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Euphrosyne, Pradslava, Praxeda, Paraskeva in the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles of the 16th Century

Eufrozyna – Przedsława – Prakseda – Paraskiewa w białorusko-litewskich kronikach XVI wieku

Еўфрасіння – Прадслава – Пракседа – Параскева ў беларуска-літоўскіх хроніках XVI ст.

Abstract

The second edition of the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles (Krasinski, Raczynski, Archaeological Society, etc.) contains a story about the subjugation of Polotsk by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, called by researchers *The Tale of Polotsk*. It is believed that this collection of Chronicles originated in the early 16th century at the initiative of the Voivode of Polotsk, and the then Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Albrechtas Gostautas. It attempts to combine the original history of Polotsk and the Polotsk land with the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including the legend of the Roman origin of the Lithuanian nobility. In this *Tale,* there is a plot that vaguely resembles an excerpt from the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk*, but the names of the Polotsk and Lithuanian princes have been changed beyond recognition. The questions arises: who created such a convoluted story about the Polotsk princes in the pages of the second edition of the Chronicles and why? As is well known, the first edition of the Chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (late 14th – first half of the 15th century) is mainly devoted to the history of ancient Russia. At the beginning of the 16th century there was a need to create a 'national' historical discourse. For this purpose it was necessary to combine the so-called 'Russian' and 'Lithuanian' ethno-religious components of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, to strengthen ideologically the domination of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in the ancient Polotsk Principality. There was a gradual transition from the cultural space of Slavia Orthodoxa to

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the cultural space of Slavia Romana (Riccardo Picchio). The source-cognitive and archeographic, comparative-historical and partly hermeneutic research methods were used. As a result, it became possible to get closer to the understanding that most likely the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk*, which could have been written in the 12th century, by the beginning of the 16th century had almost disappeared from the field of view of the intellectuals of the time, but certain echoes of the cult of the Saint remained in Polotsk, especially the shrines and the cross created for her. The *Life* was rewritten in accordance with the requirements of certain social groups, then its elements became part of the second edition of the Chronicle of the GDL in a much-changed form.

Keywords: Euphrosyne of Polotsk, Principality of Polotsk, Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles, Grand Dukes of Lithuania

Abstract

W drugiej redakcji kronik białorusko-litewskich (Krasińskiego, Raczyńskiego, Towarzystwa Archeologicznego i innych) zapisano historię o podporządkowaniu Połocka przez wielkich książąt litewskich, zwaną przez badaczy „Opowieścią o Połocku". Uważa się, że pochodzi ona z początku XVI w. i powstała z inicjatywy wojewody połockiego, a następnie kanclerza Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Olbrachta Gasztołda. W opowieści najstarsze dzieje Połocka przeplatają się z historią Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, a także legendą o rzymskim pochodzeniu szlachty litewskiej. Fabuła przypomina fragmenty *Żywotu Świętej Eufrozyny* (Połockiej), ale imiona książąt połockich i litewskich są trudne do identyfikacji. Powstaje pytanie: kto i dlaczego zamieścił na kartach drugiej redakcji tak zagmatwaną opowieść o książętach połockich? Jak wiadomo, pierwsza redakcja latopisu Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (koniec XIV – pierwsza połowa XV wieku) została poświęcona głównie najstarszej historii Rosji. Na początku XVI w. zaistniała potrzeba opracowania „narodowego" dyskursu historycznego. W tym celu należało połączyć tzw. *rosyjskie* oraz *litewskie* komponenty etniczno-religijne Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, aby ideologicznie wzmocnić dominację wielkich książąt litewskich w najstarszym księstwie połockim. Nastąpiło wówczas stopniowe przejście od przestrzeni kulturowej *Slavia Orthodoxa* do przestrzeni kulturowej *Slavia Romana* (Riccardo Picchio). W artykule wykorzystano różnorodne metody badawcze: analiza materiału źródłowego i archeograficznego, metoda porównawczo-historyczna, częściowo metoda hermeneutyczna. W toku badania ustalono, że napisany najprawdopodobniej w XII w. *Żywot Eufrozyny* (Połockiej), zapomniany przez ówczesnych intelektualistów, w Połocku pozostawił pewne echa kultu świętej, zwłaszcza miejsca jej kultu oraz krzyż. *Żywot*... został przeredagowany zgodnie z oczekiwaniami pewnych grup społecznych, a następnie – w znacznie zmienionej formie – stał się częścią drugiej redakcji latopisów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: Eufrozyna Połocka, Księstwo Połockie, Kroniki litewsko-białoruskie, Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie

Анатацыя

У другім летапісным зводзе беларуска-літоўскіх летапісаў (Красінскага, Рачынскага Археалагічнага таварыства і інш.) прысутнічае сюжэт, звязаны з падпарадкаваннем Полацка вялікімі князямі літоўскімі, названы даследчыкамі Аповесць пра Полацк. Як лічыцца,

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гэты звод узнік у пачатку XVI ст. па ініцыятыве полацкага ваяводы, а потым канцлера ВКЛ Альберта Гаштольда. У ім робіцца спроба аб'яднаць пачатковую гісторыю Полацка і Полацкай зямлі з гісторыяй Вялікага Княства Літоўскага, у тым ліку з легендай аб рымскім паходжанні літоўскай знаці. У гэтай Аповесці сустракаем сюжэт, які аддалена нагадвае урывак з *Жыція Еўфрасінні Полацкай*, аднак імёны полацкіх і літоўскіх князёў зменены тут да непазнавальнасці. Узнікае пытанне: каму і навошта трэба было ствараць такую блытаную гісторыю аб полацкіх князях на старонках другога зводу. Як вядома, першы летапісны звод ВКЛ (канец 14 – першая палова 15 ст.) у асноўным прысвечаны гісторыі старажытнай Русі. У пачатку XVI ст. паўстала неабходнасць стварыць „нацыянальны" гістарычны дыскурс. Дзеля гэтага неабходна было аб'яднаць так званыя „рускі" і „літоўскі" этна-рэлігійныя кампаненты ВКЛ, ідэалагічна падмацаваць панаванне вялікіх князёў літоўскіх у найстаражытнейшым Полацкім княстве. Адбываўся паступовы пераход з культурнай прасторы Slavia Orthodoxa ў культурную прастору Slavia Romana (Рыкарда Пікіа). Намі былі выкарыстаны крыніцазнаўчы і археаграфічны, параўнальна-гістарычны, часткова герменеўтычны метады даследавання. У выніку ўдалася наблізіцца да разумення таго, што хутчэй за ўсё *Жыціе Еўфрасінні Полацкай*, якое магло быць напісана ў XII ст., да пачатку XVI ст. фактычна знікла з поля зроку інтэлектуалаў таго часу, аднак пэўныя водгукі культа прападобнай засталіся ў Полацку, асабліва створаныя ёй святыні і крыж. Жыціе было перапісана, адпаведна патрабаванням пэўных сацыяльных груп, потым яго элементы ўвайшлі ў склад другога летапіснага зводу ВКЛ у значна зменены выглядзе.

Ключавыя словы: Еўфрасіння Полацкая, Полацкая зямля, беларуска-літоўскія летапісы, Вялікае Княства Літоўскае

> Without memory we, humans, would wander in space,
> devoid of culture and orientation point's.
> (Markowitch, 2006)

Our national discourse in the Middle Ages and the early modern period did not develop in relative isolation, as, say, Russian or Polish, but in close cooperation with the latter. In the Middle Ages, we stood with one foot in the so-called space of Slavia Orthodoxa, and the other – in Slavia Romana. Moreover, the movement from Slavia Orthodoxa to Slavia Romana took place throughout the New Age. How exactly this happened is an important research problem, that I will consider here. For the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the theory of the Italian Slavist Riccardo Picchio about the literary civilizations Slavia Orthodoxa and Slavia Romana is, in my opinion, very productive (Pikkio, 2003). The scientist himself did not apply it to the cultural space of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. But we have to do it. As a result of my own research and analysis of the literature on this subject, I came to the conclusion that the cultural space called Slavia Orthodoxa (in other words Rus or Russia) was gradually shrinking under the influence of the cultural space of Slavia Romana. This process can be called occidentalization or Europeanisation of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Semenčuk, 2019, pp. 30–42).

Recently, historians have been paying much attention to the development of national historical discourse and cult images of history as a pan-European trend in modern

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political culture. It is described in detail to what extent these ideas – reconstructed or constructed by the political and cultural elites of the early modern period – were widespread in the historical and political consciousness.

In this regard, I would like to touch on a certain plot, which, on the one hand, is known, and on the other – very mysterious and little studied. This is a story about how the memory of one of the most significant figures of Belarusian history and culture, St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk, is reflected in the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles, as well as in the Polish Chronicles related to them.

The problem of the relationship between reality and its perception in society in the Middle Ages is often ignored by modern researchers. It is recognised that there are several spaces for scientific reflection: the social reality of medieval society; its perception and interpretation by contemporaries (people who lived in those distant times); and finally, our perception and interpretation of that reality and those interpretations (Èksle, 2007c, p. 28). For us, as in the days of Max Weber, one of the main research problems remains the problem of the relationship between 'reality' and 'knowledge', the relationship between the social reality of the past and its perception and interpretation in society. M. Weber said that the basis of any research is not 'actual connections of things, but mental connections of problems', or, as Otto Gerhard Oexle noted, – the relationship between 'reality' and 'knowledge' in the context of the historian's reflection on the subject of study (Èksle, 2007c, p. 28).

In 2013, two articles were published independently – by the Lithuanian researcher Kestutis Gudmantas *Life of Paraskoviya-Praxeda in the Lithuanian Chronicles* (Gudmantas, 2013, pp. 197–214) and my article 'Polotsk and the Polotsk Land in Historical Memory of the Inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 16th Century'. (Semenčuk, 2013, pp. 19–28). Both of us were simultaneously interested in the problem of the perception of reality of the Polotsk Principality by the people of the 16th century, or more precisely, by the creators of the second edition of the Chronicle.

Presentation of the History of Praxeda – Paraskeva – Euphrosyne – Pradslava in the Second Edition of the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles

In the so-called second edition of the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles (Krasinski, Raczynski, Archaeological Society, etc.), which, according to most researchers, appeared in the early 16th century, you can find a passage that one of the descendants of the legendary Palemon, the Duke of Navahrudak Mingaila, in the battle of Gorodets defeated the Polotsk people and became *the Grand Duke of Polotsk* (sic!). His son, the Duke of Polotsk Ginvilas, married the daughter of the Grand Prince of Tver Boris, named Maria, from whom he was baptized into the 'Russian faith' and received the name of his father-in-law Boris. They had a daughter named Paraskoviya and a son named Gleb. Boris-Ginvilas built the Church of the Saviour and founded the city of Borisov. His daughter Paraskoviya became a nun. In the convent, she copied books, and then suddenly went

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to Rome, where she was baptized a Catholic and received the name of Praxeda. The Romans built a church in her honour, where she was buried. Her brother Gleb died young and was buried in St. Sophia Cathedral in Polotsk 'with his father in the same coffin'.

Список гр. Красинского. (ПСРЛ. Vol. 17. *Западнорусские летописи*, Москва 2008, p. 232)[1].	M. Stryjkowski *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Zmódzka i wszystkiej Rusi… Wydanie nowe,* Warszawa 1846. Vol. 1, pp. 241–242[2].
А Кгинвилъ на Полоцку. И поимет Кгинвилъ дочку оу великого князя Тверьского Бориса именем Марью, для которое жь окристился в Роуску веру. И дали ему имя тъстя его князя Тверского Борис. И тот Кгинвилъ, нареченный Борис вчинил город на имя свое на реце Березыни. И назвал его Борисовъ. И будучи емоу Русином был велми набоженъ. И вчинил церковь каменную в Полоцку святое Софии. Другую святого Спаса девич монастырь оу верхъ реки Полоты. От града оу полоу мили. Третию церковь на Белчици святых Бориса и Глеба манастырь. И пануючи ему в Полоцкоу. Был ласкав на поданых своихъ. И дал имъ поданым своим волности и вечо мети и въ звонъ звонити. И потомоу справовати яко оу великом Новегороде и Пъскове. И тот князь Борис с тою жоною мелъ двое детеи. Сына Глеба а дочкоу Парасковгию. И сам оумре а по собе на Полоцку зоставит сына своего Глеба. А дочка Парасковгия обецала девитство свое заховати в целости до живота своего и пострыглася в черници оу святого Спаса в монастыри над Полотою. И мешкла там сем лет Богу служачи и книги пишучи на церковь. А потом забралася до Рима и в Риме служила Богуж пилне и мешькала колко годъ. И окрестилася которую называють святая Пракседыс. А по Рускии Парасковгия. Которой ж в Риме и костел збоудовали. На имя ее святое там же ее положили. А брат ее князь Глеб Полоцкий в молодых летех своих княживши не много лет в Полоцку и оумре. И положенъ быс оу святое Софии в Полоцку. Со отцомъ своим во одном гробе. А Полочане	Ginwił… Połockie xięstwo wziął z udziału, na którym szczęśliwie panując, pojał w małżeński stan xiężnę Marią, Borissa Wielkiego Kniazia Twierskiego córkę, dla której się ochrzcił w grecką albo ruską wiarę i dano mu na chrzcie imię Jurgi... a potym w niedoszłym wieku lat swoich umarł, zostawiwszy po sobie syna Borissa. Po nim panował na xięstwie Połockim Rechwold, imieniem chrzsczonym Wasili syn. Po nim na xięstwie Połockim został Hleb syn i córka Poroskawia, a ta poślubiwszy Panu Bogu dziewicy stan w czystości chować, postrzygłą się w cernice w monasterze S.Spassa, nad rzeką Połotą, w którym mieszkała siedm lat Panu Bogu służąc i księgi do kościołów pisząc. To póty ku rzeczy o tej Poroskawi piszą Latopiszcze Litewskie i Ruskie. Ale dalej coś dziwnego o niej powiedają w ty słowa: I potym dzię swietaja Poroskawia wezbrała się do Ryma i w Rymie kilko lat mieszkając, Bogu pilnie służyła, i tamże umierła i potym dzię się oświeciła, którą zowią święta Praxidis, a po rusku: Praskowia. Którejże dzię w Rymie i cerkiew zbudowano, na imię jeje światoje i tamże jeje cieło pohrebli. To poty wszystki Latopiszcze jednako o tej Poroskawi, xiężnie Połockiej świadczą. Ale iż się ja z wielkam pilnością staram i na tom siedmiolętną pracę podjął, abych Litewską i Ruską, także Polską historją, nie z domniemania, ale z pewnych dowodów na świat pokazał: tedym też o tej Poroskawi nie mało ksiąg kościelnych zwartował, któraby to z xiężny Połockiej świętą Praxedą w Rzymie zostać miała, alem tego nigdziej naleść ani się dopytać mógł; tylko ta pospolita jest historja o S.Praxedzie w legendach świętych, i w leda wiatiku:

[1] *Krasinski Manuscript*. (*PSRL*, Vol. 17. *West Russian Chronicles*, Moscow 2008, p. 232).

[2] M. Stryjkowski, *Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and all of Ruthenia*. New edition, Warsaw 1846. Vol. 1, pp. 241–242.

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потом почали зася вечом справоватися, как оу великом Новегороде и Пъскове. А пана над собою не мели. И възвратимися воспак.	Praxedis virgo venerabilis Prudentis Romani filia, amissis parentibus etc....a Rechwold, ociec Paraskawie nie w Rzimie ale w Połocku leży,... u S. Sophiae... Potym brat tej Poroskawy Hleb, niedługo Połoczanom panował, bo w młodym wieku za ojcem Rechwoldem Waszilem i za siostrą Poroskawią (świętą, tak, jako chcą Latopiszcze), musiał na on świat wędrować. Pochowan podle ojca w jednym grobie, u S.Sophie na zamku Połockim. A Połoczanie... poczęli sobie po staremu wolno żyć, i wieczami się sądzić...

Ginvilas, being an ethnic Lithuanian, is called a 'Rusyn' here by the religion. This is an attempt to bring the new rulers from the dynasty of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, or rather, the Palemonids, closer to the Polotsk princely tradition.

As you can see, in the *Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and all of Ruthenia* by Maciej Stryjkowski, as well as in the *Bykhavets Chronicle* between Ginvilas and Boris there is an additional link – Ragvalod – Vasily. According to most researchers, Stryjkowski mainly followed the *Bykhavets Chronicle* in his compilations on the early history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Ulaščik, 1985, pp. 87–100). In the manuscripts of the Archaeological Society and Count Rachynsky, Boris also has a son Ragvalod – Vasily, who had a daughter Paraskoviya and a son Gleb. This means that most of the manuscripts of the second and third editions have an additional generation of the descendants of Ginvilas.

Список Быховца, (ПСРЛ. Vol. 17. *Западнорусские летописи*, Москва 2008, p. 479–480)[3].	*Список Археологического Общества*, (ПСРЛ. Vol. 17. *Западнорусские летописи*, Москва 2008, p. 245–246)[4].
...a Ginwił na Połocku, a poymet Ginwił doczku u welikoho kniazia Twerskoho w Borka imenem Maryiu, dla kotoroież ochrystyłsia w Ruskuiu wiru, y dali imia jemu Jurij, y tot Jurij panował nemnoho let i umre. A po sobi zostawił syna swoicho Borysa na Połocku, y tot kniaz Borys wczynił horod na imia swoie na rece Berezyni i nazwał ieho Borysow. Y buduczy iemu Rusinom był welmi nabożon, y wczynił cerkow kamennuiu u Połocku swiatoie Sofij. Druhuju swiatoho Spasa, dewic monastyr, u werch reki Połoty ot horoda w połu mili. Tretiuiu cerkow monastyr na Bełczycy swiatoho Borysa y Hleba.	А Кгинвилъ на Полотцку, и поиметъ Кгинвил дочку у великаго князя Тверскаго у Бориса именем Марию для которое же окрстился в Рускую веру, и дали ему имя Борис, и тотъ Кгинвил рекомыи Борис учинил город на имя свое на реце Березыни и назвалъ его Борисов. И будучи ему Русином был велми набоженъ. И учинил церковь каменную в Полоцку святую Софею. Другую святаго Спаса девич монастырь в верхъ реки Полоты от города в полумили. Третию церковь монастыр на Белчицы святаго Бориса и Глеба. И пануючи ему в Полоцку был ласкав на подданых своих.

[3] *Bykhavets Chronicle* (*PSRL*. Vol. 17. *West Russian Chronicles*, Moscow 2008, pp. 479–480).

[4] *Archaeological Society Manuscript*, (*PSRL*. Vol. 17. West Russian Chronicles, Moscow 2008, pp. 245–246).

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A panujuczy iemu w Połocku był łaskaw na poddanych swoich, y dał im poddanym swoim wolnosty, y weczu mety y w zwon zwonity, y potomu sia radyty kak u Welikom Nowohorode y Pskowe, a potom kniaz Borys Połocki umre. A po sobi zostawił syna swojeho na Połocku Rohwołoda prorekomoho Wasilia, y tot kniaz Wasilie Połocki żył nemało na Połocku y umre. A po sobe zostawił syna Hleba, y doczku Paraskowiju i taja doczka obicała dewictwo swoie zachowaty w cełosty do żywota swojeho, y postryhłasia w czernicy u swiatoho Spasa, u monastyry nad Połotoiu, y meszkała tam sem lit Bohu służaczy, y knihi piszuczy na cerkow. A potom zobrałasia do Ryma, y w Ryme meszkaiuczy Bohu służyła pilne, y meszkała kolkoś hod, y oswiatyłasia, kotoruiu zowut swiataja Praxedis, a po Rusku Paraskowia, kotoroy że w Ryme i kosteł zbudowali, na imia jeie swiatoie, y tamże ieie położyli. A brat ieie kniaz Hleb Połocki, w młodych letech swoich umre, y położon byst u swiatoie Sofij w Połocku, so otcom swoim u odnom hrobi. A Połczane poczali weczom sia sprawowaty kak u Welikom Nowohorode y Pskowe, a pana nad soboju ne meli, i obratymsia wospak.	И дал имъ подданым своим волность вечом имети и в звон звонити, и потому се справовати какъ в великом Новегороде и во Пскове и што князь Борис с тою женою имел сына Рогволода названого Василемъ и по нем начне княжити сынъ его Василеи, в Полоцку имел сына Глеба, а дочку Парасковю, и тая дочка Парасковия обецалася девичьство свое захавати в целости до живота своего и постриглася в черницы у святаго Спаса в монастыри над Полотою, и мешкала там 7 лет Богу служачи и книги пишучи на церковь а потом забралася до Рыма и в Рыме мешкаючы Богу служила пилне. И мешкая колко лет и освятилася которую называют святая Прикседы а по руски Пороскове, которои же оу Риме и костел збудован на имя ее святое. И там же ее и положили. А брат ее князь Глеб Полоцкий оу молодых летех своих княживши оу Полоцку не много лет и оумре и положон был оу святое Софеи оу Полотцку со отцем своим оу одном гробе. А Полочане почали потом спраоватися засе как оу великом Новегороде и Пъскове а пана над собою не мели и возвратимся воспят.

This variability of names makes you wonder: why did the authors of the second edition have to change the names of princes or add additional persons? A similar situation is found with the increase of the 'tribes' in the legend of the Roman origin of Lithuanian nobility: in one version, the journey of Palemon took place in the time of Caesar (100–44 BC), in the second – Attila (5 AD). Perhaps this was done simply because each generation reigned for too many years, which certainly might have seemed suspicious to the thoughtful reader in the 16th century. To make the story of Palemon and his sons more believable, the number of tribes increased (Ulaščik, 1985, pp. 135–146).

If you compare the chronicle text with the *Life* of Euphrosyne, it becomes clear that the chronicler used it for his historical constructions:

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Список гр. Красинского (ПСРЛ Vol. 17. *Западнорусские летописи*, Москва 2008, с. 232)[5]	*Жыціе Еўфрасінні Полацкай (Рэлігійнае пісьменства кірылічнай традыцыі XI–XV стст.*, Мінск 2013, p. 192[6].
А дочка Парасковгия обецала девитство свое заховати в целости до живота своего и постриглася в черници оу святого Спаса в монастыри над Полотою. И мешкала там сем лет Богу служачи и книги пишучи на церковь.	И се на уме положивши, иде в монастырь, утаившися отца, и матери, и всех домашних… И ту вьшедши, нача подвижнеиши подвигъ постническыи восприимати. И нача книгы писати своими руками, и наем емлюще, требующим даяше.

The oldest known manuscript of *Life* is dated by researchers to the beginning of the 16th century[7]. At the same time, it is believed that *Life* was created in the 12th century, however, not a single manuscript was preserved until that time (Melnìkaŭ, 2005, pp. 116–117). And only in the early 16th century there was any interest in it with new manuscripts being created.

The source of the above-mentioned Krasinski Manuscript is not only the Ipatevsky and other Eastern European chronicles, but also the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk* and, possibly, archival documents of Polotsk. Albrechtas Gostautas, the initiator of the creation of the second edition of the Chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was related to them. During his tenure as Polotsk Voivode he could see the tombstones of princes[8], as well as the famous Ragvolod (Borisov) stones. One of the inscriptions on them testifies 'І(ису)с Х(ристо)с Ника. Въ ле(то) 6679 м(еся)ца маия въ 7 д(е)нь доспенъ кр(ест)ъ сий. Г(оспод)и, помози рабу своему Василию в кр(е)щении, именем Рогволоду, с(ы)ну Борисову'[9] (Kalečus, 2011, pp. 33). This inscription fully corresponds to the information from the manuscripts of the extended edition – Rumyantsev, Alshevsky and Rachynsky Manuscripts.

Maciej Stryjkowski at the end of the 16th century had also seen some stones and gave an inscription on one of them: 'Wspomoży Hospody raba swojoho, Borissa

[5] *Krasinski Manuscript* (*PSRL*, Vol. 17. *West Russian Chronicles*, Moscow 2008, p. 232).

[6] *The Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk (Religious writing of the Cyrillic tradition of the 11th–15th centuries*, Minsk 2013, p. 192).

[7] ГИМ. Епарх. № 406, нач. XVI в. Вядома таксама пралогавае Жытие Еўфрасінні, якое было створана, відаць, у 2-й палове XV ст. у Навагрудскай мітраполіі. Найбольш старажытны спіс такога кароткага Жытия знайшоў Б. М. Клос у пралогу апошняй чвэрці XV ст. (БАН. 33.19.8). (Klos, 2002, pp. 9–13). [GIM. Eparch. № 406, begin. of the 16th century. Of course the prologue Life of Euphrosyne, which was also created, apparently, in the second half of the 15th century in the Navahrudak metropolitanate. The most ancient manuscript of such a short *Life* was found by B.M Klos in the prologue of the last quarter of the 15th century. (BAS. 33.19.8). (Klos, 2002, pp. 9–13).]

[8] Apparently, no names yet, because the custom of signing tombstones appeared later.

[9] Supposedly: 'Jesus Christ the Winner. In summer of 6679, month of May on the 7th day, this cross was put. Lord, help your servant in the baptism of Basil, named Rogvolod, son of Boris (translator's note)'.

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syna Ginwiloweho!'[10] (Stryjkowski, 1846, p. 242). So the stones were known in the early 16th century. Both epigraphic and narrative sources trace the influence of the popular cult of Saints Boris and Gleb, popular in Ancient Rus, which has survived to this day.

Alexey Sapunov pointed out that in all of the above mentioned Chronicles the facts of the *Lives* of Euphrosyne of Polotsk, Paraskeva – Roman and Eupraxia of Polotsk (in other words, Pskov) fantastically intertwine (Sapunov, 1888, p. 42; Melnìkaì, 2005, pp. 111–112). Belarusian researcher Alexey Melnikov believed that the chroniclers followed the description of the life of her cousin Euphrosyne, Zvenislava – Eupraxia, the daughter of the Polotsk Prince Ragvalod – Boris and sister of Gleb, because she and her sister made a pilgrimage to Constantinople (that is New Rome), and the name of Eupraxia under the influence of folk etymology was transformed into Paraskeva / Praskovia (Melnìkaŭ, 2005, p. 110).

Lithuanian researcher Kestutis Gudmantas points out that previous researchers have ignored one of the characters in the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles – St. Praxeda (Gudmantas, 2013, pp. 203–204). He decided to take a closer look at the image of this Saint, as well as her sister Pudentsiyana, with whom she is usually mentioned, and came to the conclusion that in the Chronicle 'own' reality is cunningly linked to the Roman. Here are two sisters – Euphrosyne and Eupraxia, there – Praxeda and Pudentsiyana. The latter were very popular in Rome, their cult is represented by magnificent images, mosaics, and there is the Basilica of St. Prassede. They could be seen by travellers from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania while in Rome. It is possible that Eupraxia and Praxeda in their minds merged into one name. Then there was the replacement of Praxeda to Praskovya, and only then Praskovya could be identified with St. Paraskeva Tyrnauskaya or Paraskeva – Roman (Gudmantas, 2013, pp. 203–204).

Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk

A. Sapunov (Sapunov, 1888, p. 6) was one of the first to draw attention to the fact that this plot in the Chronicle has parallels with the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk*. Alyaksey Melnikau noted that 'two prologue editions of the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk* have been preserved, created at different times by different authors who used different principles of reducing the extended text. In general, there are four more editions (in total six – A.S.) of the *Life* of the Polotsk Princess-nun…' (Melnìkaŭ, 1994, p. 18). Most of the script copies of the *Life* are taken from the *Book of Degrees of the Tsarist Genealogy* (BDTG) (Melnìkaŭ, 2005, pp. 195–209).

[10] Supposedly: 'Help Lord your servant, Boris, son of Ginwiloweho – (translator's note)'.

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Жыціе Еўфрасінні Полацкай (*Рэлігійнае пісьменства кірылічнай традыцыі XI–XV стст.*, Мінск 2013, с. 190)[12].	*Книга степенная царского родословия* (*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*. Vol. 21, ч. 1, Санкт-Петербург 1908, с. 207)[13].
Бысть князь в Полотсце граде именем Всеславъ, и тъи имяше сыны многы. И бяше у него сынъ именем Георгий, от негоже родися си блаженная отроковица.	Бысть князь въ Полоцьку именемъ Всеславъ, сынъ Брячиславовъ, внук Изяславовъ, правнук блаженнаго и равноапостолнаго Владимера. Той же Всеславъ имяше сыны многи, и бъяше у него сынъ меньшій именемъ Георгій. От него же родися сіи блаженная отроковица.

Why does the Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk appear in the *Book of Degrees of the Tsarist Genealogy*, and why does the above-mentioned passage emphasize that Vsyaslav was the great-grandson of Prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich? There are 145 known manuscripts of BDTG, most of them written in the second half of the 17th century, the oldest manuscripts are the Tomsk and Chudov Manuscripts from the 60s of the 16th century. The initiator of the creation of the *Book of Degrees* was the Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia Macarius (1482–1563). One of the indirect reasons for placing the Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk in the BDTG could be the fact that the mother of Metropolitan Macarius became a nun under this name (Pokrovskij, 2007).

The BDTG has been edited in such a way that the *genealogy of Euphrosyne began with Vladimir Svyatoslavovich*: 'There was in Polotsk Prince Vseslav, the son of Bryachislav, the grandson of Izyaslav, the great-grandson of the great and co-apostolic Vladimir. That Vseslav had many sons, and he had a younger son named Georgy, from whom that happy girl was born' (Melnìkaŭ, 1994, p. 19). Ideologically, the *Book of Degrees* was the 'mouthpiece' of the theory 'Moscow – the third Rome', so, according to A. Melnikav, 'the person of the Polotsk educator Euphrosyne, the great-granddaughter of Vladimir the Baptist, to some extent could justify the imperial ambitions of Moscow tsars' (Melnikav, 1994, p. 19). It is possible that the versions of the Belarusian–Lithuanian Chronicles and the Chronicle of Stryjkowski were a kind of response to the *Life of St. Euphrosyne*, contained in the *Book of Degrees of the Tsarist Genealogy*, which had a clear ideological colour. If in the BDTG Euphrosyne was made a 'Moscow' saint, in the Chronicles from the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania she was 'baptized' into the Catholic faith. In turn, Ukrainian researcher Maryna Filipovich believes that the legendary genealogy of the Polotsk princess was a kind of response to the *Legend of the Princes of Vladimir* (Fìlìpovìč, 2014, p. 90).

The Princess of Polotsk Pradslava (she is considered to be the daughter of Prince Yuri (Georgy) and Boris's niece, researchers identify them as Svyatoslav or Rastislav and Ragvalod, respectively), after taking the veil as a nun, took the name of Euphrosyne

[11] *The Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk (Religious Writing of the Cyrillic Tradition of the 11th–15th Centuries*, Minsk 2013, p. 190).

[12] *Book of Degrees of the Tsarist Genealogy (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, vol. 21, part 1, Sankt-Peterburg 1908, p. 207).

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in honour of Euphrosyne – Smaragdus (Emerald) of Alexandria. Then, as you know, she founded the women's Saviour's Monastery in Polotsk and the men's Bogoroditsk Monastery, and copied books, which was not uncommon at that time.

We read in the *Life*:

> и начат книги писати своима рукама, и наем емлющи, требующимъ даяше… Призвав же епископъ князя Бориса, стрыя ея, и отца еа Георъгия, и преподобную Еоуфросинию… И тако посла ко отцу своему, глаголящим: 'Пусти ко мне сестру мою Городиславу, – тако ей беста имя нарекла родителя, – да научится, – рече, – грамоте'… и нарече имя ей Евдокия… (Mel′nìkaŭ, 1994, p. 33).

Under her influence, that her sister Garislava and her cousin Zvenislava, as well as two nieces, also became nuns. 'Бяша же во граде княжна Борисовна именем Звенислава. И принесе всю свою оутварь златую и ризы многоценны ко Еоуфросиниия, и рече ей: 'Госпоже и сестро! Вся красная мира сего ни во чтоже ми ся мнит. Сия вся даю Святому Спасу, а сама хощу поклонити главу свою подо иго Христово. Она же приятъ ю с родостию, и повеле иерееви постричи ю, и нарече имя еи Еоупраксия. И тако начаста пребывати в манастыри въ едину мысль въ молитвах, яже к Богу. И тако бяше видети, яко едина душа въ дву телесу. И по сем блаженная Еоуфросиниа заложи церковь камену Святаго Спаса, и от начатъка доспе за 30 недель' (Mel′nìkaŭ, 1994, p. 33). At the end of her life, together with Zvenislava – Eupraxia and her brother David, Euphrosyne made a pilgrimage through Constantinople to Jerusalem, where she died. She was buried in the Lavra of St. Theodosius.

By the way, the date of the pilgrimage of St. Euphrosyne is considered to be 1173, but A. V. Nazarenko believes that this can be argued. (Nazarenko, 2001, pp. 632–633). The fact is, that according to *Life*, on the way to Jerusalem, the Polotsk abbess met the Byzantine emperor ManuelI Comnenus (1143–1180), who was marching against the Hungarians. It is known that the Byzantine – Hungarian war, which began in 1150, ended in 1167. Thus, the pilgrimage should have taken place before this date, but later than 1161, when Lazar Bogsha made the cross, and Euphrosyne was still in Polotsk. (Nazarenko, 2001, pp. 632–633).

A. Nazarenko complains that there is no critical study of the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk*. But it is impossible to make a full-fledged critical study without correlating the legendary history in the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles with all existing editions of the *Life*.

Some researchers have suggested that the Polotsk period in the history of Belarus in the 11th –13th centuries was falsified (Zaâc, 1997, p. 86)[13]. Yu. Zayats writes: 'Later Chronicles and the Chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania contain more

[13] Aleg Latyshonak actually agrees with Yu. Zayats in his book *Od Rusinów białych do Białorusinów. U zródeł białoruskiej idei narodowej* (2006, pp. 266–267).

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information about the history of the Belarusian lands of the 10th–13th centuries than in the edition of 1446, but those extracted from ancient Russian sources are often presented in a significantly revised and distorted form' (Zaâc, 1997, p. 86). It is quite logical that 'later Chronicles and Chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania contain more information about the history of the Belarusian lands of the 10th–13th centuries than in the edition of 1446'. More information may have emerged because certain social groups became interested in their past, during the Renaissance, began to seek historical information for self-identification.

The fact that the information about the Polotsk land in the Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles of the second and third editions is inferior in quantity and quality to the information about the initial period of formation of the GDL territory is quite natural: the segregation of information took place in accordance with the priorities of certain social circles. It was important for the editors of the second and third editions to show not so much the *Russian basis* of the GDL, which had already been done in the first edition, but to add information about the *Lithuanian basis*, which was an equal ethnocultural component of society, and in political and religious relations in the 15th – early 16th centuries came out on top; but has not yet been represented in the historical discourse within the country. It should be remembered that all three chronicles continued to coexist in the cultural space and influence the historical consciousness of the GDL population.

Boris Florya noted that in the second edition of the Chronicle 'there is a memory that at a certain historical moment the dynasty of princes who ruled in Polotsk was interrupted, and the city became an independent Republic. Probably, as such a Republic, Polotsk negotiated with the rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the condition of transition to their rule, but information about this in the official Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has not been preserved. In the relatively short story *Chronicles of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania* (the basis of the second Chronicle) about ancient Polotsk, the order in Novgorod and Pskov is mentioned twice, so that the reader could understand the features of the political system of Polotsk. Apparently, in the first decades of the 16th century the perceptions of the population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Novgorod and Pskov act as a kind of model of an urban Republic' (Florâ, 1995, pp. 110–116).

The message about Polotsk in the second Chronicle has the character of a separate story. As M.M. Ulashchik noted, the compiler of Chronicles usually ended the inserts, borrowed from other sources, with this 'възвратимся воспак (*let's go back*)'. He first called this passage *The Tale of Polotsk* (Ulaščik, 1980, p. 163). The above-mentioned excerpts from the second Chronicle differ in insignificant details: first, in the second edition Mingaila is considered to be the son of Skirmunt, and in the third edition (*Bykhavets Chronicle*) – of Erdzivil. Mingaila's son Ginvil, according to the second edition, took the Christian name Boris, according to the third – Yury. Next, the *Bykhavets Chronicle* adds two generations to the genealogy adopted in the second edition of the Chronicle. Boris turns out to be the son of Yury, not Mingaila;

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and builds the city of Borisov on the Berezina. He had a son Ragvalod, 'the famous Vasily'. The latter is the father of Gleb and Praskovia (possibly Euphrosyne). B. Florya remarked: 'The mentioned princes can be identified with Vseslav Polotsky's son Boris, who died in 1129, Vasily – Rogvolod, who sat at the Polotsk table in the 50s and 60s of the 12th century (last mentioned in 1171) and the son of Vasily – Rogvolod, Gleb (mentioned in the Ipatiev Chronicle under 1180) (Florâ, 1995, p. 112).

In the example of the story about St. Paraskia – Euphrosyne it is possible to show how the mechanisms of formation of cultural memory worked. The mechanisms could be institutionalized and non-institutionalized. The first includes centres of power, culture, religion, education. The second includes communicative memory, mainly oral history. It is clear that in the 16th century institutionalized mechanisms of transmission of historical memory became more important in comparison with spontaneous forms of communicative memory. Social groups that understood their importance and used these mechanisms found themselves in a better position. Those who underestimated themselves not only lagged behind in their development, but could disappear from history altogether.

In the 15th century, the historical discourse of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was represented by numerous chronicles not only of local origin. The librarians and intellectuals of that time actively used chronicles from Novgorod, Pskov, Volyn, Kiev and other Orthodox territories and centres, but also from the space of the so-called Slavia Orthodoxa as close in spirit and content (this is clearly seen in the first edition of Chronicle). It is necessary to remember that the most famous Chronicle, the original from the lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and which is not in doubt among modern researchers (Tločko 2005, pp. 62–85), is the Radziwill Chronicle.

It should be emphasized that the creators of the chronicles were clergymen, in contrast to the laity (secular persons) (Èksle, 2007a, pp. 319-330). It was in medieval spiritual circles that the memorial tradition – *memoria* – a form of liturgical remembrance of the living and the dead and at the same time its 'written substratum' was born (Èksle, 2007b, p. 234). This is evidenced by the 'memorial lists' on the walls of the Saviour – Euphrosyne Church and, probably, the Sophia Synod, a monument 'по душахъ князей Полоцькихъ (*to the souls of the Polotsk princes*)' (Galubovìč, 2014, pp. 7–17).

So what is the above-mentioned list of Polotsk princes from Mingaila to Gleb, if not a medieval *memoria*? At the beginning of the 16th century the first attempt was made to organize communicative memory and transform it into cultural memory. Hence the confusion with the names, which, however, can be explained by the desire of the author of the *Bykhavets Chronicle* to be more precise: knowing approximately from other Russian sources the chronology, and perhaps the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk*, he began to 'put in order' all known sources[14].

[14] This was noticed by D. Aleksandrov and D. Valadzikhin. (Alexandrov, 1994, p. 22).

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By the way, he (the hypothetical author of XB) used a similar technique in the case of the legendary Lithuanian princes, the descendants of Palemon, whom he thought were too few to fill the period from Palemon to Mindaugas. Then he changed the date and reason for Palemon's escape from Rome: instead of the beginning of the 1st century AD from Neron, the date 401 from Attila appeared (Ulaščik, 1980, p. 145). The first edition of the popular history of Attila translated by Cyprian Basil in 1574 turned out to be very relevant here (*Historia spraw Atyle krola węgierskiego z łacińskiego języka na polski przełożona przez Cypriana* Bazylika, 1574)[15].

At the beginning of the 16th century, in comparison with the previous period, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania experienced a real increase in historical writing. In addition to the local chronicles, as well as numerous chronicles from Novgorod, Pskov and other East Slavic centres, Latin and Polish language works written in the Kingdom of Poland and European countries were gaining popularity. They become available to local readers due to the improvement of the educational system and the expansion of the network of Catholic schools. As you know, by the end of the 15th century, in 1498, a monastery of the Order of Bernardines, or Franciscan Observants, appeared in Polotsk (the status of a separate order was given to them by Pope Leon X in 1517). The reformer of the order, Bernardine of Siena (1380–1444), encouraged members of his monastic community to engage in treasury and education (Mirecka, 1996, pp. 48–49). For this purpose, the Bernardines organized a school in Polotsk, where Francysk Skaryna probably studied. The Polish provincial of the Order, Wladyslaw of Gelniow, was a well-known poet, public and religious figure, and the first guardian of the monastery in Polotsk. Leon of Lancut, who served until 1512 (Galenčanka, 1993, pp. 87–88), also had progressive views on education of the local population (Semânčuk, 2007, p. 237). The monastery existed until 1563, when, as Maciej Stryjkowski writes, it was captured and destroyed by Ivan the Terrible's troops on February 15, 1563: 'татары манахаў бернардынаў пасяклі, жыдоў таксама ўсіх у Дзвіне патапілі, а ваяводу Полацкага Давойну з жонкай і Ўладыку, і пана Яна Глябовіча, ваяводзіча Віленскага, Няміравічаў, Есманаў, Корсакаў і шмат шляхты зацнай, таксама усіх мяшчанаў полацкіх з вялікіх скарбаў абрабаваных…да вязьніцы ўзялі і ў Маскву потым як жыдоў у Вавілон завялі' (Stryjkowski, 1846, pp. 413–414)[16].

But we are primarily interested in the attitude of the Bernardines to the issue of rebaptizing the local population. They carried out their pastoral activities in a predominantly Orthodox environment. To do this effectively, the Bernardines did not require the conversion of Eastern Rite believers to Catholicism. They were not supported by the Catholic clergy of the Kingdom of Poland, and they were not widely

[15] *History of Attila of the Hungarian King from Latin to Polish Translated by Cyprian Basil*, 1574.

[16] 'Tatars slaughtered the Bernardine monks, the Jews were drowned in the Dvina; They also robbed from the great treasures the Polotsk Voivode Davojna with his wife and Vladyka (*Bishop – translator's note*), and Jan Glebovich, Voivode of Wilno, the families of Nemirovich, Esman, Korsakov and many nobles and all the Polotsk burghers…; and they took them to prison and then they were brought to Moscow as Jews to Babylon' (Stryjkowski, 1846, pp. 413–414).

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understood in the GDL. However, such a tolerant position of the Bernardine Order to the traditions and culture of the local population, obviously, had supporters among the population itself.

Among the Polotsk Bernardines or close circles, the story of Euphrosyne of Polotsk could be transformed into the story of the daughter of Boris-Ginvil, Paraskovy, from the second edition of the Chronicle or Ragvalod – Vasily from XB (Sapunov, 1888; Łatyszonek, 1996, p. 273), who left for Rome, where she became known as St. Praxeda (Praskovya). Maryna Filipovich believes that 'it is logical to assume… that the author of *The Tale* (about Polotsk – A.S.) used as his source not the *Life of St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk*, but a ready-made legend about St. Paraskeva' (Filìpovìč, 2014, p. 101).

None of the previous researchers considered this story hermeneutically, only M. Tikhomirov noted that Euphrosyne could be confused with Eupraxia-Adelheid, the wife of Emperor Henry IV, associated with Rome (Tihomirov, 1956, p. 365, note 4). Some see in this confusion a desire to erase the name of the Orthodox Saint Euphrosyne from the memory of the descendants. However, if this were the case, this passage would simply not be in the Chronicle. But it is in both XB and Stryjkowski's Chronicle, which, in our opinion, testifies to the existence of a strong tradition, but transformed by certain circles for their own needs.

Let's look at Stryjkowski's opinion. He honestly searched for the information about Euphrosyne in various sources. In the margins of his Chronicle, it is possible to read: A też się to działo roku 140 od Christusa za Antonina 13 cessarza Piusa rzeczonego i za papieża Piussa 10, a Połocko w ten czas niewiem jeśli było jeszcze, o czym Volateranus in Anthropologia lib.18 etc. Et Carion lib.3 ect. (Stryjkowski, 1846, pp. 242–243).

Thus, at the end of the 16th century, when Stryjkowski wrote his Chronicle, only the legend of Praskovya (Proxeda) remained. Maciej Stryjkowski, apparently, really could not find the Life of St. Euphrosyne, although researchers state that it was written at the end of the 12th century. (Melnìkaŭ, 1994, p. 459; Nazarenko, 2001, pp. 575, 632–633, 638). However, it is noted that 'written in the late 12th century, this story has only been preserved in the adaptations of the 16th–18th centuries' (Melnik, 1994, p. 459). There is no information about Euphrosyne of Polotsk in the Kyiv-Pechersk Paterik[17], appropriate records should have been made after the transfer of her remains from Jerusalem (Olševskaâ, 1999). The conclusion is that the manuscripts of the *Life* of St. Euphrosyne (and there are more than 130 of them!) are of a rather late origin (Voronova, 1987, pp. 147–148), and, indeed, Maciej Stryjkowski might not have known about them. The tradition of honouring Euphrosyne of Polotsk could be restored only at the end of the 16th century[18] – when Ivan the Terrible returned to Polotsk the famous cross of Lazarus Bogsha.

[17] Paterik – 'collection of stories about the life of monks and the history of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra' – translator's note.

[18] A. Mayorov insists that 'her canonization took place at the Council of 1547' (Majorov, 2011, p. 322), while A. Melnikov noted that 'the official canonization of Euphrosyne of Polotsk never

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Alyaksei Melnikau, a Belarusian researcher of the *Life of Euphrosyne of Polotsk*, came to the conclusion that:

> the legend of Paraskeva of Polotsk was based on real facts from the life of the daughter of Polotsk Prince Ragvalod – Boris Vseslavich, sister of Gleb of Polotsk – […] Zvenislava – Eupraxia of Polotsk, the cousin of Euphrosyne of Polotsk, who was also revered as the saint patroness of the Polotsk region… She actually made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land – not to Rome, as the Catholic author writes, but to Constantinople… and Jerusalem (Melnìkaŭ, 2005, p. 110).

However, this fact does not change the situation with Euphrosyne of Polotsk in the early 16th century, the historical memory of which was almost not preserved, and either Catholic circles or Orthodox supporters of the Florentine Union (Archbishop Joseph), such as the Polotsk Bernards, who could thus find 'Catholic' traditions in Polotsk in the 12th century, would be interested in the journey of Paraskeva – Euphrosyne to Rome instead of Jerusalem and the construction of a church in her honour in Rome.

From 1513 to 1519 the Voivode of Polotsk was Albrecht Gashtold (?–1539), who is considered to be the initiator of the first Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1529, as well as the second edition of the Chronicle with a legend about the Roman origin of the Lithuanian nobility. On July 29, 1518, he defeated the troops of Vasily III near Polotsk (Pazdnâkoŭ, 2007, p. 517). The energetic activity of this man left its mark on many spheres of the public and political life of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The fact that the idea of creating the second edition of the Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania came from a Catholic environment does not seem to be disputed by any researchers. However, it would be primitive and too easy to find in the manuscripts of this edition exclusively Catholic influences. It is enough to recall the words from the *Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*: 'и поимет Кгинвилъ дочку оу великого князя Тверьского Бориса именем Марью, для которое жъ окристился в Роуску веру' (Spisok grafa Krasinskogo, 2008, p. 23).[19]

What can an already mentioned phrase from the *Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania* – 'и поможе Богъ великомоу князю Мингкаилоу и побил моужов Полочанъ на головоу… и город Полтескъ возмет и остал великим княземъ Полоцким'[20] – testify to besides its specific historical significance? As it was said, researchers have different opinions about the reality of Prince Mingaila's personality, however, his appearance in the second edition brought the personality of the Polotsk prince to the horizon of historical memory not only of the Polotsk Principality but also

took place even at the Makaryev Councils of 1547 and 1549'. (Melnìkaŭ, 2005, p. 103).

[19] 'and Kginvil married the daughter of the Grand Prince of Tver Boris named Maria, for whom he was baptized in the Russian faith' (Count Krasinski Manuscript, 2008, p. 23).

[20] 'and God helped the Grand Duke Mingkailou and beat the Polotsk people on the head… and he took the city of Poltesk and remained the Grand Duke of Polotsk'.

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of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The emphasis on the freedoms and liberties of the ‘мужоў Палачанаў, якія вечам справаваліся’[21] also testifies in favour of the fact that at the beginning of the 16th century there were public forces interested in maintaining the memory of the special history of the Polotsk Principality. In its own way, as it could be more clearly understood in the 16th century. Only their own cult of saints was lacking, and the Orthodox, Catholic or Uniate ones had not yet been decided.

Thus, in *The Tale of Polotsk* an attempt is made to emphasize its special significance: ‘остал великим княземъ Полоцким’[22]. At the court of the Polotsk Voivode Gashtold, these ideas seem to have been very popular. In this tale, there is also a desire to integrate the history of Polotsk, as well as the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as a whole into European history (the story of Euphrosyne – Praskovia – Praxeda was also to serve these purposes). It is noteworthy that in 1501, Pope Alexander VI, through the envoy Erasmus Vitellius (Ciolek), transferred to Vilnius the relics of Saints Praxeda (‘head’) and Pudentiana (‘forearm’). Praxeda’s head has since been kept in the Vilnius Cathedral (Gudmantas, 2013, p. 207). It is also interesting that when, in 1518 the process of beatification of King Casimir, the son of Casimir Jagiellonian was begun on the initiative of Bishop of Vilnius Wojciech Radziwill and the Order of Bernardines, it was the wonderful patronage of the future Saint that saved Polotsk in the battle with Moscow in 1518 (Lipnicki, 1907; Sarbiewski, 1892, pp. 537–538).

The fact, that such influential feudal republics as Pskov and Novgorod were subordinated to the power of the Great Lithuanian Dukes, gives significance of the Polotsk land. In the *Lithuania and Zhmoit Chronicle*, this fact is connected with the activity of the same legendary Polotsk Prince Ragvalod – Vasily, who allegedly waged a long war with Pskov, as a result of which Pskov became dependent on Polotsk (‘псковян долгою войною примусил до голду’[23] (Hronika Litovskaâ i Žmojtskaâ, 1975, p. 23).

In general, it is necessary to conclude that the society of the GDL in the early 16th century was a poorly integrated community, which, according to the theory of Riccardo Picchio, can be attributed to the environment of Slavia orthodoxa and Slavia romana. The literature of Slavia orthodoxa was built not on a genre basis, but on the principle of imitation of patterns and models, as well as on certain ‘rules of the game’. As long as the ‘rules of the game’ satisfy the basic characteristic criteria of the literary system, it remains strong and independent. When the ‘rules of the game’ change significantly… – so that those previous relationships are broken, the literary system loses its individuality, transforms or disintegrates (Pikkio, 2003, p. 8). At the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries in the GDL there is a change in the ‘rules of the game’ (read – paradigms), when society gradually drifts from the space of Slavia Orthodoxa to the space of Slavia Romana. The final coincidence of these two areas in our mental space

[21] ‘Polotsk people, who were governed by veche’.
[22] ‘has become the Grand Duke of Polotsk’.
[23] ‘Pskov was forced to starve by a long war’.

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has not occurred, but it clearly seeps through, including the example of the inclusion of historical memory of traditionally Orthodox territories of the former Polotsk land in the cultural memory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

To all the above I would like to add that the so-called first edition of the Belarusian-Lithuanian chronicles, compiled in the 30s of the 15th century, functioned until the beginning of the 16th century, integrating the collective memory (Maurice Halbwachs) of the Orthodox elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (a significant part of which were the descendants of Gediminas and Algirdas). It was replaced at the beginning of the 16th century by the second edition, in which we find a legend about the Roman origin of the Lithuanian nobility, and then *The Tale of Polotsk*. These legendary stories appeared at a time when the political elite of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania needed to mark its place between its eastern neighbour, the Grand Duchy of Moscow, and its western neighbour, the Kingdom of Poland. In them, the Lithuanian element was not opposed to the so-called Russian, as previously stated. If the ethnically Lithuanian aristocrats Gashtolds and their clients, such as, for example, Ventseslav Mikalajevich (Michal Litvin), wanted to oppose themselves – the Lithuanians – to Russian citizens of the GDL (Russian Lithuanians), they would have done it, first, in Lithuanian, secondly, using their 'images of memory' (Jan Assmann), and thirdly, in completely different literary genres and forms, in fact, as Mažvidas did when publishing his catechism in Königsberg. However, Gashtold created new editions of Chronicles in the official language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, wanting it to be understood and heard by all social groups of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

As Otto Gerhard Oexle noted, cultural memory is not the prerogative of units but organized institutions: religious communities, citizens, centres of power, etc., which consciously 'create history', often far from real events, but serving their current interests. This creates a 'community of memory' (Pierre Nara), characteristic of each social group. Therefore, it is very difficult to combine historical information about Polotsk, which comes from different sources and was intended for different audiences.

It is unlikely that we will fully understand how the second edition of the Chronicle replaced Euphrosyne of Polotsk with Paraskeva – Praxeda (this confusion was repeated by Maciej Stryjkowski). But we can tell who benefited from making Orthodox Euphrosyne first Parascovia and then Catholic Praxeda. Such a model could be constructed by the Bernardines, whose church appeared in Polotsk at the end of the 15th century, known for their cultural and educational activities. Faced with the living collective memory of the Polotsk Principality, they (or people close to them) recorded it in the spirit of the time, giving the appearance of historical memory. Also, the first Lithuanian princes on the territory of Polotsk land – the legendary Mingaila and his son Ginvil – are nothing but an example of the transition of communicative memory into cultural memory. The oxidentalization of the GDL society, the ideas of the Florentine Union, popular among the ruling elite at that time, could lead to the creation of a hybrid such as St. Paraskeva. The Saint converted to Catholicism, but her brother died while remaining Orthodox. In the Chronicle, the 'Roman faith' and

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Orthodoxy do not come into conflict. Neither does the Orthodox come into conflict with the Catholics in the GDL. It should also be noted that the story of St. Euphrosyne – Paraskeva – Praxeda can be considered as a continuation of the Roman legend about the origin of the Lithuanian nobility.

In general, Oexle called Christianity the 'religion of memory', so Christianity undoubtedly takes precedence over cultural memory. Moreover, no liturgical moments penetrated into secular written and book culture, but on the contrary – secular motives, *exempla*, etc. began to be introduced into liturgical, patristic, theological texts. So the image of the Orthodox Polotsk Princess of the 12th century became very necessary in the early 16th century, but in a short time it was transformed into the image of Catholic Praxeda. By the way, this name was very common among Belarusian women in the 18th–mid-19th century, as evidenced by the metric books of Uniate and Catholic Churches.

Translated into English by Marharyta Svirydava

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