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Where Could Prince Izyaslav Volodymyrovych Escape from Terebovlia in September 1210/1211?

Summary: This paper is an attempt to identify one of the witnesses of executing in 1212 a diploma by the Prince of Kalisz Władysław Odonic for the Prussian bishop Christian with the subsequent granting of the village of Ceków to the bishop. The diploma mentions a certain *Isizlaus* among *alii nobiles*. As we cautiously suggest, that was the son of the former Galician Prince Volodymyr Igorevych – Izyaslav, the Prince of Terebovlia, in the years 1209/1210–1210/1211. After a victorious campaign in August – September 1210/1211 against the Igorids brothers, settled in the Halych land, the Hungarian troops led by Palatine Poth, reinforced by the Kraków, Sandomierz, and Volhynian troops, captured Svyatoslav and Roman Igorids and sold them to the Galician boyars, after which the brothers were hanged together with their families. Unlike the Igorids, Prince Volodymyr and his son Izyaslav managed to escape. While sources do not report anything about Izyaslav for the next few decades, the appearance of the person named *Isizlaus* at the court of Władysław Odonic in 1212 may not be coincidental. We assume that this may have been Prince Izyaslav Volodymyrovych, since Prince Władysław was his uncle 'on the distaff side' according to the genealogical relations with the Galician Rostislavovids.

Keywords: Prince Izyaslav, Halych, Terebovlia, the Rostislavovids, the Igorids, Władysław Odonic, Piasts, XIII century, identification, princely names, Ruthenian-Polish relationships

One of the most significant events in the history of the Halych land at the beginning of the 13th century undoubtedly was – well-known from various historical sources – the large-scale campaign carried out by the Hungarian troops in August – September 1210/1211,

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led by the Hungarian palatine Poth with the support of forces belonging to the Prince of Kraków and Sandomierz Leszek the White (Polish: *Leszek Biały*) († 1227) and a number of Volhynian Princes. The aim of this campaign was to smash the forces of the sons of Igor Svyatoslavovych († 1202) – Volodymyr († after 1210/1211), Roman († 1210/1211), and Svyatoslav († 1210/1211) from the ducal centres of Halych, Przemyśl, Zvenyhorod, and Terebovlia.

The historical background of the campaign was the elimination by the Igorids of a significant part of the Galician elites during their last reign in 1209–1210/1211 and the threat posed by the Árpáds striving to gain control over the Halych land. Since 1205/1206, King Andrew II intensely interfered with the internal affairs of the principality of Halych. While ostensibly acting as the patron and protector of the Danylo Romanovych († 1264), the child-prince of Halych and Lodomeria who was brought up and lived at the court of the Árpáds from the Winter of 1206/1207, he was the first Hungarian monarch to use the title 'King of Halych and Lodomeria' (*Galitiae Lodomeriaequae Rex*). The Igorids also recognised the Hungarian king use his Ruthenian *protégé* against them with the significant military support from Poland and Volhynia – after a group of boyars asked Andrew II to restore Daniel Romanovych as ruler of Halych in 1210 or 1211 Andrew and his allies – Leszek the White of Poland and some Ruthenian princes sent their armies to Halych.

This topic has been well studied by historians in recent decades, generally explaining not only the reasons of this extraordinary campaign but also, most importantly, the mode in which the Galician boyars dealt with the captured Igorids and members of their families, having previously redeemed them from the Hungarian captivity.

Today, it is absolutely clear that princes Roman and Svyatoslav were tortured and hanged with their wives and children.¹ However, in the case of Volodymyr and one of his sons, Izyaslav († after 1254/1255), the 13th-century *Chronicle of Romanids* states that after the family's 'return to the Halych land in 1209/1210 'to Terebovlia' (∂a *Tepe60e.nb*),² 'Volodimer [Igorevič] and his son Izjaslav fled from the city and were pursued as far as the Nezda river. On the Nezda Izjaslav fought [his pursuers] and his pack horses were captured'.³ The river *Hb3da* is identified with the left branch of Seret River – Hnizna,⁴ which is absolutely right because this river is located very close to the residence of Izyaslav – Terebovlia, from where the prince and his father were forced to run away under pressure from the enemy. However, we do not know exactly where they fled to,

¹ See: among the last works: Voloshchuk M. 2007, 105–112; Chebanenko S. 2014. 2(36), 162–181; Knysh Ya. 2017, 117–126.

² CGV. 2017, 26.

з Волждимерь бѣжа из Галича | и с[ы]нъ его Изаславь, и гнаша и до Нѣзды. Изаслав[ѣ] же | биса на мѣсте Нѣзды рѣкы, и wт[ъ]аша кона wт[ѣ] него | сѫмныа' СGV. 2017, 38; НС. 1973, 20.

⁴ CGV. 2017, 38, note 133.

since following his escape from the Halych land, Volodymyr Igorevych altogether vanishes from written records⁵ and his son Izyaslav – in whom some scholars would like to see the former prince of Terebovlia and opponent of the Romanids Danylo and Vasylko († 1269) re-appears in the sources between 1235–1254/1255 and is even mentioned as attempting to conquer Halych.⁶ However, so far, it has not been possible to fill in the gaps concerning his whereabouts following the events of 1210/1211. However, it seems that many years of our careful search for the Ruthenian settlers in the lands of the Piasts can help to solve this problem.

The fact that a person called *Isizlaus*, i.e., in our opinion – *Изделавъ* – was mentioned among the individuals who in 1212 witnessed the granting of the village of Ceków⁷ to the bishop of Prussia Christian († 1245) by Prince Władysław Odonic from Kalisz († 1239) and later of Pope Honorius III's († 1227) confirmation of the bestowment in 1218 is very interesting – not only in terms for our search of the fugitive princes Volodymyr and Izyaslav but also in the general context of elites' names in medieval Poland.

At first glance, despite the princely origin of the name *ИзAслaв*^{*}, there is no reason to consider the person of that name listed among the officials who witnessed the act of executing the diploma by Prince Władysław.⁸ Our mysterious *Isizlaus* was recorded as the last person in the category of *alii nobiles*, while the list was opened by three castellans (*Ywanus*, *Ymmizlaus*, and *Petrus*), voivode (*Stephanus*), and dapifer (*Iohannes*).⁹

The interpretation of the name *Isizlaus* from Prince Odonic's diploma raised some doubts among scholars. For instance, Witold Taszycki believed that it was a distorted version of the name '*Idzisław*'. However, Taszycki found three spelling versions of this in written records, one from 1212 and one from 1216–1217 (all mentions refer to the person we are interested in) – which all differed in the spelling from the third variant – *Idizlaus*. That is why we are convinced that in the absence of the name *H3Acnaes* in the list of the Polish medieval personal names, Witold Taszycki, the made an unconscious mistake by equating the names *Isizlaus* and *Idizlaus*.¹⁰ We also believe that there could not have been an error in the reproduction of the name, because the original of Prince Odonic's diploma kept in the Königsberg archive, as well as the confirmation from Rome, both mention the name of the witness in the same way – *Isizlaus*.

⁵ Voytovich L. 2006, 406–407.

⁶ The last discussions: Dombrovskiy D. 2015, 731–732. See also the discussion about the participations of Izyaslav in the attempt to get the throne of Halych: Aristov V. 2020, 447–462; Volosh-chuk M. 2020b. 41–49.

⁷ Ceków – village of in the Kalisz region of the Greater Poland Voivodeship, Poland.

⁸ Litvina A.F., Uspenskiy F.B. 2013. 697-698.

⁹ CDMP 1. 1877, 74-75, no. 77; See: VMP. 1860, 7-8, no. 16; PU. 1882, 10, no. 14.

¹⁰ Taszycki W. 1968, 337.

Also, it seems there is a completely logical explanation for the fact that the said Isizlaus was recorded among the members of the court of the Prince of Kalisz. The longestablished historical tradition concerning the ancestry of Prince Władysław's mother as the Galician princess *Vysheslava*,¹¹ who married his father Odon († 1194) sometime between 1184–1187, suggests that the Isizlaus mentioned in the discussed records was the son of the former Galician Prince Volodymyr Igorevych, whose brothers Roman and Svyatoslav, as already noted, were captured and executed in September 1210/1211 after a successful large-scale campaign to Halych by the royal forces led by the Hungarian palatine Poth, reinforced by the Kraków, Sandomierz, and Volhynian troops.¹² Vysheslava's father was Yaroslav Volodymyrkovych († 1187), who in The Tale of Igor's *Campaign* is nicknamed *Osmomysl* and whose other daughter Euphrosyne married Igor Svyatoslavovych around 1169, giving birth to a son Volodymyr around 1171. In this case, Prince Władysław Odonic was the cousin of Volodymyr and Izyaslay's uncle (Fig. 1). The lack of a dux title in such a case should not necessarily be confusing because sometimes the representatives of the princely families of Rus', who arrived in the lands of the Piasts, were often identified in the sources even without mentioning this designation. For example, the widow of the Prince of Kraków and Sandomierz Leszek the White met on 12 May 1228 in Skarzyszów (now the village of Skaryszew in Radom region, Masovian voivodeship, Poland) cum filio Romani. Although there is no hint of his princely status in the document itself,¹³ historians have no doubts that it referred to one of the Volhynian Romanids.¹⁴

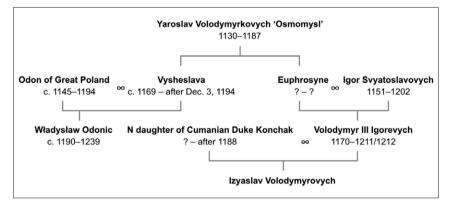


Fig. 1. Genealogical connections between the Rostislavovids of Halych and the Piasts of Greater Poland in 12th century. The exemple of Izyaslav

¹¹ Voloshchuk M. 2019, 118, no. 107–110.

¹² From the latest short summaries to the topic, see: Voloshchuk M. 2020a, 127, no. 30-31.

¹³ KDM. 1886, 39, no. 395.

¹⁴ See: Nagirnyj W. 2011, 195; Dąbrowski D. 2012, 147; Holovko O. 2021, 387-388.

As we well know, Prince Volodymyr was not captured in September 1210/1211, but he successfully escaped, although, due to the lack of sources, he never tried to return to Halych. Instead, an attempt to capture the prestigious throne of Halych was made by a certain Izyaslav,¹⁵ whom historians increasingly associate with Prince Volodymyr's surviving son and call him Volodymyr Igorevych.¹⁶

Therefore, in our opinion, Izyaslav, who was witness to Władysław Odonic's diploma in 1212, can be cautiously identified with a fugitive Halych prince who, unlike his executed uncles and members of their families, managed to find a temporary shelter in the court of his uncle 'on the distaff side', from where, apparently, he later returned to his 'small homeland' in Chernihiv land and participated in the conflicts between the local princes that were taking place in the third decade of the 13th century until the mid-13th century.

It is also worth emphasizing that none of the individuals mentioned in this diploma can be identified as someone who accompanied the Prince of Trembowla in his escape in 1210/1211, not even *castellanus Ywan*. In one of my previously published articles, I provided examples of the use of this name not only in Rus' but also in the lands of the Piasts.¹⁷ This does not mean that Izyaslav went to the court of Władysław Odonic alone. The fact that from the years 1235–1254/1255 there are reports of a significant group of people alongside Izyaslav, of various origins, including Cuman, may attest to this.¹⁸ However, nothing is known about the prince's entourage immediately after the escape from Trembowla.

Iziaslav, alongside Władysław Odonic, was present when the latter made donations to the monasteries in Lubiąż, Przemęt, and Ołobok between 1208 and 1211. These grants were intended to strengthen the Duke of Greater Poland's authority in the northern part of the state. Hence, it is likely that the mention of the Kalisz *castellanus Ywan* (or Iwon, Iwo) in a document from 1212 – the first to hold this office – is significant. It is well known that Władysław considered the Kalisz region his patrimony and defended it in disputes with rivals, especially Henry the Bearded (†1238). In his policy, Duke Władysław was also guided by the principle of populating these lands with both Poles and Germans, and possibly with other settlers as well. It is therefore possible that Władysław Odonic counted on Iziaslav's assistance in carrying out his settlement policy. Unfortunately, this is not confirmed *expressis verbis*.

However, we should accept the possibility of giving a princely name 'Izyaslav' to someone from the noble entourage of Władysław Odonic–a potential descendant

¹⁵ CGV. 2017, 196–198, 202, 358.

¹⁶ See: the most argued opinions: Dombrovskiy D. 2015, 731–732, 734–735. It is interesting but we do not see any reasons for the appearance of this Izyaslav in Władysław Odonic's document, indeed, we even do not see any mention of that person in the special monograph dedicated to the prince written by Krzysztof Witkowski (Witkowski K. 2012, 206–211).

¹⁷ Voloshchuk M. 2022, 363–364.

¹⁸ Jusupović A. 2013, 128–129, 155, 157–159, 170, 220, 224, 260, 291, 300, 302–303.

of the Rurikids, unknown by the dynastic branch and by the name and born from the marriage with an unknown lady from the Prince of Great Poland and Kalisz's mother's court, although the choice of a name not typical for the Galician Rostislavovid dynasty looks very strange, adding serious doubt to this potential explanation.

In our case, we also must consider the possibility that the name (Isizlaus) mentioned in Prince Władysław Odonic's diploma from 1212 (including the confirmation of 1218) was associated with the cult of Saint Aegidius (Sanctus Aegidius, † 720–725), well known in the countries of the Latin West. As Gallus Anonymous noted in the Gesta Principum Polonorum, his cult spread in the lands controlled by the Piast dynasty from the end of the 11th century¹⁹ (although Gallus Anonymous does not provide alternative spellings of the Saint's name other than *Egidius*). The pilgrims from Rus' also repeatedly visited his relics in the Saint-Gilles Abbey in Occitania, France, because this place was located on the way to the very popular pilgrimage destination, the Galician town of Santiago de Compostela, where the relics of the Apostle James were kept since the end of the 9th century.²⁰ There is no doubt that Ruthenian pilgrims travelled to the abbey through the lands of the Piasts, especially Lesser Poland and Silesia. According to W. Taszycki's Dictionary, the bearers of the name Egidius were noted in the Piasts' charters from the end of the 12th century (the first mention comes from 1189),²¹ with the variant *Idzi* (or *Jidzi*, *Idzik*) adapted for the Polish medieval language – from the first quarter of the 13th century.²² However, the names with the desinence -slav that are similar in spelling, as suggested by W. Taszycki, firstly, occur very rarely, and secondly, as we have already indicated above, contain important differences in the details: Isizlaus (1212), Isislaus (1216–1217), and Idizlaus (1249).²³ In our opinion, Taszycki wrongly included all these three names among the varieties of the name Idzisław.

Therefore, while we cannot fully dismiss the research doubts about whether Prince Izyaslav Volodymyrovych could really end up at the court of his uncle Prince Władysław Odonic of Kalisz after his escape from Terebovlia following the dramatic events of September 1210/1211 and death of his family, we still, after weighing all the *pro et contra* arguments, are inclined to associate the mysterious *Isizlaus* from Odonic's 1212 diploma with the son of Prince Volodymyr Igorevych.

- 21 Taszycki W. 1968, 336.
- 22 Taszycki W. 1968, 336–337.
- 23 Taszycki W. 1968, 337.

¹⁹ Gallus. 2003, 105–109, 277.

²⁰ Brun A.–S. 2014, 110–129.

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