

SWELLS OF THE MONGOL-STORM AROUND THE BALTIC

BY

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In his work «Hämärän ja sarastuksen ajoilta» (From the times of the dusk and the dawn, Helsinki 1929) the late Finnish Slavist J. J. Mikkola treated the oldest history of the Finnish tribe Carelians, and stated (p. 51 f.) i. a. «that the Carelians played an important role in the state of Novgorod is also proved by Abu-'l-Ghazi who in his work «the Lineage of the Turks» mentions the Carelians as the *kurel* together with the Maĵars, Bašqird, Urus, and Nemiš». Mikkola then quoted the relevant passages of the Šejere-i Türk as follows: «Already Ĵučī, the eldest son of Chingis Khan, had decided to conquer the countries inhabited by the Maĵar, Bašqird, Urus, *Kurel*, and Nemiš. After the death of Chingis, the Emperor Ögedei sent the Mongol armies under Sain Khan to Moskow in the country of the Urus. There the princes of the *Kurel*, Nemiš, and Urus had gathered. After a long and hard fight they were defeated, and Sain Khan gave to Šiban a tribe of 15,000 tents and the country of the *Kurel* as a fief. Šiban sent one of his sons together with experienced noblemen and his tribe to the land of the far-off *Kurel*». Abu-'l-Ghazi then adds: «It is maintained that the princes who to-day rule the *Kurel* are still descendants of Šiban Khan. But since that country is so remote, Allah alone knows whether this tale is true or untrue.»¹

In the opinion of Mikkola, later joined by the known Finnish folklorist Martti Haavio, *Kurel* here means the Carelians. Desmaisons, the editor and translator of Abu-'l-Ghazi, supposed that the word in question was to be read *Kral* or *Korol*, and somehow rendered Poland.

It is probable that such lists of the peoples submitted by the Mongols ultimately go back to the own historical works of the latter. In the oldest of them, the Secret History of the Mongols, finished in 1240, we meet two lists of this kind. The § 262 tells that Chingis sent his general Sübetei to an expedition against the Qanglin, Kibča'ut, Baĵigit, Orusut, Maĵarat, Asut, Sasut, Serkesut, Kešimir, Bolar, and *Raral*, across the great rivers Ural and Volga, to the big city of Kiev. In the § 270 these names occur in a slightly different

¹ Abū-'l-Ghāzī, *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatars*, publiée, traduite et annotée par L. Baron Desmaisons, I-II, St.-Petersbourg 1871-74, p. 180 f. = transl. p. 189 f.

shape and order. Instead of *Raral* we meet *Keret*, and the goal of the expedition is Meket, probably to be identified with Moscow. In the Mongol source Altan Toböi, based on older redactions of the Secret History than that preserved to us, we meet in the corresponding passages *Lalat* and *Kelet*.

The most important Moslem source of the Mongol history, the work of Rašidu-'d-Din² (dead in 1218 A. D.) knows the above name as *Keler* in connexion with the name Bašqurt which in addition to the Bashkirs earlier also designated the Hungarians. Hungarian monks told Rubruc that the Baškir language was identical with Hungarian. Both Rubruc and Plano Carpini call Bashkiria also «Magna Hungaria». *Keler* and Bašqird are mentioned together still in the work of the Persian historian Khwandamir. The name Maĵar was mentioned by Ibn Rusta, but Baškir is met with still much later as a name of the Hungarians. The forms *Raral* and *Keret* in the SH are in general corrected to *Kerel*, in accordance with the Moslem sources.

In his paper «Maĵar(at)», while treating the name of the Hungarians in the SH Poucha³ expressed the opinion that since Bolar only can mean the Volga Bolgars, *Kerel* must mean the Carelians, since the latter both onomastically and geographically fit in the context. In his study «Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen als Geschichtsquelle und Literaturdenkmal» (p. 78) Poucha⁴ presented the same interpretation. He had obviously not noticed that in the official history of the Mongol Dynasty, in the Yüan-Shih (ch. CXXI) it is told how the Mongols attacked *K'ie-lien*, the ruler of the *Maĵars*. This must obviously go back to the Hungarian expression **királyi Magyar*, and mean the king of the Hungarians. This is in fact also to be seen in the oldest Persian source of the Mongol history, viz. in «The History of the World Conqueror» by Ĵuwaini (I 336): Batu and Šiban attacked the camp of the *Bašgird* (= Hungarians), and cut the ropes of the tent of their *kelar*. When the Bašgird saw the tent falling down, they panicked.⁵ This detail is also mentioned by Rašidu-'d-Din (II 42) who, however, gives the name Polo instead of Bašgird. Plano Carpini again tells that he had seen in the camp of Batu on the Volga fine linen tents which were said to have belonged to the Hungarian king.

Among the folkloric material of the Siberian Tobol Tatars published by Radloff we find an interesting song with quasihistorical contents:

Cyngys bī xannan cykkanbys,
Cyngys bī xannān cykkan soĵ,
Kārāl boilap jurtkanbys,

² Rašidu-'d-Din, *Jāmi'u-'t-Tawārikh*, ed. Blochet (GMS XIV), London 1912, II 43.

³ Poucha, P., «Maĵar(at), Mad(a)sari, Márĵaqow: AOH IV, 1955, 0. 171 ff.

⁴ Poucha, P.: *Archiv Orientalní*, Suppl. IV, 1956, p. 78.

⁵ 'Aṭā Malik-i-Ĵuwainī, *Ta'rikh-i-Ĵahān-gušā*, I 226 (= *The History of the World Conqueror*, transl. by J. A. Boyle, I—II, Manchester 1958).

Kārāl jurtyñ aĵanbys,
Kārāldān Kyrymĵa nijät itkänbis,
Kyrymĵa bis baryanbys,
Kyrym šārni aĵanbys . . .
«We departed from Chingis Khan.
When we had departed from Chingis Khan,
We marched along the *Kārāl* (?),
We took the *Kārāl* yurt.
From the *Kārāl* we proceeded to the Crimea.
We rode to the Crimea,
We took the Crimean City . . .»⁶

Kārāl is here obviously understood as a geographical name, and it seems to fit well to Hungary. The mention of the *Kārāl* yurt could perhaps be connected with the above story about the capture of the tents of the Hungarian king.

In another connection Rašid tells that the Mongols invaded the countries of the Bašgird, Maĵar, and Sassan (= Saxons?), the *Kelar* fled to the coast and boarded a ship. The Mongols then spent the summer on the rivers Tissa and Tonha. This refers quite clearly to Hungary and to King Béla. Already D'Ohsson pointed out (II 630 fn.) that *Bašgird* clearly refers to the Hungarians and (p. 631 fn.) that *kelar* means 'king'.⁷

In their histories of the Golden Horde Tiesenhausen,⁸ Veselovskiy,⁹ and Spuler¹⁰ conjectured the names *Kirāl* and *Kük*, referring obviously to one and the same place, to *Kārāk* which they supposed to mean Cracow. Paul Pelliot, in his erudite criticism of Spuler's work, published posthumously in 1949,¹¹ investigated in detail the occurrences of the name *kerel* in the Moslem sources. Regrettably Poucha seems not to have used Pelliot's study at all. Pelliot was able to show that Ĵuwaini did not know the name Maĵar of the Hungarians but still used Bašgird, and put the conjunction 'and' between the names *Keler* and *Bašgird*, in the same way as in expressions like «Gog and Magog». In the tale of Abu-'l-Ghazi the only really historical event is the conquest of the camp of the *Kerel*. It has obviously been taken from Ĵuwaini, whose *Kerel*

⁶ Radloff, W., *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* IV, St. Petersburg. 1872, p. 262 f.

⁷ D'Ohsson, *Histoire des mongols depuis Tchinguiz Khan jusqu'à Timour Bey ou Tamerlan* I—IV, Haag-Amsterdam 1834—35.

⁸ Tiesenhausen, W., *Sbornik materialov odnosjaščisja k istorii Zolotoj Ordy*, St. Petersburg 1884, p. 94, p. 119.

⁹ Veselovsky, N. I., «Khan iz tēmnikov Zolotoj Ordy»: *ZIRAN* 8 : XIII, p. 58.

¹⁰ Spuler, B., *Die Goldene Horde*, Leipzig 1943, p. 297.

¹¹ Pelliot, P., *Notes sur l'Histoire de la Horde d'Or*. (Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot II), Paris 1949, p. 115.

means just the king of Hungary. This explanation was actually given by René Grousset who identified the *k'ie-lien* of the Chinese with the *kelar* of the Moslem historians, and these both with Hungarian *király* 'king'. Grousset¹² quotes the Yüan-Shih which expressly states that the Mongol army attacked *K'ie-lien*, the king of the *Ma-cha-êrh*, who was famous for his valour.

In the opinion of Pelliot Abu-'l-Ghazi's tale about the descendants of Šiban on the throne of the *Kerel* or Hungary, should be understood on the basis of the Hungarian crown being called that of St. Stephan (István). There seems, however, to be another detail which even Pelliot has overlooked (?): according to Abu-'l-Ghazi the eleventh son of Šiban bears the name Maĵar.

In the list of the peoples subjugated by the Mongols, which Plano Carpini gives in his travelogue¹³, the name *Corola* occurs which already d'Avezac¹⁴ wanted to connect with the Carelians. Bretschneider¹⁵ and Risch¹³ have interpreted this name as referring to the Turkic tribe Qarluq, while T'Serstevens¹⁶ says that it remains without explanation. However, in Ch. VII 3—2 Carpini quite obviously refers to the Hungarian expedition, and his list of the conquered peoples in IX 3 is so close to that in our other sources that in my opinion *Corola* must correspond to *Kerel*.

However, even Pelliot (p. 141) regarded it as possible that Carpini's *Corola* just might have referred to the *Carelians*, though he did not know how far stretched the area inhabited by the latter. Pelliot also pointed out the name of the township *Karelina* on the Vyatka. Though even Carpini's word is most probably to be interpreted as meaning the king of the Hungarians, it might be possible that some knowledge about the Carelians had originally made the expression *király Magyar* > *kerel Maĵar* to split up in two names. In the *Otia Imperialia* of Gervasius of Tilbury we meet *Coral(i) paganorum gens ferocissima*, though the *Coralli* ~ *Coreli* proper mentioned in antique sources (Ovid, Livy, Valerius Flaccus, Strabo, Appianus) certainly had disappeared long before his time: this name also might owe its survival — or resurrection — to the Carelians.

The Polish scholar Mathias Miechowita, in his work «De Sarmatia Asiana atque Europaea» (1517) II 5 tells of a tribe *Corela* living in the high north on the shore of the ocean. He described them as most primitive: «sunt velut bestiae ratione non utentes». In certain other sources, too, the *Carelians* are

¹² Grousset, R., *L'Empire Mongol* (Ire phase), Paris 1941, p. 299.

¹³ Plano Carpini, Johann de, *Geschichte der Mongolen und Reisebericht 1245—1247*, übers. von F. Risch, Leipzig 1930, p. 193 fn. 7, p. 388.

¹⁴ D'Avezac, *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie* IV, Paris 1839, p. 575.

¹⁵ Bretschneider, E., *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources I—II*, London 1887; I p. 305.

¹⁶ T'Serstevens, *Les Précurseurs de Marco Polo*, Paris 1959, p. 184.

mentioned as living on the shore of the Northern Ocean, e.g. the letter of Alberto Campense to Pope Clemens VII (1532—24) lists here the peoples Iuhri, *Corelli*, Perusrani, Vahulzrani, Baschirdi, and Czeremissi. In the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries certain maps show *Kareli* as neighbours of Greenland, while on others *Karelia* and *Kareli infideles* are on the shore of the Baltic Sea.

Alessandro Guagnini (1528—1614) who had long served as officer in the Polish army, in his «Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio» (Spirae 1581) tells that the province *Corella*, situated some 60 Polish miles from Novgorod, had its own language. Since it was a neighbour of both Russia and Sweden, its inhabitants paid taxes to both rulers. In the north their country bordered upon the Arctic Ocean.

It seems problematic whether the Mongol invasion can have touched the *Carelians*. The town of Torzhok was captured by the Mongols on March 23rd, 1238, and then they marched towards Novgorod. The melting snow, however, made the roads and the terrain impassable, and Batu turned to the south. According to Cheshire¹⁷ (p. 93) the Mongols had reached the river Lovat some thirty miles distant from Novgorod. According to certain Chinese sources quoted by Wolff¹⁸ in his somewhat obsolete work (p. 148) the Mongols had come so far to the north that there at the time of the summer solstice was hardly any night at all. The local population had blond hair and blue eyes. In Wolff's opinion the Mongols had crossed the 63rd latitude somewhere on the Dwina (Fi. Viena). According to western mediaeval sources the Dwina area was inhabited by the *Byarmians*. These, again, have been identified with the *Carelians* and/or with another Finnic tribe, the *Vepsians*. On the other hand, with the latter have been identified the *Wis* or *Wisu* who according to Moslem sources were fur-merchants on the upper Volga. No source referring to the Mongol conquest seems to mention any names comparable with *Wis* or *Wisu*.

A contact of the *Byarmians* with the Mongols is actually mentioned in a Norwegian source. The *Hákonar Saga Gamla* (composed in 1264/65) tells namely (§ 333) that a number of *Byarmians* came as refugees to king Hákon, because they had been assailed by the Tatars. The king had them baptized and then settled them north of the Malangerfjord. In itself this story looks somewhat fantastic, but just in the area in question a number of place names containing the name of the *Carelians* have been preserved. There might thus be some amount of truth in the statement of the *Saga*. If the *Byarmians* were *Carelians*, the contact between the latter and the Mongols had taken place somewhere on the Dwina.

¹⁷ Cheshire, H. T., «The Great Tartar Invasion in Europe»: *Slavonic Review* V, 1926, p. 89 ff.

¹⁸ Wolff, O., *Geschichte der Mongolen oder Tataren*, Breslau 1872.

The easternmost Carelians known to us directly are those inhabiting the Tver (Kalinin) area. However, according to the generally adopted view they have immigrated from South-East Finland as late as in the 17th century. A much earlier date has recently also been proposed. In the Bezhič district there occur certain archaeological remains which popular traditions connect with the Tatars. In the excavations carried out by the Finnish archaeologist J. R. Aspelin about a century ago, nothing was detected which could be connected with the Mongols. In 1327 Tver revolted against the Golden Horde and killed the local Mongol officials. The Khan together with some of his Russian vassals defeated the rebels, the whole area was destroyed, and a great number of its inhabitants were taken as slaves as far as to Peking. This could thus have been an occasion for Mongols to meet Carelians, supposed that there were any in Tver. The southernmost occurrence of the Carelians Mikkola wanted to see in White-Russian *karély* 1. 'Räuber im Wald', 3. 'grausam, schmutzig, ekelhaft', which also could be the origin of the place name *Koreliči*, a locality near Nowogródek. Mikkola also saw a Carelian loan word in the White-Russian *korž* 'ungesäuerter trockengebackener Kuchen' deriving from Fi. *kyrsä* 'ungesäuertes Brot'.

In any case, we do not seem to have any positive proofs of contacts between the Mongols and the Carelians, since all the Oriental sources quoted as evidence obviously refer to the Hungarians.

The chronicles of the Baltic region contain only few and scattered references to the Mongol invasion, since it did not directly touch any of the coastal countries. It seems that news received from abroad, even a longer time after the event in question had taken place, were sometimes written down under an earlier year, now and then even under a wrong year. So e.g. the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia tells in 1221 that the Prince of Novgorod had been killed in the battle on the Kalka, but places the battle itself in 1222, which again seems erroneous, since the battle, according to the Novgorod Annals was fought on May 31st, 1224, and according to the Voznesensk Annals on June 16th, 1224. Henry of Livonia¹⁹ tells about the Mongols: «. . . In the same year the Tatars (who are said to be Parthians, and who do not eat bread, but feed on the raw flesh of their flocks) were in the land of the Valvus pagans. The Tatars warred upon them and defeated them and slew them all with the edge of the sword, and others fled to the Russians seeking aid from them. Word went out through all of Russia that they should fight with the Tatars, and the kings of all Russia went out against the Tatars. The Russians were not strong enough to fight with them and fled before them. Mstislav, the great king of Kiev, fell together with fortythousand men who stood by him. The other king Mstislav, of Galicia, escaped by flight. About fifty of other kings fell in

¹⁹ Brundage, J. A., *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, Madison Wisc., 1961.

the same battle. The Tatars pursued the Russians for six days, and killed more than a hundred thousand men, whose members God alone knows, the rest fled. The king of Smolensk, the king of Polotsk, and certain other Russian kings sent their emissaries to Riga seeking terms of peace. Peace was renewed throughout all the areas as it had prevailed in earlier times.» The Lübeck Chronicle²⁰ enumerates in 1222 the same events as Henry of Livonia.

In the years of the Mongol invasion the Roman Catholic Church, aided by the king of Denmark, by the Teutonic Knights and the Swordbrothers, was trying to convert the heathen tribes on the south-eastern coast of the Baltic. The pagans, again, applied to Novgorod and to other Russian princes for help. The Mongol invasion was to good help to the crusaders in the Baltic area. For various reasons, however, they were unable to make use of the opportunity to any decisive advantage for themselves. During the first invasion the crusaders i.a. took the fortress of Fellin in Livonia (August 15th, 1223), and hanged those Russians which had come to the aid of the pagans. Urban points out that this was less effective in deterring Russians from entering the war than was the distant battle on the Kalka river, which made the northern Russian states to send help to the south. After Fellin had fallen, the Lithuanians granted truce to the crusaders, these turned to Pskov and Novgorod, defeated the Russians in battle and plundered their lands.

In 1237 the Chronicle of Novgorod mentions: «This same year foreigners called Tartars came in countless number like locusts.» In this year the Pope Gregorius IX exhorted the Christians to crusade against the pagan Tavastian tribe in Finland, since these, instigated by the Novgorodians, were causing much harm and damage to the Roman Catholic Christians in Finland. On the basis of Swedish sources it has been generally assumed that this crusade was carried out as late as in 1249. However, it has recently been proposed, that the expedition of the Swedes had actually taken place already in 1238 or 1239. This earlier date would speak in favour of some kind of coordination with the Mongol invasion, though we are lacking all positive evidence to that effect. Among the Russian states only Novgorod was not occupied by the Mongols. In 1240 crusaders from Finland, Sweden, and Norway, led by Thomas, the then Bishop of Finland, tried to invade the western areas of Novgorod, around the river Neva. Although in this case, too, all positive proofs are missing, the historians unanimously suggest that the expedition was planned and carried out with regard to the simultaneous Mongol threat to Novgorod. According to Grousset, Alexander, the Grand Duke of Novgorod, had, by submitting himself as vassal to the Mongols, got his rear secured,

²⁰ *Lübeckische Chroniken I* (= Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte XIX), Leipzig 1884.

²¹ Urban, W., *The Baltic Crusade*, De Kalb, Ill. 1975, p. 116.

and was thus able, with the aid of Carelians, to defeat the crusaders on the Neva on July 15th, 1240. The German Swordbrothers should have joined the crusade, but were late, and reached the Novgorodian territories in the autumn of the same year, occupied the fortresses Izborsk and Pskov, and built a (wooden) castle at Kaprio in Ingria. In addition to the Teutonic Knights united with the Swordbrothers, the expeditionary force consisted of Danes under the Princes Canute and Abel, of Germans under Bishop Herman of Dorpat, and of Russians under Prince Yaroslav, then in exile from Pskov. In April 1241 the Swordbrothers and the Bishop of Saarenmaa came to an agreement upon a division of the control of the Ingrian and Carelian territories which were to be conquered. However, as soon as the Mongols had interrupted their march towards Novgorod and turned to the south, the Novgorodians were free for an all-out effort against the crusaders. Alexander defeated the German-Danish garrisons east of the Narva, ousted the garrison of Pskov, and at last defeated the crusaders on the ice of the lake Peipus on April 5th, 1242. Since Alexander according to Urban (p. 169) continued to consider the Mongol threat imminent, he offered generous terms to his fellow Christians, which the crusaders immediately accepted. The Germans had prepared the crusade originally against the Mongols invading Poland and Hungary, but the Mongols passed Poland very quickly, and the Hungarians were left to their fate. After their defeat in Estonia, the Teutonic Knights turned to a new field of conquest in Samogitia. Later, too, when crusades were preached to the Holy Land and against the Mongols, the vows could be redeemed in a crusade to Prussia or Livonia (Urban, p. 305). Still in 1260 the Pope appointed the Landmaster of the Knights as commander of the crusaders gathering in Prussia for an expedition against the Mongols (Bonnell, p. 73).²²

The Lübeck Chronicle reports in 1241 the Tatar invasion into Poland and Hungary, and against the Saxons, Marcomans, and Wends. Even the Lübeckians were so scared that they built a new wall before the Burgtor-Gate. According to Remar Kock there was a rumour that a great army of the Tatars had invaded and destroyed Livonia. According to others, again, the invaders were Lithuanians. Under the year 1242 the events in Hungary are in the Chronicle told in detail.

Matthew of Paris tells in his Chronicle²³ (III p. 488) that in 1238 the inhabitants of Gothia (in general interpreted as Gotland), and Frisia (interpreted as Friesland) were so scared by the Tatar invasion in their neighbourhood that they did not dare to come to Yarmouth to buy herring, as they were

²² Bonnell, E., *Russisch-Livländische Chronographie bis zum 1410*, St. Petersburg 1862.

²³ Matthew of Paris, *Chronica maiora I—VII*, Rolls Series, London 1872—83.

used to do yearly. In 1241 the same chronist reports (IV p. 109) that the Tartars had, in addition to Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary, destroyed «Frisia» and «Gothia»: at least this latter story looks like a pure invention. As his sources Matthew quotes a letter sent by the Count of Lorraine, and another by the Archbishop of Cologne. Again in another connexion (III p. 639) he tells that in 1239 the Tartars had been defeated in Hungary, and that the Hungarian king Béla and the Danish king Valdemar II sent Christians to settle down in the areas destroyed by the Tartars. This fantastic story is repeated again in 1240 (IV p. 9). In 1243 (IV p. 276) Matthew repeats the story of an Englishman who according to his own statement had a longer time lived among the Tartars. The Mongols had told him that the purpose of their European expedition was to submit only barbarous and hyperborean nations.

Bonnell (p. 63) maintains on the basis of earlier historians that the Great Khan of the Tatars had in 1247 planned to submit the Christians in Europe and especially those in Livonia. The traditional date 1249 of the Swedish crusade against the Tavast tribe in Finland has been regarded as synchronized with Alexander Nevskiy's planned visit to the Mongol capital Karakorum, though here, too, we are in fact lacking all positive evidence. In any case, the crusade was successfully carried out though Alexander actually did not need to travel to Mongolia. In 1254 the Pope Innocentius IV exhorted the clergy in Livonia, Estonia, and Prussia to preach a crusade against the Tatars and their allies (Bonnell, p. 68). In 1256 the Swedes, Finns (including the Tavastians), and the Swordbrothers from Livonia carried out an expedition to the mouth of the Neva, but were again defeated by Alexander who then in the following winter attacked the Tavastians across the ice of the Gulf of Finland.

In spite the defeats suffered by the Roman Catholics, still in 1255 the Bishop of Riga was given the title of the Bishop of Carelia, and in 1257 the Danish king Valdemar wrote to the Pope and told that he had destroyed the people «qui *Cariali* vulgariter appelluntur».

The Saga of Hákon tells (§ 271) that «when king Hákon (in 1250 A. D.) sat in Drontheim came from the east, out of Russia, the messengers of Alexander king of Novgorod . . . King Hákon took this counsel, that he sent men in the spring out of Drontheim and they fared east to Novgorod with the messengers of king Alexander . . . They came that summer to Novgorod. And the king received them well, and they made peace at once between their tributary lands, so that neither should rise strife against the other's *Kirjalar* (= *Carelians*) nor Finns (in a Norwegian source this obviously means the Lapps), but that peace was not kept very long after. At that time there was great warfare in Novgorod; the Tatars were attacking the realm of the king of Novgorod.» Under the year 1253 the Saga tells (§ 280) that when the regent of Sweden, Earl Birger, came to meet king Hacon, with him was the king Andrew of

Suzdal, «brother of king Alexander of Novgorod. He had fled from the east before the Tatars». According to Bonnell (p. 67) several Russian chronicles mention in 1252 that the prince of Suzdal had fled via Pskov and Reval to Sweden, where he had been killed by Chuds (Estonians or Finns?). So far, I have not been able to find any more detailed description of the fate of Andrew.

The same is true concerning the statement preserved in the Icelandic Annals under year 1286, that in this year emissaries of the Tartar king had come to Eric, the king of Norway.

In the preserved official and private mediaeval documents of Sweden and Finland no mention of the Tatar invasion into Russia and Poland can be found. The first occurrence of the name Tatar in Swedish dates from 1507, and it is found in a letter sent by the commander of the fortress Viipuri, containing intelligence about the invasion of the Crimean Tatars into Poland. This intelligence was confirmed in 1513 by the commander of the Åland islands, residing in Kastelholm. According to Pelliot, the Crimean Tatars used the term *köräl* of the Polish kings. The word also meant 'turkey', this fowl being thus called 'the Royal one', obviously not 'the Carelian one'.

Among all the peoples inhabiting the coastal areas of the Baltic Sea, the Lithuanians came into closest contact with the invading Mongols. In Urban's opinion (p. 211) the king of Lithuania, Mindaugas also felt himself threatened by the Mongols, and was therefore ready to keep peace with the Teutonic Knights. However, as soon as he was certain that he could get Russian support and that he would retain most of the eventual conquests, he agreed to renounce Christianity, and in the fall of 1262 attacked Livonia. Simon Szyszman²⁴ derives Lit. *žirgas* 'Ross, Reitpferd' from Mongolian *aḡirγa* 'Hengst', and also points out that the Lithuanians in their warfare, too, adopted Mongol methods. When Vytautas in 1410 defeated the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald, he — like the Mongol generals — led the battle from a hill overlooking the battlefield, while his antagonist, Ulrich von Jungingen rode at the head of his knights without any possibility of really leading his army. — By the way, it is interesting to notice, that German commanders, too, later adopted the same method. E.g. in the Thirty Years' War it was followed by Catholic commanders like Tilly and Wallenstein, while Gustavus Adolphus was still fighting like a cavalry officer.

Although the Carelians obviously can not have been vassals of the Golden Horde, they have through Russian borrowed the name of the capital of the Horde. The capital originally consisted of the Court and its retinue, which in the nomad way moved upwards and downwards along the Volga following

²⁴ Szyszman, S., «Aus dem Nachlass mongolisch-litauischer Beziehungen und deren Nachleben»: *Festschrift Franz Altheim II*, Berlin 1970, p. 248.

the seasons. Later two capitals were built: the Old Saray (Selitrennoye) and the New Saray (Sarai). In Persian *sarāi* means 'palace', in Turkic 'castle, house', in Russian 'shed, barn', and in Carelian Finnish of to-day 'attic, shed, barn'.

Historians seem to be of the opinion that the Swedish-Finnish as well as the Danish and German operations in the coastal areas of the Baltic Sea were in fact timed by those of the Mongols against the Russian states, Poland, and Lithuania, though we do not possess any documents showing that the Mongol operations had been known in the Baltic area. On the other hand we might suppose that the Mongol invasion into Europe was deliberately carried out at the same time as the Western and Eastern Churches were in conflict, the western crusaders were occupied in Palestine, and the controversy between the Emperor and the Pope made it impossible to unite the forces of Europe. In several connexions Matthew of Paris refers to this controversy, and even repeats rumours according to which the Emperor had invited the Tatars to Europe (IV p. 120 and p. 298 sub annis 1241 and 1244), or that the danger was greatly exaggerated by the imperial propaganda (IV p. 635 a. 1247). In 1243 Matthew expressly states (IV p. 277) that it had been possible to rouse the princes and magnates to a common effort against the Tatars «nisi Papae et Imperatoris mutuum discidium totius mundi latitudinem perturbasset». In the Baltic area the Roman Church tried to profit from the distress of the Greek Church, but without any remarkable success. E.g. in 1248 the Pope even wrote two letters to Alexander Nevskiy proposing that he would convert to Catholicism. On the other hand it seems probable that the Mongol invasion delayed the Russian pressure towards the Baltic.