

WAS SHVARN DANYLOVYCH A GALICIAN PRINCE?

The article deals with one of the most disputable issues in the history of Halytsko-Volynska State in the second half of 1260's. The author verifies the accuracy of the old Mykhailo Hrushevskyy's version which says, "after the king Danylo Romanovych's death the Principality of Galicia was turned over to his senior son Lev Danylovych".

Key words: *Lev Danylovych, Shvarn Danylovych, the Principality of Galicia, Danylo Romanovych, Vasylko Romanovych.*

The last years of the king Danylo Romanovych's reign (1258-1264), his death and the impetuous transition of 1264-1269 yrs are one of the most controversial moments in the whole history of Halytsko-Volynska State.

The first history researchers of Halytsko-Volynska State assumed, that Vasylko, the brother of the king Danylo Romanovych, became the suzerain of Halytsko-Volynska State after the king's death. Danylo's son, Lev, preserved only Peremyshl Principality and the other son – Shvarn – Holm, Galician, Belz and Chervensk Principalities. As a matter of fact, these views were recently supported by Dariush Dombrovskyy.

According to Mykhailo Hrushevskyy, Vasylko Romanovych became the next suzerain of Halytsko-Volynska State with the capital of Volodymyr. Lev Danylovych ruled Peremyshl and Galician Principalities (not including Terebovlia), that seemed to be turned over to Mstyslav Danylovych. Shvarn Danylovych himself received Holm and Belz Principalities. According to the historian, the confrontation among the princes burst out almost immediately. In that confrontation Vasylko and Shvarn were in the alliance against Lev Danylovych. This version was supported by Petro Hrytsak.

Ivan Krypiakevych wrote, that Vasylko Romanovych held Volodymyr and Berestia, Lev Danylovych – Galician, Peremyshl and Belz Principalities, Mstyslav Danylovych – Lutsk Principality and Shvarn Danylovych – Holm and Dorohochyn Principalities. Leontii Voitovych shares this opinion, paying attention to the fact, that Slonim Principality remained in hands of Roman Danylovych' son, Vasylko Romanovych. Mychailo Kuchynko shares this opinion.

Volodymyr Pashuto stresses, that Shvarn Danylovych became the suzerain of Halytsko-Volynska State and his possessions included Halych, Holm, Belz, Dorohochyn and Black Rus. Vasylko Romanovych preserved Volodymyr and Slonim. Lev Danylovych received Peremyshl and Lviv, and Mstyslav – Lutsk. Mykola Kotliar, Jaroslav Isaievych and Dmytro Aleksandrov adhere to the similar position.

Nevertheless, the question, who did receive the most prestigious Galician Principality, remains topical and needs more profound research.

Let's analyse the recent years of the king Danylo Romanovych' reign. The king Danylo Romanovych suffered a defeat in the war with the Golden Horde in 1258-1260 yrs. Berke Khan managed to restore the domination of the Golden Horde over Halytsko-Volynska State without considerable efforts. The khan's general Burundai took successful measures to decrease the defensive capacity of South-Western Rus and managed to dissolve political alliances with the closest neighbours. The Horde's military power forced the Volhynian princes to attack insidiously along with them the Lithuanian lands. Besides they organized a great Prussian rebellion under Hercus Mantas' leadership, which bereaved the Teutonic Order of its strength, and neutralized the Polish princes by a violent assault and slaughter in Sandomyr. Neither the Cracow prince Boleslav Soromiazlyvyi nor the Masovian prince Zemovyt managed to come to the rescue of Sandomyr. The campaign was as quick as lightning. The Hungarians couldn't even muster the troops. When they reached information about the events and were thinking what to do next – the troops of Burundai were already coming back.

The king Danylo Romanovych didn't succeed in protecting his southwestern borders with a number of powerful stone-walled fortresses and missile artillery as it had been in Holm. A political shortsightedness of the Pope Oleksandr IV had a part to play. He couldn't estimate a historical perspective of the alliance and devoted his energy to secondary issues such as the adoption of Latin mass in Rus churches instead of St. Ioann Zlatoust' liturgy.

Danylo Romanovych himself had to emigrate to Hungary. His main towns remained defenceless, and the allies – paralyzed. In the interval of the end of 1259-beginning of 1260 and till the autumn 1262 the king Danylo disappears from the pages of the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle. It turns out to be strange because of a panegyric background of the chronicle. The given period was the last emigration of the king.

June 12-th, 1260 the king Danylo took part in the Battle of Kresenbrun in Shtyria, that ended the Hungarian-Czech War for the Babenbergs' Austrian inheritance. The knightly troops, headed by the Shtyrian marshal Ulrikh fon Vildon had defeated the army of the king Bela IV before the troops of the king Pshemysl II Ottokar came. In that battle as we trace in the letter of Pshemysl II Ottokar, "Danielem regem Russiae et filios eius et caeteros Ruthenorum ac Tataros". Isydor Sharanevych, Myron Korduba and Mukhailo Hrushevskyi pointed at a rather accidental character of the Rus king's participation in that battle. At that time he was no longer interested in the competition for the Babenbergs' inheritance. And really, after immediate Burundai' withdrawal Danylo Romanovych being in the confrontation with Lithuanians(having destroyed town fortifications and a sombre atmosphere of the lost war) couldn't take part in yet another father of the son-in-law's adventure if the circumstances did not send him to Hungary.

In Hungary he had to get some dominion from Bela II to maintain the court and armed forces (like his bygone competitor prince Rostyslav Mykhailovych got principality in Machva). The service made Danylo take part in Styria campaign.

Mykhailo Hrushevskyi noticed the mistake of chronicler Ian Dluhosh who inputed the share in this battle to Lev and Roman Danylovych. However, Roman

had past by that time. Lev Danylovych who complied all conditions of Burunday didn't have to emigrate. He stayed running Peremyshl, Halych and Belz principalities. Only Mstyslav and Shvarn Danylovych could be with Danylo near Kresenbrun.

Hungarian chronicler Gustav Wenzel assumed Danylo to have taken part in the battle with his own army. King Danylo must have gone to Hungary with his troops through Polish lands. There is a very interesting source about Tartar detachment. Danylo was the first among other princes to understand that urgent reforms on creating a strong, modern, unconquerable army should be introduced in order to be released from Mongolian superiority. During the realization of those reforms his army borrowed some cheaper and more effective models from Horde ammunition. That is why his subunits could be similar to Horde ones. Polovtsian soldiers also could be taken as Horde ones who belonged to the army of king Danylo. The Hordes themselves couldn't take part in that battle. King Danylo was an emigrant for them, who fled from khan punishment. Mongolians could not forgive his unauthorized admission of royal title by claiming the whole Rus in addition to. Khan Batu happened to make clear that Mongolian wouldn't restore the Rus state and would build their relations with its princes only at their own discretion.

In 1260 began the fight for the throne of Grand Khan (Mongolian emperor) between Khubilai and Aryk-Buha who tried to banish Berke's emirs from Samarkand, Bukhara, Mawarannahr. Therefore Golden Horde khan didn't dare to burst out the war against Khulahu. Chronicler Rashyd ad-Din mentioned of numerous missions of Berke to Khulahu. During the negotiations Berke tried to come to an agreement with the competitor. He even delivered up Ohlan Balakan accused of having used magic against Khulahu. But Ilhan executed Balakan and killed Ohlans Kuli and Tatar cunningly. Berke had to fight. Operations began in 1262 and lasted with intervals almost till the end of 60s of the 13th century. In 1263 khan Berke inflicted defeat Khulahu on the Kuri but with major casualties.

According to Arabic historian Ibn Vasyla Berke overlooking above the pile of corps said: “If we had acted together, we would have conquered the whole world”.

Favourable conditions for king Danulo`s returning appeared only under such circumstances. In autumn 1262, defeating Lithuanian, Vasylko Romanovych sent Borys Izbolc to the king in Hungary. Danylo Romanovych was in Telych at that time (near Telych pass on the upper course of Poprad, today the village Tylich Krinitsa municipality Novosandets district in Poland). Referring to the text of chronicle one can see that the king was out of the land for a longer period: “король же бѣше печалю ѿ братѣпо великоу и ѿ сновцѣ свонмѣ Володимерѣ зане молодѣ бѣше”.

After the king`s coming back at the end of 1262 the prince congress (where Danylo and Vasylko Romanovich, Boleslav Soromyazlyvyi, Lev and Shvarn Danylovych and Volodymyr Vasylkovych were present) took place in Ternava..Exactly at the forum the given above princes “ положиша радѣ ѿ землю Роускою Ладскую оутвердивъшеса кртмѣ чтнымѣ “. That meant to put an end to the last emigration, the final return back to the power accepted by all his vassals and restore of the relationships existing before Burunday`s campaign.

The king Danylo Romanovich seemed to keep hope on winning the lands of all Rus from Mongols in the union with other European Christian countries. The Ternavskiy congress of princes also seemed to concern the repartition of places in the kingdom that led to the following confrontation among the sons of Danylo Romanovych. His elder son Lev Danylovich who happened to be the closest associate of the king Danylo in his numerous campaigns turned out to be almost in the opposition to his father (because the first places were taken by Shvarn and Mstyslav who were in emigration with him and supported his policy). Lev Danylovich being better informed about the real political situation treated it with distrust. Since that time Volynski chroniclers began to depict the image of the prince Lev as a “disgraceful prince” .That fact was paid attention to by Mariush Bartniskyi.

I dare risk that Vasylko Romanovych came out against continuing the policy of Rus lands' deliverance from hordian guardianship. King Danylo being highly reputable (I completely agree with the conclusion made by D.Dombrovskiy) reacted sharply at once. He took away the land of Lutsk from his brother Vasylko and hand it down to his son Mstyslav and took away the land of Galich from Lev by giving it to Shvarn. Did he materialize his decision? Being always submissive, Vasylko Romanovych carried out his brother's will. We can see Mstyslav Danylovich in Lutsk but it is unbelievable that he took over that place only after the death of his father when the suzerain of the country was Vasylko Romanovich or any of Danylovishes. Moreover, Vasylko Romanovich, holding all Volynsk land and having the opportunity to take it over to his only son Volodymyr, under no circumstances he wouldn't do this after the death of his elder brother. Volodymyr Vasylkovich wouldn't give Lutsk if he had inherited it from his father. All the more, he wouldn't give over Volodymyr later to Mstyslav Volodymyrovich, if, on the benefit of the latter Lev, made him give Lutsk with Eastern Volyn, according to D.Dombrovskiy.

Shvarn stayed with him in Holm till the father's death. Did Lev give Galych principedom to his junior brother who he had the yarlyk from Berke on?

After 1245 Lev Danylovich had already received Peremyshl and Belzk principedoms. The very foundation of Lviv on the verge of those principedoms is the evidence of that situation. According to Paslavskiy that happened between 1240 and 1256. I think that after 1245, when after the battle near Yaroslav Belzk kingdom was taken over to Lev Danylovich (till 1256 when we have the first record of Lviv as a real city).

The central location of Lviv between Peremyshl and Belz principalities at the crossroad of Peremyshl and Belz cities to Galych was the best for the city, named in honor of the Prince, who owned both of those principedoms.

In 1259, after the Mongols dismissed Danylo Romanovych, only Lev Danylovych could get the yarlyk as to Galysk principality. Exactly he complied Burundai's demand to ruin such towns as Stochok and Danyliv. The fact

that Burundai after Sandomyr's collapse passed through Peremyshl and Galych princedoms with ease meshing nobody could be the evidence that Mongols considered Lev Danylovych to be quite a loyal vassal. Lev had massive military experience and kept on reforming forces, begun by his father. This fact is witnessed by the recent excavations in Lviv(digging out a giant furrier's complex, where koyars for horse protection might have been produced. By the time his father returned from emigration the Prince had had the most massive resources of all the Romanovych house. He got on perfect terms with Mongols. As the matter of fact Lev Danylovych was very courageous and stubborn as a political figure.

The date of Danylo Romanovych's death is a matter of a certain dispute. Mykola Dashkevych assumed the King's death to be in the period of spring 1263-spring 1264. Denys Zubrycky and Isydor Sharanevych accepted the version of 1264 and Mykola Baumgarten supposed it to be in 1265. According to some Polish sources Mykola Karamzin considered Danylo Romanovych to die before 1266. After Grushevskyi's research, summer 1264 became the generally accepted date. According to Dombrovskyi's more precise study, which could be absolutely relied on, it happened in late May no later than early June 1264. A serious disease preceded Danylo Romanovych's death (" a korol b Δ shettogdavpal v bolestvelukou"). So, we could suppose that since the end of 1263 Danylo Romanovych totally abandoned active political work. The serious disease might have begun even earlier. Obviously, king's environs (including Shwarn Danylovych who didn't leave his father) tried to use such a situation.

Mstyslav Danylovych seemed to take Lytsk princedom with Eastern Volyn from Vasylko Romanovych. Danylo Romanovych added one more volost from the area of Galych princedom including Stozhcok. There is no any other explanation for this town to be owned by Prince of Lytsk.

Shwarn was staying in Holm, carrying on an intrigue against his brother. Volynsk chroniclers, who treated Lev Danylovych hostilely, fixed that both capitals (Holm and Galych) belonged to Shwarn Danylovych. Being ill Danylo Romanovych might confirm passing Galych to the youngest son. But the latter, being in the

know of father's serious disease, didn't hurry to carry out his will and Shvarn Danylovych didn't dare to claim it by force. He sought (by no means fruitlessly) mutual understanding and relationships with Vasylk Romanovych.

Lev Danylovych, in turn, wished to come to agreement with Mstyslav Danylovych giving him Stozhok along with the volost.

Being related to the king of Hungary as a son-in-law, he strengthened his alliance with the monarch. A short time ago, after the death of Danylo Romanovych, October 5, 1264, at the wedding of Slavonic duke Bela (Bela IV's son) and Kunihunda (Brandenburg margrave Otton III's daughter) held nearby Potenburg, derkunic von Razen was among the guests from the side of Hungarian king. According to Serbian historian Jura Hardy exactly that person was Lev Danylovych. The wedding which actually was a congress of the masters of Central-Eastern Europe was used by Lev Danylovych for strengthening his relations. An interesting fact is that an Austrian chronicler called him the and that is a good evidence of Lev Danylovych being an official inheritor of Danylo Romanovych and a suzerain of Rus by the masters of Europe. His place at the wedding witnessed it. Lev Danylovych was certain not to be crowned because the coronation regalia were in Kholm. Besides, he did not want to irritate the Khan of Golden Horde Berke, especially after the successful march to Constantinople held in 1264 by Emir Nohaj.

The evidence of close relations between Lev Danylovych and Bella IV were demonstrated by Constance's (the wife of Lev Danylovych) staying at the court of Bella IV in 1268. Constance met her sisters Kunihunda (the wife of Boleslav Soromiazlyvyi) and Yolanda (the wife of Kalishskyi prince Boleslav Pobozhnyi) there. With the help of his father-in-law and his wife Lev Danylovych supported allied relations with Polish princes. And it was not an occasional fact that in 1265 Shvarn Danylovych treated Boleslav Soromiazlyvyi to be still his ally, nevertheless the war between them burst out in 1266.

The fact of killing Voishelk (the son of Mindovg) at the meeting in Volodymyr between April 18th and 23^d, 1267 is evident. At that time Shvarn got

the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from Voishelk and became a really mighty master. It was not an easy task to make Vasylko Romanovych organize a meeting with Voishelk. Vasylko Romanovych himself was disinterested in this meeting, because the meeting was aimed at transferring Lithuanian throne to Lev. Voishelk was afraid of Lev Danylovych not because of his being involved in Danylo Romanovych death (10 years almost passed and the political circumstances changed), but because of his obvious reluctance to give the power of Lithuania to Lev Danylovych (Shvarn was his brother-in-law). Vasylko Romanovych guaranteed security to Voishelk. He made everything for that meeting to happen. It could happen only in that case if Lev owned not only a small Peremyshl principality but also Peremyshl, Galician and Belz principalities and leaned on the alliance with Hungary, Polish princes and could count on the help from The Golden Horde.

Thus, summing up what was said above we can state on the convention in Ternava at the end of (1262 at which the king Danylo Romanovych, insisting on the continuation of anti-horde policy and also strengthening his progeny), made the decision to give dominion to Mstyslav and Shvarn Danylovychy, who accompanied him in the emigration. He also decided to dispossess Lutske principality from his brother Vasylko Romanovych and Galician principality from his older son Lev. But the coming disease and the death of the king Danylo (June, 1264) stopped him from the complete realization of that decision. Shvarn Danylovych stayed in Kholm and failed to capture Galician throne. The territory of Galician principality passed to Lev Danylovych , excepting a small parish with Stizhok which passed to Mstyslav Danylovych. If Shvarn Danylovych had the title of Galician prince for some period of time, it was only on a pro forma basis.

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