; and then it was like two faces, one green and the other yellow, and in the middle of them it was as if two soldiers were fighting with two swords, and one of the soldiers looked as if blood was flowing from his head and the other as if milk was flowing /from his head/. To this the old people said: "Such a sign is not good; lo, it prefigures a prince's death." And that occurred. We will now return to the previous matter.

Izjaslav, arriving at Belgorod, stayed near the inner wall four weeks. The outer fortification Rostislav had burned up to where he was.[23] Svjatoslav sent from Černigov to Izjaslav, asking him to accept peace, "or else if you do not make[24] peace, go back across the Dnepr. If you are across the Dnepr, then you are completely within your rights."[25] But Izjaslav did not heed his brother Svjatoslav, but said to him: "My brothers, having returned, go to their territory and I am to return to the (land of the) Polovci. I cannot go, I cannot die

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[22] skudno

[23] do nego

[24] dadja

[25] to vsja tvoja pravda

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of hunger at Vyrev. It is better for me[26] to die here."

In the year 1162, Mstislav set out from Vladimir with his troops and with assistance from Galič, and Rjurik went out of the land of the Torks with Vladimir Andreevič and Vasil'ko Jur'evič and with Berendej, Koui, Torks and Pečenegs. And they joined Mstislav at Kotel'nica, and from there they went to the cities Belgorod and Mutižir, and /then/ they were at the city of Kučary. And the Černye Klobuki began to ask /permission/ from Mstislav to go ahead. "Let us see, prince, if the force is large." Mstislav let them go; the wild Polovci found the force and reached[27] Izjaslav, and they told him the force was large. Izjaslav, not seeing any troops himself, fled from Belgorod.

Rostislav and Jaroslav and Jaropolk went out of the city with their troops, and there they awaited their brothers. When they had gathered and greeted each other, they went after them. The Torks reached their supply wagons at the Želan' River; they reached their troops outside Bulič', and there they began to fight them and to capture them.[28] They captured then Švarn and both Miljatiči--Stepan and Jakun--and Nažir Perejaslavič.

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[26] leple xočju

[27] prignaša

[28] seči ja a inex" imati rukami

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They reached Izjaslav near the lakes; he was riding into a stand of pines and Voibor Negečevič reached him and cut him on the head with a saber. And another one pierced him in the thigh, and he was thrown from his horse there. And having captured him, barely alive, Mstislav sent /him/ to the monastery of St. Simeon, which is in Kopyrev Konec. Izjaslav was killed in the month of March on the seventh day, and from there they sent his body to Černigov. Svjatoslav prepared his body with tears and they laid his body in his father's church, the Church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb, in the month of March on the thirteenth day. It was then a Monday.

In that same year the people of Novgorod took Svjatoslav Rostislavič to rule them again, and they drove out Mstislav, Jurij's grandson, from them.

In that same year there was a sign in the sun in the month of August on the sixteenth, on Thursday.

In that same year Vladimir, prince of Rjazan', Svjatoslav's son, Jaroslav's grandson, died.

In that same year Prince Ivan Rostislavič, who was called Berladnik, died in Selun, and some were saying that his death was from poison.

In that same year Rogvolod came against Volodar' with warriors from Polock, to Gorodec. Volodar' did not surrender to him that day, but that night came out against

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him from the city with Lithuanians, and they did much evil on that night. Some they killed and others they captured; there was a multitude killed.[29] Rogvolod fled into Sluck and, having stayed there three days, went into Druck, but he did not dare to go to Polock, since he had killed so many people of Polock. The people of Polock appointed Vasil'kovič to rule in Polock.

In that same year, Mstislav Izjaslavič went out of Kiev, having been angered at his uncle Rostislav, and much had been said[30] between them. David (Rostislavič), without his father's orders, went into the land of the Torks and brought Mstislav's commissioner Vyško, having captured him, to Kiev. Rostislav sent his son Mstislav to Belgorod. Then Mstislav went from the city of Vladimir against Vladimir Andreevič to Peresopnica. And having arrived, he halted at V"buč. And he began to send to Vladimir, asking him to abandon his alliance with Rostislav. Vladimir had not kissed the cross to Rostislav, but nevertheless was[31] for Rostislav with all his heart. Mstislav went back to Vladimir.

In that same year, Andrej drove out from Suzdal'

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[29] množ'stvo pače iz"b'enyx

[30] mnogo reči v"sta

[31] jasja

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Bishop Leon and his two brothers, Mstislav and Vasil'ko, and the two Rostislaviči, his nephews, and his father's foremost men.[32] He did this wanting to be the sole ruler[33] of all the land of Suzdal'. Leon, the bishop, having repented of that sin, he allowed to return, but /he let him return/ to Rostov, not letting him hold his office in Suzdal'. And he held him four months in the episcopate; he began to ask permission from him to eat meat on Wednesday as well as on Friday from the Resurrection of Christ (Easter) to the Day of All Saints (June 5). The bishop ordered him to eat meat only on Holy Week on Wednesday and Friday, and otherwise to preserve the good /custom/. He (Andrej) drove him from his land for that fault. And he went to Černigov to Svjatoslav Ol'govič. Svjatoslav, having consoled him well, sent him to Kiev to Rostislav.

In that same year Rostislav made peace with Jurij Jaroslavič.

In that same year many Polovci came to Jurij and they captured many camps along the Great Rut' River,[34] and they killed Voibor (Negečevič), who had killed

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[32] perednii

[33] samovlastec'

[34] po Rotu

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Izjaslav. All the Černye Klobuki, having gathered, went after them and reached them at the Rša district. And they killed many of them and recaptured all the prisoners they had, more than five hundred of them. They also captured two prince's sons, Satmazovič and another prince's son.

In that same year Rjurik and Svjatopolk Jur'evič of Turov and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, with his brother Jaroslav and with Oleg Svjatoslavič and with Vladimiriči and with the Kriviči princes, went to Sluck against Vladimir Mstislavič. Vladimir, having seen their strength, made peace with them. And when they had retreated from Sluck, he himself went to Kiev to his brother Rostislav. Rostislav gave him Trepol' and another four cities.

In that same year Mstislav and Vasil'ko Jur'evič went to Constantinople with their mother, and they took with them a third brother, young Vsevolod. And the Emperor gave Vasil'ko four cities in the region of the Dunaj (Danube) River, and he gave Mstislav the Otskalan territory.

In the year 1163, Rostislav made peace with Mstislav. /Rostislav/ returned to Mstislav all the Tork cities and Belgorod, and for Trepol' he gave him the city of Kanev.

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In that same year Rostislav brought Belukovna, daughter of the Polovci prince, from the Polovci to marry his son Rjurik. In that same year he made peace with the Polovci.

Then the metropolitan Fedor died, having been in the metropolitanate ten months. In that same year they defeated the Poles near Červen.

In the year 1164, Metropolitan Ivan came to Rus', and Rostislav did not want to accept him, since Rostislav had sent Gurjata Semkovič to the Emperor, wanting to appoint Klim to the position of metropolitan. And Gurjata went back from the Oleš'e district with the metropolitan and the Emperor's emissary. And the Emperor sent many gifts to Rostislav: velvets and silk[35] and all kinds of various precious fabrics. The Emperor's emissary said to Rostislav: "The Emperor says to you, 'If you accept me with love, a blessing from St. Sophia...'"[36]... and they denied Oleg's retinue: "Prince, do not delay--go quickly, for Vsevolodič did not live well with your father or with you, and what if he is planning evil?" Oleg quickly went to Černigov and did not find his father alive, for they

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[35] oksamoty i pavoloky

[36] There is probably an omission in the text here (see column 522).

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had kept his death secret for three days before Oleg's arrival. The princess did this, having conferred with the leading men of her prince. And they kissed (the icon of) the Holy Savior, and then the retinue kissed /it/.

And Jurij, military leader, said: "It was not good for us to give the bishop the (icon of the) Holy Savior to kiss, since he is a holy man, and we will not be suspicious of him because he loves his princes." And the bishop said:

> "Because of that I will affirm /the oath/ before you--let God and She who bore Him be my witnesses--that I will not send to Vsevolodič in any way, or deceive /you/; moreover, sons, I say to you, do not destroy your souls and be traitors like Judas."

He was saying this to them while hiding treachery within him, for he was a Greek by birth. He was the first to kiss (the icon of) the Holy Savior, and he committed an evil transgression. And having written a document, he sent it to Vsevolodič, saying this:

> "Your uncle has died and they have sent for Oleg; your retinue is in cities far away, and the princess rules incompetently[37] with the children, and she has many possessions. So come quickly, Oleg has not yet come, and you can come to an agreement with him."[38]

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[37] v" izumen'i

[38] a po svoei voli v"zmeši rad" s nim"

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Svjatoslav read the document in haste and sent his son to the Gomij district and his commissioner out to the cities, and he himself wanted to go to Černigov, having heard that Oleg was already at Černigov. And they two began to send to each other, making arrangements about the territories. .Oleg agreed to this[39] and made peace, ceding Černigov to Svjatoslav and taking Novgorod for himself. And Oleg sent Ivan Rodislavič with a cross, and Svjatoslav kissed the cross to Oleg that he would do as they had agreed. But he did not do it, for Vsevolodič, kissing the cross, said: "I will give /territory to/ your brothers Igor' and Vsevolod," and he did not give it to them.

Svjatoslav (Vladimirič of Vščiž) died in the month of February on the fifteenth day, and on the sixteenth he was laid in the tomb--on Monday.

That same year there was a great flood in Galič, by God's will; there was a great rain suddenly in a single day, and in the night water overflowed from the Dnestr River, a great amount, into the lowland beside the river. And it overflowed as far as the Bykov Swamp. And more than three hundred men, who had come with salt

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[39]na sja postupiv"

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from Udeč,[40] drowned; and they took down many men from the trees and carts[41] which the water had swept away. Many other /vehicles/ were swamped,[42] and in them there was a very precious harvest for that winter.

That same year the pious, Christ-loving prince Izjaslav, son of the great prince Andrej, died, and his father Prince Andrej mourned for him. And then they laid him in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir with great weeping in the month of October on the twenty-eighth day.

In the year 1165, Lord[43] Andronicus, a cousin of the Emperor, fled from Constantinople to Jaroslav in Galič, and Jaroslav accepted him with great love. And Jaroslav gave him a few cities for consolation. Then the Emperor sent two metropolitans inviting him to him. Jaroslav sent to him with great honor, presenting to him his bishop Kuz'ma and his foremost men.

In that same year Agafija Rostislavna was brought to marry Oleg Svjatoslavič in the month of June on the twenty-ninth day.

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[40] iz Udeča (iudeča)

[41] kola

[42] mnogo že inii potope (v potope)

[43] kjur"

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In that same year David Rostislavič ruled in Vitebsk, while Rostislav gave to Roman, Vjačeslav's grandson, the cities Vasilev and Krasnyj.

In that same year Vasil'ko Jaropolčič defeated the Polovci in Rus'. Many of them he captured and his retinue was made rich with weapons and horses, and he got a great deal of ransom from them.[44]

In the year 1166, Prince Jaroslav appointed Ilja bishop in Great Novgorod, because Ilja had been born in Novgorod. In that same year they brought Svjatoslav Ol'govič's daughter to marry Jaropolk Izjaslavič.

In that same year the pious, Christ-loving Prince Jaroslav, son of the Great Prince Jurij, died. And his brother Andrej mourned for him and laid him in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in the city of Vladimir. In the month of April on the twelfth day the princess, Svjatoslav Ol'govič's wife, died.

In the year 1167 Svjatoslav Vladimirič, David's grandson, died in Vščiž.

In that same year Svjatoslav Vsevolodič went to war with Oleg about /Svjatoslav/ Vladimirič, for Oleg was

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[44]i sam" iskupa mnogo ima na nix"

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asking for a just allotment, but Svjatoslav did not give it to him,--he gave his brother the best territory and put his son to rule in Vščiž. Rostislav, seeing what was just, that Svjatoslav had insulted Oleg, then began to help Oleg. Rostislav sent to Svjatoslav many times, ordering him to give justly to Oleg and wishing them good. But Svjatoslav did not heed him.

Oleg went to Starodub, for the people of Starodub had sent to him previously.[45] Jaroslav's troops[46] were in the city, and so the citizens could not do what they wished.[47] Oleg went back in anger, taking many prisoners.

Svjatoslav sent his brother Jaroslav with Polovci to Novgorod; and having reached the Moloč'nyj River, there they turned back, at a distance of fifteen versts[48] from the city. Oleg at that time was very unwell, so much that he could not mount a horse. Rostislav, having found out that Oleg was very ill, began to send to Oleg, asking him to make peace. Oleg heeded him and made peace with his brother.

The Polovci, having found out that the princes did

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[45] uperedi

[46] pomoč'

[47] stvoriti mysli svoeja

[48] 1 verst (Russian versta) = 3500 feet.

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not live together in peace, came to the ridge[49] and began to harass[50] the Greeks. And Rostislav sent Vladislav the Pole with troops, and they brought out[51] the Greeks (escorted the traders safely to Rus').

In that same year a son was born to Oleg, and they named him in christening Boris, and his worldly name was Svjatoslav.

In that same year Volodar' Glebovič went to Polock to make war. Vseslav Vasil'kovič set out against him with warriors from Polock. Volodar', having found out that they were coming against him, did not let him (Vasil'kovič) gather /his troops to prepare for battle/, and struck them suddenly. And he killed many of them and others he captured. Vseslav fled to Vitebsk. Volodar' went into Polock and kissed the cross with the people of Polock, and he went to Vitebsk against David (Rostislavič) and Vseslav. And having arrived, he halted at the /Dvina/[52] River, and they began to fight around the river. David did not send his army against him, since he was awaiting his brother Roman from Smolensk.

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[49] poroga

[50] pakostiti

[51] v"zvedoša

[52] See Solov'ev, p. 519.

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This marvellous thing happened[53] at midnight: there was a great storm /that sounded/ as if warriors were fording the river, and fear fell upon the warriors of Volodar'. And the retinue said to Volodar': "Why are you staying, prince, and not retreating? Roman is fording and David /is coming/ from the other direction."[54] And Volodar' fled from Vitebsk. And the next day David saw that Volodar' had fled, and he sent after them, and they did not reach them, but looking around the forest, they captured many. And he sent Vseslav to Polock.

In that same year Jaroslav, prince of Galič, took Boleslava, (Svjatoslav) Vsevolodič's daughter, to marry his son Vladimir.

In that same year Jaroslav Izjaslavič brought a daughter, Malfrida, from Jurij Jaroslavič from Turov to marry his son Vsevolod.

In that same year Andreevna, who was married to[55] Oleg Svjatoslavič, died. In that same year Oleg Svjatoslavič fought with /the Polovec khan/ Bonjak, and Oleg defeated the Polovci.

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[53] se že divno sdejasja

[54] otsuda

[55] umre Andreevna za Olgom" za Stoslavičem

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In that same year the Polovci captured Švarn across from[56] Perejaslavl', and they killed his retinue and took from him a great amount of ransom /for his freedom/.

In the year 1168, Rostislav sent to his brother and to his son, asking them all to join him with all their troops. And Mstislav (Izjaslavič) came from Vladimir with his brothers--Izjaslav from Luck and Jaropolk from Bužsk; Vladimir Andreevič; Vladimir Mstislavič; Gleb Jur'evič; Rjurik and David and Mstislav (Rostislaviči); Gleb of Goroden; Ivan, (Jurij) Jaroslavič's son; and assistance from Galič.[57] And they stayed at Kanev a long time until /the traders/ came /along/ the Grečnik and Založnik /routes/. And after that they returned to their own lands.

That same year, coming out /of Kiev/, Rostislav went to Novgorod, since the people of Novgorod were not living well with his son Svjatoslav. And he went to the city of Čičersk to his father-in-law Oleg, for Oleg had awaited him and his wife there. And Oleg had[58] Rostislav to dinner, and there was great happiness on that day

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[56] za

[57] For clarification of this list, Solov'ev (p. 524) was used.

[58] poja

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between them. Oleg gave many gifts to Rostislav and to his daughter. The next day Rostislav invited Oleg and his daughter to him and, having given many even greater gifts,[59] he went to Smolensk.

And the best men of Smolensk began to meet him at a distance of three hundred versts from the city, and after that his grandsons met him, and after that his son Roman and the bishop Manuil and Vnezd, a boyar of Smolensk, met him, and almost all the city came out to meet him. And so they all rejoiced greatly at his arrival; and they gave him many gifts.

And from there he went to the city of Turopeč, and from there he sent to his son Svjatoslav in Novgorod, asking him to come out to meet him. He was at the city of Velikie Luki, for Rostislav was already very unwell, and he met there at Velikie Luki with his son and with the people of Novgorod. And the people of Novgorod kissed the cross to Rostislav that they would have his son as their prince, and that they would not seek another prince until they were parted from him by death. And he took many gifts from his son and from the people of Novgorod; and from there he returned to Smolensk.

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[59]pače bolšimi darmi učrediv" vsix"

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Rogneda, his sister, seeing her brother greatly ailing, began to entreat him, asking him to rest[60] in Smolensk in her house.[61] But he said to her:

> "I cannot stay here, take me to Kiev. If God takes me on the road, then lay me in my blessed father's /monastery/, St. Theodore's. If God takes this illness from me, it is by the prayers of His Most-Pure Mother and our Holy Father Theodosius of the Pečersk Monastery."

For when he was departing from this brief and fleeting life, he said to Simeon the priest, his spiritual father: "You will have to answer to God, because you prohibited me from becoming a monk." Rostislav had often said that to Polikarp, who was then abbot of the Pečersk Monastery: "When news came to me from Černigov of the death of Svjatoslav Ol'govič, then I thought often about becoming a monk." He then was always saying the same thing to the abbot: "Put me, abbot, in a good cell; I fear a sudden death. And what will God do with me?"[62]

This doer-of-good-deeds had done this: on the great feast and on each Saturday and Sunday he had to dinner twelve monks, and the thirteenth was Abbot Polikarp. And so he fed those poor ones and sent them back. He himself,

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[60] lečі

[61] v" svoem" emu zdan'i

[62] Omitted from translation here is: i vaša molitva because it is unclear comtextually.

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every week at communion, his face bathed in tears and with frequent sighs, humbled himself and emitted cries[63] from his heart. All who saw him standing in such humility could not restrain themselves from tears. When a fast was over, then he entertained all the brothers. And on Lazar Saturday he took in[64] all the monks of the Pečersk Monastery and invited /monks from/ all the monasteries; and on other days, on Wednesday and on Friday, he comforted the Pečersk brotherhood; he had great love for the Holy Mother of God and the Holy Father Feodosij.

And then he was telling Polikarp: "All my life I have wanted to be freed from this temporal and vain world and this fleeting and much-troubled life, all of which I have previously reminded you." He said to him: "God ordered you to be so, to do justice on this earth, to sit as a judge in justice, to uphold the kissing of the cross." Rostislav said this to him:

> "Father, ruling[65] and the world cannot be without sin. And I have already lived more than a little time on this earth, and I have wanted to emulate /the saints/, like all true-believing tsars suffered and received punishment from the Lord our God, just as the holy martyrs shed their blood and received

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[63] stonanie

[64] vzimaše

[65] knjaženie

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> the imperishable crown /of eternal life/, just as also the holy fathers burdened their bodies with fasting and followed the narrow and straight[66] path, they received the heavenly kingdom; just as also I heard the true-believing Tsar Constantine himself saying, 'If I could have known the honorable order of monk, ascending with angels to the Most-Holy Lord, without hesitation I would have taken off the crown and the purple.'"

And this he was telling the Abbot Polikarp. And the abbot said to him: "If you wish this, prince, it is God's will, so let it be." Rostislav, hearing the abbot, put /what he had said/ in his heart, saying to him: "I will wait a little more time, I still have a few small matters /to deal with/." And so, having spoken to him and having blessed him, he (Polikarp) left him.

Let us return to the former matter. And they went with him from Smolensk, and he was already very ill. And he was in Rogneda's village Zarub, and he began to say to Ivanko Frolovič his valet[67] and to Boris Zaxarič: "Call to me the priest Simeon, let him say a prayer /for me/."

And he himself, raising his arms, began to say a prayer, looking at the icon of the Holy Mother of God:

> "Most-Holy Mother of God, You are the highest of the angels and the archangels and of all creation, the truest helper to

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[66] tesnym"

[67] spal'nik

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> the downtrodden and provider of hope[68] to those who have none, an intercessor for orphans, a feeder of beggars, a comfort to those who mourn, a salvation to sinners, help to all Christians; You are merciful, Lady, by Your mercy have mercy on me, your sinful slave Mixail; defend me with the true monk's habit and beseech God, Who was made incarnate from You; gird me with Your power, which is greater than that of invisible and visible enemies. All-merciful Lady, Mother of God, raise me from the depths of sinfulness and light the eyes of my heart, and allow salvation to me, your sinful slave, by[69] the power of Christ our God as the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."

Looking up at the icon of the Creator Himself, he began to say in a quiet voice, with tears flowing from his eyes: "Now free Your slave, Lord, according to Your word, from the world." And his tears were seen, laying on his robe[70] like pearls;[71] and then, wiping away the tears with a small kerchief, he died, in the month of March on the fourteenth, and on the twenty-first he was laid in a grave at St. Theodore's, his father's monastery, next to his ancestors.[72] His rule in Kiev was a month

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[68] nadejanie

[69] jako

[70] skran'ju

[71] ženc južnaja zerna

[72] priloživ"sja otcm" svoim"

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less than eight years.

In that same winter the Ol'govičі went against the Polovci, for it was then a very terrible[72] winter. And Oleg captured Kozin's camp and his wife and children and silver and gold; and Jaroslav captured all of Begljukov's camp, and having praised God and His Most-Pure Mother, they returned to their own lands.

In the year 1169, on Rostislav's death, the brothers--Vladimir Mstislavič, Rjurik, and David--began to send for Mstislav. The people of Kiev and the Černye Klobuki /also/ sent for him.[73] Mstislav sent Vladislav Vratislavič ahead of him to Vasil'ko Jaropolčič, asking him to rule[74] in Kiev until he himself /came/; and he sent his emissary.

And Mstislav's friends began to tell Vasil'ko and Vladislav that Vladimir Mstislavič and Andreevič and Mstislav's brother Jaroslav and Rjurik and David had kissed the cross that they would take Mstislav's territory for themselves, as they wanted:[75] to Vladimir /would go/ his Torčesk territory and all the area around the Ros' River; to Andreevič--Brest; to Jaroslav--Vladimir.

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[72] ljuta

[73] ot sebe poslaša

[74] sedeti

[75] po svoei voli

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Vasil'ko heard[76] their plans and sent to Mstislav in Vladimir, revealing to him all that they had said. Mstislav sent to his allies, to Jaroslav in Galič and to the Poles and to the two Vsevolodkoviči, revealing to them his brothers' pressure.[77] And Mstislav joined with the Poles and Jaroslav of Galič. And Mstislav set out to Kiev to the throne. And Jaroslav gave him five regiments from Galič, and Mstislav and Boris Vsevolodkovič also went with him.

And he came to the Mikulica district, and there all the Berendej and Torks and Pečenegs and all the Černye Klobuki came to him. And, leading them to take an oath, he sent his brother ahead of him with Berendej, and he himself followed him; and then Vladimir Mstislavič went from Trepol' to Vyšgorod with his wife and children.

On that same day Mstislav's wife went to his mother in Vyšgorod. Jaropolk and the Berendej caught up with Vladimir at the Željan' River at the city of Dorogobuž. And the Berendej would not[78] exchange shots with them, for the Berendej were being treacherous. And then the Berendej followed them up to the monastery in the city

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[76] v"zma

[77] tverd'

[78] ne daša

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of Vsevolož', and there Jaropolk went back into the city. Mstislav the next day went after him to Kiev, having deployed his troops along the Vasilev road up to Ol'govo, and he entered Kiev.

And there all the people of Kiev came out, and he came to an agreement[79] with his brothers and with his retinue and with the people of Kiev on that day. And he went to Vyšgorod and sent the Berendej to plunder; at the lowland around the Dnepr River, they burned the estate of the military commander David Radilov and six other estates.

Mstislav, having arrived, halted on the mountain by a pine grove,[80] and he stationed foot-soldiers on the ramparts. The Berendej killed Vladimir's man and they (their opponents) killed the best man of the Berendej.[81] It was then Friday.

The next day on Saturday they began to fight, /some/ going to the city and /their opponents/ coming from the city; the fighting was heavy. And then Rjurik, David and Vladimir began with Mstislav to make arrangements about territory, sending to each other. And having made

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[79] v"zma rjad"

[80] po gore ot boru

[81] Berendiči že ubiša Volodimer' muž' ubiša že i ti (tii) lepšii Berendič'

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peace about the territory, they kissed the cross. Mstislav entered Kiev on Monday.

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CHAPTER X

THE REIGNS OF MSTISLAV IZJASLAVIČ, GLEB JUR'EVIČ, VLADIMIR JAROSLAVIČ, AND ROMAN ROSTISLAVIČ

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF MSTISLAV, IZJASLAV'S SON, IN KIEV. Mstislav entered the city in the month of May on the nineteenth day and sat on the throne of Jaroslav his father and his ancestors.[1] And Vladimir Mstislavič began to plot against Mstislav. And at that time David's man, Vasil' Nastasič, was there, and when he came he told his prince /of Vladimir's plans/, and David revealed that to his brother Mstislav.

Vladimir, having found out that his plan had been revealed to Mstislav, came to be judged. And Mstislav came to the Pečersk monastery, and Vladimir came after him and told him to stay[2] in the steward's cell, while he himself stayed in the abbot's cell. And Mstislav, having sent to him, said: "Brother, why have you come? I did not send for you." And Vladimir sent the sexton Imormyž; he said: "Brother, I have heard that evil men are speaking against me." Mstislav said: "Brother David told me."

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[1] ded" svoix

[2] s"sesti

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And they sent to David in Vyšgorod, and David sent Vasil' to witness[3] and appointed the military commander Radilo and Vasilij Volkovič to /accompany/ him to the Pečersk Monastery. And Vladimir sent his men Ragujlo (Dobrynič)[4] and Mixail, and they began to argue with Vasil', when David Borynič came out to witness for Vasil'.

Mstislav then placed the matter /in the hands of/ God and said to Vladimir:

> "Brother, you have kissed the cross, and your mouth has not yet dried; moreover, that is the affirmation of our fathers and our grandfathers, and let God be the judge of anyone who transgresses /such an oath/. If you have not plotted against me and you do not seek evil for me, kiss the cross to me."

Mstislav sent him to Kotelnica.

In that same year Vladimir Mstislavič transgressed the (oath on the) cross. Ček"man" Čargrovič /the Polovci's leader/ and his brother Tošman" and Monačjuk began to send to him. Vladimir was pleased with their plan and sent to Ragujlo Dobrynič and to Mixail and Zavid, revealing his plan to them. And his retinue said to him: "You have planned, prince, by yourself, and therefore we will not follow you because we did not know of that /plan/."

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[3]na tjažju

[4]See Solov'ev, p. 526.

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Vladimir said to his young retinue:[5] "These are my boyars."

And he went to the Berendej and met with them below the town Rostovec; and they saw him riding alone and they said to him:

> "You say this to us, 'All my brothers are with me,' but where are Vladimir Andreevič and Jaroslav and David? You ride alone and without your men. And you have deceived us, and it is better for us to be under another leader than under you."

And they began to shoot arrows at him, and they struck the prince with two arrows.

And the prince said: "God prevent us from having faith in the pagans; I am already destroyed in soul and in body." And he fled, and they killed there the young members of his retinue near him.

And he himself fled to Dorogobuž; his wife had fled there ahead of him. But Andreevič raised the bridge at the Goryn' River and did not let him come to him, and he returned to the land of the Radimiči to Andrej (Jur'evič) in Suzdal'.

Andrej sent to meet him and said to him: "Go to Rjazan' to your father Gleb, and I will provide you [with territory]. Go there but leave your wife and your children in Gluxov at Vsevolod's." Mstislav said to Vladimir's

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[5] reč v"zrev" na deckyja

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mother: "Go to Gorodec, and from there wherever you want, I cannot live in the same place with you, since your son is always wanting my head and transgresses the oath on the cross." She went to Černigov to Vsevolodič.

In that same year the people of Novgorod began to hold veches in secret at their estates[6] against their prince, Svjatoslav Jaroslavič. And when he arrived at Gorodišče, his friends began to tell him: "Prince, the people are holding veches at night, and they want to capture you; think about yourself." The prince, having received the news[7] about himself and about them, revealed that to his retinue, and the retinue said to him:

> "They first[8] all kissed the cross to you on your father's death; but on the other hand, they are always disloyal to all princes. And we have planned for ourselves, otherwise, the people will begin to plot against us."

In the year 1170, God put a good thought into Mstislav Izjaslavič's heart about the Russian land, since he[9] wanted good for it with all his heart. And he (Mstislav) called together his brothers and began to plan with them, saying this to them:

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[6] po dvorom"

[7] ispytav" izvesto

[8] topervo (topr"voe)

[9] It is unclear whether "he" refers to God here.

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> "Brothers, have pity for the Russian land, for your fatherland and the land of your ancestors; for they (the Polovci) take Christians every year to their camps, and they take an oath with us, which they are always transgressing. And already they have taken away from us the Greek route to Saloniki and the Založnyj. And it would be good for us, brothers, looking to God and the prayer of the Holy Mother of God for help, to seek the routes of our fathers and our ancestors and our honor."

And what he said was pleasing to God and all the brothers and their men. And all the brothers said to him:

> "Brother, may God help you in that, since God has put such a thought into your head:[10] God grant us to lay down our lives and to be counted as martyrs for Christians and for the Russian land."

He sent to Černigov to all the Ol'goviči and to the two Vsevolodiči, asking them all to join him.[11] For at that time the Ol'goviči were under Mstislav's command and Mstislav's idea was pleasing to all of them.

And all the brothers gathered in Kiev: Rjurik and all of David's retinue--since he (David) was unwell--and the Vsevolodiči, Svjatoslav and Jaroslav, Oleg Svjatoslavič, his brother Vsevolod, Jaroslav from Luck, Jaropolk, Mstislav Vsevolodkovič, Svjatopolk Jur'evič, Gleb from

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[10] srdce

[11] byti...u sebe

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Perejaslavl', his brother Mixalko, and many others.[12] Relying upon[13] God's help and upon the power of the true cross and the prayer of the Holy Mother of God, they set out from Kiev in the month of March on the second day, on Saturday of the fourth week of Lent.[14]

Jaroslav Izjaslavič, Mstislav's brother, was very ill but went anyway, not wanting to leave his brothers. When he was in Tumašč, he was beginning to be very incapacitated. And news reached Mstislav behind Kanev: "Your brother is very ill." And Mstislav sent to the abbot Polikarp and to Daniil his priest, asking them to come to his brother Jaropolk, saying this to them: "If God takes my brother, then having prepared his body, take him to St. Theodore's /Church/."

Jaropolk, Izjaslav's son, died in the month of March on the seventh day, on Thursday of the fourth week of Lent. And they laid his body at St. Theodore's, where his father lies. Let us now return to the above /matter/.

And the princes went nine days' march out of Kiev, and there was news to the Polovci from their groom Gavrilko from Izjaslavič, that the Russian princes were coming

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[12]See Solov'ev, p. 525, for some clarification of this list.

[13]v"zrevše

[14]seredoxrest'noe

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against them. And they fled, abandoning their wives and children. The princes, having found out that the Polovci had fled and left their wives and their supplies,[15] set out quickly after them. They left Jaroslav Vsevolodič with their supply carts.

And they captured /the Polovci's/ camps at the Ugla River, and the others by the Snoporod River, and they reached /the Polovci/ themselves at the Black Forest. And there, having proceeded[16] into the forest, they killed (some of) them and captured others. Bastij and many others pursued them and were fighting them across the Vorskla River. And they took such a multitude of prisoners that all the Russian force was filled to abundance with (Russian) prisoners (taken from the Polovci) and slaves and their (the slaves') children and servants and horses and cattle. Havin rescued the Christian /prisoners of the Polovci/, they released them all to freedom.

The brothers were all aggrieved at Mstislav because he had let his grooms and saddle-men go for plunder in secret at night, hiding themselves. And their hearts were not true to him.[17]

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[15] voz"

[16] pritisnuvše

[17] i serdce ix" ne be pravo s nim"

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The princes, having all come together, looked over their troops, which by the help of God were all healthy, for from all the armies only two had been killed: Jarun's brother Konstantin Vasil'evič, and Jaroslav Izjaslavič's saddle-man, and Konstantin Xotovič was captured. And the princes, having praised Most-Merciful God and the power of the true cross, returned to their own lands with great joy. And they were in their own houses on that very Sunday, and the people were doubly happy at the Lord's resurrection and their princes' return with victory and with happiness.

And then, after a little while, Mstislav sent for his brothers and all the brothers came to him in Kiev: Jaroslav from Luck, Vladimir Andreevič from Dorogobuž, Rjurik from Ovruč, David from Vyšgorod and Ivan Jur'evič from Turov. And Mstislav began to say to his brothers:

> "Brothers, we have done much evil to the Polovci. We have captured their camps, we have captured their children and flocks and cattle; and they will do harm[18] to our Greek and Založnik routes, and I would like to go to meet /the traders on/ the Greek route."[19]

And what he said pleased all the brothers, and the brothers said to him: "So be it, that is advantageous to us and to all the Russian land." And having gone, they halted at

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[18]a tem' vsjako pakostiti

[19]I.e., he wanted to protect them from the Polovci.

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Kanev. Gleb invited Mstislav to dinner with him, and having given him many gifts, he sent him away with love.

The eternally all-cunning devil, not liking good for any Christian or love between brothers, /caused/ the two Borislaviči, Petr and Nestor, /to/ begin to say evil things to David against Mstislav; they were lying, because Mstislav, having become embittered against them, had sent them away from him for this wrong:[20] their bondsmen stole Mstislav's horse from the herd and stole his seal and destroyed it.

David, believing (them), began to tell his brother Rjurik: "Brother, friends tell me that Mstislav wants to capture us." Rjurik said: "Brother, why? What have we done wrong? Did he not long ago kiss the cross to us?" Those two /Borislaviči/ had also said to David: "Mstislav will begin to invite you to dinner, then you will be captured there, and what we have told you will be proven to you." Mstislav did not know of all of this, nor did he have such a thought in his heart, but was treating his brothers[21] with true love. And Mstislav began to ask Rjurik and David to dinner.

But David and Rjurik did not go to him, saying this to him, that: "You kiss the cross to us that you do not plan

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[20] pro tu vinu

[21] obyemsja s brateju xožaše

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evil against us, and then we will come to you." Mstislav was horrified at the idea and revealed to his retinue: "The brothers ask me to kiss the cross to them, and I do not know what I have done wrong." And his retinue said to him:

> "Prince, the brothers do not lightly ask you to kiss the cross; but there are evil men who envy the love that you have for the brothers, and they have implanted this evil idea,[22] for man is evil compared to the devil, and even the devil does not plan that which an evil man will plan. And anyhow, you are right before God and before man; without us that could not have been thought of or done to you, and we all know of your true love to all the brothers. Send to them and say to them, 'I kiss the cross to you that I have not planned evil against you; give those who cause this quarrel between us over to me.'"

And Mstislav sent that message to David, and David said: "I will give over to you those who told me that." Mstislav, relying upon God's justice and the power of the true cross, kissed the cross to them and they kissed the cross to him. However, their hearts were not true to him.

In that same time Vladimir Andreevič began to ask territory from Mstislav. Mstislav, having understood that he was asking territory deceitfully, said: "Brother Vladimir, did you not long ago kiss the cross to me? Yet you have taken territory from me." He, having become angered, went to Dorogobuž.

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[22] zlo slovo

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In that same time Andrej Jur'evič was ruling in Suzdal', and he did not have love for Mstislav.

In that same year the people of Novgorod sent to Mstislav, asking from him a son /to rule them/, and he gave them Roman. And there was more enmity against Mstislav from the brothers, and all the brothers began to hold talks against Mstislav. And so/, after coming to an agreement,/ the brothers affirmed /that agreement/ on the cross.

In that same winter Andrej sent his son Mstislav with his troops from Suzdal' against the Kiev prince, Mstislav Izjaslavič, with troops from Rostov and Vladimir and Suzdal' and eleven other princes: Boris Židislavič,[23] Gleb from Perejaslavl', Roman Jur'evič from Smolensk, Vladimir Andreevič from Dorogobuž, Rjurik from Ovruč, David from Vyšgorod, his brother Mstislav, Oleg Svjatoslavič, his brother Igor', Vsevolod Jur'evič and Jurij's grandson, Mstislav. At that time, Mstislav had sent Prince Mixalko Jur'evič to Novgorod to his son with Koui,[24] Bastij's kin.

And news came to Rjurik and David that Roman Andreevič was coming nearby with warriors from Smolensk, and they two sent and captured Mixalko behind Mežimost' on his way to the city of Mozyr'. There Bastij betrayed[25] Mixalko.

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[23]Also Žiroslavič, see Solov'ev, p. 767.

[24]Koui are members of a Turkic tribe.

[25]l'st' izdeja nad"

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In the year 1171, the brothers gathered in Vyšgorod and, having arrived, stayed at Dorogožič near the church of St. Cyril during the week of St. Theodore. The second week they surrounded the entire city of Kiev. Mstislav had fortified himself inside Kiev, and they were fighting from the city, and there was heavy fighting everywhere. Mstislav was ailing in the city, and the Berendej and the Torks were deceiving him.

And they (the enemy princes) stayed three days at the city. And all the princes and their retinues went down to Serxovič. And they charged Mstislav from the hills behind him; they began to shoot. His retinue began to say to Mstislav: "Why do you stay here, prince? Leave the city, we cannot overcome them."

And God helped Mstislav Andreevič and his brothers, and they captured Kiev. Mstislav Izjaslavič fled from Kiev to Vasilev, and Bastij's kin, having overtaken him, began to shoot. /They shot/ him in the shoulder and they captured much of his retinue around him. They took Dimitri the Brave and Oleksa Dvorsk, Sbyslav Žiroslavič and Ivanko Tvorimič, his man Rodion (Rod)[26] and many others. He met with his brother Jaroslav at Unov'[27] and then they two went to Vladimir.

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[26]See Solov'ev, p. 526.

[27]The Snov River?

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Kiev was captured in the month of March on the eighth day in the second week of Lent on Wednesday. And for two days they looted the entire city--Podol and the mountain and the monasteries and St. Sophia and the church of the Mother of God of Tithes. And there was no mercy to anyone anywhere, churches were burning, Christians were killed, others were captured, women were being taken into captivity, separated by force from their men, and children howled, seeing their mothers taken away. And they took much property and stripped the churches of icons and books and vestments; they carried away the bells; all the warriors from Smolensk and Suzdal' and Černigov and Oleg's retinue and all the holy men were captured, and the Pečersk monastery of the Holy Mother of God was burned by the pagans. But God, by the prayers of the Holy Mother of God, saw them in such great need. And in Kiev all were groaning and there was distress and grief which could not be comforted and tears which could not be stopped.[28] This all happened because of our sins.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF GLEB IN KIEV. Mstislav Andreevič put his uncle Gleb in Kiev on the throne, in the month of March on the eighth. Gleb then gave his son

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[28] bys v Kieve na vsix člvcex" stenanie i tuga i skorb' ne utešimaja i slezy neprestan'nyja

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Vladimir the city of Perejaslavl', and Mstislav Andreevič went to Suzdal' to his father Andrej with great honor and glory.

Mstislav Izjaslavič, with his brother Jaroslav and warriors from Galič, went to Dorogobuž against Vladimir Andreevič, and they halted near the city, fighting. Vladimir was greatly incapacitated and because of his illness he did not give them troops. The cities were surrendering to Mstislav, and he destroyed the city of Šumsk. And he sent the commissioner Pauk, Vladimir's tutor, to Vladimir. He went there and, having conquered many other cities and burned them, he returned to his own land. Gleb did not send help to Vladimir, although he had said, 'I will send help to you.' But he did not send it.

That same year while he was travelling,[29] Prince Vladimir Andreevič died in the month of January on the twenty-eighth, and they brought him to Vyšgorod on Friday of the week of St. Theodore, for he had lain unburied several days. And prince Gleb sent the abbot of the Pečersk Monastery of the Holy Mother of God--Polikarp, and Simeon, the abbot of St. Andrew's, to Vyšgorod, asking them to bring Vladimir [('s body)] to Kiev. And he himself rode on the other side [(of the Dnepr River)] into Gorodec,

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[29] isxodjača

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and from there into Perejaslavl'.

Vladimir Mstislavič was in the city of Polonyj, and having heard that Vladimir Andreevič had died, he went to Dorogobuž. But Andreevič's retinue did not let him into the city. He sent to Slavn and to his retinue, saying: "I kiss the cross to you and to your princess that I will not look upon you with evil /plans/, or upon your brother's wife or her villages, or anything else," and he pledged on the cross to them and entered the city.

And he transgressed the kissing of the cross beginning the very next day, for so he was unreliable to all his brothers, not upholding his kissing of the cross to them. And he was tempted by Andreevič's possessions and villages and flocks, and he drove the princess from the city. She, taking the prince/'s body/, went via the city of Ovruč to Vyšgorod. That same year, Mstislav had left Vladimir and gone to Kiev to make war with his brother Jaroslav and warriors of the city of Galič and Svjatopolk Jur'evič, and the two Vsevolodiči had sent their assistance to him.

Let us return to the previous matter. The next day on Saturday we[30] went with Vladimir out of Vyšgorod. Prince David did not let the princess and her men go to Kiev, saying to her:

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[30]Probably the chronicle writer participated in this campaign.

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"How can I let you go, sister-in-law? News came to me tonight that Mstislav is in Vasilev."

And he said to his retinue: "Whoever of you wants to go, goes." They said to him: "Prince, you yourself know that we have harmed the people of Kiev, and we cannot go, they will destroy us." Abbot Polikarp said: "Prince, his retinue will not go with him; but send a few of your retinue, not allowing anyone to take a horse or carry a banner." David said: "That banner and honor I have sought with my soul," but he said: "It is from you." The priests of Mučeničeskij (Martyrs) and abbots[31] and monks and priests of Kiev, with encomia and hymns of praise, laid him in the monastery in St. Andrew's in the month of February on the fifteenth day in the first week of Lent, on Saturday.

In the year 1172, Mstislav went with a great force to the Berendej and to the Torks, and having joined with them, went to Trepol'; and from there he went to Kiev. And having entered Kiev, he came to an agreement with his brothers, with Jaroslav and Vladimir Mstislavič, with the people of Galič and with Vsevolodkovič and Svjatopolk Jur'evič and with the people of Kiev. The Torks and the Berendej were deceiving them. And he fought strongly from

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[31]no reč oto ti popove Mčnč'skyi i igumeni (The lack of clarity in the narrative may signify a clerical error here.)

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the city. David ordered his men to burn the outer fortification up to where they were.

And Mstislav halted under the pine forest, and they were going out from there, fighting. David, in the city, had many of his retinue and help from his brother, and Prince Gleb had sent Grigorij, his military commander,[32] with help and wild Polovci--Končak with his kin and his Berendej, Bastij's kin.

Kosnjatin was with Jaroslavič as his military leader,[33] with troops from Galič, and he said, having sent to Mstislav: "I was ordered by my prince Jaroslav to stay at Vyšgorod five days, and then to go home." And Mstislav sent to him, saying this: "My brother Jaroslav said this to me, 'Do not send my armies from you until you make peace with the younger brothers.'" They, having written a false document agreeing to stay, sent it to him; and the warriors from Galič left him.

Mstislav and his brothers stayed in front of the Golden Gates in the outskirts of the city. Wild pagans from Vyšgorod were coming out /of the city/ with troops and doing much harm. Some were killed and others were captured; they captured Vsevolodkovič's military commander

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[32] tysjačkago

[33] voevoda

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and many others.

All help had left Mstislav, and he was unwell. And news came to Mstislav that Gleb was crossing to this side /of the Dnepr River/ with Polovci, and that more help had come to David. And Mstislav revealed that to his brothers. The brothers said to him:

> "The troops have left us, and more help is coming to them, and the Černye Klobuki are deceiving us; we cannot withstand them, let us go to our own territory. And when we have rested a little, we will return."

And Mstislav left Kiev on the second week of the Great Days,[34] on Monday. And news came to David that Mstislav had gone, and he sent Vladislav the Pole with Polovci after him. And they reached them at Boroxov, and having exchanged shots with them, returned.

But the Polovci returned and did much harm; they made war on the people. Then Gleb sent Polovci into the camps, and having gone, they halted across from Vasilev near the grooms, who were awaiting the retinue.

Vasil'ko Jaropolčič, having found out about them, went against them from Mixailov at night. It was a dark night, and they approached by another route. And they kept

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[34] vtoroe nedeli po velici dni

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watch[35] all night. The next day, when the sun had risen, they attacked them. The Polovci, having joined with the grooms, were fighting with them. And Vasil'ko barely managed to flee into the city; they killed the retinue around him and captured the others.

Then Gleb went against Vasil'ko to the city of Mixailov with Rjurik and David and Mstislav. And having made peace, they sent him to Černigov, burned his city and dug up the embankment /around the city/.[36]

In that same year Prince Svjatoslav Rostislavič died in Volock, for he was then making war[37] on the Novgorod territory. And having prepared his body, they carried it to Smolensk. And they laid his body with honor in the church of the Holy Mother of God in the episcopate.

This pious prince Svjatoslav Rostislavič was adorned by all kinds of good acts. And he was brave in battle and loved everyone. Moreover, he gave charities and cared for monasteries and monks, lay churches and priests, and all the holy orders. He held his retinue in worthy honor, and he did not hoard his possessions; he did not collect gold

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[35] isbludiša

[36] groblju roskopaša

[37] vojuja

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and silver, but gave to his retinue. Otherwise having cared for his soul, he was taken to the holy fathers, having paid the universal duty[38] which no one born can escape.

In that same year a son was born to Mstislav Andreevič, and they named him in christening Vasilij.

In that same year, God and the Holy Mother of God created a new miracle in the city of Vladimir. God and the Holy Mother of God of the city of Vladimir drove the evil and insidious[39] and proud deceiver, the deceitful leader Fedorec, out of Vladimir, out of the Golden-Roofed Church of the Holy Mother of God. And the whole land of Rostov did not want blessing from him[40] and withdrew[41] from him.

And this dishonorable one did not want to obey the Christ-loving Prince Andrej, who was ordering him; he did not want to go to present himself[42] to the metropolitan in

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[38] otdav" ob'ščii dolg"

[39] pronyr'livago

[40] o toi

[41] udalisja

[42] stavit'sja

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Kiev. Then[43] God and the Holy Mother of God, who did not want him, drove him out of the land of Rostov. For when God wants to punish someone, He takes his mind away from him. And God did just this to him, taking his mind away from him.

The prince was thinking good of him and wanting good for him; but he not only did not want his appointment from the metropolitan, but also closed all the churches of Vladimir and took the church keys. And there was no ringing of bells or singing anywhere in the city or in the cathedral church, in which is the miracle-working Mother of God and another of its saints.[44] To Her all Christians run in fear,[45] receiving comfort and intercession from Her, accepting being healed in soul and body by Her. And he (Fedorec) dared to close that church; and then he became angry at God and the Holy Mother of God, for on that day he was driven out, in the month of May on the eighth day, the day to the memory of St. John the Theologian.

People suffered much from him in keeping him and lost[46]

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[43] pače že

[44] ina vsja(ka) stni eja

[45] straxom" pririščjut'

[46] iznebyša

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villages and weapons and horses. Some were made slaves, /others/ were imprisoned or pillaged and looted, not only common people but also monks and abbots and priests. He was a merciless tormentor of other men, cutting beards and (shaving) heads, and he burned out the eyes of some and cut out the tongues of others, and crucified others on the wall. And he tortured mercilessly, wanting to steal everyone's possessions. For he was not satisfied with possessions, like hell.

Prince Andrej sent him to the metropolitan in Kiev. Metropolitan Konstantin charged him with all his faults and ordered him to be taken to Pesij Island. And there they maimed him and they cut out his tongue, as is fitting for[47] an evil-doing heretic, and they cut off his right hand and took out his eyes, since he had spoken abuse against the Holy Mother of God; and sinners are driven[48] from the earth as if they were never there.[49]

And fulfilled upon him was the apostle's word, which said: "The measure by which you measure you will be

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[47] jako

[48] potrebjatsja

[49] jako ne byti im

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measured by; those whom you judge will judge you, for judgement without mercy /is pronounced upon/ him who has no mercy." And also:[50]

> "If someone is lawlessly tortured, he will not be crowned /with eternal life/, for he is a sinner and is tormented here /in this world/ for his sin, and in judgement is condemned to[51] torment."

Thus he (Fedorec) lived without rest until his last breath, as is fitting for evil heretics, for the unrepentant, for their souls to perish with their bodies, and his memory perishes with noise. Thus devils honor those who honor them, just as devils led this one, carrying up his thought to the clouds,[52] they built in it a second Sotonail and /then/ they brought him down into hell. For the illness returned to his head and unrighteousness came down upon him; he dug a pit and fell into it, for he spent his life evilly.

And Christians were delivered by God and the Holy Mother of God, and they were rejoicing and celebrating, saying:

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[50] drugoe že slovo molvit'

[51] v" muku osuditsja

[52] I.e., they made him proud.

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> "Blessed are You, Christ, God, for with You we will pass through fire and water and we will come into blessed comfort, through You saving us by Your good will. For You are awesome; who could oppose You? Who could oppose the greatness of Your power? Who could be equal to You? You are omnipotent, giving death and life to both the poor and the rich. You do everything most wisely, making day from night and spring from winter, silence from storm and rain from drought, raising the humble to the heights and humbling sinners down to the earth; for when looking, You saw the evil-doing to these Your humble people of the land of Rostov at the hands of[53] the beast-eating Fedorec. Having cared for those who were destroyed by him, You saved Your people by Your strong hand, by the great power of Your hand, by the truly-blessed rule of the true-believing Prince Andrej."

We write this lest they overlook anything at the bishops' conference.[54] But God will call him to Him, for every gift comes from above and from You, the Father of Light. People bless Him on earth and He will continue to be blessed, and people curse Him and will curse Him, just like this Fedorec, who did not want blessing and withdrew from Him, for an evil man will perish by evil.

In that same year God and the Holy Mother of God created a miracle. The Church of the Tithe in Kiev, which Vladimir--who had christened the (Russian) land--had built and had given a tithe to that church...the

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[53] ot

[54] svjatitel'ski san'

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Mother of God created that miracle, greater than anything we had hoped for.[55] Gleb Jur'evič was ruling in Kiev on the throne of his father and grandfather. In the first year a multitude of Polovci came; /they were/ divided into two groups--one went to Perejaslavl' and halted at the city of Pesočen, and the other went along the other side /of the Dnepr/ to Kiev and halted at the city of Korsun' (Xersones).

And they both sent to Gleb, saying:

> "God placed you and Prince Andrej in your father's land and in your grandfather's land, in Kiev. /And we want to come to an agreement with you[56]; we will take an oath, and you /take one/ to us, lest we begin to threaten[57] you, or you us."

Having heard what the Polovci princes said, Gleb wanted to go to meet with them, and he said to the emissary of the Polovci: "I will come to you, and you confer with your retinue about where we should go."[58] And they agreed to go ahead to Perejaslavl' to guard it, for the prince in Perejaslavl', Vladimir Glebovič, was young at that time, about twelve years old.

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[55] pače našeja nadeža

[56] rjad" položiti meži soboju

[57] bojatisja

[58] idu k' vam" i dumaš't' s družinuju o tom" k'torom" poidem' peredi

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Gleb went to Perejaslavl' to a meeting with the Polovci, and he sent to other, Russian, Polovci, saying to them: "Wait for me here, I will go to Perejaslavl' and make peace with those Polovci and /then/ I will come to you for peace." Having made peace with the Polovci, and having given them gifts, he left them. Then they returned to their land.[59]

Gleb Jur'evič went with his brother Mixalko and his retinue to the Polovci /camped at/ Korsun', and he was at Perepetovskoe Field. The Polovci, having heard that,[60] went around Gleb to Perejaslavl' and conferred:

> "Gleb went to the other side /of the river/ to the other Polovci and dallied there, and he did not come to us. Let us go behind[61] Kiev, we will capture villages; then we will go with prisoners to the land of the Polovci."

And they went behind Kiev to make war, and they came to the city Polonnij, to the city of the Holy Mother of God of the Tithe, and to Sem'č'. And they took villages heedlessly;[62] they drove people and men and women and horses and cattle and sheep into the land of the Polovci.

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[59] v Polov'ce

[60] ti

[61] za

[62] bez" uč'ta

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Prince Gleb had returned from Perejaslavl', wanting to go to the other side of the Dnepr to Korsun' to the meeting; and he was at Perepetovskoe Field, and news came to him that the Polovci had not waited for his meeting, but had gone to fight and were fighting. Gleb, having gone and heard, wanted to go against them himself. And the Berendej took his horse by the reins, saying: "Prince, do not go. It is better for you to go with a large army. And when we have joined with the brothers, then send whomever of the brothers /you wish/ and some of the Berendej."[63] Gleb sent his brother Mixalko and one hundred men of Perejaslavl' and fifteen hundred Berendej with him. Mixalko obeyed his brother, but his retinue was not with him, and they did not know of their prince's hasty trip.

Mixalko, having kissed his brother Gleb and all his brother's retinue, went after the Polovci. And the Berendej went along the route to the Polovci land after them (the Polovci) with Mixalko. They found the Polovci guards, and there were three hundred of them. And having surrounded them without their knowing,[64] they defeated them, and they captured some of them.

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[63] i egda sovokupišasja s' brat'eju a nyne pošli brata kotorogo ljubo i Beren'deev" nekol'ko

[64] bez vesti

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And they began to ask the ones who were alive and had been captured: "Are there many of your men behind /you/?" And they said: "There are many, about six thousand." Our (Russian) men,[65] having heard, decided: "If we let these live and there are many Polovci behind and there are few of us, if we begin to fight with them, then these will be our main enemies."[66] They killed all of them, not releasing a single man, and they continued [67] along their route.

Mixalko had a military leader, Vladislav, Jan's brother; the Polovci who were travelling with their prisoners met him. And having fought and having conquered them by themselves,[68] they defeated them and released their prisoners.[69] And they asked them: "Are there many of you still behind?" And they said:[70] "There is a large army behind us."

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[65] The use of the first person here and throughout this account probably indicates that the original writer of the story participated in the campaign.

[66] to se nam" budut' pervii vorozi

[67] poidoša

[68] samyx"; i.e., without the rest of the Russian force.

[69] I.e., the Russian prisoners held by the Polovci.

[70] i rešа to pervo

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Our troops fortified themselves with the help of God and the Holy Mother of God, and awaited that great army. And they set out against them, trusting in the true cross. The pagans had nine hundred men,[71] and in the Russian troops were one thousand men;[71] the pagans, trusting in /the size of/ their force, came against us. The warriors of Perejaslavl', being brave, went ahead with Mixalko; the Berendej took the prince's horse by the reins and did not let them go, saying: "Yous should not go first; the city is ours, let us go first."

The archers from both sides met, and there was great carnage. And they struck down our standard-bearer and tore off the fringe of the banner. And while fighting, both sides became confused. Vladislav plotted to take Mixalko's banner and put on[72] his helmet. And they (the Russians) gathered and charged them; they struck down the Polovci standard-bearer. The enemies struck Prince Mixalko with two spears in the thigh and with a third in the hand; but God, because of his (Mixalko's) father's prayer,[73] delivered him from death, as He had previously

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[71] kopii; literally, spears.

[72] nat"če

[73] no Bg mltvuju oca

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in the Luce Sea.[74]

They were fighting strongly with them, and seeing that, the Polovci fled. And our men pursued them; they cut down some and captured others. And they captured one and one-half thousand of them and killed the rest. And their prince, Toglij, escaped. And with[75] the help of the true cross and the Holy Mother of God, the great Lady of the Tithe, they had captured the territory. If God does not give a simple man into offense, then they begin to offend him, even to his mother's home.

And Mixalko came to Kiev with the troops from Perejaslavl' and the Berendej, having defeated the Polovci. The Christians had been delivered by that labor. Those who had been captured /by the Polovci/ returned to their own lands. And all the other Christians praised God and the Holy Mother of God, the prompt helper of the family of Christians.

In that same year, while travelling, Prince Mstislav Izjaslavič fell ill in the city of Vladimir. He was terribly ill and began to send to his brother Jaroslav to get his affairs in order[76] concerning his children.

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[74] jakože preže v luce morja

[75] bys

[76] rjadov delja

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Having made a good agreement [77] with his brother, he (Jaroslav) kissed the cross that he would not covet the territory of his children. Prince Mstislav died in the month of August on the nineteenth. And having prepared his body with great honor and with singing by praising voices,[78] they laid his body in the church of the Holy Mother of God in the episcopate, which he himself had built in the city of Vladimir.

In the year 1173, Roman Rostislavič campaigned with his brother Mstislav. Andrej sent his son Mstislav with all his retinue and all the troops of Rostov and Suzdal'; and he sent the Rjazan' princes and the Murom princes with troops, and Boris Žiroslavič his military leader--/they went/ against Roman Mstislavič to Great Novgorod. And there was such a great number of warriors that it was as if they were more than could be counted.[79]

And as soon as they entered[80] their land, they did much evil, they captured and burned villages, and they

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[77] urjadivša dobre

[78] s' pen'i glasoxvalnymi

[79] jako i čisla netut'

[80] prišed"še tolko

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killed[81] people, even women and children, and took possessions and livestock. And then they went to the city. The people of Novgorod closed themselves up in the city with Prince Roman. And they were fighting strongly from the city.

The (enemy) troops, having arrived, halted far from the city. And the troops approached and they were fighting heavily by the city. Mstislav penetrated the gates and struck down[82] several men; then he returned to his own /troops/.

There was a great plague among the horses and troops; not having had any success in their city, they returned to their own land. The foot-soldiers barely reached their houses, and the others died of hunger. There had never been such hardship on the road for these people; some of them ate horse meat. And this great famine happened because of our sins.

We heard /of this/ three years before /it happened/, there having been a sign in Novgorod which all the people had seen. In three churches of Novgorod on three icons the Holy Mother of God wept. For the Mother of God,

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[81] isekoša

[82] pobod"

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having seen the ruin that would occur[83] to Novgorod and its territory, asked Her Son with tears that they not be destroyed,[84] like Sodom and Gomorrah had been previously, but to have mercy as /He had/ on the people of Ninevah. And so it happened: /the sign/ was seen,[85] for God and His Mother delivered /them/ by Their mercy, because they were Christians.

It is written, David says: "Punishing, punish me." He said: "Lord, do not give me over into death." So also he punished these people of Novgorod, humbling /them/ greatly[86] for transgression of the /oath on the/ cross and punishing them[87] for their pride. By His mercy He delivered their city. We are not saying the people of Novgorod, the ancestors of our princes, are not righteous, but evil disbelief was implanted in them /that made them/ transgress /the oath on/ the cross that they gave to the princes, and to the princes' grandsons and great-grandsons; to dishonor and shame /themselves/; and having kissed the

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[83] videv'ši bo Mti Bija pagubu xotjaščjuju byti nad"

[84] aby ix" otinud' ne iskorenil"

[85] jakože i bys vidomo

[86] dozela

[87] za gordost' ix" navedi na nja

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true cross to them, to transgress [that oath], until the Lord caused them to endure punishment for their sins as they deserved,[88] by the hand of the pious Prince Andrej.

That same year, while he was travelling, news came to Roman of his father's death. Roman then revealed this to his retinue and to his friends, the people of Novgorod; and he conferred with his retinue, and they said to him: "We cannot, prince, remain here,[89] go to your brother in Vladimir." He heeded his retinue and went to his brother.

In that same time, his younger brother had departed this world[90] in Brest.

In that same year, Andrej sent to Rjurik Rostislavič and gave him Great Novgorod. Rjurik appointed his brother David to rule over his territory, and he himself went to Novgorod in the month of August on the eighth day.

That same year a son was born to Igor' in the month of October on the eighth day, and they named him Vladimir, and in christening, Petr.

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[88] dokole Gsvi terpeti nad nimi za grexy navel" i nakaza po dostojan'ju

[89] uže zde byti

[90] prestavil"sja bjašet'...mir"

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That same winter, the Polovci came into the Kiev country,[91] and they captured a great number of villages around Kiev, along with people and horses and cattle. And they set out with a great many prisoners [back] to the land of the Polovci. Since Gleb, the prince of Kiev, was ill at that time, he sent for his brothers Mixalko and Vsevolod. Mixalko and Vsevolod came to him promptly, and he sent them after the Polovci.

Mixalko and Vsevolod, being obedient, promptly went after the Polovci, and they pursued them across the river, with God[92] and Berendej and Torks with their military leader Vladislav. They found their path and followed them along it. And they came across them with the prisoners and fought with them.

Mixalko and Vsevolod, with God's help, killed some of them and captured others, and they said to those who had been captured: "Are there many behind you?"[93] And they said: "There are many." And Vladislav said: "We hold captives for death; prince, order them to be killed."[94] And they killed all of them.

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[91] na Kyev'skuju stranu

[92] za rekoju Bm'

[93] mnogo li vašix nasade

[94] deržim" kolodniky sobe na smert' no poveli knjaže at' posekut' (i)

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And they followed them along the path after them and met another group of them.[95] And they clashed with them and fought heavily. And God and the prayers of their fathers and grandfathers helped Mixalko and Vsevolod against the pagans. And it happened that same week,[96] they killed some of the pagans and captured others. And they recaptured[97] four hundred prisoners, young men.[98] And they let them go to their own lands. And they themselves returned to Kiev, praising God and the Holy Mother of God, and the power of the true cross, and the holy martyrs[99] who help in battle against pagans.

In that same time, the pious prince Gleb, Jurij's son and Vladimir's grandson, died, having reigned two years in Kiev. This prince loved his fellow man;[100] if he kissed the cross to someone, he did not transgress that oath all his life. He was also humble and of good

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[95] i sretoša e iznova druzie

[96] sbyst'sja v nedelju samy

[97] otjaša

[98] čadi

[99] The dual case indicates this refers to Boris and Gleb.

[100] be bratoljubec'

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character;[101] he loved monasteries, honored the holy orders, and cared well for the poor. And having prepared his body, they laid it in the church of the Holy Savior in the monastery where his father lies. Gleb died in the month of January on the twentieth, on the day of the holy father Euthymius.

In that same year, the princess (Ol'ga)[102] fled from Galič to the Poles with her son Vladimir; and Konstantin Seroslavič and many boyars were there with her. They were there for eight months. And Svjatopolk and others of the retinue began to send to her, inviting her back to rule them.[103] Vladimir sent to Svjatoslav Mstislavič, asking the city of Červen from him: "Let me rule there; it will be easy to send /help/[104] to Galič if you are ruling there. /If you do this/ then I will return your city Bužsk and give you three other cities for that." Svjatoslav gave it to him and kissed the cross to him that he would help him.

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[101] blagonraven"

[102] See Solov'ev, p. 564.

[103] (?) vabjače ju opjat' a knjazja ti imem'

[104] at' mi budet' tu sedjači dobro slati

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And Vladimir set out to Červen with his mother; and news reached[105] him from Svjatopolk in Galič: "Go, hurry, we have captured your father and his friends; we killed Čarg's child[106] and we have your enemy Nastasja." The people of Galič, having built a fire, burned her (Nastasja) and sent her son into exile. And they made the prince take an oath on the cross that he would treat the princess rightfully,[107] and so they made peace.

That same winter Prince Andrej sent his son Mstislav against the Bolgars, and the prince of Murom sent his son and the prince of Rjazan' sent his son. And that campaign was not liked[108] by all those people, since the winter is a bad time to fight the Bolgars.

They travelled but made no progress.[109] The prince was at Gorodec, and he joined with his two brothers, the one from Murom and the one from Rjazan', at the mouth of the Oka River, and they awaited their retinue for two weeks. And they did not wait until they arrived; they went on

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[105] usreti

[106] Čargovu čad'

[107] imeti...v pravdu

[108] bys neljub" put' t"

[109] iduči ne idjaxu

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with the best of the retinue.[110] And Boris Židislavič was the military leader at that time and he was in command.[111] They went without communication[112] into the land of the pagans, and they captured seven villages and seven cities; they killed men and captured women and children. The Bolgars, having heard that Prince Mstislav had come with a small retinue and was travelling with prisoners, prepared hastily and went after them with six thousand men.[113] They did not reach them, but got within twenty versts of them.

Prince Mstislav was at the source (of the Oka River) with a small retinue, and he had released all the /rest of the/ retinue. And God turned back the pagans from him and covered the Christians with His hand. Our people, having heard this, praised God, for He had protected /us/ from the pagans; and /they also praised/ the Holy Mother of God and the prayers of Christians, because the pagans had turned back. And the Christians, praising God and the most-pure Mother of God, returned to their own land.

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[110] s perednimi s družinoju

[111] i narjad" vs' deržaše

[112] vesti

[113] v' S za malom" (S is symbol for the number).

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In that same year, David and Mstislav sent for their uncle in the city of Dorogobuž, inviting him to Kiev to the throne. He, transgressing the cross against his ally Jaroslav Mstislavič, went to Kiev in secret and appointed his son Mstislav to rule in Dorogobuž.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF VLADIMIR IN KIEV. And Vladimir sat on the throne in Kiev in the month of February on the fifteenth day, in the week of fasting.[114] Andrej was not pleased at Vladimir's enthronement in Kiev, and he sent to him, ordering him to leave Kiev, and to Roman Rostislavič, ordering him to go to Kiev.

That same year the pious prince Mstislav Andreevič died in the month of March on the twenty-eighth day, on Tuesday; they laid him in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir, which his father Andrej had built.[115] And his father and all the land of Suzdal' wept for him.

In that same winter Rjurik left Novgorod. Then the people of Novgorod sent to prince Andrej in Suzdal', and he gave them his child Jurij, and they received him with honor.

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[114] masl'noe (ne)deli

[115] učinil

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Rjurik was going from Novgorod to Smolensk, and he was at Lučin[116] on Friday of Palm Week. As the sun was rising, a son was born to him, and they called him in holy christening by his grandfather's name--Mixail--and his prince's name was Rostislav, which was his /other/ grandfather's name. And there was great happiness over his birth. And his father gave him the city of Lučin in which he was born, and at that place where he had been born, they founded[117] a church /dedicated/ to St. Michael.

In the year 1174, Vladimir had a terrible illness that killed him. He died in the month of May on the thirtieth, on Monday of Rusal' week.[118] And they laid his body in St. Theodore's, his father's monastery. And his rule in Kiev was for four months, but he had done a lot, fleeing misfortune before Mstislav[119]--in Galič, in the land of the Hungarians, in Rjazan', in the land of the Polovci--for his fault, that he did not uphold the kissing of the cross, he was always fleeing.[120]

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[116] i bys na Lučine

[117] postaviša

[118] Rusalija = a spring holiday of the (early) Slavs (Lunt, p. 64)

[119] bedy begaja peredo M'stislavom'

[120] vsegda že (i) to(go) gonjaše

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In that same year Andrej sent to the Rostislavičі, saying this: "You have called me your father, and I want good for you; I give Kiev to your brother Roman." They sent for Roman in Smolensk, and Roman came to Kiev, and the metropolitan and the archimandrite of the Pečersk Monastery, the abbot and all the other abbots and all the people of Kiev and his brothers met him with crosses.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF ROMAN ROSTISLAVIČ IN KIEV. Prince Roman entered Kiev and sat on the throne of his father and grandfather. He gave Smolensk to his son Jaropolk. And all the people were pleased about Roman's ruling, and Roman sat to rule in Kiev in the beginning of the month of July.

In that same time Svjatoslav Vsevolodič was ruling in Černigov and Roman was ruling in Kiev; and the Polovci began to cause trouble[121] in Rus'.

In that same time a son was born to Jaroslav, and they called him Rostislav, and in christening Ivan, since he was born on the day of the birth of John the Baptist.

That same year on St. Peter's day, Igor' Svjatoslavič, having gathered his troops, went into the steppe across the Vorskla River. And he met the Polovci, who had

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[121] tvoriti pakost'

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captured prisoners there. He recaptured them[122] and a captive told him that Kobjak and Končak had gone to Perejaslavl'. Igor', hearing that, set out against the Polovci and crossed the Vorskla River at Voltava /going towards/ Perejaslavl'.

And they were seen by the Polovci troops and there was a small battle; they could not withstand Igor', and so they fled, abandoning all their prisoners, for they had fought at Serebrjannyj and Baruč.[123] Igor''s retinue, having overtaken them, killed some and captured others. And so God helped the Christians on the day of the holy prophet Elijah. From Perejaslavl' he (Igor') went /to worship/ on the day of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb, and he did not participate in the reading of the canons,[124] but came at vespers. The next day he began to give booty to the princes and to the men. And then Roman and Rjurik and Mstislav, having given him presents, let him go to his own land.

That same year Andrej began to accuse[125] the Rostislaviči, and he sent Mixn to them, saying this:

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[122] iže tu lovjat' jazyka iz'ima e

[123] I.e., that is where they had taken prisoners.

[124] ne v'tjaže na kanun"

[125] pokladyvati viny

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"Give me Grigorij Xotovič and Stepanec and Oleksa Svjatoslavič, because they killed my brother Gleb, and so they are enemies to all of us." The Rostislavičі did not obey this /request/, and they sent Grigorij away from them. And Andrej said to Roman: "You and your brothers do not do as I wish; you leave Kiev, David /must leave/ Vyšgorod, and Mstislav--Belgorod, and you can have Smolensk to divide among yourselves."

And the Rostislavičі were very unhappy that he deprived them of Russian land and gave Kiev to his brother Mixalko. Roman went to Smolensk; and Mixalko was in the land of the Torks, and he himself did not go to Kiev, but sent his brother Vsevolod and his nephew Jaropolk Rostislavič there. And Vsevolod ruled five weeks in Kiev.

The Rostislavičі--Rjurik and David and Mstislav--sent to Andrej, saying this:

> "Brother, we have truthfully[126] called you a father to us and kissed the cross to you, and we stand by[127] the kissing of the cross and wish good for you. And now you have driven out our brother Roman from Kiev and you order us to leave[128] the Russian land, though we have done no wrong. Let God and the power of the cross /judge between us/."

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[126] v' pravdu

[127] stoim" v'

[128] nam put' kažeši

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Andrej did not answer them.

The Rostislavičî, having conferred and trusting[129] in God and the power of the true cross and the prayer of the Holy Mother of God, went at night into Kiev in praise of the Holy Mother of God.[130] And they captured Vsevolod Jur'evič and Jurij's grandson Jaropolk, and the Pole Vladislav, and Mixn, and all the boyars. The brothers gave Kiev to Rjurik. Prince Rjurik, Rostislav's son, entered Kiev with great glory and honor and sat on the throne of his fathers and grandfathers.

That same year Svjatoslav Vsevolodič laid the foundation[131] of a stone church in Černigov, at the prince's estate--/a church/ dedicated to St. Michael.

In that same year Vladimir, Jaroslav's son, fled from the prince of Galič to Jaroslav in Luck, for he had been captured while seeking territory. Jaroslav of Galič, having sent, brought Poles to help him and gave them three grivnas of silver; he burned two cities and began to send to Jaroslav: "Let my son come to me, or else I will come make war against you." He, fearing the destruction[132] of

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[129] uzrev'še

[130] na poxvalu stoi Bci (?)

[131] založi crkv' kamenu

[132] požž'žen'ja

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his territory, sent Vladimir with his mother to Mixalko in Torčesk, for Mixalko was the brother[133] of the princess, Oleg's wife, and Svjatoslav his father-in-law invited him to Černigov, wanting to send him to Suzdal' to Andrej. And he did not let him go.

That same year the Rostislavičі went to Torčesk against Mixalko. And they stayed near it six days, and on the sixth day they sent to them and made peace.[134] For Mixalko wanted Perejaslavl' Torckij, and he had lost[135] his brother Andrej and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič of Černigov. And he went to the Rostislavičі, for Rjurik was in Kiev then, and he had arranged to give Vladimir Jaroslavič of Galič, Mixalko's nephew, to the Rostislavičі, and to send him to his father, and the Rostislavičі were to release to him Vsevolod and Jaropolk and all the retinue. They sent Vsevolod but did not send Jaropolk; they did not give him over[136] to us.

He was travelling along that same route, and the Rostislavičі drove his nephew Mstislav out of Trepol'. Mstislav went from there to Černigov, but Mixalko did not

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[133] bra

[134] tako urjadišasja

[135] lišisja

[136] ne v'menil" ny esi

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take him in.

That same year Andrej, prince of Suzdal', became angered at the Rostislaviči about Grigorij Xotovič, since they did not do what he wanted. And the Ol'goviči, hearing this, were pleased. Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and all his brothers sent their men to Andrej, inciting[137] him against the Rostislaviči, and saying to him: "Whoever is your enemy is ours also; and we are ready /to fight/ with you."

Andrej, taking their advice, became filled with arrogance and very proud, trusting in the size of his force and being protected by[138] a multitude of warriors. Burning with anger, he sent Mixn the swordsman:

> "Go to the Rostislaviči, say to them, 'You do not do what I want. You, Rjurik, go to Smolensk to your brother, to your homeland,' and say to David, 'And you go to Berlad, and I order you from[139] the Russian land.'"

Mstislav was accustomed from his youth to fear no one, but to heed only God, and he ordered Andrej's emissary to be held and his head and his beard to be shaved in front of him (Mstislav). He said to him:

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[137] povodjače

[138] nadejasja plotnoi sile i množestvom" voi ogorodivsja

[139] ne velju ti...byti

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> "Go to the prince and say to him, 'Up until now we have loved you like a father; /but now,/ since you have sent such a message to us, /speaking to us/ not as to princes but as to underlings and common men, do what you have planned; let God be /the judge of/ everyone.'"

When Andrej heard that from Mixn, his face darkened and he was decided to go to war.[140] And he was ready, and sent to gather his troops from Rostov, Suzdal', Vladimir, Perejaslavl', Beloozero (Belozersk), Murom, Novgorod, and Rjazan'. And counting them, he found there were fifty thousand of them.

And he sent his son Jurij and Boris Židislavič the military leader with them, having given them instructions, ordering them to drive Rjurik and David from his homeland. "And when you have captured Mstislav, do not do anything to him, bring him to me,"--thus he instructed Boris Židislavič, and he ordered him to go to Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, as he had agreed with him[141] /and/ with all his brothers.

/But then he escaped/ from the net of the always-deceitful devil, who fights against Christians. Prince Andrej, being such a wise man in everything and being brave, discarded that plan,[142] having been filled with

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[140] v' zostrisja na rat'

[141] kako sja bjaš' s nim' sveščali

[142] pogubi smysl" svoi

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anger and lack of restraint. He spoke with such boastful words, which were shameful and vile to God. Boasting and pride--these come to us from the devil, who sows them in our hearts, boasting and pride; as (the apostle) Paul says: "To the proud God is opposed, and to the humble He gives blessing." And this which was said by the apostle Paul was realized, as we will relate later.

We will now return to the former matter. They (Andrej's troops)[143] were going past Smolensk, for Roman had been ordered to send his son with warriors from Smolensk. Thus Roman was forced to send his son with warriors of Smolensk against their brothers, because he did not want to reveal his plans /to Andrej/, since he was then under Andrej's power.[144]

And he /Andrej/ ordered all the Polovci and the Turov and Pinsk and Gorodec princes to go, and having come to the Ol'goviči, they joined with them against Kiev. The Jur'eviči--Mixalko and Vsevolod, the Rostislaviči--Mstislav and Jaropolk, and (Vladimir) Glebovič and all the warriors of Perejaslavl' came to him there. And they crossed the Dnepr and went into Kiev.

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[143] See Solov'ev, p. 541 ff.

[144] bjaše bo togda v rukax" ego

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The Rostislavičі had not fortified themselves in Kiev, but had gone to their cities: Rjurik was fortified in Belgorod and Mstislav in Vyšgorod with David's troops, and David had gone to Galič to Jaroslav to get help.[145] Svjatoslav and his brothers, and Mixalko and his brother Vsevolod, and /their/ nephews, and the men of Kiev had all come together, and also the Berendej and the men of the area around the Ros' River and all the Russian land. The troops went from Kiev to Vyšgorod on the day of the birth of the Holy Lady, Our Mother of God, the Eternal Virgin (September 8).

There were more than twenty princes, and of all the oldest was Svjatoslav Vsevolodič. And he sent Vsevolod Jur'evič and Igor' (Svjatoslavič) and the younger princes to Vyšgorod.

And when they came up to Vyšgorod, Mstislav Rostislavič saw them coming for war. And he sent his troops and went out onto the river valley against them, for both sides were eager for battle. And the archers met and began to shoot, attacking each other.

Mstislav, seeing his archers engaged with the enemy, immediately charged them. And he said to his retinue:

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[145] pomoči delja

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"Brothers, trust in God's mercy and the help of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb." And he went to them immediately.

The enemies were in three groups:[146] the men of Novgorod and the men of Rostov /on either side/, and between them was Vsevolod Jur'evič with his troops. And suddenly Mstislav attacked their troops, and they crushed the center army. And the other forces, seeing that, surrounded them, for Mstislav had come with a small /army/ into them (the enemy).

And then both sides became confused, and there was great disorder and groaning and great shouting[147] and indistinguishable voices.[148] And spears cracking and weapons ringing were heard there.[149] From the great amount of dust one could not recognize either a spearman or a foot-soldier. And so, having fought heavily, they dispersed. Many were wounded but not many were killed. And this was the one battle on the first day at the river valley.[150]

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[146] polky

[147] klič ramnja

[148] glase neznaemii

[149] i tu be viditi lom" kopiinyi i zvuk" oruž'inyi

[150] i se bys odin' boi pervogo dni na bolon'i

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Vsevolod and Igor' and the other younger /princes/ went to Mstislav, and then all the troops went and surrounded the entire city. And they attacked [151] every day and /the others/ attacked /them/[152] from the city. They were fighting heavily and many good men of Mstislav's retinue were wounded and killed. And they stayed at the city nine weeks.

And after that Jaroslav of Luck came against the Rostislaviči with all the land of Volyn', seeking for himself leadership among the Ol'goviči. And they (the Ol'goviči) did not give Kiev to him. He communicated with the Rostislaviči and came to an agreement with them about Kiev; and he deserted the Ol'goviči. And he got up and left them,[153] deploying troops to Rjurik in Belgorod.

And seeing that, they (Andrej's allies) were afraid, saying: "He will surely unite against us with troops from Galič and the Černye Klobuki." And their troops became confused and, not awaiting the light and in great disorder, they were unable to restrain themselves and they fled across the Dnepr, and many of their warriors drowned.

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[151] pristupaxu

[152] i vyriščjušče iz" grada

[153] v'stav" poide ot nix"

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And seeing that, Mstislav praised all-merciful God and Saints Boris and Gleb for the unseen help that had driven them away.[154] And he went out of the city with his retinue, and his retinue pursued them and attacked their camp and captured many prisoners. Mstislav lost much sweat with his retinue and he and his men showed not a little bravery. Thus the word of the apostle Paul was fulfilled,[155] which we wrote above: "They who exalt themselves will be humbled, and they who humble themselves will be exalted."

And so all the forces of Andrej, prince of Suzdal', returned; he had gathered all the land, a countless multitude of warriors. They had come in pride;[156] they went away to their homes in humility. The Rostislaviči made Jaroslav their leader[157] and gave him Kiev.

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[154]...Borisa i Gleba pomoč nevidimo gonjaščee

[155]Cf. above, p. 331.

[156]vysokomysljašče

[157]položiša...starešin'stvo

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CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN OF JAROSLAV IZJASLAVIČ (1174-1180)

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF JAROSLAV IZJASLAVIČ IN KIEV. Jaroslav entered Kiev and sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father. Svjatoslav (Vsevolodič)[1] began to send to Jaroslav, complaining, saying to him:

> "To what did you kiss the cross? Remember the first agreement: you said that if I were to rule in Kiev, then I would give you territory, or else if you were to rule in Kiev, then you would give to me. Now, then, you rule, rightfully or not;[2] give me territory."

He (Jaroslav) began to say to him: "Why do you want our fatherland? This side /of the Dnepr River/ is not for you." Svjatoslav began to say to him:

> "I am not a Hungarian or a Pole, but we are grandsons of the same grandfather, and I am related to him in the same way you are; if you do not stand by the first agreement, then you are free."

And having said that to him and joined his brothers, he came unexpectedly to Kiev.

Jaroslav had not joined his brothers and did not dare

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[1] See Solov'ev, p. 544.

[2] pravo li krivo li

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to defend[3] himself in Kiev alone, so he fled to Luck, and Svjatoslav went into Kiev and sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father. He ruled having taken a countless number of Jaroslav's possessions. They (Svjatoslav's men) raided /the home of/ Jaroslav's wife, the princess, and they captured his son and all his retinue. They sent to Černigov, for they had gone away without communicating /with anyone/, and there was no news of his brothers. The Ol'govičі went into Kiev.

Jaroslav, hearing how Kiev was without a prince and looted by the Ol'govičі, went back to Kiev in anger, thinking of /putting/ the burden on the people of Kiev, saying /to them/: "You have aroused Svjatoslav against me. Think what you will ransom the princess and child with." They did not know what to answer him, and he ransomed[4] all of Kiev--the abbots and priests and monks and Latin monks and merchants; and he locked up all the people of Kiev.

In that same time the prince of Černigov was not at peace with Oleg Svjatoslavič, for Oleg was making war on Svjatoslavič's territory, the territory of Černigov.

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[3] zatvoritisja

[4] poproda

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Svjatoslav made peace with Jaroslav Izjaslavič and with the people of Kiev, and went against Oleg and burned his territory. And they did much evil and (then) returned to Černigov.

That same year the pious prince Svjatoslav Jur'evič died in the month of January on the eleventh day. This prince was chosen by God from birth and at the end of life[5] had a terrible illness, which the holy apostles and the holy fathers, who are with God, gave him.[6] Whoever suffers that illness, as the books say, his body is tormented but his soul is saved. So it was with Svjatoslav, who was truly a servant of God, who had been chosen from among all princes. God did not grant him to rule on earth but gave him the heavenly kingdom on his death. His brother Andrej laid his body in the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Suzdal' in the episcopate.

In that same year Jurij, prince of Murom, died in the month of January on the nineteenth day, and he was laid in the Church of Christ in Murom which he himself had built.

In that same time the Rostislavičі sent to Prince Andrej and his brothers, asking for Roman Rostislavič to

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[5] muž'stva

[6] prosjaxu na sja

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rule in Kiev. Prince Andrej said: "Wait a while, I have sent to my brothers in Rus'; when a reply comes to me from them, then I will give you an answer."

In the year 1175, Grand Prince Andrej of Suzdal', son of Jurij (Dolgorukij), grandson of Vladimir Monomax, was killed in the month of June on the thirtieth day, the day of the Holy Apostles. It was then a Saturday.

He had built himself a stone city by the name of Bogoljubovo; as far as Vyšgorod is from Kiev was Bogoljubovo from Vladimir. This pious and Christ-loving prince Andrej, from the time he was young, loved Christ and His most-pure Mother, and the thought stayed in his mind, like a beautiful palace; his soul was adorned with all /kinds of/ virtues worthy of King Solomon, like the house of the Lord God and the church of the birth of the most-glorious Holy Mother of God in the city of Bogoljubovo.

The stone church he built was the most marvellous of all churches, like that of the Holy Ones[7] which King Solomon the Wise had built. Likewise this pious prince Andrej built this church in his (own) memory. And he decorated it with precious golden icons and precious stones and great priceless pearls, and he built it with

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[7]staja stx" ("Saints" here is anachronistic.)

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various ornaments and decorated it with jasper and with all kinds of precious decorations.

Its brilliance was marvellous, such as has never been seen, since the entire church was gold. And he adorned it and decorated it with precious golden vessels, such that all who came marvelled. And all those who saw it could not describe its extraordinary beauty.

And it was adorned with gold and enamel and all kinds of jewels[8] and church decorations, and all kinds of church vessels and Jerusalem gold, with precious stones and costly fans and various lamps from the bottom of the church to the top, up to the cupola. And on the walls and the pillars it was inlaid with gold. And the doors and doorways of the church were inlaid with gold, and the entry-way[9] was adorned with gold from the top to the Deisus.[10] And it was filled with all kinds of church ornaments, decorated[11] with all kinds of works of art.

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[8] dobrodetel'ju

[9] obodver'e

[10] An icon, usually on the top of the cupola, of Christ dressed as a tsar, with the Mother of God and John the Baptist on either side, is a Deisus.

[11] izmečtana

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Prince Andrej had lavishly[12] decorated the city of Vladimir--in it he built gates of gold and others of silver, and he built the most-marvellous stone cathedral church of the Holy Mother of God, and he adorned it very much and in all different ways with gold and silver. And he gilded five of its cupolas, and he built three church doors of gold, and decorated it with precious stones and valuable pearls, and with all kinds of precious things. And he lit the church with many gold and silver chandeliers, and he built a pulpit[13] of gold and silver. And he put (in the church) service vessels and fans and all of the church furnishings of gold and precious jewels and great pearls, very many, and three very great tabernacles[14] which he built from pure gold and precious stones.

And in every aspect and in structure the two churches--the one in Bogoljubovo as well as the one in the city of Vladimir--were comparable in marvellousness to Solomon's /church of/ the Holy Ones. For he built the roof of gold and gilded the vault,[15] and he built the pojas[16] of gold

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[12] silnu (silno) ustroil"

[13] on"bon" (amvon/ambo)

[14] jerusalimy (incense holders)

[15] komar"

[16] Inner, upper part of church wall with icons.

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and illumined it with stones, and he gilded the pillars; golden birds and vessels and a vetrila[17] made of gold he put throughout the church and along the vaults.[18]

After this he founded many other various stone churches, and he built many monasteries. For God had opened the eyes of his heart to (the needs of) all the clergy and parish priests. He did not cloud his mind with drunkenness and was a provider for monks and nuns, and to the poor and persons of any rank he was like a beloved father.

He was merciful more than /just/ by giving charity. He heard the Lord saying: "As you do to my younger brother, so you do to me," and also David says: "Blessed is a merciful man, giving all day and not straying from the Lord."[19] Courage and wisdom lived in him; righteousness and truth walked with him. Many other good deeds were in him. And he had every virtue.[20]

At night he would enter the church and light the candles himself, and seeing the image of God portrayed

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[17] parus

[18] i izovnu crkvi i po komarom" potky zoloty i kub"ky i vetrila zolotom" ustroena postavi i po vsei crkvi i po komarom" okolo

[19] ne potknetsja o Gde (or: nigde)

[20] vsjak" obyčai dobronraven" imejašet'

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on the icons, his countenance became humble, and with a submissive heart and emitting a sigh from his heart and shedding tears from his eyes, accepting the repentance of David, he wept for his sins.

He loved immortal things more than mortal, and heavenly more than temporal, and the kingdom of the saints with God, the ruler of all, more than this fleeting earthly kingdom. And he was adorned with all (his) good deeds: he was a second wise Solomon.

And he did this good work: every day he ordered various food and provisions to be taken around the city for the ill and poor, to provide for their needs. And seeing any poor person approaching him with a request, he gave them what they asked for, saying this: "This food is Christ coming to test me."[21] And so he received anyone who came to him, as Christ commanded, saying: "As you do this to my younger brother, so you do to me." And he always remembered those words in his heart.

For that you worthily received the wreath of victory from God, Prince Andrej; your name calls forth an image of courage equal to that of [22] those two blessedly-wise

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[21] eda se est' Xs" prišed" ispytat' mene

[22] muž'stvu tezoimenite

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brothers, the holy martyrs (Boris and Gleb) whose example you followed. All of your suffering you have washed with blood, for if there is no danger, there is no wreath. If there is no suffering, there is no reward. For anyone who rules as a doer of good[23] cannot be without many enemies.

Prince Andrej, having heard of the murder by enemies planned for him,[24] became inspired by the spirit of God in his soul, and would not be dispirited,[25] saying:

> "The Lord God is my ruler and my creator; the people whom He loved nailed Him to the cross, saying, 'Let his blood be upon us and upon our children;' and also there is the word from the mouths of the Holy Apostles, which says, 'Whoever sacrifices his own life for another person can be my follower.'"

This God-loving prince gave his life, not for another man, but for a Creator Who created everything from nonexistence into existence.

For this, Prince Andrej, Martyr,[26] your death was marvelled at and remembered[27] by the heavenly warriors, when they saw your blood shed for Christ. A multitude of true believers sobbed, seeing the father of orphans

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[23] deržasja dobrodeteli

[24] naperede do sebe

[25] vmeni

[26] strastoterp'če

[27] v pamjat'

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and provider, a bright star to those in darkness, extinguished.[28] /Your/ accursed murderers will be christened by eternal fire and burned for every sin, /will wear/ a crown of thorns when their deeds are told of.[29] Martyr, pray to the Almighty God for your nation[30] and your family and for the Russian land, to give peace to the world.

We will now return to the previous matter. There was on Friday at dinnertime a treacherous, destructive, murderous conference. And present at it was Jakim, a servant beloved by him (Prince Andrej). And he heard from someone that the prince had ordered his brother to be executed, and he turned to the teaching of the devil and sped, crying out, to his brother and to the evil conspirators, like Judas to the Jews, hastening[31] to please his father Satan.

And they began to say: "Today he executed him, tomorrow it will be us; let us plot about this prince." And they discussed murder at night, like Judas /did/ against the Lord.

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[28] omračnym" zvezdu svetonosnu pomračaemu

[29] ...ognem' krestjat'sja konečnym' i sožigaet' vsjakogo grexa kupinu rek"še dejan'ja (?)

[30] plemeni

[31] t"snjasja (t"ščasja)

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And having come at night, they rushed, taking up arms, and went against him like fierce wild animals. And they found him in his bedchamber, and fear and terror overcame them. And they fled from the tent and went into the wine cellar[32] and drank wine. Satan made them happy in the cellar and served them, unseen, preparing and fortifying them, since they had promised themselves to him.

And then, having become drunk with wine, they went to the tent. The leader of the murderers was Petr Kučkovič, in-law of Anbal, an Ossetian[33] and the housekeeper; Jakim Kučkovič /was there/, and there were in all twenty of the impious murderers who had joined together at the accursed meeting on that day at the house of Petr Kučkovič, /Anbal's/ in-law.

Saturday night had arrived, /the eve/ dedicated to the memory of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul (July 29). Taking up arms, like wild animals, they went to him in his bedchamber, where the blessed prince Andrej lay. And one of them, standing at the door, said: "Lord, lord." And the prince said: "Who is it?" And he said:

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[32] medušju

[33] Ossetians = an Iranian tribe in the Caucasus; Andrej's brother was married to Tamara, queen of Georgia.

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"Prokopij." And the prince said: "By your voice you are not Prokopij."

They then jumped to the doors, hearing what the prince said, and they began to beat at the doors and broke down the doors by force. The blessed one jumped up, wanting to get his sword, and his sword was not there, for on that day Anbal the housekeeper had taken it out--that sword was the sword of St. Boris. And two of the accursed ones leapt in, and they began to struggle[34] with him. And the prince threw one down under him, and thinking it was the prince who was down, they wounded him, their friend.

After that they recognized the prince; and they fought with him a great deal, for he was strong. And they wounded him with swords and sabers and spears and inflicted wounds on him. And he said: "Oh, woe to you, godless ones! Why do you emulate Gorjaser?[35] What evil have I done to you? If you shed my blood onto the earth, God will have vengeance against you, for I have fed you."[36]

These godless ones, thinking him completely dead, picked up their friend and carried him back; they left

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[34] jastasja

[35] Gorjaser was the murderer of (St.) Gleb.

[36] da B" ottom'stit' vy i moi xleb"

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trembling in fear.[37] But he hurriedly jumped up /and went/ after them, and began to shout[38] and speak; in the sickness of his heart he went under the tent.

They, hearing the voice, went back. And they were standing there, and one of those standing said: "I saw the prince going under the tent." And they said: "Look for him." And they ran to look for him, but he was not there where they had left him for dead. And they said: "That will destroy us. Seek him quickly." And then, having lit the lamps, they found him by the blood.

The prince saw them coming to him and, raising his arms to heaven, prayed to God, saying:

> "If, Lord, this is Your judgement and I am to receive this end,[39] /then hear my prayer:/ I have sinned much, Lord, not upholding Your commnadments, but seeing how merciful You are; You see those who are weeping and You move against those who are turning to dissoluteness."

And sighing from the depths of his heart, he wept and remembered all of Jehovah's /words/[40] and contemplated /them/ in his heart.

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[37] trepeščjušči otidoša

[38] rigati

[39] v sem' osuženie i konec' priimaju

[40] vsja Ievova

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And he said:

> "Lord, if it is time, my life was short and full of trouble and evil deeds. But give me remission and allow me, /although I am/ unworthy, to receive this end, like all the saints. So also righteous men[41] suffered so many passions and various deaths; also the holy prophets and apostles were crowned as martyrs, shedding their blood for the Lord; and also the holy sainted martyrs and most worthy (holy) fathers received bitter torments and various deaths and were tested[42] by the devil, like gold in a crucible. By their prayers, Lord, consider me elected into Your flock with the righteous sheep, and like the holy, faithful tsars who shed their blood suffering for their people, and as also our Lord Jesus Christ, who delivered the world from the deceit of the devil with His pure blood."

And saying that, he was comforted.

And he said further:

> "Lord, look down upon my weakness and see my humility and my terrible sadness and my grief, which has now overcome me. And hoping /in You/, I will endure; for all these things I thank You, Lord, for You have humbled my soul; make me a member of Your kingdom. And now, Lord, if they shed my blood, count me into the number[43] of your holy martyrs, Lord."

And having said that, and having prayed to God about his sins, he was sitting behind the pillar.

And those who had searched for him a long time came

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[41] na pravedniky naxodily sut'

[42] s"krušeni

[43] v' liky

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in and saw him sitting like an innocent lamb, and there the cursed ones finished him. Petr took off his right hand. The prince, looking up at heaven, said: "Lord, into Thy hands I commit my spirit." And then he died.

He had been killed on Saturday night, and at dawn of the next day, Sunday, the day to the memory of the twelve apostles (July 30), the accursed ones, as they were leaving there, killed Prokopij, whom the prince had loved. And from there they went into the tent and took gold and precious stones and pearls and all kinds of tapestries and all of his most precious possessions and put them on the beloved one's (Prokopij's) horses. And before dawn they sent back[44] (messages to their houses), [meanwhile] taking the merciful prince's arms for themselves.

They began to gather the retinue to them, saying: "While we are waiting, will not the retinue of the city of Vladimir come against us?" And they gathered troops and sent to Vladimir: "What do you plan against us? We want to settle with you. For the plot was not only ours, but there were also some of you in the plot." The people of Vladimir said: "Whoever was in the plot with you, let him remain with you, he is of no concern to us."

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[44] poslaša do sveta proč' (See Solov'ev, p. 547.)

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And they (the conspirators) dispersed and went for plunder; it was terrible to see. And Kuz'ma[45] Kijanin (of Kiev) rushed to the place, but the dead prince was not there. And Kuz'ma began to ask: "Where is my murdered Lord?" And they said: "He lies there, he was dragged out to the outer wall, but you cannot have him, for they say they all want to throw him to the dogs. If someone takes him, then he is our enemy and we will kill him."

And Kuz'ma began to weep over him:

> "My lord, how did you not recognize evil and dishonorable destroyer-murderers, your enemies, coming at you? Or how did you not think to overcome them?--at times you defeated [entire] pagan armies of Bolgars."

And then he wept. And Anbal, the Ossetian housekeeper, came. He held the key to all the prince's house, and that had given him power over everyone. And Kuz'ma, looking up at him, said: "Anbal, enemy, throw down a rug or send something else to cover our lord." And Anbal said: "Go away, we want to throw him to the dogs." And Kuz'ma said:

> "Oh, heretic! He has already been thrown to the dogs! Do you remember, Jew, in what kind of dress you came here? You are now in velvet, and the prince lies naked. I pray you, evil one, throw down anything to me."

And he threw down a rug and a cloak.

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[45] Kuzmišče

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And having wrapped him, he (Kuz'ma) carried him into the church. And he said: "Open the church to me." And they said: "Throw him there in the entryway." It was their sadness, for they were drunk. And Kuz'ma said:

> "Already, lord, your servants[46] do not know you. At times a guest would come to you from Constantinople or another country, from Russian land or Latin, from Christian land or pagan, and you said, 'Take him into the church, into the sacristy; let him see true Christianity and be baptized.' And so it happened: Bolgars and Jews and all pagans, seeing the glory of God and the adornment of the church, would weep a great deal for you; and now these will not let you be laid in the church."

And so he laid him at the entryway, covering him with a cloak, and he lay there two days and nights.

On the third day Arsenij, abbot of the (Saints) Cosmas and Damian Monastery, came and said:

> "Do we have long to look at older abbots? And will the prince lie here long? Open the church to me, let me chant over him, and we will lay him in the grave. When this evil ceases, then they will come from Vladimir and carry him there."

A clergyman from Bogoljubovo came and took him, and they carried him into the church and laid him in a stone tomb, having chanted the funeral service over him with the abbot Arsenij.

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[46] parob'ci

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The people of Bogoljubovo and workers,[47] who had come for that, looted the prince's house of gold and silver, clothing and fabrics, and countless valuables.[48] And they wrought much evil in his territory; they robbed the houses of the commissioners and major domos, and killed them and their children and their swordsmen, and robbed their houses, not knowing that which was said: "Where there is law, there is also much wrong." The looters were coming to the villages and plundering, and it was the same in the city of Vladimir until Mikulica the archpriest, in vestments, with /the icon of/ the Holy Mother of God, started a procession around the city and thus stopped the stealing.

The apostle Paul writes: "Every person has to obey the powers; powers are appointed by God. For the ruler in his physical nature is like any man, but in the matters of government is like God."[49] And the great (St. John) Chrysostom said: "Whoever opposes power opposes the law of God. For the prince does not wear the sword of God /without reason/, for he is His servant." Let us now return to the former matter.

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[47] (?)delateli

[48] imenie

[49] vlast'ju že sana vyš'ši jako Bg

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On the seventh day, on Friday, the people of Vladimir said to the abbot Feodul and to Luka, demestnik of the church of the Holy Mother of God: "Prepare a stretcher, we will come and take our prince and lord Andrej." And to (the archpriest) Mikulica they said: "Gather all the priests; dress them in their vestments; go out before the Silver Gates with the /icon of the/ Holy Mother of God and wait for the prince there." And Fedor, abbot of the church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir, and the clergymen and the people of Vladimir did so; they went after the prince in Bogoljubovo, and having taken his body, they brought it to Vladimir with great honor and bitter weeping.

And after a little while, the banner /brought/ from Bogoljubovo began to appear, and the people could not restrain themselves at all, but all cried out; they were unable to see through their tears. And the crying could be heard far away, and all the people, weeping, began to say:

> "Have you not already, lord, gone into Kiev into that church with the golden gates that you ordered to be built,[50] that church at the great estate of Jaroslav, saying, 'I want to build a church (in Vladimir) like this one, with golden gates like these; let it be a monument to all my patrimony.'"

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[50] ixže delat" poslal" bjaše.

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And the entire city wept for him, and having prepared his body with honor and praising songs, they buried him at the marvellous, praiseworthy Golden-Roofed Church of the Holy Mother of God, which he himself had built.

Prince Andrej in his life did not give his body any rest or his eyes any sleep until he opened a true house to the Queen of the angelic orders and the refuge of all Christians, the Lady of the entire universe and all men. /Men/ are brought to salvation by many different routes, as the apostle teaches: "He whom God loves is punished and every son whom He accepts is attacked. For if you endure punishment as His Son did, God will find You." God did not put the wonderful sun in a single place, but permitted it to provide light to all the universe. And He created the east and the south[51] and the west.

Likewise, He did not bring his servant Prince Andrej /into the world/ in vain, but made him capable of such a life that his soul would be saved,[52] because his sins were washed away by the blood of martyrdom. He and his two brothers Roman and David came in one spirit[53] to Christ God,

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[51] pol"dne

[52] a moguščago takovym' ž'tiem' i tako dšju spsti

[53] edinodšno...priteče

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and he (Andrej) was settled mystically in the heavenly life with them (his brothers),[54] where the eye does not see or the ear hear them, nor can they enter into the heart of man. /This is a place/ which God prepared for those who love Him, those who are deigned the blessing to see Him forever.

Rejoice, Andrej, Grand Prince, you had courage in the Almighty, the Richest of the rich, Who is ruling in the heavens.[55] Pray to God to have mercy on your brothers, give them victory over those who oppose them and worldly power and honorable and long-lasting reigns, forever and ever. Amen.

The people of Rostov, Suzdal' and Perejaslavl' and all the retinue, from young to old,[56] having found out about the prince's death, came together in Vladimir. And they said:

> "See what has happened: our prince has been murdered, and he had no children. His little son in Novgorod is young, and his brothers are in Rus' (the Kievan region). For whom do we want to send among our princes? There are the princes of Murom and Rjazan', and they are our neighbors, but we fear their vengeance, that they will come suddenly against us in war. Since we do not have a prince, let us send to Gleb, saying, 'God has taken our prince, and we want the two Rostislaviči, Mstislav and Jaropolk, your in-laws.'"

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[54] i v"raistii pišči vodvorjajasja neizrečen'no s nima

[55] vysokyx

[56] ot mala i do velika

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They (the people of all these cities) had forgotten that they had promised on the cross to Prince Jurij (Dolgorukij, Andrej's father) that they would have the younger children to rule them, the prince Mixalko and his brother (Vsevolod).[57] And transgressing the kissing of the cross, they had enthroned Andrej and had driven out the younger brothers. And later, after Andrej/'s death/, they remembered (their oath to Jurij) and followed the advice of Dedilec and Boris, emissaries from Rjazan'.

And having confirmed (their decision) before the icon of the Holy Mother of God, they sent to Gleb:

> "Your brothers-in-law will be our princes, we have confirmed this /decision with an oath/. We have sent our emissaries to you. Send your emissaries with them; let them go to get our princes."

Gleb, hearing that, was pleased that they honored him and wanted his brothers-in-law. And he confirmed this by kissing the cross and the icon of the Holy Mother of God, and they (the people formerly under Andrej) sent for those two, saying: "Your father was good when he was with us; come to us to rule, we do not want the others."[58]

The emissaries, having arrived, related this message of the retinue, since Mixalko and Vsevolod Jur'evič were

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[57] See Solov'ev, p. 549.

[58] Ibid.; "the others" refers to Mixalko and Vsevolod Jur'evič.

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there with them at the house of Svjatoslav, who was ruling in Černigov. And Mstislav and Jaropolk said: "May God help the retinue, because they do not forget the love of our father." And having conferred, they said: "For better or worse[59] we will all go together, all four of us, the two Jur'eviči and the two Rostislaviči."

And two of them went ahead--Mixalko Jur'evič and Jaropolk Rostislavič. Having confirmed it with one another, they gave Mixalko seniority, kissing the cross in the hand of the bishop of Černigov. They two came to Moscow.

The people of Rostov, hearing about this, were displeased, and said to Jaropolk: "You come here." And they said to Mixalko: "Wait a little while in Moscow." Jaropolk went, in secret from his brother, to the retinue in Perejaslavl'.

Mixalko, seeing that his brother had gone, went to Vladimir and fortified himself in the city. The retinue was not in the city, for they had gone to meet Jaropolk. And seeing Prince Jaropolk, they kissed /the cross/ and thus affirmed /their loyalty/, and went with him to Vladimir against Mixalko. Mixalko had fortified himself in the city becuase the warriors of Vladimir were not there, for they had gone, by the order of the people of Rostov, to meet the

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[59] ljubo lixo ljubo dobro

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two princes with fifteen hundred /men/. And they likewise kissed the cross.

The land of Rostov came with all its forces against Mixalko in Vladimir, and they did much harm. And they brought the warriors of Murom and Rjazan', and they burned the area around the city. The people of Vladimir were fighting from the city, and the Holy Mother of God helped them. And they stayed near the city seven weeks, and the Holy Mother of God delivered Her city.

The people of Vladimir could not bear the hunger, they said to Mixalko: "Either make peace or take care of[60] yourself." He answered and said: "You are right. You shall not be destroyed on my account." And he went into Rus'; the people of Vladimir escorted him as he left with much weeping.

Then the people of Vladimir had the two Rostislavičі affirm by kissing the cross that they would not do any harm to the city. And they came out with the cross from the city to meet Mstislav and Jaropolk. And having entered the city, they two quieted[61] the people of Vladimir, and they divided the territory of Rostov and began to rule.[62] And the people

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[60] promyšljai sobe

[61] utešista

[62] sedosta knjažit"

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of Vladimir with happiness took[63] Prince Jaropolk to rule in the city of Vladimir on the throne in the church of the Holy Mother of God, having settled everything.[64]

The people of Vladimir were not against the Rostislavičі, but they did not want to submit themselves to the people of Rostov, Suzdal', and Murom, since the latter were saying: "We will burn Vladimir, or else we will appoint another commissioner there. They are (just) our hired bricklayers."[65] Then the people of Rostov, with great happiness, brought Mstislav to rule them in Rostov on the throne of his grandfather and his father.

In that same winter Jaropolk Rostislavič, prince of Vladimir, was wed; having sent to Smolensk, he took for his princess the daughter of Vseslav, prince of Vitebsk. And he was wed to her in Vladimir in the church of the Holy Mother of God in January, on the third day of the cheesefast week (before Lent), on Tuesday.

That same year the people of Smolensk drove from them Jaropolk Romanovič, and they brought in Mstislav Rostislavič to Smolensk to rule.

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[63] posadiša

[64] ves' porjad" položiv"še

[65] See Solov'ev, p. 550; the older cities resent the newwer "upstart" city of Vladimir.

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That same year the Rostislavičі--who were ruling in the land of Rostov—had given the powers of commissioners to the younger (Kievan) Russian princes. But they caused much hardship to these people with fines and taxes. And the princes themselves, being young, listened to the boyars, and the boyars prompted them to get much property. And they took gold and silver from the church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir; on the first day they took away the keys to the sacristy and Her city and the valuables which Prince Andrej had given to that church.

And they (the people) began to say:

> "We accepted these princes of our own free will, we kissed the cross, agreeing to everything /they wanted/; but they act as if it were not their own territory, they act as if they were not our rulers; they rob not only the entire territory, but also the churches. Think on this, brothers!"

And they sent to the people of Rostov and Suzdal', revealing their offense to them. The latter were ostensibly for them, but actually were against them.[66] And the boyars strongly controlled the two princes.

In that same year Oleg Svjatoslavič began war; he sent for his brothers-in-law, sending[67] them against his brother

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[66] oni že slovom" sušče po nix" a delom" sušče daleče

[67] povede

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Svjatoslav of Černigov. And having come, the Rostislavičі and Jaroslav burned the cities Lutava and Morovsk. And having kissed the cross (come to an agreement), they returned to their own lands.

Oleg and his two brothers then came to Starodub, but did not capture the city. But they took whatever livestock there was in the villages around Starodub, and drove it to Novgorod (Severskij).

Svjatoslav and his brother Jaroslav went against Oleg to Novgorod. And they came to the city, and he came out to meet them. And Oleg prepared his troops, and they advanced, but fled at the first exchange of arrows. The prince (Oleg) himself fled (also) into the city, and his retinue was captured or cut down; and /Svjatoslav and Jaroslav/ burned the outer wall. And the next morning /Oleg/ sent (asking) for peace, and they made peace and returned to their own lands.

That same year a son was born to Igor'. And they named him Oleg, and in christening, Pavel.

At that time[68] Roman had come from Smolensk to help his brothers. Jaroslav said: "You have brought your brother Roman; give him Kiev," and went from Kiev into Luck. They

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[68] togdy

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(the people of Kiev) began to send for him, asking him to return to Kiev, but he did not heed them and went to Luck. Roman then sat in Kiev on the throne of his grandfather and his father.

In the year 1176, Mixalko and his brother Vsevolod went from Černigov (to Vladimir). Svjatoslav sent his son Vladimir with troops (to help) on the twenty-first of May, the day of Constantine and Helen. Mixalko had left, and a great illness came over him at the Svinaja River. And laying him on a stretcher, they carried him, barely alive; they came with him to Kučkov, which is (now) called Moscow.

And there the warriors of Vladimir with Jurij Andreevič met him--for some of the people of Vladimir liked him. And he was dining and news came to him that his nephew Jaropolk was coming against him. And they left Moscow and went (along the road) to Vladimir (against them).

Jaropolk, having heard (that), went around them. The warriors from Moscow, hearing that Jaropolk was coming to their city,[69] returned to guard their homes.

And they (Jaropolk's troops) crossed the river Lakša and went to the Belexov plain, with Vladimir Svjatoslavič riding in front. Then Mstislav's[70] regiment came out from

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[69]na ne

[70]See Solov'ev, p. 552.

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the village Zagor'je, all in armor /shining/ as if each one were in ice. And they attacked them (Mixalko's troops) suddenly and raised their banner. Mixalko and his brother Vsevolod hurried to prepare their troops and advanced.

Mstislav, with the Suzdal' troops, and Vsevolod, with the Vladimir troops, and Vladimir prepared their troops and set out toward them. And Mstislav's warriors came shouting as if they wanted to devour them.[71] The archers on both sides were exchanging shots between the armies. Mixalko was still ill—they were carrying him on stretchers.

The forces of the others were numerous, but Right and the Holy Savior were with Mixalko: Mstislav's forces had not reached them when they cast down their banner and fled, driven away by the anger of God and the Holy Mother of God. God helped Mixalko and his brother Vsevolod. With God's help and /His/ justice to all men, /Mixalko/ defeated his nephew in the month of June on the fifteenth day, the day of the holy prophet Amos, on Sunday.

And they pursued him (Mstislav), and he fled to Novgorod, and Jaropolk fled to his in-law in Rjazan'. Mixalko and Vsevolod, having rewarded Vladimir Svjatoslavič, let him go to his own land. Then Mixalko and Vsevolod went into Vladimir with glory and great honor, leading the

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[71] jako požreti xotjašče

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prisoners before them. God had shown the princes not to transgress the cross and to honor their elder brother, and not to heed evil men who do not want peace between brothers.

Then the people of Vladimir, seeing their princes, went to meet them with crosses and with happiness and with great honor. And Mixalko went into the city, to the church of the Holy Mother of God, and sat on the throne of his father and grandfather. That day, Sunday, there was great happiness in the city of Vladimir.

And then Svjatoslav sent Mixalko's and Vsevolod's wives, appointing his son Oleg to accompany them, to Moscow. Oleg, having accompanied them, returned to his own territory, to the city of Lopasnja. From there Oleg sent /his troops/ and occupied Svirel'sk, and that was also Černigov territory. Gleb, having found that out, sent his nephew Jur'evič against Oleg. Oleg gathered his retinue and went out against him. And they fought at Svirel'sk, and Oleg defeated Svjatoslav's /commander/, his brother-in-law, and captured many of his retinue, and he himself (the commander) barely managed to escape.

In the year 1177, the Polovci came into the Russian land on the week of Rusalja. Roman, who was ruling in Kiev, sent his brother Rjurik and his son (against them). The Polovci captured seven of the Berendej's cities and set out

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to Rostovec.

Because there was a quarrel between the brothers, David had not joined them. And he reached his brothers--Rjurik and his nephews Jaropolk and Boris,--and they reached the Polovci at Rostovec. And the Polovci turned around (to face them) and defeated the Russian troops; and they captured many boyars and the princes fled into Rostovec.

It was God's punishment; and He was not being merciful to them, but was teaching us (through this example), turning us to repentance so that we might refrain from evil deeds. He punishes us in this way with the invasion of the pagans, because this is His scourge, lest when we have made peace, we turn again to evil ways.[72] Hearing that, the Ol'govičі and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič rejoiced, for they had not known it was God's punishment.

That same year Svjatoslav went to Kiev. Svjatoslav said to Roman:

> "Brother, I do not seek any /territory/ that is yours, but our agreement is this: if a prince is guilty /of an offense, he pays/ with territory, but a /common/ man /pays/ with his head. And David is guilty."

But he did not do that.[73]

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[72] v"spomjanemsja ot zlago puti

[73] I.e., take territory from him (see Solov'ev, p. 558).

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Svjatoslav sent his brother Jaroslav and Oleg with troops. They, having crossed the Dnepr River, sent to Mstislav Vladimirič, their in-law, asking him to abandon[74] Rostislavič. Mstislav promised them to do that, and he went to the city of Trepol'. And Mstislav went to the entrance gates, preparing[75] to fight.

Jaropolk was taken secretly out of the city, having hidden himself, and the people of Trepol' surrendered and opened the city to him. And Jaropolk went to his father Svjatoslav, and having arrived with his troops, halted at Vitečev. And there the Černye Klobuki came to him, and also people from Kiev, saying: "Roman has already gone to Belgorod." Svjatoslav then entered Kiev on the day of the holy prophet Elias (July 20);[76] from there he sent to his brother in Belgorod. Not having had any success, they returned.

In that same year a son was born to Igor', and they called him in christening Andrejan. And his prince's name was Svjatoslav.

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[74] otstupiti ot

[75] tvorja

[76] (?) Il'je

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In that same time, Mstislav came with his troops. And the Rostislaviči said: "If God wills, then tomorrow we will fight Svjatoslav."[77] Svjatoslav, having found out that the Rostislaviči wanted to fight him, fled across the Dnepr at the mouth of the Lybed' River. And many people drowned (in the crossing).

Before that he had sent to the land of the Polovci. The Polovci, hearing that Svjatoslav had fled from Kiev, came to Torčesk and captured many people.

The Rostislaviči did not want to destroy the Russian land or shed Christian blood. And having conferred, they gave Kiev to Svjatoslav and Roman went to Smolensk...[78]

.....the people of Vladimir met their prince, who was coming from a victory, with crosses; and they rejoiced, seeing the Christians who had been released from captivity among the pagans. And their enemies were in their hands, they were bringing them into the city of Vladimir: Prince Gleb with his son Roman and his brother-in-law Mstislav, who had been captured; the retinue and all their lords had been captured. And there was great happiness in the city of Vladimir.

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[77]to zav"tra damy polk" Svjatoslavu

[78]There is an omission here in the text; see column 605.

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But on the third day (after that) there was a disturbance in the city of Vladimir: the boyars and merchants rose in rebellion, saying:

> "Prince, we wish you good; for you we will lay down our lives. Now you hold our enemies, but not under arrest.[79] The people of Suzdal' and Rostov are your enemies and ours, punish them. Either blind them or give them to us."

The pious and God-fearing Prince Vsevolod did not want to do that; he ordered them to be put in prison on account of the people, in order to quiet the disorder.

And he sent to Jaropolk, saying: "Give over our enemy, or I will come to /fight/ you." The people of Rjazan', having conferred, said: "Our princes and our brothers perished in foreign lands."[80] And they went to Voronež, captured him (Jaropolk) themselves, and brought him to the city of Vladimir. And they put Jaropolk in the prison also.

Gleb's in-law, Mstislav Rostislavič, having conferred, sent to Svjatoslav, saying: "Send to Vsevolod on Mstislav's and Jaropolk's behalf." Gleb's princess also sent to him and pleaded for her husband and son. And Svjatoslav sent Porfirij, the bishop of Smolensk, and Efrem, abbot of the church of the Holy Mother of God.

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[79] vorogy svoi deržiš' prosty

[80] pogibli v čjužem'

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And Vsevolod held them two years. Svjatoslav had said that Gleb should be allowed to come into Rus'. But Gleb said: "It is better to die here, I will not go." Then Gleb's death occurred in June on the thirtieth, and they freed[81] Roman his son after he had kissed the cross. And Mstislav and Jaropolk were in prison, and then they brought them out and, having blinded them, released them.

In the year 1178, the people of Novgorod sent their men to Mstislav Rostislavič, inviting him to Great Novgorod. But he did not want to leave the land of Rus'. He said to them: "I cannot leave my homeland or part from my brothers."

For he strove diligently, wanting with all his heart to suffer for his fatherland; he always strove for great things, planning with his men, wanting to succeed for his patrimony. Having considered all this in his heart, he did not want to go, but his brothers convinced[82] him, and his men said to him: "Brother, if they invite you honorably, go there, even if it is not in our patrimony." He heeded his brothers and his men and went with the Novgorod boyars.

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[81] odva vystojaša

[82] ponudiša

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And he kept thinking:[83] "If God gives me health in these days ahead, I cannot anyhow forget the Russian land." When he arrived at Novgorod, the bishop and abbots and the people from Novgorod met him with crosses. And they all went into the St. Sophia Cathedral and paid homage to the Holy Savior and the Holy Mother of God, and he sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father with glory and great honor.

When Mstislav was ruling in Great Novgorod, God put into his heart a good thought--to go against Čud'. And he called together the men of Novgorod and said to them: "The pagans offend us; looking to God and the Holy Mother of God for help, let us avenge ourselves and free the land of Novgorod from the pagans."

And what he said pleased all the men of Novgorod, and they said to him: "Prince, if this /plan/ is pleasing to God and to you, then we are ready /to campaign/." And Mstislav, having gathered the warriors of Novgorod and counted them, found there to be twenty thousand of them.

And so Mstislav set out against the land of Čud', and having entered it, he halted. That same day they (the Russians) attacked all over the land, and they burned all their land and captured serving-people and livestock, and

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[83] se položi na ume svoem'

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returned to their own land.

And having received from God victory over the pagans, he (Mstislav) left Čud' with glory and great honor, and went into Pleskov. And he captured the centurions because of his nephew Boris, since they did not want his nephew Boris (to rule them). And then, having confirmed /Boris'rule/ with the people, he went from there to Novgorod and was there all winter.

And in the spring he and his men decided to go to Poltesk against his in-law Vseslav, because his (Vseslav's) grandfather had come to Novgorod and taken the church tabernacle and service vessels and one cemetery chapel[84] to Poltesk. Mstislav wanted to correct all that, to defend the honor of the Novgorod land and /avenge/ the offense.[85]

When he came to the city of Luky with the warriors of Novgorod, Roman, his brother and /prince of/ Smolensk, hearing that, sent his son Mstislav to Poltesk to help his in-law (Vseslav). And to his brother Mstislav he sent his men, saying to him: "Those offenses were not his, but you want to go against him. Before that, come against me."

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[84] pogost'

[85] vse to xotja opraviti Novgorod'skuju volost' i obidu

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He (Mstislav) then, not wanting to distress[86] his elder brother, returned to Novgorod.

And a terrible illness came upon him, and he lost his strength and his tongue was becoming paralyzed.[87] And looking up at his retinue and his princess, and sighing from the depths of his heart and weeping, he began to say to them: "I give over the keeping of my child Vladimir to Boris Zaxarič, and thereafter I give the territory into the hands of my brothers Rjurik and David. And whatever God plans for me /will happen/." And then, having given his children to his brothers, he raised his arms to heaven and sighed from the depths of his heart and wept, and gave his soul into the hands of God.

And so Prince Mstislav, Rostislav's son, grandson of the great prince Mstislav, died in the month of June on the thirteenth, the day of the holy martyr Aquiline, on Friday. And he had received communion.[88] Il'ja the bishop and all the abbots prepared his body with honor and hymns of praise and the fragrance of the censers. And all the land of Novgorod wept for him, most of all the best men of Novgorod wept for him. And they laid his body in the same

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[86] verediti srdca

[87] otoimajušči

[88] vozma pričaščenie na stoi liturgii

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tomb where Vladimir, son of the great prince Jaroslav Vladimirovič, lies.

And they were saying, weeping:

> "Now, lord, we cannot go with you into another land against pagans and annex their land to the territory of Novgorod. For you often said, our lord, to be ready to go to all the lands of the pagans.[89] It would have been good for us, oh lord, to die with you, you who have accomplished such freedom for the Novgorod people from pagans, just as your grandfather Vsevolod freed us from all (their) offenses. And you, lord, emulated this and followed the path of your grandfather. Now, lord, we can no more look upon you, our sun has already set, we are all left defenseless."[90]

And then, all the multitude of people of Novgorod, strong and weak, the poor and the beggars and the monks, having wept over him--for he was merciful to all poor people, dispersed to their own houses.

This pious prince Mstislav, Rostislav's son, was of medium height and fair of face, and he was adorned with all kinds of good behavior, and was of good character and loved everyone. Moreover, he gave to charity, cared for monasteries and comforted monks, and he also cared for abbots and received them with love and received blessing from them. And he cared for all the parish churches and

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[89] xotja na vse storone poganyja

[90] vo obide vsim" ostaxom"

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priests and all the holy orders, honoring them with worthy honors.

And he was strong in battle and always ready[91] to die for the Russian land and for Christians: for when he saw Christians made captive by pagans, he would say to his retinue:

> "Brothers, do not think that now we may die for Christians, for if we do, our sins will be washed away, and God will consider our blood that of martyrs. If God gives His mercy, then praise be to God. For even if we die now, /it is not terrible since/ we have to die anyway."

And speaking so bravely, he provided his warriors with courage,[92] and he was for his patrimony with all his heart.

He loved his retinue, and was not sparing of his possessions and did not hoard gold or silver, but gave them to his retinue. And thus he guided his soul. He was united with his father and his grandfather, having paid the universal duty which no one who is born can escape. There was no part of the land of Rus' that he did not care for and love. He was always striving for great things, but he died young.

And his brothers, hearing of his death, were very sad, and all the land of Rus' wept for him. They could not

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[91] tosnjašet'sja

[92] podavaše voem' svoim

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forget his valor, and all of the Černye Klobuki could not forget his goodness.[93]

In that same year Svjatoslav brought a wife, the daughter of Kazimir, from the Poles to marry his middle son, on St. Philip's day (November 14).

That same year Vsevolod Jur'evič called Vladimir Svjatoslavič to him in the city of Vladimir, and he gave him his niece, Mixalko's daughter, to him for his wife. Vladimir went with his wife to his father in Černigov, for Svjatoslav was living there, having left Kiev.

That same year /the princess/ of Rjazan', Gleb's wife, died.

That same year the princess, Vsevolod's wife, died, having become a nun.[94] And she was buried in Kiev in St. Cyril's Church, which she herself had built.

That same year in the month of August, godless foreigners of the tribe of Ishmael, accursed sons of Hagar who cared for the devil and had the morals of Satan, came into the land of Rus'. Their evil leader was called Končak. Pious Christians and all the churches where the name of God is glorified were abused and defiled[95] by

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[93] prigolublenija

[94] priem'ši na sja černečkuju skimu

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these pagans. I do not say this only to Christians, but also to enemies of God Himself, that if someone loves the enemies of God, then they will receive their due from God.[96] This disgusting-to-God Končak, with those who were of the same mind as he, came to Perejaslavl' and wrought much evil upon (us) Christians for our sins. Some they took captive and others they killed; they captured and killed children.[97]

In that same time Svjatoslav had come from Kiev and was below Trepol' waiting for Rostislavič to come to him. He was waiting for the Polovci to come to him to negotiate peace. But the news came to him that they were making war: at that time an emissary reached them from Perejaslavl' /who told them that/ the Polovci were fighting near the city. Hearing this, the Russian princes went across the Sula River and halted near the little town of Lukoml'. Upon receiving this news the Polovci took to flight again along their road, and the princes returned to their own land.

In that same year Oleg Svjatoslavič died in the month of January on the seventeenth day, and they buried him at St. Michael's. Then Igor', his brother, took the throne in

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[96]to samî čto priimut' ot Ba

[97]množaišija že izbiša mladenec'

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Novgorod Severs'k, and Jaroslav Vsevolodič--in Černigov.

Jaroslav gave his daughter to marry Vladimir Glebovič in Perejaslavl' in November on the eighth day.

That same year on St. Demetrius' day (October 26), a fourth daughter was born to the Grand Prince Vsevolod, and they named her in christening Polagaja, while her dynastic name was Sbyslava. And her aunt Ol'ga christened her.

In the year 1180, Svjatoslav went to the city of Ljubeč and called his brothers--Jaroslav, Igor', and Vsevolod--to him and conferred with them.[98] At the same time[99] a great misfortune happened in Kiev: the estates by the mountain burned and the church, the great metropolitan cathedral of St. Sophia, caught fire.

That same year Svjatoslav sent his son Gleb to the city of Kolomna in the territory of Rjazan', to his in-law Prince Roman, to help the Rjazan' princes, for they were at war with Vsevolod. Vsevolod, hearing that Svjatoslav had sent his son to help his in-law, called him (Gleb) to him. Gleb Svjatoslavic did not want to go, but willingly or unwillingly, he went to him, because he was in his

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[98] rjady emu dejuščju

[99] sde že

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hands.[100]

He (Vsevolod) took him (Gleb) and chained him and sent him into his territory, Vladimir. And he assigned guards to him. And he did the same to his retinue, taking them captive near him.

Svjatoslav, hearing of this, was filled with anger and burning with fury. And he considered this in his mind, and said: "So I was avenged by Vsevolod, because of the Rostislavičі.[101] And they harm me in every way in the land of Rus'. But the family of Vladimir are close to me--that is good."

In that same time David Rostislavič was going along the Dnepr River in boats, fishing, and Svjatoslav was going along the Černigov side of the river, fishing, to meet David. And then Svjatoslav conferred with his princess and with Kočkar', a dear friend of his, but he did not tell his best men about his plans. And suddenly Svjatoslav went to war for his son Gleb; and he did not restrain himself from anger and transgressed (the oath on) the cross.

He went across the Dnepr River. And he planned in his mind how to capture David and drive Rjurik from the land,

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[100]I.e., under his control or power because of the latter's status or seniority.

[101]m'stil"sja byx" Vsevolodu no ne lze Rostislavičі

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and how to take power for himself and his brothers over the Russian land.

And then Vsevolod was avenged for his offense. For God does not love our lofty thoughts, but humbles him who exalts himself.

And suddenly Svjatoslav struck David's camp. David did not know of this, nor did he expect evil against him from anywhere, since he had pledges (from Svjatoslav) on the true cross.[102] He believed in Him, and so God helped him to escape from Svjatoslav,[103] and he fled in a boat with his princess. They (Svjatoslav's troops) had reached the bank and began to shoot at him. But God watched and they were not harmed.

Svjatoslav captured his (David's) retinue and his supplies and returned; he went to Vyšgorod. And Svjatoslav sinned in planning that. And he spent the night below Vyšgorod.

On the next day /someone/ came to him looking for David, and they did not find him on any of the roads. He (Svjatoslav) then arose and went across the Dnepr, saying: "I have already announced to the Rostislaviči that it is not possible for me to be in Kiev."

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[102] zane krstm" čstnym" utverdil"sja bjašet' s nim'

[103] t"t" že izbavi ot ruku ego

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And he came to Černigov to his brothers, and he called together all his sons and younger brothers, and gathered all the territory of Černigov and his retinue, and he began to plan, saying: "Where shall we go, to Smolensk or to Kiev?" And Igor' said to him: "Father, peace was dear, but already /the situation/ is not pleasing. But only God can grant us that you will remain in good health." David fled to Belgorod to his brother.

Rjurik, hearing that Svjatoslav had fled across the Dnepr, entered Kiev on Sunday and sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father. And he sent for his brothers the Jaroslavičі, Vsevolod and Ingvar', and brought them to him, as well as Jaroslav's auxiliary army, that of the prince of Galič, with (its commanders) Tudor and Galčič. And he sent David to Smolensk to Roman, his brother, to help him.

And news came to him at Skov"šine Forest: "God has taken your brother Roman." Hearing that, he was very sad; weeping, he went in haste to Smolensk. And Bishop Konstantin met him with crosses and with abbots and all the priests of Smolensk. And David, having entered the church of the Holy Mother of God, sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father.

Prince Roman, Rostislav's son, grandson of the Grand Prince Mstislav, died; the bishop Konstantin and all the

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abbots, having prepared his body with hymns of praise and fragrant censers, laid his body in the church of the Holy Mother of God. And all the people of Smolensk wept for him, remembering his good-heartedness to them. Even more than that were his sons weeping, with tears streaming down their faces. And his family, having held the final church service, prepared his body and laid it in the grave. His princess wept without ceasing, standing by his grave, crying out thus:

> "My tsar, good and humble, meek and righteous one, you were rightly named Roman, being worthy of all the good deeds it /implies/, having received many injuries from the people of Smolensk. My lord, you were never seen doing anything against their evil; you did no harm to anybody, but you relied totally upon God."[104]

This pious prince Roman was of great height, with large shoulders and a lovely face. And he was adorned with all good qualities, was humble, meek, not given to anger, and righteous. And he had love for everyone and for his brothers. And he was filled with unhypocritical truthfulness and the fear of God, having mercy on the poor and caring for monasteries. He built the stone church of St. John and decorated it with every kind of church furnishing and gold icons and enamel. And he honored[105]

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[104] na Bze vsja pokladyvaja provžaše

[105] zdevaja

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the memory of his family. Most of all, he asked remission of his sins for his soul. And he joined his ancestors and his fathers, having paid the universal duty that no one who is born can escape.

News came to Rjurik of the death of Roman, and he was greatly saddened and wept for him as for a father, for he was their elder.

Svjatoslav joined with his brothers and with the Polovci, and Svjatoslav said to his brothers:

> "I am older than Jaroslav, and you, Igor', are older than Vsevolod. And now I am left in a father's place for you. And I order you, Igor', to remain with Jaroslav to keep watch over Černigov and all its territory. And I will go against [106] Vsevolod to Suzdal' and seek my son Gleb. And let it be as God wills for us with Vsevolod."

And he and his brothers separated into two groups, and he went to Suzdal', taking Jaropolk Rostislavič and the Polovci with him.

Thus they divided into two groups: he took half of them (their troops) with him and left half with his brothers. And Svjatoslav took his son Vladimir and all the troops from Novgorod with him on the campaign, since his son Vladimir was ruling in Great Novgorod.

And he went into the land of Suzdal', and Vsevolod came out against him with all the troops from Suzdal' and

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[106] s" (erroneously)

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troops from Rjazan' and Murom. And he met him at the Vlena River. And they halted on either side of the Vlena River; for two weeks they fought across that river, because the river was flowing strongly and had steep banks. The troops from Suzdal' were standing on the hills and in the ravines and swamps, and they could not be reached by Svjatoslav's troops.

Vsevolod's retinue wanted to attack Svjatoslav in force. Vsevolod, being good-hearted, did not want bloodshed and did not attack them. And Vsevolod sent the Rjazan' princes and they drove into Svjatoslav's camp. And they crushed them--some they captured and others they killed. And so they quickly finished Svjatoslav's troops.

And Vsevolod Svjatoslavič soon reached the Russian troops with his troops, and then the princes of Rjazan' fled, and some were captured and others were killed. And there they captured Ivor Miroslavič.

Svjatoslav then sent his priest to Vsevolod, saying:

> "Brother and son, I have done much good for you, and I have not expected any reward from you, but you have planned evil against me and captured my son. Do not pursue me further, retreat farther from that little river, let me pass. Let me cross over closer to you, and let God judge /between/ us. If you do not let me pass, then I will let you cross over to this side, and God will judge us here."

Vsevolod captured the emissaries, and sent to the city of Vladimir, but did not answer Svjatoslav.

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Svjatoslav waited many days, watching for the thaw, and (then) left hastily. Vsevolod sent into his camps and captured many (of them), but did not order /Svjatoslav/ himself to be pursued. Svjatoslav then left the land of Suzdal' and burned the city of Dmitrov.

When he had left the land of Suzdal', he sent his brother Vsevolod and his son Oleg and Jaropolk into (Kievan) Rus', and he himself and his son Vladimir went to Great Novgorod. Jaroslav conferred with Igor' and they set out to Druck, taking Polovci with them, and left Igor''s brother Vsevolod and Oleg Svjatoslavič in Černigov.

And the Polock princes came on the Sretenie holiday[107] to help Svjatoslav: Brjačislav Vasil'kovič from Vitebsk, his brother Vseslav with people from Polock; with them were both Livonians and Lithuanians; Vseslav Mikulič from Logožsk, Andrej Volod'šič and his nephew Izjaslav and Vasil'ko Brjačislavič. Having joined forces, they all went past Druck to meet Svjatoslav.

And David, prince of Smolensk, went into Druck with all his troops, having joined with Gleb Rogvolodič. And David wanted Jaroslav and Igor' to give him their troops to help Svjatoslav. But Jaroslav and Igor' did not dare

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[107]February 2, Purification, Candlemas (Lunt); meeting of Christ--Hebrews 7:7-17, Luke 2: 22-40 (Orthodox calendar).

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to give troops to David without Svjatoslav /there/, so they went into fortified places and stayed across from one another, on either side of Druck, for a week. But from David's troops archers came and fought with them heavily.

Then Svjatoslav came with troops from Novgorod, and his brothers were pleased /to see/ him. And they went around Druck, wanting to go to David. But David had broken camp at night and fled to Smolensk.

Svjatoslav approached Druck and burned the outer wall, and from there he released the Novgorodian troops, and he himself went to Rogačev. From Rogačev he went along the Dnepr River to Kiev. Igor' took the Polovci Kobjak and Končak with him and awaited Svjatoslav across from Vyšgorod. Hearing that, Rjurik went to Novgorod.

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CHAPTER XII

THE REIGNS OF SVJATOSLAV VSEVOLODIČ AND RJURIK ROSTISLAVIČ: THE YEARS 1180-1186

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF SVJATOSLAV IN KIEV. Svjatoslav entered Kiev with his two brothers. The Polovci asked for Igor' from Svjatoslav to go[1] with them to the land of the Livonians. Svjatoslav let him go. Hearing that Svjatoslav had brought the Polovci to help him, and that they waited with Igor' along the Livonian border,[2] Rjurik sent Mstislav Vladimirič with the Černye Klobuki and his military commander Lazar' with the younger /retinue/, Boris Zaxar'ič with Zdeslav Žiroslavič and Mstislav's troops from Trepol', and Boris Zaxar'ič with the troops of his prince's son Vladimir. And trusting in God, they went after them.

There were many Polovci, and they waited without fear, putting their hope in their strength (the size of their force). And there were guards. Mstislav came to them, and the Černye Klobuki were guarding them, and they told Mstislav and his brothers and the Russian commanders (about the enemy).

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[1] at' ljažet'

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The Černye Klobuki, hearing /that/ from their brothers, charged at them (the Polovci), and released horses in the direction of their camps. The Russian commanders had not ordered them to do that, nor could they restrain them, since it was still night. They attacked (the Polovci) and missed their camps. Their flank was separated a little from their retinue and rushed (back) into the camps. The Polovci, seeing them (the horses) driven by the Černye Klobuki, captured several of them. But the good ones were not there, although a few of them had been driven into their camps.

And the Černye Klobuki took to flight, and fleeing, they alarmed the troops of Rus'. And they fled into Mstislav's troops. Mstislav thought that they had been defeated, and so Mstislav's retinue became frightened. And Mstislav could not restrain them--either the Černye Klobuki or his own people--and he himself fled with them.

The best men were left behind with the Černye Klobuki: Lazar' the commander with Rjurik's troops, Boris Zaxar'ič with the troops of his prince's son Vladimir, and Zdeslav Žiroslavič with Mstislav's troops. And trusting in God, they went to meet the Polovci.

The Polovci, seeing this, charged at them and clashed with them. Rus' defeated them; the Polovci were fleeing before the Russian army, and many drowned in the Čartoryj

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River. And others were captured, and still others were cut down.

Igor' saw the Polovci had been defeated and so he leapt with Končak into a boat and fled toward Gorodec to Černigov. And at that time they killed the Polovci prince Kozl Sotanovič and Končak's brother Eltut, and they captured two of Končak's sons, Totur and Bjakov, and Konjačuk the Rich and Čjugaja. And they liberated their own people who had been captured by the pagans. And thus God helped Rus', and they returned to their own lands. And having received victory over the pagans from God, they came to Rjurik with victory.

But Rjurik, although he received victory, did not have any pride in it, for he loved peace more than war and wanted to live in brotherly love. Moreover, with regard to the Christians who were imprisoned all the time by the pagans, he did not want to see their blood shed. And having considered with his men and decided--for Svjatoslav was old in years--he made peace with him, and ceded to him the seniority and Kiev. And taking for himself all the remainder of (Kievan) Rus', he took an oath on the true cross. And so they two lived in love and were united by a marriage.[2]

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[2]See Solov'ev, p. 562; Svjatoslav's son Gleb married a daughter of Rjurik.

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Rjurik took pity on Mstislav Vladimirič, saying to him:

> "You first gave over Trepol' to the Ol'goviči; if you want it now [it is yours]. You defeated the Ol'goviči and the Polovci, which was good; but God and the cross helped my boyars, although you wanted to put an end to them."

And he took pity on him very much.

That same autumn the people of Novgorod drove Vladimir Svjatoslavič out of Novgorod.

Vsevolod of Suzdal' released Gleb Svjatoslavič from irons, having accepted Svjatoslav with great love. And they were united by a marriage;[3] he gave his sister-in-law to marry his (Svjatoslav's) younger son (Mstislav).

In the year 1181, the pious princess Ol'ga, Vsevolod the Great's sister, whose name as a nun was Evfrosinija,[4] died in the month of July on the fourth day and was laid in the Golden-Roofed Church of the Holy Mother of God (in Vladimir).

In the year 1182, the prince of Kiev, Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, wed two sons: for Gleb he took Rjurik's daughter, and for Mstislav--Jasynja, Vsevolod's sister-in-law, from the Suzdalian city of Vladimir. There was a great

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[3] svatasja s nim'

[4] narečenaja Černeč'sky Ofrosen'ja

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wedding.

That same year Vsevolod Jur'evič, prince of Suzdal', began war with the Bolgars and sent to Svjatoslav asking for help. And he sent his son Vladimir to him, saying to him: "May God grant us, my brother and son, to make war on the pagans during our lives."[5]

They were going along the Volga River against the Bolgars, and they came to the place where there is an island called Isadi, at the mouth of the river Cevce, and they disembarked on the bank, and there they left all the boats and galleys. And he (Vsevolod) left the troops from Belozersk with them and the commander Foma Nazakovič and another one, Dorožaj--for he was his father's servant. And the princes left other commanders, each one /left one/ with their own people, and they themselves went on horses to the land of the Bolgars, to the great City of Silver of the Bolgars.[6]

The Bolgars, seeing the multitude of Russian armies, could not hold their ground, and they closed themselves up in the city. The younger princes wanted to go up to the gates to fight, and there Izjaslav Glebovič, Vsevolod's

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[5]vo dni našem'

[6]Ser'brennyx" Bolgar"; see columns 625-626.

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nephew, was shot. And they brought him, barely alive, to the camps. And Vsevolod was greatly saddened, and all the princes and the retinue were dejected.

The people of the nearby Bolgar cities--the Sobekulanje and the Čelmata--joined with other Bolgars, called Temtjuzi; and having gathered five thousand of them, they went in boats, /while others went/ from Torčesk on horses. And they came to the Russian boats and went onto that island against the Russians.

The Russians prepared their troops and, fortified with God's help, went against them. And they clashed with them. They (the Bolgars), seeing /the situation/, fled, and our /troops/ pursued, cutting down the pagan Moslems.[7] And they fled to the Volga and jumped into boats. And there, suddenly, the boats overturned.[8] And more than a thousand of them drowned.

And God helped the Russians, and they defeated them--they killed fifteen hundred of them and the others went to the boats, not knowing what had happened, that the men at the boats[9] had defeated the Bolgar troops ahead of them. And they (the Russians) praised God for what had happened.

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[7]poganyja Boxmity

[8]isprovergoša učan"

[9]lod'nici

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On that same island, Isadi, Prince Izjaslav Glebovič died from that arrow wound. And having prepared his body, they laid it in a boat and carried it with them, and they buried him in Vladimir in the Golden-Roofed Church of the Holy Mother of God.

In that same year, the blessed archimandrite, abbot of the Pečersk monastery, by the name of Polikarp, died in the month of July on the twenty-fourth day, the holy day of the martyrs Boris and Gleb. And having prepared his body, they buried him with burial chants[10] as he himself had directed.

After his death there was great disorder in the monastery: they could not select an elder[11] to be their abbot. And there was sadness and depression and grief among the brothers, for it is not fitting for such a strong house to be without a shepherd for even a single hour.

So on Tuesday the brothers struck a wooden board[12] and met in the church; and they began to pray to the Holy Mother of God. And this marvellous thing occurred: as if with one mouth many said: "Let us send to Vasil' the priest in the Ščekovica district, that he might be our

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[10] konečnymi pesmi

[11] starec

[12] bilo; a wooden replacement for a bell.

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abbot and the director of the flock of monks of Theodosius' Monastery of the Caves."

And having come, they bowed to Vasil' the priest and said: "We, the entire brotherhood of monks, bow to you. And we want to have you as a father, an abbot." Vasil' the priest, greatly astounded, payed homage to them in return and said: "Fathers and brothers, I have wanted to become a monk[13] in my heart. As concerns the rank of abbot, what makes you think of me in my nothingness?" And he refused and rejected them many times, but they took him and led him to the monastery on Friday.

When it was Sunday, the metropolitan Nikifor, Lavrentij, bishop of Turov, Nikolaj, bishop of Polock, and all the abbots came for his tonsure. And Nikifor tonsured him with his own hand. And he became abbot and shepherd to the monks of the St. Theodosius monastery.

In the year 1183, in the month of February on the twenty-third, on the first Sunday of the (Great) Fast,[14] the sons of Ishmael, the godless Polovci, came into Rus' to the city of Dmitrov to make war, with the accursed Končak and Gleb Tir'evič. And by God's intercession

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[13] az" černestvo...imel" esm'

[14] v" a ju nedelju posta

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there was no trouble from them.

Prince Svjatoslav Vsevolodič conferred with the one who had arranged his marriage,[15] Rjurik, and they went against the Polovci and halted at Ol'žiči, awaiting Jaroslav from Černigov. And Jaroslav met them and said to them: "Do not go now, brothers, but set a time, which God will give us. Let us go in the summer." Svjatoslav and Rjurik heeded him and returned.

Svjatoslav sent his sons with his troops along the steppe to Igor', ordering him to go in his place. And Rjurik sent Vladimir Glebovič with his troops. Vladimir Glebovič sent to Igor', asking him to go ahead with his troops, for the princes of Rus' had long since gone ahead into the Russian land. Igor' did not do that for him.[16] Vladimir became angry and returned. And from there he went against the cities in the Seversk area. And he took much booty from them.

Igor' returned the Kievan troops and appointed Oleg's nephew Svjatoslav to lead them, to bring back the army without casualties;[17] and he went himself, taking with him his brother Vsevolod and Vsevolod Svjatoslavič and Andrej

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[15] svat

[16] ne da emu togo

[17] aby kako dovesti polk" cel"

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with Roman, and some of the Černye Klobuki with Kuldjur and Konduvdej. And they came to the river Xyrij, and that night it was warm and there was a heavy rain. And the water rose and there was nowhere they could cross. And the Polovci who succeeded in crossing with the supplies[18] were saved, and those who did not succeed were captured. They said: "Thus in that war many tents and horses and cattle were lost[19] in the Xyrij River, while we were fleeing before Rus'."

In that same time the abbot of Polock, by the name of Dionisij, died--but we will talk about this. Leon, bishop of Rostov, died and Nikolaj the Greek was appointed bishop. Vsevolod Jur'evič, prince of Suzdal', did not accept him, but sent to Kiev to Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and to the metropolitan Nikifor, saying: "The people of our land did not select this one, but you have appointed him. And so you did what you wanted.[20] But appoint to me Luka, humble in spirit and meek, who is abbot of the Church of the Holy Savior in Brest." Metropolitan Nikifor did not want to appoint him, but was forced by Vsevolod and Svjatoslav: he appointed Luka bishop in the land of Suzdal', and he

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[18] vežami

[19] potopli

[20] ino kamo tobe godno tamo že ideži (ideše)

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sent /Nikolaj the Greek/ to be bishop of Polock.

In that same year there was a great fire in the city of Vladimir in the month of April on the thirteenth day, on Wednesday. Almost all of the city burned. And the prince's great estate burned, and thirty-two churches, and the Golden-Roofed Cathedral Church of the Holy Mother of God, and all five of its cupolas, with which it had been decorated by the pious Prince Andrej. And so it burned, from the dome to the bottom, and whatever was in it: precious tapestries and a silver candelabra, and countless golden and silver dishes, and a tapestry[21] embroidered with gold and pearls which was hung on holy days on two poles[22] from the Golden Gates leading to the Church of the Holy Mother of God, and from the Holy Mother of God to the bishop's balcony: on two wonderful poles.

That same year God put /the idea/ into the heart of Svjatoslav, prince of Kiev, and the Grand Prince Rjurik Rostislavič to go against the Polovci. And they two sent to the neighboring princes; and Mstislav and Gleb Svjatoslavič and Vladimir Glebovič from Perejaslavl', Vsevolod Jaroslavič from Luck with his brother Mstislav, Mstislav

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[21] port"

[22] vervi

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Romanovič, Izjaslav Davidovič, and Mstislav from Goroden, Jaroslav prince of Pinsk with his brother Gleb and help from Galič, from Jaroslav, (all) came to them (Rjurik and Svjatoslav). And their brothers would not go, saying: "We cannot go down the River Dnepr; we cannot leave our lands empty (without protection). But you go to Perejaslavl', then we will join you at the Sula River."

Svjatoslav, angry[23] at his brothers, went hurrying along his own route, abandoning that plan of God. And his eldest sons did not reach him from the Černigov side [of the river], and he went along the Dnepr and halted where it is called the Inžirov Ford. And there he forded across to the enemies' side of the Dnepr. And they searched for them five days.

There he sent the younger princes ahead of his troops. He sent Vladimir of Perejaslavl', and Gleb, and Mstislav his son, and Mstislav Romanovič, and Gleb Jur'evič the prince of Dubrovica, and Mstislav Vladimirič--and there were fifteen hundred [24] Berendej with them.

The Polovci, seeing Vladimir's army coming at them in force,[25] fled, driven by the anger of God and the Holy

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[23] ne ljubaja

[24] See column 631 and footnote 21 on the same page.

[25] krepko

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Mother of God. They (the Russians) pursued them and did not catch up with them, and then they returned to Rus'. And they halted at the river called Erel, which Rus' calls Ugol.

And Kobjak, the prince of the Polovci, thinking only of returning to Rus', followed their trail. As they were going after them they saw the troops of Rus' and began to shoot around[26] the river. And they began to charge one another, and they did that for a long time.

Svjatoslav and Rjurik, hearing, sent more troops to them in assistance, and they themselves set out after them, hurrying. When the Polovci saw the reinforcements, they thought that Svjatoslav and Rjurik were there, and they suddenly took to flight. The troops of Rus', receiving the help of God, charged[27] into them and began to cut them down and capture them.

And so God was merciful to the Christians. On that same day God exalted the princes Svjatoslav and Rjurik for their faith; and there they captured: Kobjak Karlyevič and two of his sons, Izaja Biljukovič, Tovlyj and his son and his brother Bokmīša, Isaluk, Barak, Tarx, Danilo, and

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[26] o

[27] v"vertešaja

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Souvak Kulobičkij. They also captured Korjaz Kalotanovič. They killed there Tarsuk and countless others.

God accomplished this victory in the month of July on the thirtieth, on Monday, the day to the memory of St. John the Warrior. The Grand Prince Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Rjurik Rostislavič, having received victory over the pagans from God, returned to their own lands with glory and great honor.

That same year Igor' Svjatoslavič, hearing that Svjatoslav had gone against the Polovci, called to him his brother Vsevolod and his nephew Svjatoslav and his (the latter's) son Vladimir. And he was saying to his brothers and to all his retinue: "The Polovci turned back when they encountered the princes of Rus'. And let us try, without them, to attack their camps; let it be as it was across the Merl' River." And he encountered the Polovci, for Obovly Kostukovič had come with four hundred men[28] to Rus' to make war. And there they suddenly released horses toward them; the Polovci took to flight by the will of God. And the Russians pursued them and conquered them there. And they returned to their own lands.

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[28] v četyrex" stex"

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In that same time Vladimir Jaroslavič of Galič, Igor''s brother-in-law, was with Igor', since he had been driven out of Galič by his father. That same Vladimir had previously gone to the city of Vladimir to Roman. Roman, obeying his father, did not let him stay and rest with him. From there he went to Ingvar' in Dorogobuž, who also obeyed his father and did not take him in. And from there he went to Svjatopolk in Turov, and he sent him away in just the same way; /he went/ to David in Smolensk. David sent him away to Suzdal' to Vsevolod his uncle (mother's brother). Vladimir of Galič did not find rest for himself there either, and he went to Putivl' to his in-law Igor' Svjatoslavič, who received him with love and honored him greatly; and he kept him with him for two years, and on the third year he sent him with love to his father (Jaroslav of Galič), and he sent his son Svjatoslav, Rjurik's in-law, with him.

That same year all of Goroden burned, including all the stone churches, from a flash of lightning and a clap of thunder in a thunderstorm.

In that same year the church of St. Basil that stands in Kiev at the great estate was dedicated with a great ceremony[29] in the month of January on the first day. It

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[29] svščniem'

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was dedicated by the blessed metropolitan Nikifor, the bishop of Jur'ev, and Vasilij, the abbot of the Pečersk Monastery.

It had been built by Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, and he invited to the feast all the clergy--the holy metropolitan Nikifor, other bishops, abbots, and all of the holy orders, and the people of Kiev. And there was celebration, and he sent them away and they went to their own houses.

In the year 1184, the accursed and godless and thrice-cursed Končak came into Rus' with a multitude of Polovci, trying to conquer[30] the cities of Rus' and to burn [them] with fire. For he had found a Moslem man who shot with live fire. They had with them crossbows so tight[31] that fifty men could hardly draw them.

But the all-merciful Lord God, who opposes the proud, extinguishes their flames. Having arrived, he (Končak) halted at the Xorol' River, for he had sent deceitfully to Jaroslav Vsevolodič, asking for peace. Jaroslav did not know of their deceit and sent his man Ol'stin Oleksič to them. Svjatoslav Vsevolodič sent to Jaroslav, saying: "Brother, do not have faith in them and do not send your man. I will go against them."

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[30]poxupsja jako pleniti xotja

[31]luci tuzi samostrelni

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Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Rjurik Rostislavič--with all their troops--did not delay and set out against them (the Polovci). Rjurik and Svjatoslav sent ahead Vladimir Glebovič and Mstislav Romanovič; they let them go for plunder.[32] And Rjurik and Svjatoslav themselves followed them.

As they were going, they met merchants coming in the opposite direction from the Polovci. And they told them that the Polovci were halted at the Xorol' River. Svjatoslav and Rjurik, hearing that, were pleased, and went to them. Vladimir and Mstislav, having heard, went to the place that the merchants had shown them. They came to that place where they were and did not see anyone, because they (the Polovci) had gone to another place along the Xorol' River.

The looters[33] crossed the Xorol' and went up onto a hill, looking, and they saw them. Končak was at a pasture which, going along the hills, they passed by. Seeing other groups of people, they attacked them. Končak saw that[34] they had crossed the road and captured his concu-

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[32] otrjadista Volodimera Glebovič v"rjadiša v navorop" i M'stislava Romanoviča

[33] navoropnici

[34] zane

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bine[35] and that Moslem who had that live fire. And they brought him to Svjatoslav with the weapon. And they defeated[36] the rest of them; others they captured, also horses and arms, and they took a great many prisoners.

In the year 1185, the Lord, accomplishing His salvation,[37] gave victory to the two princes of Rus', Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and the Grand Prince Rjurik Rostislavič, in the month of March on the first day. Having conferred about Končak fleeing, they sent seven hundred of Kun"tugdyj's men after him. He (Kun"tugdyj) did not find the leader (Končak) himself, for he had slipped away on foot across the Xorol' River. Svjatoslav and the Grand Prince Rjurik received victory through the prayers of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb, and they each went to their own lands, praising God in the Trinity--Father, Son, and Holy Spriit.

Prince Jaroslav of Černigov had not gone with his brother Svjatoslav, for he had said this: "I have sent to them my man Ol'stin Oleksič, and I cannot go against my own man." In this manner he refused (to help) his brother Svjatoslav.

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[35] m'nsicju

[36] voja

[37] S"deja Gs' spsnie

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Igor' said to Svjatoslav's man: "God forbid that going against the pagans be refused; the pagans are enemies of us all." Then Igor' conferred with his retinue about where to meet Svjatoslav's troops. His retinue said: "Prince, you cannot fly across like a bird. A man (messenger) came to you from Svjatoslav on Thursday, and he himself will leave Kiev on Sunday. Then how, prince, will you be able to reach him?"

Igor' was not pleased that his retinue spoke to him thus, for he wanted to go across the steppe along the Sula River. And there was a great sleet,[38] such that the warriors could not see to cross[39] (the river) in the daytime until evening. Them he (Igor') could not find a place anywhere to cross to go after Svjatoslav.

That same spring Prince Svjatoslav sent Roman Nezdilovič with Berendej against the pagan Polovci. With the help of God they captured the Polovci camps and took many prisoners and horses, in the month of April on the twenty-first, on the Greatest Day (Easter). Then Prince Svjatoslav went into the land of the Vjatiči, to Koračev, to take care of his own matters.[40]

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[38] seren"

[39] ne možaxut' zreima

[40] orudei delja svoix"

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In that same time Igor' Svjatoslavič, grandson of Oleg, left Novgorod in the month of April on the twenty-third day, on Tuesday, taking with him his brother Vsevolod from Trubčevsk and his nephew Svjatoslav Ol'govič from the city of Ryl'sk, and his son Vladimir from the city of Putivl'. And he asked for and got help from Jaroslav: Ol'stin Oleksič, Proxor's grandson, with Koui from Černigov. And so they went quietly, gathering their retinues, for they had with them very heavy horses.

They reached the Donec River towards evening.[41] Igor' looked up into the sky and saw the sun looking[42] like a moon, and he said to his boyars and his retinue: "Do you see? What is this sign?" They looked up and all saw, and lowered their heads. And the men said: "Prince, this sign is not good." Igor' said: "Brothers and retinue, no one knows the mysteries of God, and God is the creator of the sign and all His world. But what God is doing to us, good or bad, we will see." And saying that, he forded the Donec.

And then he came to the city of Oskol and waited two days for his brother Vsevolod, who had come by another

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[41] v god" večernii

[42] stojašče

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route from Kursk. And from there they went to the Sal'nica River. There guards, whom they had sent to capture a prisoner for interrogation,[43] came to them and said: "We went and saw the enemies riding, prepared for battle.[44] So either go quickly or return to our homes, for it is not our time." Igor' and his relatives said: "If we return without being victorious, then our shame will be worse than death; but let it be as God wills for us."

And having thus conferred, they travelled throughout the night; the next day on Friday at noon they met the Polovci troops. For they (the Polovci) had put their camps near them, and they sent to them (the camps); they themselves gathered, from small to great, and were standing on the other side of the Sjujurlij River.

And they (the Russians) deployed into six regiments: Igor''s troops in the middle, his brother Vsevolod's on the right, his nephew Svjatoslav's on the left, and in front of him were his son Vladimir's and Jaroslav's regiments, which were with Ol'stin and the Koui, and a third regiment in front [consisting] of archers who had been taken from all the princes. And thus they deployed their troops.

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[43] jazyka lovit'

[44] vidixomsja s ratnymy (ratnici) vaši soz dospexom" ezdjat'

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And Igor' said to his relatives: "Brothers, we have sought this, so let us march."[45] And then they went against them, placing their hope in God. And when they were at the River Sjujurlij, archers came out from the Polovci army and shot at the Russians, and then fled. The Russians had not yet crossed the Sjujurlij River when the other Polovci, who were farther across the river, also took to flight. Svjatoslav Ol'govič and Vladimir Igor'evič and Ol'stin with the Koui archers pursued them, but Igor' and Vsevolod, with only a few men,[46] did not send their troops. The foremost of the Russians defeated them (the Polovci).

The Polovci fled through their camps, and the Russians reached the camps and captured many prisoners. The others came at night to the troops with prisoners. And so all of the Polovci [whom they had captured] were gathered. And Igor' said to his two brothers and to his men:

> "Lo, God by His power gave us victory over our enemies, and [gave] us honor and glory. We have seen the Polovci army, of which there were many. And were all of them there? Now let us ride throughout the night, and let the rest follow us tomorrow; then they all will go. But the best horsemen will go on,[47] and let it be with us as God wills."

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[45] potjagnem'

[46] po malu idjasta

[47] pereberut's

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And Svjatoslav Ol'govič said to his two uncles: "I have pursued the Polovci a long distance, and my horses cannot go if I have to go today, but I will have to leave them in the road." And Vsevolod agreed with[48] him that they should sleep there. And Igor' said: "Yes, is it not strange?"--understanding his brothers would die.[49] And they spent the night there.

When Saturday was dawning, the Polovci troops began to appear, like wild boars. The Russian princes were confused as to who of them should go after whom (of the Polovci), for there was a countless multitude of them. And Igor' said: "I see they have brought against us the entire earth:[50] Končak, Koza Burnovič, Toksobič, Kolobič, Etebič, and Ter'trobič." And then, having conferred, they all dismounted from their horses, for they wanted to fight their way to the Donec River. For they were saying:

> "If we flee, we ourselves will escape, but we will abandon the common[51] people; then we will have sinned before God in surrendering these people. But whether we die or live, let us be together in one place."

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[48] pomože

[49] da ne divno est' razoumejušči brat'ja umreti

[50] se vedajuče sobraxom" na sja zemlju vsju

[51] černyja

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And saying that, they all dismounted from their horses and set out, fighting.

And then by the will of God, they (the Polovci) wounded Igor' in the arm and he lost the use of[52] his left arm. And there was great sadness among his troops. And they captured the commander in front, who had been wounded. And so they fought heavily that day until evening, and many were wounded and killed among the Russian army.

When Saturday night had come, they set out /again/, fighting. When Sunday had dawned, the Koui detachment became alarmed and took to flight.

Igor' at that time was on his horse, since he was wounded, and he went to their (the Koui) regiment, wanting to return them to the other troops. Realizing how far he had gone from his people, he took off his helmet and hurried[53] back to the army. Because of that,--had they recognized the prince, they would have returned,--no one returned except Mixalko Jur'evič: recognizing the prince, he returned. For the good men had not panicked with the Koui, except for a few of the commoners and some of the boyars' young men. For all the good ones were fighting

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[52] umrtviša

[53] pog"naše

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on foot, and Vsevolod was in the middle of them, showing not a little bravery.

And as Igor' came near to his troops, they came across [to him].[54] And there they captured a lone archer[55] cut off from his army.[56] Igor', seeing his brother Vsevolod struggling mightily, asked for death for himself,[57] so that he would not see his brother's fall. Vsevolod was fighting this much, although no weapons had reached his hand. And they were fighting, going in a circle by the lake.

And then on the day of the holy resurrection, God brought down His anger upon us. In place of happiness He brought down upon us weeping, and in place of celebration, sadness, at the Kajal River. Igor' said:[58]

> "I remember my sins before my Lord God, how I have brought about much bloodshed and death in the land of Christians; how I have not spared Christians, but I stormed Gleb's city of Perejaslavl'. For then guiltless Christians underwent not a little evil, who from their birth were separated from their fathers, and brother from brother, and friend from friend, and women

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[54] poperek"

[55] edin" perestrel"

[56] odale ot polku svoego deržim

[57] prosi dši svoei smrti

[58] reč bo dei Igor'

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from their women friends, and daughters from their mothers, and females from their female friends, and everything was made miserable by captivity.[59] And there was grief then--the living envied the dead, and the dead rejoiced that, like the holy martyrs, they had left this life through trial by fire. Old warriors rushed into the battle,[60] while wild youths endured merciless wounds, men were cut across and through, women were defiled."

"And I did all that," said Igor'.

"I am not worthy to live. And lo, now I see the vengeance from my Lord God. Where is my beloved brother? Where now is my brother's son? Where is the child I gave birth to? Where are the boyars I conferred with? Where are my brave men? Where are the warriors of my army? Where are the horses and expensive armaments? Have I not lost all of that?[61] And I have been given over in chains into these lawless hands. The Lord brought this down upon me for my lawlessness and for my evil. And today my sins have come down upon my head. The Lord is right, and His judgements are very just. Thus, I will not be with my living friends.[62] Lo, today I see others receiving the wreath of martyrdom, for which I alone am guilty, and for all this I will not receive the death of martyrs.[63] But, my Lord God, do not reject me completely. But as is Your will, Lord, /I believe You will be/ merciful to us, Your servants."

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[59] vse smjateno plenom"

[60] starcy porevaxut'sja

[61] ne otto vsego togo obnažixsja

[62] az" že ubo ne imam" so živymi časti

[63] strsti

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And then he was finished, and the troops were scattered and everyone went to his own camp. Igor' had been captured by one of Tarogol's men, Čilbuk, and Roman Kzič' captured his brother Vsevolod, and Eldečjuk" Voburcevič /captured/ Svjatoslav Ol'govič, and Kopti Ulaševič /captured/ Vladimir. Then, in camp, Končak vowed to become Igor''s keeper[64] since he (Igor') was wounded.

Out of so many people only a few were saved by some chance,[65] for there had been no way to flee, since they were surrounded as if by strong walls by the Polovci troops. But our Russians escaped with fifteen men and fewer Koui, and the rest drowned in the sea.

In that same year the Grand Prince Svjatoslav Vsevolodič had gone into Koračev and gathered warriors from the upper lands, wanting to go against the Polovci to the Don River for the whole summer. When Svjatoslav returned and was at Novgorod Seversk, he heard from his brothers that they had gone against the Polovci, keeping it secret from him. And he was not pleased. Svjatoslav went in boats, and then came to Černigov.

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[64] svat

[65] nekakim" polučenijem'

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And in that year Belovolod Prosovič fled there to Svjatoslav and told him what had occurred about the Polovci. Svjatoslav, hearing that, sighed heavily[66] and wiped away his tears and said:

> "Oh, my dear brothers and sons and men of the Russian land! God would have granted me to defeat the pagans, but you did not restrain /the impulsiveness of/ your youth and you opened the gates into the Russian land /to them/. Let the will of the Lord be /realized/ in everything. As unhappy as I was at Igor', so now I am more unhappy for Igor', my brother."

Thereafter Svjatoslav sent his son Oleg and Vladimir into the region of the River Sejm. For, hearing that, the cities of the Sejm region had fallen into great confusion, and there was sorrow and wild grief, such as there had never been, in all of the Sejm region and Novgorod Seversk and throughout all the territory of Černigov, because the princes had been captured and the troops had been captured or killed. And they were running about in despair;[67] the cities were rising in revolt; no one then was loving to their neighbors, but many then were renouncing their souls, mourning for their princes.

Then Svjatoslav sent to David in Smolensk, saying:

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[66] vel'mi

[67] mjatjaxut'sja aky v mutvi

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"We have agreed to go against the Polovci and to spend the summer on the Don River; now the Polovci have defeated Igor' and his brother and his son. So go, brother, defend the Russian land." David then went along the Dnepr; other assistance came, and they halted at Trepol'. And Jaroslav was in Černigov gathering his forces.

The pagan Polovci, having defeated Igor' and his brothers, became very proud and gathered all their tribe against the Russian land. And there was disagreement among them, for Končak was saying: "Let us go along the Kiev side (of the river) where our brothers and our great prince Bonjak were defeated." And Kza was saying: "Let us go along the Sejm River, where we left our wives and children. Prisoners are there to be gathered by us.[68] We will capture cities without danger [to ourselves]."

And so they divided into two [groups]. Končak went to Perejaslavl' and surrounded the city, and they fought there all day. Vladimir Glebovič was the prince in Perejaslavl'; he was brave and strong. He went out into battle from the city and charged at them. And after him came a small brave retinue, and they fought strongly with them. And many Polovci surrounded [them]; then the

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[68] gotov" nam" polon" sobran"

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rest /of the warriors of Perejaslavl'/, seeing their prince fighting strongly, rushed out of the city. Then they took away their prince, who had been wounded by three spears. This good Vladimir, exhausted by wounds,[69] went into his city and wiped away this courageous sweat /that he had sweated/ for his homeland.

Vladimir then sent to Svjatoslav and Rjurik and David, and he said to them: "The Polovci are upon me; help me." Svjatoslav sent to David; David was camped at Trepol' with the warriors of Smolensk. And the troops from Smolensk began to hold a veche, saying: "We have gone as far as Kiev. If there were to be a battle /here/, we would fight. But if you seek another battle for us, we cannot fight--we are already worn out."

Svjatoslav and Rjurik, with other reinforcements,[70] went along the Dnepr against the Polovci, while David returned with the warriors of Smolensk. The Polovci, hearing that, retreated from Perejaslavl'; while they were retreating they came to the city of Rimov.

The people of Rimov closed themselves up in the city and went up on the walls[71] /to fight/. But then, by the

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[69] jazven" truden"

[70] pomoč'mi

[71] zaborole

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will of God, two of the fortification walls[72] fell with the people toward[73] the enemies. And terror came over the rest of the citizens. Those of the citizens who left the city and were fighting while going along Rimskoe Swamp escaped capture, but those who remained in the city were all captured.

Vladimir had sent to Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Rjurik Rostislavič, urging them to come to him and help him. But they were late, because they were awaiting David's troops from Smolensk. And so the Russian princes were late and were not able to come up behind[74] them (the enemy). The Polovci, having captured the city of Rimov, took many prisoners[75] and went to their own land.

The /Russian/ princes returned to their homes; they were sad about their son Vladimir Glebovič, because he was badly wounded with mortal wounds, and /about/ the Christian /Russians/ who had been taken captive by the pagans. And God, punishing us for our sins, brought the pagans down upon us, not because he was feeling for[76] them,

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[72] gorodnicy

[73] tako k

[74] zaexaša

[75] opolonišasja polona

[76] miluja

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but punishing us and turning us toward repentance so that we might be restrained from our evil ways.[77] In this way He punishes us by the attack of the pagans that we might be humbled and remember /to leave off/ our evil path.

And the other Polovci under Khan Kza went along the other side /of the Dnepr River/ to Putivl' with a great force,[78] and they conquered the territory and burned their (the Russians') villages. They even burned the outer wall at Putivl'. And (then) they returned to their own land.

That year Igor' Svjatoslavič was among the Polovci, and he was saying:

> "Lord, it was by Your command, and not by pagan bravery, that I was given victory /over death/, according to my merit, and that You destroyed the force of your slaves.[79] Is it not pitiable for me to undergo, for my evil, all the difficulties which I have undergone?"

The Polovci, as if they were ashamed at his dignity,[80] did not oppress him, but appointed to him fifteen guards from among their sons and five noble's sons, so that there were twenty of them in all.

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[77] del"

[78] u silax" tjaž'kix"

[79] (?) az" po dostojan'ju moemu vosprijax" pobedu ot povelenija tvoego vldko Gsi a ne pogan'skaja derzost' oblomi silu rab" tvoix"

[80] voev"d"stva

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And they permitted him to do as he wished, to go wherever he wanted, and to go hunting with hawks and to take with him five or six of his servants. The guards heeded and honored him, and when he sent someone somewhere, that person did what was asked by him without argument. A priest had been brought to him from Russia for the holy services, for he (Igor') did not know God's plan, but behaved as if he would be there a long time.

But God delivered him due to Christian prayers, because many mourned and shed their tears for him because he was among the Polovci. There was a man there of the Polovci by the name of Lavor, and he had a good idea, and he said: "I will go with you into Russia." Igor' at first did not have faith in him, but considered the idea high-flown because of his (Lavor's) youth. But he (Igor') planned to capture the man and flee into Russia. For he said: "Because of honor I did not flee then (at the battle) from the retinue, and I will not now follow and inglorious route."[81]

With him were the son of a military commander and his groom, and they urged him and said: "Prince, if God wants to deliver you, go to the Russian land." And a

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[81]ne slavnym" putem' ne imam" poiti

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time did not come such as he sought (to flee). But as we said before, the Polovci would soon return[82] from Perejaslavl', and his advisors said to him:

> "You have a plan that is pretentious and not pleasing to God; you want to capture the man and flee with him. And you do not consider that the Polovci will come from the war. We hear that they /want/ to kill the princes and you and all Russians; then you will have neither glory nor life."

Prince Igor' took their advice to heart. They feared their (the Polovci's) arrival, and he began to seek an opportunity to flee.[83]

And he could not flee by day or by night, /because/ the guards were guarding him. But the only time he found was at sunset. And Igor' sent his groom to Lavor, saying to him: "Go across to the other side of the river with a spare horse." For he had agreed with Lavor to flee into Russia.

At that same time the Polovci had gotten drunk with koumiss,[84] and it was near evening. And the groom came and told his prince, Igor', that Lavor was waiting for him. He then arose, terrified and trembling, and bowed

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[82] vozvratišasja

[83] voziska bežati

[84] A beverage, fermented mare's milk.

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to the icon of God and the true cross, saying: "Lord, Thou who sees the thoughts and feelings of man,[85] save me, unworthy /though I am/, Lord." And he put on himself a cross and an icon, raised the tent-flap and went out. While his guards were playing and having fun--they thought that the prince was sleeping[86]--he went to the river and forded and mounted the horse. And then they two set out through the camp.

God brought about this deliverance on Friday in the evening. And he (Igor') travelled[87] eleven days until he reached the city of Donec, and from there he went to his city Novgorod (Seversk). And they rejoiced /to see/ him. From Novgorod he went to his brother Jaroslav in Černigov, requesting help /to go/ against the area around the Sejm River.[88] Jaroslav rejoiced /to see/ him and promised him help. Igor' went from there to Kiev to the Grand Prince Svjatoslav. And Svjatoslav rejoiced /to see/ him, as did Rjurik, his in-law.

In the year 1186, in the month of March, Svjatoslav Vsevolodič /was buried/ in the sacred church of the Holy Annunciation, which he himself had built.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGNS OF SVJATOSLAV VSEVOLODIČ AND RJURIK ROSTISLAVIČ: THE YEARS 1187-1191

In the year 1187, Prince Svjatoslav with his in-law Rjurik planned to go against the Polovci with a quick cavalry advance, for they had been told that the Polovci were near the Tatinec district at the ford of the Dnepr River. And they went in cavalry without supply-carts.

Vladimir Glebovič came to them from Perejslavl' with his retinue; he had gotten permission from Svjatoslav and Rjurik to go ahead with the Černye Klobuki. Svjatoslav did not like to let Vladimir go ahead with his sons, but Rjurik and all the others liked that, since he was a brave man, daring and strong in war, and always striving to /do/ good things.

The Černye Klobuki gave the news to their in-laws among the Polovci that the Russian princes were coming against them. The Polovci, hearing that the Russian princes were coming against them, fled across the Dnepr. The Russian princes could not pursue them; the Dnepr was already quickly melting,[1] for it was spring. And

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[1] spolonilsja

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they returned to their own lands.

On that journey Vladimir Glebovič fell ill with a grave illness, from which he (later) died. And they brought him on stretchers to his city, Perejaslavl', and there he died in the month of April on the eighteenth day. And he was buried in the church of St. Michael. And all the people of Perejaslavl' wept for him, for he loved his retinue, and did not collect gold, and was not sparing of possessions, but gave /them/ to his retinue. The prince was good, and strong in war, and showed great[2] courage, and was distinguished by all kinds of good qualities.[3] The frontier mourned[4] a great deal for him.

In that same year Boris, son of Vsevolod the Great, died and was buried in the cathedral church of the Holy Mother of God by Izjaslav Glebovič.

In that same year Končak and the Polovci started raiding Russia.[5] After this they began to campaign frequently in Russia in the Černigov territory. And that autumn there was a very terrible freeze, such as there had never been in our memory.

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[2]krepkom"

[3]vsjakimi dobrodetelmi napolnen"

[4]Ukraina (for ukraina)...postona

[5]voeva...po Rsi

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In that same winter Svjatoslav contacted[6] his in-law Rjurik, and both of them planned to go against the Polovci. Rjurik liked what Svjatoslav said, and he said to him: "You, brother, go to Černigov; meet your brothers, and I /will do that/ here with mine." And then all the Russian princes, having gathered, set out along the Dnepr, since it was impossible for them to go any other way, because there had been a great snow.

And they went up to the Snoporod River, and there they captured the Polovci guards, /who/ told them the Polovci camps and flocks were at the Blue Forest. Jaroslav did not want to go further. He told his brother Svjatoslav: "I cannot go any farther from the Dnepr; my land is far away and my retinue is exhausted."

Rjurik began to send to Svjatoslav, urging him and saying to him:

> "Brother and in-law, we have asked God for this; news has come to us that the Polovci are halted one-half day's march from here.[7] If someone reconsiders and does not want to go, then the two of us have not previously been concerned about that, but we have done what God has given us to do."

Svjatoslav was pleased and said to him: "Brother, I am ready, now and always. But send to brother Jaroslav and

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[6] soslav"sja

[7] a Polovci vose ležat' za pol"dne

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urge him, and we will all go."

Rjurik then sent to Jaroslav and said to him:

> "Brother, it is not good for you to separate from us. And we have news that is true, that the Polovci camps are one-half day away;[8] that is not a great journey. And, brother, I bow to you. Go a half-day's journey[9] for me, and I will go ten[10] days for you."

But Jaroslav did not want to go; he said: "I cannot go alone, and my troops are infantry. You should have told me at home that you were going that far." And there was a quarrel among them: Rjurik was urging them a great deal and could not convince[11] them; Svjatoslav wanted to go with Rjurik but would not leave his brother Jaroslav. And they returned to their own lands.

That same year the prince of Vyšgorod, Mstislav Davidovič, died in the month of May. He was buried in the church of St. Theodore in Kiev, in the monastery.

That same year there was a sign in the month of September on the fifteenth day: there was darkness over all the land, such that all men marvelled. For the sun

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[8] vose za pol"dne

[9] do poludn'ja

[10] See Solov'ev, p. 657.

[11] povesti

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disappeared[12] and the sky burned with fiery clouds.[13]

Such signs do not bode good,[14] for on that day of that month Jerusalem was captured by the godless Saracens. Those signs did not occur over all the earth, but on this very country. The Lord wanted to warn with that.[15] For then they were saying that the darkness in Galič was such that one could see stars in the middle of the day, and the sun became darkened on the Kiev side (of the river), so that no one could see in that hour.

We will speak about this: if in our days God gave over His holy city Jerusalem to those lawless sons of Hagar, then who can understand the mind of the Lord? Who can know the mysteries of His creation? For we find in the book of Judges how Eli the priest in those days was judging in Israel, and foreigners came up into Jerusalem and took the stone tablets of the testaments of the Lord. And having prepared, they (the people of Israel) went out to war against them.

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[12] pogibe

[13] oblaky ognezarnymi (ognezračnymi)

[14] ne na dobro byvajut'

[15] vldka čto xoščet' navesti

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God thus let loose His anger against Israel, and the people of Israel were defeated by the foreigners, and the holy commandments[16] of the Lord were captured, and not for /just/ a few years,[17] as the books of the church tell. God will return the stone testaments of the Lord to Jerusalem; before them the father of God, David, was filled with joy, jumping and playing. We are shamed, receiving humiliation from those lawless sons of Hagar, and we are hoping for God's mercy and His most-glorious visage.[18]

That same year Jaroslav (Osmomysl), Vladimir's son, prince of Galič, died in the month of October on the first day. And on the second day he was buried in the church of the Holy Mother of God. He was a wise prince and a good speaker,[19] God-fearing, honored throughout the land and gloried by his troops. For where he was offended, he did not go himself with his troops, leading them.[20] He had brought his land into order, and dispensed great

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[16] stnju zaveta

[17] i ni po kolicex" let"

[18] lika

[19] rečen" jazykom"

[20] vodami

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charities, caring for travellers[21] and feeding the poor, loving the monastic orders and giving honor by his power,[22] and living by the law of God. He himself became a monk and did /much/ good.[23]

And approaching his demise, he was terribly ill; he recognized that he was weak and called together his men and all the land of Galič. He called the clergy of all the cathedrals and monasteries and the poor and weak and strong. And he said this, weeping, to everyone: "Fathers and brothers and sons, lo, already I am leaving this vain world and going to my Creator, and I have sinned more than everyone, as no one else sins. And fathers and brothers, forgive and remit /my sins/." And then he wept for three days before all the clergy and all the people.

And he ordered his belongings to be dispensed to the monasteries and the poor, and so they gave /his belongings away/ throughout Galič for three days, and they could not dispense /it all/. And he said to his men: "Lo, I alone with my weakness am your leader, and I preserved all the land of Galič. And lo, I appoint my younger son Oleg to

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[21] stranyja ljubja

[22] čest' podavaja ot sily svoeja

[23] k crkv'nomu činu sam" prixodja i straja dobre

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my place, and to Vladimir I give Peremyšl'." And having arranged this,[24] he brought Vladimir and the men of Galič to the cross /to swear/ not to seek Galič from his brother. For Oleg was his heir,[25] and he was dear to him, and Vladimir did not obey him, and on that account he did not give him Galič.

After Jaroslav's death there was great trouble in the land of Galič. The men of Galič, having conferred with Vladimir, transgressed the kissing of the cross and drove Oleg out of Galič. And Oleg fled from there to the city of Ovruč to Rjurik, and Vladimir sat in Galič on the throne of his grandfather and his father.

That same autumn a son was born to Rjurik, and they named him in holy christening Dmitrij, and his worldly name was Vladimir.

That same year on the Great Day (Easter), Prince Rjurik sent Prince Gleb, his brother-in-law, with his wife /and/ many other boyars with /their/ wives to the great Vsevolod Jur'evič in Suzdal' for Verxuslava,[26] /who was to/ marry Rostislav. And on St. Boris' day (May 2) the Grand Prince Vsevolod gave away his daughter Verxuslava /in

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[24] urjadiv" ju

[25] (?) Nastasčič' (nastačič', nastačin')

[26] See Solov'ev, p. 713.

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marriage/; and he gave with her a great deal, countless gold and silver. And he gave his in-laws great gifts and great honor and sent them away. He followed his dear daughter as far as three days' march /from home/.[27] And the father and mother wept for her, because she was dear to them and young, being eight years old.

And then, having given many gifts, he sent /her/ to Rus', with great love, to marry Prince Rostislav. He sent with her his sister's son Jakov and his wife and other boyars and their wives. They brought her to Belgorod on Euphrosyne's day (May 17), and the next day, which was the day of St. John the Theologian (May 8),[28] she was wed at the wooden church of the Holy Apostles by the blessed bishop Maksim. Rjurik arranged[29] a very great wedding, such as there has never been in Rus', for Rostislav. And there were many princes at the wedding, about twenty. He (Rjurik) gave many gifts and the city of Bragin to his daughter-in-law. So the wedding was celebrated.[30] He sent boyars to Vsevolod in Suzdal' with great honor and

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[27] do trex" stanov"

[28] These dates are inconsistent with the text; perhaps Euphrosyne's day was actually May 7, Acacius' day.

[29] stvori

[30] takova že svata

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many gifts.[31]

In that same week Rjurik gave away his daughter Jaroslava to marry Svjatoslav Igor'evič in Novgorod Seversk. That time Vladimir came from [the land of] the Polovci with Končak's daughter, and Igor' held a wedding of his son [to her]. And he married him to this child.

In that same autumn a son was born to the Grand Prince Vsevolod in Suzdal' on St. Philip's feast, in the month of November on the twenty-seventh day, on the [day of the] dedication of the church of the martyr George. And his father Vsevolod ordered the bishop Luka to name him Jurij, his grandfather's name. And there was great happiness throughout the land of Suzdal'. And Vsevolod gave[32] a great feast. Then Jakov came from Rus' bringing Verxuslava and there was great happiness for the great prince and his princess and the boyars and all the people.

In that same winter Svjatoslav conferred with his in-law Rjurik and they two sent one of the Černye Klobuki and Roman Nezdilovič the military leader against the (enemy) camp across the Dnepr. And they captured the camp across the Dnepr and returned to their own land with glory and great honor, for the Polovci had gone to the Dunaj River

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[31] i s bojary otpusti ko Vsevolodu v Suždal' s velikoju čst'ju i dary mnogimi odariv"

[32] stvori

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and they were not in their camps.[33]

In the year 1188, Vladimir was ruling in the land of Galič, and he was very fond of drinking a great deal. And he did not like to confer with his men, and he took from a priest his wife and made her his wife.

And two sons were born to him. Roman Mstislavič of Vladimir arranged a wedding with him and gave his daughter in marriage to his (Vladimir's) eldest son. And Roman found out that the men of Galič were not living well with their prince because of his coercion, because whenever he liked a woman or someone's daughter he took her by force.

Roman, not fearing /the results/, sent[34] to the men of Galič, inciting them against their prince, so that they would drive him from their homeland and take him (Roman) to rule them. The men of Galič, taking Roman's advice and gathering their troops and taking an oath /of allegiance to Roman/ on the cross, rebelled against their prince. But they did not dare to capture or kill him, since they were not all in that plot and therefore feared Vladimir's friends.

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[33] doma v vežax" svoix"

[34] slašet' bez opasa

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And then, having conferred, they sent to their prince: "Prince, we did not rebel against you, but we do not want to pay homage to the priest's wife. We want to kill her. And if you want it done, we will do it for you."[35] And they said this knowing he would not surrender the priest's wife, so that they could /have a pretext to/ drive him away. And they threatened him in this way.

He was afraid, and took a great deal of gold and silver, his retinue, his wife and two sons and went to the land of the Hungarians to the king.[36] The people of Galič took Princess Feodora Romanovna away from /her father-in-law/ Vladimir, and they sent /her/ for Roman. Roman gave away completely the city of Vladimir to his brother Vsevolod and kissed the cross to him: "Vladimir is no more of any concern to me."

And Roman went into Galič and sat ruling in Galič. And Vladimir went to the king (of Hungary); the king accepted Vladimir and with all his troops went to Galič. And Roman, having heard that the king had already crossed the mountains, fled, being unable to make a stand against him. And taking all (Prince) Vladimir's riches,[37] he fled

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[35] ty gde xošče š' tu za tja poimem'

[36] korol' (here always translated as king; always refers to the king of Hungary)

[37] vs' dobytok" Volodimer'

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from Galič to the city of Vladimir with people of Galič. But there his brother Vsevolod closed himself off from him in the city of Vladimir, and /Roman/ went into the land of the Poles and sent his wife with the women of Galič to the cities Ovruč and Pinsk.

There was no help for Roman among the Poles and he went to his father Rjurik in Belgorod with those men who had brought him into Galič. The king then went into Galič and did not appoint Vladimir to rule there, but gave all the power to govern[38] to the people of Galič. And he appointed his son Andrej to supervise[39] there, taking Prince Vladimir with him back into the Hungarian land and appropriating Vladimir's wealth by force. He put him (Vladimir) and his wife in prison. The king had committed a great sin; he had kissed the cross to Vladimir. But God delivered him from such obligation.

Roman asked for and got /help/ against Galič from his father-in-law Rjurik, saying to him: "The people of Galič brought me to them to rule them; send your son Rostislav to /help/ me." Rjurik sent his son to him, together with the military commander Slavn Borisovič.

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[38] no dade ves' narjad" Galičanam"

[39] posadi v nem'

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Roman sent an advance force to attack the city of Plesnesk. But they closed themselves up /in the city/. The troops of Hungary and Galič attacked them at Plesnesk; they captured some of /Roman's/ people and others fled. Roman, hearing that, sent his brother-in-law home, and he himself went to the land of the Poles to Kazimir (the ruler there).

From the land of the Poles he went to the city of Vladimir, but his brother would not let him into Vladimir. Roman had come from the land of the Poles against his brother with his uncle Mieszko. And not having had any success, he went to his father-in-law Rjurik. Rjurik gave him the city of Torčesk and sent and threatened his brother Vsevolod. Vsevolod was afraid of Rjurik and he gave up the city of Vladimir to his brother Roman. Roman then went into Vladimir, and Vsevolod /went/ to the city of Bel'ž.

In the year 1189, the king (of Hungary) sent to Svjatoslav, saying this: "Brother, send your son to me as you have promised. Then I will fulfill that on which I kissed the cross to you." Svjatoslav then hid /his feelings/ from Rjurik and was acting as if he were pleased that they were going to give him Galič. And he sent his son Gleb to the king. Rjurik, having found that out, sent

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Svjatoslav Vladimirič to him, /thus/ appointing his man to him. And he began to send to Svjatoslav, saying this: "Why have you sent your son to the king, and not conferred with me? You have transgressed the order /of seniority/."

And there was a great deal of dissension, but most-blessed God did not give the devil happiness, and they came together to the kissing of the cross. For Svjatoslav was asking this: "Brother and in-law, I sent my son, not to bring the king against you, but for my own matters. If you want to go against Galič, then I am ready to go with you."

The metropolitan was also saying to Svjatoslav and Rjurik: "Foreigners have taken away your homeland, and it would be good for you to strive /to free it/." And so, having conferred, Svjatoslav and his sons and Rjurik and his brothers went to Galič.

And when they were all together at the /appointed/ place, they had a discussion[40] about the territory of Galič. Svjatoslav then gave Galič to Rjurik and wanted for himself all the Rus' land, /the area/ around Kiev. But Rjurik did not like giving up his homeland and did not want to share Galič. And so they did not come to an agreement and

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[40] rjadjaščimsja

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returned to their own lands.

That same year, men of Galič sent to Rostislav Berladničič, inviting him to come rule in Galič. He, hearing that, was pleased, and consulted with[41] David, for David had taken him under his care. And he went in haste from Smolensk, and when he had come to the Galičan frontier, he captured two Galičan cities. And from there he went to /the city of/ Galič in accordance with their advice. The men of Galič were not all of the same opinion (as to who they wanted as ruler), but those who had sons and brothers with the king held strongly to the king's son.

In that same time the king, fearing the Russian princes, sent many Hungarians troops to help his son. The king's son and the Hungarian commanders heard that Rostislav was coming to Galič on the advice of men of Galič; the king's son, having faith in them, began to make them[42] give oaths on the cross. The righteous ones kissed it, not knowing /why they were asked to reaffirm their loyalty/, and the guilty ones were /doing it only because they/ feared the Hungarians.

Rostislav came to the troops of Galič with a small retinue and, not knowing the deceivers and believing what

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[41] isprosisja

[42] ix" voditi

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they had promised him, he expected their troops to desert the king's son. Several of the men of Galič had come to his troops, but these, seeing the deceit of their brothers, joined their own troops and deserted him.

And his retinue said to him: "Prince, you have seen their deceit; go back." And he said:

> "Brothers, you know that they have kissed the cross to me; if they kill me,[43] then may God and the cross, which they kissed to me, judge them. I do not want to roam in a foreign land; I prefer to die in my fatherland."

And having said that to his retinue, he charged the Galičan troops. The Galičan troops and the Hungarians, having surrounded him, unsaddled[44] him from his horse. And they captured him, severely wounded but alive.

And they took him to Galič. The people of Galič were disturbed and wanted to take him away from the Hungarians and to have him for their ruler. The Hungarians looked at him and applied deadly poison medicine to his wounds, and he died from that. And they buried him in the monastic church of St. John, and /thus/ he was united with his grandfathers and his fathers.

The Hungarians, knowing of the deceit of the people of Galič, that they sought a Russian prince for themselves,

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[43] až' lovjat' golovy moeja

[44] sbodoša

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began to use violence against the people of Galič.[45] They began to take their wives and daughters to their beds, and to put their horses in the churches and in the houses, and to commit other violent acts. The people of Galič began to mourn a great deal and they greatly repented having driven out their prince.

In the year 1190, Prince Svjatopolk, Jurij's son and Rjurik's brother-in-law, died in the month of April on the nineteenth day. And he was buried in the Golden-Roofed Church of St. Michael, which his great-grandfather, the Grand Prince Svjatopolk, had built.

That same year, the bishop of Belgorod, Maksim, died. In his place as bishop, Rjurik appointed his confessor, the abbot of St. Michael, Andrejan of Vydobyckij (Monastery).

That same year Vladimir Jaroslavič escaped from a stone tower and fled from the Hungarians. For there the king was holding him and the priest's wife and his two children. A tent had been put up for him on the tower, and he cut the tent into pieces and made himself some rope. And he descended from there.

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[45] "i počaša nasil'e dejati vo vsem' i u mužii Galičkyx"

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Among his guards were two who were devoted to him and who led him to the land of the Germans to the German emperor.[46] The emperor, finding out that he was the nephew of the Grand Prince Vsevolod of Suzdal', received him with love and great honor. And he gave him one of his men and sent him to the Polish /king/ Kazimir,[47] ordering him to turn over to him (Vladimir) the land of Galič according to his will. For he (Vladimir) had promised him to give to the emperor two thousand griv'nas of silver each year.

Kazimir gave him his man Miklaj and sent him into Galič. The men of Galič met him with great happiness as their prince and heir, and they drove the (Hungarian) king's son from their land. And Vladimir sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father on the day of the Holy Savior (August 15).

And he sent to Suzdal' to his uncle Vsevolod, beseeching him: "Father, lord, support me in keeping Galič, and I will be yours and God's with all the people of Galič. And I will always do your will." Vsevolod of Suzdal' sent to all the princes and to the king of the Poles, and led them to pledge on the cross to his nephew never to seek

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[46] car' (=tsar; contrast korol' for the Hungarian ruler)

[47] posla...Kazimiru v Ljaxi

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Galič from him. Vladimir consolidated [his rule] in Galič, and from then on no one was against him.

In that same year the emperor of the Germans went with all his land to fight for the tomb of the Lord, for the Lord revealed to him by an angel that He wanted[48] him to go. And they arrived and fought fiercely with those shameful-to-God sons of Hagar.[49]

God thus loosed His anger against the whole world, because the whole land was filled with our evils. And He brought down all these things upon us because of our sins. Truly He judged, and His judgements are right. And He gave over His Holy City to foreigners.

These Germans, like the holy martyrs, shed their blood for Christ with their emperors. The Lord our God revealed a sign to them: when any of them were killed in battle by the foreigners, after three days their bodies were taken invisibly from their graves by an angel of the Lord. And the others, seeing this, were striving to suffer for Christ. By these people the will of the Lord was truly realized, and He added them to the flock of His elected martyrs. For the Lord caused this for our sins, punishing the whole world.

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[48] velja

[49] This refers to the first Crusade.

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And [now] let us turn back to the subject,[50] for I have sinned and I have broken the law, and I will not be justified before Him. For who can know the mind of the Lord, and who can know the mysteries of His creation?

That same year Svjatoslav wed his grandson David Ol'govič to Igor''s daughter.

That same year Svjatoslav, with his in-law Rjurik, brought peace to the land of Rus'--the Polovci made peace according to their (the Russian princes') will. And having conferred, they two went hunting in boats along the Dnepr River, at the mouth of the Tesmen' River. And there, having done their hunting and having caught a great many animals, they then amused themselves. And they abided there in love and joy for many days,[51] and then returned to their own homes.

In that same autumn Svjatoslav arrested[52] Kunduvdej, prince of the Torks, for slander. And Rjurik, his in-law, sent to him (Svjatoslav), pleading for him (Kunduvdej), since he had been a brave and worthy man in Rus'. Svjatoslav heeded his in-law Rjurik and, leading him (Kunduvdej) to take an oath, he let him go. He was unable to bear his

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[50] i paky obraščaja

[51] po vsja dni

[52] ja (nja)

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shame and went into the land of the Polovci.

And he went to the Polovci prince Toglyj. The Polovci were pleased with him, and they began to plan with him where they might go into the Russian land. He then began to encourage[53] them, instigating them to make war so he might be avenged for his shame, /have revenge/ against Svjatoslav.

The Polovci, liking his plan and violating the oath because of him, mounted horses and went to Prince Čurnaj's city. And they captured the outer wall and burned his (Čurnaj's) estate and took all his possessions and two of his wives and many slaves. And they went and halted[54] at Visem'; and having rested their horses there, they went to Borovoj. And hearing that Rostislav Rjurikovič was in Torčesk, they returned to the others.[55] And riding from there, they began with Kunduvdej to attack frequently /the land/ along the Ros' River.

That autumn Svjatoslav was not in Kiev; he had gone across the Dnepr with his brothers to hold a conference. And Rjurik had gone to the city of Ovruč on his own matters, leaving his son Rostislav in Torčesk.

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[53] voditi

[54] legoša

[55] vatagam"

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Rjurik knew that Kunduvdej was fighting Rus', avenging himself against Svjatoslav; and hecause he knew about it,[56] he sent to Svjatoslav, saying to him: "We are concerned with our own matters, but we should not leave the land of Rus' empty. I left my son with his troops, and you leave your son." Hę (Svjatoslav) promised[57] him to send his son Gleb, but he did not send him, since he was at odds with Rjurik and David and the land of Smolensk. Because of that he had met with his brothers about how he could avoid sending his son to them.[58]

Rjurik contacted his in-law Vsevolod and his brother David, and they sent their men to Svjatoslav, saying to him:

> "You, brother, kissed the cross to us, making an agreement with Roman,[59] when our brother Roman ruled in Kiev. If you stand by that agreement, then you are our brother; otherwise, remember the old feuds[60] that there were under Rostislav. If you have broken the agreement, we will not allow that. Here are documents of pledges by you."

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[56] s toju že dumoju

[57] imjasja

[58] kako by emu eja ne stupiti

[59] na Romanove rjadu

[60] tjaža

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Svjatoslav, having received the documents, did not want to pledge on the cross, and argued for a long time. He spoke with the envoys[61] and sent them away, and then brought them back and kissed the cross in their presence, agreeing to everything they wanted.

In that same winter the leaders[62] of the Černye Klobuki conferred and went to Torčesk to Rostislav Rjurikovič; and they said to him:

> "This winter the Polovci have attacked us often. And we do not know whether we should be at the Dunaj River, and your father is far away; it is no use[63] to send to Svjatoslav, he is not angry[64] at us because of Kunduvdej."

Rostislav Rjurikovič and his men liked their idea and sent to Rostislav Vladimirič, saying to him: "Brother, I have wanted to attack the camps of the Polovci, but our fathers are far away, and there are no other elders. So we have to act in the place of the elders. Come to me quickly."

And then, having joined with the Černye Klobuki, they went on horses as far as Protolčij. And there they captured many Polovci herds in the flood plain of the Dnepr River.

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[61] muži

[62] lepšii mužii

[63] bez lepa

[64] ne dobr"

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They could not cross the Dnepr because the Dnepr was covered with ice floes. And so they captured a great many herds and camps which had been left in the plain. And having captured them, they returned to their own land.

The Polovci, seeing that their herds and wives and children had been captured, became angry and forded the Dnepr. And the reached them at Ivlja, three days' [march] from the Dnepr. There were three princes among the Polovci troops: Koldeč and Kolban, the two Urusobiči, and Beg"bars" Akočaevič. A fourth, Jaropolk Tomzakovič, came from the side[65] with his troops.

Rostislav, seeing the many Polovci troops, put his trust in God and went to them. And he sent his young archers to meet them, and they began to exchange shots with them. The Polovci saw Rostislav's banners, but had not expected Rostislav,[66] and so began to flee. The Russian archers and the Černye Klobuki charged into their midst, and they captured six hundred of them (Polovci) alive and killed many others. The Černye Klobuki captured the Polovci prince Kolban but, avoiding Prince Rostislav, they did not take him (Kolban) to the army, but made an agreement with him about ransom and released him.

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[65] so storony priexa

[66] ne ždavše stjagov" Rostislavlix"

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And then, having received victory over the pagans from God, they returned to their own land. Rostislav went to his city Torčesk with glory and great honor, having conquered the Polovci. And he quickly went to his father in Ovruč. His father had gone against Lithuania and was in the city of Pinsk with his mother-in-law and brother-in-law, for Jaropolk's wedding was then. And it was warm and the snow melted, and they could not reach their (the Lithuanians') lands, and they returned to their own lands.

In that same winter the Polovci /khans/ Itogdy and Akuš came in/to Rus'/ by Rostislav's route. They wanted to go for plunder about the land, but having captured a prisoner in Vorotcy, they heard that Svjatoslav, having gathered /the troops/, was at Kul'derev. And then, having turned back, they began to flee, casting away their banners and spears.

Svjatoslav went from there to Kiev, leaving his son Gleb in the city of Kanev. The Polovci, hearing that Svjatoslav had gone to Kiev, came back[67] with Kunduvdej and went to Tovaryj. And news came to Gleb /of this/. Gleb found them in Tovaryj. The Polovci, fleeing from the city, fell through the ice in the Ros' River. And there they (the Russians) captured some and killed others, and still others drowned. But Kunduvdej escaped.

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In the year 1191 Igor', having conferred with his brothers, went against the Polovci. And when they went there, they captured many cattle and horses and returned to their own land. And in winter the Ol'goviči went again against the Polovci. Igor' and his brother [went], and Svjatoslav sent three sons--Vsevolod, Vladimir, and Mstislav, and Jaroslav sent his son Rostislav, and Oleg Svjatoslavič sent his son David. And they went as far as the city of Oskol.

News came to the Polovci about them, and they sent their camps back. And they themselves, having prepared, awaited them. The Ol'goviči were unable to fight with them; they stopped for the night and went back. The Polovci, when it was light and they did not see them, pursued them but did not reach them.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE REIGNS OF SVJATOSLAV VSEVOLODIČ AND RJURIK ROSTISLAVIČ: THE YEARS 1192-1196

In the year 1192, Prince Svjatoslav and his in-law Rjurik, having joined with their brothers, stayed at Kanev all summer, guarding the Russian land. And then, having protected their land from the pagans, they returned to their own lands.

In that same autumn the best men of the Černye Klobuki conferred and began to ask for Rjurik's son Rostislav /to go/ against the Polovci along the Dunaj River. And Rostislav sent Rogvolod to his father asking /to go/ with the Černye Klobuki against the Polovci. And his father did not let him go. Svjatoslav and his brother Rostislav Vladimirič went with the Černye Klobuki, and they reached the village of Dobryj Sot. The Černye Klobuki did not want to go across the Dnepr, because their in-law was ruling across the Dnepr nearby. And having quarrelled, they returned to their own lands.

In that same year Rjurik sent to the Polovci to get Kunduvdej. The Polovci took him and brought him to Rjurik. Rjurik then, having given the Polovci many gifts

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and having had them /take/ an oath,[1] sent then to their own land. But Kunduvdej remained with him (Rjurik), and he gave him the city of Dveren on the Ros' River, for the safety of the Russian land.[2]

That same year on the day of St. Simeon (February 3) the Lord's kinsman, Grand Prince Vsevolod brought his son Jaroslav under the banners and mounted him on a horse.[3] And there was great happiness in the city of Vladimir.

That same year the Grand Prince Vsevolod laid the foundation for a fortified city[4] in Vladimir; he renovated the church of the Holy Mother of God in Vladimir with /new/ plaster, and in Suzdal' he renovated the church of the Holy Mother of God, and it was like new.

That same year a son was born to the Grand Prince Vladimir before morning on St. Demetrius' day (October 26); it was his own name's-day. Vsevolod gave his son his own name, Dmitrij, in holy christening, and his son's princely name was to be Vladimir, which was the name of his grandfather, Vladimir Monomax.

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[1] vodiv" ix k rote

[2] Ruskoe zemle delja

[3] I.e., Jaroslav had become an adult and a warrior.

[4] založi detinec'

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In the year 1193, Svjatoslav sent to Rjurik, saying to him: "You have dealt[5] with the Lukomorskie[6] Polovci; now let us send for all the Polovci, for the Burčeviči." And Rjurik sent for the Lukomorskie Polovci, for (the khans) Akuš and Itoglyj. And Svjatoslav /sent/ for the Burčeviči, Osoluk and Izaj.

In the autumn Svjatoslav and Rjurik met in Kanev, and Rjurik sent his son Rostislav to meet the Lukomorskie /Polovci/. And he brought Itoglyj and Akuš to him in Kanev, and the Burčeviči came along the other side of the Dnepr, across from Kanev.

And they did not cross to the other side, but said to Svjatoslav and Rjurik: "If you want /to make peace/,[7] come to us on this side." The princes conferred and said to them: "Neither our grandfathers nor our fathers went to you. If you do not want /to meet/, then you come to us. Otherwise, if you do not, then do what you want." The Burčeviči did not want to give in[8] and did not go, because they had captive Černye Klobuki with them. And they

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[5] snimalsja

[6] The gulf between Crimea and the delta of the Dnepr River was called the Sea Bend--Lukamorja.

[7] See Solov'ev, p. 659.

[8] (?) bilinč'

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returned.

The Lukomorskie [Polovci] wanted peace, but Svjatoslav did not like that. Rjurik urged Svjatoslav toward peace. Svjatoslav said: "I cannot make peace with half of them." And so they did not make peace and went to their own lands.

Rjurik conferred with his men and sent to Svjatoslav, saying to him:

> "Brother, you did not like peace, and we cannot still be unprepared.[9] But, brother, let us think about our land. Do we want to campaign in the winter? If so, make it clear to us that we should order my retinue and my brothers to be ready. Otherwise, if we want to [stay here and] guard our own land, then tell us so."

Svjatoslav said: "Now, brother, it is impossible to go on a campaign, since the harvest was bad this year[10] in our land. But let us guard our own land." Rjurik then said to him: "Brother and in-law, if there is not to be a campaign with you, then I will tell you: I will campaign against Lithuania, and this winter I want to take care of my own matters." Svjatoslav said in anger[11] to him: "Brother and in-law, if you go from your homeland for your own matters, then I will go back across the Dnepr on account of my own matters, and who will remain in the land of Rus'?"

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[9] a nam" uže nelze ne dospešnym" byti

[10] žito ne rodilosja nyne

[11] neljub'em'

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And with those words he kept Rjurik from going on the campaign.

In that same winter the best men of the Černye Klobuki, having conferred, came to Rostislav Rjurikovič and began to say to him:

> "Prince, go with us to attack the camps of the Polovci; now is the right time for you.[12] We would have asked your father for you, but we heard that your father wanted to go against Lithuania, and because of that was unlikely to let you go on a campaign. But there will not be another opportunity like this for you."

Rostislav Rjurikovič liked what they said. Having conferred with them, he went in haste from hunting in Černobyl' to the city of Torčesk, not telling his father. But he sent for his retinue, saying to his retinue: "It is time for us to go against the Polovci. If my father goes to campaign, then we will go before that."

And having gathered his troops in three days, he sent to Trepol' for his cousin Mstislav Mstislavič, asking him /to go/ with him. He (Mstislav) came to him quickly with Sdeslav Žiroslavič and his men, and he reached his brother Rostislav beyond the Ros' River. And then, having joined the Černye Klobuki, they went, travelling on horses.

And when they were at the Ivla River in the land of the Polovci, they captured Polovci guards there. And they

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[12] veremja ti est'

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got information from them that the Polovci camps and herds were farther /away, but/ on this, the Rus', side of the Dnepr. And the advanced during the night[13] and attacked them at dawn.

And Rostislav and the Černye Klobuki captured cattle and horses and slaves and captive /Russians and Černye Klobuki/; they took many of their prince's sons and good men, captives, horses and cattle, slaves, and all kinds of booty—it was countless. And praising all-merciful God, who had given them victory over the pagans, they returned to their own lands with glory and great honor.

The Polovci, seeing their supplies had been captured and their brothers and wives and children had been taken captive, gathered and overtook Rostislav Rjurikovič's troops. Seeing their force, they did not dare to encounter them, but followed them as far as Rus'.

Rostislav came to Torčesk with glory, having once again[14] defeated the Polovci. He arrived on Christmas, and from there went in haste to his father in the city of Ovruč with the spoils, because his father wanted to go against Lithuania.

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[13] exaša čeres" nošč'

[14] drugoe

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Svjatoslav sent to Rjurik, saying to him: "Your son has begun war and been victorious in the land of the Polovci;[15] and you want to go elsewhere, leaving your land. But go now into Rus'; guard your land." Rjurik left off from his campaign, and went into Rus' with all his troops.

And Rostislav asked for and got from his father /permission to go/ to his uncle David in Smolensk with the spoils. And Rostislav went to his uncle, having defeated the Polovci, with great glory. Vsevolod, his father-in-law, hearing /of this/, asked him /to come/ to him. Rostislav then went to his father in Smolensk with the spoils. His father-in-law kept him with him all winter. And having given many gifts and great honor to his son-in-law and his daughter, he let them go.

In that same winter a son was born to David. They called him Fedor in christening, and his prince's name was Mstislav.

In that same winter the Polovci fought along the shores (of the Dnepr); they captured Torks. /They could do this because/ Svjatoslav and Rjurik stayed a long time at Vasilev guarding their land. And Svjatoslav went into his own territory. And the Polovci, hearing that, made

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[15]se sn" tvoi zajal" Polovci začal" rat'

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war along the (Dnepr) shores.

In the year 1194, Svjatoslav called his brothers to Rogačev: Jaroslav, Igor', Vsevolod. And he began to plan with them, wanting /to go/ against the Rjazan' princes, because they had had talks about territory.[16] And they sent to Vsevolod in Suzdal', asking from him /help/ against Rjazan'. But Vsevolod did not do what they wanted.

And Svjatoslav returned from Koračev on Jurij's day. And he travelled in a sledge, because something had developed[17] on his legs. And then he travelled in boats along the Desna River.

Svjatoslav went to Kiev and then to Vyšgorod on Friday to pay homage to the saints, and went into the church with tears and kissed the holy shrine. And after that he went to his father's tomb and wanted to go in according to his custom, but the priest was gone with the key. Svjatoslav did not wait and left, but was not pleased[18] that he could not pay homage to his father's tomb.

And he came to Kiev; on Saturday he went to the church of the Holy Martyrs, which was close to the church

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[16] bjaxut' bo im" reči pro volosti

[17] izverg'losja

[18] ne ljubovaše vo ume svoem'

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of St. Cyril. And this was his final /church/ service to attend on Sunday, it being a holy day. And he could not leave his new estate, but celebrated the holy day of the Two Holy Martyrs (Boris and Gleb) there.

The next day on Monday news came to him from the envoys who came to arrange marriage[19] that they were coming to take Svjatoslav's granddaughter, Gleb's daughter Ofimija, to marry the (Byzantine) tsar's son. Svjatoslav sent men from Kiev to meet them because he was very weakened and he could not speak clearly.[20]

And he awakened and said to his princess: "When will I speak[21] to the Holy Maccabees?" She then said: "On Monday." The prince then said: "Oh, I cannot wait so long,"[22] for his father Vsevolod had gone to God on the day of the Holy Maccabees (August 1). While the princess was looking at him, the prince /looked/ as if he saw a vision. And he began to question her, but he did not tell her; he only said: "I believe in the only God," and asked to be tonsured as a monk. And he sent for his in-law Rjurik.

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[19] ot svatov"

[20] otemnjajušči jazyk"

[21] koli budet' rče

[22] o ne doždočju ti ja togo

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And he died in the month of July, and they laid him in the church of St. Cyril in his father's monastery. Prince Svjatoslav was wise, and he lived by the commandments of God and respected the purity of the flesh; he loved the orders of monks and clergy and was merciful to the poor.

And Rjurik went to Kiev; the metropolitan, all the abbots and all the people of Kiev, from small to great, came out to meet him with crosses with great happiness. Rjurik went into the St. Sophia Cathedral and paid homage to the Holy Savior and the Holy Mother of God; and he sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father with glory and great honor. And all the land of Rus'--the people of Kiev, the Christians and the pagans--rejoiced at Rjurik's ruling, since he accepted them all with love, both Christians and pagans, and did not drive away anyone.

In the year 1195, Rjurik sent to Smolensk for his brother David, saying to him:

> "Brother, we are the seniors of all the Russian land. Come to me in Kiev, /we will discuss/ what will be the plans for the Russian land, and /talk/ about our brothers and the family of Vladimir /Monomax/. And when we finish all of that, we will visit one another in health."[23]

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[23] videve

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And David came from Smolensk in boats with people from Smolensk. And he came to Vyšgorod on Wednesday of Rusalija Week, and Rjurik invited him to dinner.

David came to dine with Rjurik and they abided there in great love and in much happiness. And having given many gifts, he let him (David) go.

After that his (David's) nephew Rostislav Rjurikovič asked him to dine with him. David then went to Belgorod and abided there in great happiness and much love. Rostislav, having given him many gifts, let him go.

David then invited his brother the Grand Prince Rjurik and his children to dine with him. And they abided there in happiness and in great love. And David, having given his brother Rjurik many gifts, let him go home.

Then David invited all /the monks of/ the monasteries to dine with him, and he and they enjoyed themselves.[24] And having distributed a great amount[25] of charity to them and to the poor, he let them go.

Then David asked all the Černye Klobuki, and all the Černye Klobuki feasted there at his place. And having given them many gifts, he let them go.

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[24] bys s nimi vesel"

[25] silnu

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The Kievans then began to invite David to feasts and gave him great honor and many gifts. David then invited the Kievans to dine with him, and they came and dined there with much happiness and great love. And then he let them go home.

And having completed with his brother Rjurik all the agreements about the land of Rus' and about their brothers, the family of Vladimir, David went to his city Smolensk.

That same year Prince Vsevolod, Mstislav's son, died, having become a monk. And then, having prepared his body, the bishop of Vladimir and all the abbots and priests accompanied it to the grave, and they buried him in the church of the Holy Mother of God in the month of April.

That same year Vsevolod, Prince of Suzdal', sent his emissaries to his in-law Rjurik, saying this to him:

> "You have named me eldest in your family, the tribe of Vladimir. And now you have enthroned yourself in Kiev; and you have not given me a part of the Russian land, but you distributed it to others, your younger brothers. There is not even a part of it for me [from you]. Now you and those in Kiev and those to whom you have given a part of the territory of Rus',[26] watch and guard it; I will see how well you hold it. I am not needed."[27]

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[26]da to ty a to Kiev i Ruskaja oblast' a komu esi v nei čast' dal"

[27]da kako ju s nim" uderžiš' a to uzrju že a mne ne nadobe

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Rjurik heard this from Vsevolod's emissaries, that they were complaining to him about territory, that he had given the best territory to his in-law Roman Mstislavič.

Rjurik then began to consider with his men how he could give him, Vsevolod, the territory which he asked for from him. For Vsevolod had asked from him the cities of Torčesk, Trepol', Korsun', Boguslav, and Kanev, which he had given to his in-law Roman. And he had kissed the cross to him (Roman) that he would not give away what he was ruling to anyone.[28]

Rjurik wanted to uphold the kissing of the cross; he did not want to give /away/ the territory now under Roman. And he (Vsevolod) did not care for this,[29] but wanted the territory under Roman which he had asked for. And there was a great quarrel between them and discussions. And they (Rjurik and Vsevolod) wanted to make war against each other. Rjurik called the metropolitan, Nikifor, to him and told him all about the kissing of the cross to Roman concerning the territory over which war was beginning with Vsevolod.

And the metropolitan said to Rjurik:

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[28] až' emu pod nim" ne otdati nikomu že

[29] on" že ee ne breže

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> "Prince, we have been appointed to the Russian land by God to restrain you from bloodshed. If blood is to be shed in the Russian land over this, that you gave territory to a younger one before an older one in error and kissed the cross to him, then now I take from you /the responsibility to uphold/ the oath of the kissing of the cross, and I take it upon myself. And you obey me: take the territory from your in-law and give it to the senior. And give Roman other /territory/ in place of that."

Rjurik then sent to Roman, telling him: "Vsevolod asks for the territory under you, and he complains against me concerning you."

Roman then sent to Rjurik and said to him:

> "Father, if because of me you cannot live in peace with your /other/ in-law (Vsevolod),[30] then either give me other territory in place of it, or give me furs for it, for however much it would be /worth/."

Rjurik conferred with his brothers and with his men and sent to Vsevolod, saying to him: "Brother, you have complained against me about the territory which you have requested." And Rjurik gave Vsevolod five cities: Torčesk, Korsun', Boguslav, Trepol', and Kanev. And they sealed it with /an oath on/ the true cross with all their love.

And Vsevolod gave Torčesk to his in-law Rostislav Rjurikovič, and he sent his commissioners into the other

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[30]to ci pro mene tobe ne žiti svatom" svoim" i v ljubov' ne vniti

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cities. Roman heard that Vsevolod had taken the territory under him from Rjurik and given back Torčesk to his brother-in-law to rule. Roman began to send to his uncle,[31] complaining about the territory, considering that [Rjurik], having come to an agreement with Vsevolod, took the territory from him for his son (Rostislav Rjurikovič). And with that he began to accuse his father-in-law and remind him of his pledge on the cross.

Rjurik said to him:

> "I gave you this territory ahead of everyone, but Vsevolod sent to me making a complaint about you, that I did not do him honor. I previously revealed to you all that he said. You then ceded it (the territory) to me of your own will, or how else would we have been able to give it to him? We cannot exist without Vsevolod. All we brothers in the family of Vladimir have accepted his seniority. And you are a son to me, and that other territory [I gave you] is equivalent to the other."

But Roman did not guard that territory, trying to find fault[32] in his father-in-law and not wanting peace with him.

And he began to confer with his men, sending to an Ol'govič, (Prince) Jaroslav Vsevolodič of Černigov. And he kissed the cross with him, inciting him to go to Kiev

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[31] k" ctju svoemu (Jaroslav Vsevolodič of Smolensk, grandson of Oleg)

[32] lovja izveta

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against his own father-in-law.

Rjurik heard that Roman had deserted to the Ol'govič and was inciting Jaroslav against /the rule of/ the seniority. And Rjurik began to plan with his brothers and with his men, and he sent to Vsevolod, telling him:

> "Roman has joined with[33] Ol'govič and is inciting him to go against Kiev and against all the tribe of Vladimir (Monomax). And you, brother, are the senior among us, the kin of Vladimir, so think, and advise /us/ about the land of Rus' and about your honor and ours."

And he sent his men to his in-law Roman; he accused him and cast before him documents of his pledge on the cross.

Roman, fearing his father-in-law because he had refuted[34] documents of the pledge on the cross, went to the land of the Poles, to the Kazimiriči, for help. And the Kazimiriči said to him:

> "We would gladly help you, but our uncle Mieszko offends us; he seeks our territory from under us, whereas previously he recognized our dominion.[35] But all we Poles should not be separated, but should be allied in defense. We should all be with you and we will avenge your offense."

Roman liked their advice and heeded them, and he decided

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[33] prislal"sja ko

[34] izvergl"

[35] a pereže opravi nas"

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to go[36] against Mieszko with his nephews the Kazimiriči. Conferring with his men, he said:

> "If I win [the allegiance of] these, then God will help me against them.[37] And then, when all have joined together in one place, I will fulfill my honor with them and I will attain my will, that which I have in mind."

And thinking that in his heart, he went against Mieszko to fight. Mieszko sent [emissaries] to meet him and did not want to fight with him, but asked Roman if he could [help] him make peace with his nephews. But Roman did not heed him or his own men, and started campaigning.[38] And the Poles clashed with Rus', and the Poles overcame Rus'. And Mieszko defeated Roman. And many Russians in his troops and his Poles were killed, and he himself escaped to the Kazimiriči into the city. And from there his retinue took him and carried him to the city of Vladimir.

From there he sent his emissary to Rjurik, his father-in-law, paying homage to him and beseeching and blaming himself for all he had done wrong. And he sent to the metropolitan Nikifor, asking him to plead for him and to

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[36] poexa

[37] I.e., the others, his Russian enemies, Rjurik and Vsevolod.

[38] (?) da emu polk"

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intercede for him,[39] that he (Rjurik) might receive him and not be angry[40] at him.

Nikifor, the metropolitan of Kiev, pleaded to Rjurik about Roman. Rjurik, heeding the metropolitan, put aside his anger at him (Roman), not wishing to see bloodshed. Conferring with his men, he said to them:

> "Since he beseeches me and repents of all his faults, then I will accept him and lead him to /pledge on/ the cross. And I will give him a share. And if he stands by it,[41] and will begin to have me as a father in truth and to want good for me, then I will have him as a son to me, just as at first I had him and wanted good for him."

And having conferred with his men about all of that, he sent his emissary to him, saying to him: "I will put aside my anger at you." And he led him to the cross /to pledge to do/ all his (Rjurik's) will. And he gave him the city of Polonnyj and half the tribute of the city of Korsun'.

That same year the locusts[42] came into the Russian land.

That same autumn Rjurik corresponded with Vsevolod his in-law and his brother David, and they sent their men

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[39] klanjatisja o vsei vine svoei

[40] gneva otdal" by

[41] daže v tom" ustoit'

[42] pruzi

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to Jaroslav and to all the Ol'goviči, saying to him (Jaroslav):

> "Kiss the cross to us with all your brothers, that you will not seek our patrimonies, Kiev and Smolensk, from under us or from under our children or from under any of our family of Vladimir (Monomax), since our grandfather Jaroslav divided us along the Dnepr, and Kiev is no concern of yours."[43]

The Ol'goviči conferred and pitied themselves,[44] saying to Vsevolod:

> "If you consider Kiev yours, then we will accept that.[45] And /we will accept/ your in-law Rjurik as ruler there,[46] and we will stand by this. But if you want to deprive us of it forever, then /we must remind you that/ we are not Hungarians or Poles, but grandsons of a single grandfather. We will not seek it (Kiev) during our lives. But in the future /Kiev will go/ to those to whom God gives it."

And there were between them much discord and great discussions, and they did not come to an agreement.

Vsevolod wanted to secure[47] the entire tribe of Vladimir; he wanted to go against them (the Ol'goviči) that same winter. The Ol'goviči became afraid and sent

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[43] vy ne nadobe

[44] požališa sebe

[45] až' ny esi vmenil" Kyev" tože ny ego bljusti pod" toboju

[46] i pod" svatom" tvoim" Rjurikom"

[47] opraviti

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their men and the abbot Dionisij to Vsevolod, paying homage and accepting his will in everything. He had faith in them and dismounted from his horse.[48]

The Ol'govičі sent other emissaries to Rjurik, saying to him:

> "Brother, there has never been any evil between us, although we have not come to an agreement with Vsevolod and you and your brother David this winter. And you are our close /relatives/; kiss the cross with us that you will not fight with us until we either come to an agreement with Vsevolod and David, or we do not come to an agreement."

Rjurik conferred with his men and sent an emissary to Jaroslav, wanting to bring him together in peace with Vsevolod and David. And he led him to /swear by/ the cross not to begin war against him before an agreement /was reached/. And he himself kissed the cross on the same matter to him (Jaroslav). And he disbanded his retinue and his brothers and his children, and he sent the wild Polovci to their camps, having given them many gifts. And he himself went into Ovruč on his own matters.

In that same winter on Theodore's week, on Wednesday in the ninth hour, the earth shook a little throughout the region of Kiev. And throughout Kiev the stone and wooden churches rocked, and all the people, seeing, could not

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[48] I.e., he ceased preparing for war.

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remain standing from fear--some fell down, others were trembling. And the blessed abbots said: "Lo, God has manifested /this/, showing His strength, for our sins, so that we might leave off our evil path." Others were saying to one another: "These signs do not occur for good, but /predict/ the downfall of many and bloodshed and many troubles in the Russian land." And so it happened.[49]

In that same winter, Prince Izjaslav Jaroslavič the Younger died in the month of February, and they laid his body in the church of St. Theodore, near his father's grave.

In that same winter, during Lent, Jaroslav Vsevolodič, prince of Černigov, having conferred with his brothers, transgressed the oath on the cross--for he had pleaded with Rjurik, and had kissed the cross to him, not to fight until an agreement /was reached/, until Vsevolod's and David's emissaries had met. Jaroslav did not wait for the agreement and sent his nephew (Prince Oleg) to Vitebsk against his in-law David. Rjurik was not in Kiev but had gone to Ovruč on his own matters, having disbanded his brothers and his retinue and having faith in the kissing of the cross.

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[49]eže i sbyst'sja

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The Ol'goviči did not reach Vitebsk, but fought in the territory of Smolensk. David, hearing of the Ol'govič [invasion],[50] sent against them his nephew Mstislav Romanovič and Rostislav Vladimirič with his troops and the son of the prince of Rjazan', his in-law Gleb, with men from Smolensk.

And it was during the second week of Lent on Tuesday at vespers; the earth shook a little. That same day the armies met one another. The Ol'goviči, having prepared and carefully deployed[51] their troops, stood across from them (the Smolensk troops). And they stuck in the snow, for the snow was very deep.[52]

Mstislav and his retinue saw them, and there was a forest nearby, so they deployed their troops in haste and charged at them. And they encountered them and they clashed with Oleg's troops. And they captured[53] Oleg's banners and cut down his son David. And David's military commander Mixalko, with the troops from Smolensk, was dispatched against the troops from Polock, because the princes of Polock were helping the Ol'goviči. Before

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[50] slyšav že Dvd" Olgoviča

[51] usteregšesja iznarjadivše

[52] velik"

[53] potoptaša

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the warriors from Smolensk reached them, the warriors of Polock, seeing that Mstislav was overcoming Oleg, did not pursue the warriors from Smolensk, but turned around and struck the rear of Mstislav's troops.

And they defeated [them], because Mstislav was not there, but had pushed deep[54] with the front troops, pursuing Oleg's troops. And he returned to his own, thinking that he had already defeated Oleg; he did not know that his own men had been defeated. And thinking of his own [victory],[55] he went into the enemy troops. And the warriors of Polock, recognizing him, captured him.

Rostislav Vladimirič and David's retinue and the Rjazan' prince's son, David's in-law, having pursued the Ol'goviči, returned to their own troops. And, seeing their banners hidden [from them because they had been captured] by the Polock troops,[56] they became confused and fled into Smolensk to David, and the others (their allies) went with them.

Oleg Svjatoslavič, seeing that the Polock troops had captured Mstislav's banners, returned to them. And

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[54] zagnal

[55] tvorja svoja

[56] vidiša stjagy svoja potaeny ot Poločan"

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when he came there, he saw that Mstislav had been captured. And he was very happy, and he asked for and got Mstislav Romanovič from Boris of Druck. And he sent the news to his uncle Jaroslav in Černigov and to his brothers, and he told them:

> "I have captured Mstislav and defeated his troops and David's troops from Smolensk. And the men of Smolensk who have been captured tell me that their brothers do not get along well[57] with David. And now, father, there will never be another time like this for us. So come quickly with[58] your brothers. Now we will regain[59] our honor."

Jaroslav and all the Ol'govičі, hearing this, rejoiced very much and went to Smolensk on horses.

Rjurik, hearing this, sent from Ovruč to him (Jaroslav of Černigov)[60] documents of their pledge on the the cross, saying to him:

> "If you have come to kill my brother and you have rejoiced in this, then you have already transgressed the agreement and the pledge on the cross. And here are the documents of that pledge for you; and you go to Smolensk, and I will go [to conquer your] Černigov. And let it be with us as God and the true cross judge."

Hearing this, Jaroslav did not go to Smolensk, but went

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[57] brat'ja ix" ne dobre

[58] sovokupiv

[59] vozmem'

[60] pereky k nemu

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back to Černigov. And he sent his emissary to Rjurik, justifying himself, [saying that he had not transgressed] the pledge on the cross and accusing David about Vitebsk, that he had helped his in-law.

Rjurik then said to him:

> "I ceded Vitebsk to you, and I sent my emissary to my brother David, telling him that I had ceded Vitebsk to you. But you did not wait for that; you sent your nephew to Vitebsk. Your nephew went and made war against the land of Smolensk. David, hearing of the war, sent Mstislav his nephew."

And so there were many quarrels and great arguments[61] between them, and they did not make peace.

In that same winter Gleb, the pious prince of Turov, Rjurik's brother-in-law and Jurij's son, died in the month of March. And they brought him into Kiev, and the metropolitan of Kiev and all the abbots and Rjurik, the Grand Prince of Kiev, met his body. And then they accompanied him with the customary church service[62] [to the grave]. And Rjurik regretted [the loss of] his brother-in-law, for he loved him. And having prepared his body, they buried him in the Golden-Roofed Church of St. Michael.

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[61] reči

[62] pesmi

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CHAPTER XV

THE REIGNS OF SVJATOSLAV VSEVOLODIČ AND RJURIK ROSTISLAVIČ: THE YEARS 1196-1200

In the year 1196, Rjurik conferred with his men and sent an emissary to his in-law, Prince Vsevolod of Suzdal', saying to him:

> "How have you spoken with me and my brother David to mount our horses[1] on Christmas and for all of us to meet in Černigov? I have joined my brothers and my retinue and the wild Polovci, and I have mounted /my horse/. And having prepared, I waited for news from you. But you did not prepare[2] this winter, having faith in them /the Ol'goviči/, that they will do what we want.[3] I, hearing that, did not mount a horse, and sent away my brothers and the wild Polovci. And I have pledged on the cross with Jaroslav of Černigov not to make war until we either all agree or find we cannot come to an agreement. Now, brother, it has happened thus for my son and your Mstislav: they have been captured by the Ol'goviči. Therefore, without delay, I mounted a horse. Let us join together and avenge the offense and our shame wherever /we can/. And we will have freed our nephew and attained our /own/ justice."

There was no news from Vsevolod for the entire summer.

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[1] I.e., they agreed to begin a campaign.

[2] vsely

[3] stati na vsei voli našei

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Rjurik, having brought his brothers and the wild Polovci, began to fight with the Ol'govičі, for Vsevolod had said to him: "You begin, and /then/ I will be ready /to fight/ with you." Jaroslav of Černigov began to send his emissaries to Rjurik, saying to him:

> "Why, brother, have you begun to make war on my territory? And you fill the pagan's hands,[4] and I do not have any quarrel with you, nor do I seek Kiev from under you. And if David has sent Mstislav against my nephew, then that is what God has willed. I will give you Mstislav without ransom, out of love. But kiss the cross to me and to David; lead me to peace.[5] And if Vsevolod wants to make peace with us, make peace, but it is not necessary for you and brother David /to fight/."

Rjurik then said to him: "If you want /to be/ with me in just peace, then give me free access[6] to send /emissaries/ to Vsevolod and David. And when all of us have conferred, then we will make peace with you."

Rjurik wanted to send his emissary in truth, wanting to bring /everyone/ to peace. But Jaroslav did not believe what Rjurik said; he was pretending to negotiate, /thinking that Rjurik and Vsevolod/ wanted to come against him, and because of that he did not let Rjurik's emissaries through his territory. The Ol'govičі had occupied all

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[4]I.e., with spoils.

[5]vvedi mja v ljubov"

[6]dai mi put'

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the roads. And so they fought one another, riding all summer until autumn.

That same year among the Ol'goviči, Prince Vsevolod Svjatoslavič, Igor''s brother, died in the month of May. And then all the brothers of the Ol'govič family prepared his body with great honor and much weeping and groaning, because among all the Ol'goviči he was the most bold and worthy, because of his birth, upbringing, and age,[7] and goodness and great courage. And he had love for everyone.

The bishop of Černigov and all the abbots and priests accompanied him to the grave with the customary church service, and they buried him in the church of the Holy Mother of God in Černigov. And he was united with his fathers and grandfathers, having paid the universal duty which no one who is born can escape.

That same autumn Roman Mstislavič, Rjurik's son-in-law, sent his people to fight in the territory of Rjurik and David, helping the Ol'goviči, because in secret from his father-in-law (Rjurik) he had pledged on the cross /to fight together/ with them. And previously he had pledged on the cross to his father-in-law to have no more to do with the Ol'goviči,[8] and to obey him, and to look to him

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[7]udalee rožaem' i vospitaem' i vozrastom'

[8]kako sja emu Olgovič' bole togo lišiti

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(Rjurik) [for his orders]. [Still earlier] Rjurik had stopped being angry with him because of [the intercession of] Metropolitan Nikifor of Kiev, and had given him the city of Polonnyj, and had trusted him (Roman) because of his (Roman's) pledge by the cross.

Roman then sent his people into Polonnyj and ordered them to go from there and make war. Rjurik heard that they had come from Polonnyj making war on the territory of his brother David and his son Rostislav, and because of that wanted to go against his in-law (Roman). And he sent his nephew Mstislav into Galič to Vladimir, saying to him:

> "My in-law has broken the agreement and made war on my territory. And, brother, you and my nephew go make war on his territory. And I myself wanted to go to Vladimir, but news has come to me that Vsevolod my in-law has mounted his horse [preparing to fight], as he had promised to help against the Ol'goviči and to go to Černigov. And they (Vsevolod's emissaries) claim[9] that he has already joined my brother David, and that they are burning their (the Ol'goviči's) territory and have captured and burned the cities of the Vjatiči. And I stay here, having prepared, awaiting the right news from them."

Vladimir, having gone with Mstislav, conquered and burned Roman's territory near the Peremil' district. And after that Rostislav Rjurikovič with the Vladimiriči and

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[9] a tvorjat' mi kako

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the Černye Klobuki went and conquered and burned Roman's territory near the city of Kamenec. And then, having captured slaves and livestock and having avenged themselves, they returned to their homes.

Now let us return to the earlier matter. In that same autumn Jaroslav Vsevolodič of Černigov heard that Vsevolod and David, having come into their (his family's) land, had burned their territory and had captured and burned the cities of the Vjatiči. Jaroslav met with his brothers and conferred with them, and they mourned for their land. And he (Jaroslav) left two Svjatoslaviči, Oleg and Gleb, to defend Černigov. He prepared another five cities for defense against Rjurik,[10] and he himself went to meet (and fight) Vsevolod and David, having joined his brothers and nephews and the wild Polovci.

And he halted below his forests, fortifying himself with wooden barriers[11] against Vsevolod and David. And he ordered the bridges along the rivers to be chopped down. And he sent his man to Vsevolod and David, saying to them:

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[10] inyi e gorody zatvori bljudjasja ot Rjurika

[11] zasek"sja

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> "Brothers and relatives, you have taken our homeland and our means of livelihood.[12] If you want a just treaty with us and to live in peace with us, then we will not flee from peace, and we will do your will. Otherwise, we will not avoid what you plan now: let it be as God and the Holy Savior decide for us against you."

Vsevolod then began to confer with David and the princes of Rjazan' and his men about whether to make peace with them. David did not want peace but was urging him (Vsevolod) to go to Černigov, saying to him:

> "As you and your brother Rjurik and his men have said, either we will all gather at Černigov or else we will all make peace on our own conditions.[13] You did not send your man to your brother Rjurik or tell him of your or my arrival. So speak with him and to your men.[14] And before spring we will be ready to mount (to fight) and to make war with the Ol'goviči and to await the right news from you. But now he (Rjurik) is fighting with them and their territory has been burned because of you, and now you want to make peace without his (Rjurik's) counsel. And, brother, I tell you this: my brother Rjurik does not want peace now."[15]

Vsevolod did not like David's counsel and that of the princes of Rjazan', but began to send to the Ol'goviči, making agreements with them, asking from them his in-law

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[12] xleb"

[13] da ljubo umirilisja vsi na vsei vole svoei

[14] (?) a umolvi s nim" mužem' svoem'

[15] zde

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Mstislav Romanovič, and asking them to drive out Jaropolk from their land and to give up Roman Mstislavič. But Jaroslav did not want to give up Roman, since he had helped against his father-in-law Rjurik. However, they agreed[16] to give Mstislav to him and to drive Jaropolk from their land.

Vsevolod liked what they said, and he sent his man to Jaroslav and pleaded with him for his territory and his children, not to seek Kiev from under Rjurik, and not to seek Smolensk from under David. And he led Jaroslav and all the Ol'goviči to pledge on the true cross. Jaroslav sent his man and led Vsevolod and David and all the princes of Rjazan' to pledge on the cross to all their agreements. And so they affirmed it by the true cross.

Our most-blessed and most-merciful Christ God did not want to give happiness to the devil or the wild Polovci, because they were ready for this--they wanted[17] bloodshed and were pleased at the disagreement among the Russian princes. And God delivered the Christians from dishonorable hands, from the accursed sons of Hagar. Having affirmed it by the true cross, they dispersed, each to his own land.

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[16]jašasja

[17]ustremilisja

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Vsevolod, having made peace with Jaroslav, sent his man to Rjurik, telling him: "We have made peace with Jaroslav, and he pledged on the cross to me not to seek Kiev from under you or Smolensk from under your brother David." Rjruik, hearing of Vsevolod's agreement, did not like it and complained against him because he had not done what he had promised him. And he sent his man to Vsevolod, saying to him:

> "In-law, you kissed the cross to me that whoever is my enemy is your enemy. And you asked from me part of the Russian land, and I gave you the best territory, not from any extra, but taking it away from my brothers and my in-law Roman on your account. He (Roman) has now become[18] an enemy to me because of no one else but you.[19] You promised me to mount a horse and help me (fight). You then spent the summer and winter, and now you have mounted. So how have you helped me? And you have made your own agreement. And for whom have I had war about my in-law? And you have agreed with Jaroslav about his territory, which I gave him. And for whom did I mount a horse? And what offense did I have with the Ol'goviči? They did not seek Kiev under me. But if it was not good for you, then it was not good for me--because of you I am at odds with them[20] and fought with them and burned all their territory. Now then, what you said to me and what you pledged on the cross to me, you have not done."[21]

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[18] učinil

[19] ni pro kogo že jako že pro tja

[20] pro tebe že s nim esm' ne dobr"

[21] ispravil"

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And so he complained against him and took away his patrimonial cities, those which he had given him in the Russian land. And he gave them back to his brothers.

That same winter the people of Novgorod drove Jaroslav Vladimirič out of Novgorod, having sent many times to Vsevolod in Suzdal' and having asked him to give them his son or someone else (as their prince). But Vsevolod did not do what they wanted. They then went to Jaroslav Vsevolodič of Černigov and asked for and got from him his younger son /to take/ the throne in Novgorod.

In that same winter Roman Mstislavič went against the Jatvjagi to avenge himself, for they had made war against his territory. And so Roman went into their land. They could not withstand his force and fled into their fortified places. And Roman burned their territory and, having avenged himself, returned to his own land.

In the year 1197, the pious prince of Smolensk, David, Rostislav's son and grandson of the great prince Mstislav, died, having taken on the order of monk which he wanted, of which we will tell later. /He died in/ the month of April on the twenty-fourth, /the day to/ the memory of the holy martyr George.[22] Simeon, the bishop of Smolensk,

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[22]This date is April 23 according to the Orthodox calendar.

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and all the abbots and priests and his nephew Mstislav Romanovič and all the boyars accompanied him with eulogious hymns and with fragrant incense. And then, having prepared his body, they laid it in the church of the holy martyrs for Christ--Boris and Gleb, /the church/ which had been founded because of his father's piety.[23]

This pious prince David was of medium height and attractive,[24] was adorned with all kinds of virtues, was of good character, and was Christ-loving. He loved everyone, and correctly guided[25] his soul. And before /he died/ he gave to charities, watched over monasteries, and cared for monks, and he received all the abbots with love and received their blessings. And he watched over the lay churches and honored with worthy honor all the holy orders.

And he was strong in battle; he was always striving for great things. He did not hoard gold and silver, but gave to his retinue, for he was loving to his retinue. And he punished evil-doers, as was fitting for a ruler[26] to do.

He had this custom: every day he went to the church

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[23]vo otni emu blgvnii

[24]obrazom" lep"

[25]pravjašet'

[26]crsm'

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of St. Michael, the Holy Archistrategus of God, which /church/ he himself had built during his reign, the like of which does not exist in the northern[27] land. And all who came to it marvelled at its exceptional beauty; /it was/ adorned with icons of gold and pearls and precious gems and filled with all blessings. But let us return to the previous matter.

Seeing the icon of God and the icons of all the saints, humbling his visage, being meek in heart and emitting humble sighing from his heart and covering his face with tears, looking up as if at the Creator Himself and repenting like King David did, he wept for his sins, saying: "Lord, in the same way as in the old times You forgave the highwayman, the adulteress, and the tax collector, so, Lord God, cleanse me of my sins." And he prayed thus in his heart: "If God might deign /to give/ me the order of monk, I would be freed from this much-troubled life and this short-lived world." And he considered all that in his mind, and God did not deny his desire, but added him to the flock of those elected by Him. Being deigned to join the holy order by his Creator, /he was included into/ the angelic order, and he rejoiced in soul and body. And his princess, seeing him receive the holy

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[27] polunoščnoi

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order, was herself tonsured.

David gave his throne to his nephew Mstislav Romanovič, and he sent his son Konstantin into Rus' into the care of[28] his brother Rjurik. And they carried him, ailing, into the monastery, to the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb.

And having entered the monastery, raising his arms to the heavens, he prayed, saying:

> "Lord, my Lord God, look upon my weakness, see my humility which has overcome me now. I will endure /the pain so/ that I may be worthy of You. And for all this I thank You, Lord, that You have humbled my soul and made me a part of Your kingdom by the prayers of Your most-holy Mother and the prophets and apostles and martyrs and all the most-worthy holy fathers. Because they also suffered and were pleasing to You, they were tempted by the devil, like gold in a crucible--by the prayers, Lord, of those elected into Your flock, add me to /the flock of/ sheep at Your right hand."

And his life lasted until that day (when he became a monk).

And having recognized his weakness, ailing, /sensing the approaching/ departure of his soul, and looking up to the heavens and giving praise to God, /he was/ saying:

> "Immortal God, I praise You for everything; You alone are King of everything, truly, giving to Your creatures all riches for their happiness; You have created this world, You watch over it, awaiting the /return of

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[28] na ruce

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> the/ souls which You sent. Those who live a good life You honor as gods,[29] and those who have not obeyed Your commandments You turn over to judgement, for all judgement from You is just, and eternal life results from Your grace. And You are merciful to all who come to You."

And having completed the prayer, and raising his hands to heaven, he gave his soul into the hands of God.

He was united with his fathers and grandfathers, having paid the universal duty which no one who is born can escape. And his reign in Smolensk was for eighteen years, and he was sixty-seven years old.[30]

That same year, in the month of December on the seventh day, the pious prince Rjurik, having come from Kiev, erected the stone church of the Holy Apostles in Belgorod after a great dedication by the blessed metropolitan Nikifor. That church was directed well by the bishop of Jur'ev, Andrejan.

This seat /of bishop/ was built by the pious and Christ-loving prince Rjurik Rostislavič. And because of it height and size and other adornments, it was marvelled at by everyone. It was beautified according to /the words of/ the composer of parables, Who said: "All good is beloved to me; there is no shortcoming in you."

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[29] jako B"

[30] a vsix" let" ot ržstva ʒ bes trex"

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Then the prince with the princess[,] who was[] of a like mind, and their children, who were cared for by God,[31] invited the clerics to a feast--Bishop Andrejan of Jur'ev and Vasil' the archimandrite of the Pečersk Monastery, Moisej the abbot of the St. Michael of Vydobyckij Monastery, and the other abbots and monks and presbyters and all the holy orders. And he entertained them not a little, and honored them all, from the greatest to the least, with great gifts. And not a single one was deprived of what he needed.

That same year the great God-loving Prince Rjurik built the church of St. Basil, because such was his Christian name,[32] in Kiev at the new palace compound. It was dedicated with a great ceremony by the metropolitan Nikifor and the bishop of Belgorod Andrejan and the bishop of Jur'ev, in the month of January on the first day (St. Basil's day).

That same year a son[33] was born to the great prince Vsevolod in the month of August on the first day. They named him Ivan in holy christening because it was the day of the conception of St. John the Baptist. And there was

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[31] so bgonabdimymi detmi

[32] vo imja svoe

[33] sn" menšii

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great joy in the city of Vladimir over his birth.

In the year 1198 the prince of Černigov, Jaroslav Vsevolodič, died. The bishop and the abbots and his nephews, having put his honorable body into a casket, laid him in the Church of the Holy Savior in the episcopate. Because of that (Jaroslav's death) the pious prince Igor' took his throne.

In that same year in the winter a daughter was born to Rostislav Rjurikovič, and they named her Evfrosinija and called her[34] Izmoragd (Emeraud), the name by which a precious stone is called. And there was great joy in the city of Kiev and in Vyšgorod. Mstislav Mstislavič and her aunt Predslava came, and they took her to her grandfather and grandmother, and so she was reared in Kiev, on the hills.

In the year 1199, the pious Grand Prince Rjurik Rostislavič gave his daughter Vseslava as wife to Jaroslav Glebovič in Rjazan'.

In that same time God deigned to renew His mercy for us through the grace of His only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the grace of His most-holy and life-giving Spirit.

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[34] prozvaniem'

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He instilled a holy thought into the accepting[35] heart of the Grand Prince Rjurik, who after his birth was named Vasil', son of Rostislav, at the divine baptismal font by the /Holy/ Spirit. He was received with happiness, as is fitting for a true blessed servant (of God), who strives to do quickly twice as much, lest he be tempted and hide his talents.[36]

That year in the month of July on the tenth day, /the day/ commemorating the forty-five holy martyrs who were martyred in Nicopolis, after having started their trip on Saturday, /the Grand Prince Rjurik/ laid the foundation of a stone wall below the Church of St. Michael at the Vydobyckij Monastery /which is/ on the Dnepr River. Many of them did not dare to think of the days of old and were not taken into the matter,[37] for it had been one hundred and eleven years since the church was built. And in that many years, many rulers[38] came and held the ruling throne of Kiev. Since that God-loving Vsevolod who built the church there /were/ four generations and not a single one followed in his love for that /holy/ place.

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[35] bgoprijatnoe

[36] potščasja nemedlenno sugubiti delom" da ne istjazan" budt' skryivšii talant"

[37] I.e., they did not help build the wall.

[38] samoderžici

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This God-wise Prince Rjurik was the fifth (generation) from that (Prince Vsevolod), as it is written about the righteous one Job [who was the fifth] from Abraham: for Vsevolod begat[39] Vladimir, Vladimir begat Mstislav, Mstislav begat Rostislav, and Rostislav begat Rjurik and his brothers. His brothers were good and God-loving; some were older than him and others were younger. But God did not allow His wall to be built [earlier], for His servant needed time.[40] This lover-of-Christ Rjurik was not very old; he had some children from whom we know the story, which brings us to the time of this story.

In his (Rjurik's) soul more than his flesh[41] was his inheritance. Of him[42] the King (Solomon) foretold: "He from this day I will make to rule; they will tell about[43] Your justice, Lord, my Salvation." For this was the beginning of his love of wisdom from fear of the Lord. [His] abstinence is like a certain foundation laid; his wisdom is like that of Joseph; his virtue is like Moses'; his humility is like David's; and his faith is like that

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[39] rodi

[40] vremja bo trebovaše slugu svoego

[41] prozjabenie

[42] o nix

[43] vozvestjat'

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of Constantine.

/And he did/ other additional good works in observance of the commandments of the Lord. Thus he meditated,[44] praying every day that he might be saved. He was merciful to great and lesser ones alike, and gave without thrift to those in need. He was kind to the monasteries and all the churches and /had/ insatiable love for building.

And just as Christ-loving /was/ his princess, who was the namesake of Anna, the mother of the mother of our God. She (the princess) was not for nothing called a doer of good.[45] Thus, she occupied herself, not only with the needs of the church, but also with charities to the offended and weak and all who suffered. Both /of them/ together did the patriarchal chore,[46] and from the Merciful One[47] they both received the wreath (of eternal life).[48] And they were filled with the goodness which is told of in the Gospels. And they taught the children this doctrine, and made them firm in their faith.[49]

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[44] filosof'stvovaše

[45] blgdt'

[46] trud"...sversajušči

[47] mzdydavcja

[48] venec'...obščii

[49] i vsja bolša tex" ispravljaa

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The Grand Prince Rjurik strove strongly to follow his forefathers' steps with love for labor for the aforementioned monastery of St. Michael the Archistrategus, which (monastery) was known to all the wise-of-God by its deeds.[50]

For he found an artist (painter) worthy of the matter among his friends: his name was Miloneg, Petr was his christened name. /His work/ was like the ancient Moses of a certain Veseleila. He made him a part of the God-chosen matter, and /he (Miloneg) was/ not a simple master, but a fresco painter, and was taken to /paint/ the building of the honorable cathedral not impulsively but after he had been observed.[51] He did not require any help, but /worked/ himself, enabled by Christ, remembering what the Lord said, how all power is with those who believe.

In the year 1200, on September 24, which is the day of the passion of the Protomartyr (Isap) Thecla, he completed that wall. On that same day Grand Prince Rjurik and Bishop[52] Vasilij came to the monastery with the Christ-

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[50] delom" pokaža

[51] tako jat'sja zdaniju na (ne) tošč'no vo sob'ljudenie čstnago xrama

[52] kjur"

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loving princess and his (Rjurik's) sons Rostislav and Vladimir and his daughter Predslava and his daughter-in-law, Rostislav's wife. And he placed kut'ja[53] at St. Michael's and had a prayer said[54] for /divine/ reception of his labor and his striving.

/And/ then /he/ remembered the writing of St. John Chrystostom: "Prayer is good, for the mouths of the poor are many." And he gave a large feast and prepared food,[55] and he fed the abbots and all the monks[56] and all the holy orders. And he gave them gifts, the same to the last as to the first, not only to those who lived there, but also to those who happened to be there. Then he celebrated spiritually about his regal idea that had brought him to that deed.[57] And the abbot Moisei and all the brothers who were great in voice about Christ praised God and St. Michael and /wished/ health /to/ the Grand Prince, as if with a single mouth, saying:

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[53]Kut'ja is a special sweet cereal food which is eaten on certain holidays or left on the graves.

[54]mltva prinese

[55]i trjapezu so prigotovleniem'

[56]kalugery

[57]togda i vozveselisja dxvno o prišedši v delo takovo csr'skoi mysli ego

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"What our eyes see today is marvellous, for many before us have wished to see what we have seen, and they did not see, and they were not deigned worthy to hear, that which God gave to us through your rule. Not only have you taken away our humiliation, but you have also received us with glory. You have brought your servants to their knees.[58] The humility that we give to you, against your good works that you do and have done to us, you do not need; /we can give you/ only sighs and prayers for your health and salvation. May God and St. Michael the Archistrategus, whom you have served truly, give you mercy for that labor. For Christ and for everyone you are merciful in your powerfulness, according to your good custom. And accept the crudeness of our composition[59] as the gift of words for the praise of good deeds, for into the treasure-hold of your reign love and desire were put, like the two copper coins the widow gave.

And now,[60] hoping in your mercy, we dare to take up the word about the Lord. And /we do this/ not from the coarseness of our lowly-mindedness but because of[61] your /good/ deeds which the clergy have received; and with the most-holy Methodius we speak, for today is the realization of his divine words which he put into his testaments. /He was/ a small heaven, a soul of good wisdom, forever telling of the glory of God, the righteousness of faith and true words and good deeds. The heavens are a wordless entity, tangible and powerful of themselves, but by the light of the sun and the rays of the moon and the adornment of the stars they constantly preserve the limits of time, by the Lord's command. They tell of His glory, how good /comes/ to all who see the Creator, about how

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[58] postavi na prostrane noze rab" tvoix"

[59] pisanie

[60] pročee

[61] ot

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to praise the good/ness of His/ creation.[62]

Here, then, most of all /it is appropriate/ for us to tell this about you. For the words /are/ true and the things /we do/ good-loving and the autocratic power, which was made with glory greater than that of the stars in the heavens, is from God.[63] Not only is it known unto the ends of Russia, but also farther than the sea. For throughout the land your words, which give God peace,[64] and /your/ Christ-loving deeds have gone out, according to the prophet; because of them your Lord is praised by everyone. Even the Evangelists, seeing and /thus/ knowing of your good deeds, praise our Father who is in Heaven.

For many days lovers of God have recognized /your goodness/ and follow eagerly in your footsteps without laziness, emulating /you/, finding you a leader like Moses, a new son of Israel leading /his people/ out of the mercilessness of slavery and the darkness of coarseness. From here, standing not on the banks /of the river/ but on the wall of your building, I sing to you a victory song, like Miriam of old. Today, according to Isaiah, they renew the wall,[65] and the souls of the righteous speak, seeing the renewal of a true cathedral of the Lord, of your affirmation of the Lord. As also under Zerubbabel being freed from the despair of Babylonian /captivity/, so now a multitude of true-believing Kievans and others who live in the area[66] begin to have more striving and love for the Archistrategus of the Lord, not only for their salvation, but also because of the new miracle which was accomplished during your reign.

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[62] o tom" poxvaliti dobrego radi urjaženija

[63] ko Bu

[64] bgomirnaja

[65] ostrovi (ostrog" ?)

[66] naselnici ix"

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Confirming this, our legs are motionless at /seeing/ the building decorated by you, and these eyes lovingly see from everywhere the happiness of souls being drawn /to it/, and it seems to them as if it reaches the sky.[67] And thus, with love, they can hardly leave, praising your Godly wisdom. Those who do not see this blessing but believe /in God/ rejoice; as /in/ the words of Solomon praising the righteous one,[68] the people celebrate today; false thoughts and words of little belief are taken from many hearts. For many are saying, 'The church /looks/ as if it is connected with the heavens by golden hair, and by that it is confirmed /that the church is approved by God/." And others come up to the church as if to a monastery. Many others, more than one,[69] got true help and comfort /from seeing the church/. Until he came it was not prepared.

Grace and mercy /are/ in those most worthy of Him and a home /in the heavens/[70] is for those selected by Him. And moreover, we are obligated to you as petitioners; our wall, Lord, singlemindedly being /brought by our prayers/ to this selected place, we hope will not be forgotten.[71] /We/ thirst for mercy from You like a deer at a spring. And God /is/ merciful and a father to purity of heart and love of His only Son and participation in the Holy Spirit. May Your kingdom and Michael the Archistrategus be with those whom You love, and cover them, protecting them with the cover of Your wing, now and forever and in centuries to come. Amen."

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[67] i mnjat'sja jako aera dostigše

[68] jakože veščа Solomon" poxvaljaemu pravednomu

[69] inako že mnozi i ni ot edinex"

[70] poseščenie

[71] naš' prispyi gsine edinomysleno sušče ko izbran'nomu semu mestu nadeem'sja ne zabyti

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PART II

COMMENTARY: THE CONTENT AND STYLE OF THE CHRONICLE

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CHAPTER XVI

CONTENT AND MAJOR STORIES IN THE KIEVAN CHRONICLE

Introduction. This chronicle covers a period of more than eighty years--1118-1200. It is primarily concerned with events involving the city of Kiev, the center of ancient Rus'. But events in other cities and areas, such as Galič, Novgorod, Suzdal', and Perejaslavl', are dealt with. This is partly because these areas were included in the general concept of "the Russian land," partly because some of this chronicle was interpolated from other chronicles, and partly because Kiev was declining as the political and religious center of the land.

The decline of Kiev can be seen vividly in this chronicle. Its influence (here, how often Kiev is central to the chronicle narrative) is quite strong in the beginning years, but begins to wane with the internecine wars that occur after the death of Vladimir Monomax in 1125. His descendants, referred to as the Vladimiriči or the Monomaxoviči, struggle

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for power against the Ol'goviči (the family of Oleg Svjatoslavič, who is remembered in the Slovo o polku Igoreve as Gorislavič). This struggle continues for decades, and subsequently the disintegration of a unified Rus' becomes more and more pronounced. Russian princes ally themselves with other peoples against other Russian princes--with Hungarians, Poles, and nomadic tribes such as the Polovci and the Černyje Klobuki. By the time of prince Andrej Bogoljubskij (approximately the third quarter of the century), it can be said that Kiev is almost a token capital, as Bogoljubskij and others wield power from other sites and appoint less powerful princes in Kiev. By this time also the "Russian land" was constantly threatened by foreign invaders, particularly the now more unified and hostile Polovci. Thus, the theme of a union of Russian peoples is a dominant one in this chronicle (cf. also Slovo o polku Igoreve).

At several points in the chronicle, longer narratives interrupt the usual recording of events, short eulogies, and relating of military campaigns. These longer topics contain both more vivid and detailed description of events and more religious and thematic discourses. Four such stories occur; they deal with (1) the murder of Igor' Ol'govič in 1147, (2) Petr Borisovič's mission to Vladimir of Galič in 1152,

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(3) the murder of Andrej Bogoljubskij in 1175, and (4) the campaign of Igor' Svjatoslavič in 1185. In all of these the theme or moral of unity in the Russian land is an element.

The Murder of Igor' Ol'govič (Columns 320-354). Before this event actually occurs, many other happenings set the stage for it. These "background" events also give the reader an idea of the internecine battles and changing alliances of the time.

In 1146, Vsevolod Ol'govič falls ill, and he has the people of Kiev swear loyalty to Igor' and agree to have him as their prince. The chronicler interjects a comment about what is to come here; he says, "and they were accepting him deceitfully (column 321)." Before Vsevolod dies, the people of Vyšgorod, Izjaslav Mstislavič and the two Davidovičі princes, Vladimir and Izjaslav, also swear their loyalty.

Igor' must have already had a hint of trouble, because after Vsevolod's death there are again negotiations with the people of Kiev, and Igor' and his brother Svjatoslav again kiss the cross to the people, and vice versa. Svjatoslav goes first to meet with them, and after he has negotiated, Igor' comes to take an oath, which must mean Igor' already had cause to fear trouble from these people. After this there

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is almost a riot over Vsevolod's major domo Ratša, with whom the people are very displeased, and Svjatoslav is barely able to quell the disorder.

Meanwhile, Igor' has sent to Izjaslav Mstislavič, asking him to confirm his oath of loyalty, and receives no reply from him. The people of Kiev send to Izjaslav Mstislavič (who is of the Monomaxoviči) asking him to be their prince. He gathers troops from several places, many of whom say to him, "You are our prince...we do not want an Ol'govič (column 323)."

Igor' sends to both the Davidoviči princes for help, which they agree to provide, but he has to give them a great deal of territory for their assistance. Uleb and Ivan Voitisič, two of Igor''s commanders, lead the people of Kiev against Igor', and the Davidoviči, after their arrival, join in the treachery. Izjaslav's troops appear, and Igor' sees the treachery. There is a battle at the Suxaja Lybed' River on Tuesday, August 13, of the same year (1146), and Igor' and Svjatoslav are defeated; Svjatoslav flees, but Igor' is captured because his horse is caught in the mire in a swamp (columns 326-327). Igor' is put in chains and sent to the monastery of St. John in Perejaslavl', and his property is plundered and looted.

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Svjatoslav refuses to desert his brother, and he continually seeks to free him, gathering troops and warring with Izjaslav (columns 329ff.). In the meantime, Igor' falls ill in prison and begs to be tonsured (it was customary for royalty to do this before their deaths). Izjaslav takes pity on him and says, "I will release you even aside from that [the tonsure], because of your illness (column 337)." Igor' is near death for eight days, unable to eat or drink, but recovers. He is then tonsured (column 338).[1]

Izjaslav's uncle Jurij Vladimirič (Dolgorukij) allies with Svjatoslav against his nephew. In 1147, Izjaslav wants to make war against them both, but has trouble with the Kievans, who do not want to fight against any of the family of Vladimir Monomax (i.e., Jurij). Vladimir and Izjaslav Davidovič and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič desert Izjaslav and again ally with Svjatoslav. Izjaslav hears of this, and asks them to reaffirm their alliance with him. The following interchange ensues:

> They answered him: "Why should we kiss the cross to you for no reason, for we have already kissed it to you, and what then have we done wrong?" And they did

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[1]It should be noted that in this background section to the murder of Igor', other events and details are interspersed with the information about Igor' and Svjatoslav.

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> not want to kiss the cross.
>
> Izjaslav Mstislavič's emissary said to them: "Is it wrong to kiss the cross again in love? That will bring us salvation." But they did not want to do that. Izjaslav had said to his emissary: "If they cannot kiss the cross with love to you, tell them what we have heard." And Izjaslav's emissary said to them [for Izjaslav]: "If you stand by the kissing of the cross, then I am a brother to you, I will reveal what has come to my ears: that you deceive me, and that you have kissed the cross to Svjatoslav Ol'govič that on this campaign you will either capture me or kill me in Igor''s place. Is that so, brothers, or not?" They could not answer but only looked at each other, and they were silent for a long time.
>
> And Vladimir said to Izjaslav's emissary: "Go back, sit for a while, we will call you back." They conferred a long time, because they were exposed, and then they called him. They said: "Brother, we have kissed the cross to Svjatoslav Ol'govič, for it is a pity to us that you hold our brother Igor', and he is already a monk of the highest order. Let our brother go and we will follow you. Would you be pleased if we held your brother?" (columns 345-346)

These battles, alliances and disalliances lead up to the murder of Igor'. Izjaslav gathers the people of Kiev and has his emissary inform them of the desertion of the Davidovičі and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič. He appeals to the people of Kiev to go to war with him against these deserters, and they agree gladly, but first want to kill Igor', lest he somehow regain power (columns 347-49). They then go to the monastery of St. Theodore,

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where Igor' is. Vladimir Mstislavič, the metropolitan, and two generals (Lazar' and Ragujlo) try to restrain the crowd. This entire scene is told in vivid detail.

Vladimir mounts his horse and tries to stop them, but cannot get past the crowd on a bridge and is forced to detour. As is typical in the chronicles, at this point the focus switches to Igor', who is praying and preparing for his death; a lengthy literary passage interrupts the action here (columns 349-351). This is, of course, probably a product of the chronicler rather than actual speech by Igor' (see p. 507 below).

The mob finds him and strips him of his monk's robe, crying "Kill!" Igor' responds with a rather well-composed speech for one who is about to be murdered: "Oh, sinners, you do not know what you do. For you commit an ignorant act if you leave all of my body naked. For naked I came out of my mother's womb and naked I will leave here (column 351)."

The crowd drags Igor' from the monastery, where Vladimir still attempts to save him. Igor' asks Vladimir, "Oh, brother, where are they taking me (column 351)?" Vladimir jumps from his horse and covers him with his own cloak, saying to the Kievans, "My brothers, you cannot do this evil thing. Do not kill Igor'." Vladimir leads him to the gates of his

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(Vladimir's) mother's house, where the crowd continues to attack and beat Igor'. Vladimir is also hit. Mixail, a boyar, attempts to help Vladimir, who gets into the courtyard of the house with Igor' and closes the gates. The mob then attacks Mixail and tears off a cross on a chain from his neck; the cross has money in it (note the extremely vivid detail in the narrative).

Evidently then the crowd breaks through the gates, for they are again beating Igor', and Vladimir again pushes through them and jumps from his horse and falls on Igor'. This angers the crowd, for Igor' gets up and manages to get into Mstislav's estate, and then the crowd turns on Vladimir. But some see Igor' going into the estate (probably the house itself), and the crowd again turns, breaks down the gates to the estate, and again attacks Igor'. In another probable insertion or elaboration by the chronicler, at this point Igor' is recorded as saying, "Lord, into Your hands I commit my spirit; take my soul into Your world (column 352)," the first phrase of which is a biblical quote, the purported last words of Jesus on the cross (see Chapter III, p. 78). (The above narrative is in columns 351-352).

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The "lawless and merciless ones" (the crowd) bind his legs and drag his naked body into the marketplace (toržek) (columns 352-353): "He was still alive; his holy and royal body was being abused. And they dragged him from Mstislav's estate across the Babin marketplace to the prince's estate, and there they finished him."

A short eulogy follows this (column 353):

> And thus they ended him, Prince Igor', son of Oleg; he was good and a defender of his patrimony. He committed his spirit into the hands of God. And he cast off the robes of a mortal and dressed himself in the immortal and multipassionate robe of Christ, by whom he was crowned, having experienced martyrdom, with the immortal crown. And thus he went away to God in the month of September on the nineteenth on Friday. (column 353)

His body is subsequently abused by some but revered by others:

> They...took him to Podol' to the marketplace, and they cast abuse on him, the lawless and unthinking...Believers, coming up, were taking blood from off of him and from the covering on his body for their own salvation and for healing (column 353).

Vladimir comes and sees, and he says, "You have already killed Igor'; let us bury his body." The Kievans say it was not them, but the Davidovičči and Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, who plotted against their

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prince. But the body is taken away (column 353).

As is fitting for a good prince's death, a miracle occurs--all the candles in the church where his body lies light spontaneously during the night. On Saturday the abbot, sent by the metropolitan, who has heard of the miracle, comes and covers the naked body and chants the customary hymns over it. He then sees to its proper burial in the monastery of St. Simeon, where Igor''s father and grandfather were buried (column 354).

Thus ends the story of the murder of Igor' Ol'govič. A number of elements in the story remind one of passages from the "Passion and Encomium of SS. Boris and Gleb" (which was written in the eleventh century by an anonymous writer), as well as other narratives about their murders. Some other details are similar to parts of the story of the blinding of Prince Vasil'ko in 1116, which was written by Presbyter Vasilij and inserted into the Primary Chronicle.

The narrative of Igor''s murder contains all four stylistic tones found in the chronicle: informative/formulaic (zapisi), informative/original (actual murder), literary/formulaic (eulogy), and literary/original (Igor''s speeches). (See pp. 41-50). The murder of Igor' is treated extensively and is seen as evil

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because it reflects not only lack of respect for law and order (the princes' power) but also the lack of unity among Russians (this because of the surrounding events--battles, arguments, alliances and disalliances).

Petr Borisovič and his Mission to Vladimir of Galič (Columns 461-465). Around 1151 Prince Vladimir Volodarevič of Galič becomes a threat to the Russian princes by attacking their territory and making war against them. In 1152 the king of Hungary asks Izjaslav Mstislavič, the Grand Prince, for help against this prince. This is because in 1151 Hungarian troops and Izjaslav's son Mstislav had suffered ignominious defeat at the prince of Galič's hands at the city of Sapogin', because the Hungarians had gotten drunk and were unable to repel the midnight attack (columns 441-442). So Izjaslav and the king and various allies gather troops and join against Vladimir of Galič. There is a confrontation (columns 447-449), and Vladimir is defeated; he barely manages to escape.

Vladimir sends to the king asking for peace, pretending to be mortally wounded and bribing the king's emissaries (including an archbishop) with presents. The king then meets with Izjaslav to consider a treaty, but Izjaslav does not trust Vladimir because he has broken oaths to both Izjaslav and the king

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previously. Izjaslav's son Mstislav also argues at length against negotiating with Vladimir. The king, however, argues for a treaty. They do send to negotiate after swearing this will be Vladimir's last chance, and then he refuses to fulfill his promise once again (columns 448-454).

In the meantime the Russian princes are involved in other military endeavors (Svjatoslav Ol'govič, for one, is still a problem). But later Izjaslav sends Petr Borisovič, a boyar of Kiev, to Vladimir, because Borisovič had negotiated the agreement with him earlier in Peremyšl'. Borisovič takes with him papers (gramoty) for another treaty (column 461). The message he carries from Izjaslav is that if Vladimir does what he promised before--return the cities he has captured and be their ally--then he will forget Vladimir's past transgressions.

Vladimir, however, is not willing to negotiate; he says: "Brother, you have chosen the time and brought the king against me; but as I live, I will either lay down my life or avenge myself (columns 461-462)." Petr Borisovič reminds him of his former oath and that he has broken that: "You have already transgressed the kissing of the cross." And Vladimir's

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reply to this is, essentially, "Do you mean this little cross" (literally, "is this not a little cross?"). Petr's answer is that "although this cross is small, its power is great on heaven and earth;" he continues to remind Vladimir of the importance of his oath and the power of the cross (columns 461-462).

Vladimir has had enough by now, literally--dosyt. He abruptly sends Petr Borisovič on his way. Borisovič leaves the papers and goes. They do not even give him provisions for his journey. As he is leaving, Vladimir is on his way to church and sees him leaving, and he ridicules him from the steps of the church. After the service, as Vladimir is leaving and when he is on the steps where he ridiculed Borisovič, a strange paralysis comes upon him :

> He said, "What is this?--it is as if
> someone has struck me on the shoulder."
> And he could not move from there even
> a little. And he would have fallen,
> but they picked him up in their hands
> and they carried him into a room. (column 463).

People try to treat Vladimir with baths and applications of medicines, but they are uncertain what is wrong; he dies before bedtime (column 463).

Petr Borisovič has stopped for the night at a village (Bol'šovo). At dawn a messenger reaches him

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from Galič with this message: "The prince says to you, 'Do not go anywhere until I send for you (column 463).'" The messenger does not tell him of Vladimir's death, and Borisovič is very sad "that he had to go back to the city and be made to bear more torment." At dinnertime he is sent for and returns to the city.

When he reaches the prince's estate, servants dressed in black cloaks meet him, and when he enters the house, he sees Jaroslav, Vladimir's son, sitting in his father's place in a black cloak and mitre. All the prince's men are also dressed in black. Petr is seated, and Jaroslav, seeing him, bursts into tears. Petr wonders what is happening and they tell him of the prince's death. Petr responds with "I left just tonight, and he was in good health," and he is told the circumstances of Vladimir's death. His response to this is "It is God's will and will happen to all." (For this part of the narrative see columns 463-464).

Jaroslav Vladimirič then requests an alliance and peace:

> "We have called you because of that. Lo, God by His will does as He wishes; so He has done. And now go to your father Izjaslav, and pay homage to him from me. And you say this to him: 'Since God has taken my father, you be to me in a father's place. And you and my father knew yourselves what was between you, but God has already judged that, since God took my

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> father. And God has left me in his place, and his army and his retinue are mine; only a single spear was placed at his grave, and even that is in my hands. Now, father, I bow to you, take me as your son; /like/ Mstislav, so me also. Let Mstislav ride beside your stirrup on one side of you, and I will ride on the other side beside your stirrup with all my troops.'" (columns 464-465)

The story is closed, "And then they sent Petr back (column 465)."

This story has less religious and moral overtone than the other longer stories, but retains the interesting details. Perhaps this is because technically Galič was not considered part of "Rus'" and thus the theme of unity within Rus' could not be emphasized as easily in this story as in others. The only moral note is the implication that Vladimir was punished by God for his treatment of Petr Borisovič and his transgressions of his oath before God.

The Murder of Andrej Bogoljubskij. In 1175, Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij was murdered by his courtiers. The story of the murder itself is preceded by a description of churches and other structures he built, a listing of his good works, and praise for him--that is, a eulogy. The narrative of the murder begins in column 585 and continues (with digresssions) through column

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593. This narrative is followed by another, shorter eulogy. The topic of the death of Andrej Bogoljubskij is discussed in the chapter on types and levels of style in the chronicle (pp. 50-54). However, the basic events or elements of the narrative will be related here.

A certain boyar of Bogoljubskij's, Jakim, hears that the prince has ordered his brother to be punished and rushes to his brother and others (presumably other courtiers) with the news. Their reaction is "Today that one is punished, tomorrow it will be us; let us plan about this prince (column 585)." At night they rush to his tent and find him in bed, but are overcome by fear, so they go to the mead-pantry and drink wine for courage (the chronicler repeats several times that the devil encourages and abets them).

They return to the tent. At this point the chronicler notes that they are led by Petr and Jakim Kučkovič (the courtier to be punished and his brother), that there are twenty of them in all, and that the leaders, the Kučkoviči, are in-laws of Anbal, a Jas[2] and the prince's housekeeper (who also helps them).

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[2]Jas, presently called Ossetian, is a member of a tribe which formed a part of the Alan hordes, Iranian-speaking nomads who roamed South Russia and Central Asia. Now they live in the north Caucasus and form an autonomous Ossetian Republic.

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At the prince's tent one of them calls him, and the prince asks who it is. He answers "Prokopij," and the prince says, "By your voice you are not Prokopij," and they charge and break down the doors (columns 585-586).

The prince then attempts to defend himself and reaches for his sword, but the sword had been taken away by Anbal the housekeeper. The prince grapples with two of the attackers and throws one down; the other conspirators think it is the prince who is down and attack and wound their friend. They then again recognize the prince and a struggle ensues "for he was strong (column 587)." The prince is wounded and (purportedly) says to them: "Oh, woe to you, godless ones! Why do you emulate Gorjaser?[3] What evil have I done to you? If you shed my blood onto the earth, God will have vengeance against you, for I have fed you (column 587)." The attackers then, believing him dead, pick up their friend whom they have wounded and leave.

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[3]Once again a reference to the murder of Boris and Gleb; Gorjaser, Jaropolk's emissary, gave the order to kill Gleb.

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But he is not dead--he leaps up and pursues them, shouting, and goes out of the tent. They hear his shouts and return to search for him, and he is not where they had left him. They continue to search, light the lamps, and find him by following the trail of his blood. At this point, as in the story of Igor' Ol'govič's murder, a lengthy prayer is put into Bogoljubskij's mouth (columns 588-589) as a literary convention (perhaps borrowed from "Skazanie o Borise i Glebe"). It is hardly possible he had time to say this, much less say it so elaborately. Tvorogov in Istoki russkoj belletristiki[4] points out this incongruity (noting the similarity of this with the speech of Gleb Vladimirič the martyr) and others, such as the fact that earlier Bogoljubskij knows of the plot and accepts it, and later he defends himself valiantly. Such contrasting representations almost always point to the insertion of literary conventions.

After the prayer, the attackers see him "sitting like an innocent lamb" (column 589; he had just been fighting them, not at all like an innocent lamb!). They finish him off and Petr Kučkovič cuts off his right hand. Andrej, as Igor' Ol'govič did earlier, says, "Lord, into Your hands I Commit my spirit," which is a biblical quote of the last words of Jesus

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[4]Akademija nauk SSSR, Institut russkoj literatury (Puškinskij dom), Istoki russkoj belletristiki, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka," Leningrad, 1970, p. 46.

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Christ (see Chapter III, p. 575).

At dawn of the next day they kill the prince's beloved (servant?) Prokopij and rob the prince's tent (column 589). Following this, fearing revenge, they gather troops and send to the city of Vladimir, inquiring about their reaction. The people of Vladimir reply they are not concerned (this was Andrej's city!), so the conspirators go to plunder.

Here the probable author of this story, Kuz'ma of Kiev, enters the scene. He looks for his prince and does not find him, and asks, "Where is my murdered lord? (column 590)" He is told that Bogoljubskij's body has been dragged out to the wall, but that he cannot have it because "they say they all want to throw him to the dogs. If someone takes him, then he is our enemy and we will kill him (column 590)." Kuz'ma weeps over the body and wonders "My lord, how did you not recognize the evil and dishonorable murderers, your enemies, coming at you? Or how did you not think to overcome them? At times you defeated pagan armies of Bulgars[5] (column 590)."

Anbal, the housekeeper, had the keys to the prince's house, and this had given him power over

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[5]"Bulgars" is a reference to the Volga tribe and not to Balkan Bulgaria.

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everyone. Kuz'ma pleads with him for a cover for the body, and Anbal refuses. Kuz'ma then says:

> "Oh, heretic! He has already been thrown to the dogs! Do you remember, Jew, in what kind of dress you came here? You are now in velvet, and the prince lies naked. I pray you, evil one, throw down anything to me (column 591)."

Anbal relents, the body is covered and carried to a church. But the body is denied access to the church: "And they said,'Throw him into the entryway.' It was their sadness, for they were drunk (column 591)." Kuz'ma mourns this disregard:

> "Already, lord, your servants do not know you. At times a guest would come to you from Constantinople or another country, from Russian land or Latin, from Christian land or pagan, and you said, 'Take him into the church, into the sacristy; let him see true Christianity and be baptized.' And so it happened: Bolgars and Jews and all pagans, seeing the glory of God and the adornment of the church, would weep a great deal for you; and now these will not let you be laid in the church (column 591)."

He lays the body in the entryway and it remains there two days and nights.

Finally, Arsenij, abbot of the Cosmas and Damian Monastery, gains entrance into the church for the body. In the meantime, looting and robbing are occurring in Bogoljubovo, Prince Andrej's city, and throughout his territory.

Then comes the turning point in Bogoljubskij's treatment. Earlier he was neglected and betrayed,

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even by his own people in the city of Vladimir; now loyal followers and mourners appear. The body is properly buried and appropriate services are held. The people and clergy of the city of Vladimir now retrieve the prince's body from Bogoljubovo and mourn his death (columns 591-593). The narrative ends here and a eulogy follows.

Probably this prince's death is treated at length for these reasons: (1) the story was written by a loyal follower of his, Kuz'ma Kijanin; (2) he was a powerful prince; (3) he was murdered; and (4) as in the story of Igor' Ol'govič's death, there is a moral implication in that the law is transgressed, and thus the power of the princes is undermined, and this in turn undermines the strength of the country (it is also, of course, contrary to the law of God). Like the two topics discussed above, this narration is characterized by vivid detail and by its length.

The Campaign of Igor' Svjatoslavič. This story is also the subject of the well-known Slovo o polku Igoreve. The treatment of this topic in this chronicle is more detailed and realistic, and less poetic, than that in the Slovo. The same themes are emphasized here, but thematic and poetic elements appear mostly in direct speech. It should be remembered that this is late in the century, when, because of continuing

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internal political disintegration and aggression from foreign peoples and nomadic tribes, the two important themes of the unity of Russia and the Christian ethic are more and more prominent in the chronicle.

In 1183, on February 23, the Polovci came into Rus' to make war. Svjatoslav Vsevolodič (the Grand Prince) and his in-law Rjurik set out against them, but are restrained by Jaroslav of Černigov, who wants to wait until summer. Svjatoslav then sends his cousin Igor' and his troops into the steppes (i.e., against the Polovci). Igor' refuses to advance ahead of another prince, Vladimir Glebovič, who is angered by that and returns northward. Igor' then loses more troops by dividing the army and sending back his cousin Svjatoslav's Kievan troops, who have been under Igor''s command.

The remaining Russian troops then capture some Polovci at the river Xyrij, where the Polovci are fleeing from them (columns 628-629). Later, Svjatoslav Vsevolodič and Rjurik Rostislavič also defeat the Polovci. Later that same year Igor', with his limited force, accomplishes yet another victory (column 633).

In 1184 the Polovci enter Rus' again, and Svjatoslav and Rjurik attack them from behind and capture

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many of their possessions and take many prisoners, including Končak's (a Polovec chieftain) concubine and a Moslem who has a special weapon--a huge bow that "shoots fire" (columns 634-636).

But the fortunes of the Russians do not hold. In 1185, Igor', anxious to fight the pagans, says to his cousin's emissary about Jaroslav of Černigov's refusal to campaign, "God forbid that going against pagans be refused; the pagans are enemies of us all (column 637)." Igor' then confers with his retinue about where to join his cousin's troops, and they tell him to wait: "You cannot fly like a bird..." He is displeased. A sleet storm further prevents him from joining his cousin (column 637). And then in the spring another prince, Roman Nezdilovič, has a successful conflict with the Polovci. All these successes as well as the delays probably prompted Igor' to undertake his own campaign.

On April twenty-third, a Tuesday, Igor' sets out from Novgorod (Seversk) with his brother Vsevolod and several other princes. He does this without informing his cousin. When they reach the Donec River toward evening, they see the sun looking like a moon (i.e., an eclipse), and the others interpret it as a bad sign, but Igor' says that they cannot know whether it is

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good or bad, since "no one knows the mysteries of God." Igor' proceeds (columns 637-638).

He reunites with Vsevolod at the Oskol River, and from there they proceed to the Sal'nica River, where they hear of the whereabouts of the Polovci, but are told it is not a good time for battle (probably because they are outnumbered). They decide that death is preferable to returning without victory, and they travel all night to reach the enemy. The enemy surrounds them at the Sjujurlij River, and they deploy their troops into six detachments (columns 638-639). The continuous explicit detail in this narrative is remarkable; even the disposition of troops is described:

> And /the Russians/ deployed into six detachments: Igor''s troops in the middle, his brother Vsevolod's on the right, his nephew Svjatoslav's on the left, and in front of him was Vladimirič's and Jaroslav's other detachment, which was with Ol'stin and the Koui archers, and third detachment, /composed/ of archers who had been taken from all the princes, was in front (column 639).

The battle itself is also described in exact detail.

The Russians are at first successful, and the Polovci flee. Igor' wishes to retreat, but Svjatoslav Ol'govič protests that his horses are exhausted. Igor' agrees to rest for the night, knowing it is dangerous:

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"...da ne divno jest' razo umejuščі brat'ja umreti (column 640)."

The next morning (Saturday) at dawn the Polovci appear, and the Russians are confused and disorganized. They do not know what to do, for the Polovci have gathered reinforcements and there are many (a "great multitude") of them. They decide to retreat, fighting, to the Donec, because

> "If we flee, we ourselves will escape, but we will leave the common people; then we will have sinned before God in surrendering these people. But whether we die or live, let us be together in one place (column 641)."

They set out fighting, and Igor' is promptly wounded. The fighting continues throughout the day, and the Russian losses are heavy. By dawn Sunday the Koui detachment has panicked and fled. The wounded Igor' tries to stop their retreat but fails. Vsevolod is fighting bravely (without weapons), and Igor' prays for his own death so that he might not see his brother fall. And "on the day of the Holy Resurrection /Easter/ God brought down His anger upon us"--the Russians lose (columns 641-642).

At this point a moral speech is pronounced by Igor', who considers the defeat punishment for his previous sins (columns 643-644). The Russian troops

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are scattered and Igor' is captured, as are his brother Vsevolod and two other princes. Few escape because of the untenable position the Russians had fought in, being surrounded by the Polovci "as if by strong walls." Most of the Russians are killed or captured or drown; only fifteen escape (column 644).

The Grand Prince, Svjatoslav Vsevolodič, has gone to Novgorod and hears the news of the defeat there. At first he is angry. He continues his journey, and by the time he reaches Černigov his anger is gone and he feels only sorrow:

> "My brothers and sons and men of the Russian land: God would have granted me to defeat the pagans, but you did not restrain /the impulsiveness of/ your youth, and you opened the gates into the Russian land /to them/. Let the will of the Lord be; I was so angry at Igor' about all /of that/, but now I have great grief for Igor'."

The news reaches the cities of the defeated princes, and the people there grieve at their loss and begin to revolt, since they are left leaderless (column 645). Svjatoslav and the other Russian princes continue to fight the Polovci and are still not victorious (columns 646-649).

Igor' is still a prisoner of the Polovci, who are impressed by his dignity and give him great freedom. He has twenty guards, but they are special--they are

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chosen by the Polovci chieftains from among their own sons and notables' sons. He is allowed to go wherever he wants and to go hunting with five or six of his servants (guards?). He is also allowed a priest to minister to him (column 649).

A Polovec by the name of Lazor offers to help Igor' escape, but the prisoner refuses because he does not trust the man (due to his youth). He considers capturing Lazor and then fleeing into Rus'. He also does not want to leave those who were captured with him, the son of a general and his groom: "On account of glory I did not flee then /at the battle/ from the retinue, and now I will not go on an inglorious route (column 650)." They, however, urge him to take advantage of the opportunity. The Polovci will soon return from Perejaslavl', and his companions again advise him to go:

> "You have a plan that is pretentious and not pleasing to God; you want to capture the man and flee with him, and you do not consider that the Polovci will come from the war. And we hear that they /want/ to kill the princes and you and all of Rus'; then you will have neither glory nor life (column 650)."

He heeds them and seeks an opportunity to flee, but finds none.

Finally Igor' decides the best time is at sunset,

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for then the Polovci are drunk on kumys (fermented mare's milk). His groom instructs Lazor to await him with a spare horse across the river, and returns to tell Igor' that Lazor is awaiting him. Igor' is terrified and prays, and then manages to walk past his guards and escape (column 651-652).

Igor' travels eleven days to (the) Donec (it is unclear in the text whether this refers to the river or the city) and then reaches his city, Novgorod-Seversk. Everyone is pleased at his return. He then travels about the land seeking help against the Polovci, and everyone is pleased to see him--Jaroslav of Černigov, the Grand Prince Svjatoslav (his cousin), and his in-law Rjurik (column 652). Here the chronicle account of the year 1185 ends, as does the story of the campaign of Igor'.

This account of the campaign, capture and escape of Igor' is certainly among the most precise in the chronicle. Days and dates and even times of day are given, as are details of battle, the conditions of Igor''s captivity and the conditions surrounding his escape. To have been treated so poetically in the Slovo o polku Igoreve and so precisely in this chronicle, this campaign must have been of great importance at that time.

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Conclusion. The four topics discussed above are some of the most interesting segments of the chronicle to the modern reader. They are treated at length instead of just sketchily recorded. They also contain more descriptive details and drama. All of them have a central character or characters, and this provides focus for the narration; thus, the treatment of these topics contrasts that of, for example, the internecine wars and battles with their many figures and events. Creative poetic passages add to the vividness and impact of the scenes. And finally, moral implications and overtones also give the topics unity and focus.

Briefer Topics of Interest. Many shorter topics are also of interest, but unfortunately they cannot all be recounted here. (Only those topics which are not mentioned elsewhere in this paper and which seem noteworthy will be pointed out.) These topics are concerned with a variety of subjects; miracles and celestial phenomena are among these, as are fires and natural phenomena such as storms. Other interesting moments concern military events, the clergy, and miscellaneous events.

Bogoljubskij's Bravery. One interesting passage describes the young Andrej Bogoljubskij's courage in

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battle (columns 389-390). In 1149 some infantry from Luck engage in battle with Jurij Dolgorukij (Andrej's father) and his troops; Andrej's relatives (the Jur'evičі) think he does not want to fight, since "he was not great in military matters, but only sought praise from God" (columns 389-390). But he does go, and his retinue follows him. He breaks his spear in the confrontation. The Luck infantry flee.

Andrej pursues the infantry and becomes surrounded by enemies. His retinue does not know he has gone after the infantry, but soon two of them see him and go to help. His horse has been wounded three times, and he is barraged by stones thrown from the city. Andrej then prays and bares his sword, and comes out unharmed; one of his young warriors is killed.

Everyone rejoices to see him alive and praises him for being the bravest in the battle (columns 389-391). In a scene reminiscent of the story in Povest' vremennyx" let" of Oleg's death from his favorite horse, Andrej mourns his horse, which has carried him from the battle despite its wounds and then died, and he orders its burial (column 391).

The Clergy. Several sections describe disagreements over the selection of the metropolitan (e.g., columns 340, 503 and 630); most of the arguments

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center over whether the Russians had the power to select their own or had to accept someone "blessed" (i.e., appointed) by the Byzantine church in Constantinople. The Russians themselves disagree on this point and on the candidates.

In one topic the metropolitan emerges as a negotiator and peacemaker, and he takes the responsibility for a major decision. Rjurik Rostislavič receives a complaint about the fact that he has given territory to his in-law Roman Mstislavič, territory desired by Prince Vsevolod, who makes the complaint. At length the metropolitan is consulted, and he says:

> "Prince, we have been appointed to the Russian land by God to restrain you from bloodshed. If blood is to be shed in the Russian land over this, if you gave territory to a younger one before an older one in error and kissed the cross to him, then now I take from you /the responsibility to uphold/ the oath of the kissing of the cross, and I take it upon myself. And you obey me: take the territory from your in-law and give it to the elder one. And give Roman other /territory/ in place of that." (column 684)

In another instance, upon the death of Polikarp, abbot of the Pečersk (Caves) monastery, there is great disagreement over his successor. What is presented as a "marvellous" occurrence or sign is probably simply a behind-the-scenes agreement on a successor;

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at a meeting "...this marvellous thing occurred: as if with one mouth many said, 'Let us send to Vasil' the priest in Ščekovica that he might be our abbot and director of the flock of St. Theodosius' Monastery of the Caves.'" (See column 627).

The Sack of Kiev (1171). In 1171 Kiev was ruled by Mstislav Izjaslavič. On Wednesday, March 8, it was beseiged and then captured, after terrible fighting, by "the brothers" (Mstislav Andreevič, son of Andrej Bogoljubskij, and his brothers). When the situation becomes untenable, Mstislav Izjaslavič's retinue advises him to leave (column 544): "Why do we stay here, prince? Leave the city, we will not overcome them." Izjaslavič flees to Vasilev, is pursued and wounded, and much of his retinue is captured. He and his brother Jaroslav meet and flee to the city of Vladimir (columns 544-545).

Evidently with the departure of the prince and his retinue the city is soon overrun with enemy troops, for the chronicle narrative immediately turns to describing the looting that occurs and the taking of prisoners by the victors (column 545):

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> And for two days they looted the entire city--Podol and Gora and the monasteries and St. Sophia Cathedral and the church of the Holy Mother of God Desjatina. And there was no mercy to anyone anywhere--churches were burning, Christians were killed, others were captured, women were taken into captivity, separated by force from their men; children howled, seeing their mothers [taken away]. And they took much property, and they stripped the churches of icons and books and vestments; they carried away the bells. The warriors from Smolensk and Suzdal' and Černigov and Oleg's retinue carried away everything. And all the holy men were captured, and the Pečersk monastery of the Holy Mother of God was burned by the pagans.

The chronicler closes with the comment:

> And there was in Kiev on all men groaning and distress and grief which could not be consoled and tears which could not be stopped. This was all done on account of our sins. (column 545)

Verxuslava's Wedding. Another item of interest is the wedding of Grand Prince Vsevolod's daughter Verxuslava in 1187 to Rostislav Rjurikovič (see Solov'ev, Istorija, p. 713). Verxuslava was only eight years old.[6] The wedding was an important event:

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[6]Weddings between princes' children cemented political alliances; thus, Verxuslava's age is not so unusual, since it was probably only a symbolic wedding.

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> And he [Vsevolod] gave her a great deal, countless gold and silver. And he gave his in-laws great gifts and great honor and sent them away. He followed his dear daughter as far as three camps [days' march]. And the father and mother wept for her, because she was dear to them and young, being only eight years old. And so, having given many gifts, he sent [her] into Rus' with great love, for prince Rostislav. He sent with her his sister's son Jakov and his wife and other boyars with their wives. They brought her to Belgorod on Euphrosinia's day, and the next day, [the day of] Bogoslov, she was wed at the wooden church of the Holy Apostles by the blessed bishop Maksim. Rjurik gave Rostislav a very great wedding, such as there has never been in Rus'. And there were many princes at the wedding, about twenty. He [Rjurik] gave many gifts and the city of Bragin to his daughter-in-law. So the wedding was celebrated. (column 658)

Conclusion. The variety of topics treated in the chronicle can be seen from this brief overview. Military campaigns and their attendant negotiations dominate the chronicle narrative. Births, deaths, natural and celestial phenomena, and other events are recorded in zapisi (see Chapter II, pp. 42-43) and in longer topics as well. Eulogies to princes appear regularly. Clerical matters and "signs" or miracles occupy relatively little space in the chronicle, which suggests that the originator(s) of the chronicle were members of a prince's court rather than clerics.

The narrative is usually concerned with groups, such as armies, rather than with individuals, and with

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events of moment to Rus' or Russia. At a few points, however, the narrative focuses on a particular person or event. Why this focusing occurs in one instance and not in another is sometimes curious; the death of Vladimir Monomax in 1126 (column 289) and the sack of Kiev in 1171 (columns 544-545) receive relatively little attention, while the protracted conflict between the Ol'goviči and the Monomaxoviči is extensively detailed, and the completion of a church by Rjurik Rostislavič is the topic of a lengthy panegyric at the end of the chronicle (columns 708-714).

What can be learned from the chronicle is more than simply the facts it relates. From the accounts of miracles and celestial signs, references to God, Mary, Christ and the saints, and other religious references and passages, the religion and superstition of the people of the time can be seen. The political situation of the area, particularly the decline of Kiev as the center of the Russian land, is made evident by the recounting of campaigns, battles, and negotiations among the princes. The role of the religious hierarchy of the church in the political sphere, as well as the conflicts between the Byzantine and Russian churches, can be deduced from information in

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the chronicle. Economics and details of everyday life are not dealt with because they were not considered relevant to the chronicle, which is concerned with important people such as princes and matters significant to "the Russian land" as (ideally) a political unit. Finally, the chronicle is a rich source of information on the era's language and literature, which will be dealt with in the following chapters.

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CHAPTER XVII

STYLES IN THE KIEVAN CHRONICLE

Types and levels of style are quite varied within the Kievan chronicle. In this respect it can be viewed as a stylistic microcosm of Old Russian literature, because it includes most of the types and levels of style which occur in the writings of this era. This variety is not haphazard, however, but in most cases purposeful and appropriate.[1] That is, even more so than in current literature, style was a means to an end in this earlier literature and in this chronicle: certain styles were used to describe certain topics, and which style was appropriate for which topic was prescribed by a rather strict literary custom and tradition. This custom and tradition, in turn, was inextricably tied to the political and religious themes of the literature, and the conveyance of these themes was the purpose of writing.

Purpose is probably the major difference between

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[1] E.g., see Lixačev, D.S., Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury (2nd edition) Izdatel'stvo xudožestvennaja literatura, Leningrad, 1971, p. 17.

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old literature and modern literature in general. (D.S. Lixačev touches on this in his Čelovek v literature drevnej Rusi.[2]) In Old Russian literature there is virtually[3] no concept of "art for art's sake," or even simple reading or writing for entertainment, and literature is not geared to the individual and his or her psychological motivations. Rather, the purpose of this literature (particularly the chronicles) was to record important historical events and to convey political and religious values; hence, the focus is on the universal rather than the individual.[4] Perhaps the closest parallel to this in modern times is the Bible, which is read and studied for religious and moral instruction rather than as "literature." The purpose of writing in Old Russian also dictates the use of style.

Although this chronicle was written over (and deals with) a period of more than eighty years (1118-1200) and is not a work by a single writer but a codex of chronicles compiled, amended and expanded

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[2]Lixačev, D.S., Čelovek v literature drevnej Rusi, Moskva, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1970, Chapter II.

[3]Some exceptions to this occur later, in the Muscovite era, e.g., "The Tale of Frol Skobeev."

[4]Lixačev, Čelovek, p. 60.

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several times, style is used quite consistently throughout the chronicle, as in Old Russian literature generally, according to topic. For example, the enthronement of a prince is described in 1146 (column 327):

> Izjaslav, looking up into heaven, praised God and the power of the life-giving cross for thus helping him. With great glory and honor he entered Kiev, and a multitude of people came out to meet him: the abbots and monks and priests of the entire city of Kiev in vestments. And he came to St. Sophia Cathedral and paid homage to the Holy Mother of God, and he sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father.

And it is decribed in much the same manner in 1194 (column 681):

> And Rjurik went to Kiev; the metropolitan, all the abbots and all the people of Kiev came out to meet him with crosses with great happiness. Rjurik went into St. Sophia Cathedral and paid homage to the Holy Savior and the Holy Mother of God; and he sat on the throne of his grandfather and his father with glory and great honor.

In the following discussion I will give examples from different parts of the chronicle whenever possible to illustrate this consistency.

There has been a considerable amount of discussion among scholars on the various styles in the chronicle. Eremin, for example, delineates four formy letopisnogo

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povestvovanija, or types of chronicle narrative:[5] 1) pogodnaja zapis', which is characterized by the brevity and formulaic nature of its writing and its documentary treatment of topics, 2) letopisnyj rasskaz, characterized, like the zapis', by its documentary treatment of topics and distinguished from the zapis' mainly by length, 3) letopisnoe skazanie, characterized by its origin (assumed, on the basis of style, to be oral-poetic) and its occurrence mainly in the Primary Chronicle, and 4) letopisnaja povest', e.g., as in a eulogy,--the main characteristic of this is its hagiographic style, which really means that it is distinguished from the rasskaz by ornate style and a greater number and density of literary devices. Of these only 1, 2, and 4 occur in the Kievan chronicle. In the first chapter of Istoki russkoj belletristiki,[6] O.V. Tvorogov takes exception to Eremin's classifications and suggests two categories: pogodnaja zapis' and letopisnyj rasskaz, the latter of which basically combines Eremin's rasskaz and povest' (2 and 4 above).

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[5] Eremin, Igor' Petrovič, Lekcii po drevnej russkoj literature, Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universitet, 1968, pp. 52-64. The author, in fact, states he delineates five formy, but I was unable to find a fifth.

[6] Akademija nauk, Istoki, pp. 32ff.

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Tvorogov's basis for this delineation is the fact that many narratives or stories contain both hagiographic style and documentary description. I in fact would argue that many "narratives," i.e., units bound by a common topic, contain all three (1, 2, and 4 above) categories.

I believe these arguments over types of style reflect the fact that different kinds of criteria are used in the classifications; for example, the criterion that distinguishes the pogodnaja zapis' from Eremin's letopisnyj rasskaz is length, while the criterion distinguishing the rasskaz from the povest' is mainly one of style or purpose. While Tvorogov's comments on Eremin are valid, he does not go far enough in proposing alternative categories. I believe it is desirable, for the sake of clarity, to review the classifications, specifying the criteria used in creating such categories and setting up a somewhat realigned set of categories.

First, each suggested classification above can be viewed as a topic. A topic is simply the treatment of a certain event or series of interrelated events. This would include the zapis' as well as the longer segments. The criterion for a topic is one of subject matter;

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although this may seem self-evident, it is important to distinguish a topic from other classificatory terms with other deciding criteria, such as style.

Then, a generic criterion divides topics into two groups. This criterion is length, which is often used in contemporary times to distinguish genres, e.g., short story and novel. There is a clear difference in the chronicles between the short, informative zapis' and the longer topics. Thus, following Tvorogov, chronicle topics are categorized here as pogodnaja zapis' or letopisnyj rasskaz, i.e., event-by-event recording or chronicle story.

Usually the zapis' is a medium for the brief relating of certain important events, such as births, deaths, and natural phenomena. The purpose for the inclusion of this information in the chronicle is clearly that of keeping records of historical facts. Some good examples of the zapis' occur at the very beginning of the chronicle (columns 285-286):

> In the year 1118 Jaroslav Svjatopolčič fled from the city of Vladimir. The Hungarians /who were fighting with him/ and his boyars abandoned him. In this same year, on the sixth of January, Roman Vladimirič died, and Vladimir sent another son, Andrej, to rule in the city of Vladimir.

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> In the year 1119 Vladimir took Minsk from Gleb Vseslavič, whom he brought to Kiev. That same year on the thirteenth of September, Gleb Vseslavič died in Kiev.
>
> In the year 1120 Jurij Vladimirič went /campaigned/ along the Volga River against the Bulgarians. He took many prisoners and defeated their armies. Having campaigned, he came back in health with honor and glory. Then Vladimir sent Andrej with pagans against the Poles, and he defeated them, That same year Rostislav, the son of David, died.
>
> In the year 1121 Vladimir drove the Berendej from Rus', while the Torks and Pečenegs fled of their own accord. That same year Jaroslav came with Poles to Červen' during the rule of commissioner Foma Ratiborič, and once again they returned without achieving any success.
>
> That same year the metropolitan in Kiev, Nikifor, died in the month of April, and there were signs in the sun and the moon. The princess, wife of Mstislav, died on the seventeenth of January. In that year also the foundation of the church of St. John was laid in the Kopyrevo section /of the city of Kiev/.

The style of the zapis', as can be seen above, is characterized by brevity, clarity, and lack of ornamentation. Zenkovsky refers to this style as telegraphic,[7] and it is most prominent in the Novgorod chronicle. Zapisi are scattered throughout the Kievan chronicle, sometimes in a large group, as in the quote above, and sometimes as just a single or a few notations amid other topics.

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[7]Zenkovsky, Serge A., from class in Old Russian Literature, Fall, 1972, Vanderbilt University.

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In sum, the zapis', while it has certain characteristics of style and purpose, is defined by its length.

Before the discussion of longer topics below, it should be noted again that this chronicle is a codex written and revised by several authors. Parts of other chronicles are interpolated into this one, which often leads to erratic treatment of certain topics (and difficulty for the reader in understanding and interpreting content). For example, zapis' material may be inserted into a longer topic, or a story may be told twice. Nasonov[8] discusses this, particularly the influences of Perejaslavl' in the Laurentian and Hypatian texts of this chronicle, and he notes the repetition of the story of Andrej Vladimirič's burial in 1141 and the story of the calling of Izjaslav to Kiev in 1146. The reader must constantly keep this multiple authorship in mind.

The classification of longer topics is of course much more difficult than that of the zapis', and this is

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[8]Nasonov, Istorija, pp. 84-92.

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what has led to much confusion in the literature on the chronicles. Rather than confuse the issue further, in this paper the levels of style and the purpose of writing will be used to describe the topic or part of the topic, that is, the criteria themselves will be used as descriptive terms. The criteria are: (1) purpose--whether a section was written mainly to inform or to appeal to the emotions, to religious and/or esthetic sensibility--and (2) originality of style/language, which is whether a segment is presented in a formulaic manner or vividly and creatively. Following are examples of each of the four types of writing these criteria delineate.

A. The informative/formulaic type of writing is exemplified by segments such as the negotiations among princes. These occur quite frequently in the chronicle, due to the chaotic nature of the times; military ventures are also often described in this manner, without vivid detail or stylistic embellishment (column 310):

> In that same year Vsevolod sent from Kiev to Vjačeslav, saying: "You rule in the territory of Kiev, and I am content. But go to Perejaslavl', your homeland." And he gave the city of Vladimir to his nephew Izjaslav, and he gave Turov to his son Svjatoslav. And he was heavy at heart about his brothers Igor' and Svjatoslav, since he gave his territories to his sons but did not give anything to his brothers. And Vsevolod called his two brothers to him. Having arrived, they camped at Ol'žiči: Svjatoslav, Vladimir, and Izjaslav. But Igor' camped at Gorodec, and

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> Svjatoslav went to Igor' and said: "What does your elder brother give you?" And Igor' said: "He gives us the cities Brest, Dorogožič, Čartoryjsk, and Kleck, but he does not give us our homeland, the land of the Vjatiči." And Svjatoslav kissed the cross with his brother Igor', and the next morning Izjaslav and Igor' kissed /the cross with/ Vladimir. And thus, taking /the oath/, all were saying: "Whoever transgresses the cross will be avenged by the cross."

B. Literary/formulaic segments are those such as the enthronement of princes mentioned above. With slight variations in phrasing, such events are presented in much the same manner throughout the chronicle; enthronement is a particularly good example because of its regular occurrence (again, due to the nature of the times). Other examples are some eulogies:

> In that same year Izjaslav (Mstislavič), the Grand Prince of Kiev,...died. /He was/ honorable and righteous and Christ-loving and glorious, Izjaslav Mstislavič, the grandson of Vladimir. And all the Russian land wept for him-and all the Černyje Klobuki-as for their king and lord, moreover, as for a father. On Sunday at night he died, on St. Phillip's day; and having prepared his body, they laid him in the church of St. Theodore in his father's monastery. (column 469)

> In that same year Prince Svjatoslav Rostislavič died in Volock, for he was then fighting for the Novgorod territory. And having prepared his body, they carried it to Smolensk and laid his body with honor at the Holy Mother of God Church in the episcopate. This pious prince Svjatoslav Rostislavič was adorned with all kinds of good acts. And he was brave in battle and loved everyone. Moreover, he gave alms and cared for monasteries and monks, for non-monastic churches and priests, and for all the holy orders. He held his retinue in worthy

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> honor, and he did not spare his possessions, he did not collect gold and silver, but gave to his retinue. Otherwise having cared for his soul, he was brought to the fathers, having done the universal duty which no mortal can escape. (columns 550-551)

These sections are characterized by formulas or stock phrases and by presenting information that is not essential to the narrative, and doing this with some stylistic embellishments, although these embellishments are typically not original, personal, or vivid.

C. The informative/original segments were probably recorded by an eyewitness or contemporary.[9] Because of this personal element, they are some of the most interesting parts of a work such as this to a modern reader. The story of Petr Borisovič's mission to Vladimir of Galič in 1152 and the latter's subsequent death is one of these (columns 461-465); it is notable that in this there occurs one of the rare mentions of someone's personal feelings—Petr is very sad, after Vladimir's rudeness and ridicule, to be asked to return to the city (column 464). The death and subsequent mistreatment of the body of Andrej Bogoljubskij, which will be discussed at length below, are described in vivid detail in this manner. The key to distinguishing a section such as this is, in fact, such detail. Note, for example, this

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[9]Akademija nauk, Istoki, p. 44.

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description of a battle:

> ...for the soldiers were standing in three armies: the men of Novgorod and the men of Rostov, between them was Vsevolod Jur'evič with his troops. And suddenly Mstislav attacked their troops and they destroyed the center army. And the other forces, seeing that, surrounded them, for Mstislav had come with a small army to that place. And so both /armies/ became confused and there was great disorder and groaning and great shouting, and voices were indistinguishable. And there was seen the spear's cut and the noise of arms. From the great dust one could not recognize either a spear-man or a foot soldier. (columns 575-576)

D. Literary/original passages occur most often in eulogies and in speeches by princes.[10] They are characterized by an ornate literary style in the Byzantine tradition. They often contain little information about events that have occurred, but they elaborate the dominant religious and political themes of the chronicle, such as the need for unity in the Russian land(s) or the values and rewards of a Christian life. Izjaslav distrusts (rightfully) Vladimir of Galič, and tells the king of Hungary (column 451):

> "Father, I say to you truly, this is the cross on which Christ God wanted to be nailed by His will, which God brought according to His will to St. Stephen...But if he transgresses and remains alive in that hour... then I, father,...will either give up my life or enter the land of Galič."

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[10]Some formulaic phrases occur in such passages, but original phrases dominate.

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Vladimir of Galič's son Jaroslav sends a message to Izjaslav via Petr Borisovič after his father's death, pledging his allegiance (columns 464-465):

> "Since God has taken my father, you be to me in a father's place. You and my father knew yourselves what was between you; but God has already judged that, since God took my father. And God has left me in his place, and his army and his retinue are mine; only a single spear was placed at his grave, and even that is in my hands. Now, father, I bow to you, take me as your son /like/ Mstislav, so me also; let Mstislav ride beside your stirrup on one side of you, and I will ride on the other side beside your stirrup with all your troops."

Also, in this chronicle's version of the tale of the unfortunate campaign of Igor' Svjatoslavič in 1185 (the subject of probably the most famous work of Old Russian literature, Slovo o polku Igoreve), almost all the literary/original parts are in speeches and not the text itself (as in Slovo); for example, Igor' says after the battle (columns 643-644):

> "I remember my sins before my Lord God, how I have brought about much bloodshed and death in the land of Christians; how I have not spared Christians, but I stormed Gleb's city of Perejaslavl'. For then guiltless Christians underwent not a little evil, father separated from his children, and brother from brother, and friend from friend, and women from their women friends, and daughters from their mothers, and females from their female friends, and everything was made miserable by captivity, and grief that was there--the living envied the dead, and the dead rejoiced like holy martyrs who left this life through trial by fire. Old warriors rushed into the

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> battle, while wild youths endured merciless wounds, men were cut across and through, women were defiled." "And I did all that," said Igor'. "I am not worthy to live. And lo, now I see the vengeance from my Lord God. Where is my beloved brother? Where now is my brother's son? Where is the child I gave birth to? Where are the boyars I conferred with? Where are my brave men? Where are the rows of troops? Where are the horses and costly armaments? Have I not lost all of that? And the Lord has given me over bound in chains into lawless hands." (columns 643-644)

The complaint of Svjatoslav to Jaroslav Izjaslavič about territory he desires is: "I am not a Hungarian or a Pole, but only my grandfather's grandson; and as as he /gave/ you, /you should also give/ to me (column 578)." Some of the more beautiful eulogies are those of Mstislav Rostislavič (columns 610-611), Roman Rostislavič (columns 616-617), and Jaroslav Vladimirič (column 656). Perhaps the most ornate segment is the conclusion of the chronicle in 1199 (1200?), a panegyric to the Grand Prince Rjurik Rostislavič (and his wife) upon the occasion of his completion (reconstruction?) of a wall for the church of St. Michael at Vydobyc. He is said to have "...temperance like a certain foundation laid; wisdom like that of Joseph; /to have been/ a doer of good works like Moses; /to have had/ humility like David's and true faith like Constantine's (columns 709-710)." The final part of the segment (and the chronicle) is a song or chant by the clergy to this prince in praise of

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his work, and this is the single most poetic section of the chronicle (columns 712-716).

It is worthwhile at this point to examine a specific topic which has different segments and levels of style in order to show how these may be combined. Such a topic is that of the death of the famous prince Andrej Bogoljubskij. The topic begins, at the first of the section on the year 1175, with a simple stating of the fact of his death (a zapis'): "In the year 1175 the Grand Prince Andrej of Suzdal', son of Jurij, grandson of Vladimir Monomax, was killed in the month of June on the thirtieth (column 580)." Following this is the statement of another fact, that he built the city of Bogoljubovo, and some rather formulaic praise for that fact:

> He had built himself a stone city by the name of Bogoljubovo; as far as Vyšgorod is from Kiev was Bogoljubovo from Vladimir. This pious and Christ-loving prince Andrej from the time he was young loved Christ and His Most-Holy Mother, and the thought stayed in his mind like a beautiful palace; his soul was adorned with all /kinds of/ good morals worthy of King Solomon, like the house of the Lord God and the church of the birth of the most-glorious Holy Mother of God amid the stone city of Bogoljubovo. (columns 580-581)

The mention of the church (that he had also built) is the connection, like a cue for or a bridge to, with the

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following description of that church and its rich decoration and of his similar contributions to the city of Vladimir, which include another beautiful church. This church is also described, and both are compared to Solomon's temple. This section (columns 581-582) mentions all the buildings he built and decorated; note the final sentence: "In this and many other churches he put many various /precious/ stones, and he built many monasteries."

This is another "cue" for the treatment of another subject--his personal attributes; immediately following is: "For God had opened the eyes of his heart to all the monks and /secular/ priests." The enumeration of his personal attributes contains some rather standard phrases (literary/formulaic), as "And he was a provider for monks and nuns, and to the poor and persons of any rank he was like a beloved father," but also some more unusual comments (literary/creative), e.g., "Courage and wisdom lived in him; righteousness and truth walked with him," or "He loved immortal things more than mortal, and heavenly more than temporal, and the kingdom of the saints with God, the ruler of all, more than this fleeting earthly kingdom." This "personal attributes" segment is in columns 582-584. It is followed by a

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lead-in to the actual description of his death (column 585), which begins "For that /i.e., his good works/ you worthily received the crown of victory from God, Prince Andrej," and ends with "Martyr, pray to Almighty God for your kin and your family and for the Russian land, to give peace to the world. We will now return to the previous matter."

This more abrupt "cue" (the last sentence above) signals the end of the first major section of this topic. It also signals a transition from praise to information. This section is mostly literary/creative except for the two initial sentences (which are informative/formulaic) and some formulaic phrases scattered throughout the section. The majority of the section is laudatory and written in an ornamental style. The two most significant parts of this section are the description of the churches and other buildings that he constructed and the description of the prince's personal attributes.

The second major section of this topic (column 585-594) details the prince's murder and the subsequent disregard for the proper burial of his body. Most of this is written in an informative/original style, but interspersed in it are some more literary moments, such as the prince's religious speeches before his death

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(column 587-589). This is the only section of this chronicle, to my knowledge, of which we know the probable author—Kuz'ma Kijanin (or Kievljanin, i.e., of Kiev),[11] who is mentioned as recovering his prince's body and who mourns the fate of his prince in two moving speeches:

> And Kuz'ma began to weep over him: "My lord, how did you not recognize the evil and dishonorable destroyers and murderers, your enemies, coming at you? Or how did you not think to overcome them? At times you defeated pagan armies of Bulgars." (column 590)

> "Already, lord, your servants do not know you. At times guests came to you from Constantinople and other countries, from Russian land or Latin, from Christian land or pagan, and you said, 'Take them into the church, into the sacristy; let them see the glory of God and the adornment of the church.' And they would weep for you; and now these will not let you be laid in the church." (column 591)

The second section is closed by the same phrase as the first: "We will now return to the previous matter." The third section (columns 593-595) deals with Bogoljubskij's burial and mourning and also more praise for him and didactic/religious comments. The style of this third part is quite mixed and contains all four stylistic elements listed above. The close of the entire topic

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[11] Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut literatury, Istorija russkoj literatury (v 10--x tomax), Tom I, Moskva-Leningrad, 1971, pp. 308-309.

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of Bogoljubskij's death is also a very clear-cut one: "Amen."

This tale of Bogoljubskij's death not only exemplifies how levels of style can be mixed within a particular topic, but also the standard elements of any eulogy in the chronicle: description of church(es) constructed, description of the person, and description of the person's death. The first of these elements serves as a symbolic parallel to the second: the description of the beauty of the buildings finds its counterpart in the description of the person's character. Sometimes one or even two of these elements is omitted from a eulogy, but they all appear regularly.

Two other characteristics of this topic should be noted, since they also are evident throughout the chronicle. First, like the topic of the campaign of Igor', most of the literary and/or poetic moments occur in direct speech. Second, the religious/moral segments are repeated throughout the topic (always in a more literary than informative style); once again, it is notable how closely interrelated are purpose of writing, style of writing, and topic of writing.

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CHAPTER XVIII

LITERARY DEVICES IN THE KIEVAN CHRONICLE

This chapter will deal with some specific literary devices in the chronicle. There are many such devices and they are quite varied. Some occur quite frequently, others only a few times; some represent an elevated tone of the text, others a very earthy one; some are quite original, others plainly derivative; and some are traditionally studied in the literature, while others are mentioned simply because they seem characteristic of this chronicle.

A. Dative Absolute. The use of the dative absolute, which is usually considered a linguistic feature, is fairly regular in this chronicle. It is also considered a stylistic device, since it occurs more frequently in the more literary sections and it is often a signal of the same. The dative absolute was modeled on Byzantine syntactic style (translating the Greek genitive absolute), and as such is often used with other devices inherited from that tradition.

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It is an inherent part of what is often considered a "high" or hagiographic style. What should be noted is that the density of use of the dative absolute increases when the style is more ornate or literary.

B. Similes. A second literary device which is used rather regularly, although it occurs far less often than the dative absolute, is the simile. It is used as a functional descriptive tool, i.e., to enhance and/or to clarify a description; celestial "signs" are described this way:

> Three columns/rays went from the earth to the sky, and over all there was a fire, like the arc of the /new/ moon, standing apart. (columns 309-310)

> In that same year there was a sign in the moon--/it looked/ as if it were totally destroyed--in the month of August on the twentieth day. (columns 511-512)

> In that same time there was a sign in the moon, fearful and marvellous, for the moon went across the entire sky, from the east to the west, changing its forms. At first it gradually grew smaller until it was all gone. And it looked like a black spot, and then it was as if it were bloody; and then it was like two faces, one green and the other yellow, and in the middle of them it was as if two soldiers were fighting with two swords, and one of the soldiers looked as if blood was flowing from his head, and the other as if milk was flowing /from his head/. (column 516)

Similes are also used to intensify or magnify, as where the effects of a flood are described "it was as if there had been a war (jako rat' vzjala)" (column 314).

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Stones are thrown from a city "like rain" (column 390), or a battle is "like the second coming" (column 515). The number of warriors is as if countless (column 560), or the enemy attacks like cannibals (as if they wanted to devour them, column 601).

Some similes are literary formulas, for example, martyrs are "like gold in a crucible" (columns 350, 587-588, 705) in the religiously-oriented death speeches of certain princes. Although the style of these speeches is usually literary/original, the speeches are often filled with biblical or other religious references and quotes; because of this I believe "like gold in a crucible" was probably a standard comparison in the tradition of Byzantine religious writing. Likewise, in a request for alliance from one prince to another, the prince who is asking will ask the other prince to be like a father to him, as in Jaroslav Vladimirič's plea to Izjaslav Davidovič (page 48, Chapter II) and in many other cases. Princes are mourned on their deaths by their people weeping for them as for a father (or mother; e.g., see the description of the death of Vladimir Monomax, columns 289-290). Thus the comparison of a prince to a father becomes a rather standard one, at least in this chronicle.

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Other similes, whether they are derivative from other writings or original to this chronicle, occur in literary/original or informative/original topics, and they add to the general pictorial quality of a passage and/or enhance the emotional overtones of the scene. Examples of similes that enhance in the former way, i.e., literarily, are that describing a dying prince's tears as lying on his robe like pearls, or that in Vladimir Monomax's eulogy describing him as having lit the Russian land like the sun emitting rays of light (this latter is also something of a standard or formulaic simile--my classifications of the similes should be viewed as descriptive rather than categorical). Similes enhancing a scene emotionally are, for example, the description of Andrej Bogoljubskij awaiting his murderers sitting like an innocent lamb (column 589). Many of these are pejorative and as such reflect the chronicler's allegiance; the murderers of Igor' Ol'govič and Andrej Bogoljubskij rush at them like wild beasts (columns 351 and 586), and one of Andrej Bogoljubskij's betrayers speeds to the others "like Judas to the Jews (column 585)." Perhaps the most vivid use of simile in a pejorative manner is in the following part of the diatribe against Fedorec,

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a monk who opposed the church hierarchy (columns 553-554):

> And there they maimed him and they cut out his tongue, like an evil-doing heretic, and they cut off his right hand and took out his eyes, since he had spoken abuse against the Holy Mother of God.

Thus, similes enliven, intensify, magnify and generally enhance the passage in which they occur. Once again the purpose of writing is seen to be closely bound to (and to determine) stylistic selection. Like that of the dative absolute and other devices, the appearance of similes often signals the importance of a topic, generically (as in eulogies) or by coloring it with emotional or moral overtones.

C. Metaphors and/or Figurative Language. Metaphors are a somewhat rare device in this chronicle. By far the most common are in a religious context, and as such are largely taken or "inherited" from the Byzantine religious writings. The most common of these are the images of light. One such image is the comparison of light to knowledge of Christ, and the believing heart is said to have eyes that are lit by this knowledge: "...Mother of God, raise me from the depths of sinfulness and light the eyes of my heart, and allow salvation to me, your sinful slave..." (columns 531-532). The death of Andrej Bogoljubskij

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is a light, "The condemned are christened by the light of your death with eternal life" (column 585); more frequently, light refers to life (if one is "condemned," one is "cast into darkness"): "But the all-merciful Lord God, who opposes the proud, extinguishes their lights (column 635)."

Another use of the light image is the (implied) comparison of princes, in their eulogies, to celestial bodies. On Andrej Bogoljubskij's death "A multitude of true believers sobbed, seeing the father of orphans..., a bright star to those in darkness, extinguished (column 585)." (Note that here death is once again darkness; in this case, his absence leaves his people in darkness,--death being compared to darkness does not imply that he was condemned, but that his people would sorely miss him). On the death of Mstislav Rostislavič, known as Xrabryj or the Brave[12], in an unusual second-person eulogy, the chronicler says, "Now, lord, our sun has already set (column 610)." A final example of a "light" metaphor is one in which it is analogous to love; Vladimir (Mstislavič?),

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[12]Solov'ev, Sergej Mixailovič, Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vremen, Volumes 1-2, Book I, Izdatel'stvo social'no-ekonomičeskoj literatury, Moskva, 1960, p. 778.

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preventing a battle by positioning his forces between the two prospective opposing forces, is said to be "lit with brotherly love and great with love of peace" (column 391).

Other uses of metaphors with religious overtones include a repetition of the image of the heart as having eyes (in this case, eyes having sight = heart having love); in Andrej Bogoljubskij's eulogy the chronicler states: "For God had opened the eyes of his heart to all the monastic clergy and parish clergy (column 582)." A more extended metaphor involves the following description of dying as changing robes and the bestowing of eternal life as a coronation (cf. also column 644):

> And he cast off the robes of a mortal man and dressed himself in the immortal and multipassionate robe of Christ, by whom he was crowned, having experienced martyrdom, /with/ the crown of immortality. (column 353)

In another case, when the pagans retreat from battle, the chronicler says "God turned the pagans back and covered the Christians with his hand (column 565)." In other words, the reason the enemy troops did not find the Russian ones is that God blocked them from

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sight (i.e., fog or clouds obscured them), if one takes this literally. It is better understood figuratively, that is, the protection of God is as if God covers one with a hand.

A different use of metaphor employs the description of a son or descendant as an offshoot or some secondary part of a plant (presumably, the ancestor referred to is the trunk or stem of that plant), e.g., when Jaropolk Vladimirič enters battle, he is described as the "offshoot of the pious prince" (column 289). Similarly, in 1146 the Davidovičі threaten to "uproot" Svjatoslav Ol'govič (column 330); the displacement of a prince from his homeland is thus analogous to tearing a plant out of the ground by the roots (it is interesting that this usage still occurs in modern times--where one settles is where one "puts down roots"--probably due to the unusual aptness of the comparison).

There are a few instances of figurative language or imagery in the chronicle which I do not believe to be metaphoric <u>per se</u>, but which probably others with a less narrow definition might consider as such. For example, a prince who has striven or toiled for his homeland (which in this chronicle at least is probably equivalent to having accomplished many military campaigns, defended against enemies successfully, and

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the like) is said to have lost a great deal of sweat for the Russian land (cf. columns 303-304). Because of the literal connection between sweat and exertion, this is probably best considered a metonymic image (i.e., a part of something is used to represent the whole). On the other hand, the same phrase can be viewed as metaphoric, in the sense that toil is analogous to a great deal of perspiration, but the two are not literally equivalent. As Jakobson points out, "where similarity is superinduced upon contiguity, any metonymy is slightly metaphorical and any metaphor has a metonymical tint."[13]

A vivid and interesting image appears in the speech of Mstislav Izjaslavič to Vladimir Mstislavič; shortly after the beginning of his reign in Kiev, the former hears that the latter is plotting against him, and the two meet in the Pečerskij monastery. Mstislav Izjaslavič, confronting the other with what he has heard (which is in fact true), begins by reminding Vladimir Mstislavič of his recent oath of allegiance

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[13]Jakobson, Roman, "Concluding Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," in Thomas Sebeok (ed.), Style in Language, Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1960, p. 370.

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to him: "Brother, you have kissed the cross, and your mouth has not yet dried (columns 535-536)." Once again the image is probably not meant to be taken literally; in this case it is hyperbolic--the length of time that has passed since the oath was taken is exaggerated. But an element of metaphor remains if the intent of the words is "you have kissed the cross so recently it is as if your mouth is still wet from the kiss."

A figurative phrase which is epithetic is used when the people of Novgorod and Pskov pledge their loyalty to Izjaslav Mstislavič; they say "You are our prince: you are our Vladimir, you are our Mstislav (columns 369-370)." The implied comparison is that he is their prince, their leader, and a good one such as his forerunners Vladimir (Monomax) and Mstislav (Rostislavič Xrabryj).

The above three examples illustrate the difficulty one can have isolating metaphors. The other examples given are more clearly metaphors. While metaphors and related images seem to occur relatively rarely in this chronicle, it is worthwhile to examine them not only because they are commonly studied in works on style in literature, but also because they are one of the most complex and difficult literary

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devices (for both author and reader). Perhaps even more than the other devices considered above, they are an integral part of a "high" or literary/original style.

D. Epithets, Compounds and Parallel Construction. These three devices will be discussed in one section due to considerations of space and because they (like the dative absolute) are characteristic of the Byzantine literary tradition which the Slavs inherited, but are not well-known to students and readers of modern western literatures. Parallel construction is almost always a conscious literary device in this chronicle; epithets and compounds are conscious and intentional when their occurrence is dense and when they are in a section of literary/creative or literary/formulaic style. However, these latter two devices, particularly epithets, may possibly be accidental, that is, reflect common usage, when they appear in places isolated from many other devices.

Epithets. Many epithets reflect common usage simply because they became the name by which a person, place or thing was known. The best example of this is the Church of the Holy Mother of God in the city of Vladimir, which

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came to be known as the Golden-Roofed Church of the Holy Mother of God. It is interesting that this usage probably came about in the time this chronicle was written, because all references to it using this epithet are in the latter part of the chronicle (see columns 551, 624, 626, 630, and 665-6). Some princes are customarily referred to by their epithets (as opposed to their patronymics) particularly Andrej Bogoljubskij, but less commonly than other persons such as boyars Ivan (Rostislavič) Berladnik furnishes a good example; Berladnik means literally "one from the city of Berlad," but it is notable that a son of his, instead of being called Rostislav Ivanič, is referred to as Rostislav Berladničič (column 663)--so the name Berladnik is inherited as a patronymic. Princes, in fact, are most often mentioned only by their first names,[14] which can cause lack of clarity, but is understandable because the princes were prominent at the time and the chronicler assumes the reader can identify the prince referred to.

Some epithets are so consistently connected with

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[14] Princes were given two names, a Christian one and a lay (mirskij) one. The Christian name of a prince was often kept secret to prevent the possibility of any effective use of witchcraft against the prince.

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their referent that they are almost obligatory. Especially when someone "calls on" or prays to the power of the cross, it is the "life-giving" cross (e.g., column 423). And the pagan tribe of Polovci are in almost every case the "wild" Polovci (except later in the chronicle when more pejorative epithets are used; see below). Certain saints and church fathers customarily have epithets; these are the names they are known by, as John the Baptist, John Chrysostom (Zlatoust, the Church Slavic, is a calque from the Greek: chryso = zlato = golden, stomos = ust" = mouthed), Gregory the Theologian, and King Solomon the Wise.(column 581, for example).

Another characteristic of epithets is that they are usually either laudatory or pejorative (others are simply descriptive, used to distinguish, as Kunjačuk the Rich, column 623). Končak, one of the leaders or chieftains of the Polovci, is called bogostudnyj, or disgusting-to-God (column 612), as are his people (column 667), and another such leader is Bonjak Šeludivij--Bonjak the Scabrous or Bonjak the Mangy. Particularly later in the chronicle the Polovci are described venomously (earlier they were often military allies of one or another prince); the following three passages are illustrative of the

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tone used and exemplify the repetition of pejorative epithets (the first is from the year 1178):

> That same year godless foreigners of the tribe of Ishmael, accursed sons of Hagar who cared for the devil and had the morals of Satan, came into the land of Rus'. (column 612)

> In the year 1183,...the sons of Ishmael, the godless Polovci, came into Rus' to make war..with the accursed Končak...(column 628)[15]

> In the year 1184 the accursed and godless and thrice-cursed Končak came into Rus' with a multitude of Polovci...wanting to enslave the cities of Rus' and to burn /them/ with fire. (column 634)

A similar tone and use of epithets is in the passage below, which also contains one of the rare descriptions of torture and torturous punishment in this chronicle. Note the epithet zverojadivyj, Beast-Eating:

> God and the Holy Mother of God drove the evil and insinuating and proud deceiver, the deceitful leader Fedorec, out of Vladimir, out of the Golden-Roofed Church of the Holy Mother of God...He was a merciless tormentor of other men, cutting beards and /shaving/ heads, and he burnt out the eyes of some and cut out the tongues of others, and others crucified on the wall...Metropolitan Konstantin charged him with all his faults and ordered him to be taken to Pesii Island. And there they maimed him and cut out his tongue, like an evil-doing heretic, and they cut off his right hand and took

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[15]Ishmael was the son of Hagar, Sarah's Egyptian maid, by Abraham, in the Bible (Genesis 16), and in legend was considered the father of all nomads.

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> out his eyes, since he had spoken abuse against the Holy Mother of God; and sinners are driven from the earth as if they were never there...So this one lived without rest until his last breath, as is fitting for evil heretics, for the unconfessed, for their souls to perish with their bodies...(columns 551-554)

The devil is cunning and insinuating (columns 328, 541) and the destroyer-murderer (column 585). Similar epithets describe his followers (any other "bad guys"), such as the mob that murders Igor' Ol'govič, who are "lawless and merciless" (column 352) and "lawless and unthinking" (column 353).

Laudatory epithets appear most often in eulogies; the deceased princes are described as pious, Christ- or God-loving, brave, etc. (cf. columns 511-512, 524, 525, 550). Other laudatory epithets are scattered throughout the chronicle, and usually are a key to the sympathy or allegiance of the chronicler (cf. columns 392, 647, 709).

Compounds. Many epithets are also compounds, as God-loving, Christ-loving, God-preserving, God-wise, beast-eating, all-cunning (columns 511-512, 524 and 525, 707, 709, 612 and 667, 554 and 541, respectively). A compound as a literary conceit should be distinguished from a simple compound word; however, once again, as with other literary devices, a precise division cannot

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always be drawn between the two. Falling most clearly in the category of literary device are compounds with mnogo-, or much, e.g., mnogomjateˇznyj, much-troubled (column 530), and mnogolukavyj, much-deceiving (574). Also clear are combinations of two words in which the first of the two is plainly a word in its own right and not an intensifier (intensifying prefix), e.g., Eternal Virgin (column 575).

Russian compounds are best translated into English by hyphenated words because thus the sense of compounding is preserved; but a problem arises here, because many words that can (according to the rules of word-formation) be combined in Russian sound awkward combined in English. Because of this the translator frequently must either separate them altogether (as Eternal Virgin), use a synonym instead (precious for mnogocennyj, rather than much-costing), or alter the intensifier (always /=mnogo/ -deceiving devil rather than much-deceiving). Also, compounds as such are not a standard literary device in modern English as they were in the Old Russian-Byzantine tradition.

Parallel Constructions. Parallel constructions are restricted to literary/creative passages. These constructions were prominent ones in Old Russian

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literature, since they were used both in Russian folk poetry and Byzantine literature, two contributing sources to the style of the chronicles. (Some characteristics of such constructions in folk poetry are discussed by Jakobson and Taranovskij;[16] on the Byzantine tradition, see Besharov's work[17] on the Slovo o polku Igoreve.) The two best examples of such constructions in this chronicle are in the topic of Andrej Bogoljubskij's death, which has already been discussed (Chapter I, pp. 15-21; Chapter II, pp. 50-54). The chronicler says of Bogoljubskij (column 583):

> He loved immortal things more than mortal, and heavenly more than temporal, and the kingdom of the saints with God, the ruler of all, more than this fleeting earthly kingdom. And he was adorned with all his good deeds: he was a second wise Solomon.

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[16] Jakobson, R., "Grammatical Parallelism and Its Russian Facet," pp. 399-429 in Language 42(2), April-June, 1966; and Taranovskij, K., "Formy obščeslavjanskogo i cerkoslavjanskogo stixa v drevnerusskoj literature XI-XII vv.," pp. 377-394 in Henry Kučera (ed.), American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Mouton, The Hague, 1968.

[17] Besharov, Justinia, Imagery of the Igor' Tale in the Light of Byzantino-Slavic Poetic Theory, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1956.

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And when Bogoljubskij prays before his demise, he says (column 588):

> "Lord, if it is time, my life was short and full of trouble and evil deeds. But give me forgiveness and allow me, /although I am/ unworthy, to receive this end, just as all the saints--so much and in so many ways--suffered passion, and as the righteous found various deaths, as the holy prophets and apostles were crowned as martyrs, shedding their blood for the Lord, and also the holy sainted-martyrs and most worthy /holy/ fathers received bitter torments and various deaths and were defeated by the devil like gold in a crucible. By their prayers, Lord, consider me elected into your flock with the worthy sheep, and as the orthodox kings shed their blood suffering for your people, and as also our Lord Jesus Christ delivered the world from the deceit of the devil with his honorable blood."

E. Tautology and Rhetorical Question. Several other devices which are standard literary ones in both Byzantine-Russian and European-English heritage appear rarely in the Kievan chronicle. It is always difficult to say why one custom or usage is passed on from one people or generation to another while a second is not; perhaps some fit the existing customs and usages better than others. The paucity of hyperbole and rhetorical questions in this text is an example of this--when so many devices were transmitted so regularly from the Byzantine tradition (e.g., dative

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absolute), why were these not? No answer to this question can be made with any certainty.

Tautology. The case of tautology is different. Tautology (paregmenon) involves juxtaposing words from the same root, as, say, "beneficent benefactor." (It should be noted that alliteration was also a traditional device in Byzantine literature, and so it often works together with tautology, and vice versa, with one facilitating the other. Hoverever, tautology may exist without alliteration, as in the case of prefixation of one word, and the reverse is of course also true.) Tautology was frequently transmitted from the Byzantine Greek works into the Slavic in translated works as well as incorporated into original works.

Following are several examples of what I believe to be tautologies in this chronicle. As often happens, it is difficult to distinguish which reflect common usage in the spoken language and which are literary devices. Perhaps the most frequent tautology in this chronicle is the description of the ritual giving of gifts (tautological in English also), dary dati:

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> (1128) Then Vsevolod began to beseech Mstislav, urging his boyars, giving them gifts... (column 291)
>
> (1147) On the next day Jurij ordered a great dinner to be prepared and honored them greatly; and he gave Svjatoslav many gifts with love. And he gave gifts to his son Oleg and Vladimir Svjatoslavič and Svjatoslav's men. (column 340)
>
> (1148) Izjaslav came to his brother Rostislav...And there they both gave many gifts. Izjaslav gave gifts to Rostislav that were from the Russian land and all the Greek lands. (column 369)

The same tautology also occurs along with another one (honored with great honor; the root is čest'); in 1149, Izjaslav Mstislavič, in the city of Vladimir, receives assisting troops from the Polish princes Boleslav and Indrix: "Izjaslav" že poszva /=pozva/ ja k sobe na obed". i tako obedavše byša veseli. velikoju čst'ju /=č'st'ju/ učstiv" /=uč'stiv"/ e i dar"mi mnogymi darova e." ("Izjaslav invited them to dine with him; and so, having, dined, they were happy. He had honored them with great honor and given them many gifts (column 386)."

Another tautological phrase is frequently used to note occasions of happiness (rejoicing with great happiness or joy— obradovatisja, radost'; note that this is an example of prefixation precluding alliteration):

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> (1148) The people of Novgorod, hearing that Izjaslav /Mstislavič/ was coming to them, rejoiced with great joy. (column 369)
>
> Rostislav, hearing all of that /that his brother Izjaslav Mstislavič and his nephew Mstislav had had military victory/, praised God and the power of the life-giving cross and rejoiced with great joy. (column 461)
>
> Vjačeslav, seeing his son Rostislav, rejoiced with great joy and said to him... (column 470)

Large military forces or groups of people are customarily referred to as a great multitude (a literal English translation would be a "much multitude"--mnogoe množ'stvo; cf. columns 377-378, 396). Messages between princes are carried by emissaries or posly, and they are sent (poslati); the resulting tautology, posly posla (he sent emissaries) is seen frequently, due to the fact that negotiations among princes are a concern of so much of the chronicle. And finally, when someone is captured and imprisoned and the conditions of that imprisonment are grim, the event is described thus (in 1148, Gleb Jur'evič and his men flee Mstislav Izjaslavič and troops of Perejaslavl'): "And they captured Stanislavič there and they imprisoned him in a terrible imprisonment" (column 364; the Russian is "i Stanislaviča tu jaša i kazniša kazn'ju zloju). All the above tautologies from the chronicle involve a combination of a verb and a noun.

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Rhetorical Questions. Rhetorical questions tend to appear in series rather than singly. The speech of Igor' Ol'govič after his defeat in battle (1185) has already been discussed above (pp. 48-49). Another series is the chronicler's digression after he has told of the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens (1187, September 15 according to this chronicle) and described a "sign" (i.e., celestial phenomenon) in Galič that same day:

> We will speak about this: if in our days God gave over His holy city Jerusalem to heathen sons of Hagar, then who understands the mind of the Lord? Who can know the mysteries of His creation? (column 655)

In a somewhat different vein, in 1196 Rjurik Rostislavič, Grand Prince of Kiev, chides his in-law, prince Vsevolod of Suzdal', about their alliance and the latter's lack of help to him:

> "You promised me this, to mount a horse and help me. You then passed the summer and winter, and now you have mounted. Then how have you helped me?...And for whom have I had war about my in-law?...And for whom have I mounted a horse? And what offense did I have with the Ol'govičі?"(column 701)

The questions above are rhetorical, of course, because

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they are asked with no expectation of a reply. Even in the last example, Rjurik does not want Vsevolod to reply, but is reminding him of his own earlier assistance and Vsevolod's belated assistance.

F. Quotes and Allusions. Another integral part of the Byzantine literary tradition was for the writer-scholar to show his erudition by quoting and referring to other works, mostly biblical ones and ones by the church fathers (earlier religious figures, like St. John Chrysostom). The more one integrated parts of these works into one's own work, the more learned one was considered, and such scholarship was held in high esteem by other learned people.

By far the most quotes are from the Bible, particularly the New Testament. Both Igor' Ol'govič and Andrej Bogoljubskij say, according to the chronicler, "Lord, into your hands I commit my spirit" when they die (columns 352 and 589). According to the gospel of Luke, these were the last words of Jesus Christ (Luke 23:46). In addition, the same Igor' Ol'govič says to the mob, soon to be his murderers, "Oh, sinners, you do not know what you do" (column 351), and that is very similar to other words of Jesus

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on the cross: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do (Luke 23:34)." Of course, such quotes imply the goodness of the victims and the villainy of their attackers.

Most of the direct quotes mention the author or the book of the Bible they are from, or refer to "The word which is written," so that it is difficult to miss the fact that they are quotes. One such quote, for example, refers to the gospel (see Matthew 7:2, Mark 4:24):

> (1145) In that same year Vladislav Ljadskij /of Poland/ took his man Petroka, blinded him and cut out his tongue, ransacked his house and drove his wife and daughter from the land...As the gospel says: "That measure by which you measure you will be measured by." (column 319)

Later, the same words occur in a longer quote:

> ...the apostle's word was realized: "The measure by which you measure you will be measured by; those whom you judge will judge you, for judgement without mercy /goes to/ one who has no mercy." (column 553)

This is also from Matthew 7:2, but the order of the phrases differs in the Bible: "For with the judgement you pronounce you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get."

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Many quotes refer to the Christian precept to love everyone, even one's enemies. In 1138, when Jaropolk (Vladimirič?) defers from making war and retreats, the chronicler describes the action thus:

> ...he did not cause bloodshed, but fearing the judgement of God, he thought in this was committed blasphemy. He received reproach from his brothers and from everyone [for acting] according to what is said: "Love your enemies and make peace with them." (column 299)

In 1149, Andrej Bogoljubskij says in a speech to his father Jurij, trying to reconcile him with his nephew Svjatoslav, "Father, lord, remember the word which is written, 'Lo, how good it is for brothers to live together (column 392).'" In the same discussion, Vladimir of Galič says, "How can we pray to Him who has created us, 'Father, forgive us our sins,' until we forgive the sins of our nephew Svjatoslav? (column 392, cf. the Lord's prayer). Vjačeslav Vladimirič accepts peace and reconciliation, remembering, "'I love God and hate my brother' is a lie; if you love God, love your brother (column 393." And Andrej Bogoljubskij "heard the Lord saying: 'As you do to my younger brother, so you do to me (column 583),'"

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and he is described as receiving anyone (i.e., who came to him) "as Christ commanded, 'As you do to my younger brother, so you do to me" in the same column. This is very similar to Matthew 25:40: "anything you did for one of my brothers here, however humble, you did for me." In the following column (584) he is quoted as saying, "And also there is the word from the mouth of the holy apostle, which says: 'Whoever gives up his soul /life/ for a friend can be my follower.'" According to the gospel of John (15:13), Jesus said this at the Last Supper.

Several other quotes occur which I was able to locate in the New Testament. Referring to Matthew 27:23 and 27:26, when the crowd seeks the crucifixion of Jesus, is one of Bogoljubskij's purported statements in a prayer (column 584): "The Lord is my ruler and my creator; the people whom He loved nailed Him to the cross, saying, 'Let his blood be upon us and upon our children.'" And the same Vjačeslav Vladimirič who quotes "love your brother" (see above) precedes it with the well-known comparison of faith to a mustard seed in Matthew 17:20:

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> For Vjačeslav was not evil in his heart, praising most-glorious God, remembering what is written, "If you have faith like a grain of mustard, you will say to this mountain, 'Move,' it will move." (column 393)

And upon the event of a certain military victory by Mstislav Rostislavič in 1174, the chronicler says: "Thus the word of the apostle Paul which we wrote before was fulfilled: 'They who exalt themselves will be humbled, and those who humble themselves will be exalted (column 577).'" In the gospel of Matthew (23:12) Jesus says this; Paul may have repeated him in one of the epistles he wrote.

For some other quotes I was unable to locate the reference, even when the name of the author was given. The Old Testament king David is quoted (column 583) as saying, "Blessed is a merciful man, giving all day and sparing nowhere," and a reference to punishment in column 561 (these are probably from Psalms, whose composition is ascribed to him). And to the apostle Paul is attributed (column 574) "to the proud God is opposed, but to the humble He gives blessing," and "Every soul is made guilty by power; powers are appointed by God. For a king of the earth is like any man (column 592)." A quote immediately following this is said to have originated with [John] Chrysostom (column 592). Discussing the capture of Jerusalem by the Saracens on September 15,

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1187, the chronicler draws parallels with the current situation in Rus' and the capture of the tablets of the ten commandments from Jerusalem by pagans (column 655-656). He says this latter event is in the book of Judges, and occurred when the priest Il'ja was judging in Israel. There is no reference to such an event in Judges, and the only similar reference I was able to locate was in I Samuel 4; when Eli the priest was judge in Israel, the tablets were taken out to the army before battle, and they were captured by the enemy. However, our chronicler says they were lost for "not a few years," but the loss described in the book of Samuel was for less than a year. Thus, a reference may be erroneously attributed.

Some quotes in the chronicle are not ascribed to a particular person, but are just mentioned as being written or even as being written by an apostle. Concerning the lot of Christians to be persecuted, in the topic of Andrej Bogoljubskij's death the chronicler writes, "As the apostle teaches, 'He whom God loves is punished and every son whom he takes is beaten (column 594)." An apostle is also credited with: "If someone is lawlessly tortured, he will not be crowned [with eternal life], for he is a sinner and

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is tormented here for his sin, and is judged in torment in judgement (column 553).'" (The apostle Paul is the author of many New Testament books after the first four gospels, so perhaps he is the apostle meant in these cases, or perhaps the chronicler himself was uncertain of the author). In a curious reference to some illness upon Svjatoslav Jurijevič's death, the chronicler says of this illness that it was "of the holy apostles and holy fathers" and that "whoever suffers that illness, as the books say, his body is tormented but his soul is saved. So it was with Svjatoslav (column 579)."

Certain allusions do not involve direct quotes but mention biblical characters. For example, in the "death speech" of David Rostislavič in 1197 (column 704), he mentions King David and the forgiveness of Christ to the thief (who was crucified with him), the adulteress, and the tax collector (his disciple Matthew). And the closing panegyric has a series of references to Old Testament figures (column 714): Moses, Miriam, Isaiah, and Solomon.

Finally, a few quotes appear in this chronicle which I believe may have been proverbs or folk sayings, but this is not made clear, e.g., "Peace comes before war, and war before peace (columns 364, 392, and 444),"

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or "The place does not come to the head, but the head to the place (e.g., column 442)." One uncertain reference may have been a saying or taken from some religious writing, or it may be original; in 1170 Mstislav Izjaslavič's retinue says to him:

> "Prince, the brothers do not order you to kiss the cross lightly; if there are evil men envying your love which you have for the brothers, they have implanted the evil word, for man is evil next to the devil, and /even/ the devil does not plan that which an evil man can plan (column 542)."

It is curious that religious quotes occur with any regularity, if one remembers that the initiators of this particular chronicle were probably members of a prince's court and not monks.[18] Probably considerable sections of the original (pre-Hypatian and pre-Kievan, i.e., from Perejaslavl', Rostov, etc., chronicles) were written at least in part by military men. However, later editors were Kievan monks, for example, Andrej Bogoljubskij's death was recorded by Kuz'ma Kijanin, who obviously was a clerical person (monk or priest). Thus, many of the quotes and references may be later insertions by clerics.

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[18] See Lixačev, Russkie letopisi, pp. 178-88 and 432.

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G. Direct Speech. The occurrence of direct speech in the chronicle is a literary device because usually the chronicler had not actually heard what was said himself. As a device, direct speech implements the credibility of the narrative (the reader "hears" what is said from the "speaker" rather than via the author's report of the communication).

There are two types of direct speech.[19] The first is matter-of-fact and colloquial, and it appears in many of the negotiations between princes.[20] This type of direct speech is exemplified by the interchange below (from columns 404-405).

> That same winter Izjaslav began to send to Andrej in Peresopnica, saying: "Brother, take me to your father in love." And he was sent to him...Now his idea was realized...Izjaslav was saying /to Andrej/: "My homeland is not among the Hungarians or the Poles, but only in the Russian land. And ask for me from your father the territory around the Goryn' River." Andrej then asked his father for Izjaslav and he did not want to give him territory... Izjaslav then, having considered that, sent his brother Vladimir into the land of the Hungarians to the king his in-law

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[19]Lixačev, D.S., Vozniknovenie russkoj literatury, Izdatel'stvo Akademija Nauk SSSR, Moskva-Leningrad, 1952, pp. 95-96.

[20]Messages between princes were not written but delivered orally, cf. ibid., pp. 96-105.

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> and said to him: "You yourself have said to me that Vladimir would not dare to put out his head. I have driven Jurij out of Kiev, and Jurij flees before me. And Vladimir has come, having made an agreement with the Ol'govičі, and he drove me out of Kiev. Now, brother, as you have promised, mount your horse."

Another type of direct speech is more literary and poetic, and as such probably is more certainly a product of the chronicler. The speeches of princes before their deaths, such as those of Igor' Ol'govič (columns 349-351, Chapter I, p. 7) and Andrej Bogoljubskij (columns 508-509, Chapter I, p. 17), are religiously oriented and highly hagiographic in style. Less clearly derivative but still poetic are speeches such as that of Igor' Svjatoslavič upon his defeat by the Polovci (see Chapter II, pp. 48-49). In the panegyric to Rjurik Rostislavič, the end and most poetic section of the chronicle, most of the section is a hymn of praise sung or chanted by the clergy to the prince. As was discussed above, the majority of the most poetic monents in the chronicle occur in direct speeches.

H. Author's Comment. Comment by the author or chronicler, or the interjection of the first person,

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is notable because it is such a departure from the non-individual, historic nature of the chronicle. However, it occurs often enough to be considered a characteristic feature and it is of stylistic interest. The most standard comment is "We will now return to the previous /matter/,"(e.g., see columns 304, 516, 531, 547, 574, 584, 593, 698 and 703-704) which signals a change of subject and, as it implies, often is in a place where the chronicler has strayed from one subject to another. This phrase was used in the topic of the death of Andrej Bogoljubskij, as was discussed above (pages 15-19) to "signal" a new segment of the topic.

Similarly, on occasion the chronicler clarifies something he has just written: "And after a few days the Davidovičči transgressed the kissing of the cross. They were leaders of that evil counsel about which we have already spoken (column 325)." "Izjaslav, as was said above, could not live in shame...(column 395)." At least twice there is reference to what is to be written, in columns 629 and 702, respectively: "but we will talk about this," and "Mstislav died, having received the order of monk, of which we will tell later."

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Frequently the interjections are didactic and moral:

> Thus Jaroslav died, alone amid such a great number of warriors, for his great pride, since he did not have hope in God, but counted on the great number of /his/ warriors . (columns 287-288)

The comments can give the reader a (usually gloomy) glimpse into the future, as "And he wept for that all the days of his life (column 291)," "All that came to pass (column 296)," or "And so it happened (column 690)."

The moral tone can be the only evidence of the presence of the chronicler, e.g., the quote from columns 287-288 above, or "the evil and insidious group" (column 351), or

> Our most-blessed and most-merciful Christ God did not want to give happiness to the devil or the wild Polovci, because they were ready for this and strove for bloodshed and were pleased at the disagreement among the Russian princes. And God delivered the Christians from dishonorable hands, from the accursed sons of Hagar. (column 700)

The most restrained example of such a moral comment is, "This was all done on account of our sins,"[20] as in

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[20] An expression taken from the Primary Chronicle; it first appears in 1093(6601); column 213 of Hypatian Chronicle.

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column 545 (see also columns 561, 603, 648, 667-8, and 709). The presence of the chronicler is much more obvious in the scathing denunciation of the cleric Fedorec (page 34 above; columns 551-554); the chronicler goes so far as to tell why he is writing this segment (and it is a very practical reason): "We/I write this lest they overlook anything at the bishops' conference."

The presence of the chronicler is also felt in cases where he is describing an occurrence that was so imposing that his awe expresses itself, almost involuntarily, as it were, e.g., (describing a storm in column 314) "to say it plainly, /it was/ as if there had been a battle." In some cases, the use of the first person gives the reader a clue to the allegiance of the author, as in description of some battle or some argument among the princes:

> And he /Mixalko/ went to the Rostislaviči, for Rjurik was in Kiev then, and he had arranged to give Vladimir Jaroslavič of Galič, Mixalko's nephew, to the Rostislaviči, and to send him to his father, and to send Vsevolod and Jaropolk and all the retinue to the Rostislaviči. They sent Vsevolod but did not send Jaropolk; they did not give him over to us. (column 572)

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In summary, comments of the chronicler or the interjection of the first person provide an occasional, somewhat startling contrast to the mostly impersonal and official tone of the chronicle. The most functional and "dry" of these comments are those referring to what was written earlier or what is to come; these functional comments usually serve as signals of a change in subject matter. Another type of such comment is the moral-didactic one, which may use the first person (as in "God punished us for our sins") or may be an indirect reference to the allegiance of the chronicler.

I. Formulas. Formulas or stock phrases appear more densely and regularly than any other device in the chronicle. They appear, of course, in the segments of the chronicle with styles which are literary/formulaic or informative/formulaic. The formula, like several other devices discussed here, was a device of the Byzantine literary tradition.

In Chapter II (p. 38). I quoted two passages about the enthronement of princes to illustrate how levels and types of style are used consistently throughout the chronicle; both these passages are very formulaic. Before the discussion of the formulas themselves,

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it is useful to give an example of a passage made up mostly of formulas in order to represent the style of this type of device. In 1126, Jaropolk, son of Vladimir Monomax and prince of Perejaslavl', defeats the Polovci (column 289):

> When the two armies met in battle the pagans were defeated by the power of the true cross and St. Michael. Some of them they killed, and some of them drowned in the river. God and the prayer of his father helped him /Jaropolk/. All the people glorified God for such a great gift and help.

Just as different styles are used to portray different events in the chronicle, certain formulas are specific to certain events. In the case of enthronement, for example, princes regularly "sit on the throne of /their/ fathers and grandfathers with great glory and honor" (columns 308, 327, 416 478, 504, etc.). And usually they are met by a multitude of the people (e.g., column 504).

It should be noted that certain elements may by omitted or added to a specific formula. The resulting variants, however, are easily recognizable. For example, a variant of the enthronement formula above is when, in 1141, the people of Novgorod take Rostislav Jurijevič to rule them, they enthrone

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him "with great honor in Novgorod on the throne of his father (column 308; "grandfather" is absent)." And the phrase "with great glory and honor," while usually a part of the enthronement formula, is also a formula in its own right; princes return from battle with honor and/or great glory (e.g., columns 311-312, 602). Another variant of the enthronement formula above is when someone dies and is said to have been "united with his fathers and grandfathers (e.g., column 706).

As was mentioned above, most formulas evince the prominent themes of the chronicle--that of homeland, or unity in Russia, and that of the Christian ethic. The invocation of the power of the true (or life-giving) cross is a formula that enhances the religious theme, as is the injunction against shedding Christian blood (for the former, see columns 289, 329, 347, 362, 423, 461, 511, 539, and 540 for examples, and for the latter, see columns 301, 379, and 429). A formula with religious overtones is that when people (usually princes) pray (usually while dying), they sigh from the depths of their hearts (i.e., from deep religious feelings; see columns 349-350, 455, 609, 704) and sometimes they

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raise their arms to heaven (see column 609). They also often refer to leaving this brief and fleeting life (i.e., they await eternal life, e.g., column 529) and when they do die, the chronicler may say that they have paid "the universal duty which no man can escape," as in columns 551, 617, 696, and 706.

Other formulas have a religious tone but are used in the context of military endeavors, such as the euphemisms discussed below (section J)--"Let it be as God wills/judges," and "Let us see what God shows us," and also the chronicler's comment "God did that for our sins," which usually refers to losing a battle. Much as God is thanked or blamed for military wins or losses, the devil is often named as responsible for treachery and enmity between relatives and/or allies; he is said to dislike "love between brothers," as in columns 328 and 541.

Some formulas refer to alliances between princes or between a prince and a certain people. A people pledging to follow a prince will say they will be "where/ever/ we see your banner" (column 323, etc.). Other alliances are expressed by the Old Russian version of "one for all and all for one"--za odin

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muž' (columns 342, 366, 375), or by a promise not ever to be separated from the ally (columns 418, 420--twice, 451-452, and 453-454). Another ritualized statement of fealty is asking someone to be like a father to oneself; this has been discussed in the section on similes (p. 57). The parallel between kinship and alliance occurs more often later in the chronicle--non-relatives are addressed more and more as "brother(s)" or "father"; this is reflective of the disunity in Russia and the theme of the chronicle for unity.

Formulas are used to describe military matters. "Mounting a horse" is a euphemistic formula for preparing for a campaign (columns 403, 694, 701). After a battle, to describe the losers, it is said "some were killed and others were captured" (or escaped, or drowned, etc.; columns 327, 363-364, 424, 432, 502, 557, and others). This last formula appears frequently; I found over twenty-five examples. Before battle, a prince or army will swear to win or lay down his/their life (literally, head; see columns 375-376, 452, 480, 604). A heavy battle is portrayed as "seča zla," evil or terrible carnage (from seči, to cut)--see columns 437, 557-558. And

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after a battle or campaign the troops and princes disperse, each to his own land (this is also used after meetings); this usage is also quite frequent, see column 465 for an example. When not victorious, armies return "not having succeeded in any way" (columns 356 and 433).

Finally, some formulas are used to describe festive moments, as "and they abided in happiness/ merrymaking and great love" (e.g., column 682), or the tautology discussed above (p. 75) "rejoiced with great joy." But the vast majority of the formulas in this chronicle relate either directly or indirectly to the themes of the land of Rus' and Christianity--one frequent example combines these, "for Christians and the Russian land," which is used to describe various motives for actions (see columns 429, 431, and 538). These themes are also prominent in the device to be discussed below, the euphemism.

My selection of formulas to be discussed here is based solely on the frequency of their occurrence in this chronicle. Many other phrases which occur far less frequently may have been formulas in Byzantine religious writings or Russian hagiography or any earlier work which might have been known to the

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writers of this chronicle. Formulas were a traditional literary device (see Lixačev, Poetika, pp. 95-122) and, like parallel construction, may have served a mnemonic function here as they did in the oral tradition; perhaps these formulas helped the emissaries to learn their messages more easily. In modern times familiarity is often equated with triteness, but in the time of the Middle Ages the world view was different, tradition was revered, and newness was not valued for its own sake.[22]

J. Euphemisms. "Euphemism" is a rhetorical term meaning "the substition of a mild, indirect, or vague expression for a harsh or blunt one."[23] Almost all of the euphemisms in this chronicle are also formulas. Most euphemistic usages involve military negotiations. The most common is a veiled threat--"Let God judge between us" or "Let it be between us as God wills (literally, judges);" this is usually presented as the second half of an either-or ultimatum. What is really meant when this is said is

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[22]Lixačev, D.S., Razvitie russkoj literatury X-XVII vekov, Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", Leningradskoe otdelenie, Leningrad, 1973, p. 6.

[23]Barnhart, C.L. (editor), The American College Dictionary, New York, Random House, 1966.

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"or else let us fight it out." For example, Rostislav Mstislavič says to his brother Izjaslav about their troubles and negotiations with the Ol'govičі, "Let them lay aside enmity about Igor',...If they still have enmity about Igor', then it would be better to be at war with them, and /in which case/ let it be with us as God wills (column 365)."

A similar veiled threat expresses the dissolution of an alliance. Svjatoslav complains to Jaroslav Izjaslavič in 1174 (cf. p.49, Ch.II) about territory, and says, "If you do not stand by the first vow, then you are free (column 578)." Likewise, in 1193 a certain Svjatoslav and Rjurik, negotiating for a meeting with the Polovci, say "If you want /to meet/, then you come to us. Otherwise, if you do not want, then you are free (column 675)." Obviously the implication of this is if one is not a friend and ally, one must be an enemy. Other such euphemistic threats include Izjaslav Mstislavič's words to Rostislav Jur'evič: "Go to Bužsk and stay there until I go against your father and either make peace with him or settle the matter in some other way" (column 368; the threat here is indirect, to the father and not the son) and the same

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Izjaslav's message to Vjačeslav Vladimirič and Jurij Vladimirič regarding their promise to return captured goods and men, "If you uphold the /oath of the/ cross, then may God let us live. If you do not want to uphold it, then we will see what happens (columns 393-394)."

In fact, God is usually named as responsible for any military venture--he is the cause of both victories and defeats, along with Mary, the saints Boris and Gleb, and/or the power of the cross. In one place the Russians are relieved to know that it was God, after all (and not themselves), who caused them to be defeated, because of their sins. In the case of euphemistic phrasing, God is even the developer of military strategies; Rostislav Mstislavič says to his brother Izjaslav, "Wait for me. I have burned Ljubeč and fought much and I have done much evil to the Ol'goviči. Let us see together what God shows us /to do/ (column 357)." And later Izjaslav says the same thing to Rostislav (column 378). Still later, in another speech Izjaslav says to his son Mstislav, "We are already going to God's judgement (column 434)," which really means he has begun his approach to enemy forces. And when he asks for a military report,

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after reporting his own success, he says to Rostislav:

> "And so God and the Holy Mother of God and the power of the life-giving cross brought us in health to Kiev. And, brother, I ask you if you are in good health and whether God helps you there." (columns 362-363).

A second type of euphemistic phrase concerns the honor of one's land and oneself. For example, the same Izjaslav says to his retinue:

> "Brothers and retinue: God has never allowed the Russian land and his Russian sons to be dishonored; they have attained their honor everywhere. Now, brothers, let us all emulate that--in these lands and before foreign people, let us attain our honor." (columns 448-449)

"Attaining one's honor" is equivalent to military victory.

It is interesting how these euphemisms repeat the major themes of the chronicle, the need for unity (idea of homeland) in Russia and the Christian ethic. The euphemisms also illustrate how closely bound to one another these themes were, as in the references to God which are used to talk about military endeavors of the Russians (although it is often unclear who in reality represented "Russia" in the context of these twelfth-century internecine squabbles).

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Conclusion. Specific literary devices examined were quite diverse. Some were recognized in both the European-English and the Byzantine-Russian traditions, as similes, metaphors, and rhetorical questions. Others were germane to the Byzantine tradition--compounds, parallel construction, quotes and allusions, epithets, and formulas. Still others were characteristic to Old Russian literature, such as euphemisms, direct speech, and author's comment or interjection of the first person. The density of some devices, such as formulas, dative absolute, epithets and author's comment, contrasts with the rarity of others.

The initiate to the chronicles, upon seeing the wide variety of topics and styles in them, may have an impression of chaos. But upon closer examination it can be discerned that the usages conform to a strict Byzantine-Russian literary tradition. The above investigation of literary devices shows this quite clearly, and a more exhaustive study could accumulate a great deal more evidence (see Besharov's study of the Igor' Tale). The literary tradition defined what devices were, what their functions were, and where they occurred; however, the devices were used not mechanically but purposefully and creatively in the chronicles.

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