

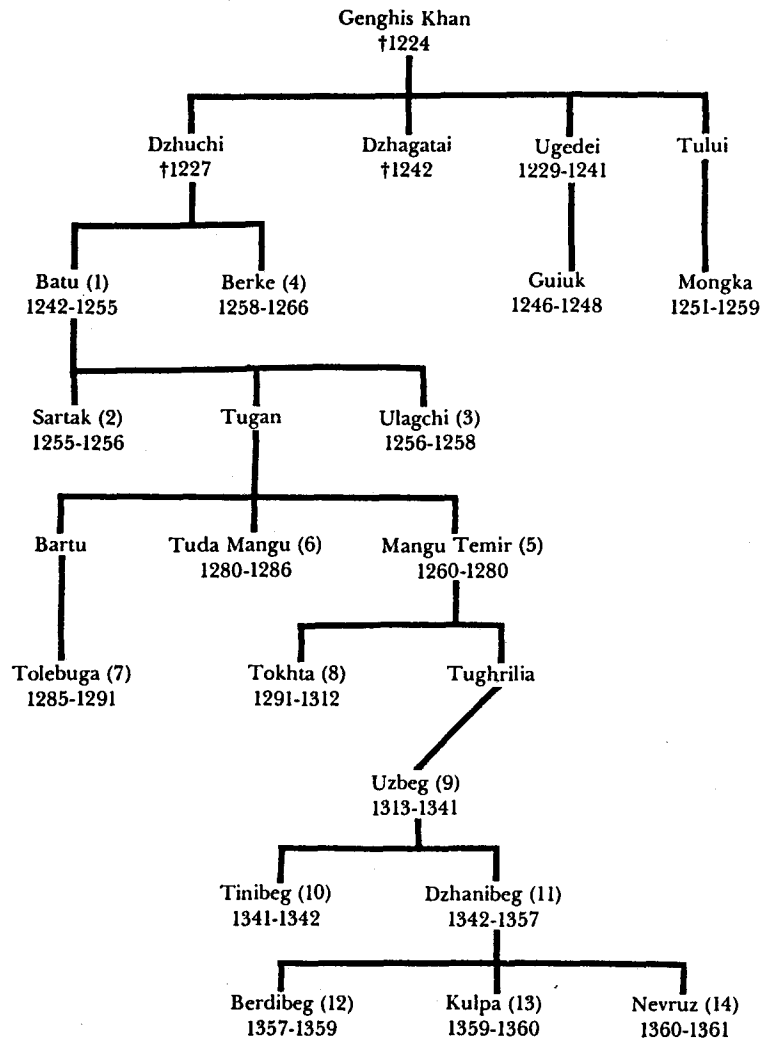
*The Nikonian Chronicle:*

vol. 3: *From the Year 1241 to 1381*

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*Nikon Chronicle* version (sixteenth century)



## THE NIKONIAN CHRONICLE

(1241-1381)

ABOUT GRAND PRINCE ALEKSANDR IAROSLAVICH [NEVSKII]<sup>1</sup>

1241

This pious, noble and praiseworthy Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich was eighth in the line of autocrat Tsar Grand Prince Vladimir Sviatoslavich, who was equal to the Apostles because he enlightened the Russian land through Holy Baptism. He was also eleventh in the line of Riurik, and he was loved by God, God-favored and praiseworthy. For his many and glorious virtues he was deserving of both the people's and God's praise, and thus it was from his youth and his earliest years. He was taught all manner of blessed deeds by his wise-in-God, pious father, the ruling prince, Iaroslav Vsevolodich, and by his holy mother, God-loving Princess Feodosia, who, after being tonsured a nun, received the monastic name of Euphrosinia. He was introduced by them to all manner of good instruction.

Fear of God settled in his heart and he observed God's Commandments and behaved according to them, very much respecting the clergy and monks.

Throughout his whole youth he strictly observed the wisdom of humility;

he abstained and stayed awake [praying at night] and he observed purity of soul and of body,

he followed the rules of humility and rejected vainglory,

1. The present version of *The Life of Aleksandr Nevskii* is divided among several annual entries and interspersed with reports on some other events. Its original version was apparently written by someone contemporary to the Prince, most probably by Metropolitan Cyril, between 1263 and 1283. The story contains some eyewitness reports of the events and some elements of heroic epics. Later it was reworked in the *vita* style and considerably adorned. See D. S. Likhachev's articles in *TODRL*, Vol. V (1947). An earlier version of this *vita* has already been rendered in English. See Zenkovsky, pp. 224-236.

1241 he controlled the desires of his flesh because he was aware that gluttony may destroy chastity, and could prevent him from remaining awake, and would harm his virtues.

On his lips were constantly divine words which were sweeter than honey.

He would read the Scripture carefully and he was filled with the desire to follow its words and practice them in deed.

His parents could see that he succeeded in these virtues, that he was strict and always strove to please God, that in his habits he did please God, that he burned with divine and heavenly desires, that he was a good and honorable person among men, that he cared for nothing other than the best fruit of man's spiritual perfection; that he steadily hid his own virtue for the sake of humble wisdom.

Although he was honored by God with the honor of the earthly kingdom, had a spouse and children, he still achieved greater wisdom than any other man. He was mature in his behavior, his beauty of life was equal to Joseph the Beautiful. His power was like that of Solomon and his voice could be heard by all as a trumpet. His bravery was as that of the Roman Emperor Vespasian, the son of Nero,<sup>2</sup> who conquered all Judea. Indeed, the latter mustered his troops and ordered the storming of Antipas' city.<sup>3</sup> When the citizens made a sortie and defeated the Roman troops, he, alone by himself, threw the citizens to the city's gates and laughed at his troops, telling them, "Why did you leave me alone?" And such was this Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich, who defeated everyone and was never defeated. He was very merciful, in the same way as was his God-preserved father, Iaroslav; but in every respect he followed in his steps, giving as ransom for captives much gold and silver. And he would send it to Khan Batu, to the Horde, to ransom the captive Russian people who were taken prisoner by the godless Tatars. Thus did he ran-

2. Vespasian (A. D. 69-79) was *not* the son of Nero (A. D. 54-68).

3. Antipas (4 B. C. - A. D. 39) was Tetrarch of Galilea and Perea, and died before Vespasian conquered Judea (A. D. 69).

som them and deliver them from evil labor and many misfortunes and unhappiness. 1241

He, himself, was always protected by God and was never injured by any of his enemies. The Lord bestowed His mercy abundantly upon him and he was feared and dreaded by his enemies, and people everywhere trembled at his name. Wisdom and wit were given him as they had been given to Solomon. Above all, he loved justice, and he instructed his boiars to preserve it, to adhere to it, telling them parables from Divine Scripture: that they should learn God's Wisdom, should abstain from drunkenness, and be humble before God; that they should never forget how to judge righteously and not be influenced by the mighty, not to accept bribes, not to injure anyone; but to protect the offended from the hand of the offender; that they should not accept more than they ought; and that they should be satisfied with their fees. And he repeated this continually unto them, sometimes threatening them with his own power, sometimes reminding them of eternal salvation, when they would have to render an accounting at the terrifying Judgment of Christ's Law.

The boiars and his other men, seeing the wisdom given him by God, could not contend with him but promised unanimously to behave as he commanded them. And so he ruled the dominion given him by God courageously and bravely according to the Divine Commandments, and his renown spread through distant countries so that many people tried to see him.

When the people learned that godless Khan Batu, with God's permission, had caused much evil in the great Russian land, this blessed Aleksandr went to Novgorod, with his father, Iaroslav, remaining there to rule; and divine power did not allow the pagans even to approach the limits of the land of great Novgorod. They [Aleksandr and Iaroslav] stayed there and combatted inimical, hostile Lithuanians and Germans, while the murderous Tatars, by God's help, did no manner of battle against them.

#### THE BATTLE OF THE NEVA

Once, in order to see him powerful people from the Western land calling themselves the servants of God<sup>4</sup> came to Grand Prince

4. Servants of God: in this case these are probably Western Catholic monks and missionaries.

1241 vich, upon whom he gazed with joyful eyes, and he confessed to him alone what he had seen and heard. The latter told him, "Speak of this to no one until God acts as He desires."

[SIX HEROES OF THE BATTLE ON THE NEVA]

And so he marched quickly against them and toward the sixth hour of the day there was a great battle against the Romans.<sup>9</sup> They slew a great many Romans, and he even left a seal on the king's face with his sharp sword. Then in the host of Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich there appeared six brave men battling courageously beside him. The first one was by name Gavriila Oleksich. This one rode onto the boat and, seeing that the king's son was fleeing from his hands, from the ship, he rode after him on boards to the very ship from which they were descending. He rode to the ship before him and then turned, and was thrown from the boards, together with his horse, into the sea. Thanks to God's will, he escaped from them unharmed. Then he rode further and battled staunchly with the commander in the midst of his troops, and thus did he kill their commander, Spiridon. Their bishop was also killed there.

The second Novgorodian was named Zbyslav Iakunovich. This one rode his horse continuously against the enemy, doing battle only with an axe. He had no fear in his heart and several fell at his hand. All wondered at his power and bravery.

The third was Iakov from the land of Polotsk, who was one of the Prince's hunters. He attacked the [Swedish] troops with a sword, behaving valiantly; and he was praised by the Prince.

The fourth Novgorodian was named Misha. He charged on foot with his troops and he destroyed three of the Romans' ships.

The fifth was among the young ones, named Savva. He rode against the great tent of the king which had a golden top, and he cut the [supporting] pole, whereupon the tent fell. When Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich's regiments saw the tent fall they rejoiced.

The sixth among his squires was Ratmir. He also fought on foot, and he was surrounded by many Romans. Wounded many times, he fell and thus passed away.<sup>10</sup>

9. "Romans" here means the Roman Catholic Swedes.

10. All six of these names are found in *Novg. Kom.*

All this I heard from my lord, Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich, and from others who were witnesses of this battle. It was a miracle similar to the one which occurred in olden times during the reign of King Hezekiah, when Jerusalem was attacked by Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, who wanted to capture the Holy City: suddenly an angel of the Lord appeared and slew 185,000 Assyrian warriors, and early the next morning their bodies were found there, all dead. The same happened after Aleksandr Iaroslavich's victory: after he defeated the king [Earl Birger] on the other shore of the Izhora, which Aleksandr's regiments did not reach, numerous enemy were found slain by the Lord's angels. And so they [the Russians] found the bodies of many dead who were killed there. The remaining enemy fled and there were three ships full of the bodies of great commanders. They sank the ships with them on the Neva Sea<sup>11</sup> but for the others they dug graves and cast an endless number into them. Also, many were wounded and they escaped in the night.

Among the Novgorodians who fell were Konstantin Lugatinich, Giuriata Pineshchinich, Namest, Drochilo Nezdilov, son of a tanner,<sup>12</sup> and, altogether, twenty men fell, including the people of Ladoga, or perhaps fewer. God alone knows.

Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich returned with great victory, glorifying and thanking God and saying, "Most Gracious Lord, I thank Thee and glorify Thy Holy Name; I called upon Thee in the days of my sadness and Thou didst not abandon me, Thy servant, and Thou deliveredst me from my enemies. They were proud and they fell; and we rose up and won. Thou warmly lovest everyone who sincerely repents and Thou drawest near everyone who seeks Thee in awe and love. Thou dost not despise those who look to Thee alone, but Thou helpst them; and all those who, with all their souls, address themselves to Thy Majesty Thou dost not disdain, but aidest; and Thou assistest those who address Thee with all their souls, and Thou helpst when they petition Thee, Thou glorifiest those who glorify Thee. Thou art the only Giver of blessings and Thine is the glory, the

11. Apparently, the Neva river or the Gulf of Finland.

12. Corrected according to *Novg. Syn.*; in *Nik.*, the spelling differs somewhat.

13. This prayer is not found in earlier chronicles. It belongs to the *vita* tradition.

1241 Father, Son and Holy Ghost, now and ever and unto the ages and ages. Amen."<sup>13</sup>

The same year Batu's Tatars defeated the Hungarians, captured the king's son, Menush, and brought him and a great multitude of high commanders to Batu.

The same year Batu's Tatars killed Prince Mstislav of Ryl'sk.

[ALEXANDER LEAVES NOVGOROD]

The same year [6748/1240 in *Novg. III.*] the Novgorodians disagreed with Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii] and there was subversion in Novgorod. Together with his mother, his princess and the entire court, Aleksandr went to his father, Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich of Vladimir. Remaining for a short time with his father, he then departed to be prince in Pereiaslav', which is located on Lake Kleshchino.

The same year [6748 in *Novg. III.*] the Germans,<sup>14</sup> with the people of Medved', Veliad' and Iur'ev, and together with Prince Iaroslav Vladimich, captured Izborsk. When these tidings that the Germans had taken Izborsk arrived in Pskov, the entire city marched against them, and there was a fierce battle. There was great carnage among them. The Germans killed vovoda Gavrila Goreslavich, and defeated the people of Pskov, slaying many in pursuit, others they captured. And they chased them to the city, setting fire in the suburbs; and there was much evil. They burned the churches, the holy icons and the church property, and devastated many towns around Pskov. They besieged the city for one week but were unable to take it. They captured many children of good men and took them into captivity, then retreated. And so it continued, without peace; but the Germans had the advantage over the people of Pskov because the latter were betrayed by Tverdila Ivanovich with some other men, and he began to rule in Pskov in agreement with the Germans, campaigning against the Novgorodian towns. And the other people of Pskov fled to Novgorod with their wives and children because of the German violence.<sup>15</sup>

The same year [6748/1240 in *Novg. III.*] after the victory and departure of Grand Prince Aleksandr Nevskii, even the same

14. German knights of the Livonian Order.

15. The text follows quite closely *Novg. Syn.*

winter, Germans and Chud' from the western lands came against Vod'.<sup>16</sup> They campaigned everywhere and levied a tribute from them. In the land of Kopor'e they built a fortress in the domain of Grand Prince Aleksandr, but that was not the entire evil. They took Tesovo and marched up to thirty versts from Novgorod, killing merchants everywhere as far as Luga and Sabol', then returned to their own land with a great many captives, having imposed tribute on the various towns.

Then the people of Novgorod sent a petition to Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich asking him to send his son to be prince there; and he gave them his son, Prince Andrei, although they still requested Grand Prince Aleksandr; but he did not give him to them. Then the men of Novgorod returned to Novgorod and reported there all of Iaroslav's speeches—that he would not give them Grand Prince Aleksandr to rule them.

The same year [6748/1240 in *Novg. III.*] the Novgorodians, according to their custom, convened the veche and sent Archbishop Spiridon with the boiars and leading men again to Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, petitioning him and asking him to send them Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich. With the above-mentioned boiars and leading men of Novgorod, Archbishop Spiridon came to Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich in Vladimir, speaking in the name of Novgorod, and he petitioned him, asking that Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich become prince of Novgorod. Then they acknowledged that the men of Novgorod were wrong in every way: "It was not right," they said, "to initiate this subversion and to have a disagreement with your son, Grand Prince Aleksandr. Give up your dislike for Great Novgorod and give us your son, Prince Aleksandr, to be our prince." And so he gave them his son, Aleksandr, to be their prince.

The same year [6748 in *Novg. III.*] Lithuanians and Germans fought in the Novgorodian land and caused much evil, then returned home.

The same year Batu's Tatars took the land of the Bulgars which is on the rivers Volga and Kama.

In the year 6750/1242. [6749 in *Novg. III.*] Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich came to Novgorod, and with him were

16. Chud': Estonians, in this case. Vod': Finnic tribes in the Novgorodian land; Germans: in this case, Livonian knights.

1242 Archbishop Spiridon and the boiars. The Novgorodians met him with crosses at the city gates, he ascended to the Grand Principality with great honor, and there was vast rejoicing in Novgorod. When he came to Novgorod he hanged many traitors. Soon thereafter he marched with the levies of Novgorod, Ladoga, Karela and Izhora<sup>17</sup> against the German town of Kopor'e, and he destroyed that city to its foundations, slew Germans and brought some to Novgorod; others he permitted to go to the German land because he was merciful above all measure. He hanged the traitors among the Vod' and Chud', then returned to Pereiaslavl', which is on Lake Kleshchino.

*In the year 6751/1243.* [6749/1241 in *Sof. V.*] The Germans gathered in their land<sup>18</sup> and defeated the troops of Pskov, then put their administrators in Pskov. Hearing of this, Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich became very sad about the shedding of Christian blood, and without losing time, seized by fervent divine faith, he marched to Novgorod with his brother, Andrei, and with all his troops. Coming to Novgorod, he bowed to the cathedral of Holy Sophia with prayer and tears.

#### THE BATTLE ON THE ICE

*In the year 6751/1243.* Grand Prince Aleksandr marched against the Germans with his brother, Andrei, with the Novgorodians, and with the levies of the Niz land, with great forces. He did this so that they should not boast and say, "We will dishonor the Slavic race, take the city of Pskov and assign our administrators to the city." He [Aleksandr] occupied all the roads to Pskov and then unexpectedly, entered Pskov and captured the Germans, the Chud' and the German administrators, sent them in chains to Novgorod, and liberated the city of Pskov from captivity.

Then he marched into the German land, campaigned there, burned, slew many and captured others; but the Germans were proud and they assembled another host, saying, "Let us go to defeat Prince Aleksandr and capture him," and they marched with their hosts. When Aleksandr's vanguard saw them, they were seized with great fear, gazing upon their many troops, and they reported this to Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich. He became very

17. Karela and Izhora: Finnic tribes north of Novgorod.

18. In Livonia.

sad, went to the church of the Holy Trinity [in Pskov] and prayed there, weeping and shedding tears; and then he marched toward the German land. At that time it was winter. When he was in their land he sent all his troops on forays. On one of these forays the Germans killed voevoda Damash and Kerbert, the posadnik's brothers—strong and very brave men. With them, more people were slain, some were taken captive, and some hurried to Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich; he then began to prepare his troops. When the Grand Master<sup>19</sup> learned of this, he advanced against Aleksandr with all his bishops and with all his forces which were in their land, and he received help from the queen. They all gathered on the lake called "Chudskoe."<sup>20</sup> When Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich saw them he retreated beyond the lake. The Germans and the Chud' marched against him. The Grand Prince aligned his regiments on Lake Chud' and on the land near Voronii Kamen' [Crows' Rock]. He strengthened his spirit with the sign of the Cross and marched onto [icy] Lake Chudskoe. There was a great multitude [of troops] in both hosts. His father, Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, sent to his aid his younger brother, Andrei, with many of his warriors, and therefore Grand Prince Aleksandr had a multitude of brave men, and they were as strong as in ancient times were the men of King David. And so the warriors of Grand Prince Aleksandr became filled with martial spirit and their hearts became like those of lions, and they were light as eagles. They said, "Our honorable and dear Prince! Now is the time to sacrifice our lives for you." Grand Prince Aleksandr raised his hand toward heaven and said, "God! Be Judge between me and them, and help us, God, just as Thou didst help Moses against Amalek, and my forefather, Prince Iaroslav, against accursed Sviatopolk."

It was Saturday and the sun was rising when the two hosts clashed. The Germans and the Chud', being in a formation shaped like a pig, thrust through the [Russian] regiments, and there was an evil and great battle for the Germans and the Chud'. There were tremors from the breaking lances and there was noise of swords clashing. They moved over the frozen lake but the ice could not be seen because it was all covered with blood. I heard from a witness who told me that he saw the Divine Host overhead,

19. "Grand Master"—"Grossmeister": the head of the Livonian Order.

20. Chudskoe lake, near Pskov.

1243 which came to help Grand Prince Aleksandr; and he was victorious, thanks to the strength of God, to Holy Sophia and to the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb, who shed their blood for the sake of their people. The [heavenly Russian] warriors heaved their shoulders and slashed with swords, moving as if on air; and the others had no refuge whither to flee, and they were pursued for seven versts on the ice, up to the Subolich shore. Five hundred Germans were killed there, and an endless number of Chud'. Fifty important Germans were captured—powerful commanders—and they were brought to Novgorod. Some others drowned in the water, and some, gravely wounded, escaped. This battle occurred on the fifth of April, to the glory of the Holy Theotokos, when the Holy Martyr Claudianus is remembered. And so God glorified Grand Prince Aleksandr before all hosts in the same way as He glorified Joshua, the son of Nun, at Jericho. The German had said, "We will take Grand Prince Aleksandr captive," but God turned them over unto his hand; and there was never an enemy who could resist him in battle.

Grand Prince Aleksandr returned with great glory. His host took many captives and they were carried next to the horses, even those who are called "knights." Thus Grand Prince Aleksandr approached the city of Pskov, where he was met before the city by the abbots and priests in vestments and with crosses, and by a great many people chanting, "Glory to God and to Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich!" Lord, Our Helper! Thou didst help gentle David defeat the aliens, and Thou didst help our pious prince with his army of the Cross to liberate the city of Pskov from aliens, from strangers, by the hand of Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich.

And the name of Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich began to spread through all lands, from the Varangian Sea to the Pontic Sea,<sup>21</sup> to the Caspian Sea, to the land of the Tiveretses,<sup>22</sup> to Mt. Ararat, and to the other side of the Varangian Sea, and to the Arabian mountains and even up to Great Rome. And his name spread before ten thousand and ten thousand; and before thou-

21. Varangian Sea: the Baltic sea. Pontic Sea: the Black Sea.

22. In *Nik.*: "Do moria Khupozhskogo." The name is unclear; perhaps it is a misspelling of "Khvalisskoe," Caspian. Tiveretses (*Tivertsy*): a Russian tribe which, according to *The Primary Chronicle*, occupied in the ninth to eleventh centuries the land between the Black (Pontic) Sea and the Danube and Dniestr rivers.

sands and thousands. And so he came to Novgorod with great victory. 1243

The same year on the eighteenth of the month of May, the day of Holy Martyr Alexander, there was a sign in Pskov in the monastery of St. John the Theologian before the icon of the Holy Saviour, over the grave of the wife of Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich. [The princess] had been killed by her stepson at the town of Medvezhaia Golova [Bear's Head]. For twelve days myrrh issued forth from the icon, filling four wax cups as into a glass vessel. Taking counsel, the people of Pskov sent two wax cups with myrrh as a blessing to Novgorod, to the Archbishop and to the people of Novgorod, leaving another two in Pskov. Oh, verily, a most marvelous Miracle! The myrrh flowed from the dry wood as if from a spring. Glory to Thee, Our God, because Thou givest us, Thine undeserving servants, such a blessing. We rely upon Thee, Lord Almighty, because Thou, Who lovest mankind, carest for us and bestowest Thy mercy upon us wretches!

CONCERNING THE VENERABLE BARLAAM,  
WONDERWORKER OF KHUTYN'

The same year the venerable and highly virtuous great wonderworker Barlaam, Abbot of Khutyn', whose lay name was Aleksei Mikhailovich, passed away.<sup>23</sup> He lived a very holy life and pleased God in perfection; he passed to Him with joy, into eternal bliss; he was glorified by God, by eternal memory and his innumerable miracles, which are related in the solemn reading on his memorial day.

The same year [6750/1242 in *Vozn.*] the Germans sent [envoys] to Novgorod, bowing and saying, "Whatever we have taken by lance and sword—Pskov, Luga and Latygola<sup>24</sup>—all this we relinquish, and those people whom we captured we will exchange: you release ours and we will send you yours. And we will also release all the captives from Pskov." And so they made peace and both let all the captives go.

The same year [6750/1242 in *Sof. V.*] the Lithuanians began to ravage the Novgorodian land. Aleksandr marched against them and defeated their seven hosts with a single one; and he slew many of them and captured others. Those captives he at-

23. In *Novg.* Barlaam's lay name is Viacheslav Prokshinich.

24. As originally, in *Novg.* and *Syn.* In *Nik.*, it reads, erroneously, "Pskov, Vetluga, Latygoda."

1243 tached to the tails of the horses, abusing them, and thus they were taken [to Novgorod] with his warriors, and since that time his name has been renowned.

The same year [6750/1242 in *Novg. III.*] Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich went to Khan Batu, to the Golden Horde, and he sent his son, Konstantin, to the Great Khan. Batu honored Iaroslav and let him go, giving him seniority over all the Russian land, and he returned with great honor to his land.

*In the year 6752/1244.* [In 6750/1252 in *Sof. V.*] Prince Vladimir Konstantinovich of Uglich, grandson of Vsevolod, Great Grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, and his nephews, Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov and Prince Vasilii Vsevolodich, went to the Golden Horde to Khan Batu to ask for *iarlyk*.<sup>25</sup> He heard them, pondered, gave them their domains and let them return with honor.

The same year Feodosiia, wife of Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, died in Novgorod and she was buried in the St. George monastery. As a nun, she was tonsured under the name, Euphrosinia, because at that time they used to give the monastic name not according to the first letter [of her lay name] but the name was bestowed according to the name of the saint on whose day the person was tonsured.

[PRINCE KONSTANTIN JOURNEYS TO BATU AND THE GREAT KHAN]

*In the year 6753/1245.* Prince Konstantin Iaroslavich, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, came to the city of Vladimir to his father, Iaroslav Vsevolodich, with honor, from Batu's Golden Horde, as well as from visiting [Guyuk] the son of the Great Khan in Karakorum [in Mongolia].<sup>26</sup>

25. *Iarlyk*: in Mongol, a charter to rule or of privileges.

26. Batu—himself the son of Genghis Khan's senior son, Dzuchi—became virtually an independent head of the Golden Horde, which reached from Central Asia to the Carpathian mountains, and for some decades into the Balkan peninsula. His suzerains, also heirs of Genghis Khan (d. 1226), the Great Khans, or emperors, of the Mongol Empire, resided first in a tent capital, later in the city of Karakorum, on the river Orkhon, which flows into Lake Baikal; Emperor Kubilai transferred it

[PRINCE ALEKSANDR DEFEATS THE LITHUANIANS]

1246

The same year [6754/1246 in *Novg. IV*] the Lithuanians campaigned at Torzhok and in the Bezhetskii district. Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, together with the people of Novyi Torzhok, pursued them, and there was a battle which the Lithuanians won. They slew many people, captured horses and returned to their land. The voevoda of Tver', however, pursued them, together with Iavid and Erbet,<sup>27</sup> with the people of Tver' and Dmitrov, as well as with Prince Iaroslav Vladimirich, who was with the men of Novyi Torzhok. A great battle ensued at Toropets and they fought all day. The Lithuanians won and the [Russian] princes fled to Toropets; but that same night Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich with the Novgorodians came to their aid, and there was very great joy: they embraced and kissed each other. On the morrow they mustered their troops and clashed with the Lithuanians. There was a great battle and an evil massacre, and they defeated the Lithuanians. They took from them all the captives, and from thence the Novgorodians returned home; but Prince Aleksandr with his personal guard nonetheless pursued them [the Lithuanians], and defeated them at Zhizhich, from whence only a few escaped. Then he took his son from the city of Vitebsk and marched to Novgorod, on his way encountering another host whom he did not fear to oppose: there ensued a great battle, and thanks to divine aid and the help of the Most Pure Theotokos, he defeated the enemy and came home with joy.

The same year [6754/1246 in *Vozn.*] Grand Prince Iaroslav

in 1260-1270 to Peking, permitting him to control his Chinese dominions more easily. The capital of the Golden Horde was Sarai, on the lower Volga. From 1242 to 1246 there was an interregnum in the Mongol empire. Actual power was in the hands of Ugedei's dowager, Khatun (Royal Dame) Turakina, who endeavored to secure the throne for her son, Guyuk, who probably became a Nestorian Christian and, after his election by the Kurultai, reigned from 1246 to 1276. Karakorum, capital of Genghis Khan's empire, was founded by Genghis Khan in 1220 but was abandoned as a city in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *Kurultai* was a council of Mongol ruling lords and Genghis Khan's descendants, usually summoned only to elect a new Great Khan or decide about important new campaigns.

27. As in *Novg.*; in *Nik.*, "Iavedei and Kerbet," apparently Tatar commanders.



1245 Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, and his kin: his nephew, Prince Vladimir Konstantinich; his other nephew, Vasil'ko of Rostov; the latter's sons, Boris and Gleb; his other nephew, Vsevolod; the latter's son, Vasilii Vsevolodich, the grandson of Konstantin, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, [all] went to the Golden Horde to Khan Batu.

*In the year 6754/1246.* Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich and Prince Ivan Vsevolodich, grandsons of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, with their nephews returned from the Tatars to their domains; but Khan Batu dispatched Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich to the sons of the Great Khan [to Mongolia].

CONCERNING THE HOLY MARTYRS,  
GRAND PRINCE MIKHAIL VSEVOLODICH OF CHERNIGOV  
AND HIS BOIAR, FEDOR, WHO SUFFERED TOGETHER<sup>28</sup>

When Khan Batu, waging war, came for the first time through the forest and conquered the Riazan' land, and the cities of Kolomna, Moscow and Vladimir, and the entire Orthodox domain, except Novgorod, he returned thereafter to his prairie. From thence the Tatars marched to conquer the Kievan land, and they took Pereiaslavl' Russkii, Chernigov and Kiev, where at that time Prince Mikhail, son of Vsevolod Chermnyi, grandson of Sviatoslav, great grandson of Oleg, gr. gr. grandson of Sviatoslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Valdimir, was grand prince. Batu dispatched his commander, Mongka Khan, to see the city of Kiev. He went, fulfilled Khan Batu's command and sent a certain message to Grand Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich in Kiev; but the latter not only did not accept the envoy, he also offended him. When Mongka Khan<sup>29</sup> cunningly dispatched other envoys with flattery, Mikhail killed his envoys and then, himself, fled to Hungary with all his family. The Tatars pursued but did not catch

28. For another, probably earlier, version of Prince Mikhail's martyrdom and a discussion of it, see Serebriansky, N., *Drevne-russkie kniazheskie zhitiia*, Moscow, 1915.

29. Mongka, son of Genghis Khan's junior son, Tului; from 1251 to 1259, the Great Khan.

him. Then Batu, himself, came to the city of Kiev with all his forces and not only occupied the city of Kiev but also submitted and subjugated all the cities and the entire Orthodox land there. Then he went to Hungary, conquering everything up to the Danube river and Moldavia, and he remained there for three years. When Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich learned that Batu had left for Hungary, he returned thereupon to Kiev and saw his whole land destroyed, as well as the city of Kiev, and he wept greatly and shed tears. Then he went to Chernigov to be grand prince there.

Batu waged war against the Hungarians, defeating them, and returned to his prairie [on the lower Volga]. And he placed his governors and administrators everywhere, in all the Russian cities; and then he commanded all the Russian princes remaining in Russia to come to him and to bow before him. Before [their arrival] he commanded his wizards<sup>30</sup> to build two bonfires and to force all the Russian princes and boiars to pass between these fires and to bow to a bush, to their idols and to the fire. And of the gifts which were brought to the Khan, some were cast into the fire; and then they [the princes] were conducted to the Khan, and many [of the princes] obeyed his command for the sake of glory in this rapidly perishing world. Seeing the princes going to the Horde and performing such rites, Grand Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich became greatly discomfited by this. Summoning his grandson, Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov<sup>31</sup> and his boiars, Fedor, he told them, weeping many tears, "Do you see this woe and misfortune among our generation—that we, Christians and observers of Christ's Commandments, believing in Him, nonetheless deny Him by performing the Khan's commands? Let us endeavor, my beloved, to be martyred for Christ, and then we will reign with Him in the ages. Let us trample Satan under foot, as well as the commands of his servant, the impure Khan." And these words were sweet to his boiars, Fedor. So he began to prepare himself for the journey. Together with his boiars, Fedor, he

30. At that time most of the Mongols, including Batu, himself, were Shamanist pagans. Their wizards, or priests, were called "Shaman"; but there were among them, even among the descendants of Genghis Khan, some Christians, predominantly Nestorians, as well as Buddhists and Moslems.

31. Boris Vasil'kovich was the son of Mikhail's daughter, Maria of Rostov.

1246 spoke his thoughts to his spiritual shepherd, John. His spiritual father, John, strengthened him so that he would not weaken; and he—Prince Mikhail—with his boiar, Fedor, told him of their intentions. Then he, the priest John, gave them Holy Communion to be with them during their journey, as well as his blessing, and let them depart saying, "May Lord God strengthen you with the Power of the Holy and Lifegiving Ghost, and adorn you with the crown of martyrdom."

Grand Prince Mikhail Vsevolodich of Chernigov, together with his grandson Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov, and with his boiar, Fedor, went to the Horde, to Khan Batu. And upon their arrival, Khan Batu was told of them. Then Khan Batu summoned his wizards and told them, "Deal according to your custom with the Russian Grand Prince Mikhail, and then conduct him to me." The wizards told Mikhail, "The Khan summons you; come hither." When they came to the place where bonfires had been prepared on both sides, many Russian princes with their boiars passed between the fires and bowed to the sun, to the fire and to their idols, doing thus for the sake of the glory of this world. Then the Khan's wizards told Mikhail and his boiar, Fedor, "You, too, must pass between the bonfires and bow to the sun and to the fire." But Mikhail said, "It does not befit us Christians to pass between the fires or to bow to the sun and to the fire, and the Khan should not give such orders. We worship and venerate Our Lord God, Jesus Christ, Who created all and Who is glorified in the Trinity. But we do not worship your loathesome gods, who are idols, and we do not render them any honor. You, Khan, are mortal and a perishing man. We are ready to render you honor and bow before you, because you bear power and have received from God your kingdom and the glory of this rapidly perishing world; but we will not reject Christ-God, nor will we bow before your material gods, and you will never force us to do so. All things were created by God to serve man."

When Khan Batu heard about such bravery and the determination of Grand Prince Mikhail and his boiar, Fedor, he was moved and said, "This is a great man;" and he sent him his master of the table [stolnik], by the name of Eldega, ordering him to talk with him calmly and quietly. The latter came and told him, "Prince Mikhail! I am sent hither by Khan Batu to tell you the following: listen to me and bow to the sun and to the moon, and

1246 if you do, you will receive great honor from me and I will bestow my favor upon you, and I will make you glorious and honorable throughout all the Russian land; but if you do not obey me, you will die an evil death." Mikhail answered, "The Khan says to bow to the sun and to the moon and to the fire; but all these things are given to serve man, and I will not obey the Khan." And Eldega, the Khan's master of the table, said, "The sun is in the sky and no one can touch it and the moon is in the sky and no one can touch it or know about it; and fire destroys all, and no one can withstand it." Then Mikhail responded, "God is everywhere. He has no beginning and He is Unseen and there is only One, His Son, Who, before all the ages, was begotten by His Father without any mother, then, at the end of the ages, was born [into our world] from His Mother without His Father, but by the intention of His Father and with the action of His Holy and Lifegiving Ghost. He created the heavens, the land, all that is seen and the unseen: the sun, the moon, the stars, the land, sea and rivers, and everything which is upon the land. And He also created the first man, Adam, from whom we all descend. And He gave him all creatures to serve him: the sun, moon and stars; and man is commanded by God not to worship any person or any thing either in the sky or on the low land, but only the One God; and we worship His saints because they are the true servants of God and they pray for us, and they are our intercession before God. And thus it is. Your Khan has promised me a reign and glory in this rapidly passing world; but this whole world is impermanent and quickly passes; everything changes rapidly in this temporal age. Even your Khan does not know anything about himself: today he is the ruler, tomorrow he may be a pauper. Today he is healthy, tomorrow he may be ill; today he shines with bodily beauty, tomorrow he may stink with pus and worms; today he is alive, tomorrow he may be dead."

The Khan's master of the table was astonished at the speech of Mikhail and told him, "Prince, Mikhail! I have never heard such words from any other man. You are vastly wise and you should be merciful toward yourself." But Mikhail answered, "Lord God created me and I believe in Him and I go to Him, and He will let me into the Eternal Kingdom." The master of the table, Eldega, said, "You have soon to die." And Mikhail responded, "Death for Christ is life to me." And Eldega said, "Give instructions concerning your possessions because very soon the

1246 Khan's word will bring you death." Mikhail answered, "I gave away my possessions for the sake of Christ-God. I came naked from my mother's womb and naked shall I go again as I came." [Ecc. 5:15, paraph.] Then his grandson, Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov, came to him with many tears, weeping, and so did many other Russian princes and boiars weep and shed tears; and they urged him, "Do as the Khan wishes. You should not perish, and we do not want to perish because of you. God knows that what we do now, we are forced to do. When we return to our land, we and all the land will take your sin upon us, and throughout the land we will accept a spiritual punishment for you. Thus you would do much good for the Russian land, and for all of us."

Boiar Fedor was greatly worried at these speeches because he feared that he—Mikhail—would become too weak to confess Lord God before the khans and princes; and he told him, weeping and shedding tears, "My lord; Prince Mikhail! Do not forget the instruction of your spiritual father, John, who told you from the Gospel that the Lord says, 'Whosoever confesseth Me before people, I will confess him before My Father in Heaven. And whosoever rejecteth Me before people, him will I reject before My Father in Heaven.'" Mikhail heard these words with joy and sweetness because boiar Fedor was greatly wise; and he suggested to his lord to obtain the greatest possession.

Then his grandson, Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov, insisted uninterruptedly with tears and weeping that he follow the Khan's will; but he—Mikhail—embraced him and kissed him and said, "My child, Boris! Christians are supposed to confess God with faith and by deeds because even so faith, if it have not works, it is dead, in itself, according to the Apostle. [James 2:17] And in another place the Lord speaks with the mouth of the Apostles: 'These people honoreth Me with their lips but their hearts are far from Me; and in vain do they worship Me.'" [Mark 7:6-7] Then his grandson, Boris, told him, "On this earth you are my only mentor and comforter." Mikhail said, "What is on earth is nothing because here all passes and perishes rapidly, and here all is a dream or like smoke, while the heavenly blessings are real and eternal." Then Mikhail summoned his priest, received from him Holy and Divine Communion, and rejoiced in the spirit, saying, "My Lord God Almighty! I thank Thee because Thou permittest me, an unworthy and sinful man, to receive Divine Communion.

1246 Help me also to receive a martyr's crown for Thy Sake, and remit me my sins. Blessed be Thou unto the ages and ages. Amen." Then he said to the Khan's master of the table, Eldega, "Go and tell Khan Batu what Mikhail says: I will not bow to your gods; I will not venerate them; and I will not follow your lawless order."

This was announced to the Khan, and with fierceness he sent [his men] to torture him badly, and then put him to death; they approached and began to torture him but he said, "I am Christian and I will not venerate any creatures, but only the Creator, and I will not follow the lawless order of the Khan." And after his many tortures, someone who had once been Christian but had then rejected the Christian faith approached him and with a knife cut off the honorable head of the holy great martyr, Mikhail, and threw it afar off from the body; but the head still spoke, "I am Christian," and everyone marvelled at this miracle.

Thereafter they cajoled and entreated boiar Fedor, and offered him his prince's principality, but he said, "Why do you offer me glory in this short-lived and vain world? It was I, myself, who advised my prince to do thus." Then he reproached them and offended their gods. They tortured him at length and cut off his head, saying, "These mad ones did not want to venerate the sun and the moon, and therefor they are unworthy even to be gazed upon!" Those accursed ones did not comprehend that the sun and moon are creatures of God given man to serve man. These holy martyrs, Grand Prince Mikhail and boiar Fedor, passed away on the twentieth day of the month of September of the year 6754/1246. Their bodies were cast to the dogs to be devoured, but for many days they remained untouched. Then there appeared above their bodies a fiery pillar. This pillar shone for many fair dawns with many candles, and there were to be heard angelic voices, chanting. The faithful who happened by there saw this with joy and, tearfully, they buried their holy bodies to the glory of Lord God, Who performs most glorious miracles on behalf of His saints. And His is the glory for the ages unto the ages. Amen.

The same year Khan Batu let Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov go to his son, Khan Sartak.<sup>32</sup> This Sartak honored him

32. Khan Sartak was the son of co-ruler of Khan Batu. After the latter's death *circa* 1255, he ruled for one or two years, 1255-1256.

1246 and allowed him to depart with honor to Russia, to his own domain.

The same year [6755/1247, *Novg. IV*; 6756/1248, *Laur.*] Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich was in the Great Horde [in Mongolia] with the sons of the Great Khan. There he was calumniated by Fedor Iarunovich to Khan Batu, and he endured many difficulties with the Tatars for the sake of the Russian land. They released him quite awearied. He journeyed a short while from the sons of the Great Khan, and on the thirtieth day of the month of September he died a hard death among aliens.<sup>33</sup> Of those it is said in the Scriptures, "Nothing is more deserving before God than that a man lay down his life for another." [John 15:13 paraph.] This Grand Prince sacrificed his life for others and for the Russian land, and God granted him the heritage of the just. He was merciful to everyone and would always give unhesitatingly whatever was asked.

*In the year 6755/1247.* Prince Aleksandr [6754/1246 in *Sof. V*] received in Novgorod tidings of the death of his father, Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich, and he journeyed from Novgorod to Vladimir. Together with his uncle, Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, and with his brothers, he lamented his father.

The same year [6755/1247 in *Laur.*] after the death of his brother, Iaroslav Vsevolodich, Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich ascended to the throne of the Grand Principality of Vladimir, and he assigned his nephews, Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich, Prince Andrei, Konstantin, Afanasii, Daniil, Mikhail, Iaroslav and Vasilii to the cities as had been willed by his brother, Grand Prince Iaroslav Vsevolodich; and he did not alter the latter's will.

The same year Prince Andrei Iaroslavich, son of Vsevolod, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, went to the Horde to Khan Bastu, and he was received with honor by him.

33. According to the Catholic missionary, monk John Piano Carpini, who was at that time in Karakorum, Grand Prince Iaroslav was poisoned by Khatun Turakina, Guyuk's mother. Karamzin doubts Carpini's veracity but Vernadsky finds it plausible because, in his opinion, Carpini's information, gathered among the Russians residing in Karakorum, is usually accurate. Vernadsky, III, 143; see also *SIE*, vol. 16, p. 983; and Nasonov, A.N.: *Mongoly i Rus'*, M., 1940.

ALEKSANDR'S JOURNEY TO THE HORDE AND TO KHAN BATU,  
WHO WAS ASTONISHED BY HIM AND WHO RENDERED HIM  
GREAT HONOR.

The same year Khan Batu of evil fame heard of the honorable bravery and invincible courage of God-protected Grand Prince Aleksandr, and about his many and most glorious victories over his enemies; and he sent him his envoys, who said, "Prince Aleksandr! The most glorious prince of the Russian dominions! I know how reasonable you are because God has submitted many nations to me, and they all obey my authority. You are the only one who has not submitted to my power. Now, harken! If you intend to keep your land undamaged, then hurry to me at once and you will view the honor and glory of my realm, and you will win benefices for yourself and for your land." Grand Prince Aleksandr, wise in God, pondered concerning his holy father, Iaroslav, who had journeyed to the Horde without caring for this passing realm, and who had sacrificed his life there for the sake of his faith and for the sake of his people [John 15:13 paraph.], thereby winning for himself the Heavenly Kingdom; therefore, he, blessed Aleksandr, following the example of his pious father's deeds, also decided to go to the Horde for the purpose of protecting the Christians. He arrived at the glorious city of Vladimir with vast forces and his arrival was awesome. Word of his awesome arrival spread down to the mouth of the Volga, and the women of the Moabites<sup>34</sup> frightened their children with his name, saying, "Hush! Grand Prince Aleksandr is coming!" In Vladimir he remained but a short time, receiving the blessing of Bishop Cyril, and without delay he continued his journey. Coming to Khan Batu, God's blessing shown upon him everywhere. When Khan Batu saw him he marveled and told his magnates, "It is true, what you have told me—that there is none equal to this prince," and he greatly honored him and gave him gifts. Thus does God astound those whom He selects, and He puts it into the mind of the impure that they should be ashamed of themselves and that they should respect those people. Then, together with his brother, Andrei Iaroslavich, he sent him to the sons of the Great Khan.<sup>35</sup>

34. "Moabites": in this case this biblical name is applied to the Tatars.

35. "Great Khan": that is, to their capital, Karakorum.

1247 The same year Khan Batu of ill renown, with a multitude of warriors, waged war against western Hungary and the northern land, which he had not reached before, and he destroyed many cities, occupying them; no one could resist him. He imprisoned many princes and commanders, whom he dispatched to his son, Sartak. Remaining there the entire year, he waged war, captured and rendered unto the sword and fire all those who did not want to submit to him.

The same year Berdy Bek, an important nobleman of Batu's, was killed in Hungary.

*In the year 6756/1248.* There was a portent on the moon. It became as though covered with blood, and then disappeared.

[BATU'S WAR AGAINST VARAZHDIN]

The same year Khan Batu waged war up to the city of Varazhdin, in Hungary,<sup>36</sup> destroying many cities and capturing all, and none could resist him. Then he came to Varazhdin, which is located in the middle of the Hungarian land. There were very few of the usual trees. All the trees were grapevines, and there was an abundance of all fruit and all manner of wines. This fortress was surrounded from all sides by water, and was extremely well fortified, and no one feared to remain within it. In the middle of the fortress was a very high tower.<sup>37</sup> At that time the ruler of the Hungarian land and of the Czechs and Germans, and of Pomerania, and of the land up to the Great Sea<sup>38</sup> was Vladislav.<sup>39</sup> Once there was Orthodoxy in the land of Hungary because they

36. Varazhdin: probably now Petrovarazhdin, near Novi Sad, in northern Serbia.

37. In *Nik.*, *stolp*; *stolp*, or, in Greek, *style*, is a kind of pillar or column with a platform on top, on which the ascetic stylites would live for years, remaining thus in the open air, praying and sometimes preaching. The word, *stolp*, however, may likewise denote a tower, particularly in this text, because this Vladislav was a ruler and not an ascetic stylite.

38. "Great Sea" may denote the Baltic or the North Sea.

39. At the time of Batu's invasion, the Hungarian king was Bela IV (1235-1270). The only Vladislav who was simultaneously king of Bohemia and of Hungary was Vladislav II Jagellonian (1476-1516) of Bohemia, from 1471; he was also king of Hungary from 1490. However, during the invasion by Batu of the southern Danubian (Pannonian) plain, there was in Serbia King Stephan Vladislav (1234-1243), who was the

received Holy Baptism from the Greeks.<sup>40</sup> Since the Hungarians did not translate the Scriptures into their language, the Romans [Catholics] succeeded in winning them to their heresy. And from that time up to the present they have been in unity with Rome.

This aforementioned King Vladislav also obeyed the Roman church, until St. Sava, Archbishop of Serbia, came to him and convinced him to join the Greek religion, the true Christian faith; but he did so secretly, not openly, because he feared that the Hungarians would revolt on account of that. St. Sava remained there for five months, instructing him concerning the Orthodox Greek faith; and then he returned home, leaving only one priest with Vladislav. And he remained there as if he were one of the king's servants.

Khan Batu, arriving in the Hungarian land, destroyed all its cities and captured the people because King Vlaslav, whom St. Sava had named "Vladislav," did not manage to gather all his people because of the vast distances.

In the meantime, King Vladislav remained many days on the above-mentioned tower, very much aggrieved, taking no bread or water and imploring Christ-God, with tears, to change His wrath to mercy and deliver him from his enemies. From the tower on which he stayed, he glimpsed his sister, fleeing to him from the fortress; but the Tatars caught and imprisoned her and took her to Batu.

Seeing all this, King Vladislav wailed still more and shed tears, praying to Christ God that He with His help and mercy deliver him from his enemies. While he was praying the tears flowed from his eyes as river streams, falling upon the marble, which they penetrated. To this day can be seen the traces of these tears on the marble of that tower. From this the lords and all those who were with him realized that help and mercy were forthcoming

brother of St. Sava. and during whose reign the Mongol invasion of Hungary occurred (the Mongols defeating the Hungarians at Mati on April 11, 1241). This entire apocryphal story of King Vladislav is of Balkan origin. The Mongols crossed Bosnia, northern Serbia and Croatia in the winter of 1240-1241, going as far south as Cattaro. K. Jireček, *Istorija Srba*, I, 226, Beograd, 1922.

40. The Pannonian Slavs were Christianized in the mid-ninth century by Cyril and Methodius shortly before the Hungarians occupied the Pannonian plain.

1248 from God. Soon thereafter a person approached, very fair and awesome, and all those with the king were seized by fear and trembling. This person approached the king and said, "Because of your tears, Lord God gives you victory over Khan Batu. March at once against him." The people gazed upon the face of the speaker but could see him no more.

And so the king descended from the tower and saw a saddled horse standing quietly by, not held by anyone, with a battle axe on it. From this he perceived that there would be aid from God. King Vladislav at once mounted this horse, took up the battle axe in his hand, sallied from the fortress with his host, all those who were with him, and unexpectedly and stealthily charged the camp of Khan Batu. At that time Batu had but a small troop because all his Tatars were dispersed in raids, and those Tatars who were with him were the same hour defeated by the wrath of God and were as dead, and they fled in great shame. Seeing his misfortune, Khan Batu knew not what to do, and he also fled, pursued by the wrath of God; and with him was the king's sister. Accompanied by his warriors, King Vladislav chased him, killing many Tatars; he reached Khan Batu, with whom he fought, but the king's sister began to aid Batu. Vladislav approached, cried out loudly, wept tearfully and prayed for Lord God's help; and with God's help he killed Khan Batu, as well as his sister with him.<sup>41</sup> With his lords and all his warriors, he occupied Batu's camp and the Tatars, unaware of what had occurred, were taken prisoner upon their return to this camp by the Hungarians, who put them to death and took vast wealth from them. Those, however, who wanted to embrace the Christian faith were left alive. And so Lord God with His invisible power put to death the impure Khan and his endless

41. Batu was not killed in Hungary, but died in 1255 in his capital, Sarai, on the Volga. Batu retreated from Central Europe and did not proceed with the conquest of the West because two of his main commanders, both also grandsons of Genghis Khan and both future Great Khans, or Emperors, of the Mongols, gave up campaigning and returned to Mongolia. They were Guyuk (Emperor, 1246-1248) and Mongka (Emperor, 1251-1255). Batu also followed them in order to influence the election of the Great Khan, or Emperor, in view of the death of Emperor Ugedei (1229-1241), the third son and successor to Genghis Khan. At that time the Mongol Emperor (Great Khan) was elected by the Kurultai, or the *diet* of Mongol lords, and Genghis Khan's descendants.

power, and so the Scripture was fulfilled which says, "Vengeance is Mine, says the Lord." [Rom. 12:19 paraph.] A bronze statue of King Vladislav on his horse, holding his battle axe with which, thanks to the invincible power of God, he killed Khan Batu and also his sister, was cast and placed on a tower in the middle of the fortress so that everyone, unto the last generation, might view it and remember this event; and it remains there to the present day.

[This is the end of the story about Batu.]

The same year Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov, grandson of Konstantin, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, married the daughter of Prince Iaroslav of Murom.

The same year Prince Mikhail, also called "Khorobrit," son of Iaroslav, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, cast out from the Grand Principality of Vladimir his uncle, Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh; and he, himself, ascended to the Grand Principality of Vladimir.

The same year [6757/1249 in *Novg. IV.*] Grand Prince Mikhailo Iaroslavich Khorobrit of Vladimir did battle against Lithuania, and the Lithuanians killed him, Grand Prince Mikhail Iaroslavich of Vladimir, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh. Blessed Cyril, Bishop of Rostov, sent for his body and buried it in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Vladimir. His brothers, the princes of Suzdal', marched against the Lithuanians and defeated them at Zubchev.

In the year 6757/1249. Prince Gleb Vasil'kovich, grandson of Konstantin, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, traveled to the Horde to Sartak, the son of Khan Batu.<sup>42</sup> Khan Sartak honored him greatly and let him return to his domain. The same year Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii] and his brother, Prince Andrei, returned [from Mongolia] from the sons of the Great Khan. The latter assigned to

42. Sartak became co-ruler with Batu during the last years of Batu's life.

1249 Aleksandr Kiev and all the Russian land,<sup>43</sup> while his brother, Prince Andrei, was given the Grand Principality of Vladimir.<sup>44</sup>

The same year, on the twenty-seventh day of the month of December, Prince Vladimir Konstantinovich, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away in Vladimir. His body was taken to his patrimony of Uglich Pol'e, where it was buried in the church of St. Saviour. His sons were Andrei and Roman.

The same year Prince Vasilii Vsevolodich passed away. He was the grandson of Konstantin, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir; and his body was taken from Vladimir to his patrimony of Iaroslavl', where it was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos on the eighth day of the month of February. His sons [*Sic!*] were Vasilii.

*In the year 6758/1250.* Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov traveled to the Golden Horde, to Khan Sartak, son of Batu. Khan Sartak greatly honored him and allowed him to return to his patrimony.

[METROPOLITAN CYRIL MOVES TO SUZDALIA]

The same year His Holiness Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, traveled from Kiev to Chernigov. He came to Riazan', then went to the Suzdalian land, where he was met with great honor by the princes and boiars.<sup>45</sup>

43. That is, most probably, the region of Kiev, Pereiaslavl' and Chernigov only.

44. The chronicler speaks of the "sons" of the Great Khan because in 1248-1257 there was an interregnum in Karakorum, during which the grandchildren of Genghis Khan struggled for the imperial succession.

45. The arrival of Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, in Vladimir was of paramount political and ecclesiastic importance. Later Cyril settled in Vladimir, *de facto* thus transferring the See of the Metropolitan of all Russia from Kiev to the Suzdalian land, while his successors

The same year Grand Prince Sviatoslav, son of Vsevolod, 1250  
grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Valdimir Monomakh, together with his son, Dmitrii, travelled to Khan Sartak, Batu's son, in the Golden Horde; he and his son were received with honor by the Khan.

The same year Prince Andrei Iaroslavich, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, married in Vladimir the daughter of Danilo Romanovich; the wedding was performed in the church of the Holy Theotokos of the city of Vladimir by His Holiness, Metropolitan Cyril of Kiev and all Russia, and by Cyril, Bishop of Rostov. There was great solemnity, much happiness and great rejoicing.

*In the year 6759/1251.* [6758/1250 in *Novg. III.*] His Holiness Cyril, Metroplitan of Kiev and all Russia, together with Cyril, Bishop of Rostov, travelled from Vladimir to Novgorod, where he was met with Great honor by Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich and the latter's leading men. He was greeted by a procession with crosses, by the entire Sacred Council, archimandrites and abbots and a multitude of people, and the Novgorodians beseeched him to consecrate them Dalmatus as their bishop.

The same year Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii] became gravely ill, but Lord God and His Most Pure Mother were merciful to him, thanks to the prayers of His saintly intercessors, His Holiness Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, Archbishop Dalmatus of Novgorod and Bishop Cyril of Rostov and the entire Sacred Council, as well as by his late parents and forefathers.

The same year there was much rain and many floods which inundated everything—grain and hay. The great bridge of Novgorod was washed away into the Volkhov River, and in the fall the freezes killed all the grain.

The same year Prince Gleb Vasil'kovich, grandson of Konstantin, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, went to his partrimony of Belozero, and this year was peaceful.

moved from Vladimir to Moscow, thereby making it the ecclesiastic center of the land. After the Mongol invasion, Kiev and its region became almost entirely devastated and depopulated.

## NEVRUI'S INVASION

1252

*In the year 6760/1252.* The same year Grand Prince Aleksandr [Nevskii] again went to the Golden Horde to the new khan, Sartak, leaving the glorious city of Valdimir and all the Suzdalian land in the care of his brother, Prince Andrei [Iaroslavich] of Suzdal'. The latter was endowed with honor and bravery but he paid little heed to the administration of his dominion: he excelled in the hunt of beasts and attended the counsel of young minds. Therefore because of them there was much disturbance and perfidy among the people, and difficulties in his domain. And this happened because God permitted it.

The same year Khan Sartak sent his commander, Nevru, as well as Khan Katiak and Khan Ali-beg the Brave with other Tatars, to wage war against this Prince Andrei Iaroslavich of Suzdal', the son of Vsevolod, grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii. On the eve of St. Boris' Day the godless Tatars forded the Kliazma near Vladimir and stealthily marched toward the city of Pereiaslav' [Zalesskii]. In the morning of St. Boris' Day Grand Prince Andrei Iaroslavich of Suzdal' [hearing of their raid] became worried about his situation and said, "Lord! How long are we going to fight among ourselves and bring the Tatars against each other? I would rather flee to foreign lands than be in the friendship and service of the Tatars." He summoned his warriors and then, with his regiments, Grand Prince Andrei met them [the Tatars]. The two hosts clashed and a great battle ensued. By the wrath of God for our ever-increasing sins we were defeated by the pagans and Grand Prince Andrei escaped only with difficulty. He went to Great Novgorod but the Novgorodians did not want to receive him; then he went to Pskov, where he remained awhile, awaiting his princess. When his princess arrived, he departed with her for the German city of Kolyvan'.<sup>46</sup> He left his princess there while he, himself, journeyed beyond the sea to the Swedish land. The master of Sweden received him with honor and then he sent to Kolyvan' for his princess, with whom he then sojourned for a certain time in the Swedish land. [Before he left Russia] the Tatars pursued him and nearly caught him at the city of Pereiaslav' [Zalesskii], which is on Lake Kleshchino. But God and the Most Pure Theotokos protected him. The Tatars

46. Kolyvan', now Revel or Talinn.

1252

sought for him, scattering hither and thither, but he escaped from them after having been grand prince for three years. The Khan's son, Nevru, with his Tatars, took Pereiaslav' [Zalesskii] on Lake Kleshchino, capturing Prince Iaroslav's widow and children, and killed her, but they took Iaroslav's children into captivity. They also killed their [the Russians'] voevoda, Zhidislav, and took all their people into captivity, stealing all their possessions, and then they returned to the Golden Horde.

The same year [6761/1253 in *Novg. IV*] Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii], grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, came from the Horde with much honor. His Holiness Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, met him with a procession and crosses, with the Sacred Council and with a multitude of people. Because he had received the Khan's charter to rule, His Holiness, Metropolitan Cyril, took him to the throne of the grand prince of Vladimir, the throne of his father, Iaroslav Vsevolodich, and they built there a church in memory of [the victims of] the invasion of Nevru.

The same year [6759/1251 in *Sof. V*] the Tatars released from the Golden Horde Prince Oleg Ingvarich of Riazan', grandson of Igor', great grandson of Gleb, and permitted him to go to his patrimony.

The same year on the third day of the month of February Grand Prince Sviatoslav Vsevolodich passed away. He was the grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, great grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir.

*In the year 6761/1253.* The church of the Holy Martyrs Boris and Gleb was consecrated in Rostov by Cyril, Bishop of Rostov, in the presence of the pious princes, Boris of Rostov and Gleb of Belozero, both sons of Vasil'ko, grandchildren of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandchildren of Iurii Dolgorukii.

The same year a son, Dmitrii, was born to Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov.

The same year the Novgorodians under Prince Vasilii Aleksandrovich [the son of Nevskii], grandson of Iaroslav, defeated the Lithuanians at Toropets. At the same time the people of Pskov defeated the Germans at Pskov.

*In the year 6762/1254.* [6761/1253 in *Vozn.*] Grand Prince Iaroslav Iaroslavich of Tver' gave up his domain of Tver' and



1254 went to Pskov. The people of Pskov received him with great honor.

The same year [6763/1255 in *Laur.*] a son, Konstantin, was born to Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov.

*In the year 6763/1255.* [6762/1254 in *Vozn.*] After the Sunday of Easter week, Prince Konstantin of Uglich passed away and his body was taken to Vladimir. He was the son of Iaroslav, grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir. His body was met by his brother, Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii], as well as by their spiritual father, Metropolitan Cyril, the entire Sacred Council and all his boiars with a multitude of people; and it was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Vladimir.

The same year the Novgorodians invited Grand Prince Iaroslav Iaroslavich of Tver' to come from Pskov to Novgorod, and so he became prince of Novgorod and they expelled from Novgorod Prince Vasilii Aleksandrovich, grandson of Iaroslav, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii; he rapidly dispatched tidings to his father, Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii] of Vladimir, and went to Torzhok to await his father there. Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich, together with his cousin, Dmitrii Sviatoslavich, grandson of Vsevolod—these princes Aleksandr and Dmitrii were sons of two brothers—marched with many warriors toward Torzhok, where he was met by his son, Vasilii. From thence he marched to Novgorod, where he was met by Reteshka the Novgorodian with greetings: "Prince Iaroslav Iaroslavich has fled from Novgorod." Then, according to their old tradition, the Novgorodians summoned the *veche*: "Brethren! Let us be firm for the Most Pure Theotokos, for Novgorodian justice and for our patrimony, and whether in death or in life, we will not spare ourselves." Then the Novgorodians sent their archbishop, Dalmatus, with their senior men to Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich, asking him to give up his wrath. He told them, "Turn over to me my enemy, posadnik Ananii. If you do not extradite him to me, I will do battle against you." And the Novgorodians deliberated at length concerning this. Then Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich sent to them, saying, "If you do not want to extradite my enemy, posadnik Ananii, then

take away from him the office of posadnik and I will give up my wrath." The Novgorodians assembled and said, "This was the machination of Prince [Iaroslav] and of our own trespassers of the oath. God and Holy Sophia should judge them because they instigated us to quarrel with the prince [Aleksandr]." They deprived Ananii of the office of posadnik, which they gave to Mikhail Stepankovich; and then they concluded peace with Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich, according to all their Novgorodian liberties, confirming it with him by a pledge on the Cross. Then Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich marched into Novgorod, where he was met by Archbishop Dalmatus and [a procession] with crosses of the entire Sacred Council; and so Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich brought his son, Vasilii, to be prince in Novgorod, [6764/1256 in *Vozn.* and *Novg. III.*] while he, himself, marched away from them, from Novgorod, with great honor; and there was peace and great tranquility.

*In the year 6764/1256.* The princes went to Gorodets and to Novgorod; but Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov went to the Horde with many gifts. Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii] also sent the Tatars his envoys with many gifts. Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov went to Khan Ulagchi [of the Golden Horde], presented him gifts and was greatly honored; and he returned to his patrimony with great honor.

The same year Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich marched with the levies of Suzdal' against the Em';<sup>47</sup> defeated them and returned home with many captives.

The same year Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich marched with the levies of Suzdal' to Novgorod and from thence, together with the Novgorodians, he marched against the Swedish land and against the Chud'. They went through impassable places where they could not distinguish day from night and where there was permanent darkness. Thus they marched, campaigning throughout all the Pomor'e.<sup>48</sup> And they returned home with many captives and with vast booty.

*In the year 6765/1257.* Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii] of Vladimir, Grand Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov and Grand Prince Andrei Iaroslavich of Suzdal' went with many

47. Em': a Finnic tribe north of Novgorod.

48. Pomor'e: the shore of the Finnish Gulf.

1255

Boris to  
orderA.N. to  
order

1257 presents to the Golden Horde, where [Khan] Ulagchi honored them; and they returned with great honor to their patrimony.

The same year Prince Gleb Vasil'kovich married [a Tatar princess] in the Horde and he returned to his patrimony from the Khan, from the land of the Khan [the Golden Horde] with great honor.

The same winter [6765/1257 in *Laur.*] the census takers came from the Golden Horde and took a census in the lands of Suzdal', Riazan' and Murom; and they assigned there their own officers of tens, hundreds, thousands and ten thousands. Completing their work, they returned to the Golden Horde. They did not include in their census only the archimandrites, abbots, priests, deacons, members of the clergy and others working for the church: that is, all those who attend Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos, and who are connected with the Lord's House and who serve in the divine churches.

In the year 6766/1258. [6764/1256 in *Sof V.*] Grand Prince Oleg of Riazan' passed away during Holy Week, on Wednesday, after being tonsured a monk and shorn to the *schema*. He was buried in the church of the Holy Saviour on the eighth day of the month of March, on the day of the Holy Martyr Phetinia of Samaria. After him, his son, Roman, became Grand Prince of Riazan'.

The same year Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii] of Vladimir, Grand Prince Andrei Iaroslavich of Suzdal', Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov and Grand Prince Iaroslav Iaroslavich of Tver' went to the [Golden] Horde and honored Khan Ulagchi and all the lords and commanders of the Golden Horde; and they departed for Russia with great honor, each returning to his own patrimony the same fall.

That winter Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov and his brother, Prince Gleb Vasil'kovich, with his princess [who was a Tatar] returned from the Horde to Rostov, bowed to the Most Holy Theotokos and crossed themselves before Her Icons, and they received a blessing from their spiritual father, Bishop Cyril, as well as from their mother, Grand Princess Maria.

\* [THE TATAR CENSUS]

The same year [6765/1257 in *Vozn.*] the census takers came from the Tatar land to Vladimir and then these census takers of

the Golden Horde, together with Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich of Vladimir, with Andrei Iaroslavich of Suzdal' and with Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov went to take a census of the Novgorodian land. When the people of Novgorod heard about this they became very upset. When the Tatar census taker came with Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich to Novgorod, as well as with the other Russian princes, Prince Vasilii Aleksandrovich of Novgorod fled from his father, from Novgorod, to Pskov. The Tatars began to levy tribute, and the Novgorodians did not accept this. They gave many gifts, however, to the Khan and to his envoys, and let them go in peace; but they killed their posadnik, Mikhalko, as well as the other posadnik Mikhalko, whom they also killed, while posadnik Ananii passed away. Then the office of posadnik was given to Mikhalko Fedorovich, and the office of tysiatskii to Zhidiata Domozhirovich.<sup>49</sup> Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich drove his son, Vasilii, from Pskov and sent him to Niz.<sup>50</sup> And he executed the latter's druzhina: some had their noses and ears cut off, some had their eyes taken out and hands cut off. They were those who advised Prince Vasilii to do thus [to resist the Tatars] as he did. In this way the evil people perished in an evil manner, and the Tatar census takers went with peace, being satisfied.

The same year the Lithuanians waged war against Torzhok and the Novgorodians gathered their troops and marched against them. A great battle ensued, which the Lithuanians won, and much evil befell the people of Novyi Torzhok.

The same year the Tatars raided the entire Lithuanian land and then, with many captives and wealth, they went back to their encampments.

In the year 6767/1259. Mikhalko, the man of Pinsk, came to Novgorod, declaring the following: "If you are not taken in the census of the Khan of the Golden Horde, then the Tatar host will march in to Nizovskaia land and much grief will come to all." The Novgorodians took fright and agreed to be counted. They sent their envoys to the Golden Horde, to the Khan, with many gifts,

49. "Zhirokha" in *Novg.*

50. Niz, or *Nizovskaia zemlia*; "the lowland": the land south of the Novgorodian region—primarily the Volga-Oka region.

blinding of  
druzhina  
members

envoys from  
Novg. to  
Ordu

1259 petitioning him to turn aside his wrath and asking him to take a census of all their land, as he wanted.

The same year [6766/1258 in *Laur.*] the Tatar census takers came to Vladimir from the Horde. Taking with them Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich of Vladimir, Prince Andrei Iaroslavich of Suzdal' and Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov, they went to Novgorod and took a census of the land of Novgorod and Pskov, but did not take a census of the archimandrites, abbots, priests, deacons, monks, or all members of the clergy, and attendants of the churches, all those who pray to Lord God and to the Most Pure Theotokos and who reside in the Lord's House, and who celebrate in the divine churches. The Tatars took their census and returned to the Golden Horde, and there was great peace and tranquility in Novgorod. The Novgorodians, however, asked Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich to remain there, and they honored him. He set his son, Dmitrii, as prince of Novgorod, while he, himself, went to the city of Vladimir. Arriving in Rostov, he bowed to the ground before the Icon of the Most Pure Theotokos, crossed himself before Her Icon and received a blessing from his spiritual father, Bishop Cyril, saying, "My father, Lord! Thanks to your prayer, I arrived in Novgorod in good health; and now I have returned hither from Novgorod, likewise in good health." Blessed Bishop Cyril, the Grand Princess, Prince Boris and Prince Gleb honored him with great love. He sojourned with them for a certain time in great concord, worshipped Lord God and the Most Pure Theotokos, made devotions before Her holy Icon and received a blessing from his spiritual father, Bishop Cyril, and from the Grand Princess; and from thence he went to Vladimir, to his patrimony.

*In the year 6768/1260.* There was peace.

*In the year 6769/1261.* A son, Daniil, was born to Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii].

The same year Bishop Cyril of Rostov, because of his advanced age and great exhaustion, gave up his bishopric and Ignatius, archimandrite of the monastery of the Epiphany, was invested in his place with the approval and blessing of Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia.

The same year Prince Andrei [of Uglich], son of Vladimir,<sup>51</sup> 1261 grandson of Konstantin, great grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav Vladimirich, died in his patrimony of Uglich-Pol'e, and he was buried in the church of St. Saviour in Uglich.

The same year His Holiness Cyril, Methopolitan of Kiev and all Russia, elevated Mitrophanes to bishop of Sarai.<sup>52</sup>

*In the year 6770/1262.* On the twenty-first day of the month of May Blessed Bishop Cyril of Rostov passed away and was buried in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos in Rostov.

The same year on the nineteenth day of the month of September, Metropolitan Cyril of Kiev and all Russia, in the presence of pious Prince Boris Vasil'kovich of Rostov and his brother, Gleb Vasil'kovich of Belozero, consecrated Ignatius bishop of Rostov.

The same year all the cities in Russia held counsel about the Tatars because Khan Batu placed his administrators in all the Russian cities, as did his son, Sartak, after killing [*Sic!*] Batu; and after Sartak, so did the other [khans]. The Russian princes, having agreed among themselves, drove the Tatars from their cities because there was always violence from them. The rich ones would farm out from the Tatars the collection of taxes, and then would greedily increase their own benefit; therefore many people were forced to accept serfdom in order to pay the interest. And so the Russian princes drove the Tatars away, and some were killed,

agreement  
among Rus'  
princes

greedily

?

51. In *Nik.* it is stated erroneously that Prince Andrei of Uglich was the grandson of Vasil'ko Konstantinovich, but in actuality he was the grandson of Grand Prince Konstantin Vsevolodich of Vladimir. See N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies des branches régnantes des Rurikiches du XIII au XVI siècles*, Vol. XXXVI (No. 99) of *Orientalia Christiana*, Roma, 1934, p. 60, Table XI.

52. Sarai, on the lower Volga, was the capital of the Golden Horde. There was always a large number of Orthodox Russians there; consequently, Metropolitan Cyril established there a special diocese. The bishop of Sarai was also a sort of liaison with the Horde for the Russian Church and the Russian princes.

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1262 others became Christian in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. At that time in Iaroslavl' they killed Zossima the Apostate, who had given up the Christian faith, and his monastic vows, and had become a very wicked Moslem. He was the favorite agent of the Khan's envoy, Titak, and he caused much harm to the Christians; therefore the Orthodox Christians killed him and threw his body to the dogs to be eaten.

The same year [6772/1264 in *Novg. IV.*] Grand Prince Iaroslav Iaroslavich, grandson of Vsevolod; Prince Dmitrii Aleksandrovich, grandson of Iaroslav Iaroslavich; the former's son-in-law, Konstantin; Tovtil of Polotsk; and the Novgorodian host all marched with great forces against the German city of Iuriev.<sup>53</sup> And although the city had three lines of fortified walls around it, they took it in one single assault, killing the Germans. Among our men, a good and brave man was shot in the city: this was Petr Miasnikovich. And they also killed Iakov, a courageous nail-maker, and Il'ia Dektiarev, and the smith, Izmail. They were very courageous and very daring men.

In the year 6771/1263. A son, Mikhail, was born to Prince Gleb Vasil'kovich of Belozero.

[THE PASSING OF GRAND PRINCE ALEKSANDR NEVSKII]

The same year [6700/1262 in *Sof. V.*] Grand Prince Aleksandr Iaroslavich [Nevskii], grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, went for the fourth time to Khan Berke of the Golden Horde;<sup>54</sup> and he spent the winter there. He became very ill and was permitted to return to Russia; but on the fourteenth day of the month of November before reaching the city of Gorodets [his condition worsened] and he was tonsured monk and shorn to the *schema*. He passed away that same night. On the twenty-third day of the same month of November they brought his body to Vladimir and placed it in the church of the Most Pure Theotokos. When His Holiness

53. Iur'ev, now Tartu or Dorpat.

54. Berke was a brother of Batu's. He was a stern ruler who embraced Islam and made it for the first time the religion of the Golden Horde (1258-1266).

Cyril, Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia, wanted to put into his hand a charter absolving his sins and Monk Sebastian tried to open his hand, he—Prince Aleksandr—himself, raised his hand as if alive, and everyone marvelled at this. When His Holiness, Metropolitan Cyril of Kiev and all Russia, placed the charter in his hand he closed his hand as if he were alive. He was buried in the city of Vladimir, in the monastery of the Nativity of the Most Pure Theotokos, after having ruled [in Vladimir for ten years. His [surviving] sons were Vasilii, Dmitrii, Andreii and Daniil of Moscow.

In the year 6772/1264. After [Grand Prince Aleksandr], his brother, Grand Prince Iaroslav Iaroslavich of Tver', ascended to the Grand Principality of Vladimir and he became grand prince of Vladimir and Novgorod.

The same year [6771/1263 in *Vozn.*] the Novgorodians drove out from Novgorod Prince Dmitrii Aleksandrovich.

The same year [6771/1263 in *Vozn.*] Grand Prince Iaroslav Iaroslavich went to Novgorod and the Novgorodians accepted him with joy and great honor. At that time [6771/1263 in *Vozn.*] in Novgorod he married, taking to wife the daughter of Iurii Mikhailovich.

The same year [6771/1263 in *Vozn.*] Grand Prince Andrei Iaroslavich of Suzdal', grandson of Vsevolod, great grandson of Iurii Dolgorukii, gr. gr. grandson of Vladimir Monomakh, gr. gr. gr. grandson of Vsevolod, gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Iaroslav, gr. gr. gr. gr. gr. grandson of Great Vladimir, passed away. His sons were Iurii and Mikhail.

[LITHUANIAN AFFAIRS]

The same year [6771/1263 in *Hyp.*] there was a rebellion in Lithuania. They rebelled against their prince. Grand Prince Mindaugas was killed by his own relatives, who, unbeknownst to all, had conspired. Then they began to quarrel about his wealth, and they killed Tovtil, Prince of Polotsk; they also put in irons the boiars of Polotsk, and they asked the people of Polotsk to turn over to them Tovtil's son because they also wanted to kill him; but he fled to Novgorod with his men. Thereafter the Lithuanians assigned their own prince to Polotsk and they released the people of Polotsk whom they had [earlier] arrested, together with their prince.