

PREFACE

This book is the fruit of collaboration between several colleagues. In 2011 the historian Gediminas Lesmaitis made a sensational discovery in the Wawel Castle Section of the National Archive in Cracow, where he came across a Cyrillic manuscript copy of the Broad Redaction of the Lithuanian Chronicles.¹ The present Author recognised the copy for what it was and brought it into scholarly circulation via an article containing an appendix with a few fragments of the text, which was published in the series *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra* in 2013.² This article was received favourably by the international scholarly community.³ We may also say that scholars now refer to the text by our term, ‘the Wawel Copy’.

Here we publish an amended and extended version of the said article, which grew out of discussion with our colleagues Nadežda Morozova (Vilnius) and Jan Jurkiewicz (Poznań), and further study of the manuscript and its archival location. Perhaps the most important revelation made here is a decade earlier dating of the copy, which is now thought to have appeared sometime in the 1560s–1570s. This volume also contains Dr Morozova’s commentary on the orthography of the Wawel Copy, which provides an opportunity to assess attempts by Polish and Belarusian philologists to reconstruct ‘the original Cyrillic copy of the Bychowiec Chronicle’; we also review a publication of the Wawel Copy which appeared to our surprise in Białystok in 2016 from the pen of a young researcher from Minsk, Hanna

¹ The former State Archive in Cracow (*Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie*), now known as the National Archive in Cracow (*Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie*).

² Kęstutis Gudmantas, ‘Lietuvos metraščio Vavelio nuorašas (fragmentas)’, in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, kn. 34, 2012 [2013], p. 121–151.

³ See, for example, Сергей Полехов, ‘Летописная “Повесть о Подолье”’, in: *Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики*, 2014, Nr. 1 (55), p. 33–42 (38, 41); Idem, *Наследники Витовта. Династическая война в Великом княжестве Литовском в 30-е годы XV века*, Москва: Индрик, 2015, p. 48, 662; Ганна Міхальчук, ‘Новы спіс агульнадзяржаўнага летапісання Вялікага Княства Літоўскага, Рускага і Жамойцкага і яго суадносіны з “Хронікай Быхаўца”’, in: *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne = Беларускі гістарычны зборнік*, 2016, Nr. 45, p. 190–225.

Mikhaľchuk.⁴ The present Author transcribed the text of the Wawel Copy from a digitalised copy of the manuscript. The transcript was checked against the digitalised copy by Nadežda Morozova, who also punctuated the text in accordance with the rules of Modern Russian.

Some digitalised pages of the original manuscript are published here along with the transcript. This is the main difference between our edition and that published by Mikhaľchuk, although in certain places readings differ and the scholarly apparatus of each edition varies. The availability of two printed editions of the text should be to the benefit of readers.

Since the content of the text of the Wawel Copy differs only slightly from that of the Bychowiec Chronicle, a translation of which is easily available,⁵ and bearing in mind the intended academic readership for this book, we have decided not to provide a translation here.

At the end of this volume we publish an extract of Wojciech Ruffin's 1604 'History of the Wood of the Holy Cross brought to Łysa Góra', which presents a story from the Zasławski Copy of the Broad Redaction relating the theft of the relics of the Holy Cross.

For permission to publish digitalised copies of pages from the Wawel manuscript we thank the National Archive in Cracow and Wiesław Filipczyk, Head of the Wawel Castle Section of the National Archive, for special assistance. Our thanks also go to the official readers of the typescript, Rima Cicėnienė and Mikas Vaicekauskas, the designer Rokas Gelažius, copy editors Ilona Čiužauskaitė and Diana Bartkutė Barnard, and especially to S. C. Rowel, whose help in preparing this book was really invaluable. We are grateful to everyone who through their encouragement or good counsel helped bring this publication to fruition.

Kęstutis Gudmantas

Vilnius, 16 April 2017

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Lietuvos metraštis. Bychovco kronika, (Lituanistinė biblioteka, 10)*, translated with an introduction and commentary by Rimantas Jasas, Vilnius: Vaga, 1971.

'WHAT IS THIS?'

THE WAWEL MANUSCRIPT OF THE LITHUANIAN CHRONICLES

Kęstutis Gudmantas

Until recently nothing was known about a certain fragment of a manuscript copy of the Broad Redaction of the Lithuanian Chronicles preserved in Poland. This circumstance led some scholars to speculate that the so-called Bychowiec Chronicle was a forgery composed by Teodor Narbutt. As opportunities increase for Lithuanian scholars to visit foreign archives, our knowledge of Lithuanian historical sources, including the Chronicles has increased. The present author has spent several years collecting information about little known copies of the Lithuanian Chronicles mentioned by historians *en passant*. Thus in April 2011 he was pleased to obtain information about what was 'possibly a fragment of the Lithuanian Chronicle' found in Cracow. This news was conveyed by the historian Dr Gediminas Lesmaitis, who was collecting material at that time in the archives of the ancient Polish capital for a study of the muster lists of the grand-ducal army, and who kindly acceded to a request to transcribe a few lines from a manuscript which had aroused his interest. On receipt of this transcription, it became clear that it did indeed come from a hitherto unknown copy of the Lithuanian Chronicle. Dr Lesmaitis helped us obtain a digital copy of the manuscript, which we have identified as a fragment of a copy of the Broad Redaction. Understanding the exceptional importance of this find, we decided to examine it *de visu* and inform the academic community of the results of our research and publish the copy.¹

At present the manuscript lies in the part of the Sanguszko Archive (*Archiwum Sanguszków, zespół Nr 637*) known as the Sanguszko Family's Gumniska Archive (*Archiwum Rodzinne Sanguszków z Gumnisk*), held in the Wawel Castle Section of the National Archive in Cracow (*Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Oddział I, Zamek Wawel, 1*) under the shelfmark ARS 144.

¹ This introduction is an amended and expanded version of an article published in 2013: Kęstutis Gudmantas, 'Lietuvos metraščių Vavelio nuorašas (fragmentas)', in: *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, kn. 34, 2012 [2013], p. 121–151.

DETAILS OF THE ARS HOLDING

As we learn from the introductory remarks of the Tarnów District Archive employee Maria Wrzosek, the Sanguszko Family's Gumniska Archive holding was formed after the Second World War from remnants of the Sanguszko Archive². The Gumniska estate (now part of the city of Tarnów) was acquired by the Sanguszko family in the eighteenth century along with the county of Tarnów. During the nineteenth century the Gumniska estate was the Sanguszko family's summer residence, where an archive and library were established³. During the First World War the most valuable documents of the main Sanguszko Archive in Sławuta (Ukraine) were transferred to Gumniska. The remainder were returned from Russia in 1923 in accordance with the Treaty of Riga (1921). The Sanguszko Archive remained in Gumniska until the Second World War. Under the Nazi occupation in 1940–41 the archive's documents and some of its printed books were moved to the Cracow Archive and since 1944 they have been held in the section of that Archive in the Wawel Castle.

The authorities of the People's Republic of Poland directed the removal of the remnants of the Gumniska Archive and its valuable collection of printed books to the City Library in Tarnów.⁴ After the document collection was separated from the books in the city library, they were transferred to the Tarnów District Archive (1951), a branch of the Cracow Palatinate Archive (now the National Archive in Cracow). Finally these so-called 'acts' found their way into the Wawel in the 1950s.⁵

The Sanguszko Gumniska Family Archive holding contains mostly correspondence along with memoirs, wills, and historical material col-

² Dated 19 July 1954. A computerised version of the inventory of the *Archiwum Rodzinne Sanguszków z Gumnisk* holding is to be found in the Wawel Department of the National Archive in Cracow.

³ Jolanta M. Marszalska, *Biblioteka i archiwum Sanguszków. Zarys dziejów*, Tarnów: TTK, 2000, p. 119–121; Krzysztof Syta, 'Dzieje archiwów książąt Sanguszków', in: *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, t. XI, Warszawa, 2000, p. 97–110.

⁴ Jolanta M. Marszalska, *op. cit.*, p. 149–152. This valuable book collection was divided up and distributed to various Polish libraries with the lion's share falling to the Jagiellonian Library – *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155; Wiesław Filipczyk, 'Archiwalia sanguszkowskie w zasobach Archiwum Państwowego w Krakowie. Zasoby i stan obecny', in: *Wokół Sanguszków: Dzieje – sztuka – kultura*, Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe w Tarnowie, 2007, p. 15–27 (p. 16).

lected for a monograph on Sanguszko family history,⁶ the source publication known as *The Sławuta Archive of the Lubartowicz-Sanguszko Dukes*⁷ and other publications; a few documents bear the stamp of the Sławuta Archive (from the late nineteenth century). It should be noted that the documents comprising this holding have suffered from damp and mould and it is obvious that for a time the manuscripts were held in unfavourable conditions.

The contents of ARS 144 may be summarised best as *varia*, for they include contemporary copies of documents issued in the second half of the sixteenth century by the rulers of Poland and Lithuania, copies of letters to the Polish Chancellor Jan Zamoyski made in the nineteenth century, extracts made in the nineteenth century from the 1611 edition of Alessandro Guagnini's opus *On the Genealogy of the Princes of Vladimir Volynsky Beginning From Poshwizd*, and descriptions of Ukraine. All this material has been sorted by archivists into folders containing bound and loose folios. The folios have a pencilled numeration in the top right-hand recto. The contents of these folders are as follows:

[I.] *Kopie listów królewskich, normujących najrozmaitsze sprawy wojew.: kijowskiego, wołyńskiego, bractawskiego. 1567–1589* [Copies of royal letters regarding various matters from the palatinates of Kiev, Volyn and Bratslav, 1567–1589] (this heading was added in pencil by an archivist), p. 1–104.

As we have noted, these are contemporaneous copies of texts in Ruthenian, Polish and Latin, written in various shades of brown ink (here and henceforth we note the colour of ink, as it now is); some documents are on loose sheets but most are stitched into two fascicules (quires) measuring 21.5 × 17.5 and 22 × 18 cm respectively.

[II.] *Kopie listów do Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza koronnego od różnych osób. 1579–1581* [Copies of letters addressed by diverse persons to Jan Zamoyski, Crown Chancellor] (this heading was added in pencil by an archivist),

⁶ *Monografia XX. Sanguszków oraz innych potomków Lubarta-Fedora Olgerdowicza X. Ratneńskiego*, t. I, II (d. 1), opracował Z. L. Radziwiński, We Lwowie: Nakładem X. Romana Sanguszka, 1906, 1911; t. III, opracował Bronisław Gorczak, We Lwowie: Nakładem X. Romana Sanguszka, 1911.

⁷ *Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków w Sławucie*, t. I–VII, We Lwowie, 1887–1910 (the bibliographical data of various volumes differ, but the main editors of the series were Zygmunt Luba Radziwiński and Bronisław Gorczak; the 'Archive' was published at the cost of Duke Roman Sanguszko; from material preserved in the National Archive in Cracow it is evident that at least three further volumes were intended for publication).

p. 105–234; these texts are written in black and violet ink on folded, factory-lined writing paper measuring 43.5–44.1 × 35.5 cm; some texts bear a note that the original manuscripts were preserved in the Sławuta Archive. The copies date most probably to the beginning of the twentieth century.⁸

[III.] A fascicule of two parts: [1] *Wyjątki z Kroniki Alexandra Gwagnina Opisującej | Ziemię Ruską a drukowaną 1611. roku w Krakowie* [Excerpts from the Chronicle of Alessandro Guagnini, Describing the Ruthenian Land, published in Cracow in 1611], p. 235–248; [2] *Genealogia XX. Włodzimierza Wołyńskiego począwszy | od Poświzda Syna Włodzimierza W^o wyprowadzona | podług: Gwagnina, Naruszewicza, Wagi i Niesieckiego* [A Genealogy of the Princes of Vladimir Volynsky, Beginning with Poshvizd, Son of Vladimir the Great, devised according to Guagnini, Naruszewicz, Waga and Niesiecki], p. 249–258. The fascicule comprised paper measuring 23.6 × 19 cm with the texts written in brown ink, most likely in the 1830s–1840s.⁹

[IV.] A fascicule comprising: [1] *Krajobrazy Podola_U, Wołynia i Ukrainy* [Landscapes of Podole, Volyn and Ukraine]. – a folded sheet of thin paper (p. 259–262), written in a dark brown ink; [2] *Opisanie Historyczne i Topograficzne Miasta Ostroga* [An Historical and Topographical Description of the City of Ostrog], measuring 23.3 × 19.1 cm, p. 263–270; this fascicule is written in dark brown ink. Both of these parts of Fascicule IV date to a time similar to that of Fasc. III, namely, the first half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰ [3] Here, it seems, we have accidental notes in French written in dark brown ink dealing with two unconnected topics – marine fauna and the Athenian

⁸ The documents have similar watermarks (a double-headed Russian eagle with two dates – 1882, 1896, and the inscription ДОБРУШСКАЯ or ДОБРУШСКАЯ ФАБРИКА, a crown and two crossed letters П) on paper produced between 1902 and 1909 in the Dobrush Factory (near Gomel) – Сократ Александрович Клепиков, *Филиграни на бумаге русского производства XVIII – начала XX века*, Москва: Наука, 1978, p. 23, 107, watermarks Nos. 260, 261. We would associate the copies of the letters to Jan Zamoyski with Vol. VIII of *Archiwum książąt Lubartowiczów Sanguszków*, the publication of which was interrupted by the outbreak of the Great War. Other material for this volume and a fragment of the proofs are preserved in the Wawel Section of the National Archive in Cracow, see ARS 139B, ASang teka 581/2, teczka zespołu Nr 637.

⁹ Most folios bear no watermark, but in one case (p. 253–256) there is a mark comprising ‘V[?] I’ and ‘1833’ (this seems to be a ‘blank date’).

¹⁰ The pencil-written heading at the top of p. 263 claims that the description was written by P. Radziemiński – *To opisanie napisał P. Radziemiński [...]*. It may be that this refers to the Ostrog-born historian Zygmunt Luba Radziemiński (1843–1928), but features of the orthography, and the paper (admittedly lacking a watermark) would suggest a date of the first half of the nineteenth century.

tyrant Peisistratos (the texts lack headings and are written on folded sheets of paper forming a 'brochure', p. 271–282, measuring 21.3 × 18.3 cm; pages 275–282 are joined together – after the sheet was cut the pages were held together by a strip of paper left specially for that purpose). These also should be dated to the first half of the nineteenth century.¹¹

The fifth and final folder contains the Lithuanian Chronicle fragment. On the folded front of the folder, a confused archivist has written *Co to?* ('What is this?'), a reflexion of fruitless attempts to identify the manuscript.¹²

'This' is a manuscript of 26 folios (52 pages), currently numbered pp. 285–326; odd page numbers are marked in pencil in the top right-hand corner of the page, with even ones marked top left.¹³ The manuscript is stitched with a hemp (?) thread approximately 0.1 cm thick. The 'binding' is quite rough: there are four holes on the left edge of the 'block' through which the thread is woven and tied near the top hole. The 'binding' shows that the manuscript was stitched together as a separate item, most likely as part of a larger codex (that is, a codex comprising several analogous quires or 'blocks'). The manuscript could only have been stitched in this way (at the side) because most of the folios have been cut and only some have been folded in half.¹⁴ From this we may deduce that the manuscript was bound at the time it was written or at a slightly later date.

The format is *in quarto*. The folios have been cut roughly; their width varies from 14.5 to 16.6 cm, and their length – from 20.6 to 21.9 cm. Two kinds of thickish paper have been used: pp. 285–294, where the space between the laid lines is 2.75–2.8 cm, and the watermark, 'three towers in a

¹¹ The watermark on the paper is an inscription LEMELSON | WANZKA and a cross.

¹² The Chronicle is not mentioned in the ARS Inventory or Wiesław Filipczyk's article on the Sanguszko Archive, which reviews the contents of this holding, see *ibid.*, p. 23–24.

¹³ Two loose folios (p. 283–284 and 337–338) are used as protective covers and have nothing to do with the contents of the fragment. On the first is an exegesis of the prophesies of Isaiah written in Cyrillic characters with Polish interpolations, while the second has the last part of a late-sixteenth-century Kiev Land Court case; no date is given, but the court scribe named in the case, Dmitri Jelec was active between 1574 and 1600, while Sub-bailiff Śčasny Charlinski served between 1580 and 1602 – *Urządnicy województw kijowskiego i czernihowskiego. Spisy, opracowali Eugeniusz Janas i Witold Kłaczeński*, Kórnik: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 2002, Nr. 172, 220. These protective folios were added most likely in the Sanguszko Archive at some unknown date. It may be said that the Chronicle was regarded as valuable, while the additional folios were not.

¹⁴ Folded folios make up pp. 285–286/287–288, 299–300/305–306, 301–302/303–304, 327–328/333–334, 329–330/331–332.

circle'; pp. 295–336, where the space between laid lines is 2.8–3.1 cm, and the watermark, 'W under a crown' (the crown lacks pearls and is asymmetrical; clearly the wire frame used to make the mark was deformed). The first kind of paper was used during the 1570s in Prussia;¹⁵ the second kind spread through Silesia during the 1560s, where it was connected with paper makers in Wrocław (Breslau).¹⁶ It was used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania too.¹⁷ Although the paper manufacturer's wire frame was deformed, we have been able to identify the watermark quite precisely. Judging by the likelihood that the paper used was not new and also from the form of the script, we may deduce that the manuscript was made most likely in the 1560s–1570s. The paper has been affected by damp patches, mould and rodents, especially the external margins, so that a part of the text, albeit small, has been lost (the final folio, pp. 335–336, is particularly unfortunate

¹⁵ Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, J 340 (<http://www.piccard-online.de>), No 106019–106036, the most similar (and perhaps identical) watermark is No 106033, dated to 1573. [accessed 23 Oct. 2011]; cf. *Die Turm-Wasserzeichen. Findbuch III*, bearbeitet von Gerhard Piccard, Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhamer, 1970, Abt. XVII, No 402; Jadwiga Siniarska-Czaplicka dates watermarks similar to ours to the 1570s – Eadem, *Filigrany papierni położonych na obszarze Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej od początku XVI do połowy XVIII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Ossolineum; Wydawnictwo PAN, 1969, p. 36, No 970, 971

¹⁶ Cf. Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, J 340 (<http://www.piccard-online.de>), No 29765–29850; C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier, dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, t. III, Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1907, p. 485–486.

¹⁷ Watermarks similar to those in our manuscript are recorded in Edmundas Laucevičius, *Popierius Lietuvoje XV–XVIII a.*, Vilnius: Mintis, 1967, No. 3321 – dated 1563. These documents were written 'in Grodno' (in fact, in Vilnius) and in Kaunas (in 1566); examination of the original manuscripts showed that in the first case the watermark is more similar to ours than Laucevičius' sketch might lead us to believe and the provenance he gives is mistaken; unfortunately the second watermark was identified very inaccurately by Laucevičius and is more like Piccard No. 29788 (cf. LMAVB RS F138–1381, l. 48r–49v; VUB RS F7–2, 63/13817, l. 118, 133, 134, 135). Nevertheless, paper with marks similar to ours were also used in a manuscript codex penned in 'the Belarusian style' (to use Florian Dobriansky's terminology) or Ruthenian *polustav*/ semi-uncial; this codex is dated to 1550–1575 and came into the possession of the Vilnius Public Library in the nineteenth century from the Holy Trinity ('St Mark's') Monastery in Vitebsk and is now LMAVB RS F19–47, on fos 397–423 of which there are even two slightly differing variants of this watermark; *Описание рукописей Виленской Публичной Библиотеки, церковно-славянских и русских*, составил Ф. Добрянский, Вильна: Типография А. Г. Сыркина, 1882, p. 58; *Кириллические рукописные книги, хранящиеся в Вильнюсе*, составитель Надежда Морозова, Vilnius: LLTI, 2008, p. 18.

in this respect). In places the writing is very faint and more difficult to read. In general the state of the manuscript is quite good, especially after disinfection in 2011 (according to a pencil note on the cover of the folder).

Almost the whole fragment is written in a transition script between *polustav* (semi-uncial) and cursive in lighter or darker brown ink by one skilled scribe¹⁸; the number of lines on each page varies between 17 and 20 (but p. 297 is written in a smaller hand and contains 23 lines). There are only three more decorative initials (on pp. 325, 333); p. 325 also contains an ornamented tilde. Traces of earlier quire foliation survive on the bottom of p. 295 (š [6]) and p. 311 (š [7]). This is undoubtedly a sign that the whole text of the Broad Redaction may once have been contained in a larger codex.

Sometimes we come across unnecessary repetitions,¹⁹ which clearly often reflect catchwords from the protograph. The Wawel Copy (henceforth WawC) does not contain catchwords, but imitates them; often a word is written where a catchword might be, but it is not repeated at the beginning of the next page.

The manuscript bears no evidence of provenance or other inscriptions which might help identify its owners or readers. Usually such inscriptions appear at the beginning or end of a manuscript, but in this case these parts of the codex are missing.

There is little punctuation, and paragraphs end with an ampersand; the latter detail and the style of writing suggests that the manuscript was drafted in a secular scriptorium. It is interesting that WawC does not have any (or very few) 'Ukrainianisms', unlike the Bychowiec Chronicle. What is common to both is that they often have 'b' instead of 'y' and *vice versa* (more often this is the case in WawC). Undoubtedly qualified Slavicists should examine the linguistic character of the text. Here we have enough evidence only to confirm that WawC may have come from somewhere in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania or the lands ceded to the Kingdom of Poland in 1569. Closer localisation or indeed identification of the scriptorium whence WawC originated may be aided by comparing the hand with those of the manuscript heritage of other GDL or Commonwealth archives.

¹⁸ In certain places (p. 285, 296, 297, 299–300, 308, 309, 319) different hands are interpolated, which use the letter 'A', rather than 'IA' (an exception is the small hand on p. 297, where we see 'IA'). It should also be said that in these cases the hand is no longer an intermediate stage between *polustav* and cursive, but a clear cursive.

¹⁹ P. 285, 289, 291, 301–302, 313, 318, 319–320, 331–332.

The fragment of text which we have at present is equivalent in size to approximately one-fifth of the Bychowiec Chronicle text (henceforth BC) as published by Teodor Narbutt.²⁰ We have only the Broad Redaction text of the Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (which begins with the account of Algirdas and Kęstutis' coup against Jaunutis and breaks off with the story of Vytautas and Skirgaila's campaign against Švitrigaila's revolt in Vitebsk). This might mean that the fragment was chosen for a particular purpose.²¹ Obviously, matters are made more complex by the fact that the extant text of the Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania is incomplete and begins and ends in mid-sentence, even though the first and last pages of the fragment are written from top to bottom. However, as has been noted, the size of the fragment may have been determined by how the quire was stitched as well as by its contents. We shall return to this issue.

Even so WawC is not a fragment of the protograph of BC. Take for example the account of Algirdas' battle against the Tatars at Blue Waters: BC gives a date, 1351,²² but WawC has the phrase 'И потом...' ('After that') instead. Our fragment does not give the date of Algirdas' death, but BC does (1377).²³

Special attention should be paid to the naming of the godfather of Kęstutis' daughter, the Teutonic Order's commander of Osterode. WawC calls him 'Гуностым', BC – Liebestyn. This name, especially the diphthong 'ie', looks suspicious because it is quite an accurate transcript of the Ger-

²⁰ *Pomniki do dziejów litewskich. Pod względem historycznym, dyplomatycznym, geograficznym, statystycznym, obyczajowym, archeograficznym i t. p.*, zebrane przez Teodora Narbutta, Wilno: Nakładem Rubena Rafałowicza Księgarza Wileńskiego, 1846.

²¹ In two seventeenth-century copies of the Middle Redaction of the Lithuanian Chronicles (Patriarkhovsky B and Tikhonravovski), made in the Orthodox lands of what are now eastern Belarus and Ukraine, not all of the legendary section was copied and other parts of the text were omitted as having no particular value.

²² *Pomniki...*, p. 19. Strijkowski dates the battle to 1331 – *Która przedtym nigdy swiatła nie widziała. Kronika Polska Litewska/ Żmodźka/ y wszystkiey Rusi [...]* Przez Macieia Osostewicivsa Strijkowskiego [...] Drukowano w Krolewcu v Gerzego Osterbergera: M. D. LXXXII. [1582], p. 416 {n vi recto}. Although we note the similarity with the date in BC (Strijkowski stresses that he based himself on the Lithuanian Chronicles), it may be that the chronicler corrected the date so as to coincide with the chronological network he devised, the starting point for which was the chronology of Lithuanian events provided by Polish chronicles.

²³ *Pomniki...*, p. 23. It is given also in the Raczyński and Evreinovski copies of the Middle Redaction – *Полное собрание русских летописей*, t. 17, С.-Петербург: Типография М. А. Александрова, 1907 (ПСРЛ 17), coll. 316, 379.

man form; it is more likely that the original text of BC read Libestyn, although we cannot rule out completely the possibility that during the seventeenth-eighteenth century an educated transcriber may have transliterated 'Либестын' as Liebestyn. Nevertheless, it is probably that Narbutt introduced this form of the name.²⁴

A Narbutian intervention is likely because in his *Dzieje narodu litewskiego* (History of the Lithuanian Nation) this scholar quotes from the unpublished BC manuscript. He asserts that this quotation (the spelling and punctuation is a little different from that in his 1846 publication, but Liebestyn appears in both) confirms the credibility of Długosz's story of how the commander of Osterode warned Kęstutis about Jogaila's conspiracy with the Teutonic Knights, and allows us to counter doubts about the account raised by scholars biased in favour of the Teutonic Order.²⁵ Długosz calls the commander Sundsteyn (a distorted reading of 'Гунстын', as given in the Short Redaction of the Lithuanian Chronicle),²⁶ while the Prussian historian Johannes Voigt stated that at the time of the conflict between Kęstutis and Jogaila the commandery of Osterode was held by Kuno von Liebenstein.²⁷

²⁴ This name has not struck Slavonic scholars studying the language of the Bychowiec Chronicle. In her reconstruction of the Cyrillic protograph of BC Lilia Citko presents the form 'Любестын' (Lilia Citko, *Kronika Bychowca' na tle historii geografii języka białoruskiego*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2006, p. 399). Nadieżda Morozova, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės metraščių kalbos ir tekstologijos problemos: Bychovco kronika*. Unpubl. Doctoral dissertation, University of Vilnius, 2001. [Vilnius University Library, Manuscript Room, ms f. 76-4018] does not discuss the name either.

²⁵ Teodor Narbutt, *Dzieje narodu litewskiego*, t. 5, Wilno: Nakładem i drukiem Antoniego Marcinowskiego, 1839, p. 274.

²⁶ *Joannis Dlugossii Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, Liber X, Varsaviae: PWN, 1985, p. 94; cf. ПСРЛ 17, coll. 73, 144, 193; in the Middle Redaction the Commander of Osterode becomes 'the Livonian Commander Avgustin' (ПСРЛ 17, coll. 265, 317, 443, cf. col. 380); an exception is to be found in the Krasinski Copy which reflects the First Redaction, referring to 'the Livonian Commander Gustyn' (col. 155); the latter variant explains the evolution of 'Gunstyn' into 'Avgustin'.

²⁷ Johannes Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens, von der ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Königsberg: im Verlage der Gebrüder Bornträger, 1832, t. 5, p. 361. It is probable that Narbutt criticised Voigt without mentioning his name. Oswald Balzer used a broader context of sources at the end of the nineteenth century to show that the godfather of Kęstutis's daughter referred to in the Chronicle was the commander of Osterode, Gunther von Hohenstein – Oswald Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, w Krakowie: nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1895, p. 468–469.

The strong influence Voigt exerted over Narbutt was well known to their contemporaries. According to Julian Bartoszewicz, Narbutt's opus magnum was 'Strykowski redivivus, sometimes complemented by Voigt, and sometimes spoiled by him';²⁸ we might be surprised why in this case Narbutt did not use the Suprasl Copy of the Short Redaction with which he was familiar,²⁹ and which in Daniłowicz's edition has the instrumental case form *Hunstynom* (in Cyrillic: 'Гонстыномь').³⁰ Such were the limits of this amateur historian's capabilities. Researchers are well aware of his inclination to mystification, and interpolation into original texts to 'improve' them was a practice typical of nineteenth-century textual editors.³¹

Nevertheless, setting aside the Liebestyn case, a close comparison of WawC and BC texts (such as we have carried out) rehabilitates the reputation of Narbutt as the editor of BC. Admittedly, Narbutt was subject to the typical vices of nineteenth-century textology, as we can see easily by comparing his facsimile publication of BC with his 1846 edition of the text. This contains inconsistencies – in one place the conjunction *y* is changed to *i*, while in other places it is left in place; moreover, he does not transcribe texts written between lines (on this we shall not comment).³² Such was the level of nineteenth-century scholarship. It remains to up-

²⁸ Reda Griškaitė, *Mykolas Balinskis: Kova dėl istorijos?*, Vilnius: Eugrinas, 2005, p. 77.

²⁹ See: Teodor Narbutt, *Dzieje starożytne narodu litewskiego*, t. 3, Wilno: Nakładem i drukiem Antoniego Marcinowskiego, 1838, p. 579 ('Dodatek III. Wiadomość o Kronice rękopisnej Litewskiej, cytowanej w piśmie niniejszem, pod nazwaniem Kroniki Bychowca', p. 578–582). The Suprasl Copy was published by Ignacy Daniłowicz in 1823–1824 in parts in the journal *Dziennik Wileński* and in a separate edition as *Latopisiec Litwy i kronika ruska: z rękopisu sławiańskiego przepisane [...]*, staraniem i pracą Ignacego Daniłowicza, w Wilnie: Nakładem i drukiem Antoniego Marcinowskiego, 1827. Until the appearance of BC this was the only publication of the full text of a redaction of the Lithuanian Chronicle.

³⁰ *Latopisiec Litwy i kronika ruska*, p. 41 [31]; ПСРЛ 17, col. 73.

³¹ See: Janusz Tazbir, 'Falszerstwa historyczno-literackie', in: Idem, *Od sasa do lasa*, Warszawa: Iskry, 2011, p. 22–23, 25, 31 (examples are given here from the work of Edward Raczyński and Józef Ignacy Kraszewski).

³² *Pomniki...*, p. 14, facsimile – unnumbered page next to p. 90. Admittedly, certain input into preparing the BC text for publication and subsequent proof reading by the archivist Wincenty Dowgiałło-Narbutt, who had the BC original at hand. The issue of Dowgiałło-Narbutt's contribution to this matter requires special consideration; on this personage, see Adam Stankevič, 'XIX a. istorijos mylėtojas Vincencas Daugėla Narbutas', in: *Gelvonai, (Lietuvos valsčiai, kn. 15)*, Vilnius: Versmė, 2009, p. 1158–1175.

hold the opinion of historians who say that Narbut's legacy remains to be examined more fully.³³

Comparing personal names in WawC and BC, we see that forms of the same name may differ slightly. In some cases the forms given in WawC are more accurate: 'Иван Жадевидъ',³⁴ 'Винконт Андреу' (p. 299, 300); cf. BC: 'Iwan Żedewid', 'Wingolt Andrey';³⁵ the Evreinov Copy gives the form of one of these names as 'Иван Жедевичь'.³⁶

Some different readings are given more accurately in WawC: 'штобы вже через то **не смел** | жаден против хрестиянства нико|торои ||[299] прикрости чинити'; and in BC – 'sztoby wże czerez to **nemeł** żaden protyw chrystyanstwa nikotoroy przykrosty czynity'.³⁷

In WawC some phrases are omitted and information analogous with that in BC is given more concisely. According to BC, Sofija Vytaitaitė sailed from Gdańsk to Pernau (Estonian Pärnu, a port on the Gulf of Riga) and after that went to Pskov,³⁸ whilst WawC, like all other copies of the Lithuanian Chronicles, mentions only her arrival in Pskov (p. 332).³⁹

The biblical quotation 'в ню же меру | мерите ѿмеритса им' (Matt. vii.2) is transcribed in a more archaic form in BC: 'внюже мѣру мѣрите, отмириса им'.⁴⁰ This part of BC compels us to wonder whether the transcriber might not have increased the number of Ukrainianisms in the text, such as replacing 'ѣ' with 'і'.⁴¹

³³ Reda Griškaitė, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

³⁴ Cf. 'Žādvėdas'. – *Lietuvių pavardžių žodynas*, [t. 2:] L–Ž, ed. Aleksandras Vanagas, Vitalija Maciejauskienė, Marytė Razmukaitė, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1989, p. 1306; Kazys Kuzavinis, Bronys Savukynas, *Lietuvių vardų kilmės žodynas*, Vilnius: Mokslas, 1987, p. 386.

³⁵ *Pomniki...*, p. 22.

³⁶ ПСРЛ 17, col. 377.

³⁷ *Pomniki...*, p. 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

³⁹ Cf. ПСРЛ 17, col. 80, 93, 166, 201, 274, 324, 386, 450.

⁴⁰ *Pomniki...*, p. 30.

⁴¹ Unfortunately, this text did not cause the author of a monograph on the language of BC any doubts. Lilia Citko reconstructs it as 'внюже мѣру мѣрите, отмириса им' (Lilia Citko, *op. cit.*, p. 413). Citko's work has other weaknesses – she does not refer to Narbut's *Dzieje narodu* (the opus does not even appear in her monograph's bibliography!), and Narbut's facsimile edition is not compared with his publication of the transliterated text.

IS THE TEXT OF THE WAWEL COPY
AND THE ZASŁAWSKI COPY ONE AND THE SAME?

At this point we should draw attention to the Zasławski Copy of the Broad Redaction.⁴² As we know, in the eighteenth century the Sanguszko family inherited the Zasławski Archive.⁴³ Along with this archive the Sanguszkos may have obtained the text of the Broad Redaction of the Lithuanian Chronicles or only a fragment of it (this question remains to be answered at a later date).

Unfortunately we cannot compare WawC with the Zasławski Chronicle used by Strykowski in his Chronicle published in 1582 for one simple reason – the account of the Roman arrival in Lithuania recounted by Strykowski from the Chronicle owned by the Zasławski princes does not survive in WawC.⁴⁴

However, we should recall another fact concerning the Zasławski Chronicle which we find in Wojciech Ruffin's book about the Benedictine Abbey of Holy Cross at Łysa Góra in Poland,⁴⁵ namely, that (1) the palatine

⁴² On this see: [Maciej Strykowski:] *Ktora przedtym nigdy swiatta nie widziata. Kronika Polska Litewska/ Żmódzka/ y wszytckiej Rusi* [...] Przez Macieia Osostewicivsa Striykowskiego [...] Drukowano w Krolewcu v Gerzego Osterbergera: M. D. LXXXII. [1582], p. 48 { l. F ij recto}, 328 { f iiii verso}. Cf. Ignacy Daniłowicz, 'Wiadomość o właściwych litewskich latopisach', in: *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka i wszytckiej Rusi Macieja Strykowskiego*. Wydanie nowe, będące dokładnem powtórzeniem wydania pierwotnego królewieckiego z roku 1582 [...], t. I, Warszawa: Nakład Gustava Leona Glüksberga, Księgarza, 1846, p. (51)–(53); Николай Улащик, *Введение в изучение белорусско-литовского летописания*, Москва: Наука, 1985, p. 11, 68, 87, 91, 93, 94, 98–104, 115, 120, 129

⁴³ Jolanta M. Marszalska, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Eadem, 'Archiwum i biblioteka książąt Sanguszków w Sławucie. Stan badań', in: *Kultura książki ziem wschodniego i południowego pogranicza Polski (XVI–XX wiek)*, Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2004, p. 345–359

⁴⁴ *Ktora przedtym...*, p. 48–49 {l. F ij recto–verso}.

⁴⁵ *Historya o Drzewie Krzyza Świętego na Gorę Łysą przynieśionym*. Spisana Przez X. Woyciecha Rvffina S., W Krakowie: W Drukarni Jakuba Sibeneychera, 1604, l. C₂ recto; a copy is held in Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, sign. 431. A slightly edited version of this information is presented in *Historya o Drzewie Krzyza świętego na gorę Łysą przynieśionym*. Spisana Przez X. Woyciecha Rvffina S. Mnicha tegoż Klasztoru. Teraz powtore przeyrzana/ poprawiona/ y z przydatkiem pewnych cudow, W Krakowie: V Dźiedzicow Jakuba Sibeneychera, 1611, l. C₂ recto–verso; we have used the Jagiellonian Library's copy (BJ, sign. 39312). For Ruffin see: Marek Derwich, *Benedyktynski klasztor św. Krzyża na Łysej Górze w średniowieczu*, Warszawa–Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1992, p. 121–122. This information was

of Podlasie Janusz Januszowicz Zasławski often visited Łysa Góra as a pilgrim;⁴⁶ (2) he was asked by Prior Łukasz Janowski OSB⁴⁷ for information he had in his 'Lithuanian Chronicle written in the Ruthenian language, which was found in the Sigismund Augustus' Library after the king's death',⁴⁸ and he did so in a letter or simply copied the legend of the stealing of the relic of the Holy Cross directly from the Chronicle.⁴⁹

reported mechanically more than a century later in Jacek Jabłonski: *Drzewo Żywota, z Raiu Naprzod na Gorze Jeruzolimskiej Kalwaryi, złośliwą ręką potym na Gorze Łysiec Przez Ręce Świętego Emeryka Krolewica Węgierskiego, Roku Pańskiego Tyśiącnego szostego, Przesadzone; Nieustannemi Cudami, y Łaskami kwiłtnące, w wszelkich przypadkach ludzkich zdrowy Owoc, Poćiech y Ratunku, rodzące; Pod strażą Zakonnikow Oyca S. Benedykta Kongregacyi Polskiej Benedyktyńskiej, zostaiące, Teraz Nowo Historycznie Opisane, Przez X. Jacka Jabłonskiego, Tegoż Klasztoru S. Krzyża Professa, Proboszcza S. Michała w Słupi, [...] w Krakowie: w Drukarni Jakuba Matyaszkiwicza, J. K. M. y J. O. Jmci X. Biskupa Krakowskiego, Xiążęcia Siewierskiego, Ordynaryinego Typografa. [1736 / 1737], p. 58 [l. H verso] (BJ, sign. 37729). Cf. Tadeusz M. Trajdos, 'Benedyktyni na Łyscu za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386–1434)', in: *Roczniki Historyczne*, 1982, r. XLVIII, p. 1–46 (p. 17: citing Ruffin's 1611 edition). Mariusz Kazańczuk also used the 1611 edition. – Mariusz Kazańczuk, *Staropolskie legendy herbowe*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kaków: Ossolineum, 1990, p. 76–77.*

⁴⁶ He was palatine of Podlasie, 18 March 1591–10 Apr. 1604, after which he was palatine of Volyn until his death on 28 Aug. 1629. See Adam Boniecki, *Poczet rodów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XV i XVI wieku*, Warszawa: Druk J. Bergera, 1887, p. 406; Józef Wolff, *Kniazziowie litewsko-ruscy od końca czternastego wieku*, Warszawa: Drukiem J. Filipowicza, 1895, p. 601–602; *Urzednicy podlascy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, opracowali Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz [i in.], Kórnik: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 1994, Nr. 1387; *Urzednicy wołyńscy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, opracował Marian Wolski, Kórnik: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 2007, Nr. 768.

⁴⁷ Janowski was prior of Holy Cross, second in command to the abbot for many years (details of his life remain almost unknown), but after the abbot was removed from office in 1593 he was administrator of the abbey until 1595. In 1611 Ruffin still refers to him as 'the current prior' – *Historya...*, 1611, l. C2 recto; Marek Derwich, *Materiały do słownika historyczno-geograficznego dóbr i dochodów dziesięcinnych benedyktyńskiego opactwa św. Krzyża na Łysej Górze do 1819 r.*, Wrocław: LAHRCOR, 2000, p. 218 (list of Holy Cross abbots and coadjutors).

⁴⁸ 'z Kroniki Litewskiej Ruskim | Charakterem pisaney/ którą w Bibliotece po śmierci Krol|la Augusta należiono' – see Appendix.

⁴⁹ In such a case the prince, no doubt, must have sent a transcription of the text in the Latin alphabet. That such transliterations were made before the eighteenth century is shown by the mid-seventeenth-century Ms 2211 of the Czartoryski Library (the Genealogy of the Princes of Rus' and Lithuania). In this case it is clear that the traditional dating of the non-extant original manuscript of BC to the eighteenth century is not founded on undisputable arguments. The watermarks described by Narbutt would also favour a seventeenth-century date. One of the most important tasks facing BC studies now is a careful analysis of the facsimile published by Narbutt.

Next comes an account of the well-known Broad Redaction legend of the theft of the Holy Cross relic, which apparently was committed by ‘a lord of the Davaina family’ during Grand Duke Jogaila’s raid on Poland (see Appendix). Unfortunately, Ruffin does not say when the letter was written. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the fact that Prince Zasławski’s conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism took place in 1603 (?),⁵⁰ we might deduce that the letter was written a few years before the ‘History of the Abbey’ appeared, since at that time the prince was either already a Catholic or was preparing to convert.⁵¹

As a comparison of the texts shows, Ruffin provides a concise version of the chronicle account and in his book the form of the name Davaina is distorted ‘z familiey Donoiow’ (cf. WawC: ‘з роду ДОВОИНОВА’, ‘з ДОВОИНОВ’, BC: ‘z rodu Dowoynowa’, ‘z Dowoynow’) and we do not find any analogy for the form ‘Donieiwic’ in either WawC or BC. Most likely this is an ‘innovation’ on the part of Ruffin, who also retold accounts from Polish chronicles, although the distortion may also have been in Zasławski’s letter. Undoubtedly the duke, who was connected closely with the GDL elite, was probably more than familiar with the Lithuanian Davaina, Davainaitis nobles. The last members of the dynasty were Stanislovas Davaina (†1566), the quite widely famous confidant of Sigismund Augustus, and his unfortunate namesake and cousin, the palatine of Polotsk who along with his city garrison was forced to capitulate to the army of Ivan the Terrible in 1563.⁵²

It was probably Ruffin who interpolated the 1370 date from Polish historians⁵³ (Marcin Kromer and, in part, Maciej Miechowita) who reworked Jan Długosz’s account (another genetically earlier legend of the theft of the Holy Cross relic, which also involved Lithuanians) with this date which comes

⁵⁰ The date is given in: Wanda Dobrowolska, ‘Młodość Jerzego i Krzysztofa Zbaraskich (Ze wstępem o rodzie Zbaraskich i życiorysem Janusza Zbaraskiego wojewody braclawskiego)’, in: *Rocznik Przemyski*, Przemysł, 1927, t. VII, p. 45, n. 5.

⁵¹ We shall not discuss the specific topic of the prince’s conversion here. The matter was described very impressively by Kaspar Niesiecki, but we shall not discuss the legend he relates here, see *Herbarz Polski Ks. Kaspra Niesieckiego S. J.*, wydany przez Jana Nep. Bobrowicza, t. 10, W Lipsku: Nakładem i drukiem Breitkopfa i Haertela, 1845, p. 93–94.

⁵² Ryszard Mienicki, ‘Stanisław Dowojno wojewoda połocki’, in: *Ateneum Wileńskie*, 1937, r. 12, p. 404–481; Nelė Asadauskienė, ‘Davainos, Davainaičiai’, in: *Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija*, t. IV, Vilnius: MELI, 2003, p. 538–539.

⁵³ Cf. Mariusz Kazańczuk, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

directly before the Lithuanian Chronicle tale.⁵⁴ Neither BC nor WawC has a date for this episode.

The abbey historian most likely also referred to the Lithuanians as a 'horde' and alongside this story he related another version according to Marcin and Joachim Bielski's *Kronika Polska*, which states that the relic was stolen by Tatars⁵⁵ Ruffin quite cleverly attempted to reconcile these accounts, asserting that there may have been Tatars in Jogaila's army who mixed with the Lithuanians 'and settled in Lithuania, as can be seen to this day on the banks of the River Vokė'.⁵⁶ Of course, this is a typical anachronism, because the Tatars were settled in Lithuania by Vytautas (and it is with this grand duke that the Bielski chronicle associates the origin of the Tatar colonies in Lithuania).

However, what matters to us is that Janusz Zaslowski's account coincides with that in WawC. This fragment-copy is considerably larger than the legend of the theft of the Holy Cross relic, which begins in the middle of the manuscript and occupies pp. 316–21. Therefore it would be hard to assert that the fragment itself was separated from the rest of the codex specially to this end. Even so, the way it was separated from the codex may have been determined by its place in the quire – it may have been more convenient to remove it from the stitching in this way. Therefore, hypothetically the separation of the quire from the codex might be connected with Janusz Zaslowski's letter to Abbot Janowski of Holy Cross. The prince could have taken the part of the codex (may be at the time he was making ready for his journey) and later forgotten to replace it. In this case we should look for the remainder of the codex primarily in the collections of the Sanguszko dukes, who inherited the Zaslowski Archive (and this is no easy task, since the archive has not been sorted and described properly⁵⁷); thus we cannot tell how long such a search would take. Researchers are familiar with the

⁵⁴ *Historia...*, l. C₂ recto: with reference to the work of Długosz, Miechowita, Kromer and Herburt. However, textual comparison shows that he followed Kromer, Miechowita, and perhaps Bielski, see. *Polonicae historiae corpus: hoc est, Polonicarum rerum latini recentiores & ueteres scriptores [...] Ex bibliotheca Ioan. Pistorii Nidani d. [...] Basileae: Per Sebastianvm Henricpetri, CIO. ID. XXCII.[1582], t. II, p. 170, 613; Kronika Polska, Marcina Bielskiego. Nowo Przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana, W Krakowie: W Drukarni Jakuba Sibeneychera, 1597, p. 242 (LMAVB XVI/2-45).*

⁵⁵ *Historia...*, l. C₂ recto; *Kronika Polska...*, p. 235.

⁵⁶ 'iako to y podziśdzień nad rzeką Waką | widzieć sie może.' – *Historia...*, l. C₃ recto; cf. *Kronika Polska...*, p. 495.

⁵⁷ Wiesław Filipczyk, *op. cit.*, p. 16–17.

practice of dividing codices into separate parts, especially in the nineteenth century, when interest in old manuscripts grew considerably and there was a boom in manuscript-collecting (here we might cite the Suprasl Codex and other cases).

The dating of WawC by its watermarks (to the 1560s–1570s) does not prevent our identifying it with the Zasławski Chronicle. It may well have been the manuscript Strykowski read when he studied the Zasławski text in the 1570s, even though there may have been another older manuscript in existence (the protograph of our manuscript). The likelihood of WawC's being a fragment of the Zasławski Chronicle could be deduced by two factors. First of all, Ruffin's report that the Chronicle had once been part of the Library of Grand Duke-King Sigismund (1548–1572).⁵⁸ However, this assertion may have been just a legend.⁵⁹ In our case the greatest obstacle is that Strykowski refers on one occasion to the Zasławski Chronicle as being 'ancient' (*starodawny*).⁶⁰ However, Strykowski may have wished just to stress the value of his source by describing it so, for this historian and poet was not averse to boasting about the quality of the texts he read. Furthermore, 'ancient' may refer to the more archaic appearance of the script (during the final quarter of the sixteenth century cursive scripts dominated in secular scriptoria in the GDL, whilst the polustav-cursive blend of WawC may indeed have seemed ancient or old-fashioned).⁶¹

⁵⁸ In the 1611 edition of his work Ruffin stresses that these are Zasławski's own words (see Appendix, n. 2). This information should be read alongside a similar case: the author of a Radziwiłł Genealogy written at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also uses the Lithuanian Chronicle, which was said to have been in the Royal Library: 'manu scriptus liber annalium Lithuaniae ex Bibliotheca Regis Augusti'. – *Deductio prima Niesvisiana. Genealogia atque familia ducum Radivilorum* (Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, Manuscript Room, f. 1, byla nr. 7452, l. 4; this detail is repeated in later genealogies *ibid.*, l. 21, 32).

⁵⁹ The author of a monograph on Sigismund Augustus' Library appears not to have known this – Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Biblioteka ostatniego Jagiellona. Pomnik kultury renesansowej*, Wrocław [i in.]: Ossolineum, 1988, p. 299–301 (a list of manuscripts known to have been in the Library). The person of the Last Jagiellonian became the topic of legend even during his lifetime. After his death a considerable number of his books found their way into various new owners' hands, despite the clear stipulation of the monarch's will – *Ibid.*, p. 76–99.

⁶⁰ 'z Latopisca starodawnego/ ktoregom dostał v Xiążąt Zasławskich'. – [Maciej Strykowski:] *Ktora przedtym nigdy swiatła nie widziata...*, p. 328 [f iii] verso).

⁶¹ By way of comparison, barely two-three decades after Simon Grunau's Chronicle was written, Marcin Kromer called the manuscript 'an old book' because it was written in Gothic cursive (*Martini Cromeri De origine et rebvs gestis Polonorum libri XXX*,

A completely secondary role is played by the contents of the manuscript holding or folder because these were formed, as we have noted, only after the Second World War from the remnants of the Sanguszko Archive at Gumniska, when various kinds of archival material ended up alongside nineteenth-, twentieth-century correspondence, wills and other private documents, that is, these documents came together in the archive more or less by accident. Perhaps the copies of Commonwealth state papers and the WawC cover sheets also came from the Zasławski Archive (during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first third of the seventeenth century the Ostrogski and their Zasławski kinsmen held the highest 'Ukrainian' offices and, as we know, the Zasławskis inherited the Ostrogski Archive...).⁶²

WHAT SHOULD WE CALL THESE TEXTS?

Nikolai Ulashchik proposed calling the Zasławski Chronicle the Berestovitsa Chronicle (Берестовицкая летопись) because Strykowski read it at the Zasławski manor in Bol'shaia Berestovitsa.⁶³ However, this copy of the

Basileae: per Ioannem Oporinum, MDLV [1555], p. 195 {B₂ recto}; Sławomir Zonenberg, *Kronika Szymona Grunaua*, Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2009, p. 58, 59). That Strykowski connected an ancient script with the age of a source is shown by his description of Peter of Dusburg's Chronicle as: 'Kronika staroswiecka', 'pissana staroswieckimi literami' and so on ([Maciej Strykowski:] *op. cit.*, p. 288, 289 {c ij verso, c iij recto}); on the relativity of such descriptions see Jan Słowiński, 'Littera antiqua w polskiej średniowiecznej terminologii pisarskiej', in: *Annales Universitatis Marie Curie-Skłodowska*, sectio F, t. XLV: 1990, p. 280–302.

⁶² Commonwealth bigwigs were prone to keeping their hands on state documents – see Teresa Zielińska, 'Archiwalia publiczne w zbiorach prywatnych', in: *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, t. XV–XVI, Warszawa, 2010, p. 5–13; in this case probably the most infamous are the eighteenth-century Nieśwież Radziwiłłs who even counterfeited a Sigismund Augustus charter of 1551 – *Akta unji Polski z Litwą 1385–1791*, wydali Stanisław Kutrzeba i Władysław Semkowicz, Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności, 1932, p. XXI–XXIII; Waldemar Mikulski, 'Dokumenty z archiwum Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w Archiwum Warszawskim Radziwiłłów', in: *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, t. VII, Warszawa, 1997, p. 71–83.

⁶³ *Ktora przedtym nigdy swiatła nie widziała...*, p. 48 {l. F ij recto}; Николай Улащик, *op. cit.*, p. 91. Ulashchik located the estate in the modern Brest Voblast (*ibid.*, p. 11, 87), but this is not upheld by historical sources. We know of an act of sale splitting up Berestovitsa Manor in the Grodno Powiat (1603) involving Janusz Zasławski, Andrzej Leszczyński and Fiodor Masalski (*Акты, издаваемые Виленскою археографическою комиссиею*, t. I: *Акты Гродненского земского суда*, Вильна, 1865,

Broad Redaction may have been taken to another place, as the fragment we have found might indicate. It would be most convenient to call this fragment the Wawel or Sanguszko Copy. The Sanguszkos undoubtedly were its owners in the past, and the Wawel is the site where it is preserved today. We might refer to it as the Cracow Copy, but this would run the risk of causing confusion because of the manuscript 'found' by Ulashchik in the Jagiellonian Library, known as the so-called Cracow Copy of the Lithuanian Chronicle⁶⁴.

To conclude, we may assert that:

1. The copy of the Lithuanian Chronicle we have found is a fragment of the Broad Redaction (almost the complete text of the 'Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania' reworked in this Redaction). This is the only Cyrillic copy of the Broad Redaction in real existence known to us today and dates to the 1560s–1570s.
2. The copy is not the protograph of the Bychowiec Chronicle, but might be part of the Zasławski Chronicle (or a slightly later copy thereof), especially given that the Sanguszkos inherited the Zasławski Archive.
3. This discovery allows us to return afresh to issues concerning the genesis, contents, language, and other aspects of the Broad Redaction.
4. It also inspires us to look for other manuscripts in the archives of the Sanguszkos and other noble families of the Commonwealth, however difficult this might prove.

p. 16–21; cf. Adam Boniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 406). Through ignorance of Lithuanian some scholars fail to appreciate the important comment of Rimantas Jasas, namely, that both copies of the Broad Redaction are connected in their origin with the area of Grodno-Valkavysk, and the manuscript of BC was discovered at Mogilovtsy Manor (Valkavysk Powiat) (*Lietuvos metraštinis. Bychovco kronika*, vertė, įvadą ir paaiškinimus parašė Rimantas Jasas, Vilnius: Vaga, 1972, p. 6).

⁶⁴ BJ 6135. In fact this is a nineteenth-century facsimile of part of the Ol'shevo Codex. See *Inwentarz rękopisów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej. Nr 6001–7000, Część I: Nr 6001–6500*, opracowali Anna Jałbrzykowska, Jerzy Zathej, Kraków: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1962, p. 49–50. Cf. Николай Улащик, 'Предисловие', in: *Полное собрание русских летописей*, т. 35, Москва: Наука, 1980, p. 13; Idem, *Введение в изучение...*, p. 59–60.