

# HABSBURGS AND ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS



## HABSBURGS AND ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS

The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau  
1594

Edited by Lubomyr R. Wynar  
Translated by Orest Subtelny

In February of 1594, Erich Lassota von Steblau, a special envoy of Emperor Rudolf II, started his diplomatic mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks. For the first time in the history of the Holy Roman Empire, the House of Habsburg intended to utilize Cossack power in forming the new anti-Turkish coalition, whose aim was to curtail Ottoman expansion in Europe.

This publication consists of three major parts. In the first section Dr. Lubomyr R. Wynar presents an analysis of the Habsburgs' relations with the Cossacks, the rise of the Zaporozhians, and their role in international politics in the 16th century. He also presents the first comprehensive analysis of the Lassota manuscript and its various editions, as well as a biographical sketch of the diarist's life.

The second part consists of the first annotated English translation of *The Diary of Erich Lassota von Steblau (1594)*, by Dr. Orest Subtelny. The *Lassota Diary* constitutes one of the major primary sources for the early history of the Ukrainian Cossacks, their social and political organizations, and their anti-Turkish military campaigns in the Danubian principalities. Also, it is a very essential document for full comprehension of the Habsburg East European and Ottoman politics in the 1590's.

The final section of the book consists of an appendix, which contains various relevant documents pertaining to the Habsburgs and the Zaporozhian Cossacks. A glossary and comprehensive bibliography complete this volume.

HABSBURGS  
and  
ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS

## **HABSBURGS AND ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS**

# HABSBURGS AND ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS

THE DIARY OF  
ERICH LASSOTA VON STEBLAU  
1594

Edited and with an Introduction by

**LUBOMYR R. WYNAR**  
Kent State University

Translated by

**OREST SUBTELNY**  
Harvard University

Published for

**THE UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, INC.**

by

**Ukrainian Academic Press**

1975

Copyright © 1975 Ukrainian Academic Press  
All Rights Reserved  
Printed in the United States of America

UKRAINIAN ACADEMIC PRESS  
A Division of  
Libraries Unlimited, Inc.  
P.O. Box 263  
Littleton, Colorado 80120

Cover design by M. Levytsky.

---

**Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data**

Lassota von Steblau, Erich.

Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks.

Translation based on the 1866 ed. by R. Schottin  
of Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau.

Bibliography: pps. 133-140.

Includes index.

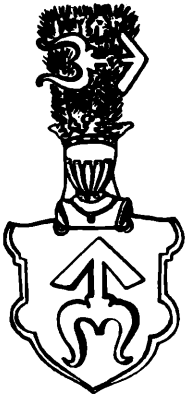
1. Zaporogians. 2. Habsburg, House of.  
3. Lassota von Steblau, Erich. 4. Ukraine--His-  
tory--To 1648. I. Wynar, Lubomyr Roman, 1932--  
II. Title.

DK508.55.L3713

947'.71'04

75-15543

ISBN 0-87287-119-3



## Editor's Preface

This work presents the first English translation of the diary of Erich Lassota of Steblau and an extensive introduction to the Habsburg and Zaporozhian Cossack relationship in the last decade of the sixteenth century. Special attention is also devoted to Lassota's life and activities, and to a critical analysis of his manuscript.

Lassota's account constitutes an important historical source for the early history of Ukrainian Cossacks, their mores, and their political and social institutions. At the same time, it reveals the Habsburg *Ostpolitik* at the end of the sixteenth century, and it includes important material concerning the conflict between the Habsburg and Ottoman Turks, which resulted in the long Hungarian War (1593-1606).

I am hopeful that the bibliographical, biographical, and historical introductions of this edition, and the translation of the diary with the necessary notes, will provide the historian and the reader with adequate materials concerning Lassota's life, the history of the manuscript, and relevant commentaries concerning the Habsburg and Zaporozhian Cossack cooperation during the period. A number of illustrations and a map will further assist the reader in the proper evaluation of this first English edition of Lassota's account.

The translation of Lassota's diary was based on the 1866 edition by R. Schottin, *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau*. The editor also received photostats of Lassota's manuscript from Bautzen Library, and these were used in comparing the manuscript text with the Schottin edition and with the English translation.

The fact that in his travels Lassota crossed several ethnic and political boundaries created certain difficulties for Dr. O. Subtelny, translator of this

journal. The most perplexing of these was the problem of transliteration. Since very often persons and places are mentioned that historically have three or four different forms (in addition to Lassota's own rather garbled version), the question arose as to which form was to be used in the text. The principle followed by the translator was that places named in the Habsburg Empire were given in the modernized German form rather than in the archaic or distorted form used by Lassota. The respective Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, and Polish forms were given in the footnotes only in the use of the more important cities and towns. Names of places located in present-day Poland and Ukraine were given in their current Polish or Ukrainian version. Another type of problem was the rendering of personal names, especially those of aristocratic families who were Ukrainian by origin but Polish through assimilation. In the case of families that were completely assimilated only the Polish form was given; in the case of families for which the assimilation process was not yet completed, the translator indicated both Ukrainian and Polish versions. Personal and place names that could not be identified were left in the original form with brief comments in the footnotes.

The Library of Congress system of Slavic transliteration was used throughout.

In establishing the geographical place names the translator used the following reference works: Müller's *Grosses Deutsches Ortsbuch* (Wuppertal, 1958); *Słownik geograficzny królestwa polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* (Kraków, 1880-1902); *Ukrains'ko-rosiis'kyi slovnyk-dovidnyk heohrafichnykh nazv Ukrainis'koi RSR* (Kiev, 1971); and the relevant volumes of *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrainis'koi RSR* (Kiev, 1968-1974).

The editor's original intention of providing a parallel text of Lassota's account was not feasible at the present time.

This research was made possible by the sincere support and varied assistance offered by many persons and institutions. In particular, I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Mr. Erich Lodni, the Director of *Stadt und Kreisbibliothek* at Bautzen, who provided us with photostats of relevant parts of Lassota's manuscript, as well as other valuable information concerning the manuscript collection at Bautzen Library. I am deeply grateful to Professor Alexander Ohloblyn of Ukrainian Free University and Harvard University, Professor Zbigniew Wójcik of Warsaw University, and Professor Gunter Stökl of Köln University for their comments concerning the Russian, Polish, and Austrian Habsburg historiography. I am also in debt to Dr. I. Tesla and Mr. E. Tiutko for their preparation of the map for this edition as well as to Professors V. Kubijovych and M. Zdan for their valuable criticism concerning the map. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Ms. Barbara Schuberth, Dr. J. Boenninghofen and Ms. Victoria Thornbury for their research assistance. Mrs. Halyna Pankiv of Chicago University, Mr. R. Ilnytskyi of the New York Public Library, Mr. W. Nadraga of the Library of Congress, Professor T. Mackiw of Akron University, Mr. L. Bykowsky of Denver, and Professor Sidney Jackson of Kent State University were all helpful in providing



important materials for this publication and deserve sincere acknowledgments. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. V. Seniutovych for his comments on the genealogy of the Lassota clan; to Dean Guy Marco of Kent State University, Dr. M. O'Hagan of Saint Basil's College in Toronto, and Professor Betty J. Parks of Kent State University for their translations of relevant historical sources; to Ms. Marge Furrer for her typing assistance; to the staffs of the Interlibrary Loan at Kent State University, the British Museum, the Library of Congress, the University Library in Leipzig, and the Harvard University Library for the assistance given in obtaining important materials. Finally, last but not least, I would like to acknowledge my deep gratitude to my wife, Anna, whose keen interest, continuous encouragement, and valuable assistance contributed greatly to the completion of this project.

L.R.W.  
March 1975



## Table of Contents

<b>EDITOR'S PREFACE</b> .....	5
<b>LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS</b> .....	11
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	13
<b>The Manuscript and Its Editions</b> .....	13
<b>The Diarist: Erich Lassota's Life</b> .....	21
<b>The Habsburg Relationship with the Zaporozhian Cossacks</b> .....	26
The Rise of Ukrainian Cossacks and Their International Involvement .....	27
Erich Lassota's Mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks .....	35
<b>Footnotes</b> .....	46
<b>THE DIARY OF ERICH LASSOTA VON STEBLAU, 1594</b> .....	61
<b>Footnotes</b> .....	103
<b>APPENDICES</b> .....	111
<b>No. 1 Concerning the Cossacks by Marcin Bielski</b> .....	112
<b>No. 2 Excerpts from the Report on Cossacks by         Gamberini (1586)</b> .....	116
<b>No. 3 The Letter of Pope Clement VIII to the         Cossack Hetman</b> .....	120

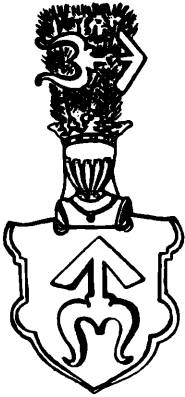
10 TABLE OF CONTENTS

No. 4	The Letter of Pope Clement VIII to the Zaporozhian Host . . . . .	122
No. 5	Letter of Introduction from Rudolf II for Stanislaus Khlopicki . . . . .	124
No. 6	An Account by the Zaporozhian Captain Demkovych . . .	126
<b>GLOSSARY</b> . . . . .		129
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> . . . . .		133
<b>NAME INDEX</b> . . . . .		141

## **List of Illustrations**

Manuscript Page from Lassota's Diary . . . . .	14
Title Page of 1854 Edition . . . . .	16
Title Page of 1866 Edition . . . . .	18
Title Page of First Portuguese Edition . . . . .	20
Title Page of First Russian Edition . . . . .	20
Zaporozhian Cossack . . . . .	29
The Election of a Zaporozhian Koshovi . . . . .	31
Cossack Vessels . . . . .	34
Erich Lassota's Mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks (map) . . . . .	60





## Introduction

### THE MANUSCRIPT AND ITS EDITIONS

Erich Lassota's manuscript, under the title *Diarium Erici Lassotae, 1573-1613* (Ms. folio No. 49), is presently housed in the manuscript collection of *Stadt und Kreisbibliothek* at Bautzen, the former *Gersdorf-Weichaschen Stiftungsbibliothek*. The manuscript was discovered in the 19th century by Dr. Reinhold Schottin, librarian for the above-mentioned Memorial Library, who was responsible for editing and publishing the extracts of Lassota's diary in 1854 and 1866.

The following presentation provides the most complete description of Lassota's manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The major part of the manuscript is bound together in one volume which also contains two other works.<sup>2</sup> It has a white leather cardboard binding and on the outside cover the volume has the following initials printed in black:

H. V. G.  
1684

The initials stand for Hans von Gersdorf, who founded the Gersdorf Library in 1681. Lassota's manuscript contains 166 leaves and is written on strong white handmade paper that is well preserved. According to Schottin, "Die Schrift ist die eines Schreibers, vielfach verbessert und ergänzt von einer andern weit schlechtern Hand, welche man wohl für die des Verfassers halten darf."<sup>3</sup> However, it should be stated that, in general, this German contemporary cursive script is legible.

auf, in Kriegszeiten zuweilen, und dieses sind,  
 als nämlich die Kriegsmacht (womit  
 denn sie sehr tüchtig zu sein haben) wal-  
 kühnig, vorzuziehen sollte.

Zum andern, daß dieses Kriegswesen bei  
 uns zu bestehen, als andere Nationen, die  
 weil auf, das Bündnis haben, keine besondere  
 Vortheile haben (womit sie nicht ein geringe  
 Summe machen dürfte, die haben sie nicht ein  
 geringe und nicht ein, zu welchem man nicht  
 keine besondere Vortheile haben und  
 nicht haben dürfte, den fast hat unter ihnen  
 selbst damit beizugehen können

Zum dritten, dieses der geschicklichste Maß  
 ist, sich sein Spiel der selben anzuwenden  
 und dieses zu verwenden, den selben (womit  
 es nicht sein für sich dienen sollte, daß  
 man nicht beizugehen, daß sie sich zu ihrer  
 Macht zuweilen zuweilen haben, daß  
 sie nicht, den sie davon abgeben sollte,  
 daß sie geschicklich die dinsten offen  
 nicht werden, und die dinsten nicht ein  
 dinsten gegen mich zuweilen, nicht ein

Zum vierten, daß sie sich nicht befinden, die  
 etwas die dinsten nicht ein geschicklich  
 zuweilen zuweilen nicht ein, als aber  
 an diesem nicht ein, warum sie nicht ein  
 nicht ein nicht ein an die dinsten, da ist die dinsten  
 nicht ein nicht ein nicht ein zuweilen  
 dan.



The bound part of Lassota's manuscript covers the years 1573 through 1593 and does not include his account pertaining to the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1594. The remaining section of the manuscript consists of 120 unbound sheets. It is within this unbound part that the accounts pertaining to the year 1594 are found in the leaves numbered from 167 to 208. The rest of the unbound manuscript includes Lassota's reports for the year 1611 and closes with a *Diarium Ratisbonense*.<sup>4</sup> The entire diary (bound and unbound sections) contains a total of 286 leaves. It should be mentioned that a gap exists in the diary for the years 1595 through 1610.

It is very difficult to determine the date and the circumstances under which Lassota's manuscript was obtained by the Bautzen Library. Schottin states that Hans von Gersdorf, the founder of the library,<sup>5</sup> acquired a large part of the library collection during his journeys in Holland and from Bohemian exiles. Indeed, the Bautzen Memorial Library was famous because of its "Bohemica" manuscript collection, and it is highly probable that Lassota's manuscript is of Bohemian origin. However, in view of the absence of and any record of the manuscript's purchase, it can be assumed that Gersdorf acquired Lassota's *Diary* approximately in the year 1684, which is indicated on the binding, along with his initials. The fact that Lassota's entire diary was not bound along with the volume of 1684 can probably be explained as an oversight on the part of the bookbinder or the librarian of the Gersdorf Library.

The diary is not written in contemporary literary German, but rather in the specific jargon typical for the Silesian nobleman of the 16th century. At times it contains an interesting mixture of German, Latin, and Slavic words. From this it seems rather obvious that Lassota intended to keep his diary for private use, rather than for publication. The first entry in Lassota's diary is under December 10, 1573. The diarist's notes vary from brief statements to rather extensive comments and descriptions of his experiences. Fortunately, the year 1594, in which Lassota undertook his mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks, is reported rather extensively on almost a daily basis. It also contains the transcription of several important historical documents dealing with the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Before discussing the various editions of the *Diary*, it is important to comment briefly at this point on the first editor of this manuscript. Dr. Reinhold Schottin (1823-1895) taught history and language (Latin, Greek, and French) at Bautzen's Gymnasium.<sup>6</sup> At the same time he was the librarian at Bautzen Memorial Library,<sup>7</sup> where he discovered Lassota's manuscript. Schottin was the author of several historical works and translations.<sup>8</sup> In his introduction to Lassota's *Diary* Schottin explains his motivation for publishing this manuscript:

# Programm

des Gymnasiums zu Rudissin

womit

zu der am 9. April Statt findenden Gedächtnisfeier

des

## Dr. Gregorius Mättig

so wie

zu der am 10., 11. und 12. April zu haltenden

### Schulprüfung

im Namen des Schulcollegiums

ganz ergebenst einladet

**M. Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann,**

Rector und Professor.

---

#### Inhalt:

- 1.) Das Diarium des Erich Lassota von Steblau, mitgetheilt aus einer Handschrift der v. Gersdorf-Weicha'schen Stiftsbibliothek von dem VII. Collegen Dr. ph. Reinhold Schottin.
- 2.) Schulnachrichten.

---

Rudissin 1854,

gedruckt bei Ernst Moritz Konse.

This diary is of high interest because the author, on account of the many offices which he held, the campaigns, of many years' duration, which he took part in, the many journeys, which he undertook in part on his own initiative, in part [because they were] important commissions, experienced many things which he could communicate, a fact which arouses our interest still now, many facts of general historical interest, which can be considered as downright unfamiliar.<sup>9</sup>

It may be added that at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century German historians published several major works on Ukrainian Cossacks<sup>10</sup> that influenced European historiography. Schottin was familiar with Engel's *Geschichte der Ukraine und der ukrainischen Kosaken* and Ernst Herman's *Geschichte des Russischen Staates*,<sup>11</sup> and these works probably influenced his interest in the early history of Zaporozhian Cossacks and their relations with Rudolf II.

The following chronological list of the various published editions of Lassota's *Diary* indicates the precise publication history of this valuable manuscript:

#### 1854 Edition (Bautzen)

*Das Diarium des Erich Lassota von Steblau*, mitgeteilt aus einer Handschrift der v. Gersdorff-Weicha'schen Stiftsbibliothek von den VII. Collegen Dr. Ph. Reinhold Schottin. Budissin, 1854. 4°

This is the first extract of Lassota's *Diary* edited by R. Schottin and published in *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Budissin 1854*, pp. 3-26. The *Diary* starts with January 26, 1594, and ends with September 1594, covering his journey to the Zaporozhian Cossacks. It also includes a brief historical introduction.

#### 1866 Edition (Halle)

*Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau*. Nach einer Handschrift von Gersdorff-Weicha'schen Bibliothek zu Bautzen herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und Bemerkungen begleitet von Reinhold Schottin. Halle: Verlag von Emil Barthel, 1866. 230p. 8°

The Halle edition of Lassota's manuscript is the most complete edition of the *Diary* through 1594 (the part which begins with the year 1611 and closes with a *Diarium Ratisbonense* is excluded). It contains Schottin's Introduction (pp. 3-10), including his brief information on Lassota's life. The *Diary* starts with December 10, 1573, and closes with August 1594. This 1866 edition of the *Diary* served as a basis for its various translations. The Appendix contains several letters concerning Lassota.

# Tagebuch

des

**Erich Lassota von Steblau.**

nach einer Handschrift der von Gerstorff-Weicha'schen Bibliothek zu  
Bauzen herausgegeben und mit Einleitung und Bemerkungen begleitet

von

**Reinhold Schottin, Dr. ph.,**

Oberlehrer am Gymnasium und Bibliothekar der von Gerstorff-Weicha'schen  
Bibliothek zu Bauzen.

---

**Salte,**

**Verlag von G. Emil Barthel.**

**1866.**

**1873 Edition (Russian)**

*Putevnia zapiski Ericha Lassoty, otpravlennago rymskim imperatorom' Rudolfom' II. k' Zaporozhtsam v 1594 g.* Perevod i primiechaniia F. Bruna. S.-Petersburg: Typ. P. P. Merkulieva, 1873. 95p. 8°

The first Russian edition of Lassota's *Diary* was translated and edited by Russian historian F. Brun (1804-1880).<sup>12</sup> It is based on the 1866 Schottin edition. Brun supplied a very brief introduction (pp. 5-9) and included extensive explanatory footnotes (pp. 61-89). Brun's translation of the *Diary* begins with January 27, 1594, and ends with September of the same year. The Appendix contains the German text of two Zaporozhian letters (pp. 91-95).

**1880 Edition (Spanish)**

*Erich Lassota de Steblovo. Año 1580-1584 in Viajes de extrajeros por España y Portugal en los siglos XV, XVI y XVII.* Collection de Javier Liske. Traducidos del original y anotados por F.R., Madrid: Casa Editorial de Medina, 1880. pp. 92-231. 8°

The first Spanish translation covering Lassota's activity in Portugal and Spain (1580-1584). Based on the collection of noted Polish historian Ksawery Liske (1838-1891), one of the founders of *Kwartalnik Historyczny*. Translated and edited by F.R. (we were not able to identify these initials), pp. 92-231. Commences with February 6, 1580, and ends with 1584.

**1890 Edition (Russian)**

*Dnevnik Ericha Liassoty iz Stebleva.* Perevod K. Melnyk. In *Memuary otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi Rusi*. Vypusk I. Pod redaktsieiu V. Antonovycha. Kiev: Typografiia G. T. Korchak-Novvyskago, 1890. pp. 137-190.

Edited by noted Ukrainian historian Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908),<sup>13</sup> and translated by his wife Katerina Melnyk-Antonovych (1859-1942), an archeologist and historian. It was published in the first volume of historical sources *Memoirs Relating to the History of Southern Rus'*. Antonovych's Introduction (pp. 137-141) is based in major parts on Schottin's and Brun's introductions. This text starts with July 25, 1594, and ends with September 1594. The translation has many omissions when it is compared to Schottin's edition of 1866, on which it was based.

**1913 Edition (Portuguese)**

*Diario de Erich Lassota de Steblavo, Polaco ao servico de Philippe II. 1580-1584.* Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1913. 104p. 8°

The editor of this edition, Eugenio do Conto, is not included on the title page. The text of the translation is in Spanish, the introduction and the title page in Portuguese. Covers the same period as the Spanish edition of 1880.

DIARIO

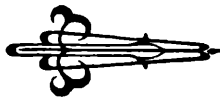
DE

ERICH LASSOTA DE STEBLOVO

Polaco ao serviço de Philippe II

ca

1580-1584



COIMBRA  
Imprensa da Universidade  
1913

Title Page of First Portuguese Edition

ПУТЕВЫЯ ЗАПИСКИ

ЭРИХА ЛАССОТЫ,

ОТПРАВЛЕННАГО РИМСКИМЪ ИМПЕРАТОРОМЪ

РУДОЛЬФОМЪ II.

КЪ ЗАПОРОЖЦАМЪ ВЪ 1594 Г.

Переволь и примѣчанія Ф. Бруна.



С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.  
Типографія П. П. Мержлява, Графскій пер., д. № 5.  
1878.

Title Page of First Russian Edition

1972 Edition (Polish)

*Diariusz Eryka Lassoty von Steblau. Rok 1594.* W przekładzie Zofii Stasiewskiej i Stefana Mellera. In *Eryka Lassoty i Wilhelma Beauplana Opisy Ukrainy*. Pod Redakcją, ze wstępem i komentarzami Zbigniewa Wójcika. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1972. pp. 55-99.

Edited by Polish historian Zbigniew Wójcik (1922–), this translation is based on the Schottin edition of 1866. Includes an extensive historical introduction and a brief analysis of Lassota's life and activities in 1594 among Zaporozhian Cossacks. The text covers the period from January 26 through September 1594. Includes many bibliographical references.

It should be pointed out that some parts of Lassota's *Diary* covering the year 1594 were translated by various historians and incorporated within their works. Ukrainian historians who translated excerpts from Lassota's *Diary* covering 1594, using Schottin's edition of 1866, were D. Evarnytskyi,<sup>14</sup> V. Domanytskyi,<sup>15</sup> and M. Hrushevskyi.<sup>16</sup> In 1870, Polish historian W. Zakrzewski published a major part of Lassota's *Diary*, covering his mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks.<sup>17</sup>

Recently, the late Professor G. Vernadsky included an English translation of a very brief extract from Lassota's *Diary*.<sup>18</sup> No comprehensive English translation has heretofore appeared. The present English translation of Lassota's *Diary* for the year 1594 is the most complete and is based both on Lassota's manuscript and on Schottin's edition of 1866.

## THE DIARIST: ERICH LASSOTA'S LIFE

Until the present, the turbulent life of Erich Lassota has not been subjected to comprehensive historical investigation. The reason behind this negligence may be directly attributed to the scarcity of historical materials dealing with his activities. Erich Lassota's published *Diary* contains an account of his life for the years 1573 through 1594. However, it lacks sufficient data concerning his immediate family and early life. Therefore, the reconstruction of the diarist's biography becomes a difficult and complex task. The biographical sketch presented here is based on historical and genealogical sources as well as other relevant literature.

The Lassotas of Steblau, also called Lasata, Lesota, Lasotha and, in Latin, Lassatinus<sup>19</sup> were descended from one of the oldest families of Moravian nobility, which belonged to the Polish line of Odrowąż, also known as Odrowadz, Odrowuns or Odriffhausen. Genealogists Luca<sup>20</sup> and Sinapio<sup>21</sup> considered the Lassotas as a most "highly respected and distinguished family."

The first comprehensive account of the Odrowąż family was provided by Bartosz Paprocki,<sup>22</sup> a well-known 16th century Polish historian and genealogist. It is known that the Lassota clan resided in Silesia since 1364,<sup>23</sup> and that in the 16th century separate lines of Lassotas lived in Austria, Silesia, and Poland.<sup>24</sup> Luca in his *Chronica* provided a detailed description of the ancestral coat of arms of the Silesian line of Lassotas<sup>25</sup> which differed from that used by the Lassota line in Poland.<sup>26</sup> It was rather common for the various lines of a noble family residing in different countries to use distinct coat of arms. A careful analysis of Lassota's coat of arms confirms the antiquity and nobility of this family in various European countries.

There is no direct evidence concerning the birth date and place of Erich Lassota. Some historians consider the year 1550 as a possible date for his birth.<sup>27</sup> This date is likely in view of his school and educational record. It is most probable that Erich Lassota was born in Bleischwitz (in Polish, Blazejowice) near Leobschütz in Upper Silesia, since this was the ancient hereditary estate of the Lassota family.

Very little is known about Erich's immediate family. His father, Wenzel Lassota, died about 1573.<sup>28</sup> Erich also had an older brother, Frederick, who died in his youth, and a younger brother, Dietrich. There is no information about his mother. Other members of the Lassota family held various respectable governmental positions.<sup>29</sup>

Erich Lassota attended school (Gymnasium) at Görlitz around 1567, and later studied at the University of Leipzig. Very little is known about this early period of his life. In December 1573 Erich travelled with his brother Frederick and his uncle George Stoffel to Italy,<sup>30</sup> where he enrolled at the University of Padua. It was during this time that he started his *Diarium*, a notebook which included comments and descriptions of important events in his life. Lassota studied at Padua until 1576, and in July of that year he returned to his father's estate in Bleischwitz.<sup>31</sup> The entries in Erich's notebook for the years 1573 through 1578 are extremely brief. It seems that after completing his studies at Padua the young nobleman decided to become a soldier of fortune and a diplomat.

Lassota's first military service is associated with King Philip the Second of Spain (1556-1598), who recruited a regiment of German soldiers for his campaign against Portugal.<sup>32</sup> Erich Lassota, accompanied by his younger cousin Ludwig Lassota, travelled to Lombardy in 1579 where they joined the regiment under the command of Colonel Count Hieronymus von Lodron. He enlisted in the company of Captain Kripp<sup>33</sup> as a private and probably earned double pay, as did other young noblemen who participated in this expedition. Lassota's German regiment helped the Spaniards conquer Portugal and also participated in expeditions against the Azores. After five years of fighting and an adventurous life in the service of the Spaniards, Lassota's regiment was discharged on July 6, 1584, on Italian soil, and Erich returned to his ancestral home at Bleischwitz. An interesting account of Erich's experience in the Spanish campaign is presented in his diary, which also includes many



historical documents. The diarist proved to be not only a keen observer of military affairs but also an excellent recorder of interesting historical and geographical data, legends, and myths. Lassota rested at home for only a short period of time, and by March of 1585 he entered the services of Emperor Rudolf II (1552-1612) as his courier.<sup>34</sup> One year later he was in the service of Archduke Maximilian (1558-1618), who was one of the major claimants for the royal crown of Poland after the death of Polish King Stephen Bathory. During this time it seems that Erich Lassota served as political agent and advisor to Archduke Maximilian on his Polish affairs.

Lassota undertook repeated journeys through Silesia to Poland, collected information concerning the political and military situation in Poland and reported directly to Maximilian.<sup>35</sup> Taking into consideration that one line of the Lassota family resided in Poland, it seems rather natural that Maximilian selected Erich as his agent. Maximilian sent Erich Lassota to Warsaw for the King's election, as an escort to his regular envoy, General Christoff von Teuffenbach. During the Habsburg expedition to Poland in 1587 for the purpose of acquiring the Polish crown for Archduke Maximilian, Lassota was in command of the German troops. However, Maximilian was an unsuccessful candidate for the Polish throne. The majority of the Polish *szlachta*, headed by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, supported the Swedish candidate, Sigismund of Sweden, who was crowned as the Polish king in December of 1587. On January 24, Habsburg troops were defeated in the battle at Byczyna, in Silesia, and Archduke Maximilian was captured by Polish troops. Lassota followed the Archduke to captivity in Poland where he spent two years in Krasnystaw.<sup>36</sup> On March 9, 1589, Chancellor Zamoyski concluded the Treaty of Bedzin<sup>37</sup> with Emperor Rudolf II, and the Archduke Maximilian returned home with Lassota. For his faithful service Lassota became Lord High Steward of Archduke Maximilian.

In 1590, Erich Lassota was sent to gain the support of Czar Fedor and boyar Boris Godunov in his claim for the Polish crown and to establish an alliance against Sweden.<sup>38</sup> Lassota received special instructions<sup>39</sup> from Maximilian and began his journey by sea to Muscovy through Lubeck on September 15, 1590. This mission proved to be unsuccessful. Through the ignorance of the navigator, Lassota and his companions landed close to Narva and were captured by the Swedish troops. He was arrested and sent to Sweden for interrogation. Lassota stayed in Swedish custody for three years and was finally released in April 1593, through the intervention of Rudolf II. His imprisonment in Sweden is described in the *Diarium*. Again, Lassota proved to be a very observant individual, and his description of Sweden is considered as one of the most thorough accounts on Sweden by a German author in this period. It seems that the failure of Lassota's Swedish mission<sup>40</sup> did not have a negative influence on his standing with the Habsburg house. He was considered by Rudolf II and Maximilian as one of their more talented diplomats and agents as well as a specialist in East European affairs.

In 1594 Erich Lassota undertook one of his major diplomatic missions. Rudolf appointed him as an envoy to the Zaporozhian Cossacks in order to enlist them into his imperial service. This was directly related to the Austro-Turkish war, which was officially declared in 1593. The Habsburg relationship with Ukrainian Cossacks and the political-military nature of Lassota's mission will be analyzed in the next section. However, it is necessary to comment here on his journey to the Zaporozhian Cossacks and to point out the importance of Lassota's description of Ukraine and its inhabitants. It should be stressed that Lassota's account of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, their customs, social structure, and mores, constitutes one of the most penetrating eyewitness accounts concerning their life style in the second half of the 16th century. It also provides interesting and valuable information about the Habsburg's East European policy and Zaporozhian participation in the anti-Turkish league in 1594.

On January 26 and 27 of 1594 Erich Lassota was informed by Rudolf's counselor about his mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks and its objectives.<sup>41</sup> Jacob Henckel, a noted diplomat and expert on East European affairs, was appointed by Rudolf as his traveling companion.

On February 19 Lassota received special instructions concerning his mission. The following day he took the oath to "His Imperial Majesty for the duration of this journey,"<sup>42</sup> and a few days later began on his voyage. It should be pointed out that he received eight thousand ducats, which were to be delivered to the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and that he was also in close communication with Khlopicki (Chlopicki)<sup>43</sup> an alleged Cossack representative who was returning from Prague to the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

Lassota's entire mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks lasted from February 24 through September 1594. During this time he kept rather detailed notes concerning his journey. Lassota traveled through Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland and on April 14 arrived in Lemberg (Lviv), one of the major cities in Western Ukraine. From Lemberg he traveled through the Ukrainian provinces of Volynia and Kiev and on May 7 arrived in Kiev, where he stayed for three days. It is important to emphasize that Lassota entered in his diary interesting and valuable descriptions of towns and cities through which he journeyed. Special attention was focused on Kiev, about which he wrote, "in the past was a splendid city and a separate principedom." His diary provides a detailed description of Kiev, its fortifications, and its churches and monasteries.<sup>44</sup>

On May 10, Lassota left Kiev and started down the Dnieper to the Zaporozhian Sich, a stronghold of Ukrainian Cossacks at the end of the 16th century, which was located beyond the Dnieper Rapids on Bazavluk Island. On June 5, Lassota and his companions reached the most dangerous section on the river—the Dnieper Rapids (*porohy*). It is interesting to quote Lassota's detailed description of these rapids, which further reveal his keen observational ability. "Porogi," wrote Lassota, "are whirlpools or rocky places where the Dnieper continuously rolls over rocks and boulders, some of which are

under water and others, just even with it. Several boulders are higher than the water level and make travel past them very dangerous, especially when the water is low. The travelers must leave their boats at these extremely dangerous spots. Then, getting into the water, by means of ropes or poles, they lift the boats over the sharp rocks and carefully let them down on the other side. . . . There are twelve of these places, or, if one includes Voronova Zabora, thirteen, within the stretch of seven miles. . . . Because the Cossacks live below these Rapids they are called the Zaporozhians, that is, those who live beyond the *porogi* or boulders."<sup>45</sup> It should be pointed out that during his voyage past the rapids Lassota had a Cossack escort.

On June 9, Lassota and his companions finally arrived at their destination on Bazavluk Island, the headquarters of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. Lassota's stay on Bazavluk Island lasted from June 8 through July 2. During this time he participated in the Zaporozhian Council (*Rada*) and presented to the Cossacks Rudolf's proposal concerning their participation in the anti-Turkish war. Lassota's negotiations were successful and the Cossacks established close ties with the Habsburgs. It is important to note that in addition to detailed descriptions of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, their political institutions, customs, and mores, the diary also includes the text of official documents pertaining to the relationship between the Cossacks and Rudolf. Lassota's account of Zaporozhian Sich is considered to be one of the most valuable primary source materials on their history at the end of the 16th century.

Lassota's comments on his departure from the Zaporozhian Sich are as follows: July 1—"I took leave, in the open *kolo*, of the Hetman and the entire knightly company of Zaporozhians. They thanked me for my efforts and presented me a marten skin coat and a hat made of black fox fur. Then they gave their envoys their mandate and the letter to His Imperial Majesty . . ."<sup>46</sup> Lassota left the Zaporozhian Sich accompanied by Cossack envoys. His return voyage through Ukrainian lands, Poland, Bohemia, and Germany lasted through August 24. Finally, on August 24, he and his companions arrived in Regensburg, Bavaria, and a few days later he presented his complete report to Rudolf's Secret Council. In his diary, Lassota also notes that "I and the Cossacks were received in a gracious audience by His Imperial Majesty in the presence of the Secret Councilors."<sup>47</sup> This was a successful ending of his diplomatic mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

Rudolf was notified of the results of Lassota's mission and consequently appointed him Inspector General (Mustermeister) of Upper Hungary. This important office was held by Lassota until Stephen Bocskay's uprising against the Habsburg rule in 1604. During this year Lassota lost all of his property as a result of the capture of the city of Kashau, where he resided, by Bocskay's troops.<sup>48</sup> After 1604 Lassota continued his services for the Habsburgs. In 1611 Archduke Maximilian appointed him to the Emperor's Council. In his letter to Lassota of August 8, 1611, Maximilian describes

Erich as “our and our house’s servant who for 33 years faithfully, obediently and fruitfully served us.”<sup>49</sup> It is evident that Lassota enjoyed the full support of Maximilian.

Erich Lassota died in the year 1616 at the age of 66. He began his career as a soldier of fortune and in a relatively short time rose to prominence as a skillful diplomat and an expert in East European affairs. His mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks was the highlight of his political activity.

### THE HABSBURG RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS

In February of 1594, Erich Lassota von Steblau, a special envoy of the Emperor Rudolf II, left Prague and started his diplomatic mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks. For the first time in the history of the Holy Roman Empire, the House of Habsburg intended to use Cossack power in forming a new anti-Turkish coalition aimed at curtailing the expansion of the Ottomans in Europe.

In order to fully comprehend Lassota’s mission and the Zaporozhians’ participation in the Habsburg coalition, it is necessary to examine briefly the international developments at the turn of the 16th century. The historian of the 16th century has to stress two major factors that dominated the political and religious developments of this period—namely, the religious revolution characterized by continuous confrontation between Catholics and Protestants, and the Turkish threat in Europe, which resulted in the systematic Ottoman conquest of European territory.

The international situation at the end of the 16th century had become extremely tense and explosive. During the reign of Sultan Selim II (1566-1574), Turkey had extended its dominion over Cyprus as a result of its victory in the three-year war with Venice (1570-1573). It is true that in the sea battle at Lepanto (1571) the Turkish fleet was defeated by the Holy League, which was organized on the initiative of Pope Pius V; however, this extensive victory was of only temporary duration. While the European states were being weakened by internal political and religious conflicts, the Ottomans rapidly rebuilt their fleet and planned further aggression and expansion of their power in Europe.<sup>50</sup> By 1590 the Turkish-Persian war ended to the advantage of Sultan Murad III (1574-1595), who extended Turkish dominion to Georgia, Azerbaijan, and other lands in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea.<sup>51</sup> The Ottomans were now able to direct their attention to the Austro-Hungarian territories that in the past had caused many tensions and clashes between the Habsburgs and the Turks.<sup>52</sup>

The official war was declared by Porte in 1593, although earlier military action had broken out at the Austrian military border.<sup>53</sup> The Ottomans, in this new attempt to expand their power into Habsburg domain, heavily depended on the assistance of the Crimean Khanate and the Tatar military force, which participated in this war under the direct command of Khan Gazi Giray II (1588-1608).<sup>54</sup> Emperor Rudolf, who was considered by his contemporaries as a rather strange and eccentric individual,<sup>55</sup> was not prepared for a new full-scale war with Turkey; he lacked sufficient funds and necessary war supplies. He was confronted with the difficult task of forming, within a relatively short period of time, a strong anti-Turkish coalition of European states and military forces.

Rudolf searched for allies, but the Christian European forces were not united and the solidarity of Christendom against Ottoman aggression was non-existent. France and England had entered into close relations with the Ottomans.<sup>56</sup> Venice, after the conclusion of the treaty with Turkey in 1573, stayed neutral, while Spain was in conflict with France. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had close ties with Turkey and, traditionally, the majority of the Polish gentry (*szlachta*) along with Chancellor Jan Zamoyski held an anti-Habsburg position.<sup>57</sup> The only reliable ally of the Emperor was the Vatican State and Pope Clement VIII (the former Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini), who considered the Holy Roman Empire as the true defender of Christendom and who was directly involved in the formation of an anti-Turkish coalition.<sup>58</sup> Rudolf and Clement turned their attention to the Christian principalities of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, three vassal buffer states of the Ottoman Empire, and at the same time attempted to involve Poland and Muscovy in their anti-Turkish alliance. Special attention was directed at the Ukrainian Cossacks, who were noted foes of Turks and Tatars.

It should be pointed out that the Western historians have failed to analyze fully<sup>59</sup> the Turkish or Hungarian War of 1593-1606 in general, and the Habsburg-Cossack relationship of 1594 in particular. The Habsburg mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks has not been subjected to adequate and comprehensive historical analysis in the context of Rudolf's *Ostpolitik* for this period.

#### THE RISE OF UKRAINIAN COSSACKS AND THEIR INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

Commenting on the Habsburg-Cossack relationship, W. E. D. Allen stated that "it was indicative of the growing fame of the Sich that the Emperor should have chosen to enter into direct relations with the Cossacks, who were formally the subjects of the King of Poland."<sup>60</sup> The Emperor's

motives for involving the Zaporozhian Cossacks in his anti-Turkish coalition as well as their participation in this long Hungarian or Turkish war could be best comprehended in the context of the historical development of Cossackdom in Ukraine.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, it is essential to present a very brief account of their activities and involvement in European politics.

The Zaporozhian Cossackdom<sup>62</sup> was a direct product of the colonization movement by the Ukrainian population toward the Black Sea region in the steppes of Southern Ukraine. The hardships of frontier life, constant raids by Crimean Tatars into Ukrainian territories, and a strong dissatisfaction and protest within the lower social classes in Ukraine against social injustices, economic exploitation, and later religious persecution by Lithuanian and Polish governments and nobility directly contributed to the growth and development of Ukrainian Cossackdom in the 16th century. Chronologically, the development of Zaporozhian society embraces approximately 120 years (15th and 16th centuries), during which period most of the Ukrainian lands were incorporated into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and after the Lublin Union of 1569 they were annexed to Poland. During this time span the special military, political, and ideological features of the Zaporozhian Cossacks emerged and contributed to the formation of a new social class.

During the 16th century Ukrainian territories, especially the provinces of Podolia and Kiev, were exposed to the devastating raids of Crimean Tatars, who in 1475 had become Turkish vassals.<sup>63</sup> The Crimean Khanate became a classical predator state and the chief agent of Ottoman power on the northern shores of the Black Sea. As a result of Tatar raids the lower Dnieper region acquired the name of "Wild Plains" (*Dyke Pole*), and permanent settlements continued to exist only in the neighborhood of fortified towns such as Cherkasy, Kaniv, Bratslav, and others. Since the Lithuanian and Polish governments failed to provide adequate protection<sup>64</sup> for the population in these areas, the organization of defense was chiefly centered in the hands of the local border administration and of the frontier population. The settlers organized special paramilitary units, out of which the Ukrainian Cossack organization would develop. During their initial stages of development the Cossacks functioned as a frontier organization with the aim primarily of defending the economic interests of Ukrainian settlers. In performing this function they adopted many features of Tatar guerrilla war strategy and customs. Within a rather short period the Ukrainian Cossacks were utilizing offensive tactics by destroying Tatar and Ottoman caravans, ships, and settlements. Despite the constant danger of Tatar attacks as well as the hazards and hardships of frontier life, the Ukrainian steppes attracted many townspeople and peasants from Galicia, Volynia, Podolia, and other Ukrainian regions. This continuous influx of population accelerated the colonization process and *ipso facto* contributed to further development of Cossack organization.<sup>65</sup>



Zaporozhian Cossack

D. I. Evarnytskyi, *Istoria zaporozhskikh kozakov*, Vol. I  
(St. Petersburg, 1892)

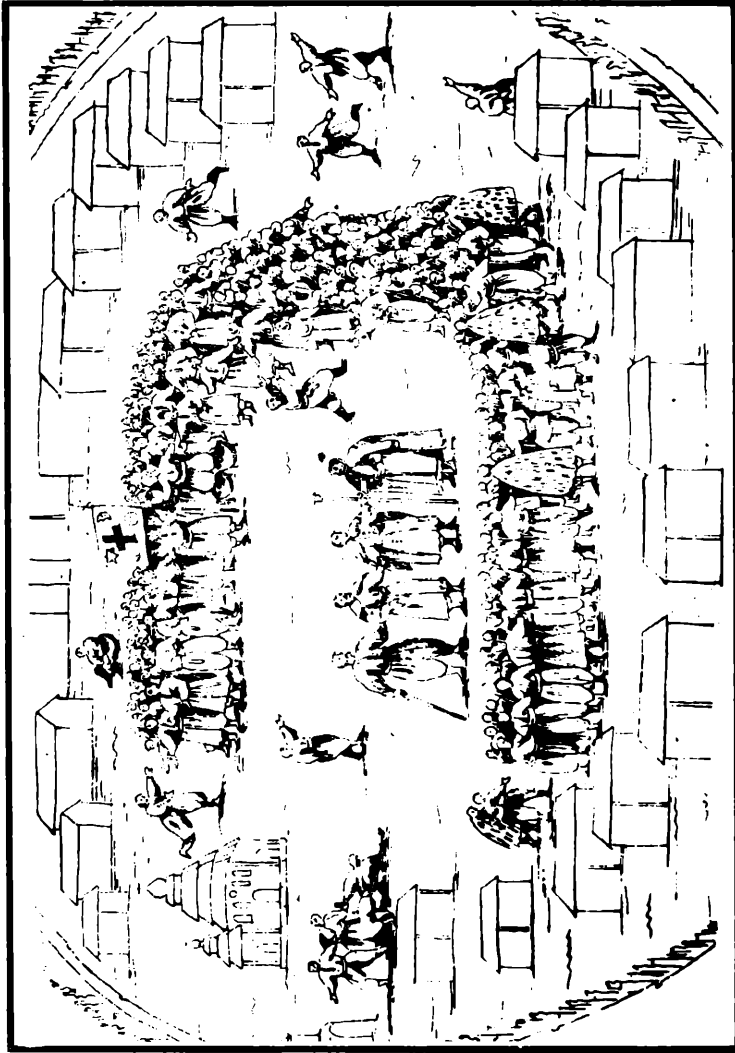
The historian of Ukrainian Cossacks and their relations with various European states is often confronted with several terminological problems related to the social structure and activities of various Cossack groups in the 16th century Ukraine. Contemporary sources include such terms as "kozacy," "kozacy nizowi zaporowszy," "kozakorum nizovium."<sup>66</sup> All of these terms may be applied to various Cossack organizations and especially to the Zaporozhian Cossacks. It is interesting to note that at times all Cossack formations were designated as "Zaporozhian" or "nyzove kozactwo."<sup>67</sup> To some extent such nomenclature is justified in terms of ethnic composition, social stratification, and ideological features of the social phenomena of Cossackdom.

The ethnic origin and composition of the Cossacks is significant in determining their nationality. Ethnically, the Zaporozhian Cossacks were, for the most part, Ukrainians, who, in the 16th century, were known as Ruthenians (Rusins—inhabitants of Rus'—Ukraine). Taking into consideration this ethnic composition of the Dnieper Cossacks, O. Halecki uses a general appellation for the various Cossack formations—namely, "Ukrainian Cossacks in the Dnieper region."<sup>68</sup>

In studying the Habsburg relationship with the Ukrainian Cossacks, one must further take into consideration the three major Cossack groups<sup>69</sup> that existed during this period: 1) Zaporozhian Cossacks; 2) registered Cossacks;<sup>70</sup> and 3) independent Cossack *druzhyny*<sup>71</sup> (military bands). All these groups represent phases and stages in the historical development of the Cossack frontier society and its institutions.

The strongest segment of Ukrainian Cossacks constituted the Zaporozhians, also known as *nyzovi* or *sichovi* Cossacks. They formed a military brotherhood consisting mostly of bachelor warriors. This new frontier community established a permanent stronghold which became known as *Zaporozhian sich* or *kish*, a military camp with its own government, code of rules and customs.<sup>72</sup> The Cossack *Sich* was organized in a secure area, usually in the wilderness below the rapids of the Dnieper River, which was difficult to reach by land or water. The foundation of the first known Zaporozhian *Sich* is commonly linked to Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi, one of the outstanding Cossack leaders in the 1550s.<sup>73</sup> Vyshnevetskyi constructed a fortress on the Dnieper island of Khortytsia (ca. 1552), which was permanently garrisoned by a Cossack regiment. He further developed a special plan aimed at the destruction of the Crimean Khanate. However, this plan could not be realized due to the hostile relationship which existed between Poland and Muscovy, as well as to the lack of financial support from the Polish King Sigismund Augustus. Later, Vyshnevetskyi became involved in Moldavian affairs with the hope of capturing, with Cossack assistance, Moldavia and thus detaching this principality from the Ottoman Empire. However, his Cossack army was defeated by the Moldavians, and Vyshnevetskyi was captured and hanged in Constantinople in 1563.<sup>74</sup>





The Election of a Zaporozhian Koshovyi (from an 18th century engraving)  
A. Riegelman, *Lieto pisnoe povestovanie o Maloi Rossii,*  
*i ie ie narodite i Kozakach* (Moskva, 1847)

Although Vyshnevetskyi's conception of an anti-Muslim league failed, his activity influenced the future development of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. As a result of his leadership, the Ukrainian Cossacks appeared for the first time on the international scene as an independent political factor and an important military force.<sup>75</sup>

Some historians regard the Khortytsia stronghold as constituting the first Zaporozhian Sich. However, it should be considered as the prototype of the later Cossack Sich, which differed from Vyshnevetskyi's Cossack stronghold in administration and political structures. Taking into consideration the deep penetration of Ukrainian frontiersmen into the lower regions of the Dnieper in the 1550s and 1560s, it is logical to assume that fortified camps of Cossacks existed during this time. However, the earliest sources concerning the first historical Sich on the island of Tomakivka are related to the years 1574 and 1583.<sup>76</sup> In 1594, according to Erich Lassota, Sich existed on Bazavluk Island not far from Tomakivka. It should be noted that the location of the Zaporozhian Sich was not permanent and was from time to time transferred from one island to another. The establishment of the Cossack stronghold below the rapids and the organization of the Cossacks in the form of a military brotherhood had a profound influence on the political and military consolidation of Cossack forces. It was conducive to an accelerated development of Cossack ideology and to the formation of a new Cossack social strata. On the basis of Lassota's *Diary* as well as other sources, it is possible to reconstruct some basic features of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and of their role in international politics at the turn of the 16th century.

The registered Cossacks were Cossacks under the supervision of the Polish Crown. At times, they are identified in historical sources also as "Zaporozhian Cossacks." The origin and evolution of the registered Cossacks may be traced back to the independent Cossack units that were hired by the frontier administration for the purpose of fighting Tatars and protecting frontier settlements.<sup>77</sup> The first attempts to enlist the Cossacks into regular governmental service in 1524 and 1541 failed due to the lack of financial backing by the government and the frontier administration. The first regiment of registered Cossacks was organized in 1572 by Sigismund Augustus, and later further successful registration attempts were made in 1578 and 1583 by King Stephan Bathory.

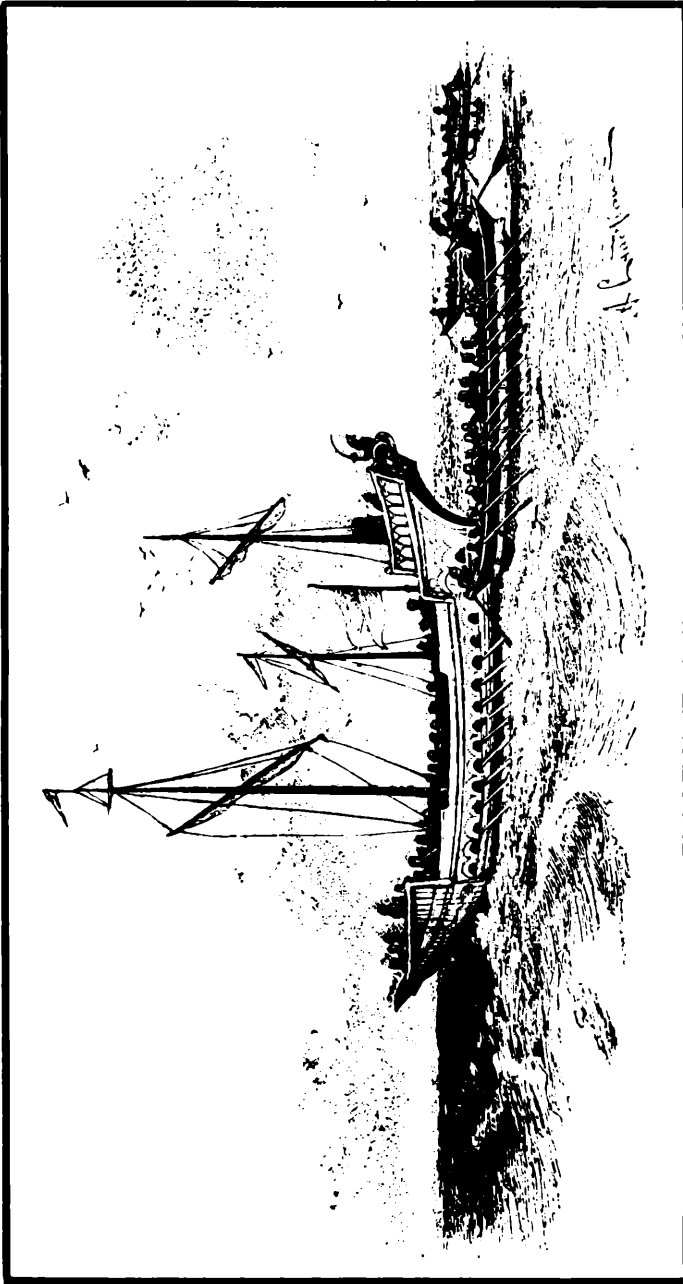
In establishing a permanent institution of registered Cossacks, the Polish government aimed at achieving the following major objectives: 1) controlling and limiting the growth of the Ukrainian Cossacks by placing them under direct royal supervision; 2) dividing the Zaporozhian Cossacks into two categories, the legal registered Cossacks (also called Zaporozhians) and the illegal registered or "disobedient" Zaporozhian Cossacks, who were regarded by the Polish government in most instances as "enemies of the state."<sup>78</sup> These goals were never quite reached. On the contrary, the establishment of the register only added a new dimension to the steady expansion of Ukrainian Cossackdom and its institutions, and led to the

formation of a separate Cossack social class in the second half of the 16th century. Registered Cossacks not only frequently cooperated with Zaporozhians but also in later years fought against the Polish army and the *szlachta*, supporting, eventually, the idea of an independent Cossack state in Ukraine.

The third Cossack formation, the independent *druzhyna* (military unit), originated from Cossack *vataha*<sup>79</sup> (cooperative association) during the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries. Their activities are directly related to the existence of Ukrainian *ukhodnyky* and to their penetration into the "Wild Plains" region. There were two distinct types of Cossack *druzhyny*—independent Cossack groups with their own elected leader (*otoman*), and groups that cooperated with the local frontier administration. During Lassota's visit to the Zaporozhian Cossacks, one of the strongest independent *druzhyny* constituted the Cossack regiment that was under Severyn Nalyvaiko's leadership and that participated in the Turkish war.

All three major formations of Ukrainian Cossacks were interrelated and contributed to Cossack solidarity regardless of group affiliation. This solidarity was an important factor in their participation in the Habsburg's anti-Turkish coalition. As a military power the Zaporozhians were feared by Turks, Tatars, Moldavians, Muscovites, and Poles. This awe was later noted by the Turkish historian Naima (17th century), who commented on Cossack bravery as follows: "One can safely say that in the entire world one cannot find a more daring people, more careless for their lives or having less fear of death . . . because of their skills and boldness in naval battles these bands are more dangerous than any other army."<sup>80</sup>

It is necessary at this point to comment briefly on the relationship between the Zaporozhians and the Polish Crown in the second half of the 16th century. The growing power of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the formation of the self-governing Sich created a rather precarious situation for the Polish government on both domestic and foreign fronts. After the Lublin Union (1569), the Zaporozhian territory belonged *de jure* to the Polish Crown; however, in reality Polish governmental authority was ignored by the Zaporozhians. The Polish pro-pacifist attitudes in the 1570s, 1580s, and 1590s were contrary to the continuous Cossack struggle with "infidels." Their constant raids on Turkish garrisons and Tatar settlements in the Black Sea region as well as their independent interventions in Moldavian affairs were in direct conflict with Polish foreign policy of this period. Another major source of contention was associated with the special privileges granted by Polish kings to the *szlachta* for so-called "free lands" south of the Podolia and Kiev regions, which were inhabited by a frontier population, protected by the Zaporozhians. These discords directly contributed to the first major Cossack revolt, which occurred in 1592 under the leadership of Hetman Christopher Kosinski. Furthermore, the Cossack participation in the Habsburg and Vatican anti-Turkish coalition in the 1590s and the Polish Crown's hesitation to join anti-Turkish forces intensified the conflict between the Cossacks and



Cossack Vessels  
D. I. Evamytskyi, *Istoria zaporozhskikh kozakov*,  
Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1892)

the Polish government. It also reinforced the belief that the Cossack Sich and the Zaporozhians constituted an independent self-governing community with its own foreign policy. The Polish government considered Cossack raids on Moldavian, Turkish, and Tatar territories as being disruptive of Polish relations with Turkey and Crimea, and in 1592 the Polish Diet drew up a set of restrictive laws for the Cossacks in which the Zaporozhians were declared "enemies of the state."<sup>81</sup>

During the Cossack-Habsburg negotiations, the Zaporozhian Cossacks were led by their Hetman Bohdan Mykoshyn's'kyi, the registered Cossack formation was under the command of Jan Oryshowsky and M. Iazlowecky, and the major independent Cossack *druzhyna* was under the leadership of Severyn Nalyvaiko. All of these units played a significant role in the Habsburg and Vatican anti-Turkish coalition in the 1590s.

#### ERICH LASSOTA'S MISSION TO THE ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS

In examining the major aspects of the Habsburg-Cossack relationship in the last decade of the 16th century, historians have to depend, to a large extent, on Lassota's account. Probably the best justification for this alliance can be explained by Lassota's entry dated June 24, 1594:

The reasons why I did not want to break relations with the Cossacks and why I, on the contrary, considered it worthwhile to keep them in His Imperial Majesty's service are these: First, I assume that the war begun with the Turks will last more than a year or two. Therefore, it would not be wise to reject such brave and valiant men who from their youth are trained in warfare and have such a good knowledge of their enemies, the Turks, and Tatars, and also because great changes will probably occur in Poland in the near future, I considered it of utmost importance to retain these men as our friends since they are not only very influential in all of *Ukraine* (that is Volynia and Podolia), but also all of Poland pays attention to them.<sup>82</sup>

A careful analysis of Lassota's explanation indicates at least three main reasons behind Habsburg-Cossack cooperation in this period. First of all, Rudolf hoped to utilize the Cossack military force in the Turkish war, especially in Danubian principalities, and also in combating the Tatars, who were the chief allies of the Turks in this protracted struggle. The second major reason is directly related to the Emperor's *Ostpolitik* and, specifically, to his attempt to strengthen the pro-Habsburg faction in Poland because of

the anticipated abdication of the Polish throne by Sigismund III (1587-1632) in favor of the Habsburg candidate. The King had developed friendly relationships with the Habsburgs and in 1592 married Austrian Archduchess Anna.<sup>83</sup> Lassota's reference to expected "great changes" in Poland clearly indicates that Rudolf expected Sigismund's abdication in favor of Archduke Ernest or Archduke Maximilian. The support of the Zaporozhian Cossacks in such a situation was essential. Finally, in the opinion of Rudolf and his advisers, a direct involvement of the Cossacks in the Habsburg anti-Turkish coalition could contribute to a direct and open conflict between Poland and Turkey and thus draw Poland into the Habsburg camp. In this respect it was important to the Holy Roman Empire to win the friendship of influential Zaporozhian Cossacks<sup>84</sup> in order to undermine Chancellor Zamoyski's pro-Turkish foreign policy. For an understanding of the diplomatic bargaining between Lassota and the Zaporozhians in 1594, it is necessary to survey briefly earlier Cossack relations with the Habsburgs and the Vatican.

According to Mikolay Warkotsch, the Emperor's envoy to Tsar Fedor, the Zaporozhian Cossacks sent their representative to Rudolf in the early part of 1593 and offered their services<sup>85</sup> against the Ottomans. There is no direct evidence supporting the Zaporozhian's involvement in negotiations at this time. Especially Erich Lassota in his *Diary* does not mention any Zaporozhian envoy to Prague in the early part of 1593. Historians such as M. Hrushevsky and later Z. Wójcik hypothesized that this Cossack, or these Cossacks, were, in all probability, independent Cossack-*szlachta* adventurers<sup>86</sup> who were acting on their own. However, due to insufficient documentation, this question remains unresolved. In 1593 the Emperor did not accept Cossack services but rather decided to collect first all relevant information concerning the Zaporozhians and their military potential. This was the starting point of the Habsburg-Cossack relationship.

In April 1593, Mikolay Warkotsch journeyed from Prague to Moscow in order to gain support for the anti-Turkish coalition.<sup>87</sup> The Emperor's instructions to Warkotsch for this mission to Tsar Fedor and to Boris Godunov also included the question concerning the Zaporozhian Cossacks and their activities. Rudolf requested the Tsar's permission to employ the Zaporozhians in the Turkish war.<sup>88</sup> Because, in general, Tsar Fedor and his *boiars* were interested in a possible coalition with the Habsburgs against the Turks and Tatars, they promised their support. However, in regard to the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Warkotsch learned that they were not under the jurisdiction of the Muscovite government. Furthermore, the Zaporozhians were described as good soldiers but rather cruel and, at times, treacherous.<sup>89</sup> This information concerning the Zaporozhian Cossacks and their status, as well as the Tsar's and Godunov's promises to assist in the formation of an anti-Turkish coalition, was very important to the Habsburgs and their East-European policies.

In December 1593 Dr. Johann Wacker, a skillful Austrian diplomat, was sent to Poland in order to secure the Polish government's cooperation with the Habsburg coalition.<sup>90</sup> However, this mission failed because Chancellor Zamoyski, the chief advocate of anti-Habsburg policy, was not convinced by Wacker's arguments; therefore, Poland refused to join the Habsburg camp. However, it is important to note that, in his instructions to Wacker, Rudolf asked him to gather information secretly concerning the Cossacks and the possibility of their participation in the Turkish war.<sup>91</sup> In his report, Wacker stated that he was approached by Valicki (Vallikius),<sup>92</sup> who introduced himself as a Cossack representative and offered Cossack services to the Habsburgs. The Austrian envoy, however, considered him an untrustworthy person, and, being cautious, did not engage in any serious negotiations. From Valicki, Wacker learned that the Cossacks were free men, willing to combat the enemies of Christianity ("Esse se homines liberos et milites voluntarios, qui cum hostibus Christiani nominis perpetuo concertent").<sup>93</sup> It is quite evident that the Habsburg government had a continuing interest in obtaining as much information as possible about the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

While Wacker was secretly gathering relevant data concerning the Cossacks, he had full knowledge of Zamoyski's hostile attitude toward the Zaporozhians as well as his negative stand on the entire concept of an anti-Turkish coalition. Rudolf and his advisors were aware of the fact that by openly engaging the Zaporozhians in the Emperor's service they would further antagonize the Polish government and contribute to strengthening the anti-Habsburg forces among the Polish *szlachta*. Regardless of the consequences, the Habsburgs decided to establish direct relations with the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

At this point it is necessary to comment briefly on the role of Pope Clement VIII and the Vatican State in the formation of the anti-Turkish coalition and the Cossack participation in it. It was mentioned earlier that Pope Clement VIII<sup>94</sup> gave full support to the Habsburgs and was instrumental in forming this coalition.<sup>95</sup> In August 1593, he urged Rudolf to step up preparation for war by convening the Imperial Council.<sup>96</sup> Adopting the Vatican's conception of a new crusade against the Turks, and bolstered by the financial and diplomatic help of the Papal Curia, the Habsburgs were able to influence the Ottoman vassal states Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia to join the anti-Turkish forces. Moreover, the Vatican also established ties with Persia, a bitter enemy of the Ottomans.

The Cossacks anticipated the Vatican efforts by a decade; in 1583 they submitted to the Pope a special project for an anti-Turkish crusade.<sup>97</sup> However, it was not accepted at that time. But a decade later it was the Vatican that took the initiative; in 1593 Pope Clement VIII sent his envoy, Alexander Comulovich, to the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Transylvania, Poland, and Muscovy with the hope of obtaining their assistance<sup>98</sup> in the anti-Turkish struggle. The instructions received by Comulovich from the Pope regarding this mission, as well as his own special reports and correspondence concerning

his travels constitute important sources in understanding the Vatican role in the formation of the anti-Turkish coalition.<sup>99</sup> In addition to these instructions, Comulovich also received letters of recommendation to Andrew Bathory, to the Moldavian Hospodar Aaron, to the Wallachian *Voevoda* Michael the Brave, and to the Cossack Hetman and the Cossack Host.<sup>100</sup> In his letters to the Cossacks the Pope exhorted them to join the anti-Turkish campaign and stressed their bravery: “et vestram virtutem et militarem fortitudinem notam et perspectam habemus.”<sup>101</sup> It is evident, therefore, that Papal and Habsburg diplomacy dealing with Zaporozhian Cossacks and their participation in the anti-Turkish coalition was well coordinated.

In December of 1593, Stanislaw Khlopicki,<sup>102</sup> an adventurer and cossacking *szlachtycz*, arrived in Prague and presented himself to Rudolf and his court as a Zaporozhian elder and the Host's envoy to the Emperor. He was accompanied by Moses, a Jew who, in all probability, was his financial adviser.<sup>103</sup> Khlopicki (Chlopicki) offered to Rudolf the services of Zaporozhian Cossacks who were ready to participate in the Turkish war. Specifically, he emphasized the fact that, because the Cossacks numbered about 10,000 men, they were capable of preventing the Crimean Tatars from joining the main Turkish force in Hungary.

On January 27, Lassota entered in his diary<sup>104</sup> the following note concerning Khlopicki's negotiation: “I reported to von Hornstein who informed me about the *Nizhnyi* or Zaporozhian Cossacks who have their settlement on the isles of the Borysthenes River, which is called Dnieper in Polish. Through one of them, a person named Stanislaw Khlopicki, they offered their services to His Imperial Majesty. According to him, the Tatars were definitely preparing themselves for a campaign. . . . They [Zaporozhians] proposed to block their way and interfere in every way possible.” Earlier Lassota mentioned that Wolfgang Rumpf, the Imperial Chief Chamberlain, summoned him on January 26 in connection with the Emperor's intention to send Erich on a special diplomatic mission. It seems that Rumpf, one of Rudolf's closest advisors, was instrumental in reaching an agreement with Khlopicki concerning the Emperor's employment of Cossack troops.

Additional data concerning the Emperor's negotiation with the Cossacks is preserved in Vatican documents, and it is apparent that the Vatican diplomats were well informed about Rudolf's negotiations with the Cossacks as well as about Khlopicki's mission to Prague.<sup>105</sup> In a special dispatch from Prague, dated February 2, 1594, the Pope's agent reported that Rudolf concluded in strict confidence (“molto secreto”) an agreement with a Cossack envoy “who was sent by his friends. The Cossacks promised to attack Constantinople and to inflict heavy casualties on Turkish and Tatar forces. Also the Emperor promised to give them Imperial insignia.”<sup>106</sup> It is highly probable that in reaching his decision Rudolf was also influenced by Pope Clement VIII and his diplomats who had a favorable opinion about the military potential of the Cossacks.



On February 7, Khlopicki and his companion Moses took the oath of loyalty to the Emperor and three days later left Prague with the Emperor's banner<sup>107</sup> and headed back to the Zaporozhian Cossacks. At this time Rudolf and his advisor Rumpf were not aware of the fact that Khlopicki was not an official representative of the Zaporozhians and that he undertook this mission to Prague on his own initiative. This fact was only later learned by Lassota during his stay in the Zaporozhian Sich.<sup>108</sup>

On February 22, Lassota received eight thousand ducats to be delivered to the Cossacks.<sup>109</sup> Two days later he and his companion Wilhelm von Oppersdorf, one of the Emperor's advisers, left Prague and started their mission to the Zaporozhians.

On April 14, they arrived in Lemberg (Lviv) where Lassota met with Khlopicki and further discussed the Emperor's financial compensations to the Zaporozhian Cossacks for their services. It is important to note that although Lassota's mission was kept in secret in view of possible Polish interference, Chancellor Zamoyski was well aware of Lassota's and Khlopicki's voyages. In his letter of March 19, 1594, Hetman Stanislaw Zołkiewski informed Zamoyski that Khlopicki, together with an Emperor's envoy, was heading toward the Zaporozhian Sich<sup>110</sup> and actively recruiting Cossacks along the way. At this time many of the Polish *szlachta* believed that Khlopicki was the chief promotor of Cossack-Habsburg alliance.<sup>111</sup>

Lassota and his companions reached the island of Bazavluk, the headquarter of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, on June 8. Five days earlier Lassota had encountered the Muscovite envoy, Vasiliï Nikiforovich, who also was going to the Zaporozhians with gifts from the Grand Prince. From him Lassota learned that the Moscovite Tsar supported Rudolf's anti-Turkish plan and would permit Zaporozhians "to enter the esteemed service of His Imperial Majesty."<sup>112</sup> It should be added, however, that the Grand Princes' "permission" was of little significance since, at this time the Zaporozhian Cossacks were not in the service of the Tsar nor were they his subjects.<sup>113</sup>

Once in the Sich, Lassota was well received by the Cossacks ("they saluted us with fire from their heavier artillery pieces"). In fact, he was invited to participate in the Cossacks' council (*rada*) immediately after disembarking from his boat. Here he learned that Hetman Bohdan Mykoshynskiy, along with 1,300 men and 50 ships, was engaged in the sea expedition aimed against the Tatar forces near Ochakiv. Mykoshynskiy's objective was to prevent the Tatars' march to Hungary where they planned to join with Sinan Pasha and his Turkish forces.

The detailed account of Lassota's stay in the Sich is preserved in his diary and is presented in the latter part of this publication. This account is an essential source for reconstructing Zaporozhian institutions and mores<sup>114</sup> at the turn of the 16th century, and for elucidating the Cossacks' contacts and negotiations with the Habsburgs. Also included in the diary is a special letter from the Zaporozhian Host to the Emperor, which provides a clear picture of

the Cossacks' reaction to Rudolf's proposal, as well as a precise account of their military raids against the Ottoman forces.

In this letter, Hetman Mykoshyns'kyi listed two Zaporozhian expeditions occurring prior to Lassota's arrival, which attempted to block the Tatar Crimean troops enroute to Hungary. The first raid, under the leadership of Cossack *otoman* Loboda, took place in March of 1594 and was directed against Bilhorod (Akkerman). This expedition was triggered by a letter which the Zaporozhians received from Rudolf three weeks prior to Easter of that year.

“According to our custom, wrote the Zaporozhians, we called on the Almighty God's help and, for the sake of Your Imperial Majesty's fortune, we set out to sea at a dangerous time, about two weeks before Easter, at the risk of life and limb. Tatar captives provided us with definite information that numerous troops, both cavalry and Janissary infantry, were gathering in Bilhorod and that they intended, on order of their lord, the Turkish Sultan, to move against Your Imperial Majesty's province of Hungary. But, with the most gracious help of Almighty God and Your Imperial Majesty's good fortune, we destroyed and plundered this Turkish border town of Bilhorod with fire and sword . . .”<sup>115</sup>

The Cossacks were unable to capture the Turkish fortress in Bilhorod, but they destroyed the town and killed several thousand inhabitants. From this raid the Zaporozhians sent Rudolf two captured Janissary standards and one important Turkish prisoner.

It is interesting to note that this letter to the Emperor fails to mention an earlier successful Cossack raid against the Turkish town of Jurgov in December 1593.<sup>116</sup> Polish contemporary historians<sup>117</sup> associated this raid with the Habsburgs and stressed Rudolf's secret negotiations with the Zaporozhians already in December of 1593. It is evident, however, that this December raid was not connected with the Habsburgs—otherwise it would have been listed in their letter to the Emperor.

On May 31 Hetman Mykoshyns'kyi led another Cossack naval operation against the Ottoman forces in Ochakiv, located at the mouth of the Dnieper. His army consisted of approximately 1,300 men and 50 boats. According to Mykoshyns'kyi, the Crimean Khan arrived with the Tatars near Ochakiv to commence his march toward Hungary. The Cossacks, writes Mykoshyns'kyi, “under the banner of Your Imperial Majesty, attempted to block his way, but because of their overwhelming numbers, both of mounted troops on land and of seaborne troops in galleys and ships, no opposition was possible.”<sup>118</sup> Since the Zaporozhians were unable to prevent the Tatar march to Hungary, they were forced to limit their activity to two battles. It was during this expedition

that they captured an important prisoner, Bellek, a member of the Khan's court, who was later interrogated by Lassota. On June 18 Mykoshnys'kyi and his Cossacks returned to Sich where Lassota was already waiting for his arrival.

The Tatar involvement in the war was a major concern of Rudolf and the Pope during the first half of 1594, and both attempted to prevent the Khan from advancing to Hungary. In this connection the Polish government played an unfortunate role and was rather embarrassed in the eyes of the European powers and its own population.<sup>119</sup> Already in March of 1594 Chancellor Zamoyski was cautioned by the Moldavian Hospodar Aaron about the Tatar's intended march,<sup>120</sup> but the Polish Chancellor chose to ignore this warning. In the second half of July, when Zamoyski finally gathered his army in order to defend the Crown's territory, the Khan and his troops marched through northern Moldavia and the regions of Pokutia and Halychyna, destroying many towns and villages along the way. By using the narrow Carpathian passages, the Tatars were able, in a relatively short period of time, to reach the plains of Hungary.<sup>121</sup> According to captured prisoner Bellek, the Tatar expeditionary force consisted of 80,000 men, 20,000 of which were regular soldiers.<sup>122</sup> There is no doubt that such an unopposed march by the Tatars through Polish territory constituted a great embarrassment to the Polish government, and especially to Chancellor Zamoyski. It further indicates that the Zaporozhian forces were too small to be effective in deterring this Tatar expedition. A similar conclusion may be reached regarding the efforts of Severyn Nalyvaiko, a leader of an independent Cossack regiment, who attempted to pursue the Tatar horde. This latter undertaking was inspired by Comulovich's negotiations with Nalyvaiko.<sup>123</sup> In the second half of June, Nalyvaiko, with his small army of 2,500 Cossacks, followed the Tatars but was not able to overtake them. However, he proceeded to the lower Dnieper, where the Cossacks occupied the city of Parkany, and later destroyed a number of Turkish possessions between Tiahynia and Bilhorod. He also captured over 3,000 Tatar horses which were later used in his and the Zaporozhians' raids in Moldavia.<sup>124</sup> In one of his subsequent reports, Comulovich affirmed that the Cossacks had "fulfilled their mission."<sup>125</sup> Later, Nalyvaiko coordinated his activity with the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

Lassota's negotiations with Mykoshnys'kyi and the Zaporozhians commenced on June 19 and were concluded by July 1, 1594. A detailed record of the diplomatic maneuvering between Lassota and the Cossacks is preserved in his diary. As previously stated, a major objective of Habsburg-Cossack cooperation was to deter the Tatar army from joining the Turkish forces in Hungary. Since it became clear that this could not be accomplished, Lassota presented the Cossack council with other alternatives. In the name of the Emperor he requested the Zaporozhians "to go through Moldavia to the Danube, in pursuit of the Tatars and to block their way."<sup>126</sup> During the first part of Lassota's negotiations, emphasis was placed on the Cossacks'

expedition to the Moldavian principality, which was ruled by Aaron the Tyrant (1591-1595). It is interesting to note the flexible nature of the Cossacks' diplomatic position during this time. Although they reaffirmed their interest in serving under the Imperial banners, they also advanced their reservations concerning Lassota's request. At the same time, the Zaporozhians presented their own scheme for an anti-Ottoman campaign. The Cossacks' objections to the Moldavian expedition centered around three major issues: an inadequate number of horses; the fear of entering Moldavia with only a small army, especially in view of their mistrust of the Moldavians;<sup>127</sup> and the fact that Lassota failed to present them with precise information concerning their future financial remuneration. Of the three issues raised by the Zaporozhians, the second carried the greatest weight. Historically, the Cossacks did not trust the Moldavian rulers (*hospodars*), who in many instances collaborated with the Turks and Tatars.

The Zaporozhian negotiators presented Lassota with their own specific proposal (*conditiones*) which called for a new Cossack delegation, headed by Khlopicki, to Rudolf that would finalize their agreement with the Emperor. Furthermore, they asked the Emperor to obtain from the Polish king his assurance of their safe passage through his territory, and also to request the Grand Prince of Muscovy to dispatch a regiment of his troops to assist Cossacks in raiding the Danubian principalities. In the meantime, prior to return of their envoys, the Cossacks proposed "to attack the lands of the infidel, with the help of God, and in the presence of Your Grace [Lassota], going all the way to Perekop . . . destroying everything with fire and sword in the name of His Imperial Majesty."<sup>128</sup> It is evident that the Zaporozhians stalled for time and exhibited a rather cautious stance in their negotiations with the Imperial envoy.

In view of these Cossack demands, Lassota was compelled to alter drastically his original request. Not wishing to antagonize the Zaporozhians, Lassota consented to accept their *conditiones* with some minor changes. He requested that the Cossacks send their delegation to Rudolf following their Perekop campaign, and suggested that the Zaporozhians should correspond directly with the Grand Prince of Muscovy and request military assistance. He also gave them 8,000 ducats as payment for their earlier raids on Bilhorod and the vicinity of Ochakiv. Within the next few days Lassota's suggestions were discussed during the Cossack's council meetings, at which time some changes were made regarding their original plan. They resolved to dispatch to the Emperor two Cossack captains, Sas'ko Fedorovych and Nykyfor, along with Lassota and to send Khlopicki to Muscovy. This was a wise decision, especially in view of the earlier role played by Khlopicki during his mission to Prague.

On July 2, Lassota and the Cossack representatives departed from the Sich with gifts, "The Letter of the Zaporozhian Host to His Imperial Majesty," as well as "Authorization of the Zaporozhian Envoys."<sup>129</sup> These documents pledged to the Emperor the services of Hetman Mykoshyn'skyi

and the Zaporozhians. It is interesting to note that in his letter Mykoshynskyi defines the Cossacks as "knightly order of the free Zaporozhian Host" ("Ritterschaft . . . des treyen Zaporosischen Kriegsfolcks").<sup>130</sup> The content of these two documents provides a good illustration of Cossack international diplomacy at the turn of the 16th century, which was characterized by a willingness to participate in the Habsburg coalition as well as by a desire to protect their own interests.

On July 2, Lassota met with the Muscovite envoy and later left the Bazavluk Island on a captured Turkish *sandal*. His associate, Henkel, remained with the Zaporozhians to witness their pro-Habsburg activity and to serve as the official Habsburg representative.

Under July 1, Lassota entered in his *Diary* important data concerning the arrival of two messengers from Nalyvaiko, an outstanding leader of the independent Cossack regiment, who desired to make peace with Zaporozhians and who offered them "1500 to 1600 horses for the sake of friendship."<sup>131</sup> In view of the future cooperation between the Zaporozhians and Nalyvaiko's Cossacks and their involvement in Rudolf's coalition, this episode is rather significant. Also, since the Zaporozhians possessed an insufficient number of horses, Nalyvaiko's gesture in this respect was well timed. However, Lassota left the Cossack Sich before he was able to record the results of Nalyvaiko's negotiations.

In September Lassota and the Cossack envoys arrived at the Emperor's court. According to the diarist, both he and "the Cossacks were received in a gracious audience by His Imperial Majesty in the presence of the Secret Councilors," and Lassota was informed by Rudolf's official and diplomat Caraducius "that His Imperial Majesty and the members of the Secret Council were completely satisfied with my mission and the detailed report."<sup>132</sup> Later, according to Lassota's account, the Emperor resolved "to take the Cossacks into imperial service. However, His Imperial Majesty's field commander in Upper Hungary, Christoff von Teuffenbach, would have to be consulted as to their pay and provisions. Therefore, we should go to Vienna where we could find him."<sup>133</sup>

Lassota concludes his account at this point, and does not provide any additional information concerning the Cossack negotiations with Tueffenbach, or any other matters relating to the Zaporozhian Cossacks and their imperial service.

The tangible results of Lassota's mission to the Zaporozhians may be ascertained following his departure from the Cossack Sich; the results were evident in the Cossacks' Moldavian policy in the autumn of 1594 as well as the following year. One of the important events of this period was the military consolidation of Cossack military forces and their close cooperation in the Habsburg and Papal Curia efforts to establish a new center of anti-Ottoman resistance on the lower Danube. In this regard the role of the Papal legate Comulovich was significant and constructive. In August of 1594 Comulovich attempted to establish contact with the Zaporozhians through

the *starosta* of Sniatyn,<sup>134</sup> Mykola Iazlovetsky, who had been the leader of the registered Cossacks since the decision of the Polish diet in 1590. On August 30 an agreement was reached between Comulovich and Iazlovetsky, in which Iazlovetsky agreed to employ the Zaporozhians and Nalyvaiko's Cossacks in his Danubian incursion, and meanwhile Cossacks would either create a diversion on the Black Sea or attach the Tatars returning from Hungary.<sup>135</sup> At this time Comulovich handed over to Iazlovetsky the Papal funds intended for the organization of an anti-Ottoman force. Both the Zaporozhians and Nalyvaiko agreed to participate in this expedition. In early October Iazlovetsky and the Cossacks<sup>136</sup> began their march toward the lower Dniester, where he hoped for an encounter with the Ottoman forces. The Vatican diplomats were optimistic about the outcome of this campaign and foresaw a great victory. However, this attempt failed. During this march, the Cossacks deserted Iazlovetsky, thereby causing his subsequent death.<sup>137</sup> In my opinion the motive behind the Cossack desertion may be found in their attitude toward Iazlovetsky, specifically in their unwillingness to serve under a Polish official. Michael Antonovych hypothesized that during this time the Zaporozhian envoys Sas'ko and Nykyfor returned from their mission to Rudolf with new Imperial instructions, and a new standard. This contributed chiefly to the Cossacks' attitude toward Iazlovetsky's campaign.<sup>138</sup> Whatever the root cause may have been, this episode is significant, especially as it relates to the matter of cooperation between the various Cossack formations. This is best reflected in their participation in Iazlovetsky's march as well as their subsequent desertion.

Newly consolidated Cossack forces under their own leadership (Mykoshyns'kyi, Nalyvaiko, and Loboda) directed all of their energy toward the Moldavian scene in accordance with the original Emperor's plan presented by Lassota during his stay in the Zaporozhian Sich.

The political situation in the Danubian principalities was in a state of permanent flux. Kortepeter accurately noted that in Transylvania every *voevoda* "was forced to walk a tight rope between Ottoman and Habsburg interests externally and the interests of their respective factions within this country."<sup>139</sup> The same situation applied to the *voevodas* in Moldavia and Wallachia. The Habsburg and Vatican endeavor for dominance in the Danubian area was vital to the anti-Ottoman forces. The Habsburg control of the Danubian principalities would directly cut the Turkish supply routes to the Hungarian front.

Already in February of 1594 Sigismund Bathory (1581-1602), Prince of Transylvania, manifested to Comulovich his intention to join the Habsburg coalition, and he later signed both offensive and defensive pacts with Rudolf.<sup>140</sup> In Wallachia *Voevoda* Michael the Brave (1593-1601) revolted against the Turks in October of 1594 and joined the coalition.<sup>141</sup> Apparently, the only weak link in the Habsburg anti-Turkish league was the Moldavian Hospodar Aaron (1592-1595) and his indecision to join the anti-Turkish forces. To his contemporaries Aaron was known as being

capricious and treacherous in nature,<sup>142</sup> and this sentiment was also shared by the Cossacks. It should be pointed out that Moldavia, which was an Ottoman vassal-state, was also bound to Ukraine through close cultural, economic, and political ties. In the second half of the 16th century prior to 1594, more than twenty significant Cossack forays were sent into Moldavia, displayed to alter the political situation in that country and to pulverize the material resources in the Turkish, or pro-Ottoman, hospodar's possession.<sup>143</sup> In February of 1594 Comulovich visited Aaron; one of his major objectives was to secure, at any cost, Cossack cooperation with Moldavia. Although Aaron pledged his cooperation, he simultaneously assisted the Tatars in their route toward Hungary.<sup>144</sup> His dual loyalty to both the Turks and the Habsburgs resulted in rather tragic consequences. In late September, after the fortress Raab fell to the Ottoman forces, the Cossacks learned of Aaron's active engagement in negotiations with the Turks.<sup>145</sup>

In October, under the leadership of the Zaporozhian otoman Loboda and Nalyvaiko, the Cossacks carried out one of their major assaults on Moldavia. Carrying two Imperial banners, which officially indicated that they were in the Imperial service, the Cossack army, according to several sources, was divided into 40 regiments and consisted of approximately 12,000 men.<sup>146</sup> This was the largest Cossack army to penetrate into Moldavia in the 16th century. Cossacks crossed the Dniester near Soroka, and advanced in a southwesterly direction to the town of Tsetsora (Cecora) on the Prut River.<sup>147</sup> Their assault on Tsetsora and its subsequent burning forced the retreat of Aaron and his troops to the capital of Moldavia, Iassy (Jassy). Loboda and Nalyvaiko pursued Aaron's withdrawing army and seized Iassy. According to Nalyvaiko, the Cossack army engaged in three major battles with Aaron and was triumphant on all occasions.<sup>148</sup> The Moldavian Hospodar successfully escaped with a small unit of Moldavians to the Transylvanian border. During this campaign the Cossacks also captured the town of Berlad and then returned to Bratslav. They succeeded in seizing a major part of the Moldavian artillery, and in destroying the Moldavian army. From a tactical point of view this Cossack strike was a major achievement. Furthermore, it is essential to underscore the fact that this Cossack offensive proved to be a major factor in Aaron's final decision to unite with the Habsburg camp, and to suspend any further negotiations with the Porte. The political implication of this Cossack raid was a broadening of the anti-Turkish base in the Danubian region.<sup>149</sup> At first, Aaron protested to Rudolf in regard to the Cossack raid, noting that he was his ally<sup>150</sup> and pointing out the fact that the Cossack army fought under Imperial banners. Later, however, the Hospodar invited the Zaporozhian and Nalyvaiko's Cossacks to join him as his allies in combatting Turkish aggression.

Cossack participation in the Habsburg alliance during the years of 1595-1600 is not the subject of this analysis. However, it should be noted that in the following years the Zaporozhians and Nalyvaiko's Cossacks were

closely allied with Aaron, Michael, and Sigismund and participated in numerous anti-Turkish military campaigns<sup>151</sup> in the Danubian principalities.

The following account of Erich Lassota von Steblau provides prima facie evidence directly bearing upon the Habsburg Cossack policy of 1594, as well as the Zaporozhian Cossack diplomacy during this period. The *Diary* also includes the first extensive description of the Zaporozhians, thus providing further insight into their life, customs, and social organization.

## FOOTNOTES

1. I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. Erich Lodni, the present Director of Bautzen Library, who provided photocopies of the relevant parts of the manuscript as well as valuable comments concerning its present condition. The previous description of Lassota's manuscript, by R. Schottin, is not complete.

2. Besides Lassota's *Diary* the volume contains a printed copy of Leonharti Krentzheim's *Observationum Chronologicarum* (Lignicii, 1605, 196pp.) and Vincenz Ullrich's *Chronologia*, a manuscript of the 17th century (146pp.). The volume has the following measurements: height, 32.5 cm.; width, 20 cm.; thickness, 5 cm. According to Mr. Lodni, the right corner of the binding was damaged by a bullet in 1945 but the manuscript itself was left intact. (Letter of Mr. E. Lodni, Bautzen, July 12, 1973).

3. Reinhold Schottin, ed., *Das Diarium des Erich Lassota von Steblau* (Halle, Verlag Emil Barthel, 1866), p. 3.

4. I have not examined that part of the diary dealing with 1611 which was not published by Schottin.

5. On the origin of Bautzen Library see K. Marx, "Hans von Gersdorf, der Gründer der Gersdorfschen Stiftung," *Bautzener Geschichtshefte*, Vol. 14 (1936); Martin Reuther, *Geschichte des Bibliothekswesens in der Stadt Bautzen* (Bautzen, 1955), pp. 36-37.

6. There is no published biography of R. Schottin. Some biographical information is to be found in Bautzen Gymnasium's serial publication, *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Budissin* (1851-1893). In Richard Needon's *Das Bautzener Gymnasium in vier Jahrhunderten* (Bautzen, 1927, p. 69) the following biographical information is included: "Als Lehrer traten unter Hoffmann ein . . . 3. Dr. Reinhold Schottin (1851-92), geb. 20. Mai 1823 in Köstritz, aus Meissen Ostern 1851 nach B. als VIII; besonders für französischen unterricht und Geschichte, 1892 abgegangen, +7 Juni 1895."

7. Martin Reuther, *op. cit.*, p. 55. The author lists Schottin in his chronological chart of Bautzen's librarians under the years 1853-1896. However, Schottin died in 1895.



8. Reinhold Schottin, "Die Slaven in Thüringen," in *Programm des Gymnasiums zu Bautzen* for the year 1884; "Die altherthümlichen Gebäude und Ruinen Bautzens," *Gebirgsfreund*, Vol. 1, Nos. 15-18 (1889). *Observationes de Plutarchi vita Artaxerxis* (1865).

9. Reinhold Schottin, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

10. In this context we should mention Johann Christian Engel's *Geschichte der Ukraine und der ukrainischen Kosaken*, (Halle, 1796). A comprehensive analysis of this work is found in B. Krupnytskyi's *Johann Christian v. Engel und die Geschichte der Ukraine*, Berlin, 1931. Also mentioned should be Johann Paul Pöhlmann, *Die Kosaken*, 1812; Carl Plotho, *Die Kosaken*, 1811. Adequate analysis of contemporary German historiography dealing with Ukrainian Cossacks and Ukraine is presented by Dmytro Doroshenko, *Die Ukraine und das Reich*, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 81-147.

11. "So finden sich die Verhältnisse dargestellt bei von Engel, *Geschichte der Ukraine*, p. 96ff. und E. Hermann, *Geschichte des Russischen Staates*, iii, p. 418," Schottin, *op. cit.*, p. 9. It should be pointed out that Ernest Hermann's *History* contained a separate chapter on "Die Kleinrussische Kosaken" (Bd. 3, pp. 602-627).

12. On F. Brun see *Russkii Biograficheskii Slovar* (St. Petersburg, 1908), Vol. 3, p. 385; also *Istoriki SSSR*, O. Shvedova, ed. (Moskva, 1941), p. 31.

13. On Volodymyr Antonovych see Dmytro Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography* (New York, 1957), pp. 176-187.

14. D. I. Evarnytskyi, *Istoria Zaporozhskich Kozakov* (St. Petersburg, 1892), Vol. 1, pp. 101-121.

15. Vasyl Domanytskyi, "Kozachchyna na perelomi XVI-XVII. (1591-1603)," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, Vols. 60-64 (1904-1905).

16. M. Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy* (Lviv, 1909), Vol. VII, pp. 286-291.

17. W. Zakrzewski, "Pamientnik Eryka Lassoty," *Dziennik Literacki*, Nos. 8-11 (1870). This is the only publication that we were not able to examine directly.

18. George Vernadsky, senior editor. *A Source Book for Russian History from Early Times to 1917*. Vol. 1 (New Haven, 1972), pp. 292-294.

19. Johanne Sinapio, *Schlesische Curiositäten*, Theil 1 (Leipzig, 1720), p. 58.

20. Friderici Lucae, *Schlesiens Curieuser Denckwürdigkeiten oder vollkommener Chronica*. Anderer Theil. (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1689), p. 1815. (Further quoted as *Lucae Chronica*.)

21. Sinapio, *op. cit.*, pp. 578-579.

22. Bartosz Paprocki, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* (Kraków, 1858). See the section "O klejnocie starodawnym w Polsce Odrowąz." The first edition of Paprocki's work was published in 1584.

23. J. Siebmacher's *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*. Bearbeitet von Konrad Blazek. Nürnberg, 1885. p. 40.

24. Additional genealogical and biographical information on the Lassota family is to be found in the following reference publications: Adam Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 14 (Warszawa, 1911), pp. 31-35; D. Doroschenko, *Die Ukraine und das Reich* (Leipzig, 1941), pp. 14-16; J. F. Gaucken, *Das heiligen römischen Reiches genealogisch historisches Adels-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1719), p. 884; Grünhagen, "Lassota, Erich," *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. 17 (Leipzig, 1883); Ernst H. Kneschke, *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, Vol. 5 (Leipzig, 1864); Josef Pilnaček, *Staromoravští rodové* (Kromeriz, 1926); Adalbert Ritter Král, *Der Adel von Böhmen, Mähren u. Schlesien* (Prag, 1904).

25. "Ein rother Schild/dass Dach in dem Schild weiss/auf dem Helm eine gelb Cron/der Pfauen-Schwantz grün/das ander wie im Schild/die Helm-Deck roth und weiss," *Lucae Chronica*, p. 1815. See also Siebmacher, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Pilnaček, *op. cit.*, p. 525.

26. Paprocki, *op. cit.*, pp. 542-543. It should be pointed out that the coat of arms of "Rawicz" was also used in Poland by Lassota's Polish line. See Paprocki, pp. 540-542; Boniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

27. Z. Wójcik, ed. *Eryka Lassoty i Wilhelma Beuplana Opisy Ukrainy*, Warszawa, 1972, p. 21. Earlier the same date was suggested by D. Doroschenko.

28. Grünhagen, *op. cit.*, p. 793.

29. Nicholas Lassota von Steblau was counselor to Emperor Ferdinand the First and Chancellor of the principalities of Oppeln and Ratibor (1561); Hans Lassota the Younger was counselor and gentleman-in-waiting to Duke George the Second (1584). For additional information on the Silesian line of Lassota's see Sinapio, *op. cit.*, pp. 578-580.

30. Reinhold Schottin, ed. *Tagebuch des Erich Lassota von Steblau*, *op. cit.*, p. 13. (Later quoted as *Tagebuch*.)

31. *Tagebuch*, p. 16.

32. After the death of King Sebastian in 1578, Portugal was in political turmoil caused by various claimants to the Portuguese throne. This was a very opportune moment for the Spanish king to proceed with his plans for annexing Portugal.

33. *Tagebuch*, p. 20.

34. *Tagebuch*, p. 94.

35. For instance, under the date of March 27, 1587, Lassota writes in his *Diary* that he had an audience with Archduke Maximilian and "reported much information from Poland," *Tagebuch*, p. 99.

36. *Tagebuch*, p. 108.

37. On the basis of this treaty Rudolf II renounced all Habsburg claims to the Polish crown, and Archduke Maximilian in return was released from his captivity.

38. On Austrian and Russian relationships of this time and Lassota's mission see Hans Uebersberger, *Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts*, Bd.I (Wien, 1906), pp. 550-552.

39. "Instructio Regis Maximiliani pro Erica Lassota ad Moscum," *Mergentheim*, July 21, 1590. Preserved in Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv in Wien (Russica, Kop.).

40. On Lassota's Swedish captivity see "Ein Kaiserlicher Diplomat, Lassota von Steblau in Schwedischer Gefangenschaft," *Grenzboten*, No. 1 (1869), pp. 457-472.

41. *Tagebuch*, p. 192.

42. *Tagebuch*, p. 193.

43. The role of Khlopicki is discussed in the next section.

44. *Tagebuch*, p. 44.

45. *Tagebuch*, pp. 208-209 (June 5).

46. *Tagebuch*, p. 220.

47. *Tagebuch*, p. 228.

48. Lassota prepared a special report about the capture of Kaschau by Hungarian rebels: "Erici Lassota a Steblau de Cassovia rebellibus dedita."

49. *Tagebuch* (Appendix), p. 230. This, Maximilian's letter, is addressed to "Unsern lieben getreuen Erichen Lasotha von Steblau, Röm. Kay. Ma. auch unserm Rath und gewesten Mustermeister in Obern Hungern" (Our Faithful Erich Lassota von Steblau, Counselor to His Imperial Majesty and ourselves, and also the past Inspector General of Upper Hungary).

50. A clear analysis of Turkish-European relationships is presented by Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances 1350-1700* (London, 1954).

51. For a general account on the Ottoman-Safavid War (1578-1590) see N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (Gotha, 1910), Vol. III; Carl Max Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus* (New York, 1972), pp. 39-95; W. E. D. Allen, *Problems of Turkish Power in the Sixteenth Century* (1963).

52. The military contest between Austria and Turkey for Hungarian territory goes back to the early part of the 16th century, when King Louis II of Hungary was defeated by Suleiman the Magnificent at the battle of Mohács in 1526. After 1542 Hungary was divided into three parts: the Western section, ruled by Habsburgs; Central Hungary, under direct Turkish administration; and Transylvania (Erdel), under the Turkish protectorate.

53. This question is analyzed by Gunther E. Rothenberg in *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747* (Urbana, 1960), pp. 52-59. The chief promoter of the Turkish war was the powerful Sinan Pasha, who persuaded the Sultan that the Habsburgs could be defeated.

54. For Crimean Tatar involvement see C. M. Kortepeter, "Gazi Giray II, Khan of the Crimea, and Ottoman Policy in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, 1588-94," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 44, No. 102 (1966), pp. 139-166.

55. The historical and biographical studies on Rudolf are rather limited. On his life and activities see Getrude von Schwarzenfeld, *Rudolf II. Der saturnische Kaiser*, München, 1961; Jan B. Novák, *Rudolf II a jeho pád*, Prague, 1935; P. Erlanger, E. Neweklowsky, *L'Empereur insolite, Rudolphe II de Habsbourg*, Paris, 1971. The most comprehensive account in English on Rudolf is a well documented study by R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II and His World*, Oxford, 1973; however, the author places the emphasis on his religious and cultural activities. Evans' study includes a comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources. For an earlier bibliography on Rudolf see Johan Kertesz, *Bibliographie der Habsburg-Literatur, 1218-1934*, Budapest, 1934, pp. 51-54.

56. See Franklin L. Baumer, "England, and the Common Corps of Christendom," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 50 (1944-1945), pp. 26-48.

57. It is important to note that some Polish historians consider the Holy Roman Empire as a threat to the freedom of other, especially East European, nations. Halecki, in comparing Ottoman and Habsburg expansionism, states that "the rule of the Habsburgs, though much less despotic and ruthless than the sultans' domination, was gradually curtailing the rights of estates," Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization* (New York, 1952). In this context some Polish historians attempted to justify Polish-Ottoman cooperation in the 1580s and 1590s. At the same time it should be pointed out that in Poland there existed a rather strong pro-Habsburg party.

58. C. L. F. von Mathaus-Voltolini, "Die Beteiligung des Papstes Clemens VIII an der Bekämpfung der Türken in den Jahren 1592-1595," *Roemische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*, Vol. 15 (1901); Lubomyr R. Wynar, *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594*, Ukrainian Historical Association Papers, No. 1 (1965), pp. 3-4. The best analysis of Habsburg and Turkish relationships at the end of the 16th century is presented by Josef Matoušek, *Turecká válka v Evropské politice v letech 1592-1594* (Prague, 1935), and Josef Macůrek, *Zapas Polska a Habsburku o přístup k Černému Moři na sklonku 16 Stol* (Prague, 1931). Also see Joseph V. Hammer, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Bd. 4 (Pest, 1829), a comprehensive 10-volume work that was reprinted in 1963 in Germany; and Johann W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanisches Reiches in Europa*, Bd. III (Hamburg, 1842), which consists of seven volumes.

59. Alfred H. Loebel, "Zur Geschichte des Türkenkrieges von 1593-1600," *Prager Studien aus dem Gebiete der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Prague, 1899). Also see Rothenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-63; Carl M. Kortepeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-143. There is a clear presentation of the Cossack-Austrian relationship in M. Hrushevsky's *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, Vol. VII (New York, 1956), pp. 196-206.

60. W. E. D. Allen, *The Ukraine: A History* (New York, 1963), p. 79.

61. The word "Cossack" is derived from the Turkish "Quazaq," which denoted "free warrior," "free man," "adventurer." The etymology of

this term is discussed by Gunter Stökl in *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums* (München, 1953), pp. 39-41; M. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-77; G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age*, (New Haven, 1959), p. 249.

62. The analysis of the historical literature and sources concerning the origin of Ukrainian Cossacks is presented in my study *Ohlad istorychnoi literatury pro pochatky Ukrainskoi Kozachachyny* (München, 1966). Recently Philip Longworth attempted, rather unsuccessfully, to write an historical account of Cossacks that incorporated Ukrainian Cossacks (*The Cossacks*; London, 1970). See I. L. Rudnytsky's criticism in *Slavic Review* (December 1972), and Longworth's "Letter" and Rudnytsky's "Reply" (*Slavic Review*, No. 2, June 1974, pp. 411-416). It seems that Mr. Longworth's lack of familiarity with basic historical sources concerning Zaporozhian Cossacks has resulted in a work that is of rather inferior quality.

63. Nikolaus Ernst, "Die ersten Einfälle der Krymtataren in Südrussland," *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vol. 11, 1913; Ia. I. Dzyra, "Tataro-Turetski napady na Ukrainu XIII-XVI st. za Chronikamy Bielskykh ta Strykovskoho," *Ukrainskyi Istoryko-Geohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, Vol. I (Kiev, 1971), pp. 83-102.

64. "Instead of offering a defense," writes Hrushevsky, "the Lithuanian government attempted to bribe the Tatars by paying them an annual tribute and giving them gifts. It also encouraged them to attack territory of Muscovy, and ultimately the Tatars plundered both Muscovy and the Lithuanian lands." M. Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine* (Yale University Press, 1941), p. 151. After Lublin Union, the Polish government continued to pay annual tributes to Crimean Tatars and Ottomans. The Polish-Tatar relations are discussed by Ludwig Kolankowski, "Problem Krymu w dziejach Jagiellonskich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, Vol. 49 (1933). See also Z. Abrahamowicz, "Dokumenty tatarskie i tureckie w źródłach polskich," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, 2(10), 1954.

65. In analyzing the circumstances and conditions that influenced the emergence of Cossacks as a frontier society, the researcher is confronted with the socioeconomic and military phenomenon of "ukhodnyky" and "ukhodnyctvo." The "ukhodnyky" were Ukrainian settlers in the fortified towns who spent a portion of their time in the steppes and who were engaged in seasonal hunting, fishing, and beekeeping. In late autumn they would return home with rich gains. In the steppes they were frequently exposed to Tatar raids. To be engaged in "ukhody" and to experience the resulting hardships was known as the "Cossack way of life" or "cossacking" (*kozakovannia*).

66. *Zherela do istorii Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. 7, Nos. 31, 34, 37.

67. *Ibid.*, No. 50.

68. O. Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 186. Halecki states that Ukrainian Cossacks emerged as an organization "orthodox in faith and predominantly Ruthenian in composition." However, it should be pointed out that the Cossack

organization also included some Byelorussian, Moldavians, Poles, Russians, and members of other nationalities. On the other hand, some historians go to extremes by advocating the theory of the "multi-national" character of Ukrainian Cossacks, which is not supported by historical sources. See Wladyslaw Tomkiewicz, "O skladzie spoiechnym i etnicznym kozaczyzny Ukrainnej . . .," *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 37 (1948).

69. It would be interesting to analyze the development of Cossack frontier society on the basis of Frederich Turner's "frontier thesis" and to compare it with other European frontier societies. However, this topic does not belong within the scope of this study. For consideration, see Dietrich Gerhard, "The Frontier in Comparative View," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. I (1959), pp. 205-229. It should be pointed out that Russian Cossacks included the Don, Iaik (later Ural), and Terek Cossacks. On Russian Cossacks, see Gunter Stökl, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-110.

70. On registered Cossacks, see L. Wynar, "Pochatky ukrainskoho reiestrovoho kozatstva," *Ukrains'kyi Istoryk*, Nos. 2-3 (1966).

71. The Cossack independent military units played a crucial role in the development of Zaporozhian Cossacks and in Cossack participation in the Turkish war of 1593-1595.

72. Detailed analysis of the Zaporozhian Sich and the development of Ukrainian Cossackdom is to be found in D. I. Evarnytskyi, *Istoria Zaporozhskikh Kozakov, 1892-1897*, 3 vols.; M. Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainskoho Kozachestva* (Kiev, 1913-1914), 2 vols.; V. A. Golobutskii, *Zaporozhskoe Kazachestvo* (Kiev, 1957). Other major studies were discussed by this author in *Ohliad istorychnoi literatury pro pochatky ukrains'koi Kozachchyny* (München, 1966).

73. On Vyshnevetskyi's activity and life see L. Wynar, *Kniaź Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi* (München, 1964); also Chantal Lemerrier-Quequejay, "Un Condottière Lithuanien du XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle: Le prince Dimitrij Visneveckij et l'origine de la Sec Zaporogue d'après les archives Ottomanes," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, Vol. X (1969), pp. 149-167.

74. Soviet historian Holobutskyi considers Vyshnevetskyi as an "enemy of Zaporozhians." Holobutskyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78; see criticism of his views in L. Wynar's monograph on Vyshnevetskyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24, 54-55.

75. Only recently Quelquejay analyzed Turkish archival materials concerning Vyshnevetskyi's and the Cossacks' anti-Turkish activity. Turkish sources distinctly indicate that the Ottomans considered the Zaporozhian Cossacks as their chief enemy and the major anti-Turkish military force in 16th century Europe. Quelquejay, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-277.

76. *Kronika Marcina Bielskiego*, "O Kazakach" (Sanok, 1858), pp. 1358-1361; *Herby Rycerstva Polskiego*, Bartosza Paprockiego (Krakow, 1858), p. 158; see also Appendix, No. 1, p. 112.

77. L. Wynar, "Pochatky ukrainskoho reiestrovoho kozatstva," *Ukrainskyi Istoryk*, Nos. 2-3 (1964), p. 3.

78. *Zherela*, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

79. *Vataha* consisted of frontiersmen engaged in exploiting the natural resources of the steppes. Their confrontation with Tatars influenced *vataha*'s military techniques and customs.

80. *Collacteanea z dziejopisow tureckich*, edited by Josef Senkowski (Warszawa, 1824), Vol. I, p. 181.

81. *Zherela*, Vol. 8, No. 41, p. 65.

82. *Tagebuch*, p. 218.

83. Chancellor Zamoyski considered Sigismund III as being pro-Austrian. See *The Cambridge History of Poland* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 456-457. During the Polish Diet of 1592 the King was accused by some Polish magnates of having secret relations with the Cossacks and paying them money for their assistance in combating the anti-Habsburg forces in Poland. See M. Antonovych, "Studii z chasiv Nalyvaika," *Pratsi Ukrainskoho Istorychno-filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, Vol. 4 (1942), p. 40

84. It is interesting to note that H. Inalcik considers as one of the major symptoms of the decline of the Ottoman fleet its inability to cope with Cossack raids on the Black Sea. Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1973), p. 44.

85. *Pamiatnyki diplomatycheskych snoshenii drevnei Rossii s derzhavami inostrannymi*, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1852), p. 1282.

86. M. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 196; Z. Wójcik, ed., *Eryka Lassoty i Wilhelma Beauplana Opisy Ukrainy*, p. 19.

87. Hans Uebersberger, *Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts* (Wien, 1906), pp. 552-553; S. M. Soloviev, *Istoria Rossii* (Moskva, 1960), Vol. 7-8, pp. 242-245.

88. Most important documents concerning the Warkotsch mission are published in *Pamiatniki*, *op. cit.*, pp. 1280-1310. On Warkotsch, see also Joseph Matoušek, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-158.

89. S. M. Soloviev, *op. cit.*, p. 246; M. Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

90. On Wacker mission see J. Macúrek, *Dozvuky polského bezkralovi z roku 1587* (Prag, 1929), pp. 122-126.

91. The part of instruction reads: "Et quoniam Cosaci Nizoviensis suam nobis operam antehac adversus Turcam obtulerunt, quinam illi et quan multi sint, quas opportunitates invadendi habeant, quomodo condui possint, dextre inquirat, idque quidem ad Cancellarium, neque apud alios proceres, sed apud eos, per quos Cozaci illi ad infestandum Turcarum oras excitary possint." *Instructio pro Ioanne Matheo Wacker . . . 21 Decembris 1593*. Published by Barvinskyi, *op. cit.*, No. 1, p. 21.

92. It seems that Valicki was a representative of the registered Cossacks. In his discussions with Wacker he named Oryshovski, who was in charge of registered Cossacks, as the supreme Cossack leader ("dux").

93. Barvinskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

94. On Clement VIII and his diplomacy see Karel Stloukal, *Papezska politika a čisářsky dvur pražski na předelu XVI. a XVII. věku* (Praha, 1925), pp. 5-17, 63-85.

95. Pope Clement VIII tried to reduce antagonisms between the individual European states and to unite them into an alliance against Turks. He initiated negotiations with the Republic of Venice and showed an effort to reconcile France and Spain. He devoted his energy particularly to Balkan and East European states directly affected by the Ottoman imperialism.

96. J. Macurek, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

97. See L. Boratynski, "Kozacy i Watykan," *Przegląd Polski*, Sept. 1906, pp. 21-40; special report on Cossacks in the 1580s published in *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes*, Vol. I, (Romae, 1959), pp. 23-30; see Appendix, No. 2, pp. 116-119.

98. On Comulovich mission see L. Wynar, *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594*, (New York, 1965); L. Wynar, "Dyplomatychna misia Alexandra Komulovycha v Ukrainu 1594 Roku," *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, Vol. IV, No. 3-4, pp. 513-526; see also Oscar Halecki, *From Florence to Brest* (Rome, 1958), pp. 253-267; Pierling, "Novi izvori o L. Komulovicu," *Starine*, Vol. 16 (1884); K. Chodnycki, *Kosciól prawoslawny a Rzeczpospolita Polska* (Warszawa, 1934), pp. 274-275.

99. These documents were published by Father Pierling, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-231.

100. The Texts of the Pope's letters to the Cossacks were published in *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucraine Illustrantia*, *op. cit.*, Nos. 129, 130, pp. 133-135; see Appendix, No. 3, pp. 120-121.

101. *Documenta*, p. 135; see Appendix, No. 4, pp. 122-123.

102. On St. Khlopicki, a former courtier of King Stephen Bathory, see *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Vol. 5, pp. 313-314; see also M. Antonovych, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

103. *Tagebuch*, p. 193. Moses is mentioned several times by Lassota in connection with Khlopicki negotiations with Habsburg.

104. *Tagebuch*, p. 192.

105. *Littere Nuntiorum Apostolicorum*, Vol. 2, No. 400, p. 9.

106. *Ibid.*

107. Kortepeter erroneously states that Khlopicki "returned to the Zaporozhians with money, silver drums, and eagle crest, and banners during the winter of 1593-1594." (Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism . . .*, p. 139.) It should be pointed out that during the winter of 1593/94 Khlopicki was still in Prague, and Lassota was the one who delivered money to the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

108. Lassota in his *Diary* writes about the "misleading role" of Khlopicki, who presented himself to the Emperor as the Zaporozhian hetman "which he never was or could even aspire to be according to what the distinguished members of that company [Zaporozhians] told me. Second he was not even sent by the Zaporozhians to his Imperial Majesty. Only while he



was in Kiev some time ago where he conversed with several Cossacks who were discussing means of bringing themselves to the attention of His Imperial Majesty in view of imminent war with the Turks, he came upon the idea, which he did not share with others, of going to the Emperor to offer their services." *Tagebuch*, p. 215.

109. *Tagebuch*, p. 195.
110. *Listy Stanisława Żółkiewskiego* (Krakow, 1868), No. 25, p. 45.
111. *Ibid.*
112. *Tagebuch*, p. 220.
113. See section on Warkotch mission, pp. 36-37.
114. Lassota's description of Zaporozhian mores and their political institutions will be discussed in my separate monograph on Ukrainian Cossacks in West-European literature in the 16th century.
115. *Tagebuch*, p. 221.
116. Hrushevsky, vii, p. 199; M. Antonovych, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
117. Heidenstein, x, p. 304; Barvinskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
118. *Tagebuch*, p. 221.
119. The Tatar expedition to Hungary is discussed in detail by B. Kocowski, *Wyprawa Tatarow na Węgry* (Lublin, 1948).
120. B. Kocowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9; *Archiwum domu Sapiehów*, Vol. I, p. 109.
121. M. Antonovych, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
122. *Tagebuch*, p. 211.
123. L. Wymar, *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594*, pp. 11-12. It is interesting to note that the Papal legate Comulovich understood the distinction between the Zaporozhian Cossacks and other Cossack formations. He referred to Zaporozhians as "li Cosachi di Boristene," and to other Cossacks as "altri Cosachi." See Pierling-Racki, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.
124. A valuable description of Nalyvaiko's raid is presented in his letter of 1596. See W. S. de Broel-Plater, ed., *Zbior pamientnikow do dziejow Polskich*, Vol. 2 (Warszawa, 1858-59), pp. 214-219.
125. Pierling-Racki, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
126. *Tagebuch*, p. 213.
127. According to Lassota "they did not dare to go to Moldavia with the small number of men which was available, that is 3,000, since they did not trust the Hospodar and the Moldavians who, by their nature, were a traitorous lot and whose untrustworthiness was well known to them." *Tagebuch*, p. 214.
128. *Tagebuch*, p. 219.
129. *Tagebuch*, pp. 220-223.
130. *Tagebuch*, p. 222.
131. *Ibid.* Severyn Nalyvaiko, a former Cossack captain in the service of Prince Constantine Ostrozshkyi had previously fought the Zaporozhians and participated in the Battle at Piatka in 1593 in which Cossacks were defeated. In 1594 he left Prince Ostrozshkyi's service and headed an independent

detachment that consisted of 2,500 men. Nalyvaiko played an important role in the Habsburg coalition. A popular account of his life and activity is presented by D. I. Myshko, *Severyn Nalyvaiko* (Kiev, 1962); I. Rozner, *Severyn Nalyvaiko* (Moskva, 1961).

132. *Tagebuch*, p. 228.

133. *Ibid.*

134. D. Evarnytskyi, and after him E. Barvynskyi, advocated the hypothesis that already in June of 1594 Comulovich negotiated directly with Hetman Mykoshyn's'kyi. This assumption is not supported by contemporary historical sources. See Lubomyr R. Wynar, "Dyplomatychna misia A. Kumulovycha . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 523.

135. Pierling-Racki, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 111.

136. Iazlovetsky's army consisted of approximately 20,000 men, of which 6,000 were Zaporozhians and about 3,000 Nalyvaiko's Cossacks. The remainder consisted of registered Cossacks, some detachments of Don Cossacks, and other volunteers.

137. Heidenstein, *op. cit.*, X, p. 307; Bielski, *op. cit.*, p. 1719.

138. M. Antonovych, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

139. C. M. Kortepeter, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

140. This pact was signed in Prag on January 28, 1595. See "Offensiv und Difensivbündniss zwischen Kaizer Rudolf II und Siegmund Bathory," *Oesterreichische Staatsverträge Fürstentum Siebenbürgen* (Wien, 1911), No. 34, pp. 226-231.

141. R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of Roumainians*, pp. 61-64; a comprehensive analysis of Michael's activity is provided by P. Panaitescu, *Mihaiu Viteazul* (Bucuresti, 1936).

142. Hurmuzaki, XI, p. 413. Aaron maintained friendly relations with Poland, Porte, and Crimean Tatars.

143. Moldavian-Ukrainian relationships in the 16th century are discussed by N. A. Mokhov, *Ocherki istorii moldavsko-russko-ukrainskikh svyazei* (Kishinev, 1961). See also *Istoria Moldavskoi SSR*, Vol. I (1965), pp. 237-245.

144. Kortepeter states that Aaron "had one major reservation about the league. He demanded special protection against the Tatars if he should break with the Porte" (Kortepeter, *op. cit.*, p. 135). In addition to this he also feared the powerful Cossack military force, and at the same time hoped to maintain friendly relations with anti-Habsburg Poland. Mochov claims that at this time Aaron was loyal to Porte. Mochov, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

145. Hurmuzaki, XII, p. 30; M. Antonovych, *op. cit.*, p. 61. In September Aaron's troops, alongside Turkish soldiers, attacked Nalyvaiko's Cossacks returning from their raid on Kilia and Tiahynia. This was additional proof of Aaron's cooperation with Ottoman forces.

146. Heidenstein, X, p. 307; Hurmuzaki, III (1), No. 203.

147. The exact date of this Cossack expedition is not clearly indicated in historical sources. According to Heidenstein the Cossack campaign occurred

shortly after Iazlovetsky's expedition (*op. cit.*, X, p. 307); according to other reports [Pierling, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 124; Hurmuzaki, IV (2), p. 126], the Cossacks entered Moldavia at the end of October.

148. Broel-Plater, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

149. V. Domanytskyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; Hrushevskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 203; Evarnytskyi, *op. cit.*, v. 2, p. 128.

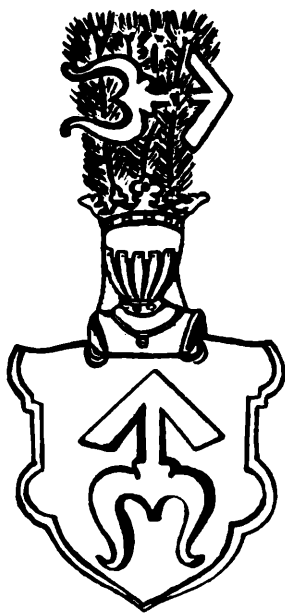
150. It was previously noted that Aaron promised Comulovich to support the Habsburg alliance. In the early part of November he signed a special treaty with Rudolf accepting his protection. The Zaporozhian Captain Demkovych participated in this ceremony as an official representative of the Emperor and Zaporozhian Cossacks. He left a valuable account of this event. See *Relatiike Istorice Dintre Popoarcle U.R.S.S. si Rominia* (Moscow, 1965), Vol. 1, No. 69, pp. 203-204; see Appendix, No. 6, p. 126.

151. Already in February of 1595 the Zaporozhians and Nalyvaiko's Cossacks, as allies of Aaron, stormed Tiahynia (Bender), Bilhorod (Akkerman), and Kilia. During the summer they also aided *Voevoda* Michael and together with Wallachian and Transylvanian auxiliary troops contributed to the victory at Calugareny (August 23, 1595); for several months in 1595 Nalyvaiko's Cossacks assisted Sigismund Bathory in Transylvania. The internal conflicts within the Danubian principalities, the anti-Polish uprising of Loboda and Nalyvaiko in 1596, and the pro-Ottoman policies of Chancellor Zamoyski directly influenced the weakening of the anti-Turkish coalition.

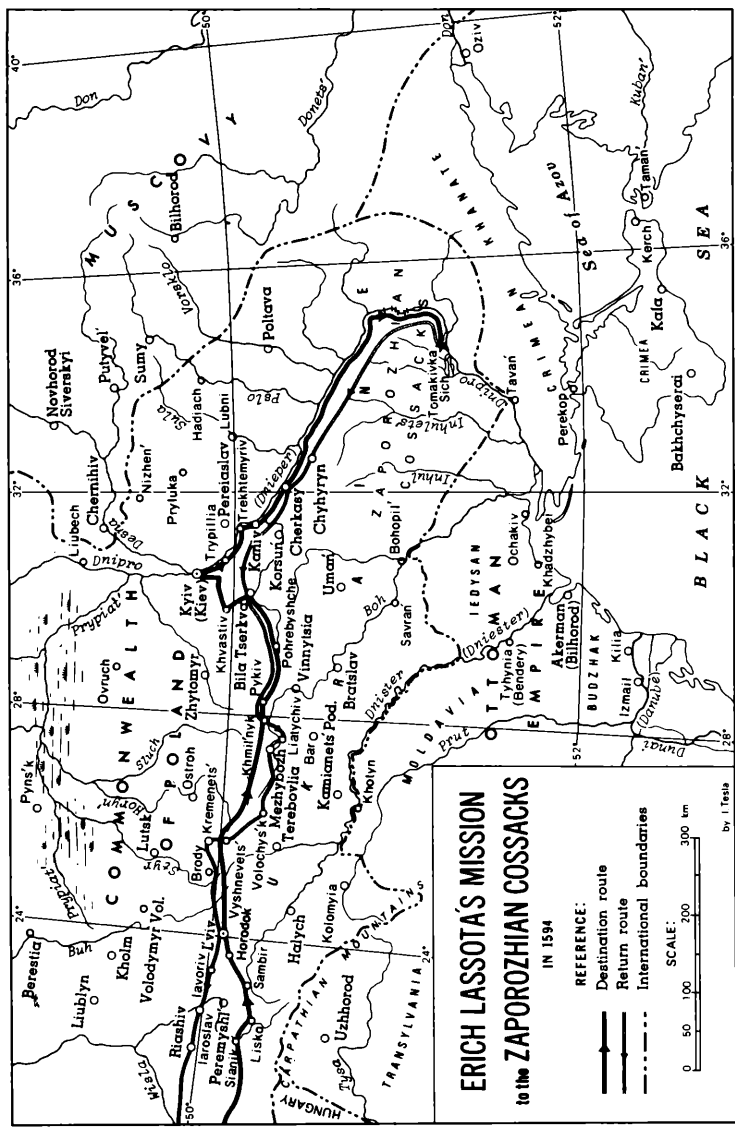
On the internal conflicts in Danubian principalities, see R. W. Seton-Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-72; Iorga, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-159; on Zamoyski and his policy, see J. Macurek, *Zápas Polska a Habsbursku* (Prague, 1931), pp. 26-80; on the Cossacks' uprising, see V. Domanytskyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-113; V. Golobutskii, *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo*, pp. 133-146.



**The Diary of  
Erich Lassota von Steblau  
1594**



Odrowąż-Lassota coat of arms



**ERICH LASSOTA'S MISSION  
to the ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS**

IN 1594

**REFERENCE:**

- Destination route
- Return route
- - - International boundaries

**SCALE:**



by I. Tesla

**Erich Lassota's Mission to the Zaporozhian Cossacks  
by I. Tesla**

**THE DIARY OF  
ERICH LASSOTA VON STEBLAU  
1594**

**ANNO 1594**

**JANUARY**

- The 14th. I journeyed from Schreibersdorf<sup>1</sup> to Kralitz (a castle and village), 1 mile.<sup>2</sup> Friedland (a market and castle), 2 miles. Reiss (a Bishop's seat and castle), 2 miles.
- The 15th. Did not travel.
- The 16th. Ottmachau<sup>3</sup> (a town and castle), 1½ miles. Patschkau<sup>4</sup> (town), 1½ miles. Reichenstein (an unfortified mountain town), 1 mile. Ate. Glatz<sup>5</sup> (a town and castle on the Reiss River), 3 miles.
- The 17th. Reinerz (market), 2½ miles. Ate. Lewin (market), 1 mile. Nachod<sup>6</sup> (a town and castle), 1½ miles.
- The 18th. Skalitz (a market and castle), 1 mile. Jaromer (a town on the Elbe), 1 mile. Ate. Niempewitz (a village), 2 miles.
- The 19th. Bydzov (a town), 2 miles. Kraloweh<sup>7</sup> or Obrany Miestez (a small unfortified town), 2 miles. Ate. Nimburg (a town on the Elbe), 2 miles.

- The 20th. Taussim (an unfortified market on the Elbe), 3 miles. Ate. Prague (a city), 3 miles.
- The 24th. His Serene Highness Archduke Maximilian<sup>8</sup> arrived here. I met him in Brunn.
- The 26th. Wolf Rumpf,<sup>9</sup> the Imperial Steward and Chief Chamberlain, summoned me and informed me that His Imperial Majesty had decided to dispatch me in his service. I should report to his secret counselor, Von Hornstein,<sup>10</sup> who would advise me along with others about my mission and what provisions should be taken.
- The 27th. I reported to Von Hornstein who informed me about the *Nyzhnyi* or Zaporozhian Cossacks who have their settlement on the isles of the Borysthenes River, which is called Dnieper in Polish. Through one of them, a person named Stanislaw Khlopicki,<sup>11</sup> they offered their services to His Imperial Majesty. According to him, the Tatars were definitely preparing themselves for a campaign and planned to cross the *ostio* or mouth of the Borysthenes, which flows into the Black Sea. They (the Zaporozhian Cossacks) proposed to block their way and interfere in every way possible. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty decided to present them with a standard and a sum of money as tokens of esteem and chose me to make this presentation. His Imperial Majesty wished to provide me with the services of Jacob Henckel<sup>12</sup> who knew that area. I declared my obedience to His Imperial Majesty to whom I owe so much and indicated my readiness to embark on such a journey. However, since it is a dangerous journey in the course of which I could easily land in prison or in some other misfortune, I requested most obediently that in such a case, His Imperial Majesty graciously come to my aid. Von Hornstein agreed to present this request to His Imperial Majesty, who graciously approved it and included it in my instructions.
- The 29th. Laszlo Popel<sup>13</sup> has been deprived of life, honor and possessions.

## FEBRUARY

- The 2nd. I spoke for the first time with Bartholme Pezzen<sup>14</sup> about my journey and also had breakfast with him.
- The 7th. Khlopicki and a Jew named Moses<sup>15</sup> took the oath [of service] to His Imperial Majesty, administered by Bartholme Pezzen and Daniel Prinzen<sup>16</sup> in my presence.



- The 10th. Khlopicki left Prague with Moses and took the standard with him.
- The 19th. I received the letter and instructions.
- The 20th. In the lodgings of Pezzen and in his presence and that of his secretary, Hieronimus Arconata, I and Jacob Henckel took the oath [of service] to His Imperial Majesty for the duration of this journey and this undertaking.
- The 21st. His Royal Highness,<sup>17</sup> the Archduke Maximilian is in Austria again. Gone to Neustadt.
- The 22nd. Received eight thousand ducats<sup>17a</sup> in gold from Hans Reitman, the Royal Exchequer, for delivery to the Zaporozhian soldiers as a token of His Imperial Majesty's esteem.
- The 24th. Departed with Wilhelm von Oppersdorff<sup>18</sup> of Prague and ate at Neus (a market), 4 miles. Podebrady (a market and castle), 3 miles.
- The 25th. Zizelice (a market), 2½ miles. Chlumeck (a market and castle), ½ mile. Ate. Königgratz<sup>19</sup> (a town on the Elbe and Worlize), 3 miles.
- The 26th. Trzebautitz (a market), 2 miles. Then to Castolovice to Friedrich von Oppersdorff (a market and castle), 1 mile.
- The 27th. Holitz (a market), ½ mile. Wolesschnitz (a market), 2½ miles. Ate. Reinerz (a market), 1 mile. Very much snow on the way.
- The 28th. Glatz (a town and castle), 2½ miles. Ate. Reichstein (a town), 3 miles.

### MARCH

- The 1st. Neiss<sup>20</sup> (a town), 4 miles. Ate. Steinau (a market), 2 miles.
- The 2nd. Biela<sup>21</sup> (a town and castle), 2 miles. Schreibersdorf, 2 miles.
- The 3rd  
and  
4th. Did not travel.

- The 5th. Continued my journey to the Cossacks, also taking along my uncle, Nicholas Kochcicki,<sup>22</sup> and Thomas Gluchowski. That same day we went as far as Cosel (a town and castle belonging to Wilhelm von Oppersdorff), 3 miles.
- The 6th. Did not travel.
- The 7th. Bavorov or Bawerwitz (a market), 3 miles. Troppau<sup>23</sup> (a town and castle), 3 miles. Ate. Dessno (a village), 2 miles.
- The 8th. To Prucken, over the Markh or Morava River, 1 mile. Hoff (a fortified, little town), 1 mile. Ate. Berent (a market), 1 mile. Gibach (a market), 1 mile. Olmutz<sup>24</sup> (a town), 2 miles.
- The 9th. Kraelitz (a market), 2 miles. Predliz or Brodeck (a market), 1 mile. Wischau<sup>25</sup> (a town and castle belonging to the Bishop of Olmutz), 1 mile.
- The 10th. Rosenau (a market), 1 mile. Austerlitz<sup>26</sup> or Slawkau (a town and castle). Bearing left, arrived at Zieratitz, 1 mile. Ate. Mutenitz (a village), 1 mile. Nosyslau (a market belonging to Fredrich von Zierptin), 1 mile. Note: Lost our way in the night and arrived not in Nosyslau but in Nemetitz which is much more to the left.
- The 11th. Through Nemetitz. Tracht (a market), to Wisternitz (a market), 1 mile. Dankwitz (a market), ½ mile. Pratselssbrunn (a village), ½ mile. Ate. Stäts (a castle on a high mountain; beneath it is a village), 2 miles. Note: Behind Pratselssbrunn there is a little brook which separates Austria from Moravia.
- The 12th. Mistelbach (a market), 1 mile. Gaunersdorf (a market), 1½ miles. By highway to Woltersdorf (a market and a castle), 1½ miles. Ate. Up to Wolfenbruck, 2 miles. Vienna, 1 mile. It was here that I met Jacob Henckel who was assigned to me by His Imperial Majesty.
- The 13th. Did not travel.
- The 14th. Neustadt (a town and castle), 8 miles.
- The 15th. Reported to and received by His Royal Highness, the Archduke Maximilian. Had an early meal with his courtiers. In the afternoon went as far as Draiskirchen (a market), 4 miles.
- The 16th. Vienna, 4 miles.

- The 17th. Schwechat (a market on the Schwechat River), 2 miles. Fischamend (a market on the Fischau), 2 miles.
- The 18th. Prellenkirchen (a market), 4 miles. Kitsee (a market belonging to Listy, at a bend of the Danube), 1 mile. (Note: The Austro-Hungarian border goes between Kistee and Prellenkirchen.) Up to the crossing of the Danube, near Pressburg,<sup>27</sup> 1 mile. Ate in an inn there. After the meal, we crossed the Danube, and went on to Pressburg, called Pozsony in Hungarian (a town and castle which is located on a high hill). Remained there overnight.
- The 19th. Saw St. Georg, Posnith while passing to the left of them. After that to Wartberg (a market, Zencz in Hungarian, belonging to Septimo von Liechtenstein of Schinta), 3 miles.
- The 20th. Through Sarfia (a village). There made a crossing over rising waters, reaching Kapelna (a village), 1½ miles. Through Gfer (a village) up to Trnava (a beautiful large town, Nagy Szombat in Hungarian, Tirnawa in Slovak), 1½ miles. Ate. From here the route leads directly to Kaschau, Freistadt, Dobischau, Schabebrief, Pribitz. Because the Waag River had risen greatly and I could not cross at Freistadt, I took the road to Trentschin and arrived after midday at Maniga (a market) or Malženice in Slovak, 1 mile. Then to Freistadt, a town and castle belonging then to Count Julius von Salm, passing it 1 mile to the right. Then up to Gastilon, which is Geylfa in Hungarian (a market belonging to Nadasdi), 1 mile.
- The 21st. Through Straza (a village), 1 mile. Czeititz (a market belonging to Nadasdi). There is also a castle there, a short distance away, 1½ miles. Ate. Nove Mesto or, in German, Neu Stadt or Neumarkt (a large unfortified market belonging to Panfi Janusch, on the Waag River), ½ mile. Miesce (a village), ¼ mile. There we crossed the Waag. Through Beckov (a fortified town with a castle on a very rocky cliff). Also belongs to Panfi Janusch, ¼ mile. Beyond this town we crossed mountains and three high hills, then through Selitz (a village) to Diern (a village), 1 long mile.
- The 22nd. Trentschin<sup>28</sup> (a town and very high castle on the Waag), ½ mile. Ate. After that crossed several hills to Banowitz (a large, open market, belonging to Trentschin castle), 3 miles. Then crossed the Bobrova stream to the market.
- The 23rd. At the market crossed another stream, the Radissa. Both streams flow into the Nitra. After that, crossed a high hill to the

Vhorowetz castle in the valley on the left. Up to Woschczytz (a village), 1 long mile. Thence, across a stream which is also called Nitra, but it is not the actual Nitra. It is a ½ mile to Novak (a village in which almost only nobility lives), ½ mile. Then crossed the actual Nitra. Pribitz (a large, open market belonging to Herr Turzo), 1 mile.

A ½ mile from here, over the Nitra, lies Boynicz, a market and castle, also belonging to Turzo. A short distance away there is a warm spring. After going from there to Pribitz we came upon the usual road from Vienna to Kaschau. From there, to Windisch, Prob. Thereafter, Suchan, Rosenberg, St. Nicola, St. Peter, Seib, Waag, Lautschberg, Teutschendorf, Leutsch, Eperjes. We planned to go on to Kaschau but the horse which I bought in Vienna tired and since I was not sure I could buy one on the highway, I decided to go to Kremnitz and seek another horse there with the help of Sebastian Henckl, His Imperial Majesty's Resident Chamberlain.

The 24th. Passed through many villages and also many streams on the way to Ratosna (a large village) on the Mautt River, 1 mile. There we prepared ourselves to cross the very high mountain which is called Kozi Cherypy then on to Glaserhaj (a large village, half of a long mile). Thereafter passed through a pine forest to Turttsch (a village), ¾ mile. From there crossed numerous mountains to Kremnitz, ¾ mile.

Kremnitz.<sup>29</sup> Of all the Hungarian mountain towns, Kremnitz is the foremost. The Munz River flows through a deep valley, between high, rocky mountains. The part of the town which is within the walls is not large but it has a rather extensive suburb. In the town itself there is an old castle situated on a high point, and in it there is a church where they hold their funerals. Note: There are seven Hungarian mountain towns: 1) Kremnitz 2) Neu Sohl or Bistritz 3) Schemnitz 4) Libethen 5) Konisberg 6) Pukschutz 7) Dilln.

The 25th. Did not travel.

The 26th. Tirnawka (a village and market on the river Gran, Hron in Slovak), ½ mile.

The 27th. On the Gran, moving to the right towards Butsch (a village with a church attached to a fortress which has not been occupied since the conquest of Füleke), 1 mile. To Alt Sohl,<sup>30</sup> Swolena in Slovak, ½ mile. A town and castle situated on the Gran and

Slatina Rivers. Previously it was one of the major border points, protected like a mountain town although it was not counted as such. The town is relatively new and they have just begun to build a wall which does not yet encompass the town. Maitini was commander there and it was garrisoned by hussars, *hayduks*<sup>31</sup> and German infantry. Across the Gran, on the right side, a ruined castle stands on a mountain. It is called Alt Sohl or Stari Swolen (the town of Neu Sohl lies two miles away, among the hills). In the afternoon we crossed the Slatina River, then journeyed through the mountains, crossing the stream Neressmitza many times all the way to a spot below Dobring (a market, on an elevation, with a church built in a castle),  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. Stayed overnight there. A mile from Saas, on the right side, is Karpfen or Krupina in Slovak, Korpona in Hungarian. It is a town with a castle. Two miles, also on the right, situated on a mountain, is the mountain town of Schemnitz.

The 28th. Over a high mountain overgrown with shrubs and then through a thick oak forest to Sedmifras (a village), 1 mile. Basoken, a castle, was more than a mile to the right. Through Lomny (a village) and then over three high mountains to Plabenstein or Modri Kamen (a castle the Turks captured last year and then abandoned. At present ten of our *hayduks* are there), 2 miles. Ate. In the afternoon we took along four *hayduks* as escorts and came that same day to Galometz (a village). Went  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Note: Beyond Plabenstein the mountains are somewhat lower.

The 29th. Sechin (a town and castle on the Eypel or Ipla which was attacked by the Turks last year, set afire and then abandoned),  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Ate. One mile from Sechin, on a high mountain, stands the castle Holoky. Palanka lies 4 miles from Sechin and Neograd is 6 miles from Sechin. It (Neograd) was taken by His Highness, the Archduke Mathias<sup>32</sup> in the spring of that same year. After midday we were on our way again, taking along as an escort 18 *hayduks* of Ehrenreich von Tannhausen, commander of that same Palanka. Through Gierepane (a village with a ruined stone church), 1 mile. Then to Füleke, 2 miles. Füleke is a fine, fairly strong double fortress on a high mountain. The town, which lies in a valley between the mountains, was taken by us last year and was sacked and burned. The ruins of a fine old mosque and baths can still be seen. There is also a beautiful fountain there which the Turks built. A mile from there, on a high mountain, is a castle. Note: The shortest route from Alt Sohl to Füleke does not pass through Plabenstein and Sechin but goes through Wiklitz which has a castle on a high mountain and is two miles from

Alt Sohl. Then 2 miles over a mountain and through a forest and then 2 miles to Füle. I took the route to Plabenstein and Sechin because of the security the company and escort provided. At that time Niari Paul was the commander at Füle.

- The 30th. Bogarum (a village which lies beyond a mountain behind Füle),  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. Fed the horses there. Afterwards, over a high mountain and through a forest to a village,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles. From there, through a valley to Steffansdorf<sup>33</sup> (a town on the Rima River. An  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile away there had been a castle called Zabathka but last year it was destroyed by our men). This town is called Rima Szombat in Hungarian, also Rimawa,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Went on from there to the castle Balogh which is on a mountain to the left, then to Hatsch (a village inhabited almost exclusively by nobility), 1 mile.
- The 31st. All the way across the Schaia River,  $\frac{1}{4}$  miles. Gromern (an open market through which the Schaia flows),  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles. Breakfasted. Afterwards, across the Schaia again, over a high mountain and through a forest to Chehe (a village), 1 long mile.

#### APRIL

- The 1st. To Zendreo (a fortress and market). The castle is surrounded by bastions and drawbridges and almost completely encompassed by the Bodwat River. It is garrisoned by a squad of German infantry whose captain at the time was Christoff Lang of Chemnitz. Hussars live in the marketplace. Nearby is an old, dilapidated castle in which the commander, Niari Paul, who is also a commander of Füle, lives. Above this castle, on a hill, they began to build another castle three or four years ago but it is not yet completed, 2 miles. Ate. Just before we arrived in Zendreo we saw, about an  $\frac{1}{8}$  of a mile to the right, an old, ruined castle called Stirbawi Kamen. In the afternoon to Bodwa (a village),  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile beyond Zendreo, the mountains end.
- The 2nd. Wamosch (a village), 1 mile. Then crossed the Schaia twice to Mischkowitz (a large open market at the foot of a beautiful vineyard which yields very good wine, 1 short mile. Met Wenzl Gay there with his cavalry and ate with him. Note: Not far from Mischkowitz, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a mile away, is a castle and market called Diossgior which belongs to Torok Istvan Homonai and Niari Paul. The castle had been built as a vacation retreat by King Mathias; he and his wife liked to stay there quite often. There is also a garden with all kinds of water fountains. Now, however, all this is

quite dilapidated. A rather large tree stands in this garden which also yields, besides its normal fruit, apples or pears, and lentils. On to Mohy in the afternoon (which the Germans call Machay. It is a small, shabby market), 2 short miles. Christoff von Teuffenbach<sup>34</sup> whom I met in an army camp in Upper Hungary, is the field commander there. Shortly thereafter there was a great outcry because of a Tatar raid. It was uncertain whether they [the Tatars] would take the route through Poland or through Moldavia. Since I did not wish to endanger the sum of the eight thousand ducats which were entrusted to me, I left them with von Teuffenbach for safe-keeping, taking a receipt in return.

The 3rd  
and  
4th.

Did not travel.

The 5th.

Crossed the Schaia about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile beyond Mohy. Onod, a town and castle belonging to Forgach Sigmunds, is to the left and not far from there. To Megiasso (a village), 3 miles. Just before Tixo, on an open road, there is a large market about a mile to the left. Passed Tokay, 3 miles to the right.

The 6th.

Diz, then to the foot of a mountain range which reaches, on the right, almost all the way to Tokay. On to Zenta (a town belonging to Rakoczi), passed it about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile on the right then to Bödöki (a castle on a mountain, also on the right and not far from the road. It belongs to Scheriny Mihal.) To Regecz (a castle on the right, rather deeply set among the mountains and built on a very high mountain itself. It belongs to Rakoczi Sigmund). Up to Gönez (a large, open market belonging to Alexi Turzo), 3 miles. Ate. In the afternoon went approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile, over the Harnath and between the mountains which merge beyond Kaschau,<sup>35</sup> then on to Kaschau (a town on the Harnath, called Hunrad in German). It is surrounded by ramparts and protruding bastions. It is a rather fine town, built lengthwise and with a beautiful church in the center. The Field-Commander of Upper Hungary and other officers usually reside there. It is permanently garrisoned by a strong squad of infantrymen. 3 miles.

The 7th.

Did not travel. Lodged in a German house. Towards evening the Field-Commander came and presented a servant named Horvath Istvan to me. I took him along, all the way to the Dnieper.

- The 8th. Good Friday. Over the Harnath River and into the mountains, to Harteny (a village belonging to the wife of Teuffenbach), 2 miles. Ate. Afterwards went over a very high mountain, 1 mile. From there along a narrow valley between high mountains and then through a forest.  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Then along a very broad valley, to Wranowa (a large and beautiful market belonging to Bathori Istvan),  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile, before crossing the Tepela River.
- The 9th. Over two barren mountains on which, to the right, we saw Michalow castle on the top of a high mountain, to Czetkowa (a castle of Bathori Istvan on a mountain to the left),  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. That same day we crossed the Bodrog to Barko, or Poroka in Slovak (a castle on a high mountain, to the right. It belongs to the widow of Hommona), 1 mile. To Jassanow (a castle belonging to Hommonay Istvan. It is also on a mountain to the right.) Up to Hommona (a large, open market belonging to Hommonay. It is on the River Laboretz),<sup>36</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Ate. Afterwards went through a valley between the mountains, crossing the Laboretz River many times. Not far away, the Soroka River empties into it. Passed through many villages in which only Rusnaks live. To Czebny (a village), 2 miles.
- The 10th. On Easter Day continued traveling along the same valley through many villages, crossing the Laboretz many times again to Czartisna (a village), 2 miles. Ate. After the meal, went over a mountain and through a forest called Beskyd which divides Poland from Hungary; nevertheless, it still belongs to the Crown of Hungary. At the time, the people, fearing a Tatar raid, cut down [trees] and made bulwarks. To Jaśliska, Hanstadt in German (a market belonging to the Bishop of Przemyśl on the River Gasla and located in Polish territory), 1 mile. Then over a very high mountain to Kulikow (a village), 1 mile. Rimanow (a large unfortified market and manor belonging to Andrej Stadnicki.<sup>37</sup> There the common man speaks almost more German than Polish), 1 mile.
- The 11th. Crossed a mountain and then over the Wislok River,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Here the mountains spread out somewhat. Zarszyn (a small unfortified market belonging to the Zaborowski and Zaszynecki),  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. To Sanoczek,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Sanok (a fortified town and castle situated high above the San River. There is a castellancy and *starostwo* there),<sup>38</sup>  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Ate. Here the mountains merge again. After eating, crossed the Oslawa River,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. Zagórz (an old, ruined castle on a mountain, to the left, above the San which is rather



broad there),  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. Lesko (a market and manor on the San which belongs to Osmólski,<sup>39</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. Crossed the Olszanica River several times, to Olszanica (a village), 1 mile.

- The 12th. Over the stream Strwiż several times and through a forest which is fortified almost the same way as the Beskyd. To Tarlo (a village), 4 miles. Ate. Here the mountains spread out and are somewhat flatter. After eating, again crossed the Striż several times. To Chyrowa (an unfortified market belonging to Wrzaicska), 1 mile. One leaves the mountains here. Afterwards, on to Tarlo's<sup>40</sup> castle which is called Lesko. Passed it far on the right. To Felsztyn (a market belonging to Herbut of Felsztyn),<sup>41</sup> 1 mile. Dobromyla, a castle on a high mountain which we saw lying behind us and to the left. Through Rakovy (a village belonging to Trojowski). Berescheny (a village),  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles.
- The 13th. Blozhiv (a village), 2 miles. Over a long bridge there and across a marsh. Sambir (a town, castle, and *starostvo* on the Dniester) passed two miles to the left. To Rudky (a village), 2 miles. Ate. Met two Bernardine monks there who were well informed about Khlopicki and the recruitment of the Cossacks by His Imperial Majesty. Horodok (a fortified town on a large lake. The *starostvo* belongs to Żólkiewski),<sup>42</sup> 2 miles. Bartativ (a village), 2 miles.
- The 14th. Lemberg (a city), 2 miles. Lodgings were provided by Khlopicki's wife. Since he [Khlopicki] had left that same day, we sent [a messenger] after him as soon as possible. Thereupon he returned to us that same evening. We remained in Lemberg until the 19th of April.
- The 17th. Wrote to His Imperial Majesty and von Teuffenbach.
- The 18th. After I heard from Khlopicki that it would be futile to deal with the Cossacks without money, I sent Jacob Henckel to the Field-Commander of Upper Hungary [von Teuffenbach] to bring back the sum of eight thousand ducats that I had left with him.
- The 19th. From Lemberg to Bilka (a village), 3 miles.
- The 20th. Hlyniany (a town encircled by a wall and moat), 2 miles. Belzhets' (a village belonging to Beżecki), 2 long miles. Ate. Here, at a foot of a mountain range, on one's right is Oles'ko (a town in a valley and a castle situated on a mountain), 2 short miles. Sukhodoly (a village belonging to Żólkiewski), 2 long miles. Brody, belonging to Żólkiewski, lies 1 mile from there.

- The 21st. Through fields and meadows to Pereniатыn' (a village also belonging to Żółkiewski), 3 miles. Left the mountains behind and went through an oak forest to Pochaiv (a village which belongs to a widow),<sup>43</sup> 2 miles. Ate. Taraż (a village), 1 mile. Through a valley, lying between mountains, to Zvyniache (a village), 1 mile. Bearing right, to Vyshnevet's' (a rather large town and castle belonging to the Wiśniowiecki.<sup>44</sup> The Horyn' River flows through the town and divides it into two parts. The town proper, however, is on the nearer side), 1 mile. From there over the Horyn' to a village further down, ½ mile. Maniv (a village), ½ mile.
- The 22nd. Ozhyhiuts' (a town and castle belonging to Zbaraski<sup>45</sup> seen at a distance of about 1 mile, to the right), 5 miles. Kupil' (a small, poor town belonging to Zbaraski which was recently burned by the Tatars and lies only 1 mile from Bazaliia), 1 mile. Ate. Pakhutyntsi (a village), 1 mile.
- The 23rd. Chorni Ostriv (a town belonging to the *voevoda* of Kiev,<sup>46</sup> passed 1 mile to the right). To Mykolaiv<sup>47</sup> (an impoverished town belonging to Sieniawski. It was plundered by the Tatars), 2 miles. Orkadevychi (a village), 3 miles. Ate. From there, 3 miles to the left, lies Konstantyniv (a large town and castle belonging to the *Voevoda* of Kiev, the Prince of Ostroh). Reached Malomornytsi in the afternoon (a village), ½ mile. Straight ahead to a village, over a marsh and the River Buzhok. To Medzhybizh (a town on the same river), 2 miles. Then to the right, to Pyliava<sup>48</sup> (a walled town and castle belonging to Pilawski). Passed Nyzhnia Pyliava on the left (a village on the Sluch River), ½ mile. From there to Ostropil' (a town belonging to the Prince of Ostroh), 3 miles.
- The 24th. To Syniava (a town and castle belonging to the Sieniawski. It is on the Sluch River<sup>49</sup> and we passed it in a valley on the left), 1 mile. Nove Misto (an unfortified town belonging to the Sieniawski on the Ikva River), 1 mile. Khmilnyk (a large royal town on the Sluch. The Field-Commander, Żółkiewski, or *Hetman Polny* as the Poles call him, was there with a few soldiers), a long ½ mile. To the right and through an oak forest to Pykiv (a rather large, fortified town with a castle belonging to a Lithuanian squire),<sup>50</sup> 3 miles.
- The 25th. Holyky (a village), 1 mile. Pryluka (a castle and a large, new, unfortified town of about 4,000 burghers belonging to Zbaraski.<sup>51</sup> It lies on flatlands of the Desnytsia River), 3 miles.

Note: This town has very fine and rich soil and vast grain fields. One can often see many small, oddly built single houses with apertures for shooting. This is where the peasants run and defend themselves should they be attacked suddenly. Each peasant carries his musket on his back and his sword, or *tesak*, as they call it, at his side because Tatars often attack and they can never be safe from them.

The 26th. Did not travel.

The 27th. Khlopicki sent two Cossacks, Hryhor Bilous and Annibal with his and the Emperor's letter to Aaron the *Voevoda* or *Hospodar* of Moldavia.<sup>52</sup> That same day we went on to Pohrebyshche (a new and rather large town and castle belonging to the Zbaraski. It lies at the foot of a mountain on the Ros' River), 5 miles. The road is flat, with half of it going through a forest and the other half through fields. There are no villages in between.

The 28th. Across a bridge over the Ros', 1 mile. On to a new village on the bridge across Orikhovets' River, 1 mile. On to a new village on the Ros', 2½ miles. Ate. Not far from there, across the river, is a mill. Across a bridge over the Volodarka, 1 mile. Rozvolozhzhia (a town and castle belonging to Zbaraski. It is on the Ros' River which flows not far away, from Cherkasy into the Dnieper), ½ mile. Here we met the Zaporozhian emissaries, Tikhon and Semen Ruchka, who were sent to Khlopicki with the news that a thousand Zaporozhians on 40 ferry boats expressed their wish to seek good fortune in the name of the Emperor. These new emissaries confirmed the news which had been brought earlier by Binowski.<sup>53</sup>

The 29th. Did not travel.

The 30th. Crossed the stream Berezna, ½ mile. Then crossed the stream Skyvra, ½ mile. Rostavysycha, 1 mile. Ate. Passed Bila Tserkva (a large, beautiful, royal free town on the Ros'. Duke Janusz of Ostroh<sup>54</sup> is *starosta* there), 2 miles on the right. To Polovetske (a village), 1 mile. Rotulka (a village), 2 miles. Crossed the Kamianka River there and on to Fastiv or Novyi Vereshchyn (new town on the Unava River belonging to the Bishop of Kiev, Iosif Vereshchnys'kyi whom we met there and whose guests we were three times), 1 mile.<sup>55</sup> Remained in Fastiv until the 4th of May.

MAY

- The 2nd. Semen Ruchka went beyond the Rapids [*porohy*] again and Tikhon stayed with us.
- The 3rd. I sent my servant, Thomas Gluchowski, to meet Jacob Henckel. That day Tikhon received news from Mormoleow, the *ataman* of Rozvolozhe, that the Cossacks had put out to sea against the Turkish town of Bilhorod<sup>5 6</sup> which is on the Black Sea, at the mouth of the Dniester. They attacked, plundered, and set the town afire but did not capture the fortress which was well and strongly guarded.
- The 4th. Snitynka (a small and newly founded town belonging to the Vereshchnys'kyi), 1 mile. Ate. Vasyl'kiv (a little fortified town and castle belonging to the Metropolitan of Kiev.<sup>5 7</sup> It is on the Stuhna River. One mile further, on the same river, lies Trypillia), 3 miles.
- The 5th. Khambykiv (a village and mill). Crossed the Stuhna here. Ate at the home of Manuel the Armenian of Kiev, 1 mile. Pine forests stretch on from here, beginning, and even somewhat before Pryluka. Visibility was very poor. From there, through a pine forest to a mill and a newly founded village, 1 mile. Obukhiv (a village), 1 mile. Here it becomes very high and hilly and remains so all the way to Trypillia<sup>5 8</sup> (a town and castle on the Dnieper belonging to a nobleman, Didko), 1 mile.
- The 6th. Since I could not get a boat to Trypillia, I went with Tikhon to Kiev by wagon. But, because of the rising waters, we could not take the shortest route and had to return to Obukhiv (a village), 1 mile. Khambykiv (a village on the Stuhna River), 2 miles. Stayed there again with Manuel the Armenian from whom I bought two sacks of flour and two barrels of mead. Ate. Afterwards ½ mile to Vasyl'kiv, keeping to the left all the way to Kiev, 5 long miles.
- The 7th,  
8th, and  
9th. Did not travel. Lodged with Prakeka.

In the past, Kiev was a splendid city and a separate principedom. The Grand Princes (also called *Tsar* and *Kniaz* ) of Kiev were of the same lineage as the Grand Princes of present day *Reissen* [Ruthenia] and Muscovy.<sup>5 9</sup> It was very strongly and extensively

fortified. And there were magnificent churches and both public and private buildings which were beautifully decorated. This can still be seen from the old city walls which encircle the city and extend up into the elevated areas as well as from the many ancient ruins. It is said that the wall is nine miles long. Inside [the walls] there was a beautiful and wonderful church called Sancta Sophia. It was so long and so wide that it was equalled by none. Tsar Volodymyr<sup>60</sup> built it in the style of the Church of Sancta Sophia in Constantinople. Part of it is still standing today but it is in very poor condition. The vaulted ceiling is decorated with beautiful mosaic work, especially in the center. The floor below is laid out with beautifully colored tiles. Above, the choirs extend around and the railing goes from one column to the next. It is carved out of slabs of transparent blue stone. In one of these columns, directly opposite the high altar, there is a hole filled in with plaster and about a foot in diameter. A mirror was once there which, it is said, had the magical power to reveal one's thoughts, even if they concerned something many hundreds of miles away. Once, when a Kievan Tsar went out to fight the heathens and was gone for a long time, his lonely wife acquired the habit of looking into the mirror daily to see how her master was faring. It happened that one time she saw that he was making love to a captured heathen girl. Her anger was so great that she smashed the mirror (or so we are told). Above there is also a dark chamber where Volodymyr had his wife confined. From the upper passage one can go to a room, a short climb up into a tower where, it is said, Volodymyr customarily held his council meetings and therefore it is called *stolytsia Volodymyra*. It is a fine little room. In the church one can see the tomb of Princess Olha,<sup>61</sup> Volodymyr's mother. A wooden casket contains the body of a Metropolitan<sup>62</sup> who was beheaded by the Tatars and whose body has not yet decomposed—as I myself could see by touching his hand and head covered only by the fine linen cloth draped over the corpse. Moreover, we saw an iron coffin in which a Tsar's daughter was buried. In another chapel, in a beautiful white alabaster coffin, lies Prince Iaroslav,<sup>63</sup> Volodymyr's son, together with his wife. The coffin is about the height of a man and in relatively good condition. Outside the church, in another chapel, was the grave of Ilia Muromets,<sup>64</sup> a famous hero, or *bohatyr*, as they call them. Many stories are told about him. His grave was destroyed, but that of his comrade, which was also in the same chapel, is still intact.

Outside the church, they also showed us the places where are buried all those who funded the church or helped to build it.

However, there are no monuments. Not far from the Sancta Sophia there had been a Church of St. Catherine<sup>65</sup> but it is totally destroyed today and only a part of its wall is left standing. There are also the ruins of a wonderful portal which even today serves as a gateway. Some call them the Golden Gates; others, however, call them the Iron Gates.<sup>66</sup> It was once, as can be seen from the remains, a stately and magnificent structure. Otherwise, there is nothing left of the other old buildings except for St. Michael's Church<sup>67</sup> which also stands on the hill. It is a fine building. In the center it has a round cupola with a golden roof. The choirs are turned inwards and are also decorated with mosaics. The floor is laid out with small, colored stones. As one enters the church through the gates which are directly opposite the high altar, one sees on the left a wooden casket which holds the body of a saintly virgin, Barbara,<sup>68</sup> a king's daughter: she was a young girl, about 12 years old, as can be judged by her size. Her remains, covered down to her feet with a piece of fine linen, have not decomposed yet as I myself could observe by touching her feet which were still hard and not deteriorated. On her head there is a gilded crown made of wood. By looking at the ruins it is possible to see where for centuries the old city had stood. Now there are only a few buildings and almost no homes left standing there. The present city is situated in the valley below, on the right bank of the Dnieper.<sup>69</sup> It spreads quite broadly because nearly every home has its own garden. There are many Ruthenian churches there and almost all of them are made of wood. The only one which is made of stone stands in the square.<sup>70</sup> The church of the Roman Catholic bishop is also there but it, too, is wooden and badly made.<sup>71</sup> Many Armenians live there. Even though they are not especially affluent they have their own church. The castle lies on a prominent hill and is well fortified although the bulwarks are of wood covered with clay instead of stone.

About  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile from the city, on a hill above the Dnieper, is the Pecherskyi Monastery where the Ruthenian Metropolitan resides together with his black-clothed monks who are, therefore, called *cherntsi*. The church there is also quite beautiful. It is made of stone and inside there is a wonderful marble grave of Prince Konstantyn of Ostroh,<sup>72</sup> who was the father of the present *Voevoda* of Kiev<sup>73</sup> and a brave hero. The inscription is in Ruthenian. Inside [the church], against the wall, there is a limestone grave where the ancestors of the present-day Grand Prince of Muscovy are buried. It is said that the ancient Princes of Kiev and the ancestors of the above-mentioned Grand Prince were

of the same lineage.<sup>74</sup> Below this monastery, almost at the edge of the river, there is a garden in which there is a huge cave (which they call *pechera*). It is carved into a limestone mountain and has many passageways going in all directions. Some are as high as a man, or even higher; others are such that one has to crouch to walk through and are only wide enough for one man to pass through at a time. In ancient times the dead were buried here. For the most part the bodies which are inside are not decomposed. Among the corpses there are those of St. Denis (I believe it is that same St. Denis), St. Alexius, St. Mark (but not the Evangelist). There is also [the body of] a giant hero called Chobotka.<sup>75</sup> It is said that once he was surprised by his enemies while putting on his boots. As he tried to get to his weapons he defended himself with the boot which he had not put on yet and he thus killed all his enemies. That is how he received his name. In another grave, made of stone, lie two comrades who were so close in life that they wished to be buried in the same grave. After they agreed how they wished to be buried, with one lying on the left side and the other on the right, one of them went off on a long journey. Upon his return he learned that his friend had died three years ago. He went to the grave and saw that his dead friend was not lying on the side they had agreed upon. So he said to his [dead] comrade that he should move to his rightful place and the dead man quickly did so. Then the live man lay down next to him and expired soon thereafter. His corpse was left next to his friend. In a long, narrow, wooden box lies a corpse that came down the Dnieper from Smolensk in that same box, landing just below the monastery. The twelve men who built the monastery are also buried there.<sup>76</sup> In addition, there is a man there who was shot some distance from Kiev and came, wounded as he was, to that place to lie down and be buried. Across from Chobotka's head, lie a father and his son. Both were very large men and one can still see hair on their heads and beards. There are two altars in these caves where it is the custom to celebrate Mass every Saturday. Where the rear altar stands the ground has caved in. [The incident] is connected with St. Anthony. It is said that St. Anthony had been a monk, one of the *cherntsi*, in this cloister. One day, as he had many times done before, he admonished his fellow monks, asking them to be mindful of many things, and especially, of [the need for] brotherly unity. Then he left them and came to the place where the altar now stands. Then the earth caved in behind him, separating him from his brothers. When they wanted to dig their way through to him, fire burst out of that place and forced them back. When they tried to dig around from the left side, a flood of water gushed

forth so strongly that they would all have drowned if they had not stopped. Even today one can see the signs of the impact and effect of the water. Opposite that same altar stands a wooden column which reaches from top to bottom and which a man can embrace with both arms. If a man with a terrible sickness comes here and has himself tied to the column, remaining thus all night, he will recuperate and rid himself of his sickness. Also in this cave there is supposed to be a corpse from whose hand and tooth several drops of oil flow yearly. Cups are placed to gather the oil which is supposed to be useful for many things.<sup>77</sup> My guide, however, neglected to show this to me. Whoever goes into these caves has to carry his own light with him because it is very dark and the passageways are confusing. There are many places which must be supported with beams or else they will collapse. The entrance is built almost the same way as are the entrances to mines.

- The 10th. Down the Dnieper to Trypillia. 6 miles. I stopped off previously to see the Pecherskyi Monastery and the churches. Today Annibal returned from Moldavia with a reply from the Emperor and Khlopicki.<sup>78</sup>
- The 11th. Down the Dnieper to Rzhyschiv (a fortified town and castle belonging to Jurij Chalecki), 4 miles.
- The 13th. Khlopicki left here to go to the Zaporozhian soldiers.
- The 18th. My servant, Thomas Gluchowski, returned and informed me that Jacob Henckel is in Pryluka with eight thousand ducats and awaiting my instructions.
- The 19th. Tikhon left here with several men for Pryluka in order to accompany Henckel to whom I have again dispatched Thomas Gluchowski.
- The 26th. Jacob Henckel arrived in Rzhyschiv with the money.
- The 28th. A number of Polish noblemen and soldiers arrived in Rzhyschiv. From their quarters we heard strange sounds which made us uneasy about the money. We decided, therefore, to leave the next day, despite it being a high holiday, and continue on our way down the Dnieper.
- The 29th. On Pentecost Sunday I dispatched Horvath Istvan with letters to His Imperial Majesty and to Field-Commander von Teuffenbach.



Afterwards, in the evening, we left Rzhyschiv and traveled down the Dnieper to Khodoriv (a village which belongs to Andrzej Chalecki),<sup>79</sup> 2 miles.

The 30th. To Trekhtemyriv (a newly established little town which was given to the Zaporozhian Cossacks by King Stefan to serve as a hospital),<sup>80</sup> 1 mile. There we ate with Jan Osowski, a [Zaporozhian] official. Opposite Trekhtemyriv, on the other, that is, the left bank of the Dnieper and 1 mile inland lies Periaslav, a large town belonging to the *Voevoda* of Volhynia, Prince Aleksander of Ostroh.<sup>81</sup> It is at the point where two rivers, the Trubizh and Supoi, merge.<sup>82</sup> The Trubizh flows another mile further, keeping its name and then merges with the Dnieper. In the afternoon we reached Kaniv (a royal town belonging to the *Starosta* of Cherkasy. It lies on the right bank of the Dnieper, on a slope of a high hill), 3 miles. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile above this town the River Kamenka flows into the Dnieper.

The 31st. Arrived to the point where the Rosi River enters the Dnieper from the right. Two miles to Domantivka (a little town and castle) situated 1 mile inland on the left bank. It belongs to Prince Domont,<sup>83</sup> 2 miles. We ate on an isle on the Dnieper not far away. After our meal, we traveled less than a  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile to the place where the Moshna River merges with the Dnieper, flowing in from the right. (On the Moshna River, 1 mile inland, lies the town of Moshny which belongs to the *Wiśniowiecki*.)<sup>84</sup> Then on to where the stream Svydovka enters into the Dnieper from the right. Two miles to Cherkasy (a royal town and *starostvo* on the right bank of the Dnieper. It lies partly on the shore of the river, and partly above it, in the hills. Inside [the town] the castle is located on a prominent hill; it is connected with the upper part of the town by a small, wooden bridge), 1 mile. Spent the night there. Note: 1 mile beyond Kaniv, the right bank of the Dnieper becomes higher and remains so until a mile below Cherkasy where it again evens out.

## JUNE

The 1st. Reached an island on the left, then on to Bilo Berezhzhia (situated on solid ground to the right. A crossing over the Dnieper is located there.) Two miles inland from there, on the Tiasmyn River, lies Chyhyryn, a new royal town belonging to the *Starostvo* of Korsun.

The 2nd. On to where the Sula flows into the Dnieper from the left, 2 miles. This river flows down from Muscovy. 8 miles above, Lubny, a town and castle belonging to the Wiśniowiecki, is situated on it. From there the Muscovite border is 2 miles away. We went on from there to an island on the left side of the Dnieper, not far from a mountain called Pyva, which is on the left bank, 2 miles. There we ate. Afterwards, on to where the River Tiasmin flows into the right side of the Dnieper. Note: Behind the Tiasmin a chain of hills stretches inland, almost all the way to the rapids. There are many *tumuli* or *mohyly* as they call them.<sup>85</sup> However, the bank itself is not high there. On to a Tatar temple standing on a hill on the right bank. A half mile to Kremenchuk (a walled town with an old castle or *horodyshche* on the left), ½ mile. We rested there and examined the place. Then on to the River Psiol, to the point where it flows into the left side of the Dnieper. It also comes from Muscovy. 1 mile further. We stayed overnight on an island on the right side of the Dnieper.

The 3rd. On to another island, 4½ miles. Here we met the Muscovite envoy, Vasilii Nikiforovich who was also being sent to the Zaporozhian Cossacks with gifts from the Grand Prince. He came down the Psiol and had a company of Cossacks as escorts. During an extended meal, I inquired and found out that his master would be willing, should it appear that the war would continue, to help His Imperial Majesty. He [the Grand Prince] would also permit those Zaporozhian Cossacks who were in his service until now,<sup>86</sup> to enter the esteemed service of His Imperial Majesty. In such a case, the Grand Prince would continue to give them the same esteem and presents as before. After a long discussion we again went to our boats and continued [the journey] together. That same day we reached the point where the River Vorskla, flowing from Muscovy, enters the Dnieper from the left. ½ mile. Then up to the Orel River which also comes from Muscovy and enters the Dnieper from the left. 3 miles. Afterwards, on to an island alongside the left bank. 4 miles. Ate there. After midday, continued on our way. Because of a terrible storm with strong winds, rain and thunder, we landed on an island along the left bank. This was not far from where the Samara River comes from the Tatar steppe and flows into the Dnieper. Here we stayed overnight. 1 mile. From this point on there are Tatars all along the left bank. For many years they were also on the right bank, extending up to the Tiasmin, but since the Cossacks began to defend themselves they [the Tatars] have abandoned the right bank.

The 5th. On to an island, the last one before the *porogi*. It is called Kniazhii Ostriv. 1 mile. Because we did not want to risk bad weather, we stayed there overnight. Note: The *porogi* are whirlpools or rocky places where the Dnieper continuously rolls over rocks and boulders, some of which are under water and others, just even with it. Several boulders are higher than the water level and make travel past them very dangerous, especially when the water is low. The travelers must leave their boats at these extremely dangerous spots. Then, getting into the water, by means of ropes or poles, they lift the boats over the sharp rocks and carefully let them down on the other side. Those who are holding the boat with the ropes must pay great attention to those who are in the water, listening to their commands when to pull or to release the ropes so that the boat will not crash and be completely destroyed. There are twelve of these places, or, if one includes Voronova Zabora, thirteen, within a stretch of seven miles. Their names will be given below. Because the Cossacks live below these Rapids they are called the Zaporozhians, that is, those who live beyond the *porogi* or boulders.

The 6th. Approached the Rapids and passed the first six before noon. At the first one, the Kodak, we disembarked on the right bank. At the second, called Surs'kyi, we got out on an island alongside the right bank. Here the Sura River flows into the Dnieper. At Lokhans'kyi, which is the third, we got out on the right bank. We sailed past the fourth, called Stril'chyi and at the fifth, called Zvonets'kyi, we disembarked on the right bank, beneath a high cliff. The sixth one, Kniazhyi, we passed on the right and went around to the left to an island called Kniazhyi Ostriv and ate there. After eating, we went through the seventh, the Nenasytets, landing on the Tatar side, that is, on the left, and were delayed there for a long time. This is a large and dangerous Rapid, made even more difficult because of the Tatars who often ride by, so that one is in constant danger. Only three weeks ago, the Tatars ambushed and killed twelve town Cossacks who were on their way down. We sent guards on to the high rocks to keep watch. They, seeing four Tatars, signalled to us. Immediately we sent twenty of our men after them and the rest of us stayed on our guard in case of an ambush. But when the Tatars saw that we were strong and well-prepared, they did not care to wait but ran off and concealed themselves. After this Rapid we landed on a small island and spent the night there.

The 7th. Over the eighth Rapid, Voronova Zabora. There, one of our boats in which Jdrzej Zaturski, Jan Annibal and a certain Oscyki were,

hit a rock and capsized. They were, however, saved by means of small boats called *pidiizdky* but all their things were lost. Note: If one counts only twelve Rapids then this is not considered a Rapid, only a dangerous place. At the ninth Rapid, the Vovnizhs'kyi, we disembarked and carried our baggage. We sailed past the tenth Rapid, the Budylo. Afterwards we got out on the left bank, the Tatar side, and ate. This place is, at present, the foremost and most common Tatar crossing, extending to a point behind Tavolzhans'kyi. Here the Dnieper is quite calm, flows in a single current and is not especially broad. We found many small Tatar boats here. They are made of hoops which are bound together and covered with leather. At this Rapid there were about 400 Cossacks concealed everywhere in the underbrush along the right bank. They had pulled their boats or *czolnen* on to shore. The camp [*sich*] had sent them to block the passage of Tatars, if any of them, as they had already attempted, try to cross. We passed the eleventh Rapid, Tavolzhans'kyi, on the right and sailed towards the left bank. We went over Lyshnyi, which is the twelfth. At the thirteenth, namely Vil'nyi, we climbed out on the left, Tatar, side. As we pushed off again, we hit a rock. Luckily for us, we hit it with the bow of the boat so that there was a measure of protection. At this Rapid, the stream Volna flows into the Dnieper from the right. It is here that the Rapids end. It is seven miles from the first Rapid to this point. From there to Kichkas it is 1½ miles. Here there is also a Tatar crossing because the Dnieper becomes very narrow although the banks are very high and rocky, especially on the left. From there we sailed to Khortytsia, which is a beautiful, large and spacious isle about 2 miles long, dividing the Dnieper into two parts. ½ mile. Remained there overnight. On this island the Cossacks usually keep their horses during winter. Towards evening of that same day the above-mentioned 400 Cossacks who were at Budylo guarding against the Tatars, joined us and accompanied us from there to the camp.

The 8th. To an island near Bila Hora, 3½ miles. Ate there. From there, on to another island, 5½ miles.

The 9th. Came to an island called Bazavluk, situated on one of the tributaries of the Dnieper, Chartomlyk, or as they call it, on the Chartomlyts'ke Dniepryshcha, approximately 2 miles. At this time the Cossack camp [*sich*] was located there. From there they sent several distinguished members of their company to meet us. Also as we approached, they saluted us with fire from their heavier artillery pieces. As soon as we landed they led us into a

*kolo* [circle, council]. Because only a few days earlier, on the 31st of May, the Hetman, Bohdan Mykoshyns'kyi,<sup>87</sup> had put to sea with 50 ships and 1,300 men, we announced to the *kolo* that although we were happy to see this knightly company in good health it did not seem proper to deliver our message since the Hetman and the rest of the soldiers were not present. Therefore, it would be better to await the happy return of the Hetman and the others. They agreed to this. Then we went to our huts which they call *koshi*.<sup>88</sup> These are made of reeds and are covered with horses' hides to keep out the rain.

The 18th. The Hetman and the rest of the men, who, as we noted, had been at sea, returned to camp. They had come upon the Tatars below, at a fording place near Ochakiv, and had two skirmishes with them, one on sea and one on land. They brought back with them an important Tatar called Bellek,<sup>89</sup> a member of the Tatar Tsar's court,<sup>90</sup> who had been wounded in the leg. Because of the strong Turkish forces there, which consisted of 8 galleys, 15 caravelles and 150 sandals, the Cossacks were forced to retreat and could not prevent [the Tatars] from crossing.

I had Bellek questioned through an interpreter about the strength and intentions of the Tatars. I learned that the Tsar has moved out with two Tsareviches and 80,000 men, of whom only about 20,000 were armed and fit for battle.<sup>91</sup> They were not to pause anywhere for long and were to move straight to Hungary. [I also learned that] not much more than 15,000 men were left from the Perekop Horde<sup>92</sup> and that its Tsar had learned, before the campaign, of the reverses which the Turks had suffered at the hands of His Imperial Majesty's Hungarians; therefore, he was not eager to participate in the campaign.

The 19th. In the morning the Hetman and several leading Cossacks visited us. In the afternoon they received the Muscovite envoy. He presented gifts and repeated to the *kolo* what he had said to me earlier during the journey. However, before granting him [the Muscovite envoy] an audience, the Hetman sent a message to us from the *kolo*, requesting us to excuse him for receiving the Muscovite envoy first. He did not wish for a misunderstanding to arise since he knew that His Imperial Majesty took precedence over all Christian rulers; therefore, his envoys should be received first. However, it was possible, indeed, partially known to them, that what the Muscovite envoy had to say would concern His Imperial Majesty's offer so they considered it advisable to listen to him first.

The 20th. We were given an audience in the *kolo* and presented, in writing, our instructions for recruitment. Thereupon they asked us to withdraw, read the letter aloud and demanded that each Cossack give his opinion of the matter. However, even after several requests from the Hetman, they continued to be silent. Then they broke up into two groups (as is their custom when dealing with important matters) and formed two *kolos*. One consisted of the officers, and the other of the rank-and-file, whom they call *chern'*. After a lengthy discussion, the *chern'* agreed to enter His Imperial Majesty's service and, in their traditional sign of consent, they threw their caps into the air. Then the mob rushed over to the other *kolo*, that of the officers, and threatened to throw into the river and drown anyone who disagreed with them.<sup>93</sup> The officers, however, had also agreed because they did not wish to contradict the stronger, more numerous and more dangerous *chern'* which when infuriated, does not accept any opposition. Therefore they [the officers] only wished to discuss the conditions with us once more. For this purpose they elected 20 representatives and summoned us back into the *kolo*. Then these representatives, sitting down inside the *kolo*, formed a smaller *kolo* and after a long discussion called us over to them. We came and sat down in their midst. They informed us that they were all willing to enter His Imperial Majesty's service even at the risk of their lives. They had nothing against going to Moldavia, crossing the Danube and ravaging the lands of the Turks. However, there were many difficulties which restrained them from undertaking this and even hindered them completely. First, they had no horses either for themselves or for the transportation of armaments. These were all lost when the Tatars attacked them seven times in the past winter, driving away more than 2,000 horses and leaving them with less than 400. Furthermore, they did not dare to go to Moldavia with the small number of men which was available, that is, 3,000, since they did not trust the Hospodar and the Moldavians who, by their nature, were a traitorous lot and whose untrustworthiness was well known to them. Third, in view of the meager remuneration and unclarified nature of our conditions they could not agree as we wanted to the terms of service, nor could they undertake such a long journey. Thereupon, they demanded that I provide them with the ways and means of obtaining horses: would it not be possible for me to convince someone to obtain several hundred horses from the *Voevoda* of Bratslav for themselves and their artillery? Also they informed me that it was not their custom to commit themselves to service and set out under such uncertain conditions. They demanded, therefore, that I undertake, in the name of His

Imperial Majesty, to provide them with sufficient funds to provision them and their horses for three months. Then they would be willing to accept the agreement and would consider what should be done next.

Concerning the horses, I replied that it was difficult for me, a foreigner who was unacquainted with Poland, to advise them in this matter. But, if they went up the Dnieper to the towns and villages where they were born and raised and where everything was familiar and known to them, they would doubtlessly be able to obtain horses. The *Voevoda* of Bratslav,<sup>94</sup> who was their great friend, would also be willing to give them horses upon request. Regarding the matter of payment I informed them that I could not discuss it because I was not authorized to do so. His Imperial Majesty had received completely different information and it was on the basis of this that he had sent out this mission. I found that matters were contrary to what had previously been reported. If it were not so, matters might have taken a different course. As to the Moldavian Hospodar, I had the fond hope that upon our arrival he would declare himself on the side of His Imperial Majesty. Therefore, I advised them, in view of the fact that His Imperial Majesty was so well disposed to them insofar as he had sent over a long and perilous distance, to their very camp, such stately and considerable gifts and honors the like of which they had never received from any other monarch, to show their confidence in His Imperial Majesty and to go up the Dnieper to the *Ukraina*<sup>95</sup> where they would be joined, no doubt, by a great number of people. Then it would be possible to go through Moldavia to the Danube, in pursuit of the Tatars and to block their way. Furthermore, they could be certain that if they did this, His Imperial Majesty, as the supreme monarch, would not act contrary to his dignity and majesty. When they had demonstrated their good will and dedication, of which their service would be an initial proof, then he would reward them with such generosity that it could easily surpass the payment they demanded. Thus they would add to His Imperial Majesty's glory and to their own profit. Here they interrupted again and swore, with God as their witness, that they were all completely willing to serve His Imperial Majesty but that there existed important reasons why at this time they could not set out on such a long campaign. Nevertheless, they wished to prove their most obedient dedication to His Imperial Majesty and, therefore, they planned to dispatch their envoys to him as soon as possible with plenipotentiary rights to conclude the terms of their service. Meanwhile, they promised to take care of the horses themselves.

Nor would they sit idly at home, but intended to set out to sea in His Imperial Majesty's service. And, as far as it would be possible and weather permitting, they would attack Kiliia and Bilhorod which are two important Turkish cities on the Danube situated just above its mouth on the Black Sea. Or they could try to destroy Perekop which is the major city of the Crimean Tatars<sup>96</sup> only 26 miles from their camp as the crow flies but somewhat further if one goes by sea. To this I replied that the sea-raid which they proposed could, under other circumstances, be quite useful but since it did not correspond with the plans and intentions of His Imperial Majesty it could not, in my opinion, be considered as a special favor especially since it would not block the way of the Tatars (who had already crossed the Dnieper and were now on their way to Hungary) into the lands of His Imperial Majesty; nor would the Turkish forces be divided. And these were the two objectives upon which our mission rested. Therefore, I proposed to them, in the name of His Imperial Majesty, that they set out as soon as possible for Moldavia, try to catch up with the Tatars and block their way into Hungary. Then, as soon as this was done, they could send their envoys from the borders of Moldavia to His Imperial Majesty and continue the negotiations about their provisioning. There is no doubt that His Imperial Majesty, seeing that they were not idle but, on the contrary, were bravely fighting in His service against the enemy, would be all the more favourably and graciously inclined to their terms during the negotiations.

Thereupon, as the *osavuly*<sup>97</sup> (officers whose rank corresponds to that of lieutenants) went around the large *kolo*, informing all of how matters were progressing, the *chern'* again withdrew and formed a separate *kolo*. After renewed consultations, they again indicated their agreement with loud acclamations and the throwing of caps into the air. As we withdrew from the *kolo*, the drums were pounded and the bugles blared and ten salvos were fired from the cannons. In the night several rockets were also fired. However, that same night, several restless individuals, among whom were the well equipped hunters and those who possess their own boats, went from hut to hut and agitated the rank-and-file with arguments about the distance and dangers of the campaign. They warned those who were ready to go on such an undertaking that they would regret it later. The sum of money which had been sent to them was small and meager, and would not be enough to support such a number of men during an extended campaign, especially since many of the men were poor. They pointed out that the money would have to be used to buy



food and horses. His Imperial Majesty might wish that they go deep into his realm and then, when he no longer needed them would abandon them in the most dire straits especially since they had no written guarantees bearing his seal. These and similar arguments had such an effect on the rank-and-file that early in the morning of the next day, that is, the 21st of June, when they again formed their *kolo* they came to a completely different decision: that in view of the uncertain terms they could not, nor did they wish to take part in the campaign, especially since they were unsure whether the promised money was really forthcoming and did not know who was empowered to pay them as they had not received a letter from His Imperial Majesty nor a written assurance about the gifts and payments which were to be paid in the future. They therefore sent several Cossacks to our lodgings to inform us of their decision. I gave my reply to these men: they could easily see that the money was actually sent by His Imperial Majesty and that it was impossible for me personally to give them such gifts. It would be rash on my part to promise them a sum of money if it were not forthcoming because I would thus bring misfortune down on my own head. On the contrary, they could be assured of receiving the money as soon as they agreed to the terms we presented in the name of His Imperial Majesty. Finally, in order to give credence to my words, I showed them my instructions which bore the imperial seal. However, when these men returned to the *kolo* with my reply, the *chern'* remained adamant. Then the Hetman and several of the foremost Cossacks, among whom was Loboda<sup>98</sup> who had previously been Hetman and under whom Bilhorod had been stormed, pleaded with them, trying to convince them to reconsider what they were doing and not to refuse the generosity and good graces which were offered by the Emperor but instead to view this as a stroke of good fortune. Otherwise, if they did not participate in such a praiseworthy venture against the arch enemy of Christianity, they risked disgrace in the eyes of many and the loss of such a mighty monarch's good will. When they still persisted in their previous decision even after all these arguments, the Hetman, in the midst of that very *kolo*, angrily resigned from his office, explaining that he neither could nor would be the leader of men who cared so little about their glory, honor and good name. After this the *kolo* dispersed.

After dinner the *osavuly* again summoned the Cossacks to the *kolo*, urging some of them on with whips. First they asked Mykoshyns'kyi, in front of the entire gathering, to accept again the office of Hetman and he agreed to do this. Then many

curious things were discussed concerning Khlopicki. It was stated, among other things, that with his false statements he had misled not only His Imperial Majesty and us but also them [the Zaporozhians]. Some openly expressed the desire to throw him into the river which did not appear to suit him very well.

In the course of all this one could deduce what a misleading role Khlopicki had played at court and how he had misinformed His Imperial Majesty in almost all matters. First, he presented himself as their Hetman which he never was or could even aspire to be according to what the distinguished members of that company told me. Second, he was not even sent by the Zaporozhians to His Imperial Majesty. Only while he was in Kiev some time ago where he conversed with several Cossacks who were discussing means of bringing themselves to the attention of His Imperial Majesty in view of the imminent war with the Turks he came upon the idea, which he did not share with the others, of going to the Emperor to offer their services. Mykoshyns'kyi himself told us about this. Third, he reported that the Cossacks numbered from 8,000 to 10,000, which was something that I did not find to be true. When I came to them there were slightly more than 3,000. It is true, however, that they can muster several thousand more if they call on those Cossacks who live in the towns and villages and who also consider themselves to be Zaporozhians. Fourth, he reported that they would be satisfied with His Imperial Majesty's gifts and immediately upon receiving them they would be ready to go wherever His Imperial Majesty sent them. This, too, was not the case.

I had some sharp words for Khlopicki concerning his irresponsible behaviour since, to tell the truth, he caused a large part of this misunderstanding by his unwarranted claims; all this could have been avoided if he had dealt in a straightforward manner. My reproach completely disconcerted him. More than once he burst into tears and sweat stood on his brow because he knew very well that he was in the wrong and that his life was in my hands since, if I so wished, he would not get out of this predicament.

The 23rd. In the morning they again formed their *kolo* and sent to our lodgings several representatives who advised us that we should not think that they did not want to enter His Imperial Majesty's service but that we ourselves must be able to see how badly matters stood with the horses. If the horses were not lacking it would be easy for them to decide what to do. In reply I proposed to write down and present to the *kolo* the terms which I was authorized to conclude with them. Whereupon, the

representatives returned to the gathering and presented my proposal and then they dispersed. In the meantime, I had the terms written down. They also had the terms under which they would enter His Imperial Majesty's service noted down. After dinner they again gathered in the *kolo* and, not wishing to wait until I presented our terms, they sent several from their midst with the terms which they had written down and demanded that I give them my reply. The content was as follows:

*The Terms which the Entire Kolo of the  
Zaporozhian Host Presented to the Envoy of  
His Imperial Majesty*

First, last spring, on Easter, as soon as His Roman Imperial Majesty's and Our Gracious Lord's letter reached us here, beyond the Rapids by means of our colleague, Stanislaw Khlopicki, we, learning from prisoners that the Turkish Emperor's infantry and cavalry were gathering in Bilhorod with the intention of moving on to Hungary, called upon the Almighty for aid and set out to try our fortune in His Imperial Majesty's name. We went everywhere with fire and sword and left 2,500 armed men and 8,000 commoners dead behind us. Afterwards, when our aforementioned colleague, Khlopicki, brought to us His Imperial Majesty's standards and bugles we gratefully accepted such splendid regalia. Then, when we received certain news that the Crimean Tsar intended to cross the Dnieper near Ochakiv in full force, we went there with our Hetman intending to prevent his crossing. Finding a large Turkish force there, both on land and on water, we attacked and exchanged fire with them twice, doing all that was possible against such great odds and, God be praised, we came out of there with a distinguished captive.

Third, we are committed, for the duration of this war against the Turks, to fight against the enemy under the standards and with the bugles which were sent to us, to attack his lands and ravage them with fire and sword.

Fourth, we, like our ancestors before us, are always ready to risk our lives for the Christian faith and we will not cease to do so. However, being well aware of the infidels' and the Moldavians' duplicity, we dare not set out on a campaign under such splendid regalia as His Imperial Majesty's standards and accompanied by his obedient servants [Lassota] because we know full well that many honest people and good Christians were treacherously handed over to the infidels by the Moldavian Hospodar.

Furthermore, it is impossible for us to set out on such a long campaign for this money, especially in view of the lack of horses for ourselves and our armaments.

Fifth, we would wish to send Stanislaw Khlopicki and two others from our company to His Imperial Majesty so that they may present to him, in our name, the Bilhorodian captive and two Janissary standards. And, after reporting about the misunderstandings which arose, they should come to a final agreement concerning our compensation.

Sixth, in the meantime, until our envoys return, we are ready to attack the lands of the infidel, with the help of God and in the presence of Your Grace [Lassota], going all the way to Perekop, if possible, or whither the will of the Almighty and the state of the weather permits, destroying everything with fire and sword in the name of His Imperial Majesty.

Seventh, should it be necessary, we hope that His Imperial Majesty will write to His Royal Majesty [King of Poland] and the Polish estates<sup>99</sup> and obtain for us safe passage through their lands. We hope that His Imperial Majesty will not be denied the request.

Eighth, likewise, it will be necessary to write to the Grand Prince of Muscovy so that he will send a part of his troops here so that we may jointly move all the way to the Danube to meet the enemy and, if need be, match our strength with his.

After this I left the *kolo*, went to my hut and remained there the entire day. Since I saw that it would not be possible to dissuade them, on the next day, the 24th of June, I sent to the *kolo* the following reply to their conditions:

*The Reply to the  
Terms Presented by the Cossacks*

From the terms which were presented to us, we understand that Your Honors are ready and willing to enter His Imperial Majesty's service. However, Your Honors are not ready to undertake the task which we have requested for three reasons. First, because there is lack of horses. Second, Your Honors cannot trust yourselves to go to Moldavia in such small a number because of that nation's faithlessness and treachery. Third, Your Honors are not willing to set out on such a long journey for such meager compensation, especially since it is to be presented in a questionable manner.

Therefore, Your Honors wish to send Khlopicki together with two members of Your Honorable Company to His Imperial Majesty. They will have the authority to conclude an agreement about your provisioning. Since we are not able to give Your Honors a satisfactory answer, and realizing that there is no other alternative, we must be satisfied with this. However, we also wish to send one of us together with your representatives to His Imperial Majesty. But we request that the departure of this mission be delayed until we return, with God's help, from the campaign against Perekop so that we may bear good news to His Imperial Majesty. Regarding the letters to His Royal Majesty of Poland and to the Grand Prince of Muscovy, Your Honors may include this point in your instructions. His Imperial Majesty will surely know how to deal with this matter in a most gracious manner.

Lastly, we consider it advisable for Your Honors to write to the Grand Prince of Muscovy as soon as possible with a request for the proffered aid against the Turks so that it may arrive before the return of your mission to His Imperial Majesty.

The reasons why I did not want to break relations with the Cossacks and why I, on the contrary, considered it worthwhile to keep them in His Imperial Majesty's service are these:

First, I assume that the war begun with the Turks will last more than a year or two. Therefore, it would not be wise to reject such brave and valiant men who from their youth are trained in warfare and have such a good knowledge of their enemies, the Turks and Tatars (with whom they deal almost daily).

Second, the maintenance of such an army is easier than that of other nations' troops because their officers do not receive any additional payments (which usually add up to no mean sum). They also have their own ammunition and artillery and since many of them know how to deal with this equipment there is no need to hire and maintain special cannoners.

Third, whereas the Grand Prince of Muscovy is also taking part in this undertaking and has ordered his envoys to announce to the Cossacks (whom he considers to be in his service) that they may join His Imperial Majesty's service, I did not dare to break relations with them for fear that the Grand Prince would be offended and not send the reinforcements which were promised and about which his envoy spoke to me.

Fourth, I could not find a better place where it would be so convenient for us to unite with the reinforcements of the Grand Prince than here [i.e., at the Sich], from where it would be easiest to go in any direction necessity requires.

Fifth, when I noticed and was almost completely convinced, not without some risk to myself, that the Chancellor was against these negotiations with the Cossacks, I felt that this was all the more reason to engage them so that he would not be able to draw them to his side and thus strengthen his shameful intrigues in which (as was feared) he was then involved.

Sixth, if I were to break off with them immediately, I would still have to pay them the money because they consider that they earned it in the two campaigns which they already undertook in His Imperial Majesty's name: namely, they destroyed Bilhorod and, recently, they attempted to block the Tatar crossing at Ochakiv, although unsuccessfully, because of the overwhelming strength of the Turkish forces.

Seventh, because great changes will probably occur in Poland in the near future,<sup>100</sup> I considered it of utmost importance to retain these men as our friends since they are not only very influential in all of *Ukraina* (that is, Volhynia and Podolia) but also all of Poland pays attention to them.

The 24th. In the midst of their open *kolo*, in the center of which His Imperial Majesty's standard was planted, I handed over to them eight thousand gold ducats. Thereupon, they spread out several *kobyniaks*<sup>101</sup> or Tatar coats that they usually wear, spilled the money on them and had some of the officers count it. Afterwards, I left the *kolo* and returned to my hut; however, they did not disperse for some time.

During the next few days they gathered in the *kolo* regularly and finally came to a different decision, and namely: to send Khlopicki to the Grand Prince of Muscovy rather than to His Imperial Majesty. In his place they elected Sas'ko Fedorovych and Nykyfor and instructed them to go with me to His Imperial Majesty in order to conclude the terms of their service and provisioning. In the meantime, Jacob Henckel would remain with them so that he could keep His Imperial Majesty informed about the services they were performing. The campaign against Tatar and Precop or, as they call it in Ruthenian, Perekop, was postponed for a more opportune time.

JULY

The 1st. I took leave, in the open *kolo*, of the Hetman and the entire knightly company of Zaporozhians. They thanked me for my efforts and presented me a marten skin coat and a hat made of black fox fur. Then they gave their envoys their mandate and the letter to His Imperial Majesty whose content was the following:

*The Letter of the  
Zaporozhian Host to His Imperial Majesty*

By the grace of God, Most Illustrious and Invincible Christian Emperor, Most Gracious Lord! We present most humbly and faithfully to Your Imperial Majesty, Lord and Leader of all the Christian kings and princes, ourselves and our humble, eternally faithful services. We wish and request from Almighty God, for Your Imperial Majesty, Our Most Gracious Lord, health and fortunate rule over the Christian kingdom and lands. [We also wish] that Almighty God will humble the Turkish and Tatar infidels who are the enemies of the Holy Cross and subjugate them at the feet of Your Imperial Majesty. May Your Imperial Majesty enjoy what you plan and desire in the way of victory, fortune and success. The Zaporozhian Host, with sincere and faithful hearts, wishes all this for Your Imperial Majesty.

During the recently concluded year of 1593, Your Imperial Majesty dispatched Khlopicki, our colleague and presently *polkovnyk* (that is, commander of 500 men), of our Host who had visited Your Imperial Majesty, Our Most Gracious Lord, to the Zaporozhian Host with your behest and with many worthy gifts. Because of the many dangers and inconveniences which arose on Polish territory, he, Khlopicki, together with Your Imperial Majesty's envoys, Erich Lassota and Jacob Henckel, arrived here only on Pentecost. However, long before their arrival, about three weeks before Easter, Your Imperial Majesty's most gracious order and will, together with a copy of Your Imperial Majesty's letter were received and read to us here beyond the Rapids. We did not wish to procrastinate, especially because of the example of our forefathers who earned their bread by knightly pursuits and because we are men who always stand ready at the service of Your Imperial Majesty and all Christendom. So, according to our custom, we called on the Almighty God's help and, for the sake of Your Imperial Majesty's fortune, we set out to sea at a dangerous time, about two weeks before Easter, at the risk of life and limb. Tatar captives provided us with definite

information that numerous troops, both cavalry and Janissary infantry, were gathering in Bilhorod and that they intended, on the order of their lord, the Turkish Sultan, to move against Your Imperial Majesty's province of Hungary. But, with the most gracious help of Almighty God and to Your Imperial Majesty's good fortune, we destroyed and plundered this Turkish border town of Bilhorod with fire and sword, killing several thousand men, both soldiers and common folk. From this destroyed town we send Your Imperial Majesty a captive and two Janissary standards.

Afterwards, quite recently, the Crimean Khan, wishing to make an incursion into Your Imperial Majesty's lands, arrived with his army to a place near Ochakiv, at the mouth of the Dnieper and Boh Rivers. We, under the banners of Your Imperial Majesty, attempted to block his way, but because of their overwhelming numbers both of mounted troops on land and of seaborne troops in galleys and ships, no opposition was possible. However, twice we skirmished with them, taking an important captive whom we would send to Your Imperial Majesty if he were not badly wounded. Lassota, who personally spoke with him and questioned him thoroughly, will be able to give Your Imperial Majesty a full report. As for the very worthy gifts, namely, the banners, bugles and gold coin with which Your Imperial Majesty honored us, knights, with such imperial graciousness, we, as your humble servants, give Your Imperial Majesty our most submissive thanks. God grant that our decision to take to the sea in our ships, in Your Imperial Majesty's name and service, will be a useful and helpful one. More detailed reports about this undertaking will be presented by Your Imperial Majesty's envoy, Lassota and our representatives, Sas'ko Fedorovych and Nykyfor (both of whom are commanders of more than 100 men in our Zaporozhian Host).

We humbly request that Your Imperial Majesty, as a Christian ruler, graciously grant an audience to our envoys (whom we have given full authority to negotiate in our affairs) and accept them with confidence. We have dispatched our *polkovnyk*, Khlopicki to the Grand Prince of Muscovy (who is a Christian ruler and Your Imperial Majesty's well-meaning friend) with Your Imperial Majesty's and our letters, requesting that he come to our aid against the Turks. This should be easy for him to do since his borders are not far away and his men could easily go to Moldavia and even further.

We also request a letter from Your Imperial Majesty to His Royal Majesty and the estates [of Poland] asking them for an assurance that every man of knightly calling [i.e., Cossack] would have the



right to freely leave from, travel across and return to his homeland. We wish to inform Your Imperial Majesty that our Zaporozhian Host can muster 6,000 select and experienced Cossacks, not counting our countrymen who live in the vicinity. Because of the great distance we have assigned two more members of our company to accompany our envoys and officers.

As your most submissive servants we again most humbly extend our services to Your Imperial Majesty's grace.

Given at Bazavluk, a tributary of the Dnieper Chartomlyk on 3 July 1594.<sup>102</sup>

*The Authorization  
of the Zaporozhian Envoys*

I, Bohdan Mykoshyns'kyi, Hetman of the Zaporozhians, together with the entire knightly order of the free Zaporozhian Host, do hereby declare that we, with the knowledge and according to the will of our knightly *kolo*, have delegated Sas'ko Fedorovych and Nykyfor, officers who command 100 men in the Zaporozhian Host, to His Imperial Majesty, Our Most Gracious Lord. We have given our envoys full authority and power to negotiate with Your Imperial Majesty in our interests. We also ask that they, as well as the entire Host, be granted complete confidence. We pledge by this letter and our knightly word that we will accept the decision reached between Your Imperial Majesty and our envoys and adhere to it, acting accordingly and without any objections.

For the sake of confirmation and greater certainty we have given our envoys this letter of authorization which bears both the insignia of the Host and the personal signature of our chancellor, Lev Voronovych.

Given at Bazavluk, on the Chartomlyk tributary of the Dnieper, on 3rd of July, 1594.

Also in the evening of the 1st two messengers arrived from Nalyvaiko<sup>103</sup> (a leading Cossack who was in the service of the *Voevoda* of Kiev for several years at a time when the latter was involved in a conflict with the Zaporozhians who considered him [Nalyvaiko] as their enemy). They brought word that Nalyvaiko, with two or two and a half thousand of his Cossacks, caught up with the Tatars in Moldavia and took from them 3,000 to 4,000 horses. Hearing that at the present time the Zaporozhian Host was in great need of horses, he proposed to share his booty and

give them [the Zaporozhians] 1,500 to 1,600 horses for the sake of friendship. Since their knightly company suspected him of being against them, he wished to present himself personally in their *kolo*, place his sword in its midst and defend himself against the accusations which were leveled at him. If the knightly *kolo* should find his actions unjustified, he himself would propose that his head be cut off with his own sword. However, he hoped that they would be satisfied with his explanations and henceforth consider him their friend and brother. As for what had happened in the past, it should be taken into account that he was in the service of the *Voevoda* of Kiev even before their [the Zaporozhians'] misunderstanding with the latter flared into war. Therefore, it would have been dishonorable for him to desert his master, the *Voevoda*, in whose service and household he had been engaged so long, and to go over to the enemy.

The 2nd. After a meeting with the Muscovite envoys, I left Bazavluk at about noon on a Turkish boat [sandal] along with the Zaporozhian envoys, Sas'ko Fedorovych and Nykyfor and the two other Cossacks who accompanied them. As we moved away from the island, the men of the Host sounded their battle trumpets, rolled their drums and fired several times from their heavy cannons. That same day we reached Mamai-Surki, an old *horodyshe* or fortified town belonging to an old castle on the Tatar side. Then on to Bile Ozero (a place where a stream which flows into the Dnieper from the Tatar side forms a lake. At that point there is also a *horodyshe* or the fortifications of a large, old town.) From there on to Kamiannyi Zaton (this is a backwater of the Dnieper which has a very stony bank and hence the name). In winter, when the Dnieper freezes, the Tatars customarily ford the river there. They also come here for their *odkup* or exchange of captives. A large, ruined wall extends inland from here, almost all the way to Bile Ozero. Alongside it there is a large stone mound, a sign that ages ago a great battle took place here. Then on to Mykytyn Rih which is on the left, that is, on the Ruthenian side. We spent the night on an island not far beyond it.

The 3rd. To Lysa Hora which is on the left or the Ruthenian side. On to Tovsti Pisky (a large mountain of sand on the Tatar side). Next to the mouth of Kons'kii Vody (there the river Kons'ka Voda, which flows from the Tatar lands, enters the Dnieper. However, at several points above here it passes through the backwaters and bays of the Dnieper and then its course leads inland again). After this we passed three streams which are called Tomakivka and

which flow into the Dnieper from the Ruthenian side. An important island also bears their name. Then on to Konska Prypoina (there the river Konska Voda mixes with the backwaters of the Dnieper on the Tatar side). On to Atalikova Dolyna which is also on the Tatar side. Across from it, on the Ruthenian side, is Chervona Hora. Then further on to Sedni Maiaky (there are about 20 images carved out of stone which are the *kurhans* or burial mounds on the Tatar side). On to two streams, Karachokrak and Anchokrak, which flow from the Tatar side into the Dnieper. Then we passed Bila Hora which stands opposite, on the Ruthenian side. On to the place where Konska Voda mixes with the backwaters of the Dnieper for the first time, forming an island on which an old *horodyshche*, Kurtsemal, stands. Then past another island called Dobovyi Hrad which is called thus because of the great oak forest there. Then we crossed Velyka Zabora which is an island and stony place on the Dnieper, not unlike a rapid. A little further up, on another island, we spent the night. 9 miles.

- The 4th. Passed two streams called Moskovky which flow into the Dnieper from the Tatar side. On to the island of Khortytzia, 1 mile. Sailed along the length of this island which is near the Ruthenian side, 2 miles. Disembarked on the smaller Khortytzia Island which is not far away. There was a fortress there which was built thirty years ago by Wiśniowiecki<sup>104</sup> and then destroyed by the Turks and Tatars. Near this island three streams called Khortytzia flow into the Dnieper and thus give the island its name. In the evening we let our horses, which had been grazing on the island, swim over to the Ruthenian side. Then we followed them ourselves and spent that night on the shore.
- The 5th. We set out on horseback across the wild, uninhabited steppe. Later we forded the Sura River, ate and fed our horses. We traveled about 5 miles. In the course of the journey, noticing a *maiak* or a man's image made of stone on a *kurhan* or burial mound, we rode up to it and inspected it. After a repast, we traveled approximately three miles more to an elevation and there we spent the night under the *kurhan*.
- The 6th. In the morning the Sura was forded again and the Domotkan' River as well. Then on to another swampy stream, about 4 miles. There we fed our horses. Before arriving there we came upon a bear who was then shot by members of our company. After midday crossed the Samotkan' River, about 2 miles. There we again ate and fed the horses. Up to this point the steppe is

completely bare; there is not even a tree to be seen. From here on bushes (which they call *bairaky*) begin to appear and the landscape becomes somewhat hilly. In the evening we passed Omelnyk Vorskals'kyi River, about 2 miles. A little further beyond it, in a cave, we spent the night.

- The 7th. Crossed Omelnyk Vorskals'kyi again, about 3 miles. Then we ate. Crossed two more streams and ate again after getting over the second one, about 5 miles. Towards evening reached an elevation, about 1 mile.
- The 8th. To the Konotopy River, about 3 miles. Ate there. Then on to Chyhyryn (a royal town on the Tiasmin River, belonging to the Starosta of Korsun', who at that time was Danylovych),<sup>105</sup> 2 miles.
- The 9th. To a natural spring called Mordva, 2 miles. There we spent the night in the open field.
- The 10th. To Chekasy (a royal town and *starostvo* on the Dnieper), 5 miles.
- The 11th. Crossed the River Swidowski, 1 mile. To the Losowok River, 1 mile. To the Mossna,  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. (On the bridge I met the Zaporozhian envoy who had been sent to the Chancellor.) To Mossna (a new town on the Mossna River belonging to Wiśniowiecki),  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile. Ate. Afterwards stayed overnight in an oak forest,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles.
- The 12th. Over the Rosi River,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. A little further, at Kamianets', we ate and fed our horses. This is a forepost of Kaniv which they call a *khutir*. Then to Kurchych (also a Kaniv *khutir*), 2 miles. Again we ate and fed our horses. Then across the Rosava River and past a famous burial mound called *de pliephenasta*.<sup>106</sup> Crossed the Lypovyi Rih and on to Rzhyschiv *khutir*, which is about one mile from the town. 3 more miles. And then spent the night there.
- The 13th. Forded a stream called Kaharlyk and then crossed the Ol'shanytsia River, 4 miles. Then through another stream,  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile. There we ate and fed the horses. In the afternoon we crossed the stream Kosnytsia and over the Krasna River which flows into the Dnieper near Trypillia. Afterwards across the Rudka River which flows into the Rosa. Over the Ol'shanytsia which flows into the Dnieper and beyond the Bila Tserkva *khutir*, 3 miles. There we spent the night in the open field.

- The 14th. Passed Bila Tserkva (a royal town, castle and *starostvo* situated on the Ros') which was to the left of us at a fork of two roads, 2 miles. On to a *korchma* [inn] located on the Kamianytsia River, 1 mile. Ate there. In the afternoon, we crossed the Kamianytsia and went on to Rostovytsia (a village), 1 mile. Then over the Rostavytsia River and on to the Skvyra River (which had risen at that time so that we had to wade across with all our things), 1 mile. On to the stream Berezna, 1½ miles and up to Rozvolozhzhia (a town and castle which is also called Volodarka and is situated on the Ros' River), ½ mile.
- The 15th. Did not travel.
- The 16th. Crossed the Volodarka River, ½ mile. Then on to a little stream with a mill next to it, 1 mile. On to a bridge and over another river, 1½ miles. Over the Orikhovytsia which was very high at that time. We had to wade across with all our things, 1 mile. We spent the night in the open field.
- The 17th. Over the Ros' River, 1 mile. Pohrebyshe (a town and castle on the Ros'), 1 mile. We ate and then went through a beautiful forest to a wonderful well, 2 miles. From there to the place where we camped overnight in the field, 2½ miles.
- The 18th. To Pryluka (a town and castle), 1½ miles.
- The 19th. Holyky (a village), 3 miles. Then over the Sosnova River and on to Pykiv (a town and castle belonging to Sapiuha who is from Lithuania), 1 mile.
- The 20th. To Khmil'nyk (a small town and castle on the Buh River, which flows around both sides of the town), 3 miles. Ate and went through a hilly oak forest up to Tesy (a village), 2 miles. Crossed the Tysi River there. Then on to Letychiv (a town and castle, situated on the Vovk River, belonging to the Potocki), 2 miles. Mezhybizh (a town and a walled castle belonging to the Sieniawski and lying between the Bozhok and Buh Rivers which come together there before the Bozhok loses its name), 2 miles.
- The 21st. Holoskiv (a village), 1 mile. To Dashkivtsi (a village belonging to Stanislaw Bialecki with whom I had a conversation), 1 mile. While traveling we learned that the *Voevoda's*, of Bratslav, men who had set out against the Tatars, had already returned because news reached him that the Tatars had already broken through into Hungary.

- The 22nd. To Proskuriv (a small town and castle which has become the hereditary property of Wlodek.<sup>107</sup> It lies on a beautiful lake which divides the town into two parts. Here the Proskurivka River falls into the Buh), 2 miles. Somewhat further on we ate in the field, 1 mile. To Chornyi Ostriv (a town and castle belonging to the *Voevoda* of Kiev which we passed not more than 1/8th of a mile on our right), 1 mile. Manachyn (a town and castle belonging to the Wiśniowiecki, situated on a large pond), 3 miles.
- The 23rd. Volochyshche (a town and castle belonging to the Zbaraski), 1 mile. Bazar (town belonging to the *Voevoda* of Bratslav and situated not quite an eighth of a mile from Zbarazh which is also a town with a castle), 4 miles.
- The 24th. Vyshnyvets' (a town and castle on the Horyn' River), 3 miles. Horynka (a village), 2 miles. Ate there. Kremenets' (a small town, castle and *starostvo*), 2 miles. The castle at Kremenets' is built on a high hill. Here we came upon a chain of mountains which stretched continuously on our left side all the way to Lviv.
- The 26th. To a bridge over the Ikva River, 1 short mile. Orla (a new little town and castle belonging to a widow), 1 short mile. Sukhodoly (a village), 3 miles. Kadlubys'k (a village) which belongs to Zolkiewski, 1 mile.
- The 27th. Oles'ko (a town and castle), 1 mile. Bus'k (a village on the Buh River. It is situated about 2 miles from the river's source), 1½ miles. Then we crossed the Zolochivka River and ate there. Hlyniany (a town), 2 miles. Bilka (a village), 2 miles.
- The 28th. Lysyvychi (a village), 2½ miles. Ate there. Lviv, ½ mile. Kresna (a village), 1 mile.
- The 29th. Returned again to Lviv (ate there and after 1 mile we were again in the village of Kresna), 1 mile. From there on it becomes somewhat mountainous. Shklo (a village and hot springs), 5 miles.
- The 30th. Iavoriv (a small town, castle and *starostvo* belonging to the Chancellor), 1 mile. Then through a beautiful beech wood forest to Svidnytsia (a village), 2 miles. Ate there. Jaroslaw (a town and castle belonging to Aleksander of Ostroh). Situated on the San River, 5 miles. We forded the San just below the castle.

The 31st. To Przeworsko (a walled town belonging to Prince Janusz of Ostroh), 2 miles. Kosina, in German, Kosch (a German village belonging to Jaroslaw), 2 miles. Ate there. Lancut (a town and castle belonging to Stanislaw Stadnicki), 1 mile. Note: In this town and about a mile around it, the people speak German. It is said that when the Poles defeated the Prussians these people were transferred here. Rzeszów (a rather large and open town belonging to Ligenza. It is on the Wislok River), 2 miles.

### AUGUST

- The 1st. Sedziszów (a market), 3 miles. Debica, 3 miles. Ate there. Pilzno (a fine town situated at the foot of the mountains), 2 miles.
- The 2nd. Tarnów (a fine, walled town and castle belonging to Janusz of Ostroh), 3 miles. Koscielec (a village), ½ mile. Ate. Over the Dunaiecz, 1 mile. Woynicz, ½ mile. Brzezic, 2 miles.
- The 3rd. Bochnia (a town and saltworks), 2 miles. Chaum, 1 mile. Then crossed the Kaba and on to Grusska, ½ mile. Cracow, 3½ miles.
- The 7th. Olkusch, a walled mountain town, 5 miles.
- The 8th. Sławków (a market), 2 miles. Strzemieszyce (a village), 1 mile. Ate there. Bedzin (a town), 2 miles. Beuthen (a town), 2 miles. Neudeck (a castle belonging to a count), 1 mile.
- The 9th. Tarnowitz (an unfortified mountain town), 1 mile. Biskupitz (a market). Beczina (a village), 1 mile. Ate there. Ujest (a market), 2 miles. From there to Slawentzitz. Then we spent the night as guests of Wilhelm von Oppendorff.
- The 10th. Cosel, 2 miles.
- The 12th. Schreibersdorf, 4 miles.
- The 15th. Neuss, 5 miles.
- The 16th. Ottmachau (a town), 1½ miles. Old Patschkau (a village), 1½ miles.
- The 17th. Patschkau (a town), ½ mile. Reichstein, 1 mile. Glatz, 3 miles. Reinerz, 2½ miles. Lewin, 1 mile.

- The 18th. Through Nachod, 1 mile. Skalitz, 1 mile and Jaromer, 1 mile. Bydzov, 4 miles. Kralovany, 2 miles. To Podmok, ½ mile.
- The 19th. Limburg, 1½ miles. Taussim, 3 miles. Prague, 3 miles.
- The 20th. Beraun, 3 miles.
- The 21st. Myto (a village). Ate there. 4 miles. Pilsen, 3 miles.
- The 22nd. Through the Bohemian Woods to the Munich Woods, 2 miles. A beautiful valley, 1 mile. Rez (a town), 1 mile. Ate there. Bruck (a town), 2 miles.
- The 24th. Nittenau, 1 mile. Kurn (a village), 2 miles. Ate there. Regensburg, 2 miles.

## SEPTEMBER

...I presented my report to the gentlemen of the Secret Council in the hands of Rudolf Caraducius.<sup>108</sup>

...I and the Cossacks were received in a gracious audience by His Imperial Majesty in the presence of the Secret Councilors, The Cossacks presented His Imperial Majesty with the two Turkish banners.

...Caraducius informed me that His Imperial Majesty and the members of the Secret Council were completely satisfied with my mission and the detailed report and that shortly both I and the [Cossack] envoys would receive their reply.

...Caraducius informed me, in the name of His Imperial Majesty, that it had been decided to take the Cossacks into the Imperial service. However, His Imperial Majesty's field commander in Upper Hungary, Christoff von Teuffenbach, would have to be consulted as to their pay and provisions. Therefore, we should go to Vienna where we could find him.

...After His Imperial Majesty provided each of the Cossack envoys with funds to cover travel expenses and, in addition, presented them with a monetary reward and paid our expenses in the hostel, we boarded a ship on the Danube and that same day

...<sup>109</sup>





## FOOTNOTES

1. Pisarowice.
2. In Lassota's time the Austrian mile was equivalent to ca. 7,500 meters.
3. Otmuchów.
4. Paczków.
5. Kłodzko.
6. Nachód.
7. Kralovany. Lassota also uses the name Odrany Miestez.
8. Archduke Maximilian (1558-1618), the son of Emperor Maximilian II. Lassota was a faithful servant of the Archduke and his close political confidant.
9. Wolfgang Siegmund Freiherr von Rumpf zum Wüllass (d. 1606), Imperial Steward and President of the Imperial Privy Council. Rumpf was an influential figure at the Imperial Court until 1600, when he lost favor with the Emperor. See *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. 39 (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 668-669.
10. Hans Christoph von Hornstein zu Grüningen (1542-1606). Von Hornstein was appointed to the post of secret counselor in 1594 and in 1600 succeeded Rumpf as Rudolf II's closest advisor. See J. Matoušek, *Turecká valká v Evropske politice . . .* (Prague, 1935), pp. 44-45.
11. Khlopicki, cf. Introduction, pp. 24 and 38.
12. Henckel—Jacob Henckel von Donnersmarck, one of the best experts of East European affairs at the court of Rudolf II. In 1613-1614 he led a diplomatic mission to Moscow. Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 84.
13. George (Popel) Lobkowitz, High Steward of Bohemia, possessed great power at the Imperial court until 1593 when he was tried by the Imperial court for conspiracy and sentenced to prison (1594).
14. Barthlome Pezzen (Petz), one of Rudolf II's most experienced diplomats. He served as the Emperor's longtime ambassador to Constantinople. Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 84.
15. Moses is often mentioned in works dealing with Rudolf II's contacts with the Cossacks. Unfortunately, more detailed information about him is unavailable. Matoušek, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
16. Daniel Printz (Prinzen), a Czech official and Imperial envoy to Poland in 1594.
17. The Archduke Maximilian made an unsuccessful bid for the Polish crown in 1587-1588. In loyalty to the Archduke, Lassota refers to him and his court with the royal title.
- 17a. During the 16th century the ducat was the most widely used unit of currency in Europe. It contained 3½ grams of gold.
18. Wilhelm von Oppersdorff was one of Archduke Maximilian's close advisors.
19. Hradec Králové.

20. Nysa.

21. Biłka.

22. The Kochcicki were a family of Czech origin which had close ties with the Lassotas of Steblau. They, like the Lassotas, were clients of Archduke Maximilian. Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 85.

23. Opava.

24. Olomouc.

25. Vyškov.

26. Slavkov.

27. Bratislava.

28. Trenčín.

29. Kremnica.

30. Zyblien.

31. The *hayduks* were irregular troops in parts of Hungary and the Balkans. They were often utilized in anti-Turkish warfare.

32. Archduke Mathias (1557-1619) was the son of Emperor Maximilian II. At the time of Lassota's journey he was the *statthalter* of Lower and Upper Austria. In 1612 he was crowned Emperor.

33. Rima Szombat.

34. Christoff von Teuffenbach was the commander of all the Imperial forces in Upper Hungary (present day Slovakia). Teuffenbach gained fame as a leader in the conflict with the Tatars and Turks in 1593-1594.

35. Košice.

36. Latorcza or Laborec River.

37. Stadnicki, Andrzej (d. 1614), son of Mikolaj. The Stadnicki family owned numerous properties in the vicinity of Rymanow.

38. The office of *kasztelan* derives from the medieval commanders of castles (castellanus). In the Polish Commonwealth of the 16th century the administrative and judicial duties connected with the office were being reduced. However, the office still had important privileges, such as a seat in the Senate, associated with it. There were 87 *kasztelans* of various categories. The *starosta* was the administrator of royal lands. One of the most important duties of these officers was the maintenance of law and order. The area administered by these officials was called the *starostwo*.

39. Lassota is mistaken on this point. In 1594 it was not Osmólski who was the owner of Lesko but Stanisław Stadnicki. See Mel'nyk, *Dnevnyk*, p. 150.

40. Tarlo—Zygmunt Tarlo (ca. 1561-1628).

41. Jan Herburt (ca. 1560-1606).

42. Zółkiewski, Stanisław (1547-1620). Besides his position as *hetman polny*, Zółkiewski was also the *starosta* of Bar, Iavoriv, Rohatyn, Kalish.

43. The widow was Anna Tykhomorna neé Kozyn'ska.

44. The Wiśniowiecki (Vyshnevets'kyi) were a powerful family of Ukrainian magnates who were undergoing polonization during this period. They owned vast territories in Ukraine.

45. Prince Piotr Zbaraski (Zbarazhs'kyi) (d. 1603) was the founder and owner of Ozhyhovits. He was a scion of another polonized family of Ukrainian magnates.

46. *Voevoda* of Kiev–Konstantyn (Vasyl) Konstantynovych Ostroz'skyi (1526-1608). This famous Ukrainian magnate owned vast properties in Ukraine. He was the leader in the struggle of the Orthodox against the Union of Brest (1596). The office of *voevoda* (Pol. wojewoda) corresponds to that of palatine. There were about 35 of these highest ranking administrative offices in the Commonwealth during Lassota's time.

47. The town of Mykolaiv was founded in 1555 by Mikolaj Sieniawski (d. 1569), hence the name of the town.

48. The town of Pyliava was hereditarily owned by the Pilawski family.

49. Lassota mistakenly cites the Sluch River here. Actually Syniava was located on the Buh River. It is evident from Lassota's itinerary that from the moment he entered Volhynia he attempted to bypass settled areas, castles, and towns. This may be explained by his desire to avoid Polish authorities who might question him about his mission and hinder his passage. See Mel'nyk, *Dnevnyk*, p. 152; also see Introduction.

50. Pykiv belonged during the course of the 16th century to the Kmit family. In 1594 the town passed briefly into the hands of the Lithuanian family of Sapieha.

51. Jan Zbaraski, *Voevoda* of Bratslav. He was considered to be a great friend of the Zaporozhians.

52. Aaron ruled twice as Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia; from September 1591 to June 1592 and from October 1592 to May 1595.

53. Binowski—unidentified. Apparently a messenger from the Zaporozhians.

54. Janusz Ostroz'skyi (Ostrogski) (1554-1620) was also the *Kasztelan* of Cracow and a senator of the Polish Commonwealth.

55. Iosif Vereshchyns'kyi (d. 1599). The Bishop was especially active in colonizing the steppe and propagating war against the Tatars and Turks.

56. Bilhorod (Akkerman in Turkish) was an ancient commercial center on the Black Sea and a favorite target of Zaporozhian raids against the Turks.

57. The Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev was Mykhailo Rohoza (d. 1599), one of the organizers of the Union of Brest.

58. Lassota corrupted the name of the Kievan nobleman who owned this town. Actually it was Didkovych. Later the family, as a result of its association with Trypillia, amended its name to Didkovych-Trypills'kyi. See Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 88.

59. Lassota refers here to the dynasty of the Rurikids, whose last representative, Feodor Ivanovich (1584-1598), was currently on the Muscovite throne.

60. Volodymyr Sviatoslavych, Grand Prince of Kiev from ca. 978 to 1015. The title "Tsar" was not normally applied to the rulers of Kiev.

61. In the German text the name Juulza is given. Lassota is mistaken, however, since Olha was Volodymyr's grandmother and not his mother.

62. This is a reference to St. Makarii, who was elected to the Metropolitanate in 1495. On his way to Kiev from Vilno, where he was previously an archimandrite of a monastery, Makarii was attacked by Tatars and, on March 1, 1497, tortured to death. His remains were later found and brought to Sancta Sofia for burial. See Brunn, *Zapiski*, p. 62.

63. Iaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Kiev (978-1054).

64. Ilia Muromets was a legendary figure in old Ukrainian and Russian folklore. In tales associated with the time of Volodymyr, Ilia is represented as one of the Grand Prince's knights. During the 16th and 17th centuries he was depicted as a heroic Cossack. In the later period he was also known as Chobotka, whose grave, according to Lassota (see p. 77) was located in the Pecherskyi Monastery. See also Brunn, *Zapiski*, p. 63.

65. According to some authors (Brunn, *Zapiski*, p. 64; Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 90), Lassota or his guide mistakenly referred to the church of St. Irene as that of St. Catherine.

66. The Golden or Iron Gate was built during the time of Iaroslav (ca. 1037). It served for ceremonial entries into the city. During the conquest of Kiev by the Mongols in 1240 it was partially destroyed.

67. The church of St. Michael was built during the reign of Grand Prince Sviatopolk—i.e., in 1108. It was also destroyed by the Mongols and was rebuilt only during the 16th century.

68. St. Barbara, whose remains were one of the main attractions of the church of St. Michael, was an extremely popular saint in Ukraine.

69. This part of Kiev is now called Podol.

70. The church in question is that of St. Cyril. It was one of the few not completely destroyed by the Mongols, and in the 16th century it was rebuilt, largely through the efforts of Prince Konstantyn of Ostroh. See *Istoria Kieva*, Vol. 1, p. 86.

71. The Roman Catholic cathedral was located in the Podol section of Kiev. About a decade after Lassota's visit a stone cathedral was erected. Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 92.

72. Prince Konstantyn Ivanovych Ostroz'skyi (ca. 1460-1530) was known for his battles with the Muscovites, especially his brilliant victory over them at the Orsha River in 1514.

73. Prince Konstantyn Konstantynovych Ostroz'skyi (1527-1608) was *Voevoda* of Kiev since 1559. See *Entsyklopedia Ukrainoznavstva*, Vol. 5, p. 1901.

74. See note 59.

75. See note 64.

76. The actual founder of the monastery was a monk named Anthony, who was originally from Liubych. He began his work on the monastery in 1051. Soon afterwards he was joined by twelve monks who worked with him in expanding the monastery within the limestone caves.

77. It was a popular belief in Kiev and Ukraine, in general, that the oil which was secreted by the skeletons of those who were buried in the limestone caves of the monastery was especially helpful in curing many kinds of sicknesses. Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 92.

78. Annibal had been previously sent to the Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia on a mission. Meanwhile, Chlopicki had gone on ahead to inform the Zaporozhians of the approaching Imperial envoys.

79. Andrzej Chalecki (d. 1595), owner of much property in the vicinity of Rzhyshev.

80. King Stefan Bathory (1533-1586) granted the Zaporozhians the use of the town as a convalescent center in 1575.

81. Aleksander Konstantynovych Ostroz'skyi (1571-1603) was *Voevoda* of Volhynia since 1593 and the *Starosta* of Periaslav up to his death.

82. Lassota is mistaken here. The Turkish enter the Alta River and not the Supoi.

83. Prince Hryhorii Domont belonged to old Lithuanian aristocracy. In 1585 he willed Domontiv(ka) to his wife, Apollonia Fedorovna Tyshyns'ka-Bykovs'ka. See Mel'nyk, *Dnevnyk*, p. 159.

84. Aleksander Wiśniowiecki (Vyshnevets'kyi) (d. 1594) was the *starosta* of Cherkasy, Kaniv, Korsun, and other towns.

85. The latin word *tumuli* and the Ukrainian word *mohyly* mean graves, burial mounds.

86. There seems to be a misunderstanding here since there is no evidence that at this time the Zaporozhians were in the service of the Muscovite Tsar.

87. Mykoshyns'kyi is not a well-known figure in Ukrainian history. Besides the facts that Lassota provides we have very little information about him.

88. The word *kosh* or *kish* is of Turkish origin and refers to shelters set up in an open space. The entire Zaporozhian encampment was sometimes called *kish*; hence the usual term denoting the Zaporozhian leader was *koshovyi*.

89. This word either could be a proper name or could refer to the commander of a military unit, called a *böyük*.

90. During the 16th and 17th centuries the term Tsar was often used in Ukrainian, Russian, and, to a lesser extent, Polish sources to denote the Crimean Khan. Tsarevich, of course, refers here to the Khan's sons. The Khan of the Crimea at that time was Ghazi Girei II, who ruled from 1588 to 1596.

91. It should be noted that contemporary accounts usually grossly exaggerated the numerical strength of the Tatar armies.

92. The Perekop Horde was one of the Nogai Hordes. It usually nomadized in the vicinity of Perekop.

93. Drowning in the Dnieper was a favorite method used by Zaporozhians to eliminate persons who were considered to be especially annoying.

94. Prince Janusz Zbaraski (d. 1608), *Voievoda* of Bratslav since 1576.

95. The term *Ukraina* is used here as a designation of a frontier area. This was the general use of the word at the time.

96. The capital of the Crimean Khanate was Bakhchesarai not Perekop.

97. The *osavul* was the adjutant of the Hetman or *koshovyi*. The special responsibilities of these officers were usually in judiciary, financial, and administrative affairs.

98. Hryhorii Loboda (d. 1596) was one of the outstanding Cossack leaders of the late 16th century. He was one of the organizers of a daring raid against the Turks in Moldavia. In 1596, during a Cossack uprising against the Poles, he was murdered by his own men, who suspected him of traitorous contacts with the enemy.

99. Polish translations omit the term "estates" from this phrase (see Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 97); however, we see no way of translating the term used in the German original (i.e., *die Standt*) other than as "estates."

100. The reference here is to the anticipated abdication of the Polish throne by Zygmunt III in favor of a Habsburg candidate.

101. The word is derived from the Turkish *kepenek*. Lassota's version of the term is *kevenith*.

102. The date should be, as Schottin (*Tagebuch* p. 222) notes, July 1.

103. Severyn Nalyvaiko (d. 1597), son of a tailor in Husiatyn who was murdered by the Polish magnate, M. Kalinowski. Nalyvaiko entered the service of Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'skyi and fought with him against the Cossack uprising led by Krystof Kosinskyi in 1593. Some time later, as Lassota recounts, Nalyvaiko organized a Cossack raid into Moldavia. In 1595 he, together with Loboda, led a massive Cossack uprising against the magnates of the Commonwealth. When the rebels found themselves in a difficult situation, part of them surrendered Nalyvaiko to the Poles in hope of obtaining lenient terms. He was executed in Warsaw.

104. Prince Dmytro Vyshnevets'kyi (Wiśniowiecki) (d. 1563) was one of the outstanding Cossack leaders in the 1550s. In 1556 he built a Cossack fortress on the Dnieper island Khortytsi. This stronghold should be considered as a prototype of the famous Zaporozhian Sich. See L. Wynar, *Kniaz' Dmytro Vyshevetskyi* (München, 1964).

105. Jan Danilowicz (Danylovych) (1570-1628) held numerous high offices, among them the *Starostvo* of Belsk, Korsun, Chyhyryn. In 1605 he married the daughter of the famous Crown Hetman, Żółkiewski.

106. Brunn (*Zapiski*, p. 88) explains this designation for the burial mounds as one which was derived from the name of a nearby village, Polstvyňa.

107. The current proprietor of Proskuriv was Stanisław Włodek. The latter's father, Maciej, received title to the town in 1550 from King Sigismund August as a reward for faithful service.

108. Rudolf Caraducius (Korraduz) was an important Imperial diplomat. In 1593 he served as envoy-extraordinary to Rome. See Wójcik, *Opisy*, p. 99.

109. Lassota's account breaks off at this point.

.

.



## **Appendices**

In view of the scarcity of English translations of primary sources concerning the origin and early history of Ukrainian Cossacks, it was decided to include in this volume several important documents as well as an excerpt from the 16th century Polish chronicle. It is hoped that these sources will contribute to a fuller comprehension of the early development of the Zaporozhian Cossacks as well as their participation in the anti-Ottoman coalition of the 1590s.

I wish to acknowledge my gratitude for the English translations to Dr. O. Subtelny of Harvard University, Dr. Guy A. Marco of Kent State University, Dr. M. O'Hagan of Saint Basil's College in Toronto, and Professor Betty J. Parks of Kent State University.

L.R.W.

## No. 1

## CONCERNING THE COSSACKS

Marcin Bielski

Marcin Bielski (1495-1575), Polish chronicler, was the author of the comprehensive *Kronika Polska Marcina Bielskiego*, which was supplemented and published by his son Joachim Bielski (1540-1599) in Cracow in 1597. Other editions were published in 1764, 1829, 1833, and 1856. For information on M. Bielski and his son, see J. Macurek, *Dejepisectvi evropskeho vychodu* (Prague, 1946).

Bielski's work contains important materials concerning the origin and early activity of Zaporozhian Cossacks. The section included here, "Concerning the Cossacks" ("O Kozakach"), is presented in the *Chronicle* under the year 1574.

Translated from Polish by Orest Subtelny, Harvard University.

## CONCERNING THE COSSACKS

These people on the Nyz<sup>1</sup> (a river which enters the Dnieper) live from their fishing. They dry the fish without salting it and then subsist from it during the summer. In the winter they disperse among the neighboring towns such as Kiev, Cherkasy, and others. They leave their boats in some safe place on one of the islands of the Dnieper. In addition, they leave several hundred armed men there, "in the *kurin'*."<sup>2</sup> as they say, and with artillery. They have their own small cannons, some of which were captured from Turkish fortresses and some of which were taken from the Tatars. Previously there were not so many of them but now they number several thousand. Especially in recent times they have rapidly grown in numbers.

They often inflict considerable damage to the Turks and Tatars. Several times already they have destroyed Ochakiv, Tehin,<sup>3</sup> Bilhorod, and other fortresses. Also, in the steppe they have captured a large number of livestock. Now the Turks and Tatars do not dare to wander, as they did before, far into the steppe to pasture with their sheep and cattle. The farthest they will go on this [Right] side of the Dnieper is ten miles. It is they [the Cossacks] who involve us more than anyone else in conflicts with the Turks. The Tatars also say that if it were not for them they would get along well with us [the Poles]. But one need not believe what they say. It is good that they exist; however, they should be organized and paid. Then they would live permanently on the Dnieper, among the islands and sandbars of which there is a number there. These islands are by nature so easily defensible that if one of them were occupied by several hundred men then even the most numerous army could do nothing if it dared to attack them.

One of these islands is called Kokhanyi. It is among the rapids, 40 miles from Kiev and several miles long. When the Cossacks are on this island, it is difficult for the Tatars to cross over to our side because from the island one can block the Kremenets'kyi and Kuchmans'kyi fords (which the Tatars normally use). There is another island nearby called Khortytsia. It is the one on which previously Wiśniowiecki [Vyshnevt's'kyi] lived and acted as a great hindrance to the Tatars.<sup>4</sup> During his time they did not dare to raid us so often. A little below Khortytsia the Tiasmin River enters the Dnieper, 44 miles from Kiev. There is also a third island called Tomakivka. It is here that the Zaporozhian Cossacks usually live. Of itself the island is a mighty fortification. Opposite it two rivers, the Tiasmin and the Bazavluk, enter the Dnieper. The latter [Bazavluk] has its source in the Chornyi Lis. There are quite a few other, smaller, islands there. If fortifications were built there and settlements established, then the Tatars would not dare to appear among us so often. We, however, prefer to set up our defensive lines only beginning with Sambir.

There is little that can be done against them [the Zaporozhians] if one attacks them by water because no galley or ship can go further up the Dnieper than the rapids, which were made thus by God himself. If it were not for these rapids the Turks long ago would have cleared this area. The Cossacks know these rapids so well that they can easily go through them on their leather boats which they call *chaiky*. They let them down the rapids by means of ropes or lines and pull them up in the same manner. It is exactly in this kind of boats that Rus' once did such great harm to the Greek emperor.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes, as the Greek historian Zonaras writes, Rus' even came as far as Constantinople. It seems that even now the Cossacks would attempt to do the same if there were more of them. The Turks are anxious that these lands remain empty and that the population not increase so that they may be safe in Constantinople.

There was, years ago, a large port there, namely, Bilhorod. It was from there that Podolian wheat was shipped as far as Cyprus. But today only caravans go by land from there to Moscow by way of Ochakiv. Since the route from Bilhorod is a major one, the Cossacks often attack Turkish merchants there, and if they ever need a prisoner, there they will get one sooner than anywhere else.

Not only on the Dnieper but also on the smaller rivers, the Tiasmin and the Orshanytsia, there are enough islands on which strong fortifications against the Tatars could be built. If Balaklei, which is situated on the Chychyklei River nine miles from Ochakiv, were fortified, then it would not be so easy for the Tatars to go against us, especially if they wished to use the Chornyi Shliakh which is named after the Chornyi Lis. The Tatars are accustomed to concealing themselves in the latter until they all cross over the Syni Vody, which is a very calm lake located near the place where the Dnieper enters the sea. It would also be fitting to build fortifications in Kremenchuk (incidentally, the King, our present Lord, already ordered

Mikolaj Jazlowiecki, the *Starosta* of Sniatyn', to do this). If this matter were in the hands of the Germans or the Venetians, then they would not be so careless about it as we are. If only we would take advantage of the Cossacks we could easily succeed, especially if instead of giving the Tatars their *upominki*<sup>6</sup> we utilized them for this project. Should the *kwarta*<sup>7</sup> for the soldiers not suffice, then we could recruit them [the Zaporozhians] for a shorter time so that towns and forts could be built where necessary. These can be built because there is enough timber on these islands and stone is also not lacking. Thus, if we want to, we can easily preserve ourselves from the Tatars. I heard Jan Oryszowski, a relative of mine who was a Hetman of the Cossacks and knows these places well, discuss this matter quite knowledgeably. He could assume responsibility and would be able to handle this matter well.

There are also Muscovite Cossacks whom we call the Don Cossacks. They live on the Don or Tanais River. From the Don they sometimes make the portage to the Volga, dragging their *chaiky* on logs over the Perevoloka Heights. They also inflict damage on the Tatars whenever they can. And, just as with us, the Tatars direct their vengeance against Moscow. Sometimes our Zaporozhians join them, but the only way they can do this is by land because there are no waterways connecting them. At the time King Stefan urgently wished to destroy them [the Zaporozhians], they fled to Moscow, to these other Cossacks.<sup>8</sup> Seeing that this represented an even greater danger, he probably left them in peace for this reason. As a result, insubordination among them increased even more, reaching the point where, instead of being useful to us, they are a source of trouble. The government should supervise them, the King should assign their Hetman and, finally, their *sotnyky* and *otamany* should take an oath of loyalty. Then they would, no doubt, render good service and these lands would be safe with them. But I leave this matter to those wiser than myself.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Bielski mistakenly considers the Nyz (i.e., the lower part of the Dnieper) to be a separate river which enters the Dnieper.

2. The *kurin*' was originally one of the huge huts in which the Cossacks lived during their stay at the Sich. Traditionally there were 38 such *kurini* associated and named after the various regions of Ukraine from which the Cossacks came.

3. This is the Turkish form for the town of Bendery in present-day Moldavia.

4. See Introduction, p. 30.

5. This is a reference to the famous sea raid of Grand Prince Sviatoslav (ruled in Kiev circa 945-972) against Constantinople.

6. The *upominki* were periodic donations given by the Polish king to the Crimean khan for the curtailment of Tatar raids.

7. The *kwarta* was an ancient tax for the maintenance of the Polish regular army.

8. Bielski refers to the Don Cossacks.

## No. 2

**EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT ON  
COSSACKS BY GAMBERINI (1586)**

Carolus Gamberini, who was in service of the Warsaw Nuncio Albertus Bolognetti (1581-1584), prepared a special report on the Cossacks and their plan of a major anti-Ottoman campaign in the 1580s. The manuscript is not dated and does not have a specific title. Historians relate this document to the year 1586. Gamberini's report is one of the earliest accounts on the Zaporozhian Cossacks written by a Western diplomat. A brief analysis of this document is presented by L. Boratynski, "Kozacy i Watykan," *Przegląd Polski*, XI (1906).

The manuscript is preserved in the Vatican Archives, Fondo Borgnese (see I. fol. 234-239). Published in *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes*, P. Athanasius G. Welykyj, editor (Romae, 1959), pp. 23-30.

Translated from the Italian by Guy A. Marco, Kent State University.

**EXCERPTS FROM THE REPORT ON  
COSSACKS BY GAMBERINI (1586)**

(Banonia, an. 1586)

While wandering in the country of Poland, in the service of Cardinal Bolognetti—who was at the time Nuncio in that kingdom—I had occasion to meet many kinds of people and to see and hear many things. Among the affairs I was involved in, one had to do with some information wanted from the Tatars. I became friendly with a Cossack captain (the Cossacks being a people whose lands were contiguous with the Tatar lands) who happened to be in court. He was a soldier of great valor and fame in those parts. I put him in my debt through various favors and gifts; he developed great confidence in me and assured himself of discovering a means of gratifying an old desire: to carry out a memorable undertaking against the Turks—for the glory of God and the name of the Cossack people. He was bitter about the interference of the Polish King—his master—with the Cossack efforts to attack the Turks, who were the common enemy. The Cossacks had received no recognition for their actions against the Turks, but rather had been harrassed because of them. The last insult followed the conquest of Tiahynia, an important Turkish fortress, built several years ago on the Dniester river in Wallachia, on the Polish frontier. Five or six thousand Turks were slain in that battle, with scarcely ten Cossacks killed. The fortress was destroyed to its foundations, and 40 pieces of artillery were taken.<sup>1</sup> Yet the King, in response to some

claims sent to his court by the Turks, responded by beheading 22 brave Cossacks who happened to be in his hands.

Who are these Cossacks; where do they live? Of this, and of their strengths, I shall speak briefly, though I am sure that Your Holiness will have heard news of them from your Nuncios.

The Tatars' frequent incursions into Poland made it necessary to gather many men (exiles or mercenaries) in certain islands formed by the Dnieper (Boristene) opposite the Black Sea (Mar Maggiore) near Tatar territory. They raided their villages and fought so that Sigismund the First supported them. Today the Cossacks are the terror not only of the Tatars but of all the surrounding peoples. And the Turks themselves fear them, often saying that the Ottoman Empire had a similar beginning, and likewise the great Tamerlane, much celebrated by the historians.

Other Cossacks supported by the King are those remaining in those islands under the command of a captain, to guard the place and observe the movements of the Tatars; these number only 1,500. There are also adventurers, of noble birth for the most part, who assemble from the adjoining regions to battle the Turks and Tatars, returning to their own homes when it seems best. Of these there are some fourteen or fifteen thousand—well-armed, distinguished men who fear no danger, more eager for glory than for gain. Their weapons are the scimitar and a certain arquebus with much ammunition that they claim to fire faultlessly.

They are agile on foot and on horseback, being known as Cossacks from *cozza*,<sup>2</sup> which means goat in the Polish language. They are not only as agile as goats but also seem to nourish themselves on anything, like goats, surviving in the field in huts fashioned of branches and cane, and eating fish, game, and whatever they can steal from the Tatars; they never eat bread, and they drink only water. There are mercenaries from every nationality: Poles, Germans, French, Spanish, and Italian; desperate men who, having committed various excesses could not live securely anywhere except in such a situation, where no human force could threaten them. Among them there is incredible loyalty.

The islands are four, sometimes six or eight, miles long and two or three miles wide. When there are few inhabitants, they stay on the smaller islands, and when there are more they spread out over the larger ones. The Cossacks utilize the heavy forests for defense by splitting and bending trees to obstruct the movement of cavalry. And in winter they prevent cavalry from attacking across the frozen Boristene by chopping the ice near the islands into a sort of levee or wall. In warmer seasons they need no other protection than the vast river itself, which cannot be forded in that direction. Furthermore, there are many miles of marshes, which render the islands impregnable to anyone who is not thoroughly familiar with the paths. The Cossacks are good sailors and have every sort of wood [for ships], so they are able to pirate in the Black Sea and attack the shore.

In brief, these are the conditions of the Cossacks, with whose leader, as I have said, I had become friendly. After many conversations, I asked him

what undertaking he thought would succeed on behalf of Christianity, and what external aid he could hope to secure. He answered thus: "There are two ways of injuring the Turk: by oppressing the Perekop Tatars, or by direct attack on the Turk himself. The first option, oppressing the Tatars, would not be difficult," he said, "if he could bring together 50,000 horses. They could plunder and flee, in spite of superior enemy numbers; all the more in these times because civil wars had divided the Tatars into several factions. The value of a victory over them would lie not only in the defeat for the Turks, but also in the loss of innumerable slaves which Tatars take in the lands around Poland and Muscovy, and which they contribute to the Turks out of obligation or for sale. Without those slaves, it is the common opinion among the people and the King of Poland that the Turks could not arm their galleys.

"On the other hand, a direct attack on the Turks," the captain said, "could give heart to the Persians who were now at war with them, and might bring other neighboring peoples into battle; together they could march right to Constantinople in twelve days, burning every city on the way."

.....

As for the peoples which the Cossacks might promise to join this offensive, he told me he had good reports from the Muscovite Cossacks<sup>3</sup> inhabiting the Don islands, a brave and fearless people who fight the Nogai Tatars who often invade the Muscovite land. There are the Circassians, a warlike people of rare valor—Christians, although of the Greek rite—and one could also count on a part of Perekop Tatars, who were inimical to the Turks. Further, the Wallachians, Moldavians, Serbians, and others subject to the Turkish rule would be sure to follow when they see the Cossacks in the field with a strong army. For all those people are today very weary of the hard rule of the Turks, and they take every opportunity to seek liberty. So to enter Constantinople should not be a great thing in these times, with the Turks lacking in manpower there, and with five or six thousand Christian slaves there who would battle bravely when set free for the common good . . . .

I asked him what sort of help he would need, and he said very little in consideration of the quality of the offensive: if they could have only twenty-five to thirty thousand ducats to distribute to the soldiers for arms and munitions, that would be enough. They did not ask for help to serve their own comforts, but to combat for the glory of God and for the perpetual name of their militia, resolving to conquer the enemy or to die for the faith.



FOOTNOTES

1. The reference is made to a major Cossack attack on the Turkish fortress of Tiahynia in 1583.

2. The word "Cossack" derived from the Turkish "Qazaq" which denoted "free warrior," "free man," "adventurer." Gamberini's etymological explanation of the term "Cossack" from the Polish "koza" (goat) was erroneously accepted by several Polish chroniclers of the 16th and 17th centuries. See L. Wynar, *Ohliad istorychnoi literatury pro pochatky ukrains'koi kozachchyny* (München, 1966), pp. 2-3.

3. The reference is to the Don Cossacks.

No. 3

**THE LETTER OF POPE CLEMENT VIII  
TO THE COSSACK HETMAN**

The letter of Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) to the Cossack Hetman (“Capitaneo generali Cosachiorum”) was given to his envoy Alexander Comulovich, who was sent by the Pope to the Zaporozhian Cossacks and Danubian principalities in the hope of obtaining their assistance in the anti-Turkish struggle. Unfortunately, the letter does not indicate the name of the Cossack Hetman for whom it was intended. At this time Bohdan Mykoshnys’kyi was the Hetman of the Zaporozhian Cossacks; Jan Oryshowsky and N. Iazlovetsky (Jazloveckyj) were in charge of the registered Cossacks, and the independent Cossack regiment was headed by Severyn Nalyvaiko. It is known that Comulovich negotiated with Nalyvaiko and Iazlovetsky. It is highly probable that this letter was received by Iazlovetsky or Nalyvaiko. The manuscript is kept in the Archivum Secretum Vaticanum: *Epistolae ad Principes*, vol. 25, fol. 195v-196v. Published in *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia*, Vol. I, edited by A. G. Welykyj (Romae, 1953), No. 129, pp. 233-234.

Translated from the Latin by M. O’Hagan, St. Basil’s University, Toronto.

**THE LETTER OF POPE CLEMENT VIII  
TO THE COSSACK HETMAN**

Romae, 8. XI. 1593.

*Dilecto filio, nobili viro, Capitaneo generali Cosachiorum*

Pope Clement VIII. Beloved son, noble man: health, etc.

Being established in this exalted See of the most blessed Peter, not by our own merits, but by the will of God, we look with solicitous care to all parts of the Christian Commonwealth, according as the affairs of our pastoral office require. We do so especially at this time, however, as that very Commonwealth has been unsettled by great disturbances, and is being most violently attacked by heretics and infidels. In the face of so many calamities, some of which are already pressing upon us, while others are near and threatening, we, for our part, not only have recourse with prayers and sacrifices to the Father of mercies, in whom, above all, our hope is grounded; but, as seems fit, we also try to remedy difficulties of state by human means, insofar as we can, with the help of God’s grace. Indeed, we try most

zealously, and with our paternal voice we call upon our sons, the Catholic princes, and the nations and peoples renowned in warfare, faithfully and mightily to protect the cause of the faith and of the Commonwealth.

We know that your force of Cossacks is famous in this regard, and that they could therefore be very useful against the common enemies of our faith. Moreover, we have heard many things about your own ability and knowledge of warfare: it is only right that brave men should be commanded by a courageous and experienced commander. Nor do we doubt that you wish to be devoted and respectful to this Holy Roman Church, the mother of all the Christian faithful; nor do we doubt that you wish, for the glory of God and the honor of the Christian Commonwealth, to undertake, and, with the help of God, carry out a noble task, which posterity will celebrate, and—what is much more important—which will gain for you eternal happiness. We, therefore, loving you deeply in the Lord, and having great confidence in your attitude toward us and this Holy See, are sending to you and to your troops this beloved son, Alexander Comuleus, an Illyrian, our close friend, a pious and devout priest of the Lord, and very dear to us. We send him to take up with you, in our name, most serious matters pertaining to the Christian Commonwealth and the Catholic faith. We therefore exhort you to hear him kindly, and to have full confidence in him, as if we ourselves were speaking with you. And you, most courageous man, hear the voice of your mother, the Roman Church, and offer your courage and your authority among your warlike people to God and to blessed Peter. Carry out our desire. It will be to your glory and that of your people for all ages, that, at a most difficult time, the Apostolic See rightly esteemed that a great work might be entrusted to your courage and piety.

Given in Rome, at Saint Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, on the eighth of November, 1593, the second year of our Pontificate.

No. 4

THE LETTER OF POPE CLEMENT VIII  
TO THE ZAPOROZHIAN HOST

The letter of Pope Clement VIII to the Zaporozhian Cossacks is preserved in the Archivum Secretum Vaticanum: *Epistolae ad Principes*, vol. 25, fol. 197-198. Published in *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia*, Vol. I, edited by A. G. Welykyj (Romae, 1953), No. 130, pp. 234-235.

Translated from the Latin by M. O'Hagan, St. Basil's University, Toronto.

THE LETTER OF POPE CLEMENT VIII  
TO THE ZAPOROZHIAN HOST

Romae, 8.XI.1593.

*Dilectis filiis Cosachiis Militibus*

Pope Clement VIII. Beloved sons: health, etc.

We, by divine disposition and in spite of our own unworthiness the heirs and successors of the most blessed Peter, prince of the Apostles, to whom all Christ's sheep, both far and near, were entrusted, to be nourished and governed, embrace in our bosom with paternal love all as it were sons of one mother, the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and in this moment of need for the whole Christian Commonwealth, we call upon them to come to the aid of their mother.

We therefore acknowledge you also as our sons in Christ, and we esteem you with a fatherly love; and, concerning your reverence for us and this Apostolic See, we promise ourselves those things which the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth and Pastor of the whole flock of the Lord, can rightly expect from Christian people and very brave men: that is to say, that you would naturally be prepared to undertake all things, however arduous and difficult, for the glory of God, for the defense of the faith, and for the preservation of the Christian Commonwealth. For nothing shows more fully the bravery of men, nothing gives plainer evidence of praiseworthy military skill, nothing is more glorious in the memory of posterity, than to defend the common Christian Commonwealth, to protect our holy religion, and, if need be, to shed life and blood for the honor of the name of Christians. This is especially so at this time, when the most shameful tyrant of the Turks is engaged against the Christians with such great madness that, not only is he trying to oppress all with the yoke of dire servitude, but he is even trying wholly to destroy and wipe out the name Christian—would that God might convert him to it.

We, on our part, taking thought for our pastoral office in respect of the universal Church, are sending to you on the most serious religious and public business, this beloved brother, Alexander Comuleus, an Illyrian, a priest of noteworthy piety and zeal, our intimate friend, and most dear to us. We commend him to you in the Lord, that you might give him a generous hearing when he speaks to you in our name, and that you might have complete faith in him, without any hesitancy; for he is to take up with you matters that are very important for the honor of God and for the dignity of your nation and army. As for you, mighty men, be made ready to bear off the immortal palms, and crowns that never fade, by serving virogously the God of hosts.

Given at St. Peter's, as above.

No. 5

**A LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FROM  
RUDOLF II, ROMAN EMPEROR,  
FOR STANISLAUS KHLOPICKI, THE ELDER  
OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN ARMY**

Rudolf's "Letter of Introduction" of Khlopicki to potential participants in his anti-Turkish coalition constitutes an important source concerning Khlopicki's negotiations with the Imperial Court in Prague in 1594. It also reveals Khlopicki's misrepresentation of his role as an "Elder of the Zaporozhian Cossacks" (see Introduction, p. 88).

The document was first published in Chr. Lünig, *Litterae procerum Europae*, Vol. I (Lipsiae, 1712), pp. 896-897.

Translated from the Latin by Professor Betty J. Parks, Kent State University.

Prague, February 3, 1594

**LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FROM RUDOLF II  
FOR STANISLAUS KHLOPICKI**

Rudolf II, Emperor of Romans, to His Serene Highness Duke Theodor (Fedor) Ivanovich, Czar and Grand Prince of Russia, Aaron, Prince of Wallachia,<sup>1</sup> Janusz Duke of Zbaraz and Palatine of Braslau, and to the other soldiers of the Zaporozhian army, greetings, good wishes and our Imperial gratitude.

We respond to you and to your affection lovingly, kindly, and with forebearance because the noble presenter of these documents, the brave Stanislaus Khlopicki, the Elder of the Zaporozhian army,<sup>2</sup> has appeared before us and has humbly presented his own military retinue along with eight or ten thousand of his fellow soldiers, obviously Cossacks; we (will) receive him with kindness and are furnishing him with the assigned troops (if he acknowledges that the free tribe of Cossacks and their military machine can perform at will) for our expedition against warring Turkey, since it will have violated the peace which had been firmly established between us by a mutual, sacred oath, and hostilely invaded our provinces at that time. We will entrust to him our Imperial standard, fixed with the royal eagle, which he may use according to military custom however long he is in our service, with the hope that his task may be carried out, above all, not only for our Kingdom of Hungary and our neighboring provinces, but for the whole Christian empire, and that great profit and advantage will follow. When we have completed the agreement with him in this manner, so that all may pay special attention to his attempts,

whereby he may cut off the passages when the Tatars have been brought back from Turkey, and might keep them from breaking into our territory, and, at the same time put forth a struggle in proportion to their strength, so they can make an incursion into Turkey having crossed the Danube at Silistria and can lay waste and leave in ruin everything in their path clear to Adrianople, not only to cause the army of the enemy to be torn asunder and divided into many parts, but also to destroy its supplies and commissaries because of the desolation of the place. However, we are taking care that, neither in name or appearance they bring any molestation or destruction to the Kingdom of Poland and any provinces related to it, or other places belonging to Christian princes and rulers, but rather, elicit aid, assistance and encouragement from them. Therefore, we encourage your affection with love and brotherhood and encourage you and others with kindness and forbearance so that you may approve this hallowed ordinance of ours and of the whole Christian empire to assure the safety of this undertaking with the troops about to set out under the leadership of Khlopicki, to aid and abet their attempts with the zeal of your own affection towards the Holy Catholic Faith, then towards ourselves and the Holy Roman Empire, with benevolence and devotion and to these [troops], you might wish to grant free permission to cross by land and water and to assure the security of passage, by which they can accomplish this work and important task for the needed territory. In these regards, for ourselves, we shall always be very grateful to you and to the Christian empire for your affection, for so many times as the occasion presents itself, we shall not hesitate to show our kindness and Imperial gratitude.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Should be Prince of Moldavia.
2. This was a false statement. At this time Khlopicki was not an "Elder" in the Zaporozhian Host. See the comments on Khlopicki, Introduction, p. 38.

No. 6

AN ACCOUNT BY THE  
ZAPOROZHIAN CAPTAIN DEMKOVYCH CONCERNING THE  
OATH OF THE MOLDAVIAN HOSPODAR AARON TO  
EMPEROR RUDOLF II (1595)

This document was first published in P. A. Kulish, *Istoria vossoedynenia Rusy*, Vol. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1874), pp. 429-431. It contains important information concerning Cossack-Moldavian relationships in 1594.

Translated from Polish by Orest Subtelny, Harvard University.

AN ACCOUNT BY THE  
ZAPOROZHIAN CAPTAIN DEMKOVYCH

I was sent by the Cossacks to the Moldavian Hospodar to witness the oath which His Grace, the Hospodar, took in my presence together with the clerical and secular members of the Council, and with the priests and the Hetman,<sup>1</sup> as a sign that he was definitely abandoning the Turkish Emperor and submitting to the Christian Emperor. For the sake of greater veracity, he showed us His Majesty the Emperor's privilege which had been granted to him in Pressburg on November 1, and which stated that he [the Emperor] accepted him under his protection and promised to defend him forever. He also showed us the attached letter of the Emperor to the effect that he [the Hospodar] should conclude an alliance with the Cossacks. He had slaughtered all the Turks in his land and had given their property to the Hungarians. And he ordered the Turkish Sultan's messenger, who was on the way to the diet of His Royal Majesty, to be executed in our presence. On all his banners he placed the emblems of the Christian Tsar and crosses. As a sign of contempt, he left the executed Turks lying in the square.

While we were there, Sigismund, the Prince of Transylvania, sent him 4,000 Hungarian infantry and 1,000 cavalry as reinforcements. These troops are under the command of Captain Istvan. The army of His Grace, the Hospodar, numbering 14,000 men [under the command] of Hetman Razvan is located below Lapushna. It took a great deal of booty in the vicinity of Killia. Several thousand Tatars, after splitting off from the Horde, spent some time in Kochubei and now they are in Chuburchu, above Akkerman [Bilhorod]. With them there are some Tatars from Dobrudzha although there are not many of these. All told, there are in the vicinity of Akkerman, according to the Hospodar's reliable sources, only about 9,000 [Tatars]. They wanted to pillage Moldavia, but our agreement with the Hospodar and the army which he stationed below Lapushna hindered them. We also set out



[into the field]. The rest, Lord Hetman, you will hear from Master Korczewski personally, that is, what we intend to do, in what direction we will march, and what we have decided once we receive the permission of His Royal Highness and Your Grace.

The Hospodar has spies everywhere, among other places even in Constantinople. During our stay here, a spy arrived from Constantinople who stated that, beginning with November 12th, exit from and entry into Constantinople was barred for three days. During these days, Christians were slaughtered. Therefore, the Acemi Oghlans, taking pity on the Christians, threw themselves upon the Turks and they slaughtered each other during the course of an entire day. [Finally] the Acemi Oghlans were soothed, but only by means of gifts. In Provardia, the Hospodar of Wallachia, with God's help, annihilated several thousand Turks. Several hundred of them shut themselves up in a monastery, but he destroyed them anyway. Now he sent a messenger to us, promising money if only we would join the Moldavian Hospodar and, together with him, move to [the region] below Lapushna. The messenger whom we dispatched to Transylvania has not yet returned. Immediately after his arrival, I will hasten to inform Your Grace, Lord Hetman, and the entire Council [*rada*] and what [news] he has returned.

Bar  
February 3, 1595

### FOOTNOTES

1. Demkovich refers here to Stephan Razvan, Hetman of the Moldavian army.



## Glossary

- bairak*—this Turkic word, according to Lassota, refers to bushes in the steppe.
- bulava-mace*—symbol of authority and administrative power used by Zaporozhian Cossack hetmans and high officials. Also used by Polish hetmans.
- bunchuk*—Cossack standard; hetman's banner with a horse's tail affixed to it; used on military expeditions and at public councils.
- chern'*—literally, "common people"; the lower strata of the Ukrainian population. In the 16th through 18th centuries, applied to rank and file Cossacks as distinguished from Cossack officers (*starshyna*).
- cherntsi*—monks, the term derives from the monks' dark apparel.
- cherkasy*—Muscovite designation for Ukrainian Cossacks and Ukrainians in general in the 16th and 17th centuries. A town in southern Ukraine which was one of the Cossack centers in the 17th century.
- hayduks (haiduks)*—irregular troops in parts of Hungary and the Balkans; they were often used in anti-Turkish warfare.
- hetman*—the Cossacks' highest military and administrative officer; Cossack commander-in-chief; ruler. The position of Hetman, as a Cossack military leader, was established in Ukraine at the end of the 16th century. During the Khmelnytskyi period (1648-1657) and later, the Hetman was recognized as the head of the Ukrainian Hetman State and commander-in-chief of the Cossack army; the term "hetman" was also used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in Poland to designate the chief military commander.
- horodyshche*—a fortified settlement or the remains thereof.
- hospodar*—the official title of the rulers of Moldavia during the 16th and 17th centuries.
- iasyr*—a Turkic word for prisoners-of-war and captives; usually applied to captives taken in Tatar raids.

- kasztelan*—an office in the Polish Commonwealth connected with the command of a castle and the administration of the surrounding region.
- kish* (*kosh*)—Cossack camp; Zaporozhian Cossack Host. Also the name of the Zaporozhian stronghold. Sich, a military Cossack society behind the Dnieper Rapids in the 16th and 17th centuries with its own administration.
- kolo*—a general assembly of Zaporozhian Cossacks which traditionally gathered in the form of a circle; later, in the 17th century, the word *rada* was applied to the assemblies of the Zaporozhian Cossacks.
- korchma*—an inn, tavern.
- koshovyi otoman*, *koshovyi*—the highest Cossack official elected by the Zaporozhian Cossack assembly; holder of the highest military and administrative power in the Zaporozhian Sich.
- kurhan*—a Turkic term for a grave or burial mound.
- kurin'* (*kuren'*)—military and administrative unit in the Zaporozhian Sich under the supervision of the Cossack elder (*kurinnyi otoman*); also barrack where the Cossack military unit lived.
- kurinnyi otoman*—Cossack official elected by *kurin'* assembly (*kurinna rada*), who was in charge of *kurin'* military unit.
- maiak*—in Lassota's time the term designated a stone image of a man, usually found atop a burial mound in the steppe; in later Ukrainian usage the word means lighthouse, beacon.
- mohyly*—a Slavic term for graves or burial mounds.
- odkup*—an exchange of captives; in Muscovite usage the term also meant a franchise for collecting custom duties and selling liquor.
- osavul*—an adjutant of the hetman or *koshovyi*; his primary responsibilities lay in the area of judiciary, financial, and administrative affairs.
- otoman*—an elected Cossack leader who was in charge of the Cossack military unit.
- pan*—a Polish term for lord, master.
- pidiizdky*—small, highly maneuverable boats used by the Zaporozhians.
- polkovnyk*—a high ranking officer in the Cossack army; colonel.
- porogi* (*porohy*)—rapids, cataracts; the specific reference here is to the cataracts of the lower Dnieper. (See Zaporozhians).
- rada*—general assembly of Zaporozhian Cossacks; in the 17th and 18th centuries the supreme judicial and legislative body of the Zaporozhian Cossacks.
- rytsarstvo*—knighthood. The Zaporozhians often referred to themselves as *rytsary*—i.e., knights.
- Sich Zaporoz'ka*—the Zaporozhian camp or stronghold established on the Dnieper River beyond the rapids in the mid-16th century.
- sotnyk*—centurion; commander of a hundred.
- starosta*—an administrator of the domains of the Polish king. The land administered by such officials was called a *starostvo*.

*starshyna* (plural)—elders of officers in the Zaporozhian army; *starshyna* included all the elected officials in the Zaporozhian Host.

*statthalter*—a governor, administrator.

*voevoda* (*voivode*)—the official title of the rulers of Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia; military governor of the province. This title was also used in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland.

*Zaporizhzhia*—the territories of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian host in the 16th through 18th centuries. Located in the area of the lower Dnieper.



## Bibliography

### I. REFERENCE WORKS

- Boniecki, Adam. *Herbarz Polski*. Vol. 14. Warszawa, 1911.
- Dictionary of Russian Historical Terms from the Eleventh Century to 1917*.  
Compiled by Sergei G. Pushkarev. New Haven, 1970.
- Gaucken, J. F. *Das heiligen römischen Reiches genealogisch historisches Adels-Lexicon*. Leipzig, 1719.
- Kneschke, Ernst H. *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexicon*. Vol. 5. Leipzig, 1864.
- Král, Adalbert . . . . *Der Adel von Böhmen, Mähren u. Schlesien*. Prag, 1904.
- Lucae, Friderici. *Schlesiens curieuser Denckwürdigkeiten oder vollkommener Chronica*. Frankfurt am Mayn, 1689.
- Pilnaček, Josef. *Staromoravšti rodové*. Kromeríž, 1926.
- Polski Słownik Biograficzny*. Vol. 5. Kraków, 1937.
- Radians'ka entsyklopedia istorii Ukrainy*. 4 vols. Kiev, 1969-1972.
- Russkii biograficheskii slovar'*. 25 vols. St. Petersburg, 1896-1918.
- J. Siebmacher. *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*. Bearbeitet von Konrad Blazek. Nürnberg, 1885.
- Sinapio, Johanne. *Schlesische Curiositäten*. Theil 1. Leipzig, 1720.
- Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*. Vol. 1. Edited by V. Kubijovyč. Toronto, 1963.

Uruski, Seweryn. *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*. Vol. VIII. Warszawa, 1911.

## II. PRIMARY SOURCES

- Arkhiw lugo-Zapadnoi Rossii. Akty o kozakakh*. Vol. 1, Part 3. Kiev, 1863.
- Archiwum domu Sapiehów*. Vol. I. A. Prochaska, ed. Lwów, 1892.
- Archivum Jana Zamojskiego*. Vol. 3. J. Siemiński, ed. Warszawa, 1914.
- Bielski, Marcin. *Kronika Polska*. Sanok, 1858.
- Collacteanea z dziejopisów tureckich*. Vol. I. Josef Senkowski, ed. Warszawa, 1824.
- Divi Rudolphi II. Epistolae ineditae* . . . B. de Pace, editor. Vienna, 1771.
- Dnevnik Ericha Liassoty iz Stebleva*. Edited by V. Antonovych. Translated by K. Mel'nyk. *Memuary otnosiashchiesia k istorii luznoi Rusi*. Kiev, 1890.
- Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia (1075-1953)*. Vol. I. Athanasius G. Welykyj, ed. Romae, 1953.
- Eryka Lassoty i Wilhelma Beauplana Opisy Ukrainy*. Z. Wójcik, ed. Translated by Z. Stasiewski and S. Meller. Warszawa, 1972.
- Heidenstein, Reinhold. *Rerum poloniarum ab excessu Sigismundi Augusti. Libri XII*. Francofurti ad Moenum, 1672.
- Hurmuzaki, Eudoxe. *Documente privitoare la istoria Romanilor*. 19 vols. Bucharest, 1876-1922. (Especially Vols. III (1), III (2), IV (2), XI, XII. The last two volumes were edited by Iorga.)
- Joachima Bielskiego dalszy ciąg Kroniki Polskiej*. F. M. Sobieszczanski, ed. Warszawa, 1851.
- Listy Stanisława Zolkiewskiego, 1584-1620*. T. J. Lubomirski, ed. Kraków, 1868.
- Littere Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes*. Vol. II. 1594-1608. P. A. J. Welykyj, OSBM, editor. Romae, 1959.
- Osterreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526-1690)*. Roderich Gooss, ed. Wien, 1911.
- Pamiętniki dyplomatycznych snoshenii drevnoi Rossii s derzhavami inostrannimi*. 2 vols. St. Petersburg, 1852.
- Pamiętniki do panowania Zygmunta III, Władysława IV i Jana Kazimierza*. Vol. I. W. Wojciecki, ed. Warszawa, 1841.



- Paprocki, Bartosz. *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*. K. J. Turowskiego, ed. Kraków, 1858.
- Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego*. A. Bielowski, ed. Lwów, 1861.
- Putevyia zapiski Ericha Lassoty*. F. Brun, ed. St. Petersburg, 1873.
- Relatiike Istorice Dintre Popoarcle U.R.S.S. si Rominia*. Vol. I. 1408-1632. Moskva, 1965.
- Schottin, Reinhold, ed. *Das Diarium des Erich Lassota von Steblau*. Halle, 1866.
- Theiner, Augustin, ed. *Vetera monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium historiam illustrantia*. 2 vols. Zagreb, 1863-75.
- Urechi, Gregoris. *Chronique de Moldavie depuis le milieu du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'à 1594*. Emilo Picot, ed. Paris, 1878.
- Vernadsky, George, ed. *A Source Book for Russian History from Early Times to 1917*. Vol. I. New Haven, 1972.
- Zherela do istorii Ukrainy-Rusy*. Vol. 8. I. Krypiakevych, editor. Lviv, Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1908.

### III. SECONDARY SOURCES

- Abrahamowicz, Z. "Dokumenty tatarskie i tureckie w źródłach polskich," *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, Vol. 2, No. 10 (1954).
- Allen, W. E. D. *Problems of Turkish Power in the Sixteenth Century*. London, 1963.
- Allen, W. E. D. *The Ukraine, a History*. New York, 1963.
- Antonovych, M. *Istoria Ukrainy*. Winnipeg, 1966.
- Antonovych, Mykhailo. "Studii z chasiv Nalyvaika," *Pratsi Ukrainskoho Istorychno-filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*. Vol. 4 (1942), pp. 32-115.
- Antonovych, V. *Korotka istoria Kozachchyny*. Kolomya, 1912.
- Barvynskyi, E. "Prychynky do istorii znosyn Tsisaria Rudolfa II i Papy Klymentia VII z Kozakamy r. 1593 i 1594," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tov. im. Shevchenka*. Vol. X (1896), pp. 1-34.
- Baumer, Franklin L. "England the Turk, and the Common Corps of Christendom," *American Historical Review*. Vol. 50 (1944-45), pp. 26-48.

- Bialkowski, Leon. "Na rubiezy podolsko-ukrainnej (w. XV-XVII)," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*. Vol. XV (1925), pp. 587-615.
- Boratynski, Ludwig. "Kozacy i Watykan," *Przegląd Polski*. Vol. 5 (1906), pp. 21-40.
- The Cambridge History of Poland*. Edited by W. F. Reddaway, J. H. Penson, O. Halecki. Cambridge, 1950.
- Chodynycki, Kazimierz. *Kosciól prawoslawny a Rzeczpospolita Polska*. Warszawa, 1934.
- Domanytskyi, Vasyl. "Kozachchyna na perelomi XVI-XVII (1591-1603)," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*. Vols. 60-64 (1904-1905).
- Doroshenko, D. *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*. Supplement, O. Ohlobyn, "Ukrainian Historiography 1917-1956." New York, 1957.
- Doroschenko, Dmytro. *Die Ukraine und das Reich*. Leipzig, 1941.
- Dzyra, I. "Tataro-turetski napady na Ukrainu XIII-XVIst," *Ukrainskyi Istoryko-Heohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*. Vol. I, pp. 83-102. Kiev, 1971.
- "Ein Kaiserlicher Diplomat, Lassota von Steblau in Schwedischer Gefangenschaft," *Grenzboten*, No. 1 (1869), pp. 457-472.
- Ernst, Nikolaus. "Die ersten Einfälle der Krymtataren in Südrussland," *Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte*. Vol. 11 (1913), pp. 1-58.
- Evans, R. J. W. "Bohemia, the Emperor, and the Porte, 1550-1600," *Oxford Slavonic Papers*. No. 3 (1972), pp. 85-106.
- Evans, R. J. W. *Rudolf II and His World: A Study in Intellectual History, 1576-1612*. Oxford, 1973.
- Evarynyskyi, D. I. *Istoria Zaporozhskikh Kozakov*. Vol. 2, St. Petersburg, 1892.
- Fischer-Galati, Stephen A. *Ottoman Imperialism and German Protestantism 1521-1555*. New York, Octagon Books, 1972.
- Golobutskii, V. A. See Holobutskyi, V. A.
- Graham, Stephen. *Boris Godunof*. New Haven, 1933.
- Grünhagen, "Lassota, Erich," *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 17. Leipzig, 1883.
- Halecki, Oscar. *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe*. New York, 1952.
- Halecki, Oscar. *From Florence to Brest (1439-1596)*. Rome, Sacrum Poloniae Millenium, 1958.
- Halecki, Oscar. *A History of Poland*. 2nd ed. New York, 1956.

- Halecki, Oscar. *The Limits and Divisions of European History*. New York, 1950.
- Hammer-Purgstall, Joseph v. *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*. Vol. 4. Pest, 1829. (Reprinted by Akademische Druck, Graz, 1963.)
- Hantsch, Hugo. *Die Geschichte Österreichs*. 2 vols. Graz-Cologne, 1969.
- Holobutskyi, V. "Problema kozatstva v ukrains'kii ta inozemni istoriohrafii," *Ukrains'kyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*. No. 1 (1960), pp. 109-117.
- Holobutskyi, V. A. "Zaporozhskaia Sech," *Voprosy istorii*. No. 12 (1970), pp. 93-106; No. 1 (1971), pp. 108-121.
- Holobutskyi, V. *Zaporozhskoe kazachestvo*. Kiev, 1957.
- Hrushevsky, Michael. *A History of Ukraine*. New York, 1970. (Original edition published by Yale University Press, 1941.)
- Hrushevsky, Michael. *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*. Vol. VII. Lviv, 1909. (Reprinted by Knyhospilka, New York, 1956.)
- Hrushevsky, M. "Materialy do istorii kozatskykh rukhiv 1590-kh rokiv," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im Shevchenka*. Vols. 31-32 (1899), pp. 1-30.
- Hrushevs'kyi, Mykhailo. See Hrushevsky, Michael.
- Huber, Alfons. *Geschichte Osterreichs*. Vol. IV. Gotha, 1892.
- Huslysty, K. *Zaporaz'ka Sich ta ii prohresyvnna rol v istorii ukrains'koho narodu*. Kiev, 1954.
- Inalcik, Halil. *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*. New York, 1973.
- Iorga, N. *A History of Roumania*. London, 1925.
- Iorga, N. *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*. Vol. 3. Gotha, 1910.
- Iorga, N. *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes*. 2 vols. Gotha, 1905.
- Iorga. See Iorga.
- Kann, Robert A. *A History of the Habsburg Empire*. Berkeley, 1974.
- Kholmskyi, Ivan. *Istoria Ukrainy*. München, 1949.
- Kocowsky, B. *Wyprawa Tatarow na Węgrzy*. Lublin, 1948.
- Kolankowski, Ludwig. "Problem Krymu w dziejach Jagiellonskich," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*. Vol. 49 (1933), pp. 279-297.
- Konarski, Kazimierz. "Charakterystyka stanowiska międzynarodowego Polski na prezelomie XVI i XVII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny*. Vol. 20 (1916), pp. 129-139.
- Kordt, V. *Chuzozemni podorozhni po schidnii Evropi do 1700r*. Kiev, 1926.

- Korduba, M. "Die Anfänge des ukrainischen Kosakentums," *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*. Vol. 3 (1912), pp. 367-381.
- Kortepeter, C. M. "Gazi Giray II, Khan of the Crimea, and Ottoman Policy in Eastern Europe and the Caucasus, 1588-94," *The Slavonic and East European Review*. Vol. 44, No. 102 (1966), pp. 139-166.
- Kortepeter, Carl Max. *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*. New York, 1972.
- Krupnyckyj, Borys. *Geschichte der Ukraine*. Wiesbaden, 1963.
- Kulish, P. *Istoria vossoedynenia Rusy*. Vol. 2. Moskva, 1875.
- Leitsch, Walter. *Moskau und die Politik des Kaiserhofes im XVII. Jahrhundert*. 1 Teil. Graz-Köln, 1960.
- Loebl, Alfred H. *Zur Geschichte des Türkenkrieges von 1593-1606*. Prag, 1899. (Prager Studien aus dem Gebiete der Geschichtswissenschaft, Heft VI).
- Longworth, Philip. *The Cossacks*. New York, 1970.
- Macartney, C. A. *Hungary: A Short History*. Edinburgh, 1962.
- Macurek, Josef. *Dozvuky polského bezkrálovi z roku 1587*. Praha, 1929.
- Macůrek, Josef. *Zápas Polska a Habsburku o přístup k Černému Moři na sklonku 16. stol.* Praha, 1931.
- Matoušek, Josef. *Turecká válka v Evropské politice v letech 1592-1594*. Praha, 1935.
- Mokhov, N. A. *Ocherki istorii moldavsko-russko-ukrainskikh sviazei*. Kishinev, 1961.
- Mathaus-Voltolini, Carl L. F. von. "Die Beteiligung des Papstes Clemens VIII an der Bekämpfung der Türken in den Jahren 1592-1595," *Roemische Quartalschrift für Christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte*. Vol. XV (1901), pp. 303-326, 410-423.
- Myshko, D. I. *Severyn Nalyvaiko*. Kiev, 1962.
- McNeill, William H. *Europe's Steppe Frontier 1500-1800*. Chicago, 1964.
- Novák, Jan B. *Rudolf II a jeho pád*. Praha, 1935.
- Panaiteacu, P. *Mihaiu Viteazul*. Bucuresti, 1936.
- Picard, Bertold. *Das Gesandtschaftswesen Ostmitteleuropas in der frühen Neuzeit*. Graz, 1967.
- Pierling i Fr. Racki. "L. Komulovica izvestaj i listowi o poslanstvu njegovu-u Tursku, Erdelj, Moldavsku i Polsku," *Starine*. Vol. XIV (1882), pp. 83-124.
- Pierling. "Novi izvori o L. Komulovicu," *Starine*. Vol. XVI (1884), pp. 209-251.

- Pierling, P. *La Russie et le Saint Siège*. Vol. 2. Paris, 1897.
- Pisma Aleksandra Jablonowskiego*. Tom II. *Kresy Ukrainne*. Warszawa, 1910.
- Platonov, S. F. *Boris Godunov*. Translated from the Russian by L. Rex Pyles. Academic International Press, 1973.)
- Podhorodecki, L. *Sicz Zaporoska*. Warszawa, 1970.
- Reuther, M. *Geschichte des Bibliothekswesens in der Stadt Bautzen*. Bautzen, 1955.
- Rothenberg, Gunther Erich. *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747*. Urbana, 1960
- Rozner, I. *Severyn Nalyvaiko*. Moskva, 1961.
- Schwarzenfeld, Getrude von. *Rudolf II. Der saturnische Kaizer*. München, 1961.
- Seton-Watson, R. W. *A History of Roumanians*. Cambridge, 1935.
- Sinor, Denis. *History of Hungary*. London, 1959.
- Smirnov, N. A. *Rossia i Turtsia v XVI-XVII v.v.* Moskva, 1946.
- Soloviev, S. M. *Istoria Rossii*. Vols. 7-8. Moskva, 1960.
- Stloukal, Karel. *Papežská politika a císařský dvur pražski na předeļu XVI. a XVII. věku*. Praha, 1925.
- Stökl, Gunter. *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*. München, 1953.
- Stroński, Z. "Swawola ukrainna u schylku XVI w.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny*. Vol. 38 (1924), pp. 311-330.
- Tapie, Victor L. *The Rise and Fall of the Habsburg Monarchy*. New York, 1969.
- Tomkiewicz, W. "O skladzie społecznym i etnicznym kozaczyzny ukrainnej na przelomie XVI i XVII wieku," *Przegląd Historyczny*. Vol. 37 (1948), pp. 249-260.
- Uebersberger, Hans. *Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15 Jahrhunderts*. Vol. I. Wien, 1906.
- Vaughan, Dorothy M. *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances, 1350-1700*. Liverpool, 1954.
- Vernadsky, George. *A History of Russia*. 4th ed. New Haven, 1954.
- Vernadsky, George. *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age*. New Haven, 1959.
- Vernadsky, George. *The Tsardom of Moscow 1547-1682*. Part I. New Haven and London, 1969.
- Vynar, L. See Wynar, L.

- Wójcik, Zbigniew. *Dziki pola w ogniu*. 3rd ed. Warszawa, 1968.
- Wynar, L. "Dyplomatychna misia Alexandra Komulovycha v Ukrainu 1594 roku," *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*. Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4 (1963), pp. 513-526.
- Wynar, L. *Kniaz Dmytro Vyshnevetskyi*. München, 1964.
- Wynar, L. "Kozatski zviazky z Avstriieiu i Vatykanom v 1593-1595 r.r.," *Na Slidakh*. No. 4 (1956); *Muzeini Visty*. Nos. 1-2 (1957).
- Wynar, Lubomyr. *Ohliad istorychnoi literatury pro pochatky ukrains'koi kozachchyny*. München, 1966.
- Wynar, Lubomyr. "Pochatky ukrainskoho reiestrovoho kozatstva," *Ukrains'kyi Istoryk*. Nos. 2-3 (1966).
- Wynar, Lubomyr. *Ukrainian Kozaks and the Vatican in 1594*. New York, 1965. (Ukrainian Historical Association Papers, No. 1.)
- Xenopol, A. D. *Histoire des Roumains*. Paris, 1896.
- Zinkeisen, J. W. *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*. Vol. 3. Hamburg, 1842.

## Name Index

- Aaron, Moldavian Hospodar, 38, 41-42, 44-46, 56n-57n, 73, 105n, 124, 126
- Aldobrandini, I., Cardinal and later Pope (*see* Clement VIII), 27
- Alexius, Saint, 77
- Allen, W. E. D., English historian, 27
- Anna, Habsburg Archduchess, 36
- Annibal, Jan, Cossack envoy, 73, 78, 81, 107n
- Anthony, Saint, 77, 107n
- Antonovych, M., Ukrainian historian, 44
- Antonovych, V., Ukrainian historian, 19, 47n
- Arconata, Hieronimus, Habsburg functionary, 63
- Barbara, Saint, 76
- Barvins'kyi, E., Ukrainian scholar, 56n
- Bathory, Andrew, Translyvanian magnate, 38
- Bathory, Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, 44, 46, 57n, 126
- Bathory, Stephan, King of Poland, 23, 32, 79, 107n, 114
- Bellek, Tatar captive, 41, 83
- Bialecki, Stanislaw, nobleman, 99
- Bielski, Marcin, early Polish historian, 112, 114n
- Bilous, Hryhor, Cossack envoy, 73
- Binowski, 73, 105n
- Bocskay, Stephen, Prince of Transylvania, 25
- Bolognetti, Albertus, Papal Nuncio, 116
- Brun, F., Russian historian, 19, 47n
- Caraducius, Rudolf, Habsburg diplomat, 43, 102, 109n
- Chalecki, Andrzej, nobleman, 79, 107n
- Chlopicki, Stanislaw, *see* Khlopicki
- Chobotka, legendary figure, *see also* Ilia Muromets, 77, 106n
- Clement VIII, Pope, 27, 37, 53n, 120
- Comuleus, *see* Comulovich
- Comulovich, Alexander, Papal legate, 37, 43-45, 53n, 55n, 57n, 120-121, 123
- Danylovych (Danilowicz), Jan, Starosta of Korsun and Chyhyryn, 98, 108n
- Demkovych, Cossack officer, 57n, 126, 127n
- Denis, Saint, 77
- Didko (Didkovych), nobleman, 74, 105n
- Domanytskyi, V., Ukrainian historian, 21
- Domont, Prince Hryhorii, owner of Domontiv, 79, 107n
- Engel, Johann Christian, German historian, 17
- Ernest, Habsburg Archduke, 36
- Evarnytskyi, D., Ukrainian historian, 21, 29, 34, 56n
- Fedor, Grand Prince of Muscovy, 23, 36, 80, 91, 94, 106n, 124
- Fedorovych, Sas'ko, Cossack officer, 42, 92, 94, 96
- Forgach, Sigismund, landowner, 69

- Gamberini, Carolus, Papal diplomat, 116  
 Gay, Wenzl, Habsburg troop commander, 68  
 Giray II, Gazi, Tatar Khan, 27, 107n  
 Gerhard, Dietrich, German historian, 52  
 Gersdorf, Hans von, founder of Gersdorf Library, 13, 15  
 Gluchowski, Thomas, Lassota's servant, 64, 74, 78  
 Gudunov, Boris, Muscovite Boyar and later Tsar, 23, 36
- Habsburgs, Austrian dynasty, 23-26, 35-37, 39-40, 43, 45  
 Halecki, Oscar, Polish historian, 30, 50-51  
 Heidenstein, 56n  
 Henckel, Jacob von, Habsburg diplomat, 24, 62-64, 71, 74, 78, 93, 103n  
 Henckl, Sebastian, Habsburg functionary, 66  
 Herman, E., German historian, 17  
 Herbut, Jan, landowner, 15, 71, 104n  
 Holobutskiy (Golobutskii), V., Soviet historian, 52  
 Homonai, Istvan, landowner, 68-70  
 Hornstein, Christoph von, Habsburg functionary, 38, 62, 103n  
 Horvath, Istvan, Lassota's servant, 69, 78  
 Hrushevskiy, *see* Hrushevsky  
 Hrushevsky, Michael, Ukrainian historian, 21, 36
- Iaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Kiev, 75, 106n  
 Jazlovetsky (Jazlowiecki), M., Starosta of Sniatyn, 35, 44, 56n-57n, 114, 120  
 Inalcik, Halil, Turkish historian, 53
- Juulza, *see* Olha
- Kalinowski, Marcin, Polish magnate, 108n  
 Khlopicki (Chlopicki), Stanislaw, Cossack leader, 24, 37, 42, 62-63, 71, 73, 78, 88-89, 91, 93, 123-125  
 Kmit, landowning family, 105n  
 Koheicki, Nicholas, Lassota's uncle, 64, 104n  
 Korczewski, Cossack envoy, 127  
 Kortepeter, C. M., American historian, 44, 56n  
 Kosinski, Christopher, Cossack Hetman, 33, 108n  
 Kripp, Habsburg military commander, 22
- Lang, Christoff, infantry captain, 68  
 Lassota, Erich, 5-27, 45-46, 61-102  
 Lassota, Dietrich, Erich's younger brother, 22  
 Lassota, Frederick, Erich's older brother, 22  
 Lassota, Hans, court counselor, 48n  
 Lassota, Ludwig, Erich's cousin, 22  
 Lassota, Nicholas, counselor to Emperor Ferdinand I, 48n  
 Lassota, Wenzel, Erich's father, 22  
 Liechtenstein, Septimo von, landowner, 65  
 Liske, J., historian, 19  
 Loboda, H., Cossack leader, 40, 45, 87, 108n  
 Lodni, Erich, librarian, 6, 46n  
 Lodron, Hieronymus von, Lassota's commander, 22  
 Longworth, P., English author, 51n  
 Louis II, King of Hungary, 49n  
 Luca, F., genealogist, 21-22
- Maitini, Habsburg commander, 67  
 Makarii, Saint, 106n  
 Manuel, Armenian merchant, 74  
 Mark, Saint, 77  
 Mathias, Habsburg Archduke, 67, 104n  
 Mathias, Habsburg ruler, 68  
 Maximilian, Habsburg Archduke, 23, 25, 36, 49n, 62-64, 103n  
 Melnyk-Antonovych, K., Ukrainian scholar, 19  
 Michael the Brave, Wallachian Voevoda, 44, 46, 57n  
 Mormoleow, Cossack Ataman, 74  
 Moses, Jewish agent of the Cossacks, 38-39, 62-63  
 Murad III, Ottoman Sultan, 26  
 Muromets, Ilia, legendary figure (*see also* Chobotka), 75, 106n  
 Mykoshyn'skyi, Bohdan, Cossack Hetman, 35, 39-42, 83, 87-88, 95
- Nadasdi, owner of market-place, 65  
 Naima, Ottoman historian, 33  
 Nalyvaiko, Severyn, Cossack leader, 33, 41, 43-45, 55n-56n, 95, 108n, 120  
 Niari, Paul, Habsburg commander, 68  
 Nikiforovich, Vasili, Muscovite envoy, 39, 80  
 Nykyfor, Cossack envoy, 42, 92, 94-96



- Odrowąż, noble family, 21  
 Ohloblyn, Alexander, Ukrainian historian, 6  
 Olha, Grand Princess of Kiev, 75, 106n  
 Oppersdorff, Wilhelm von, Habsburg adviser, 39, 63, 101, 103n  
 Oryshowsky (Oryszowski), Ivan, Cossack officer, 35, 53n, 114  
 Oscyki, Cossack, 81  
 Osmolski, landowner, 71  
 Osowski, Jan, Zaporozhian official, 79, 105n  
 Ostrozhs'kyi, Prince Alexander, 79, 100, 107n  
 Ostrozhs'kyi, Prince Janusz, 73  
 Ostrozhs'kyi, Prince Konstantyn, 55n, 72, 76, 105n-106n
- Paprocki, Bartosz, early Polish historian, 22  
 Paul, Niari, Habsburg commander, 68  
 Pezzen (Petz), Bartholome, Habsburg diplomat, 62-63, 103n  
 Philip II, King of Spain, 22  
 Pilawski, landowning family, 105n  
 Pius V, Pope, 26  
 Popel, Laszlo, executed nobleman, 62  
 Printz (Printzen), Daniel, Habsburg diplomat, 62, 103n
- Rakoczi, Sigismund, Hungarian magnate, 69  
 Razvan, Moldavian Hetman, 126, 127n  
 Reitman, Hans, Habsburg Royal Exchequer, 63  
 Riegelman, A., Russian historian, 31  
 Rohoza, M., Metropolitan of Kiev, 105n  
 Ruchka, Semen, Zaporozhian envoy, 73-74  
 Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, 17, 23-27, 36, 39, 45, 50  
 Rudnytsky, I. L., Ukrainian historian, 51n  
 Rumpf, Wolfgang, Habsburg diplomat, 38-39, 62, 103n
- Salm, Julius von, landowner, 65  
 Sapieha, Lithuanian magnate family, 99, 105n  
 Sas'ko, *see* Fedorovych, Sas'ko  
 Scheriny, M., landowner, 69  
 Schottin, Reinhold, librarian, 5, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 46n  
 Sebastian, Portuguese King, 48n  
 Selim II, Ottoman Sultan, 26  
 Sieniawski, Polish magnate family, 72, 99
- Sieniawski, Mikolaj, Polish Crown Hetman, 105n  
 Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, 30, 109n  
 Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland, 23, 36, 53n, 108n  
 Sigmunds, Forgach, landowner, 69  
 Sinan, Ottoman Pasha, 39, 49n  
 Sinapio, genealogist, 21  
 Stadnicki, Andrej, landowner, 70, 104n  
 Stadnicki, Stanislaw, landowner, 101, 104n  
 Stoffel, George, Lassota's uncle, 22  
 Stöckl, Gunter, German historian, 6  
 Suleiman, Ottoman Sultan, 49n  
 Sviatopolk, Grand Prince of Kiev, 106n  
 Sviatoslav, Grand Prince of Kiev, 114n
- Tamerlane, Muslim conqueror, 117  
 Tannhausen, Ehrenreich von, military officer, 67  
 Tarlo, Zygmunt, 71, 104n  
 Teuffenbach, Christoff von, Habsburg military commander, 23, 43, 69-71, 78, 102, 104n  
 Tikhon, Cossack envoy, 73-74  
 Trojowski, landowner, 71  
 Turzo, Alexi, landowner, 66, 69  
 Tykhomorna, Anna, landowner, 72, 104n  
 Tyshyns'ka-Bykovs'ka, Apollonia, wife of Prince Domont, 107n
- Valicki (Vallikius), Cossack leader, 37, 53n  
 Vernadsky, George, historian, 21  
 Vereshchyns'kyi, Iosif, Bishop of Kiev, 73-74, 105n  
 Volodymyr, Grand Prince of Kiev, 75, 106n  
 Voronovych, Lev, Zaporozhian chancellor, 95  
 Vyshnevetski (Wisniowiecki), Polonized Ukrainian magnate family, 72, 79-80, 97-98, 100, 105n, 113  
 Vyshnevets'kyi, Prince Alexander, 107n  
 Vyshnevets'kyi, Dmytro, Prince, 30, 32, 52, 108n, 113
- Wacker, Johann, Habsburg diplomat, 37, 53n  
 Warkotsch, Mikolay, Habsburg diplomat, 36

144 NAME INDEX

Wisniowiecki, *see* Vyshnevet's'kyi

Wlodek, landowner, 100, 109n

Wójcik, Z., Polish historian, 6, 21, 36

Zaborowski, landowning family, 70

Zakrzewski, W., Polish historian, 21

Zamoyski, Jan, Polish chancellor, 23, 27,  
36-37, 41, 57n

Zaszynecki, landowning family, 70

Zaturski, Jędrzej, Cossack, 81

Zbaraski (Zbarazh's'kyi) family, 72, 100

Zbaraski, Prince Janusz, Voevoda of

Bratslav, 72-73, 85, 105n, 108n, 124

Zbaraski, Prince Piotr, magnate, 72, 105n

Zierptin, Friedrich von, landowner, 64

Zolkiewski, Stanislaw, Polish Field Het-  
man, 39, 41, 53, 71-72, 100, 104n,  
108n

Zonoras, Byzantine historian, 113

## ABOUT THE EDITOR

Dr. Lubomyr R. Wynar, the founder and editor of the *Ukrains'kyi Istoryk* (*Ukrainian Historical Review*), is professor of library science and director of the Center of Ethnic Publications at Kent State University. He is the author of many books and articles on history, culture, and bibliography, including *Andrew Voynarovsky: A Historical Study* (Munich, 1962); *History of Early Ukrainian Printing 1491-1600* (University of Denver, 1962); *Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetky* (Munich, Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1964); *History: A Selective and Annotated Bibliography* (University of Colorado, 1965); *Mykhailo Hrushevsky and Shevchenko Scientific Society* (UHA, 1975), and many others.

## ABOUT THE TRANSLATOR

Dr. Orest Subtelny is lecturer on history at Harvard University, where he received his Ph.D. degree in 1973. He specializes in Ukrainian and East European history and has already published articles in *Slavic Review*, *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences*, and *Ukrainian Historian*, as well as a documentary collection, *On the Eve of Poltava: The Letters of Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniawski, 1704-1708*.

## UKRAINIAN ACADEMIC PRESS TITLES:

Kulish, P. *The Black Council*. 1973. \$7.50.

Luckyj, G. *Modern Ukrainian Short Stories*. 1973. \$8.50.

Pidmohylny, V. *A Little Touch of Drama*. 1972. \$7.50.

Struk, D. *A Study of Vasyl' Stefanyk*. 1973. \$8.50.

Hunczak, T., ed. *The Ukraine 1917-1921: A Study in Revolution*. 1975. \$17.50.

Čyževs'kyj, D. *A History of Ukrainian Literature*. 1975. \$25.00.

Sverstiuk, I. *Clandestine Essays*. Tr. and ed. by G. S. N. Luckyj. 1975. \$6.00.

Kulish, M. *Sonata Pathetique*. 1975. \$7.00.



/

'

.