The trial of Cheliadnin-Fedorov prompted the tsar to expand the boundaries of the oprichnina territory once again. Historians have suggested that Pereiaslavl was taken into the oprichnina sometime about 1568. There are several facts that support this hypothesis. First and foremost, Taube and Kruse write quite specifically about the inclusion of Pereiaslavl and the selection of oprichnina nobles there.1 Secondly, no other single district produced so many oprichnina leaders. Among those who served from Pereiaslavl were the future oprichnina boyars Aleksei Basmanov, Ivan Chebotov and Ivan Buturlin, the okol'nichii Dmitrii Buturlin, the dumnye dvoriane Petr Zaitsev and Ivan Vorontsov, and the lovchii Grigoriy Lovchikov. Thirdly, the main seat of the oprichnina government – Aleksandrovskaia sloboda – was situated not far from Pereiaslavl and it is difficult to imagine, given this factor, that the administration of the uezd would have been left in the hands of the zemshchina. Like Kostroma, the Pereiaslavl district was among the most ancient possessions of the Muscovite crown. The old Muscovite aristocracy owned extensive votochyny in the district, but the proportion of princely patrimonial lands was not great. P.A. Sadikov noted that a number of votochinniki were evicted from the Pereiaslavl uezd, but, as A.A. Zimin demonstrated, the circumstances of their removal need to be examined more precisely.2 Some at least of these votochinniki were stripped of their lands as a result of the decree on banishment to Kazan.

The Moscow chronicles have preserved the information that in 1569 several districts in the centre of Russia were included into the oprichnina. “On the 21st day of January [on the feast of the Holy Father Maxim the Confessor] in the year 7077,” the chronicler wrote, “the Tsar and Grand Prince Ivan Vasil’evich took the city of Rostov and Yaroslavl into the oprichnina” (Leta 7077 genvariia v 21 den’ vzial tsar’ i gosudar’ kniaz’ velikii Ivan Vasil’evich Rostov grad i Iaroslavl v oprishninu na pamiat’ prepodobnago ottsa nashego Maksima Ispovednika).3

The expansion of the oprichnina territory inevitably led to new selections of servitors (“perebory liudioshek”). There is sporadic information about the

---

1 Poslanie Taube i Kruze, p. 36.
removal from Yaroslavl of titled landowners who had escaped banishment to Kazan. For example, Prince D.I. Zasekin’s ancestral vóchchina was confiscated “together with the district of Yaroslavl” (z gorodom Iaroslavle v mestе). In A.P. Pavlov’s opinion, the incorporation of Yaroslavl and Rostov into the oprichnina struck a decisive blow against the patrimonial landownership of the Yaroslavl and Rostov princes.4 The inclusion of Yaroslavl and Rostov completed the destruction of patrimonial landownership by the Suzdalian aristocracy and also placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of those who were trying to recover ancestral vóchchina lost at the outset of the oprichnina.

Two factors should be borne in mind here. The decree on the amnesty and granting of lands to those banished to Kazan had not been revoked. At the same time, after the smashing of Cheliadnin-Fedorov’s “conspiracy” the treachery of the old Muscovite boyars had overshadowed that of the Suzdalian aristocracy who had earned the tsar’s pardon. It is a telling fact that when Yaroslavl was incorporated into the oprichnina, representatives of several local untitled families lost their ancestral vóchchina. Referring back to Ivan IV’s time, Ivan Dolgovo-Saburov would later write in a petition that under the oprichnina “the Tsar ordered the confiscation of our vóchchina and our eviction from Yaroslavl, instructing that our vóchchina be distributed [to others]” (votchinishka nashi velel poimati, a nas iz Iaroslavlia velel vyislati von i velel votchinishki nashi rozdati). The Dolgovo-Saburovs had not been among the banished and therefore the confiscation of their Yaroslavl vóchchina cannot be linked to the oprichnina decree of 1565. It was in the year 7077 that the family’s patrimonial lands were transferred to local servitors, in other words, after Yaroslavl was taken into the oprichnina.5

At its foundation the oprichnina had gained control of the ancient capital of the Grand Principality of Suzdal; now Suzdal was joined by two other former principalities of north-east Rus’ – Yaroslavl and Rostov. The rupture between the tsar and the Boyar Duma had reached a crisis point. It seemed that the autocrat was intent on breaking boyar Moscow, using the ancient grand-princely capitals, which had long been rivals of Moscow, as his powerbase. At one time the rulers of Moscow, through a combination of cunning and force, had subordinated the principalities and other lands of Russia. Now the provinces were threatening to “conquer” the capital. Not a conquest in the literal

---