

# 3 *apxiey*

Orest Subtelny

## FROM THE DIARY OF HETMAN PYLYP ORLYK

### I

At the turn of this century the Polish historian F. Rawita-Gawroński published an article dealing with the then much neglected figure of Pylyp Orlyk.<sup>1</sup> The entire article was based almost exclusively on a single source—manuscript No. 1977 in the Czartoryski Library in Cracow. The title of this thick (ca. 800 pages in quarto) volume was: *Diariusz Podróżny, który w Imię Troycy Prześwietszey zaczął się w Roku 1720, Miesiąca Octobra dnia 10*. This was the first general indication of the existence of the Diary of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk.

According to Rawita-Gawroński, in 1804 the manuscript had belonged to Stanisław Zamoyski, later it passed to the Puławski Library and finally, sometime after 1830, it came to rest in the Library of the Czartoryski Museum<sup>2</sup>. The author had the impression that the manuscript, written in several different scripts, was a copy rather than the original. It was written in three languages: Polish, French and Latin. Two notations were added to the original text: one, entered in the place where the year 1722 ends in the Diary, stated, “końca tego tomu brak”; the other was added on the last page of the entire volume, “niniejsze rękopismo, na każdej karcie parafinowane, można drukować, okazując w korektach dla zwykłego sprawdzania. Dnia 8 lipca 1830. Radca st. J. W. P. J. K. Szaniawski”<sup>3</sup>. Rawita-Gawroński assumed that this indicated that the manuscript had been approved for publication and stated, on the basis of information unknown to us, that Sienkiewicz or Gołembowski were about to publish it while it was still in the Puławski Library.<sup>4</sup> However, as a result of

---

<sup>1</sup> F. Rawita-Gawroński, “Filip Orlyk, Nieuznany Hetman Kozacki”, *Biblioteka Warszawska*, III, 1899. This article was reprinted by the author in his *Studia i Szkice Historyczne*, Serya I, Lwów, 1903, pp. 2970. Citations refer to this latter printing.

<sup>2</sup> Count Stanisław Zamoyski (1775—1856) was the son of the Crown Chancellor Andrzej Z. and took an active part in Polish political and civic affairs. Through his marriage to Princess Zofia Czartoryska († 1837) the Count was related to such families as the Flemmings and Sienawskis. Orlyk corresponded with members of the latter two families.

<sup>3</sup> Rawita-Gawroński, *Studia*, p. 38, ft. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Łukacz Gołembowski (1773—1849) was the librarian of the Czartoryski Library in Puława until 1823. Jan Karol Sienkiewicz (1792—1860), a bibliographer and historian, was the librarian in Puława until 1830 when he moved to Paris. He was

the Polish uprising of 1830 the volume remained unpublished, and as the author wrote, "w ten sposób diariusz przeleżał dotychczas mało komu znany, a może i nieznanym wcale..."<sup>5</sup>

In subsequent years several scholars utilized the Cracow manuscript. F. Holiychuk obtained information from it concerning Orlyk's sojourn in Halychyna; W. Lypynsky used it in his study of S. Zorka's speech which is in the Velychko Chronicle; and the Swede A. Jensen published short excerpts from the Diary.<sup>6</sup>

It was not, however, until 1920 that the major breakthrough in the study of Orlyk and, specifically, his Diary was made. In that year, E. Borshchak, while working in the French Foreign Ministry Archives, accidentally made a discovery that may be best described in his own words:

"Often, as I glanced through the old hand-written catalogue in the archive at Quai d'Orsay, I came upon a diary entitled "Olivi". Naturally, I always thought that this diary concerned the well-known treaty which was arranged in 1660 between Poland and Sweden at Olivi, a suburb of Danzig. Since this matter never interested me, I did not ask for the manuscript.

But one fortunate day—8 October 1920—"just in case" as they say, I ordered this "Diary Olivi". Five thick volumes of manuscript were brought. I opened them—what wonders were these! There was nothing about negotiations at Olivi, instead Ukraine was discussed. And the handwriting was familiar somehow. I looked more closely—this was the handwriting of Pylyp Orlyk! As if in a dream, I began to look through the manuscript. No doubt remained. The manuscript which some 18th century bureaucrat had mistakenly noted as "Diary Olivi" was actually nothing other than the Diary of Hetman Orlyk."<sup>7</sup>

It was not immediately clear how this original of the Diary had found its way to the French Foreign Ministry Archives. Eventually some facts concerning this matter emerged. After Orlyk's death in Jassy in 1742, his host, the Moldavian hospodar N. Mavrocordato, kept his archive until 11 February 1744, when a part of the papers were sent to the French envoy in Constantinople.<sup>8</sup> There were two reasons for the French interest in these papers. Orlyk had occupied an important place in French diplomatic plans for Southeastern Europe, the contemporary "hot spot" of European diplomacy, and therefore these papers would naturally be of interest to the French government. The other reason was the persistence of the Hetman's son, Hryhor Orlyk, who urged the French

instrumental in publishing sources to Polish history located in foreign libraries and archives.

<sup>5</sup> Rawita-Gawroński, *Studia*, p. 38, ft. 1.

<sup>6</sup> F. Holiychuk, "Fylyp Orlyk u Halychyni", *Naukovyi Zbirnyk prysviachenyi M. Hrushevs'komu*. Lviv, 1906. W. Lipinski, "Mowa Samuela Zorki na pogrzebie Bohdana Chmielnickiego wedle Latopisu Welyczkowego" *Z Dziejów Ukrainy*, Kijów, 1912, pp. 655, 662. A. Jensen, "Dnevnyk Orlyka" *ZNTSh*, vols. 123—124, 1912.

<sup>7</sup> I. Borshchak, "Papery Pylypa i Hryhora Orlyka", *Ukraina*, III, Paris, 1950, p. 145. Initially, Borshchak was interested in Hryhor Orlyk; it was his research on the latter that led him to the archives of the French Foreign Ministry.

<sup>8</sup> C. Filitti, *Lettres et extraits concernant les relations des Principautés Roumaines avec la France*, Bucarest, 1915, p. 429 as cited in I. Borshchak, "Dila i Dni Hetmana Pylypa Orlyka v Zhovtni-Hrudni 1728", *Analecta OSBM*, vol. II (VIII), Rome, 1954, p. 191.

government to obtain these papers, as Borshchak claims, writing to Louis XV, that "all these papers and documents are of primary significance to the Cossack nation and France. If these papers were to fall into Russian hands it would be a disaster for our supporters in Ukraine. These papers were proof to all the world of the famous traditions and the loyalty with which the Cossack nation met its duties from the times of Hetman Mazepa even to our days."<sup>9</sup>

On 4 July 1757 Jean-Pierre Vergennes, the French envoy in Constantinople, reported that he had obtained four more volumes of Orlyk's manuscripts from Mavrocordato and his successor, and that he had handed them over to the Hetman's son Hryhor, who stored them in his residence in Dinteville.<sup>10</sup>

At the time of Hryhor's death in 1759, it was the law in France that the government could inspect the papers of deceased officials (especially if they had been involved in secret diplomatic missions as was the case with Hryhor Orlyk) and retain in its archives those documents which it considered confidential. Thus, according to Borshchak, in 1760 the papers of Pylyp and Hryhor Orlyk (15 packets) were taken to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and inspected. In due time, a part of them were returned to Hryhor's widow and were again stored in Dinteville. Others remained in the archives of the Ministry—among them the Diary of Hetman Orlyk.<sup>11</sup>

\*

The exact location of the Diary is: Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères—Memoires et Documents. Pologne. Vols. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 (in folio). The Diary spans the period from October 1720 to January 1733; however, the years 1725 and 1731 are missing. Both Old and New Style calendars were used by Orlyk. Two systems of pagination are indicated: the original system used by Orlyk in which every page was numbered, and another, in which pagination was stamped according to the folios (one of which consists of two pages of Orlyk's pagination) in 1882 when the Archive was re-organized.<sup>12</sup>

The Diary was written in three languages: daily notations are in Polish with an admixture of Latin phrases; the copies of Orlyk's correspondence are mostly in French although some letters, as, for instance, those written by Orlyk to Stanislaw Leszczynski and to Hryhor are in Polish, while letters to the Ottoman Porte, various clerics and some diplomats are in Latin.

In terms of content, the Diary may be divided into two basic parts: one consists of the daily notations Orlyk made pertaining to his detention in Salonika

<sup>9</sup> Borshchak, *Analecta OSBM*, p. 191. Unfortunately, in this case, as in many others, Borshchak did not give an accurate citation for this statement.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> Borshchak, *Ukraina*, III, 1950, p. 145. Borshchak states that among the papers and documents which he found in Dinteville were the well known "Vyvid prav Ukrainy" (with notes made by Pylyp Orlyk), the Bender Constitution of 1710 and "a mass of other documents".

<sup>12</sup> A complete Xerox copy of the Diary has been obtained with the aid of Harvard University Library and the Committee on Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University and is now in the author's possession.

and the other part is his correspondence consisting of over 250 copies of letters sent and received by Orlyk. In the first part we have Orlyk's rather detached and laconic descriptions of life in Salonika, summaries of his conversations with local Ottoman officials and European diplomats, merchants and clergy and, what is especially interesting for us, notes on what travelers (Greek merchants and Ukrainian clerics for the most part) reported about the situation in Ukraine. At the end of every volume Orlyk wrote out excerpts from his Psalter. They appear to reflect Orlyk's view of his own fate; in general, they are of a pessimistic and melancholy nature.

\*

As early as 1780, the Diary was carefully read and extensive notes, which can be found at the end of every volume, were taken. At this point it is difficult even to guess who the reader might have been. As has already been mentioned above, there was, apparently, an attempt to publish the Cracow copy of the Diary in 1830, but it came to nought. In 1924 Borshchak, the discoverer and constant scrutinizer of the original Diary, announced (as he would do periodically) that the Diary, in Ukrainian translation, would soon come out in print.<sup>13</sup> Even as late as 1949 he wrote of a project of publishing sixteen-page installments of the Diary in the "Vistnyk" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Paris.<sup>14</sup> He died, however, in 1959 and again nothing came of the project. In the meantime, in 1936, the Ukrainian Scholarly Institute in Warsaw published under the editorship of Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, the initial (as well as the shortest and least valuable since it contains no copies of Orlyk's correspondence) volume of the Diary, based on copies obtained from Paris.<sup>15</sup> The proof sheets of the following volume were already complete when the Second World War broke out and they, together with the entire project, were lost.<sup>16</sup> Again the project of publishing the Diary remained uncompleted and so the matter has stood for years.

A striking parallel is reflected in the fate of Orlyk and his Diary. In both cases there were great plans and promises from statesmen and scholars, respectively, and yet the results were meager and disappointing. Both experienced years of detention and neglect, be it in Salonika or in the archives of Paris. Both had much to offer but little use was made of their potential. The time has come, for the Diary at least, to reveal what it has to offer.

---

<sup>13</sup> I. Borshchak, "Zvidomlennia z doslidiv v arkhivakh Zakhidnoyi Evropy" *ZNTSb*, Lviv, vols. 134—135, p. 248.

<sup>14</sup> I. Borshchak to O. P. Ohloblyn, 10. XII. 1949. The author wishes to thank Prof. Ohloblyn for the use of his personal archive and his aid in the preparation of this article.

<sup>15</sup> Jan z Tokar Tokarzewski-Karaszewycz, *Diarij Hetmana Pylypa Orlyka*, Pratsi Ukrain's'koho Naukovoho Instytutu, vol. XVII, Warsaw, 1936.

<sup>16</sup> B. Krupnytsky, "Do Mazepynoyi problematyky", *Ukrains'ka Literaturna Hazeta* (Munich), No. 6 (12), June, 1956, p. 7.

## II

The decision of the Ottoman government to intern Pylyp Orlyk in Salonika in 1722 was a direct reflection of the policy of the Grand Vezir, Damad Ibrahim Pasha (1718—1730). The latter had gained the full confidence of the Sultan, Ahmed III (1703—1730), partly as the Sultan's son-in-law but mostly due to his ability to cater to the Sultan's whims, eliminate his rivals and avoid foreign conflicts, thereby minimizing the chances of such disastrous defeats as those suffered by the Ottomans in the preceding years. The Grand Vezir feared that if Orlyk joined the Zaporozhians the result might be a conflict which would involve the Ottomans in another war with the Russians. In order to prevent this, the Hetman was kept in honorable but strict detention in Salonika.

By the end of the 1720's opposition to the policies of Damad Ibrahim Pasha was, however, on the rise. One of the Grand Vezir's most dangerous and influential opponents was Dzanam Hodza († ca. 1735). This able and energetic man was highly regarded by the general populace, who considered that "he alone was capable of restoring the prestige of the empire".<sup>17</sup> Fearing the influence of Dzanam Hodza, in 1725 the Grand Vezir had him dismissed from his post as commander of the White Sea fleet and sent into exile in Greece. It was probably then that he and Orlyk met.

However, as a result of the revolt of September 1730, both Damad Ibrahim Pasha and Ahmed III fell and Dzanam Hodza returned to Istanbul to accept the very important post of Kapitan (or Kapudan) Pasha, i. e., Grand Admiral.

Orlyk first heard about the revolt in Istanbul on 12 November 1730. Two days later he sent his servant, Karol, to the local Pasha to find out more about the situation. On November 21 he began to write his letter to Dzanam Hodza, noting in his Diary under that date that he had prepared a "formularz listu do Kapitan Paszy, Dżanam Hodżi, dałem go Karolowi, żeby się postarał o dobrego Tureckiego Pisarza, żeby według mego formularza napisał do niego list po Turecku".<sup>18</sup> Within two days the Turkish translation of his letter was delivered to Orlyk. It was not until December 10 that this letter, which was a part of a large packet of letters prepared by Orlyk, was sent by caravan to Istanbul. The entire packet was addressed to Mons. Iscarda, the secretary of the French embassy in Istanbul, and he was charged with forwarding the letters to their respective addressees.

\*

*The Letter of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk to Dżanam Hodża, Kapitan Pasha (21 November 1730, Salonika):*

Jaki zaś kazałem y o czym pisać list po Turecku do Dżanam Hodżi, Kapitan Paszy tego tu informacja seqvitur.

1. Uczynic Dżanam Hodży ten komplement, że Ja miałem honor poznać tu w Saloniku godną Jego y tak sławną chwalebnyimi zasługami y wojennymi odwagami osobę,

<sup>17</sup> This information was reported to the Venetian government by its *bailo* (envoy) to the Ottoman capital, Giovanni Emo. It is cited in M. L. Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734*, Urbana, 1944, p. 80.

<sup>18</sup> The Diary of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, vol. XI, folio 185.

ale nie miałem szczęścia długo się cieszyć z Jey widzenia y z konwersacyi spółney, z której mógł bym mieć konsolację w wielkim moim nieszczęściu y utrapieniu w które mię wplątał Przeszły Weyzyr Ibrahim Pasza, żeby w tym pokazał przyjaźń Moskwie, od której Tyranstwa uciekłem się z Woyskiem moim dość liczny<sup>19</sup> y dość waleczny do protekcyi Przeświałney Porty, z tą intencją, abym za pomocą Jey mógł swe<sup>o</sup> czasu odwagami tegoż Woyska mego, uwolnić Ukrainę, od ciężkiego iarżma Moskiewskie<sup>o</sup>. Jakoż pokazałem żywym dowodem życzliwość moją teyże Przeświałney Porcie, świadcząc usługi moie w przeszley przeciwko Moskwie Woynie, która się nad Pruthem zwyćskim Othomanskim orężem zakonczyła, gdyż będąc expediowany w samą zimę z Benderu od Króla nieboszczyka Szwedzkiego z Woyskiem moim przeciw nieprzyiaciela w Ukrainę<sup>20</sup> z tey strony Dniepru, nietylko tam Woysko nieprzyiacielskie rozposzły, samego Generała który na mieyscu Hetmana Moskiewskiego nad nim miał Komendę w niewolę wziął,<sup>21</sup> miasto Białą Cerkiew gdzie było Moskiewskie presidium dobył,<sup>22</sup> ale y całą tę Ukrainę iak iest wielka w swoiey obszerności z wszystkimi miastami y fortecami y wsiami y z całym tameyszym Kozackim Narodem, bez żadnego krwi rozlania pod protekcyą Przeświałney Porty a pod władzę y posłuszenstwo moie sklonił,<sup>23</sup> nad to obozy Moskiewskie y Woyska nieprzyiacielskie ku Pruthu do Woloskiej Ziemi sciągające się gromiłem. Na koniec kiedy fortecę Chocimską zakładano,<sup>24</sup> przez cztery tam miesiące z Woyskiem moim usługę Przeświałney Porcie własnym moim kosztem czyniłem, znosząc cierpliwie, wszystkie niewczaszy zimów w niepogodne, a za to wszystko taką odebrałem nagrodę ze mię z familią moją rozłączono, która w cudzym y tak odległym kraiu, bez żadnego supplementu zostając,<sup>25</sup> wszystko to czego Moskwa

<sup>19</sup> Krupnytsky cites figures which indicate that in 1709—10 Orlyk's forces numbered between 3—5,000 men. B. Krupnytsky, *Hetman Pylyp Orlyk (1642—1742)*, Pratsi Ukrain's'koho Naukovoho Instytutu, vol. XLII, Warsaw, 1937, p. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Orlyk, together with his Tatar und Polish allies, began his campaign on 31 January 1711 (o. s.). It resulted in some initial successes but was ultimately a failure. For a detailed description of these events cf. *Ibid.*, p. 42 ff.

<sup>21</sup> This is a reference to the Generałny Osaul, Stepan Butovych whom Orlyk defeated and captured near Lysianka in early March 1711. As a result of this defeat Butovych was suspected by the Russians of being unreliable. In September 1711 he escaped from captivity and returned to Ukraine. Cf. N. I. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i Mazepynsy*: vol. 16 of his *Istorycheskiiia Monografii*, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 631.

<sup>22</sup> Actually Orlyk is not accurate in describing this event. The siege of Bila Tserkva began 25 March 1711 (o. s.) and lasted three days. According to the official report of Annenkov, the Russian commander of the fortress, the allied forces opposing him consisted of 20,000 Tatars, 3,000 Poles and Moldavians and 10,000 Cossacks. Orlyk and his allies did capture part of the town but were unable to take the fortress because of a lack of siege artillery. They were forced to retreat, and this proved to be the turning point of the campaign. Cf. Krupnytsky, *Hetman Pylyp Orlyk*, pp. 51—2.

<sup>23</sup> The population of Right-Bank Ukraine did in fact favorably receive Orlyk and his Cossacks. In a letter to A. D. Menshikov, dated May 3, 1711 (n. s.), Peter I stated that "all of Ukraine beyond the Dnieper (i. e., Right-Bank Ukraine) sided with Orlyk and the voevoda of Kiev (Josef Potodky)". Cf. *Pis'ma i Bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikogo*, Moscow, 1962, vol. XI, part 1, p. 216 and passim.

<sup>24</sup> The fall of 1713.

<sup>25</sup> At the time this letter was written, Orlyk's wife, Hanna, was in Cracow (and in serious financial straits). His eldest child, Anastasia, had died in 1728 in Kiel (she had been the wife of General Sztenlicht). Another daughter, Warwara, was in Sweden. Hryhor, the eldest son, was in the French diplomatic service; his brother, Michael, was

niemogła zabrać straciwszy żebranym od kilku lat żyję chlebem, od Woyska mię mego iak głowę od ciała oddalono y tu w tak odlegly kray zaprowadzano, gdzie mię szczupłym y niezwycaynym osobie y charakterowi memu Hetmanskieu tainem opatrzonno ze nitylko utrapioney moiey familiey nie mogą żadnego uczyniē supplementu, ale y własnym moim potrzebam dogodzić y długi wypłacić które muszę zaciągać tak dla płacenia służącym y dla odziania ich u Siebie samego iako y dla innych codziennych prawie expensow.

2. Co się tknie Woyska Mego tego stan prawie iest oplakany, gdyż nie mogąc mieć nizekąd pożywienia różnie się włóczą jedni w Krymu, drudzy na Budziaku y Tatarow a insi w Woloskiej Ziemi y w pod Dunayskim Kraiu zarabiając sobie, żeby się mieli czym żywić y odziać.<sup>26</sup> ZaZa inszych Weyzyrow y pod czas bytności moiey przez pięć lat w Benderu y po odeysciu moim z Krolem Szwedzkim dawano od Prześwietney Porty temuż memu Woysku prowiżiē y mąką y wołami y od części pieniędzami, przeszly zaś Yeyzyr Ibrahim Pasza, uioł mu to wszystko nadto po zakonczeniu ostatniego z Moskwą w affarach Perskich traktatu<sup>27</sup> pozwolił był Moskwie zabrać go pod swoją władzę y dał był Sadek Gierieu Hanu sekretny ordinans aby go niebronil, iezeli Woysko Moskiewskie dlatego do Sieczy Zaporozkiej przydzie. Jakoż samym by się tu skutkiem stało, iezeliby Woysko moie za zbliżeniem się ku Sobie Moskwie do Perekopu niebiegło y iezeliby całe Państwo Krymskie nie uieła się o to y nie dalo mu zaszczytu y ochrony, zganiwszy Hanowi swo<sup>u</sup> ten niesłuszny y nigdy w żadnym narodzie niebywały proceder.

3. A lubo w Ukrainie wiadomo było, całemu tameysze<sup>u</sup> narodowi, tak wielkie Woyska Zaporozkiego utrapienie iednak nie przeszkadzało to aby się ztamtąd ludzie Woyskowi hurmem do niego na Zaporozie od niecznosnych oppressiy y tyranstwa Moskiewskie<sup>o</sup> nie uchodzili, którzy lat temu pięć tak wielką byli awkciē w tymże Woysku moim uczynili, że 60,000 lizsba ludzicy ognistych y dobrze uzbroionych przechodziło<sup>28</sup> y coraz tym więceby się w wojenne ludzie pomnazał, gdyby Moskwa zapobiegaiąc te<sup>u</sup> tak w Ukrainie przez Uniwersały iako y tamże w Woysku na Zaporozu, przez skrytych y częstych Posłannikow swoich nie ogłosiła, że Porta Othomanska nie chcąc nigdy z nią pokoiu naruczać, ani o Woynie ani o wyzwoleniu Ukrainy nie myśli y dlatego oddaliła mię od Woyska y zasławszy w tak daleki kray, w niewoli mię tam utrzymuie, czym się strwożywszy poczęli z Zaporozza uchodzić, iedni na tę stronę w Ukrainie pod Polakow, drudzy zaś do Domow Swoich na tamtę Ukrainę pod Moskiewską władzę y coraz tym bardziey zaczyna Woysko moie dla zatrzymania tu mego umnieyszać się. Pisałem Ja o tym kilkakrotnie do przeszte<sup>o</sup> Weyzyra Ibrahima Paszy y protestowałem się przed nim, że to moie zatrzymanie w tym tu kraiu y moy y Prześwietney Porty interest zepsuie, kiedy Moskwa całe Woysko Zaporozkie na stronę Swoia przewabi, czego nie ustaie czynić.<sup>29</sup> Reprezentowali mu toż samo Posłowie Francuzki y Angielski za ordinansem Królów Swoich, pisał mu o tym Król Szwedzki<sup>30</sup> życząc aby mię iak nayprzedzey ku Woysku memu zbliżono, y lepiej mię traktowano, niż czynią. Lecz do mnie nigdy nie odpisał a Posłom odpowiadał, że się obawia, abym

with their father in Salonika. The last time Orlyk saw his wife and entire family was 16 February 1722 in Cracow when he departed for the Ottoman Empire.

Cf. D. I. Evarnytsky, *Istoriia Zaporozhskikh Kazakov*, III, St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 51ff., for a treatment of the Zaporozhians during this period.

<sup>27</sup> The Russo-Persian Treaty was signed in St. Petersburg on 23 September 1723.

<sup>28</sup> It is unclear on what basis Orlyk cites such a figure. According to the estimate of Semen Bezpalnyi, a Zaporozhian who left the Sich to ask permission to live in the Hetmanate and who was interrogated in Kiev, 16 September 1733, there were about 30,000 Zaporozhians living the new Sich (on the Kamenka River), on the Samara and Samov Rivers and in 38 "kurins". Cf. Evarnytsky, *Istoriia*, pp. 533—4.

<sup>29</sup> The Zaporozhians returned under the suzerainty of the Russian crown in 1734.

zbliżywszy się do Woyska mego przed czasem z Moskwą nie zaczął Woyny właśnie iakby mię wiedział bydź głupim y szalonym, y takim desperatem, żebym nie widząc z niżką pomocy z garsią ludzi moich na tak wielką potencję Moskiewską rzuciwszy się iak lew, zginął na polym iak mucha. A do tego Ja tu zostaiąc niedostatki moie dla szcuplego tainu kreditem dopelniam y najmnieyszego utrapioney moiey familiey nie mogę uczynić supplementu, a on się obawiał żebym Woyny z Moskwą nie zaczynał, nie wiedząc pono że Woyna bez pieniędzy, ani sie zaczynać, ani się może prowadzić.

4. Ponieważ tedy providencia y predestinacia Bozka Dżanam Hodzi wydzwignow-szy z nieszczęścia w którym go choiała złość Wezyra przeszlego pogrzyć, restabiliowała go na pierwszej godności. Kapitan Paszowskiewy, która Sobie dobrze y chwalebnie zasłużył przeto powinnować mu tego Szczęścia y reassumpciy teyże samey godności, życząc mu wyższych honorow, a przytym prosić go, aby miał przykład z Siebie Samego, iak ciężka iest rzecz zostawać w nieszczęściu, starał się wydzwignąć mię z onego, y reprezentował Porcie, iak wiele iest rzecz potrzebna dla dobra Jey pospolitego, aby mię zbliżono do Woyska mego żeby się wiecey dla oddalenia się mego nietrwożyło, y żeby Moskwa nie miała ztąd okazji wabić go na swoją stronę, iak zaś wielce iest potrzebne to Woysko Prześwietney Porcie nie trzeba mu o tym wiele pisać, ponieważ dobrze iest informowany o mezwstwie y odwagach Jego od nieboszczyka Dewlet Geireia Hana. Prosić oraz aby mi tain podwyższono, dla sustentacyi familii y officierow moich, których zbliżywszy się ku Woysku zechce ich do siebie sprowadzić, y jeżeli nic przykładem Szwecyi, która choicay była dwudziestaletnią ciężką Woyną z pieniędzy wynoszoną iednak na miesiąc 530 talarow dawała mi na prowizją moją, o czym mogą poswiedczyć ci Turcy, którzy tam za długami swoimi byli, tedy przynamniy tenże samy co w Benderu dawano mi tain którego specifikacyi musi bydź w Kancelaryi Wielkiego Defterdara<sup>31</sup>. Zaty m zalecić mię Jego lasce.

#### *Translation:*

The following information indicates what I had included in the letter, and how it should be written in Turkish to Dżanam Hodza, Kapitan Pasha.

1. The compliment should be made to Dżanam Hodza that I had the honor to make the acquaintance, here in Salonika, of his person, so worthy and famous for praise-worthy services and bravery in war. I did not, however, have the fortune to enjoy for long the opportunity of seeing him and engaging him in conversation, which would console me in my great misfortune and suffering in which the previous Vezir, Ibrahim Pasha, entangled me in order to show his friendship to Moscow, from whose tyranny I and my quite numerous<sup>19</sup> and courageous Army had escaped to the protection of the Sublime Porte with the intention that with its aid I could, in due time, and by means of my Army's bravery, free Ukraine from the heavy Muscovite yoke. I also showed living proof of my good will to the Sublime Porte by my services in the previous war against Moscow, which was brought to an end on the Prut by the victorious Ottoman arms; in the midst of winter I, with my Army, was sent from the now deceased Swedish king at Bender against the enemy in Ukraine on this side of the Dnieper,<sup>20</sup> and I not only scattered the enemy army but also captured the general<sup>21</sup> who was in command of it in place of the Muscovite Hetman and captured Bila Tserkva<sup>22</sup> where the Muscovite presidium was; all of Ukraine, huge as it is, with all its towns, fortresses and villages, and with the entire Cossack nation that inhabits it, I persuaded, without bloodshed, to accept the protection of the Sublime Porte and to be obedient to me;<sup>23</sup> in addition, I stormed the convoys of the Muscovite and enemy army which were being gathered at the Prut in the Wallachian [i. e., Moldavian] land; finally, when the Chocim fortress was besieged,<sup>24</sup> I and my Army performed services there for the Sublime Porte for four months at my own expense, bearing patiently all the discomforts

of winter and inclement weather. The reward which I drew for this was that I was separated from my family, which remained in a strange and distant country without any assistance.<sup>25</sup> And having lost all that Moscow had not managed to take away, for several years I lived as a beggar, separated from my Army like a head from its body, and was led here to such a distant land, where I received a pension, meager and unbecoming for my person and my position as Hetman, so that not only was I unable to help my family in its suffering but I could not even take care of my own needs and pay the debts which I had to make in order to pay the servants and to clothe them and myself, as well as other daily expenses.

2. As for my Army, its situation is almost miserable because, not being able to find subsistence anywhere, army of them wander about—some in Crimea, others in the Budzak among the Tatars, and still others in the Wallachian [i. e., Moldavia] land and the trans-Danubian country, working so that they may eat and clothe themselves.<sup>26</sup> Under other Vezirs, during my five-year stay in Bender and after my departure with the Swedish king, the Sublime Porte paid my Army with flour, cattle and partially money. The previous Vezir, Ibrahim Pasha, took away all of this and in addition, after the conclusion of Moscow's latest treaty dealing with Persian affairs,<sup>27</sup> he allowed Moscow to take it [the Zaporozhian Army] under its rule and gave Sadek Gerei Khan a secret order not to defend it if the Muscovite army came to the Zaporozhian Sich for this purpose. This actually would have come to pass if my Army, with the approach of the Muscovite, had not escaped to Perekop and if the entire Crimean state had not taken it upon itself to provide it with defense and protection, reprimanding its Khan for this unjust action, unheard of among nations.

3. Although it was known to the people in Ukraine how great the suffering of the Zaporozhian Army was, it did not hinder masses of people from coming to the Army at Zaporozh'e, in order to escape the unbearable Muscovite oppression and tyrannies. Five years ago, these people caused a huge increase in the numbers of my Army when 60,000 of them came,<sup>28</sup> fiery and well-armed, and even more military people would have come if Moscow, in order to prevent this, had not announced in Ukraine by means of *universals* and in Zaporozh'e through disguised and frequent messengers that the Ottoman Porte never wants to disturb its peace with her [Moscow] and is considering neither war nor the liberation of Ukraine and that is why [it was stated] I was separated from the Army, sent to such a distant land and am kept prisoner there. Frightened by this, they [the people from Ukraine] began to leave Zaporozh'e, some going to this side of Ukraine, which is under the Poles, and some going to their homes in the other Ukraine, which is under Muscovite rule, and gradually my Army began to diminish because of my detention here. I wrote about this several times to the previous Vezir, Ibrahim Pasha, and protested that my detention here in this country will ruin my and the Sublime Porte's interests if Moscow entices the entire Zaporozhian Army to her side, which it does not cease to do.<sup>29</sup> The same argument was also presented by the French and English envoys by order of their kings. The Swedish king wrote to him [Ibrahim Pasha] in this matter, wishing that I be united with my Army as soon as possible and treated better than heretofore.<sup>30</sup> But he never wrote back to me and replied to the envoys that he fears that I, uniting prematurely with my Army, might begin a war with Moscow, as if he considered me so stupid and mad and so desperate that, not seeing help anywhere, I would, with a handful of my people, move against such a great power as the Muscovites, starting out like a lion and dying in the field like a fly. Besides, because of my meager pension, during my stay here I had to satisfy my needs by means of credit and cannot even provide the smallest assistance for

<sup>30</sup> Some of these letters have been published by Borshchak in his "Orlikiana", *Khliborob's'ka Ukraina*, kn. VII—VIII, Vienna, 1922—3, p. 370.

the suffering of my family. And he fears that I may begin a war with Moscow, not realizing that a war cannot be begun or carried on without money.

4. Since the providence and predestination of God extracted Dzanam Hodza from the misfortune into which the anger of the previous Vezir had immersed him and re-established him in his previous dignity of Kapitan Pasha, which he earned well and worthily I, therefore, wish him luck in reassuming this same dignity, also wish him higher honors, and in connection with this, request of him to take himself as an example of how difficult it is to remain in misfortune and to help me extract myself from it. (Also) I request that he inform the Porte of how necessary it is for its own general welfare that I be brought near to my Army so that it not remain in a state of unrest because of my separation from it and thus give Moscow the opportunity to entice it to her side. I need not write to him of how necessary this Army is for the Sublime Porte since, through the deceased Devlet Girei Khan, he is well informed of its courage and bravery. I request once more that my pension be raised in order to sustain my family and the officers who, upon my coming closer to the Army, I will wish to summon to me. If [in this case] the example of Sweden, which was, after two decades of a difficult war, financially destroyed but still continued to give me 530 talers monthly for my provisions—as can be witnessed by those Turks who were there to have their debts satisfied—not be followed then at least the same pension as was given to me in Bender should be provided. The specifics [of the pension paid in Bender] must be in the chancellery of the Great Defterdar.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, recommend me to his [Dzanam Hodza's] favor.

---

<sup>31</sup> The Great Defterdar (Bash Defterdar) was the chief financial officer of the Ottoman empire.