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**The Galician-Volynian Chronicle, the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*
and the Thirteenth-Century Military Tale**

Sixty years ago D. S. Likhachev noted parallels in style, words, and motifs between the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* and the Galician Chronicle (GC). He explained these parallels by a common Galician literary tradition that both derived from. He saw Metropolitan Kirill (1242–1280/1) as the agent of that involvement in the composition of both works, either as the author or in commissioning them. In regard to the Galician Chronicle, which deals mainly with events during the time of Daniil Romanovich, Likhachev pointed to Kirill's possibly having been the keeper of the seal (печатник) under Daniil, as well as being closely involved with many of the events in the life of Daniil and as having some involvement with the writing of the "biography of Daniil" (жизнеописание Даниила), contained in the GC. He asserted that Kirill completed work on the main part of the GC before he left to join Aleksander Nevskii in the north in the 1250s.¹

In regard to the *Life*, Likhachev wrote: "Вне всякого сомнения, Кирилл имел отношение к составлению жизнеописания Александра. Он мог быть и автором, но вернее всего он заказал житие кому-нибудь из проживавших на севере галицких книжников." As further evidence of Kirill's connection with the *Life*, Likhachev cited the words from the Pskovo-Pecherskii copy of the *Life*: "се же бысть проповедано всем от Кюрила митрополита святителя и от иконома его Савестиана".² While acknowledging the difference in form between the two works ("в целом, между жизнеописанием Даниила и житием Александра имеется весьма существенное различие"), Likhachev saw their similarities as being more telling: "это различие на самом деле теснее и конкретнее всего связывает жизнеописание Даниила с житием Александра"³ Likhachev was, thus, suggesting three possible points of contact between the GC and the *Life*: influence of the Galician literary tradition; common authorship, possibly Kirill; but "more likely" common commissioning by Kirill.

Likhachev's argument about Kirill's being a connecting link between the GC and the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* has had a mixed reception in the scholarship. Iu. K. Begunov, who provided the most extensive study of the text of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* to

¹ Д. С. Лихачев, "Галицкая литературная традиция в житии Александра Невского," *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы (ТОДРЛ)*, т. 5 (1947), стр. 49-50. Likhachev recapitulated the main points of his argument in idem, *Русские летописи и их культурно-историческое значение* (М./Л., 1947), стр. 258–267. Cherepnin had previously proposed that Daniil's tysiatskii Dem'ian had some relationship to the composition of the Galician Chronicle. Л. В. Черепнин, "Летописец Даниила Галицкого," *Исторические записки*, № 12 (1941), стр. 245–252. Subsequently, Pashuto emphasized Kirill's participation in its composition. В. Т. Пашуто, *Очерки по истории Галицко-Волынской Руси* (М., 1950), стр. 87, 91-92.

² Лихачев, "Галицкая литературная традиция", стр. 52. "This was preached to all by the holy metropolitan Kirill and by his cellarer Sebastian." Note: henceforth in the footnotes, I will use the short-form author-title designation above for this article. In the text, however, in parentheses, I will use the designation "ГЛТ" for this article and *ПЛ* for his book *Русские летописи*.

³ Лихачев, "Галицкая литературная традиция", стр. 49.

date, mentioned Likhachev's article but did not discuss the views expressed in it.⁴ Nor did Likhachev himself refer to them in his monumental *Tekstologija*. Although he did cite his article, it was in relation to another matter entirely, not to Kirill's possible connection to the *Life* and the GC.⁵ Dmitrij Čyževskij rejected seeing any stylistic parallel between the GC and the *Life*, and questioned whether the Kirill who was keeper of the seal under Daniil was the same Kirill who became metropolitan.⁶ Gunther Stökl also questioned whether Metropolitan Kirill can be identified with the Kirill who was keeper of the seal under Daniil, and the relationship of Metropolitan Kirill to the authorship of the GC and the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*. He commented: "Was die Verfasserschaft des Kirill an der galizisch-wolhynischen Chronik und an der Vita des Aleksandr Nevskij betrifft, so ist die gleichzeitige Verfasserschaft an beiden Werken nach den Ergebnissen Tschizewskijs auszuschließen. Wir möchten sie in beiden Fällen für nicht besonders wahrscheinlich halten. Durchaus möglich erscheint jedoch, daß die lateinerfeindliche Tendenz der Aleksandr-Vita auf den Einfluß des eifrigen Metropoliten zurückgeht."⁷

John Fennell accepted Likhachev's argument in regard to the "stylistic similarities" between the GC and the *Life* (although he acknowledged "there may be more stylistic differences than similarities"), as well as "Kirill's authorship, or at any rate his participation in the compilation, of the" *Life*.⁸ Fennell also accepted Begunov's dating of its composition to 1282–83 and saw no contradiction in doing so as the result of his thinking Kirill had died in 1287 rather than 1280/1.⁹ V. I. Okhotnikova attributed the composition of the *Life* to "the circle of Kirill," thus implicitly accepting a Kirill connection.¹⁰ Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, citing Likhachev, stated that Kirill "Form und Inhalt der *vita* maßgeblich beeinflußt," but seemed to stop short of agreeing that Kirill wrote or commissioned it.¹¹ N. F. Kotliar, in his commentary to and articles on the GVC in the recent

⁴ See, e.g., Ю. К. Бегунов, *Памятник русской литературы XIII века "Слово о погибели Русской земли"* (М., 1965), стр. 10 прим. 29, and стр. 117 прим. 141.

⁵ Д. С. Лихачев, *Текстология. На материале русской литературы X–XVII вв.*, 1-е изд. (Л., 1962), стр. 350.

⁶ Dmitrij Tschizewskij [Čiževskij], "Zum Stil der Galizisch-Volynischen Chronik," *Südostforschungen*, Band 12 (1953), S. 97–102.

⁷ Gunther Stökl, "Kanzler und Metropolit," *Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas*, Band 3, *Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas* (Graz-Cologne, 1966), S. 164–174, quotation on S. 174, n. 109 (continued from previous page); cf. idem, *Das Bild des Abendlandes in den altrussischen Chroniken* (= *Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften*, Band 124) (Köln-Opladen, 1965), S. 32.

⁸ John Fennell, "Literature of the Tatar Period (13th–15th Centuries)," in John Fennell and Anthony Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* (London: Faber and Faber, 1974), pp. 120–121.

⁹ Fennell, "Literature of the Tatar Period (13th–15th Centuries)," pp. 108–109; idem, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304* (London: Longman, 1984), p. 103; idem, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (London: Longman, 1995), p. 198.

¹⁰ See her commentary to "Житие Александра Невского", подготовка текста, перевод и комментарий Б. И. Охотниковой, в кн. *Памятники литературы древней Руси. XIII век* (М., 1981), стр. 602.

¹¹ Frithjof Benjamin Schenk, *Aleksandr Nevskij: Heiliger – Fürst – Nationalheld. Eine Erinnerungsfigur im russischen kulturellen Gedächtnis (1263–2000)* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2004), S. 59 and fn. 12.

edition of that chronicle, did not mention Likhachev's article nor any possible influence either directly or indirectly of the GC on the *Life*.¹²

Whether or not one accepts Likhachev's conclusions about the relationship of Metropolitan Kirill to the composition of the *Life* or about possible common authorship of it and the GC, significant methodological questions are involved, although not explicitly raised, in Likhachev's article. Such questions are, for example: how does one determine whether two works are composed by the same author in contrast to one author's borrowing textually from the work of another author? And would two works commissioned by the same person show characteristics of such commissionership that would distinguish them from any other work of similar genre? In short, what are the criteria for determining common authorship or common commissionership? Does the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* show evidence of at least a Galician literary influence? A number of studies have been devoted to analyzing stylistic similarities among different works attributed to the same Rus'ian author.¹³ In addition, Likhachev's claims of Kirill's involvement with the composition of the GC and the *Life* necessarily depend on one's acceptance of his evidence that a Galician literary tradition in the *Life* can be corroborated. If no such tradition can be corroborated, then the claim of Kirill's involvement with the *Life* falls of its own weight.

The present article analyzes Likhachev's claims in his 1947 *TODRL* article and concludes that non-acceptance of his views concerning the relationship of the *Life* to the GC is justified, but not in ignoring them entirely. Furthermore, I propose there is no relationship between the *Life* and the GC that cannot be explained by the common genre of the thirteenth-century military tale. I will proceed by discussing the following points: (1) the text of the *Life* to place it in the context of Likhachev's claims of a Galician literary tradition in the *Life* and of more or less direct evidence of Kirill's authorship or commissionership; (2) the relationship of the GC to the Volynian Chronicle (VC) because Likhachev also claimed that parallels exist between the *Life* and the VC as demonstration of Galician literary influence; and (3) each of the parallels that Likhachev saw between the GC and VC, on one side, and the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*, on the other.

¹² Н. Ф. Котляр, "Галицко-Волынская Русь второй половины XII–XIII вв."; "Композиция, источники, жанровые и идейные характеристики Галицко-Волынской летописи"; и "Комментарии"; в кн. *Галицко-Волынская летопись: Текст. Комментарии. Исследование*, составители Н. Ф. Котляр, В. Ю. Франчук, А. Г. Плахонин, ред. Н. Ф. Котляр (СПб., 2005).

¹³ For a general discussion of attribution issues in Rus' literature, a place to start is Лихачев, *Текстология*, 1-е изд., стр. 287-328; 2-е изд., стр. 304-344; 3-е изд., стр. 299-337. Kloss analyzed the works of 23 authors to determine a separate coefficient of synonymity for each of them. Б. М. Клосс, *Никоновский свод и русские летописи XVI–XVII веков* (М., 1980), стр. 112-116. I provided criteria for establishing which works can be reliably attributed to Nil Sorskii in my "Toward Establishing the Canon of Nil Sorsky's Work," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, vol. 31 (1998), pp. 34-50. An attempt was made to confirm the traditional attribution of 13 Rus'ian authors in *От Нестора до Фонвизина. Новые методы определения авторства*, ред. Л. В. Милов (М., 1994). For the application of textual methods to modern Russian literature — in particular, the question of Mikhail Sholokhov's authorship of *Tikhii Don*, see Geir Kjetsaa, Sven Gustavsson, Bengt Beckman, and Steinar Gil, *The Authorship of The Quiet Don* (Oslo: Solum, 1984).

Begunov has identified three main redactions of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* by the fifteenth century. The 1st redaction of the *Life*, which is also the earliest, is extant in full in 11 MS copies (one of which dates to the end of the fifteenth century, the other ten to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and in part in 2 MS copies (one of which dates to 1377, the other to the end of the fifteenth century). The MSS that contain the full *Life*, according to Begunov's listing, are:

— РГБ, собрание Московской духовной академии, фонд 173, № 208 [ок. 1550 г.] (A);

— ГААО, собрание рукописных книг, № 18 [1550–1575 гг.] (Ap);

— ГИМ, собрание Е. В. Барсова, № 1413 [ок. 1600 г.] (B);

— РГБ, собрание Иосифо-Волоколамского монастыря, фонд 113, № 523 [1550–1575 гг.] (B);

— ИРЛИ, Р. IV, оп. 24, № 26 [ок. 1550 г.] (L);

— ГИМ, Музейское собрание, № 1706 [1550–1575 гг.] (M);

— РГБ, собрание А. Н. Овчинникова, фонд 209, № 281 [ок. 1650 г.] (O);

— РНБ, собрание М. П. Погодина, № 641 [1550–1575 гг.] (Pz);

— ГИМ, Синодальное собрание, № 154, лл. 156–162об. [end of fifteenth century] (Pc);

— РГБ, собрание Олонецкой семинарии, фонд 212, № 15 [1625–1650 гг.] (P);

— ГИМ, собрание А. С. Уварова, № 279 [1650–1675 гг.] (U);

The MS that contains only the beginning part of the *Life* is:

— РНБ, Ф. IV. № 2, лл. 168–169об. [1377 г.] (Lv).

The MS that contains the beginning and end parts of the *Life* is:

— ГАПО, собрание Псково-Печерского монастыря, фонд 449, № 60 [1450–1475 гг.] (I).¹⁴

All quotations in the present article from the *Life* represent my own reconstruction of a virtual archetype based on the critical apparatus that Begunov provides. In general, I give priority to readings in copies according to the following tiered order:

(1) Lv

(2) A, Ap, B, M, O, Pz

(3) B, Pc, P, U

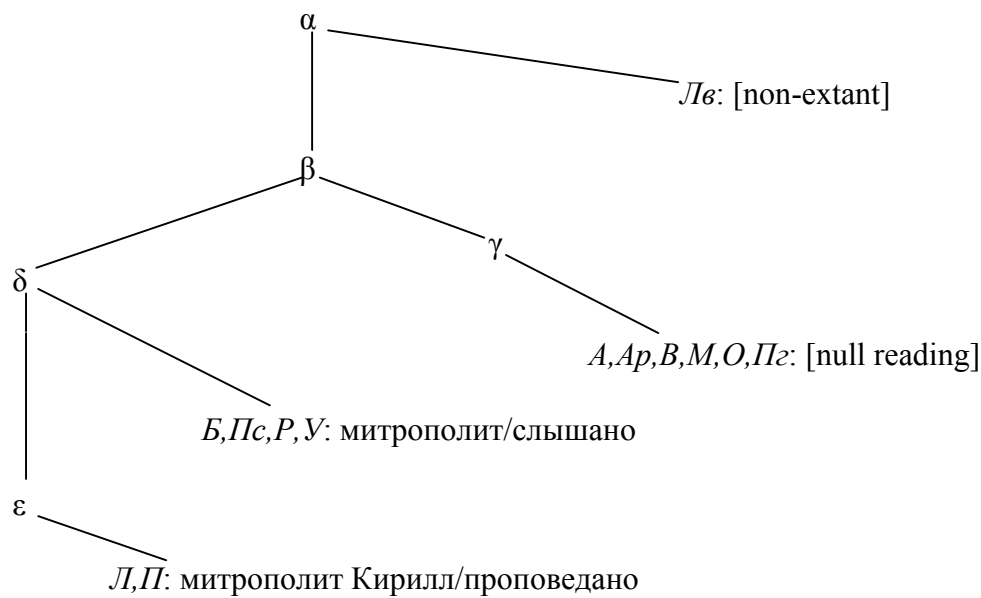
(4) L, I

I follow, thereby, the readings of Lv where extant and of A, Ap, B, M, O, Pz for the rest. One problem with this procedure is my dependence on Begunov's published text, wherein he keeps “ѣ” and final “ъ” where they appear in Pc, his copy text, and inserts punctuation where he thinks appropriate. But he changes “ѣ” to “е”, drops final “ъ”, and includes no punctuation in the critical apparatus in reporting the readings of his control texts. As a result, my “virtual” text of the *Life* has some internal inconsistencies in morphology and punctuation, and also differs in places from the wording of Likhachev's quotations, but I will indicate where there is any substantive difference.

¹⁴ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 159 and “Археографический обзор”, стр. 195-212.

It is difficult to see in the version of the quotation that Likhachev cited, which is limited to two (*Л* and *П*) copies of the 1st redaction (as reported by Begunov), any evidence of Kirill's writing or commissioning the *Life* to be written. Even less so is there such evidence in this passage in comparison with the readings attested to by the other MS copies. Four copies (*Б*, *Пс*, *Р*, and *У*) do mention the metropolitan but not by name and use the word слышано rather than проповедано: “се же бысть слышано всемъ от господина митрополита и от иконома его Савестиана”.¹⁵ The other six copies (*А*, *Ар*, *В*, *М*, *О*, and *Пз*) that are extant to the end of the *Life* do not mention the metropolitan or his cellarer at all. Begunov thought that the copies *Б*, *Пс*, *Р*, and *У* best represent the archetype, while he considered *Л* and *П* closer to the archetype than *А*, *Ар*, *В*, *М*, *О*, and *Пз*. Instead, I consider *А*, *Ар*, *В*, *М*, *О*, and *Пз*, along with *Лв*, in the part of the *Life* that it maintains, to best represent the archetype. In this case, the null reading they carry is primary. The copies *Б*, *Пс*, *Р*, and *У* add the reference to the “metropolitan and his cellarer Sebastian.” Finally, at the last stage, *Л* and *П* add *Kirill* as the name of the metropolitan. In any event, the phrase “this [that] was heard” refers to a description of a miracle that occurred at the coffin where Alexander's dead hand reached for a letter or remittance. The author of the *Life* is merely attesting to who told him the miracle. It is not a reference to the entire text of the *Life*. Begunov placed this sentence in a separate paragraph in his published version of the text, as though it represents a new thought, not related specifically to the telling of the miracle just preceding it (180). Okhotnikova in her edition (438), and Zenkovsky in his translation (236), in contrast, placed it at the end of the paragraph that has the description of the miracle, thereby connecting the two.

Relation of First-Redaction Copies of *Life of Alexander Nevskii* in Regard to Who Preached at the Funeral



¹⁵ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 180: “This was heard by all from the lord metropolitan and from his cellarer Sebastian.”

Likhachev's claim for Kirill's involvement in the composition of the *Life* on the basis of this passage in the Pskov-Pecherskii copy, thus, does not seem to be justified.

In addition, the stylistic similarities that Likhachev pointed out between the GC and the *Life* are not compelling evidence of single authorship, but only suggestive of possible familiarity of one work by the author of the other or of other common sources. For example, it could be as though someone had read the GC or heard it read and later recalled certain words and motifs.

Yet, all of these "parallels" are commonplaces of Rus' literature that more likely could have derived from other texts; in particular, military tales of the thirteenth century. Nor would a common commissioner of both works necessarily have a stylistic or word-borrowing effect on either work.¹⁶ Finally there is no solid evidence of direct textual borrowing between the two works.

If one were to accept Likhachev's argument about the relationship of the *Life* to the GC (i.e., common author or common commissioner), then bringing in the VC complicates matters enormously. While it is theoretically possible for the same person to have written both the GC and the *Life* (given the present views on when it was written) it is highly unlikely the same person would have written or commissioned the GC, the VC, and the *Life*. The last entry in the GC is *s.a.* 1258. It was later combined with the Volynian Chronicle (VC), whose last entry is *s.a.* 1290. According to Shakhmatov, the VC was reworked around 1307.¹⁷ N. F. Kotliar proposed that the GVC was completed even later, possibly in the mid-fourteenth century when the last part of it (after 1290) was lost.¹⁸ So, any parallels between the VC and the *Life* would seem to have little or no bearing on the relationship of the *Life* to the GC.

The textual relationship of the copies of the GC and of the VC are not as complicated as that of the manuscript copies of the *Life*. The Hypatian Codex (И) carries the "best" readings. Alternate readings in the Khlebnikov (X) are secondary and Pogodin (II) is merely a copy of X.

In what follows, I discuss and analyze each of the parallels that Likhachev drew between the Galician-Volynian Chronicle and the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*, №№ 1–15 are from the Galician Chronicle; №№ 16 and 17 are from the Volynian Chronicle.

(1)

According to Likhachev, a connection exists between the GC and the *Life of Alexander* in that steppe peoples are described as scaring their children with the name of the Rus' princes Alexander and Roman (1251 [1247]):

¹⁶ See my "Redating the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*," in *Rude & Barbarous Kingdom Revisited: Essays in Russian History and Culture in Honor of Robert O. Crummey*, edited by Chester Dunning, Russell E. Martin, and Daniel Rowland (forthcoming).

¹⁷ А. А. Шахматов, "Предисловие," *Полное собрание русских летописей (ПСРЛ)*, 41 тт. (СПб./П./Л. и М., 1843–2005), т. 2 (1908), стр. v.

¹⁸ Котляр, "Композиция, источники, жанровые и идейные характеристики Галицко-Волынской летописи," стр. 59. Cf. Котляр, "Комментарии," стр. 368.

Galician Chronicle

великаго Романа. иже бѣ изоѡстрилса
на поганыхъ. яко левъ. имже Половци
дѣти страхаоу .: .¹⁹

Life of Alexander Nevskii

И начаша жены моавитьскыя полошати
дѣти своя, рекуще: «Александръ
едет!»²⁰

Analysis: A motif of the “other” frightening their children with the name of a Rus’ prince exists both in the GC and in the *Life*, but there is no textual relationship between the two. In the *Life*, it is the “women (жены) of the Moabites” who frighten their children and in the GC, it is the Polovtsians who do so. In the *Life* the word “to frighten” is *полошати*, whereas in the GC, it is *страшаоу*. In the *Life*, the children are threatened with “Alexander is coming” and in the GC, it is merely enough to mention the name “Roman” to have the same effect. This motif is one that is found in other cultures and times, and does not suggest common authorship or a specifically Galician literary tradition. For example, In 1512, the Venetian ambassador in London, Andrea Badoer, wrote to the Venetian Senate about George Talbot, fourth earl of Shrewsbury: “Che con nome di Talboti si fa ozi in di tasentar i puti per la Franza, manasendoli quando i pianze ch’el vegnirà i Talboti.”²¹ Three English literary works of the sixteenth century refer to French mothers scaring their children with the name of Lord John Talbot, first earl of Shrewsbury. Around 1532, in what has come to be known as *Hall’s Chronicle*, Edward Hall wrote: “women in Fraunce to feare their yong children, would crye, The Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth.”²² In 1579, E. K.’s gloss to Edmund Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calender* reads: “the French wemen, to affray theyr chyl dren, would tell them that the Talbot commeth.”²³ In William Shakespeare’s play *Henry VI, Part I*, the Countess of Auvergne sarcastically asks John Talbot: “Is this the scourge of France? / Is this the Talbot, so much fear’d abroad / That with his name the mothers still their babes?” (II.iii.14-16).²⁴

¹⁹ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 813: “the great Roman, who was always quick to pounce upon the heathens like a lion and with whose name the Polovtsians frightened their children.” Cf. George Perfecky, trans., *Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1973), p. 61. Translations into English are my own, but I have consulted Perfecky’s translation of GVC, Zenkovsky’s translation of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*, and Lisa Heinrich’s translation of the Kievan Chronicle. Note: when citing from published chronicles, I have used the spelling, punctuation, and capitalization that the editor of that chronicle uses.

²⁰ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 174: “And the women of the Moabites began to frighten their children, saying: ‘Alexander is coming.’” Cf. Serge A. Zenkovsky, ed., *Medieval Russia’s Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, revised and enlarged edition (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), p. 232.

²¹ *The Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. 2: 1509–1519, ed. by Rawdon Brown (London, 1867), p. 75n.

²² Edward Hall, *The Union of Two Noble and Illustre Families*, in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957-1975), vol. 3, p. 74. *Hall’s Chronicle* was first published in 1547, then expanded by Richard Grafton in 1548 to include the reign of Henry VIII.

²³ *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser*, ed. by William Oram, et al. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 116.

²⁴ *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, <http://shakespeare-literature.com/Henry_VI_part_1/9.html>.

(2)

According to Likhachev, Alexander's meeting with the Pskovians finds "самые близкие параллели ("ГЛТ" 45; *ПЛ*, 261) to the encounter of Daniil and Vasil'ko with the Iatviagi (1251 [1247]):

<i>Galician Chronicle</i>	<i>Life of Alexander Nevskii</i>
многи кр ^с тъяны ѿ плененис избависта и пѣ ^с славноу поѣху има. Бѡу помогшоу има. и придоста со славою на землю свою. наследивши поуть ѡца своего великаго Романа ²⁵	и сретоша его со кресты игумени и попове в ризах и народ мног пред градомъ, подавающе хвалу богови, поюще песнь и славу господину князю Александру ²⁶

Analysis: Likhachev pointed out that encountering a joyful people is not unusual in the chronicles (he cites entries for the Laurentian Chronicle for 6654 and for the Hypatian Chronicle for 6611, 6620, 6654, and 6659), but he claims it is "только в Галицкой летописи, как и в житии Александра, победителю при встрече поют славу" ("ГЛТ", 45; cf. *ПЛ*, 261). Yet, singing praise also occurs in the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*: "Пѣвше пѣснь старымъ княземъ, а по томъ молодымъ. Пѣти слава Игорю Святъславлича" [Having sung a song to the old princes and then to the young, let us sing praise to Igor Sviatoslavich].²⁷ The phrasing is textually closer in the GC, involving three substantive words, although in a different word order. Yet, as the *Slovo o polku Igoreve* would seem to demonstrate, this motif is not limited to the GC and the *Life*. So, unless one wants to attempt to argue that a single author wrote all three works and that "singing praises" is unique to that author, there is nothing to suggest common authorship. Since singing praises is Biblical in origin (see, e.g., LXX Ps. 20:14, 32:2, 91:1, 134:3; II Sam. 22:50), it cannot be used specifically as evidence of a Galician literary tradition.

(3)

Alexander's trip to Batu in the *Life* and Daniil's trip to Batu in GC (1250 [1246]), according to Likhachev, "сопровождаются сходными замечаниями о славе Даниила и Александра" ("ГЛТ", 45).

²⁵ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 813: "They freed from captivity many Christians, who sang a song of praise to them, God helped them, and they returned with glory to their own land imitating their father, the great Roman..." Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 61.

²⁶ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 172: "the hegumens and priests in their vestments and with crosses, as well as many people met him before the city, praising God, singing songs, and glorifying their lord Grand Prince Alexander Iaroslavich." Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 231.

²⁷ *Слово о полку Игореве*, 215-1-216-1 <<http://hudce7.harvard.edu/~ostrowski/slovo>>. Cf. Черепнин, "Летописец Даниила Галицкого," стр. 236.

Galician Chronicle
 бы^с же вѣдомо странамъ прихо^д его.
 всимъ ис Татарь²⁸

Life of Alexander Nevskii
 И бысть грозень приездъ его, и прииде
 вѣсть до усть Волгы²⁹

Analysis: The motif here is one of news going someplace. Other than that, one finds little similarity between the accounts. In the GC, news of Daniil spread throughout the land that he had returned from the Orda. In the *Life*, news of Alexander's arrival in Vladimir reached the Orda.

(4)

Alexander's gathering a great force on the Neva in the *Life* and the attack of the Hungarian king Bela against Daniil (1229 [1230]), according to Likhachev, "отчетливо устанавливается сходство в стиле, в манере описывать военные действия, битвы, подвиги князя" ("ГЛТ", 45).

Galician Chronicle
 изииде же Бѣла риксъ рекъмыи король
 Оугорьскый. в силѣ тажъцѣ рекшю
 емоу ѡко не имать ѡстатѣ градъ
 Галичь. нѣ^с кто избавлаа и ѡ роукоу
 моею³⁰

Life of Alexander Nevskii
 король части Римское... подвижеса в
 силѣ тажъцѣ <исполни>са дѣмъ рат-
 ны^м. и приде в рѣку Неву: шатаѡса
 безумь^м посла слы: загордѣвѣса ко
 кнзю ШлеАандру в Новѣгородъ: ре^ч аще
 можешѣ противитѣся мнѣ то се есмь
 зде: оуже плѣню твою.³¹

Likhachev also mentions two other examples from the GC in regard to the Hungarian voevoda Filia that demonstrate his arrogance: "Выиде Фила древле прегордыи надѣлса ѡбати землю потребити море." (1217 [1220])³² and "Фила же строаше^с на брань. мнаше же бо ѡко никто може^т стати противоу емоу на брань" (1219 [1221]).³³

²⁸ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 808-809: "there was news to all the land of his return from the Tatars." Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 61.

²⁹ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 174: "it was an awesome arrival, the news reaching the mouth of the Volga." Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 232.

³⁰ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 760: "Bela Rex, called the Hungarian king, set out in great force, saying to him that 'the town of Galich will not remain, for there is none who can deliver it from my hands.'" Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 37.

³¹ ПСРЛ, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 478; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 162: "the king of the Roman parts... set forth in great force, inspired by a militant spirit. And he came to the Neva, carried away by his madness, and haughtily sent envoys to Novgorod, to Prince Alexander, saying, «If you can resist me, then [do] so. I am already here conquering your land»." Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 227.

³² ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 736: "the ever-proud Filia advanced hoping to encircle the land and to empty the sea." Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 26.

³³ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 737: "Filia was preparing for battle. He was convinced that no one could oppose him in battle." Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 27.

Analysis: A commonplace of military tales are phrases like “in great force” (въ силѣ тажцѣ),³⁴ as are descriptions of the enemy’s being convinced that no one can resist him or being overcome with pride, haughtiness, greed, and so forth. Thus, no direct textual relationship or evidence of common authorship between the GC and *Life of Alexander* that can be established here.

(5)

According to Likhachev, Alexander’s attack against the Swedes “in small retinue” [в малѣ дружинѣ] as described in the *Life* is similar to the description in the GC of Daniil before the battle with Hungarians “with few soldiers” [со малом ратникѣ] (1231) (“ГЛТ”, 45; *РЛ*, 261).

Galician Chronicle
оустремиса изиити. со мало^М ратникѣ.
и Мирославоу пришедшоу к нему на
помощь с маломъ ѡтрокъ.³⁵

Life of Alexander Nevskii
и си рекъ поиде на ны в малѣ дружинѣ
не сождавѣса со многою силою сво-
ею.³⁶

Analysis: A commonplace of military tales is going against a more-numerous enemy with a smaller force and winning.³⁷ Although this is a shared motif between the GC account and the *Life*, beyond the use of the word *малый* in both passages, there is no direct connection here, textual or otherwise, between the two works.

(6)

Likhachev asserted that acting quickly against the enemy was a parallel connection between the two works (“ГЛТ”, 46; *РЛ*, 262). Alexander “скоро поиде” to meet the Swedes and he “ускори князь велики поити” against the Swedes.³⁸ While, in the GC: Daniil “оускори. снити на нѣ” the Hungarians (1231),³⁹ “Даниль же... скоро собравѣ

³⁴ См. Орлов, “Об особенностях,” стр. 16–18. The phrase also occurs in the GC in the entry for 1208: “The [Hungarian] king joyfully sent warriors in great force.... (король же с великою любовью. посла воевъ в силѣ тажцѣ...).” *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 724.

³⁵ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 764: “[Daniil] went forth with a few soldiers and Miroslav came to him to help with a few soldiers.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 39.

³⁶ *ПСРЛ*, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 478; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 162: “Having spoken, he led his small retinue against the enemy, not waiting for the bulk of his forces....” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, p. 227.

³⁷ См. Орлов, “Об особенностях,” стр. 16–18.

³⁸ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 164: “Even many Novgorodians did not join him for the prince was in a hurry to set out” (Тѣм же и мнози новгородци не совокупилися бѣша, понеже ускори князь поити.) Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, p. 227.

³⁹ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 767: “Some of the troops were against descending and felt that they should have made a stand in the mountains. But Daniil quoted Scripture that he who hesitates in battle has a cowardly soul. Thus urging them on, he hurriedly descended upon them [the Hungarians]” (и инии же бранахоу. да быхомъ стали на гора... бранахоу. сохода. Данилови же рекшоу. тако же писание глѣтъ. мѣдлаи на брань. страшливоу дшѣю имать. поноудивъ ихъ. оускори. снити на нѣ). Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 40.

полкы поиде” (1234);⁴⁰ and Daniil and Vasil’ko “скоро собравше вои поидоста” from Kholm (1249).⁴¹

Analysis: I could find no example of “quickly went” (скоро поиде) in the *Life*, thus making moot any textual connection between it and Daniil’s quickly gathering regiments (1234) or Daniil and Vasil’ko’s quickly gathering troops (1249). In terms of the use of *ускори*, in the *Life*, Alexander hurriedly sets out against the Swedes before the Novgorodians could join him. In the GC, Daniil hurriedly descends from a hill against the Hungarians after convincing his troops not to stay on the hill. In both cases, the hero acts quickly with his troops against the enemy. Otherwise, the contexts are different. The only textual similarity is the common use of the word *uskori*.

(7)

According to Likhachev, Alexander’s battle with the Swedes is described “с тою же подробностью” (“ГЛТ”, 46; *ПЛ*, 262) as Daniil’s battle with the Hungarians (1231), in particular the feats of Daniil himself: “Даниль же вободе копье свое в ратьного. изломившоу же сѧ копью. и обнажи мечь свои.”⁴²

Analysis: The only similarity in the description of Daniil’s striking a soldier with a spear and what Alexander did in the battle with the Swedes is that a spear was involved and someone was hit with it: “и самому королеви взложи печать на ^мще остры^м своимъ копье^м.”⁴³ But there is no mention of Alexander’s spear breaking or of his drawing his sword. Besides, leaving a mark on a king’s face is very different from striking a soldier. The only mention of a sword in the *Life* is in one passage recounting the exploits of Iakov from Polotsk: “се наѣха на полкъ с мечемъ и похвали юго кня³.”⁴⁴ The details of the respective battles are completely different.

(8)

According to Likhachev, the account in *Sofia I Chronicle* version of the *Life of Alexander Nevskii*, “в древнейшей версии” (“ГЛТ”, 46), emphasizes insignificant losses in battle against the Swedes and names some of them, while the GC does the same for Daniil (1232):

<i>Galician Chronicle</i>		<i>Sofia I Chronicle</i>
тѣхъ бо <i>падшихъ</i> . много Оугорь. а Да-		Новгородьцевъ же <i>паде</i> ту Костянтинъ

⁴⁰ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 772. Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 42.

⁴¹ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 801: “quickly gathering troops set out.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 55.

⁴² *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 768: “Daniil himself struck a soldier with his spear and when it broke, he drew his sword.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, pp. 40-41.

⁴³ *ПСРЛ*, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 479; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 166: “he left a mark on the king’s face with his sharp spear.” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, p. 228.

⁴⁴ *ПСРЛ*, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 480; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 167: “He charged the regiment with a sword and the prince praised him.” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, p. 229.

ниловыхъ мало боарь. ихже имена се
быша Ратиславъ. Юрьевичъ. Моиси.
Степанъ братъ его. Юрьи Иневичъ.⁴⁵

Луготинич, Юрютя Пинящич, На-
мѣсть, Дрочило, Нездиловъ с(ы)нъ но-
жевич. А всѣхъ 20 мужъ паде и с ладо-
жаны или менши, то б(о)гъ вѣсть.⁴⁶

Analysis: The version of the *Life* in the *Sofia I Chronicle* is not “its oldest version,” as Likhachev wrote, but a copy of the second redaction, according to Begunov’s analysis, dating to the late fifteenth century. If there is a connection between these passages, which seems highly unlikely, it would have been a borrowing by the fifteenth-century editor of this second redaction of the *Life* from the GC, not a thirteenth-century authorial one.

(9)

According to Likhachev, the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* numbers the brave men who fought courageously with Alexander against the Swedes and the GC has a similar numbering (*s.a.* 1208). Likhachev acknowledged that “Перечисление ратников или воевод не редкость в летописях, но только в Галицкой летописи находим аналогичное перечисление...” (“ГЛТ”, 46).

Galician Chronicle

надо всеми воими имена же бывши вое-
водамъ. с ни^М первыи Петръ Тоуровичъ.
вторыи Банко. трети Мика Брадатый.
четвертый. Лотохаротъ патыи
Мокъанъ. шестыи Тибрецъ седмы
Мароцель. и
инии мнозии ихже не мощно сказати и
ни писати.⁴⁷

Life of Alexander Nevskii

здѣ же ꙗвишася .s. мужъ храбры^х с
самѣ^М с ни^М. ис полку ѹго ѹдинъ
имене^М Гаврило Влексичъv̄. имене^М
Сбыславъ Икуновичъ Новгородецъ .
... .г̄. и Иковъ родомъ Полочанинъд̄.
Новгородецъ .
именемъ Мѣшаѣ̄. и ѡ̄ молодыхъ ѹго .
имене^М Саваs̄. и ѡ̄ слугъ ѹго имене^М
Ратмѣрь.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 769-770: “Many Hungarians fell, but only a handful of Daniil’s boyars. Their names were: Ratislav Iur’evich; Moisi; Stepan, his brother; [and] Iur’i Ianevich.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 41.

⁴⁶ ПСРЛ, т. 6.1, стлб. 309-310: “Among the Novgorodians who fell were Konstantin Lugotnich, Iuriutia Piniashchinich, Namest, Drochilo, son of the cutler Nezdilo. Altogether 20 men fell and with the Ladogians or fewer, that God knows.”

⁴⁷ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 724: “Herewith are the names of the commanders who were with him: the first — Peter Tuovich, the second — Banko, the third — Mика Bradaty, the fourth — Lotokharot, the fifth — Mok’ian, the sixth — Tibrets, the seventh — Marotsel, and many others, but it is not possible to say or write them.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 21.

⁴⁸ ПСРЛ, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 479-480; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 166-167: “Here there appeared 6 brave men with him from his regiment. One by name [was] Gabriel Aleksich.... 2, by name Sbyslav Iakunovich, a Novgorodian.... The 3rd, Iakov, a Polochanin by clan.... 4, a Novgorodian, by name Misha.... 5th, from his young men, by name Savva.... 6th, from his servitors, by name Ratmir....” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, pp. 228-229.

Analysis: The description in the GC are the names of the commanders who accompanied Pot, the king's commander, and his army to capture Daniil. In contrast the list of names in the *Life* are those who "distinguished themselves for their bravery because they fought courageously." In the first list, the criterion for inclusion was rank; in the second list, it was exploit in battle. Although it is possible that a single author could use two different criteria in different works to compile a list, the fact that different criteria are being used is not evidence for a single author.

(10)

Likhachev observed "некоторые фразеологические соответствия" between the *Life* and the GC, of which he provided two examples ("ГЛТ", 46):

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Galician Chronicle</i></p> <p>приаль бо бѣ Данила. како милога сѣа своего.⁴⁹</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Galician Chronicle</i></p> <p>а дрогоуе слово емоу рекшу. прегордо <i>острыи</i> мечю борзыи коню. многа Роуси.⁵⁰</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Life of Alexander Nevskii</i></p> <p>отець его честныи Ярославъ великыи не бѣ вѣдал такого вѣстаня на сына своего милога Олександра.⁵¹</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Life of Alexander Nevskii</i></p> <p>и самому королеви взложи печать на лице <i>острыи</i>^м своимъ копье^м.⁵²</p>
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Likhachev also cited one example in the GC and two in the *Life* of what he called "тавтологические сочетания" ("ГЛТ", 46-47):

<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Galician Chronicle</i></p> <p>боаше бо са его. јако былъ бѣ в Тата- рѣхъ. <i>побѣдоу побѣди</i> Ростислава. и Оугры его.⁵³</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Life of Alexander Nevskii</i></p> <p>такоже и сии князѣ Олександръ бѣ <i>побѣ- жати</i> а не <i>побѣди</i>.⁵⁴</p>
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⁴⁹ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 717 (1202): "he [the Hungarian king Andrei] accepted Daniil as though he were his own dear son." Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 18.

⁵⁰ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 736 (1217): "and another word he [Filia] would say that one needed only a sharp sword [and] a swift horse [to kill] many Rus'." Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 26.

⁵¹ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 163–164: "his father Grand Prince Iaroslav did not know of such an attack on his dear son Alexander." Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 227.

⁵² ПСРЛ, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 479; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 166: "he left a mark on the king's face with his sharp spear." Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 228.

⁵³ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 809 (1250): "for he [Bela] was afraid of him [Daniil] for he had been among the Tatars and had defeated Rostislav and his Hungarians." Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 59.

⁵⁴ ПСРЛ, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 477; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, 161: "So this was Prince Alexander — defeating [others] but not defeated." Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 226.

и посмѣаса дружинѣ свои· и оукори ꙗ
[A,Ap,B,M,O,Пг: add: укоромъ].⁵⁵

Analysis: These short and simple turns of phrases are weak evidence, at best, for any textual or authorial connection between the GC and the *Life*, and hardly evidence at all for any Galician literary tradition. The term *укоромъ* in conjunction with *ukori* appears only in the second-tier copies of the first redaction, and, therefore, probably was not in the archetype of the *Life*. Čyževskij pointed out that the word *милый*, for example, appears in the *Tale of Boris and Gleb* and in the sermons of Kirill of Turov, while the word *острый* in the sense of referring to a weapon was used by John the Exarch and appears in the sermons of Gregory of Naziansus and in the *Molenie of Daniil*.⁵⁶

(11)

Likhachev saw a close correspondence to the formulas of military tales. He cited three examples from the GC and one from the *Life*:

Galician Chronicle

ѡко же покрыти водѣ быти. ѿ множест-
ва людии.⁵⁷
наоутрѣѡ же собращаса вси Йтвѡзѣ.
пѣщи и сноузничѣ. мнози зѣло. ѡко и
лѣсомъ ихъ напольлнитиса.⁵⁸
И бы^с рать велика. ѡкоже напознити
болота. Йтвѡжскаѡ полкомъ.⁵⁹

Life of Alexander Nevskii:

поиде противу ратныхъ наступиша по-
крыша море Чюдское бысть же обоихъ
множество.⁶⁰

Analysis: No textual or authorial connection here. The “formulas” are ones that appear common to military tales in general, as Likhachev pointed out, and do not represent evidence of common authorship or of a Galician literary tradition.

⁵⁵ ПСРЛ, т. 1 (1926): стлб. 477; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 161: “and he [Emperor Vespasian] laughed at his retinue and reproached them [with a reproach]....” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, p. 226.

⁵⁶ Tschizewskij [Čiževskij], “Zum Stil,” S. 99, fn. 45.

⁵⁷ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 741 (1224): “so that the water was covered with the multitude of people.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 29.

⁵⁸ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 811 (1251): “On the next day, all the Iatvingian infantry and cavalry assembled; there were so very many that they filled the forest.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 60.

⁵⁹ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 831 (1256): “And there was so great an army that the Iatvingian swamp was filled with the host.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 68.

⁶⁰ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 170: “he went against the soldiers, advancing there was a multitude of both that covered the Chud sea.” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, p. 230.

(12)

According to Likhachev, there appear “некоторые общие... заимствования” in the GC and the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* from Joseph Flavius (“ГЛТ”, 47). He cited the following phrases:

Galician Chronicle
и тоу бѣше видити ломъ копѣины. и щеть скѣпаніе.⁶¹
копьем же изломившимса. яко ѿ грома трѣсновение бы^с. и ѿ обоихъ же мнози падше. с конии оумроша. инии оугазвени быша. ѿ крѣпости оударениа копѣиноу.⁶²

Life of Alexander Nevskii:
И бысть съча зла и трускъ от копии ломления и звукъ от мечнаго съчения.⁶³

Likhachev contended that these phrases were borrowed from the following phrase in Flavius:

И быс(ть) видѣти лом копины(и) и скрежтаніе мѣчное и щиты искѣпани.⁶⁴

Analysis: Only the phrase from 1240 in the GC has enough textual similarity to be considered a possible borrowing. Yet, even if all these phrases in the *Life* and in the GC were borrowed from Flavius, such borrowings in themselves are not evidence for common authorship. Different authors, or authors of different literary traditions, could have adapted the phrase independently.

(13)

According to Likhachev, there is a compositional similarity between the two works: the GC from 1202 to the 1250s includes a biography of Daniil “с лирического вступления” just as “также носит характер своеобразного лирического вступления к житию Александра” (“ГЛТ”, 47; *ПЛ*, 258-259).

Analysis: In response to this claim, Ingham wrote: “One need only read some parts of this text [*Galician Chronicle*] at random to be persuaded that it has the character of

⁶¹ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 785 (1240): “there one could see lances break and the scraping of shields.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 48.

⁶² *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 803 (1249): “spears broke like the crackling of thunder, and on both sides many fell from their horses and perished, while others were wounded from the strength of the thrust of lances.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 56.

⁶³ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 171: “There was a horrible clash and a noise from the breaking of lances and a sound from the clanging of swords.” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 231. Orlov discussed the commonplace phrases “бысть съча зла”, “ломъ копейный и стукъ оружия”, and “трусъ и отзвукъ земли”. Орлов, “Об особенностях”, стр. 11-12, 13, and 15-16.

⁶⁴ V. Istrin, *La prise de Jérusalem Josèphe le Juif*, 2 vols. (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1934-1938) vol. 1, p. 220 and p. 222: “and there was to see lances break, the clanking of swords, and the scraping of shields.”

annalistic writing and lacks the perspective of biography. Daniil Romanovič ... is only one of the many actors, albeit an important one.”⁶⁵ Although the GC includes much biographical material about Daniil, it lacks the cohesiveness and focus of a biography. The GC does contain a lyrical introduction, one that Cherepnin likened to the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*,⁶⁶ but that lyrical introduction is about Daniil’s father, Roman Mstislavich, not about Daniil. Likhachev thought the *Orison on the Ruin of the Rus’ Land* (*Слово о погубели русской земли*) was the introduction to the *Life*, but Begunov argued convincingly, in my opinion, that the *Orison* was never part of the *Life*.⁶⁷

(14)

According to Likhachev, the description of Daniil’s going to the Orda (1250) is accompanied “лирическим восклицанием” similar to the one that accompanies the description of Alexander before the battle with the Swedes occurs (“ГЛТ”, 48):

Galician Chronicle

о злаа ч^сть Татарская. его^{жс} оцѣ бѣ
ц^срь в Роуской земли. иже покори
Половецкую землю. и воева на иные
страны всѣ. снѣ того не приа. ч^сти. то
иный кто можетъ. приати.⁶⁸

Life of Alexander Nevskii

жалостно же и слышати ꙗко оцѣ его
ч^стнѣй Йрославъ великѣи не бѣ вѣдалъ
такого встанья на снѣ своего милого
Шлеѣандра.⁶⁹

Analysis: The only textual similarity in the two passages is the term “his father” rendered as *его же отець* in the GC and as *отець его* in the *Life*. Both passages express laments, but make entirely different points in doing so. The GC laments the disgrace of being honored by the Tatars; the *Life* laments that Alexander’s father did not hear he was being attacked by the Swedes.

(15)

According to Likhachev, the same combination in talking about the father occurs in both works.

He found the following passage in the “«новой» (древнейшей) редакции жития Александра” to be “[е]ще ближе к жизнеописанию Даниила” (“ГЛТ”, 48): “Якоже бо по первемъ велицѣмъ взятыи Тотарьстемъ *отець его* великѣй князь Ярославъ ... самъ себе не пощадѣ, предасть бо ся самъ за люди своя въ великую и темную и

⁶⁵ Norman Ingham, “The Limits of Secular Biography in Medieval Slavic Literature, Particularly Old Russian,” in *American Contributions to the Sixth International Congress of Slavists, Prague, 1968, August 7–13*, 2 vols., ed. by William E. Harkins (The Hague: Mouton, 1968) vol. 1, pp. 188–189.

⁶⁶ Черепнин, “Летописец Даниила Галицкого,” стр. 238–239.

⁶⁷ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 66–71.

⁶⁸ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 808: “O, the disgrace of Tatar honor. His father was the emperor of the Rus’ land, who conquered the Polovtsian land and fought against all other neighboring countries. If his son cannot be honored, then who can?” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 58.

⁶⁹ *ПСРЛ*, т. 1 (1926), стлб. 478; cf. Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 163–164: “It was a pity to hear that his father, Grand Prince Iaroslav, did not know of such an attack on his dear son Alexander.” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia’s Epics*, p. 227.

пагубную землю и много пострадавъ за землю отъчину своя, обаженъ бысть Федоромъ Яроновицемъ и многы дни пострадавъ, и тако съ миромъ духъ предасть. Тако же и сынъ Александръ не остави пути отца своего, за люди своя, за тья же много плѣнения приять...”⁷⁰

Analysis: The version that Likhachev cited for this passage is not from the “oldest” redaction of the *Life* but from a version that can be dated no earlier than the sixteenth century. Whatever passages or phrases appearing there that do not appear in the first redaction are irrelevant for determining questions of common authorship or of common literary tradition.

(16)

In the *Life*, upon the death of Alexander, Metropolitan Kirill is quoted as having said: “Чада моя, разумѣйте, яко уже зайде солнце земли Сужьдальския.”⁷¹ According to Likhachev, the sun-setting metaphor in connection with Alexander’s death is similar to two other cases, both of them from the Hypatian Chronicle. The first is the metaphor from the *Kievan Chronicle* (KC) in connection with death of Mstislav Rostislavich (1179):

KC: оуже бо сл̄нце наше заиде. ны и во ѡбидѣ всимъ ѡстахомъ.⁷²

The second is the VC’s metaphor in connection with death of Volodimir Vasil’kovich (1288):

VC: оуже бо сл̄нце наше заиде ны. и во ѡбидѣ всѣ... ѡстахомъ.⁷³

Likhachev claimed this demonstrated that “житие Александра заканчивалось в южно-русской манере” (“ГЛТ”, 48; *ПЛ*, 260). Because Kirill was from southern Rus’, Likhachev saw an implicit connection.

Analysis: Since neither of these parallels occurs in the GC, they are irrelevant for determining questions of common authorship of the *Life* and the GC or even whether the author of the *Life* used the GC. The sun setting metaphor on the death of a hero is a common-place throughout world literature and is not peculiar to Galicia or southern Rus’. It is insufficient to see a connection on that basis alone.

⁷⁰ В. Мансика, “Житие Александра Невского (Разбор редакций и тексты),” *Памятники древней письменности*, т. 180 (СПб., 1913), стр. 13. I have included the italicization and ellipsis points according to Likhachev’s quotation.

⁷¹ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 178: “My child, know that the sun has set on the Suzdal’ land.”

⁷² *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 610: “for already our sun has set and we are left to being harmed by all.” Cf. Lisa Lynn Heinrich, *The Kievan Chronicle: A Translation and Commentary* (Ph.D. dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1977), p. 374

⁷³ *ПСРЛ*, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 920: “for already our sun has set and we are left to being harmed by all.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 109.

(17)

According to Likhachev, the combination of the sun-setting metaphor with a lament that occurs in the *Life* is parallel with a similar combination in the Kievan Chronicle's lament for Mstislav by the Novgorodians (1179) and the Volynian Chronicle's lament for Vladimir Vasil'kovich by the Vladimirians (1288).

<i>Life of Alexander Nevskii</i>	<i>Kievan Chronicle</i>	<i>Volynian Chronicle</i>
аще бы жив с ним в гроб влез. ⁷⁴	добро бы ны ны г ^е не с то- бою оумрети. ⁷⁵	добрыи ны г ^е не. с тобою оумрети. ⁷⁶

Likhachev claimed this combination represented a “литературная традиция” (“ГЛТ”, 49) that he identifies as a Galician one and implicitly associates with Kirill.

Analysis: The similarities could represent a literary tradition, but one that is associated more with military tales than with Galicia.

Although Likhachev noticed a number of parallels in style, words, and motifs between the *Life of Alexander Nevskii* and the Galician-Volynian Chronicle, none of these parallels is sufficient for positing a common author or commissioner of both works, or any direct textual borrowing of one work from the other, or even the influence of a common Galician heritage. The *Life of Alexander Nevskii* was most likely based on a non-extant military tale about Alexander written in the late 13th century. The GC was written in the style of a military tale about the life of Daniil of Galicia. The similarities between the GC and the *Life of Alexander* are no more than similarities that would have appeared in any thirteenth-century military tale.

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⁷⁴ Бегунов, *Памятник*, стр. 178: “if he had to, living in the grave with him.” Cf. Zenkovsky, *Medieval Russia's Epics*, p. 235.

⁷⁵ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 610: “it would be good for us, lord, to die with you.” Cf. Heinrich, *The Kievan Chronicle*, p. 374.

⁷⁶ ПСРЛ, т. 2 (1908), стлб. 920: “it is good for us, lord, to die with you.” Cf. Perfecky, *Galician-Volynian Chronicle*, p. 108.