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*corrigenda:*

p. 9, n. 14, line 6

Türken in place of Turken

p. 19, first line below diagram

Russian in place of Russians

p. 34, last line

Österreichische in place of Österreiches

## On the Origin of the "Correspondence" between the Sultan and the Cossacks

The apocryphal "Correspondence" between the Cossacks and the Ottoman sultan--commonly known as the "lystuvannja zaporožciv"--has fascinated those with an interest in the Ukrainian past since the letters' discovery in the middle of the last century. The threatening letter of the Great Turk and the insulting--even vulgar--reply of the rough and fearless Cossacks reflected for many what they felt the Cossacks surely were like. Sadly, this romanticization, so vividly rendered in Repin's painting of the Zaporozhians penning their "Reply," has continued to influence even the most serious scholars who have undertaken to determine the origin and literary history of these "pearls" of belletristic humor. I shall review briefly here the contributions to this study--including two recent publications in the Ukrainian SSR--and then at some length examine both the old and some new evidence regarding the origins of the "Correspondence."

Those who published texts of the "Correspondence" in the nineteenth century almost without exception gave no information on the manuscripts from which the letters were taken and made no effort to determine their origin. However, in his pioneering but now outdated study of the Russian Chronographs, Andrej Popov indicated the important connection of the "Correspondence" with a series of other apocryphal letters of the sultan found in seventeenth-century Muscovite manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> Popov erred, however, in attributing all the apocryphal letters to a single Muscovite author writing during the various wars against the Ottomans in the last quarter of that century.

Subsequent studies of the "Correspondence" have argued that its original

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<sup>1</sup>Andrej Popov, Obzor xronografov russkoj redakcii, vyp. 2, Moscow, 1869, pp. 227-228. One should note that at long last a major new examination of the seventeenth-century Russian chronographs is underway; see O. V. Tvorogov, "O Xronografe redakcii 1617 g.," Pamjatniki russkoj literatury X-XVII vv. (= Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury AN SSSR, hereafter abbreviated TODRL, Vol. XXV), Moscow-Leningrad, 1970, pp. 162-177.

was Polish, with Russian and Ukrainian versions secondary, or, conversely, that the Ukrainian version was primary. Academician Konstantyn Xarlampovyč was the first to undertake a thorough analysis of the "Correspondence," and he concluded that its original was Polish, even though he had not found any Polish texts.<sup>2</sup> Xarlampovyč not only discussed the letters in the context of what he correctly saw as translated pamphlets--the apocrypha published by Popov--but he provided the first and, to this day, the only textological analysis of the "Correspondence." He distinguished two basic groups of texts--one containing the short, Russian version known to Popov, in which the letters are connected with the Cossacks at Čyhyryn, and the other including all the Ukrainian versions, which mention specifically the Zaporožians and have a number of other elements not found in the Russian texts. He further divided the "Ukrainian redaction" into two groups. Xarlampovyč noted factual discrepancies in the Ukrainian texts which made a seventeenth-century origin of them among the Cossacks extremely implausible. It will be clear from the subsequent discussion that Xarlampovyč's basic scheme and arguments are correct; unfortunately, since his article of half a century ago, there has been only one significant supplement to his analysis.

This is the recent article by two Polish scholars, Maria Eustachiewicz and Mieczysław Inglot, which appeared in the Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal.<sup>3</sup> They publish in the article a number of Polish versions of the "Correspondence" (which, for inexplicable "technical reasons," the editors chose to render in Cyrillic); with one exception these texts correspond to the "Ukrainian redaction" of the letters. Moreover, the authors cite considerable evidence that there was a tradition of such literature in seventeenth-century Poland which might well have given rise to the "Correspondence." While confining themselves

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<sup>2</sup>K. V. Xarlampovyč, "Lystuvannja zaporoz'kyx kozakiv iz sultanom," Vseukrajins'ka Akademijska nauka, Zapysky istoryčno-filolohičnoho viddilu, Bk. IV (1923), pp. 200-212.

<sup>3</sup>M. Jevstaxevyč and M. Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji 'lystuvannja zaporiz'kyx kozakiv z turec'kym sultanom'," Ukrajins'kyj istoryčnyj žurnal (Kiev), 1966, No. 8, pp. 116-120, No. 10, pp. 132-137.

to discussing the dating and origin of the Polish texts, not the Ukrainian ones, the authors curiously fail to indicate clearly which of these versions came first.

The argument that the "Correspondence" is Ukrainian in origin is most forcefully stated by Hryhorij Antonovyč Nud'ha in a small naukovo-populjarna book published in Kiev by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.<sup>4</sup> In genre the book is more like the works it purports to study--populjarna, rather than naukova. Its main virtues are the assembling of many previously published texts of the "Correspondence," and the publication of a formerly unknown Polish text of both the sultan's letter and the "Reply." Nud'ha traces the literary history of the "Correspondence" beginning in the seventeenth century and ending with the reworking of the letters during the Civil War and World War II. In spite of his disparaging remarks about the acumen of the nineteenth-century publishers of the texts and the pernicious influence of romanticizations, clearly Nud'ha is still under the spell of Repin's painting. He not only "establishes" a Ukrainian origin for the "Correspondence" early in the seventeenth century, but he concludes that the other apocryphal letters published by Popov were all based on a Ukrainian model, with the Russian versions of them being the work of a single Muscovite author. Strict textual analysis and more thoughtful consideration of the manuscript traditions might have prevented him from reaching such untenable conclusions.

Some textual analysis is provided by Mme. M. D. Kagan-Tarkovskaja in her articles devoted to the Russian versions of the "Correspondence."<sup>5</sup> But even her reasonably cautious work begins with a priori assumptions about what the Cossacks should have written. Consequently, her conclusion on the primacy of the Ukrainian and secondary nature of the Russian versions is precisely

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<sup>4</sup>H. A. Nud'ha, Lystuvannja zaporožciv z turec'kym sultanom, Kiev, 1963.

<sup>5</sup>M. D. Kagan, "Russkaja versija 70-x godov XVII v. perepiski zaporožskix kazakov s tureckim sultanom," TODRL, XIV (1958), pp. 309-315; M. D. Kagan-Tarkovskaja, "Perepiska zaporožskix i čigirinskix kazakov s tureckim sultanom (v variantax XVIII v.)," TODRL, XXI (1965), pp. 346-354.

the reverse of what the facts adduced below will demonstrate. In her second article on the "Correspondence" she qualifies her earlier conclusion by indicating that in the absence of manuscript evidence the Ukrainian origin of the letters cannot be proved conclusively. Her alternative though would appear to be that the letters originated in Muscovy with the Russian version. Mme. Kagan does correctly place the Russian version in the milieu of the Diplomatic Chancellery, where translations were made from foreign pamphlets and newspapers; she has located a number of manuscripts containing copies of the Russian texts. In the second of her articles, she publishes the previously unknown eighteenth-century Russian versions of the "Correspondence," texts which need not be considered in the subsequent discussion because of their very late origin.

One additional comment is à propos regarding the scholarship reviewed here. The subject of these studies, the "Correspondence," apparently circulated more widely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries among those who spoke different languages than does modern scholarship. Xarlampovyč's seminal article was ignored in two of the later studies;<sup>6</sup> Nud'ha, Eustachiewicz, and Inglot for some inexplicable reason are not aware of the most important publication on old Russian literature--the Trudy of the Sector of Old Russian Literature in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Russian Literature. Had Nud'ha in particular read the Trudy, he would have profited not only from Mme. Kagan's first article on the "Correspondence" but also from her pioneering work on documentary belles lettres in Muscovy.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Namely by Kagan, TODRL, XIV, with amends in TODRL, XXI, where she gives a good summary of Xarlampovyč, and by Élie Borschak, "La lettre des zaporogues au sultan," Revue des Études slaves, Vol. 26 (1950), pp. 99-105. The argumentation and conclusions of Borschak's article coincide so closely with those of Xarlampovyč that one wonders whether the oversight was not a deliberate one.

<sup>7</sup>See M. D. Kagan, "'Povest' o dvux posol'stvax'--legendarno-političeskoe proizvedenie načala XVII veka," TODRL, XI (1955), pp. 218-254; "Legendarnaja perepiska Ivana IV s tureckim sultanom kak literaturnyj pamjatnik pervoj četverti XVII v.," TODRL, XIII (1957), pp. 247-272; "Legendarnyj cikl gramot tureckogo sultana k evropejskim gosudarjam--publicističeskoe proizvedenie vtoroj poloviny XVII v.," TODRL, XV (1958), pp. 225-250.

My analysis of the origin of the "Correspondence" contains two sections: an examination of traditions and an examination of the texts. The first tradition to be considered is that of European pamphlet turcica--widespread publication in pamphlet form in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of news, descriptions, fables, prophecies, and other curiosa about the Ottoman Turks. A conspicuous example of this literature is a series of apocryphal letters of the sultan, often accompanied by the replies of those to whom he allegedly addressed his threatening missives.<sup>8</sup> One group of such manifestos of the sultan originated during the Ottoman-Habsburg wars of the sixteenth century. The text of a single apocryphal letter, with only minor changes, was published, translated and republished during each of these conflicts and the subsequent ones for a period of more than two centuries. The sixteenth-century editions include many in German, some in Dutch and French, and even one in Danish.<sup>9</sup> The Danish pamphlet of 1593--probably a translation from German--is reproduced in the Appendix below as an example of the genre. The Russian version of the seventeenth century mentioned by Xarlampovyč and published by Kagan as the "Letter to the German Princes" is simply a later variant of the same text, translated apparently from a German pamphlet of 1663.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>A detailed analysis of these letters will be found in my dissertation "Seventeenth-Century Muscovite Pamphlet Literature about the Turk," nearing completion in the Department of History, Harvard University. The material summarized here will be expanded in a future article.

<sup>9</sup>See, for example, the items listed by Carl Göllner, Turcica: Die europäischen Türkendrucke des XVI Jahrhunderts, 2 vols., Berlin and Bucharest, 1961-1968, Nos. 948, 1054, 1751, 1886, 1913, etc.

<sup>10</sup>See Kagan, TODRL, XV, pp. 245-246; a German pamphlet with a text very close to that which the Muscovite translator must have used is Des Tuerckischen Kaeyzers der gantzen Chriheit [sic] und aller die sich Christen nennen ewigen abgesagten Erbfeinds-Brieff So er durch den Legaten dem Roemischen Kaeyser zugesendet haben sol. Im Jahr 1663, n.p. (copy in Harvard College Library--hereafter abbreviated HCL--Ott. 358.18). A good idea of the kind of minor textual change that occurred in the reedition of such letters may be gained from comparison of this text with the same letter in Latin, accompanied by a German translation from the Latin, in Fortsetzung dieser Hungarischen Chronik; inhaltend alle denkwuerdige Sachen welche seitdem der Tuerkische Gross-Vezier wider die Christenheit in Hungarn zu Feld gezogen beyderseits vorgegangen,

A second group of these apocrypha encompasses a number of distinct but textually connected variants, including the "Correspondence." Although eventually this second group may be traced farther back, its origin in 1612 seems at present most reasonable. A German version of the sultan's letter to the Polish king is dated 1612, and German, French, and English versions of that letter and the king's reply were known in 1613, as the English pamphlet of that year indicates.<sup>11</sup> In the same year, French and Italian versions of the king's reply were published.<sup>12</sup> The letters took on a second life in the period 1619-1621, when open war with the Turks, culminating in the successful defense of Xotyn by the Poles and the Cossacks, renewed interest in such works (see below). Similarly in a period of war with the Ottomans in 1637, a new, expanded version of the sultan's letter appeared in several languages.<sup>13</sup> From the 1650's

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Nuernberg, in Verlegung Michael und Johann Fridrich Endtern, Im Jahr 1664 (copy in HCL, Ott. 390.4), pp. 118-131.

<sup>11</sup>The German version is that quoted by Konrad Bussow in his Verwirrter Zustand des Russischen Reichs (Konrad Bussov, Moskovskaja xronika 1598-1613, Moscow-Leningrad, 1961, pp. 315-316); the English version is The Great Turkes Defiance; or his letter denuntiatorie to Sigismund the Third, now King of Polonia, as it hath beene truly advertised out of Germany, this present yeere, 1613. With the King of Poland his replie, Englished according to the French copie..., London, 1613 (Copy in the British Museum, 9135.aaa.29).

<sup>12</sup>Responce à la lettre denonciatoire du grand Turc. Par Sigismond, Roy de Pologne, & de Suede; grand Duc de Lituanie, Russie, & Podolie, &c., A Paris, Par Fleury Bourriquant, 1613, and a second edition (with identical title) taken from the Paris one, printed in Lyon by Jean Poyet in 1613 (copies in Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Kraków--hereafter abbreviated BC<sub>z</sub>--6257/I and 12179/I respectively); Risposta alla Lettera Denonciatoria del Gran Turco Fatta da Sigismondo Re di Polonia, & di Sueda, Gran Duca di Littuania, Rossia & Podolia, &c., In Milano, Per Pandolfo Malatesta, 1613 (copy in the Ossolineum, Wrocław, XVII-892-II). The Italian version varies only minutely from the French texts and undoubtedly was translated from one of them.

<sup>13</sup>These include an English pamphlet, A Vaunting, Daring, and a Menacing Letter, Sent from Sultan Morat the great Turke, from his Court at Constantinople, by his Embassadour Gobam, to Vladislaus King of Poland, &c....as by many Copies whereof, may appeare, as it was sent out of Poland..., London, Printed by I. Okes, 1638; a second edition with the same title appeared in 1645, printed for James Williams in London (Copies respectively in HCL, STC 18286, and BC<sub>z</sub>, 6619/I). See below regarding the other versions.



through the 1680's numerous other versions were printed or circulated in manuscript. Many of these contain a basic change in the sultan's letter, whereby it was addressed to the Habsburg emperor instead of the Polish king.<sup>14</sup> This change was particularly appropriate to the times when the relevant editions appeared--the period of Ottoman-Habsburg war in the 1660's and the siege of Vienna in 1683.

Both Polish and Russian versions of the letters in this second group of apocrypha are known. It is a reasonable assumption that the original of 1612 was Polish, although proof of this awaits discovery of a Polish text. Otherwise a German original may be assumed. Polish reworkings of the sultan's letter are known in manuscripts where it is dated 1619, and in a printed pamphlet of 1621, which contains the reply as well.<sup>15</sup> The 1637 letter apparently originated in Poland; see the Appendix below for what is, to the best of my knowledge, the

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<sup>14</sup>A manuscript Russian version of the letter to Emperor Leopold has been published several times; see the critical text of that and the reply in Kagan, *TODRL*, XV, pp. 247-249. A slightly different version of the letter to Leopold is among the apocryphal letters of 1683: Schrecklicher und Gantz grausamer Absage-Brief Welchen Der Tuerckische Kaiser An den Roemischen Kaiser ueberschicket In diesem 1683 Jahr, n.p. (facsimile in pocket of *Die Turken vor Wien in Augenzeugenberichten*, ed. and introd. by Walter Sturming, 2nd ed., Düsseldorf, 1968).

<sup>15</sup>On the manuscript Polish versions, see Jevstaxevyč and Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji," pp. 134-135. The published version, of which they were not aware, is in Grzegorz Czaradzki, Pobudka na Woynę turecką Rycerskim ludziom Polskim ku pociesze z listy Tureckimi y Constitucyami tegorocznymi o rządzie Woiennym przydanymi Napisana, W Poznaniu, W Drukarni Jana Rossowskiego, Roku 1621 (copy in BCz, MN 1235), ff. 4-4v, 5v-6v. The Czaradzki texts are nearly identical with those in the English version of 1613 cited above in note 11 and its reworking in another English pamphlet: True Copies of the Insolent, Cruell, Barbarous, and blasphemous Letter lately written by the Great Turke, for denouncing of Warre against the King of Poland: and of the Magnanimous, and most Christian Answer made by the said King thereunto..., London, Printed for William Lee, 1621 (copy in HCL, Ott. 385.10\*). A later reworking of the Polish text of the sultan's letter was brought to Kiev in 1674 by a Pole and has been published from the manuscript copy found among the Malorossijskie dela; see Sinbirskij sbornik, Moscow, 1844, final pagination, pp. 123-124. This version of the letter was addressed to the Archbishop of Gniezno.

first Polish text of this letter to have been discovered. Clearly a short Polish variant of the 1637 letter existed in 1678, and Polish texts of the sultan's letter to the emperor in 1683 are also known.<sup>16</sup>

Russian texts of the letters are secondary to the Polish and other known versions. The earliest Russian text (1621) is closest to a Dutch one published the same year and probably derives from either the Dutch version or its presumed German source.<sup>17</sup> The Russian version of the 1637 letter is a translation from German; the German was based in turn on the Polish text.<sup>18</sup> The shortened Polish variant of this letter, dated 1678, was the source for a Russian translation of that year. Probably the sultan's correspondence with the emperor of 1663 and surely that of 1683 became known in Muscovy from German pamphlets.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>The Russian version of 1678 (published by Kagan, TODRL, XV, p. 244) cites a Polish original ("perevod polskogo pisma"); the example of the 1683 Polish text, in a late manuscript codex with many obvious "foreignisms," is that in L'vivs'ka derzavna naukova biblioteka AN URSR, fond Ossolins'kyx, No. 644/I, pp. 154-155. See below regarding other copies of what is probably this same Polish version in earlier variants.

<sup>17</sup>The Russian text is in Kagan, TODRL, XV, pp. 249-250. The Dutch pamphlet is known to me in two editions: Ontsegh-Brief Van den Turckschen Keyser aen den Coningh van Polen, Tot Delf, Ghedruckt by Ian Andriesz, 1621; Oorloghs-Brief, van Mahometh de IV. Turckse Keyser, Trotselijck toegesonden aen den Koninck van Polen, Te Amsterdam by Albert van Panhuysen, n.d. (copies in HCL, Ott. 376.2 and Ott. 395.1\* respectively). K. Estreicher (Bibliografia polska, Vol. XXII, Kraków, 1908, p. 39), tentatively dates the latter 1672.

<sup>18</sup>The heading of the work reads in part: "a perevedena byla s turskago jazyka v polskuju rec, a iz polskoj v nemeckuju rec, a iz nemeckoj v nasu slavenskiju rec."

<sup>19</sup>The Russian version of 1683, accompanied by the Emperor's reply, is known in one manuscript copy, Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta istorii AN SSSR, Sobranie Arxeograficeskoj kommissii, No. 44, ff. 481-484v. The immediate convoy of the letters includes two items probably from the same pamphlet original: a copy of the treaty between Jan Sobieski and Emperor Leopold, and what purports to be an oath of the sultan and his pashas to exterminate all Christians. The closeness of the Russian text to the German one of 1683 cited above in note 14 and readings that clearly must derive from a misunderstanding of a German text suggest that the original was German.

Some Russian copies of these apocrypha contain headings which indicate that the works were translated from another language. Such headings follow standard chancellery formulae found in other translated pamphlets and newspapers of the period, from which were compiled regularly the kuranty--summaries of foreign news for the tsar and high court officials.<sup>20</sup> There is absolutely no reason to believe, as does Mme. Kagan, that the headings in the apocryphal letters were added by a Russian "author" simply to imitate those of the kuranty. However, there is ample additional evidence--especially in the inventories of the tsar's Privy Chancellery and in manuscript traditions--to confirm the origin of the Russian translated apocrypha in the chancellery milieu where the kuranty were produced and circulated.<sup>21</sup>

So much for West European, Polish, and Russian traditions. What about a Ukrainian one? Here it is necessary to spread the net beyond the apocryphal letters of the sultan (a fact in itself indicative) and to include other letters in which a certain amount of sarcasm toward one's enemies would appear to parallel that found in the "Correspondence" of the Cossacks. Nud'ha and Kagan rely on a number of examples to make a case for a Ukrainian tradition of such literature; none of them, in my opinion, is valid.

The most important example is a variant of the apocryphal correspondence between the sultan and the Polish king that textually belongs with the second group of letters discussed above. The texts in question, dated 1620, were

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<sup>20</sup>On the kuranty, see A. Shlosberg, "Načalo periodičeskoj pečati v Rossii," Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvěšćenija, 1911, Sept., pp. 63-135; A. Pokrovskij, "K istorii gazety v Rossii," in Vedomosti vremeni Petra Velikogo, vyp. 2, Moscow, 1906, pp. 1-98; Kagan, TODRL, XV, pp. 235-237.

<sup>21</sup>The Russian letter of 1621 mentioned above is found in the kuranty; among other evidence is the convoy of the works accompanying the apocryphal letters in MS, Gosudarstvennaja publičnaja biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykova-Ščedrina (Leningrad; hereafter abbreviated GPB), Sobranie Russkogo arxeologičeskogo obščestva, No. 43. See Kagan, ibid., and my description in Appendix I to Edward L. Keenan, The Kurbskii-Groznyi Apocrypha: The Seventeenth-Century Genesis of the "Correspondence" Attributed to Tsar Ivan IV and Prince A. M. Kurbskii, to be published by Harvard University Press in November 1971.

appended by Samijlo Velyčko to the chronicle which he compiled in the second decade of the eighteenth century.<sup>22</sup> He cites as his source for the letters a Cossack chronicle of 1636 that has since been lost. There exist separate Polish versions of the sultan's letter in Velyčko's variant; in fact the language of his texts would seem to be Polish with at best a veneer of Ukrainian.<sup>23</sup> As Velyčko's facts and sources are in many cases suspect or invented, the origin of these texts remains to be elucidated properly. In any event, the apocryphal correspondence that he cites does not prove a Ukrainian origin of these letters, much less that all or even any of the other versions of the apocryphal letters derive from a Ukrainian model, as Nud'ha would have us believe.

Second chronologically among the letters mentioned as examples of a Ukrainian tradition is one allegedly sent by Bohdan Xmel'nyc'kyj to Jarema Wiśniowiecki in 1649 demanding that the latter surrender Zbaraż. From this example, Mme. Kagan concludes that "mocking letters to an enemy were customary in the seventeenth century among the Cossacks."<sup>24</sup> The key passage of the letter reads, "And why don't you crawl out of your hole and throw yourself into the same heap with the king?"<sup>25</sup> That is hardly reminiscent of the mockery in the Cossack "Reply" nor generically are the letters the same, the one apparently being real and the other apocryphal. Xmel'nyc'kyj's letter, written in Polish, tells us nothing about a tradition from which the Cossack "Correspondence" could have sprung.

Nor does a letter purportedly written by Otaman Sirko to the Crimean Khan in 1675. One notes at the outset that the Sirko letter preserves the proper polite diplomatic formulae, which are so patently lacking in the Cossack

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<sup>22</sup>S. Velyčko, Letopis' sobytij v Jugo-Zapadnoj Rossii v XVII v., Vol. I, Kiev, 1848, Appendix, pp. 3-5.

<sup>23</sup>See Jevstaxevyč and Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji," pp. 134-135.

<sup>24</sup>Kagan, TODRL, XIV, p. 314.

<sup>25</sup>"A czemuż sam nie wychodzisz z norki, a do króla j. m. w jedną kupę się nie garniecie?" Dokumenty Bohdana Hmel'nyc'koho, 1648-1657, ed. I. Kryp'jakevyč and I. Butyč, Kiev, 1961, p. 122.

"Correspondence." Moreover, the Sirko letter is a long, windy piece with classical allusions and a review of Cossack history--a far cry from the "Correspondence." The threats of Sirko are no more than what one normally might expect in correspondence with a threatening neighbor. Sirko's letter itself may not be genuine; the earliest citation of it that I know is by Velyčko.<sup>26</sup> Markevyč, who cited archival sources for the other letters he published in his appendices, gave no source for his version of Sirko's.<sup>27</sup> And Murzakevyč, when he published the text, remarked appropriately that "from the historico-rhetorical quality one cannot assume the contemporaneity of writing which is attributed to the artfully-composed epistle, as though it were written in Zaporizžja."<sup>28</sup> Of course, that proves nothing, but one would expect that those who have subsequently cited the letter might have treated it with greater caution and even investigated its origin, precisely for the reason Murzakevyč mentions.

The lack of such caution in dealing with sources is nowhere more striking than in the treatment of the final example cited as proof that Ukrainian versions of the "Correspondence" derive from a seventeenth-century Ukrainian tradition. In 1697, while besieging Tavan', the Turks and Tatars demanded that the Cossacks surrender the fort. According to one account of the events, the Cossacks composed an insulting letter in reply--a letter which is one of the Ukrainian versions of the "Reply" found in the "Correspondence." It is instructive to examine how this account came into being, as none of those who cite it as fact have done so.

The factually inaccurate Istoriija Rusov, a polemical work composed no earlier than the end of the eighteenth century, mentions that during the siege

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<sup>26</sup>Velyčko, Letopis', Vol. II, Kiev, 1851, pp. 378-382.

<sup>27</sup>Nikolaj Markevič, Istoriija Malorossii, Vol. III, Moscow, 1842, pp. 123-128.

<sup>28</sup>N. N. Murzakevič, ed., "Pis'mo k Xanu Krymskomu vojska Zaporožskogo nizovogo kosevogo atamana Ivana Serka," Russkaja starina, VIII (1873), p. 92. Note also the very pointed and appropriate remarks of Xarlampovyč on Cossack chancellery practice, "Lystuvannja," p. 209.

of Tavan' the Turkish vizir dispatched a letter urging the Cossacks to accept a bribe and surrender the fort. The Cossacks sent a refusal in which they "declared proudly that they had their honor and conscience even though all hetmans and vizirs did not possess them at all, and that the hostile cities built on their Rus'ian lands, which had been conquered by their blood, could not be yielded other than for the same price."<sup>29</sup> This obviously is not the "Reply" in the "Correspondence."

M. Bantyš-Kamens'kyj recounts a similar tale in his Istorija Maloj Rossii. He cites from archival materials what purport to be both the vizir's letter demanding surrender and threatening to take the city by force, and the Cossacks' reply asserting their faith in God, their refusal to surrender, and their expectation of the arrival of a relief force.<sup>30</sup>

Mykola Markevyč, who used both accounts, exercised remarkable discretion and merely combined them, reserving for a footnote the following:

I have inserted these letters as they have been transmitted to us by our Chronicles; but recently I received from Grodno, from a certain archive, through my son-in-law General Xelms'kyj, a copy which he personally made in the archive. I cannot vouch for the truth and authenticity of this reply of the Little Russians to the sultan; however, I do not feel it right for me to conceal it.

He then quotes a Ukrainian version of the Cossacks' "Reply" to the sultan in the "Correspondence," and adds:

This is very like the character of the rather turbulent Zaporožians of old. But I do not imagine that the obščestvo permitted the sending of such a letter to the addressee. 31

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<sup>29</sup>Istorija Rusov ili Maloj Rossii. Sočinenie Georgija Koniskogo, Arxiepiskopa Beloruskogo, Moscow, 1846, p. 195.

<sup>30</sup>N. Bantyš-Kamenskij, Istorija Maloj Rossii, 3rd ed., pt. 3, Moscow, 1842, pp. 27-28. One should note some independent evidence that the Cossacks hoped to be able to mock and curse the attackers even if not in writing. See the letter from the ataman Jasko Fedorenko to Hetman Mazepa of September 13, 1697, requesting aid so that the fort could hold out and so that "the enemy would again be subject to laughter and profanation from us" (opjat' onie neprijatele iz nas smex i poruganie meli) (D. N. Evarnickij, Istočniki dlja istorii Zaporozskix kozakov, Vol. I, Vladimir, 1903, p. 717).

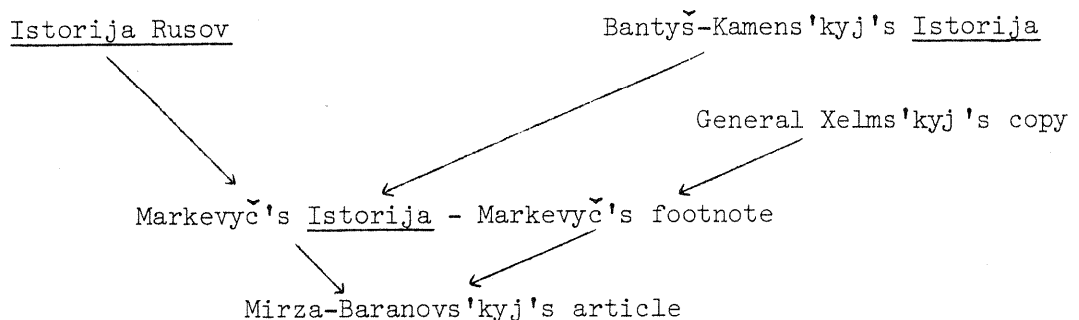
<sup>31</sup>Markevič, Istorija, Vol. 5, Moscow, 1843, pp. 74-75.

The final chapter in the nineteenth-century history of this episode was written by A. A. Tuhon-Mirza-Baranovs'kyj in 1873, following the publication of a somewhat different variant of the Cossack "Reply" in the previous year by Mykola Kostomarov. Without citing any source, Baranovs'kyj reproduced unchanged Markevyč's account of the vizir's letter to the besieged and added in his own words: "The Cossacks and elders gathered in council. Aroused by the suggestion about treason, they heatedly composed an answer." Baranovs'kyj then quoted the answer--the apocryphal "Reply" found in Markevyč's footnote--and continued:

The similarity with the letter communicated by N. I. Kostomarov is immediately obvious; in all probability the compiler was guided by it in composing his reply. But this letter was not sent; instead of it, the following answer was composed.<sup>32</sup>

And what follows is the letter quoted by Markevyč in his main text. Schematically the origin of the 1697 Tavan' tale can be summarized as in Figure I.

Figure I



Such is the sad story of how recent scholars have come to cite a letter copied from an unknown manuscript in a provincial archive by the son-in-law of Markevyč--a letter of unknown date and origin and no apparent connection with the events of 1697 as attested in other sources--as evidence for the currency of the Cossacks' "Reply" in seventeenth-century

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<sup>32</sup>A. A. Tugan-Mirza-Baranovskij, "Tureckij sultan i zaporožcy," Russkaja starina, VIII (1873), p. 93.

Ukraine. Markevyč at least was circumspect in his use of the letter; would that those who followed him had been likewise.<sup>33</sup> Despite the efforts of scholars since Markevyč, it should be clear that unlike in the Polish and Russian cases, no evidence has been adduced for the existence of a Ukrainian tradition in the seventeenth century which would have produced the "Correspondence."

What evidence is there regarding the origins and early textual history of these letters? One should properly begin by determining which copies are oldest and then by examining their texts. There are, first of all, German and Russian copies which unquestionably date to the seventeenth century. At least one of the seventeenth-century Russian manuscripts contains the following heading for the "Correspondence": "Translated from Polish. Copy of a letter of the Turkish sultan written to the Cossacks at Čyhyryn, July 7, 1678."<sup>34</sup> This copy of the "Correspondence" is accompanied in its manuscript by several extracts from kuranty and several other apocryphal letters, among them the ones discussed above. The same Russian text, in a copy which can be dated between 1683 and 1687, is also accompanied by one of the other sets of apocryphal letters and by documentary material that must have come from the Muscovite Diplomatic Chancellery.<sup>35</sup>

A hitherto unknown German pamphlet containing the "Correspondence" (reproduced below in the Appendix) was published in 1683; its place of publication may eventually be learned from the figure of the winged Mercury on the cover and other elements of decoration. The first part of each letter in German is textually extremely close to the Russian counterpart,

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<sup>33</sup>Nud'ha, Lystuvannja, p. 27, even goes so far as to accept Baranovs'kyj verbatim and consider that Markevyč's account is a secondary rendering in comparison.

<sup>34</sup>See the text as published by Kagan, TODRL, XIV, p. 311, from the Lenin-grad manuscript cited above in note 21.

<sup>35</sup>This MS is Codex Ad 10 of the Stifts- och Lands-Biblioteket in Västerås, Sweden, described in Staffan Dahl, Codex Ad 10 der Västeråser Gymnasialbibliothek, Uppsala, 1949.



but in the German, a large section has been added at the end of each letter. This means that the first group distinguished by Xarlampovyč-- who had only the Russian text--must be divided into "short" and "long" versions.

The German pamphlet enables us to establish a seventeenth-century date for one of the published Polish texts of the "Correspondence." This text--only the sultan's letter--appeared in Lwowianin in 1840, with no information about the manuscript from which it was taken.<sup>36</sup> One can, I believe, suggest with some confidence that the text is that found in manuscript No. 603/III of the Ossolineum which contains a "List tegoż [cara turskiego] do Kozaków do Czechryryna." Another of the Ossolineum manuscripts, No. 289/II, contains apparently the same letter and a "Respons. Dat. w Czechryniu 1683." Both copies of the Cossack letters are preceded by a declaration of the sultan to the Emperor Leopold-- clearly a Polish version of the apocryphal letter of 1683 known in Russian translation and a published German pamphlet of that year.<sup>37</sup> The 1683 German version of the "Correspondence" derives from a Slavic original,<sup>38</sup> we know, moreover, that many German pamphlets of this type were translations from Polish. Textually, the letter published in Lwowianin is unique among known Polish versions of the "Correspondence" because it contains the long version of the text known otherwise only in the German pamphlet. The evidence therefore suggests that the text of Lwowianin must derive from a protograph of 1683 or earlier.

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<sup>36</sup>The text is republished in Cyrillic transcription by Jevstaxevyč and Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji," p. 120.

<sup>37</sup>My information on both manuscripts (which date from the eighteenth century) and the citations derive from Wojciech Kętrzyński, Katalog rękopisów Biblioteki zakładu nar. im. Ossolińskich, Vol. II, Lwów, 1886, pp. 229-236, and Vol. III, Lwów, 1888, pp. 80-81. I have been informed that the manuscripts are not in that portion of the collection still in L'viv; one assumes that they are now in Wrocław.

<sup>38</sup>For example, note the words "Bojar," "Sobaka," "Kolbake," and the phrase "Ein Engel des hoellischen Teuffels," in which the word "Engel" of the latter corresponds to the "vnuk" of the Slavic versions--in German "vnuk" translates as "Engle," which would make better sense in the context. Perhaps the last example is merely a printing error, but it may have been

As we do not yet have the Polish "Reply" to the letter of the sultan in this "1683 redaction," we shall concentrate on the sultan's letter alone. This procedure is dictated also by the fact that the "Reply" is keyed to the sultan's letter--the Cossacks list a parodied title for every title of the sultan--and hence cannot antedate it. Dating the appearance of the first half of the "Correspondence" establishes a probable date, or at very least, a terminus a quo for the appearance of the "Reply."

Table I gives in parallel the texts of the Russian, German, and Polish versions of the sultan's letter from the copies just discussed.<sup>39</sup>

Table I

Салтан сын салтана турского, цесарь турской [и] греческой, македонской, вавилонской, иерусалимской, папа ассирийской, Великого и Малого Египта, король александрийской, армянской и всех на свете обитающих, князь над князи, внук божий, храбрый воин, наветник христианский, хранитель распятого Бога, господарь великий, дедич на земли, надежда и утешение бусурманское [а] христианом скорбь и падение.

Повелеваю вам чтоб есте добровольно поддались [нам] со всеми людьми.

Sultan dess durchleuchtigsten Tuerckischen Kaeyzers Sohn, Bojar der Tuercken, Macedonier, Babylonier, Jerusalem, Bassa in Silistrien, gross und kñfelin Egypten, Konig der Armerer und allen Fuersten der Welt, Grossfuerst, ein Engle Gottes, tapffer Held der Christenheit, Instigator, Vormund des gecreutzigten Gottes, grosser Erbe der Erden, Hoffnung und Freude der Bissurmaennuer der Christen Untergang, etc.

Wir gebieten euch damit ihr mit aller deiner Mannschafft euch gutwillig uns demuethiget und erget, und wider unsere Feinde in den Krieg ziehet, dem Pohlnischen Kerl kein Gehorsam leisten massen in kurtzer Zeit wo ihr das nicht thun werdet so solt ihr alle gefesselt werden mit euern Weibern und Kindern wie auch den Polnischen Kerl mit seinem gantzen Land will ich schlagen und zu meinem Unterthanen machen.

Sultan syn oświeconego cesarza tureckiego, Mahomet IV, cesarz Turecki, Macedoński, Babiloński, Jerozolimski, basza Sylistryjski, Wielkiego i Małego Egiptu, król Ormjański, wszystkich na świecie mieszkających książąt nad książęty książę, opiekun ukrzyżowanego Boga, pan wielki i dziedzic na ziemi i pod ziemią, pociecha bisurmanców, chrześcijanów upadek i smutek.

Rozkazujemy, abyście się ze wszystkim ludem swoim poddali dobrowolnie i na wojnę wychodzili, a tego chłopca polskiego nie słuchali, gdyż niezadługo, jeżeli tego nie uczynicie, tak wy, jako i on, w okowach będziecie jęzczeni, dzieci i żony tak wasze, jako i tego chłopca polskiego, ze wszystką ziemią podbijemy i wszystko w poddanych naszych obrucimy.

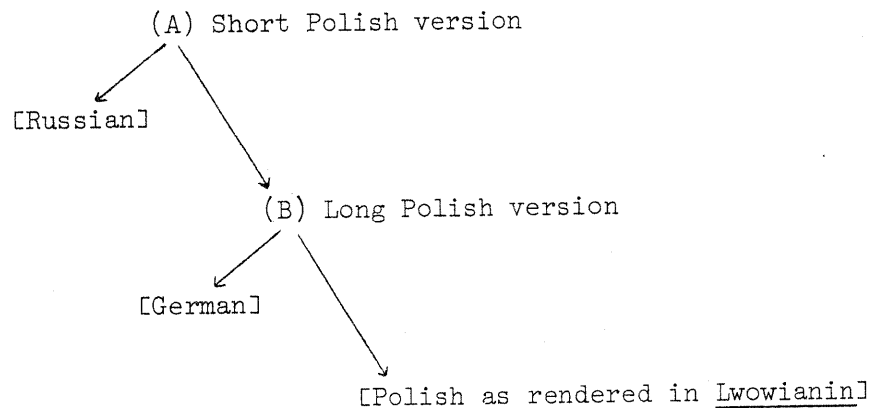
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a slip by the translator, who did correctly render "vnuk" as "Engle" earlier in the translation.

<sup>39</sup>The Russian text is that published by Kagan, TODRL, XIV, p. 311, with the bracketed words indicating omissions in several other published versions of the text; the Polish text is that of Lwowianin as rendered by Jevstaxevec and Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji," p. 120, but retranscribed into the original Latin alphabet.

The variant readings suggest the schematic relationship of Figure II.

Figure II



The Russians and, to some extent, the German versions reflect the protograph A more closely than does the Polish text of the late copy we have. For example "grečeskoj" and "korol' aleksandrijskoj" appear in the Russian text and in earlier pamphlet apocrypha in the group we discussed above as originating in 1612. Probably the German letter derived from a text that had inadvertently omitted the same phrases from its protograph (e.g., the one reflected in the Polish text which we have); the German "Reply" contains the appropriate parodies, "Fussschemel der Griechen" and "dess Alexander Kolbake." Similarly, "vnuk Božij, xrabryj voin, navetnik xristjanskij" are in the Russian and German texts (but not the Polish) and are found in earlier pamphlet apocrypha. The "paša assirijskoj" of the Russian is more "correct" than either the German or Polish renderings ("Bassa in Silistrien"/"Basza Sylistryjski"), as it is listed in the context of the sultan's Asian possessions. The "Assprer" of the German "Reply" is probably a misprint for "Assyrer," which would correspond to the correct "asirijskoj" of the Russian "Reply."

On the other hand, the Polish and Russian texts have some common readings not found in the German text. Despite some variance, the two Slavic texts are so close in many readings that a Russian translation from

Polish is indeed likely, as the heading in the Russian manuscript tells us. The omissions and one addition ("i pod ziemią") in the Polish version reflect the fact that it is a "second redaction" (produced by the addition of the lengthy section at the end) and has come down to us from what may have been a late copy.

Eustachiewicz and Inglot suggest that the Polish text could not be from the seventeenth century because of the added passage which mocks the Polish king.<sup>40</sup> But given the above information and the fact that the letter undoubtedly was intended to be accompanied by the "Reply" mocking the sultan and praising the king, there can be little doubt of the origin of this Polish text in the seventeenth century. Probably the portion of it not found in the short Russian version was added in 1683 during the events surrounding the rescue of Vienna from the Turks by Jan Sobieski. The copying of the "Correspondence" in the two Ossolineum manuscripts along with the declaration of the sultan to Emperor Leopold, which we know circulated in pamphlet form in that year, is additional evidence for this dating of the "long" version.

The Russian short version is a translation produced in the Diplomatic Chancellery in Moscow from a Polish original probably written in 1678 in connection with the second Turkish campaign against Čyhyryn.<sup>41</sup> Given what we know about the rapidity with which current pamphlets and newspapers were received in Moscow for the compilation of kuranty, it is most reasonable to date the translation to the same year or the beginning of the following one. We know of a number of other pamphlets that

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<sup>40</sup>Jevstaxevyč and Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji," p. 133. I am inclined, however, to accept their explanation of the date assigned the letter in its heading (1667) as the addition of a later copyist or the nineteenth-century editor. While they show that events of 1667 could have inspired the composition of the "Correspondence" then, until further evidence is adduced, that date must remain suspect.

<sup>41</sup>This dating for the Russian variant is accepted by other scholars; see, for example, Kagan, TODRL, XIV, p. 312.

appeared first in Polish in connection with the Čyhyryn war and then were translated into German or Russian.<sup>42</sup> A previously unpublished example of such a Russian translation, describing the fighting and destruction of the city in August 1678, is reproduced in the Appendix below. That translation is accompanied in its manuscript by the sultan's apocryphal letter of 1678 to the Polish king. The pamphlet "Correspondence" is clearly to be numbered among such works. Its place of origin--whether

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<sup>42</sup>Among them, Aussfuehrliche Nachricht wie die Tuercken Czechryn belaegert und was von Tag zu Tage in selbiger Belaegerung biss zu deren Ubergang an die Tuercken passiret und vorgelauffen, Gedruckt im 1678sten Jahre, n. p. (copy in HCL, Ott. 395.5), in which the heading preceding the text reads (f. 2): "Extract-Schreiben des Pollnischen Residenten Prosky bey dem Gross-Vezir aus dem Tuerckischen Lager vom 24. Augusti 1678"; and the diary-like entries beginning on f. 2v are headed: "Muendliche Relation vom 1. August biss 23. ejusdem dess auss dem Tuerckischen Laeger vom Koeniglichen Residenten Herrn Prosky den 24. Augusti abgefertigten und bey Ihrer Koeniglichen Maiestaet allhier in Jaworow den 4. Sept. zuruecke angelangten Expressen mit Namen Mytko." The text differs from the Russian one reproduced below. A second example is the virši published by Kagan in her "'Virši ob oborone Čigirina ot turok'," TODRL, XVII (1961), pp. 435-444. While she correctly indicates their Ukrainian origin, she failed to note that these verses are listed in their seventeenth-century manuscript as "virši Boronoviča" (GPB, Sobranie Pogodina, No. 1604, f. 1). In response to an inquiry from me, Sokrat Aleksandrovič Klepikov, the leading authority on the publications of the press in Novhorod-Sivers'kyj directed by the Archbishop of Černihiv Lazar Baranovyč, suggested that these verses probably come from a pamphlet published in 1678 by the Baranovyč press: A. Buczyński, Čyhyrin pograniczne miasto w ciężkim obleżeniu Tureckim roku 1677 za szczęściem Jeho Carskoho...Wieliczestwa tryumfujące, W. Nowogrodku Siewierskim 1678 (40, 25pp.). The erroneous attribution to Baranovyč might have occurred because, as we know from other editions of that press, his name usually was prominent on the title page, and the author's name might appear only on the second page. Apparently no copies of the pamphlet have survived that would confirm this identification. Dr. Klepikov has not located any in the Soviet Union (see his "Izdanija novgorod-severskoj tipografii i ložnočernigovskie izdanija 1674-1679 gg.," Kniga. Issledovanija i materialy, Vol. VIII [1963], p. 269), nor are any known in Polish repositories. Prof. Dr. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa of the Zakład Starych Druków in the Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw, graciously informed me that the only known copy, which had been in the Biblioteka Krasińskich, perished during the Second World War.

Ukraine or Poland--may never be known. A Ukrainian origin, but in Polish, is possible, as the short version of the "Correspondence" does not contain the factual contradictions found in the "expanded" Polish and Ukrainian texts known only from later copies.

What about the source and inspiration for the "Correspondence"? We discover all the phrases of the short version of the sultan's letter in the apocryphal letters of the group which originated in 1612. A careful comparison of the numerous texts in this group reveals that the intitulatio varies somewhat from one version to the next. Yet it can hardly be a coincidence that among these letters, the one closest to the sultan's letter to the Cossacks is a Polish text that dates also from the 1670's:<sup>43</sup>

To The Cossacks (1678)

Салтан сын салтана тур-  
ского, цесарь турской,  
греческой, македонской,  
вавилонской, иерусалим-  
ской, паша ассирийской,  
Великого и Малого Егип-  
та, король александрий-  
ской, армянской и всех  
на свете обитающих,  
князь над князи, внук  
божий, храбрый воин,  
наветник христианский,  
хранитель распятого  
бога, господарь вели-  
кий, дедич на земли,  
надежда и утешение бу-  
сурманское, христианоу  
скорбь и падение.

To The Archbishop of Gniezno (1674)

Солтан сын освещенного цесаря тур-  
ецкого, Божий внук, цесарь тур-  
ецкий, грецкий, македонский, баби-  
лонский, европейский, баша атирий-  
ский, сандженский, анатолийский,  
помарензский, аретейзский, великого  
и малого Египту, король алексаидрей-  
ский, урмянский, и вшитких панов  
пан на тым свѣце меншкаионцых в раю  
земном, строж мяста желнерского, и  
вшеляких панов пан на тым свѣце  
меншкаионцых, ксонже над ксонженжен-  
тве. Бог равный и вшитких бендонцых  
на свѣцеи вышних, бок древа живого,  
внук Божий, менжныи инстигатор хре-  
стіян и опекун укривдзеного, пан и  
дзѣдзич на земли, надзея и поцеха  
бесурменьска а хрестіянном упадек и  
смутек.

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<sup>43</sup>The Polish letter is given here in the Cyrillic transcription of Sinbirskij sbornik, p. 124. Its editors hesitated to translate it because of the sizeable number of unclear passages (the original, which may still be among the papers of the Malorossijskie dela, appears to have been a poor copy). For the same reason and because the rules used in the transcription of the 1840's are not entirely clear, it seemed best to avoid further distortion by retranscription into Latin letters.

Aside from what seem to be simply contractions by the author of the letter to the Cossacks, the variants are sufficient to indicate that precisely this 1674 letter was not the source for that of 1678. Other letters in the same group contain readings corresponding to "ierusalimskoj" and "khranitel' raspjätogo Boga" and indicate a number of other distorted readings in the letter of 1674.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the textual connection of the 1678 letter with one very like that of 1674 is indisputable. Unknown copies of the apocryphal letters of the sultan keep turning up; there can be little doubt that the source for the letter to the Cossacks will be found among them.

The message, or dispositio, of the "Correspondence" in the short version is confined to one line: "We order you to submit [to us] willingly with all your people."<sup>45</sup> In one other apocryphal letter (dated 1678) the sultan accuses the Polish king of breaking his promise to "submit to us willingly."<sup>46</sup> The similarity in phrasing suggests some connection between these two letters of the same year, even though they differ considerably in the intitulatio. The dispositio of the long version of the "Correspondence" does not correspond closely with that in any of the other apocrypha, but its contents suggest the possibility that it was inspired by a reading of one of the other letters containing the threats and insults of the sultan.

The "Reply" of the Cossacks derives directly from the sultan's letter to them. Most of the other seventeenth-century apocryphal letters

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<sup>44</sup>Note especially Czaradzki, Pobudka, f. 4, and Kurtzer Bericht und Absag-Brieff, Was der Tuerckische Sultan ihrer Koeniglichen Majestet in Polen Anno 1652 den 10 Decembris in der Koeniglichen Residentz-Stadt Warschaw durch einen eylenden Curier ueberbracht zugeschrieben..., Gedruckt im Jahr Eintausent Sechshundert und drey und Funfftzig (copy in the Ossolineum, XVII-6697-III), f. lv. Another edition of this German text, which refers to "Relat. Francofurt von anno 1652," is found in Tuerckischen Staats und Regiments Beschreibungen..., n. p., 1664 (copy in HCL, Ott. 142.2.5), ff. Biii-Biii<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>45</sup>"Povelevaju vam, čtob este dobrovol'no poddalis' [nam] so vsemi ljudmi."

<sup>46</sup>"Nam poddatisja dobrovolno" (Kagan, TODRL, XV, p. 244).

of the sultan appear alone; none of the replies which do exist coincide with that of the Cossacks. In some cases the other replies attempt a phrase-by-phrase parody of the sultan's letter, but only in the "Correspondence" is this carried through consistently both in the intitulatio and dispositio. In view of the brevity and relative lack of interest of the sultan's letter to the Cossacks in contrast to his letters to the Polish king, it is most probable that both parts of the "Correspondence" were conceived at the same time. While an apocryphal letter of the sultan must have served as the textual source for the first half of the "Correspondence," a reply, if one existed, probably was no more than the inspiration for the "Reply" of the Cossacks.

Textually the remaining, "expanded" versions of the "Correspondence" --including all those in the "Ukrainian redaction" and all but one of the Polish texts--are quite different from the seventeenth-century redaction we have been examining. Before investigating the relationship between these seventeenth-century texts and the others, it is desirable to establish the interrelationship of the latter. Xarlampovyč attempted to do so for the "Ukrainian redaction," and Eustachiewicz and Inglot sorted the Polish texts to determine the oldest version. In neither case, though, was the work complete, nor in either case was the relationship between the expanded Polish and Ukrainian texts established: Xarlampovyč did not know about any of the former, and the two Polish scholars, perhaps out of politeness to their readers, simply chose not to treat the latter.

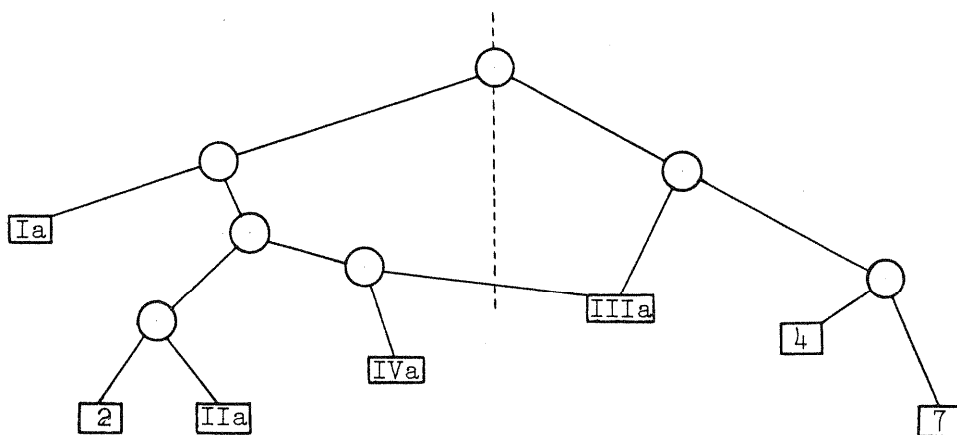
The textual analysis which follows must be considered at best a preliminary treatment, since there are a number of problems which prevent one from attaining more conclusive results. Common to all of the texts is the fact that they are all quite far removed from the protograph: no one text is free from omissions and reworking. The texts of the "Ukrainian redaction" present two additional problems: in almost every instance, we know nothing about the provenance and date of the manuscripts from which they were published, nor can we be certain about the language of the original texts, since it would appear that some of them were



Russianized by their editors. Moreover, a good many of the texts of the "Ukrainian redaction" contain only the "Reply," but not the letter of the sultan. This is to be expected, since the Cossacks' reply understandably would have been the more popular of the two.

We will examine each half of the "Correspondence" separately because of the number of cases where only one half is available. Where we have both the sultan's letter and the "Reply," the stemma of interrelationships for each half should be identical. For the sultan's letter we obtain the schema of Figure III where the Roman numerals represent the Polish texts and the Arabic numerals the texts of the "Ukrainian redaction" (according to the numeration assigned them by Eustachiewicz and Inglot and by Nud'ha respectively).<sup>47</sup>

Figure III



<sup>47</sup>The texts are published by Nud'ha, *Lystuvannja*, pp. 59-65, and by Jevstaxevyč and Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji," pp. 118-120. Citations from text No. II follow Nud'ha's rendering in the Latin alphabet (pp. 36-37) and extracts from the remaining Polish texts have been transcribed into the Latin alphabet from the phonetic Cyrillic transcription of their publication. In the cases of Nud'ha's texts Nos. 1-6, I transliterate from the original publications on which he relied and do not "Ukrainianize" the transliteration. No attempt has been made to normalize orthography, although it should be noted that the transcription in Jevstaxevyč and Inhl'ot seems to represent something of a normalization of the original texts.

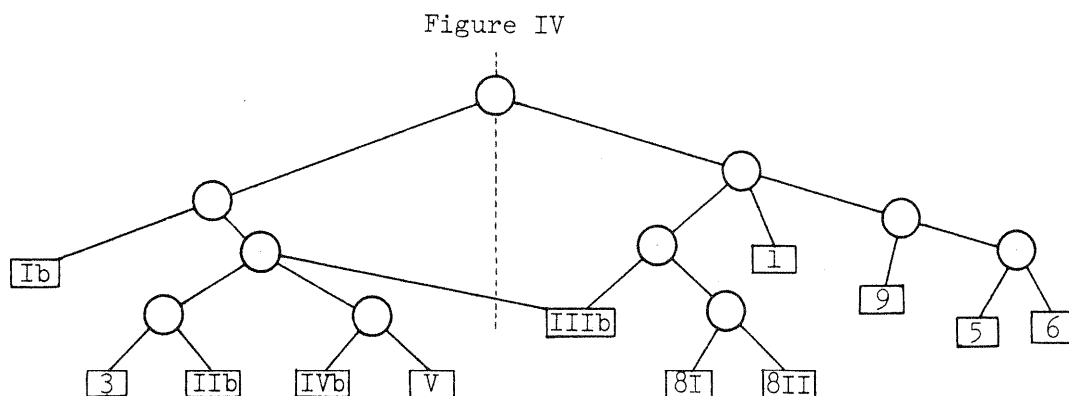
The basic feature distinguishing the right half of the stemma from the left is the phrase "syn Mahometa...brat słońca i miesiąca" ("syn Magometa, brat--solnca i luny") in the former. Other distinctive features of the texts on the right are the close variants "cesarz nad cesarzami"/"car' nad carjami" but the absence of "książę nad książęty" and its variants as found on the left. Text No. IIIa does contain certain readings that connect it with the left half of the stemma: "Turbowali" (in Nos. 2 and IVa), "Bram," which is probably a distortion of the "braci" of Nos. Ia and IVa, and "potentat nad potentatami," which is precisely the simple rendering of No. Ia, without the (presumably) secondary accretions and changes of the other versions. Text No. 7 need not be dwelt upon, since it obviously has a common protograph with No. 4 but contains a number of distorted readings.

In the left half of the diagram, Nos. IIa and 2 contain four very distinctive readings: "alexandryjski krol"/"Korol' Aleksandrijskij," "potentat nad wszystkimi na świecie zostającymi"/"Patent [sic] nad Patentami, nad vsěmi, na světě obrětajusćimisja," "na wszytkiej ziemi dziedziczny pan"/"vseja zemli naslědnyj pan," and "Datowano w Konstantynopolie"/"Dan v Konstantinopolě." The second of these phrases is also very close to that in text No. IVa ("potentat nad wszystkimi potentatami na ziemi będącymi"), which has in common also with Nos. IIa and 2 the reading "dobrowolnie." Text No. IVa has at least two readings found only in No. Ia among the other texts: "braci" and "smutek chrześcijański" (the "bojar" of No. IIa is unique but probably is a later distortion of "braci"; one expects parallelism in the epithets "smutek i upadek" to match "nadzieja i pociecha" referring to Muslims).

Finally a number of unique readings should be noted. Text No. Ia evidences later reworking and some distortion of the original, since in each of the two sets of epithets just mentioned it retains only one of the appellations. More important is the somewhat distorted phrase "nad wszystkimi na świecie dziedzicami pan nad panującymi," and the reworking of the ending with what appears to be an addition of phrases not found in the other texts: "z ziemiami, powiatami, miastami, zamkami i wszytkim

waszym państwem i jego wojskami." Text No. 2 omits entirely the phrase rendered in the other texts variously as "smutek i upadek chrześcijanom." Moreover, the reading "Straž Groba Raspjatago" is incomplete and would seem to be a mixing of the phrases of the other texts: "struž groba božego... opiekun ukrzyżowanego Boga." In No. 4, the reading "smušćenie i velikij zaščitnik xristian" makes little sense compared to the dual epithet cited previously. It would appear that in the late text No. 7 an attempt was made to improve on the reading of No. 4 by the alteration to "k smušćeniju..."

Turning now to the texts of the "Reply," we obtain the stemma of Figure IV.



A number of phrases distinguish the right half of the diagram from the left. On the right, in all of the texts except Nos. 1 and IIIb, following "sekretar" is some other phrase (most commonly including "jakyj ty do čorta lycar") instead of the listing of the place name epithets which come immediately after "sekretar" on the left. In most of the texts on the right one finds the readings "sahajdak" (not in No. 1), "zlodij" (not in No. 8; cf. on the left, "hice1," except for No. 3), "našoho Boha duren" (except No. 1; cf. Nos. IVb and V), and "svynjača morda," etc. (not in Nos. 1 and 9). The phrase "ne budeš ty hoden syniv xrystijans'kyx maty" is common to all but No. 9 on the right (in No. IIIb it is distorted). On the left side of the diagram, readings common to several of the texts

but not found on the right include: "szalejesz...po swity" (in Nos. Ib, IVb, and 3), "kobylinu warysz" (in Nos. Ib, IVb, V and 3), "z skory lupyt" (in Nos. Ib, IVb, V and 3; here the vulgarity in IIb brings it close to the readings of the right half of the stemma), "jak ryba z wodoju" (Nos. IIb, IVb, V, with simply "z wodoju" in Ib and 3; in contrast, on the right, the more logical "zemleju i wodoju"), and finally and most importantly (in all but No. IVb), the introductory phrases "slawnyi (w)atamany... my tobi...odpysujem" before the section containing the parodies of the sultan's titles.

On the right half of the stemma, we note the following: Nos. 8 I and 8 II clearly have a common source, but while 8 II contains the better readings, neither text by itself is complete. A number of common readings connect Nos. 8 and IIIb: the sequence "vavylons'kyj sljuser... makedons'kyj brovarnyk," "kozac'kyj sahajdak" (found only in these texts), "ljuterans'ka...moskovs'ka...cyhans'ka" (but N.B., in No. IVb, "moskowskaja"). Nos. 5, 6, and 9 are a group which Xarlampovyč distinguished from the others because they place the dispositio somewhere in the middle of the intitulatio. Since this phenomenon is found neither in real nor apocryphal letters that might have any connection with the "Correspondence," it is clear indication of the secondary nature of these texts. In contrast, in Nos. IIIb and 8, the order of the parts is correct. Texts Nos. 5, 6, 8, and 9 contain a rhymed ditty on the end ("čysla ne znaem..."), which is not found in any other texts, and these same four texts contain the coarse epithet "nexreščenyj lob" and varying amounts of unprintable obscenity approached only by that in texts Nos. IVb and V on the left half of the stemma. Text No. 1 is unique in most respects--the parts that most closely coincide with the other variants on the right are clearly contracted. Several readings place it close to the group of Nos. 5, 6, and 9 (e.g., "Podol'skij zlodij"), but it does not interrupt the intitulatio as does that group.

We note on the left side of the diagram: Nos. IIb, V, and 3 all contain "dobrymi," "za Porogami," "ormjanskaja" (in contrast to worse readings in No. Ib, which contains other bad readings as well). Nos. IIb

and 3 have common readings in "ia tobie tak odpisuiu"/"ja tobi tak odpisuju," "kolesnik assyrjski, browarnik Wielikoho i Małoho Egiptu"/ "Kolesnyk Asarijskij, Brovarščik Velikago i Malago Egipta," "honiec ukryżowanego Boha i nieprzyiatel"/"na Raspjatago Boga gonitel' i neprijatel'," and very similar endings. Yet both texts contain readings that surely place them rather far from the protograph of all the texts: in No. 3, the misplaced "šališ' ty po svitu," "prorok" (instead of "smutek i upadek"), the omission of reference to Kamjanec'-Podil'skyj; in IIb, most notably the omission of the phrase that is the basis of the dispositio in the other texts, "ne poddamosja, a twogo...woyska ne boimosja." Texts IVb and V have close readings: the omission of "podnożek," the unusual "duren woloski"/"durak wolynskij," and similar vulgarity at the end. Finally, we note that text IIIb, as in the case of IIIa, has some ties to the left half of the diagram (e.g., no additions after "sekretar"), even though it has important readings connecting it with the right half.

Now it may be objected that including the Polish and Ukrainian texts in the same diagram is methodologically incorrect. Yet one notes that with a single exception in each case (Nos. III and 2/3), the right half of the diagram contains all of the Ukrainian and the left half all of the Polish texts. It is most reasonable to assume that the exceptions merely represent translations--Nos. 2 and 3 coming from the Polish and No. III coming primarily from a Ukrainian original, but with reference to a different (Polish?) variant. Any other explanation of the similarities of these texts with those closest to them is far less satisfactory. The question which remains, then, is that of the protograph at the head of the diagram. Comparison of the texts known in the seventeenth-century group (the Russian, Polish and German of 1678 and 1683) with the Ukrainian and remaining Polish ones reveals a distinctive pattern of variants:

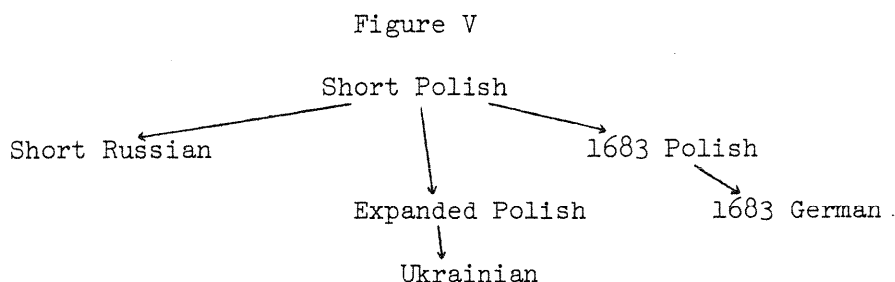
	<u>Seventeenth-century Group</u>	<u>Remaining Polish</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u>
Sultan's letter	" <u>grečeskoj</u> "	"greckich"	-
	" <u>assirijskoj</u> "	(variants)	-
	"syn oświeconego cesarza"	"syn oświeconego cesarza"	-
	-	-	" <u>brat solnca i luny</u> "
	"ukrzyżowanego"	"ukrzyżowanego"	-
	"książąt nad książęty"	"książę nad książęty"	-
"Reply"	" <u>grečeskoe podnożie</u> "	"podnożek grecki"	-
	" <u>asirijskoj</u> "	"asyryjski"	-
	" <u>pes</u> (Sobaka) <u>tatarskoj</u> "	"sobaka tatarska"	" <u>tatars'kyj sahajdak</u> "
	" <u>raspjatogo Boga vrag i gonitel' rabov ego</u> "	"goniec ukrzyżowanego Boga i nieprzyjaciela"	" <u>našoho Boha duren</u> "??
	Ending: " <u>ne poddadsja tebe no bit'sja s toboj budem</u> "	Ending (in No. I): "ne poddamosja...i z toboju... bytysja budemo"	No text ending with " <u>budem</u> "; generally sizeable addi- tion, notably " <u>Čysla ne znaem...</u> "

The variants adduced here should suffice to support the argument that the short seventeenth-century Polish version--which has been posited as the original for the other texts--undoubtedly was the source for the remaining Polish texts. Furthermore, since these Polish texts appear to be closer to the protograph than the Ukrainian, it is only reasonable to assume that a reworked Polish text of the original "Correspondence" was the source for the Ukrainian and "expanded" Polish ones.<sup>48</sup> In other words,

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<sup>48</sup>Some additional evidence that might be weighed is the fact that one of

the textual history of the "Correspondence" is that diagrammed in Figure V.



A comparison of the seventeenth-century texts of the "Correspondence" with the Ukrainian and "expanded" Polish versions reveals that elements common to the latter--elements that give them more color and seem to bring out the "narod" in them--are absent in the earlier texts. After making such a comparison and concluding that the "Ukrainian redaction" was primary, Mme. Kagan noted:

The letter of the Zaporozhians is original in its composition, while the letter of the Čyhyryn Cossacks is more similar to a short reworking, stripped of the vitality and wit of the original. A significant part of the salutations of the Cossacks to the sultan ("jakyj ty v čorta lycar'," "ottak tobi kozaky vidkazaly, pljuhavce"), the remarkable ending ("cysla ne znaem") and all the obscene expressions from the answer of the Zaporozhians were

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the "expanded" Polish texts--which seems to reflect the protograph more closely than the others in spite of a number of bad readings and changes--is known in a manuscript copied before the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Ossolineum, No. 5220/II; see Jevstaxevyč and Inhl'ot, "Pol's'ki versiji," p. 118). While there would seem to be insufficient evidence to date the text in this copy as early as the 1680's (cf. ibid., p. 134), it is, nevertheless, the oldest known copy of any Ukrainian or "expanded" Polish text. One notes as well the pattern of preservation of the texts, where most of the Polish ones contain the sultan's letter--which has to have existed at the inception of the "Correspondence"--but many of the Ukrainian texts include only the "Reply." The language of the texts may, on further examination, also be revealing. It would appear that the most purely Ukrainian portions of the texts are precisely those found only in the Ukrainian versions--which would seem to suggest "Ukrainianization" of a non-native original. Ukrainian elements found in the sultan's letter of the "Ukrainian redaction" are much less prominent than in the "Reply."

not included in the answer of the Čyhyrynci.<sup>49</sup>

Yet as we have seen, the "Correspondence" was the product of a literary tradition of apocryphal letters in the seventeenth century--a tradition that had deep roots in Poland, became established in Muscovy, but, so far as we can tell, not in Ukraine among the Cossacks. In assessing the "vitality and wit of the original," this fact must be kept in mind, as the oldest versions of the letters textually are connected with the other apocrypha and were products of the same milieu. In this milieu and this tradition, the obscenity, wit and vitality of the Ukrainian versions of the "Correspondence" have no place.

To summarize: The "Correspondence" probably appeared first in 1678 as one of a number of pamphlets written in connection with the Čyhyryn war. While the "Correspondence" may have originated on the territory of what is today Ukraine, the original language of the letters was Polish. A Russian translation from the Polish appeared in the same year; in 1683, the letters were reworked in Polish and translated into German in connection with the Turkish campaign against Vienna. An expanded Polish reworking of the 1678 version appeared probably at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was from this text that the "Ukrainian redaction" ultimately derived. There is no evidence that this final stage in the evolution of the "Correspondence" occurred before the middle of the eighteenth century.

What remains to be done in studying the "Correspondence"? First, manuscript collections should be searched for yet unknown copies. It would be of particular importance to find some datable copies of the Ukrainian texts. More Polish copies undoubtedly will be found--Eustachiewicz and Inglot indicate that they searched only in the Ossolineum,

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<sup>49</sup>Kagan, TODRL, XIV, p. 315. Cf. the similar comments of Nud'ha in his comparison of the Ukrainian "Correspondence" with one of the seventeenth-century examples of the sultan's apocryphal correspondence with Emperor Leopold. Nud'ha found in the latter the "stamp of dry chancellery speech," and found that "it is dull...its humor is weak and in our day scarcely evokes a smile, whereas the Zaporozhians' letters in that respect have great superiority and vitality" (Lystuvannja, pp. 31-32).



but it is not clear how thoroughly. Possibly the original copy of the Russian translation of 1678 will be found among the kuranty or in the Malorossijskie dela of the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow. Second, further study of the seventeenth-century apocryphal letters of the sultan is needed, as we clearly are a long way from locating all the important variants. While a good many published versions are known, few manuscript ones have been sought outside of those in Muscovite sborniki carefully assembled by Mme. Kagan. Collections both in Poland and Western Europe should yield additional variants of these apocrypha. Finally, and this is perhaps the most important prerequisite for further advances in the study of the "Correspondence," we must no longer use as a criterion for analysis what would seem "very like the character of the rather turbulent Zaporozhians of old." Repin's "Zaporožci" is, after all, a museum piece.

Daniel Clarke Waugh

## Appendix

I. "List od Cesarza Tureckiego do Krola Jego Miłosci Władysława Czwartego...in anno 1637." Abbreviations have been expanded and punctuation added, but the orthography has not been normalized. The original, made available to me in a copy from a gracious colleague, is in MS L'vivs'ka deržavna naukova biblioteka AN URSS, fond Ossolins'kyy, No. 221/I (described by Kętrzyński, Katalog, Vol. I, pp. 590-594), pp. 75-77. The manuscript is a typical early eighteenth-century silva rerum which includes a number of letters dealing with seventeenth-century Ottoman-Polish relations.

II. "Perevod s polskogo pisma, kotoroe pisano v oboze tureckom, jaže be pot Ćigirinym leto ot rožestva xristova 1678-go." The text has been rendered according to the rules used by TODRL. The copy is from ff. 303v-309 of MS Gosudarstvennaja biblioteka SSSR im. V. I. Lenina, Sobranie I. D. Beljaeva, No. 12(1518), in 4<sup>o</sup>, various hands of the last quarter of the seventeenth century (badly described by A. E. Viktorov, Sobranie rukopisej I. D. Beljaeva, Moscow, 1881, pp. 10-11; N.B. especially that he erroneously lists the Cossack "Correspondence" in the contents). The final portion of the MS (ff. 296-314) is in one hand--a typical prikaz cursive--which also added foliation beginning with f. 296 = 1. Watermarks in this section include a complicated arms with the legend "Dieu et mon droit" and countermark DV in a frame (very similar to Edward Heawood, Watermarks Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries, Hilversum, 1950, No. 439 [1670]) and an Arms of Amsterdam with countermark PRMD in a frame (Heawood, No. 383 [1676, 1683], has that countermark but clearly a different Arms of Amsterdam). Beginning on f. 296 the MS contains: a letter of Tsar Mixail Fedorovič to Christian, King of Denmark (dated 1613); the 1637 and 1678 Russian versions of the sultan's apocryphal letter to the king of Poland (critical texts published by Kagan, TODRL, XV, pp. 240-244); the pamphlet about Ćyhyryn; and a work translated by Andrej Vinius, the Muscovite postmaster of the last quarter of the seventeenth century--"Opisanie razstojaniju stolic..." (published in a critical edition by V. A. Petrov, "Geografičeskie spravocniki XVII v., " Istoričeskij arxiv, V [1950], pp. 149-158). The whole MS was assembled in its present form by the end of the seventeenth century, judging from the table of contents compiled then (ff. 1-10v).

III. Undsigelse Breff Som den Tyrckiske Keyser nu nylige haffuer tilskreffuit den Rommerske Keyserlige Maiestat Rudolphus. Off arme Christne forførligt oc ynckeligt at høre..., Prentet i Kiøbenhaffn, Aff Matz Vingaard, 1593 (4<sup>o</sup>, 2 fols.). Copy in Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Danske afdeling, L. N. 1603.

IV. Copia Dess Tuerckischen Kaysers Brieff an die Cosacken nach Czechrin, Gedruckt im Jahr 1683, n.p. (4<sup>o</sup>, 2 fols.--f. 1v is blank). Copy in Österreichs Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 38.T.71.

I

[p. 75] List od Cesarza Tureckiego do Krola Jego Miłosci Władysława Czwartego z wypowiedzeniem przymierza y ogłoszeniem wojny na Seym terazniejszy in anno 1637.

Sąton, Syn oswiecony cesarza Wielkiego przemoznego, wnuk Boży, Cesarz nieprzewycięzony Turecki, Grecki, Basylicki, Samoiński, Chinski, Zegraski, Boiecki, krol wszystkich oswieconych na swiecie, krol mieszkający w Raiu, Xiążę poswiecone wszystkiey Asiey, Afryki, Ameryki, Cesiey, Europiey, straz miasta Jerickiego y Grodu Machometowego, Probosc Raiu Ziemskiego, Stroz grobu Bozego mieszkający, począwszy od Słońca wschodu az do zachodu, Krol nad Krolmi, Xiążę Swiata wszystkiego, Chrzescian utrapienie wielkie, // [p. 76] y zasmucenie Gawrow. Allach! Allach!

Tobie krolowi Polskiemu oznaymuję y powiedam wielką moznosc naszą przez Posła naszego Synagi Basze, iz Puncta ktoreś miał wielmoznosci maszey rzucamy y wniwec tracamy y ciebie spólnie, iz ty przeciwisz się, przeciwko mocy naszej mając contract z Moskwicinem z nimesz braterstwo wziął, mocy naszej nie bojąc się, w nadzieję swojej y twoiey potępi [sic] stałeś się naidumnym. Obaczywszy nam Poddanstwo dobrowolnie postąpił, dla czego insi krolowie mocy naszej sprzeciwiając się sławiący moc y potęgi twoie, co przeciwko czynisz z Persem krolom, chcesz przyjąć. Iesli to uczynisz, wiecznymy czasy przymierza y pokoiu zadnego od Ord Tatarskich nigdy miec nie będziesz. Zyczyłeś y z nami sobie przymierza do tychczas wszystkiego, a teraz rozrywasz nasze Panskie Monarskie, kozaki swe ukraińskie iako wściekłe psy wpuszczasz, ktorzy pola plondrują y pustoszą dla ciebie, y przyjazni twoiey. Abasy Bazego Hetmana nam y Maiestatowi naszemu potrzebnego stracili, ze nie\* uważałeś sobie tego lec lekcesz sobie przyjazni y potęgi zwazył folgę takową ktorąś od nas miał, ze iuz więcej miec nie będziesz. Za to zes się nie bał mocy naszej y przeciwileś się jey, dopiero u nas będziesz prosił przymierza, gdy niezwyciężone woyska nasze od wschodu słońca na wasz postrachem idąc y Janczarami naszymi niezwyciężonemi, gdy ufce nasze tatarskie w polach dzikich wam się pokaza okiem nieprzezyrzany wielkimi kupami będą się walic do was zagony swe, gdy wpuszczą moc y potęgę naszą pod strachem doznawac będziesz y dopiero pozwalac będziecie chcieli, iuz na ten czas wszytek swiat przed mocą naszą zadrzy, przed ktorym ufce nasze ledwie strzymac będziecie mogli. Morze zaigra, gdyz galerami naszymi poydą po morzu y odmieniac się będą dla gromow y grzmotow naszych, gdy z burzących dział wychodzic będą ognie Straszne, pioruny z łyskaniem srogim dokuczałącym, pod takowy czas zadrzy ziemia y strach w lasach będzie, drzewa walic się będą y przewracac się muszą. A ty mały kroliku cona ten czas rzecesz y sam z garscią ludzi // [p. 77] muchy albo serszenie puszczysz, gdy obaczysz moznosc naszą, ktora naszej Monarchy y Panstw naszych od wschodu słońca az do zachodu trwa z początku az do skonczenia. Będzie to wszytko nasze krolestwo Cesarstwo Xięstwo Chrzescińskie Panstwo pod moc y władzą naszą wiecznie ie podbiie

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\*"Nie" added later in a different hand.

więcej wam trwać nie będą, o przymierzu w żadnych contractach z wami nie myślę, boscie wy Gawrowie wszyscy dumni wyniesli hardzi y uporni pysni naszej tak wielkiej potędze sprzeciwiacie się. O co was Bog y Machomet na was się gniewa y brzydzi się wami y proznością waszą, dla tego taką moc y potęgę muszę z Monarchie Państwa naszego puscic na was Woyska nasze y poslemy pod Krakow, w którym ty masz wielką ufność y wszystkie swoje siły, nadzieję y potęgę pokładasz, y tam ukrzyżowanego Boga twego z Nazareth miasta naszego świętych y poświęconych swoich chociasz stolicą twoją twoich mieszczan, kopitami konскими wniwec potrę y podepcę. W zborach twoich konie y wielbłądy z toły [sic] Bisurmanskie stawiać będą. Ta iest Bog ziemski y bicz Boży, nadzieia y pociecha Bisurmanska, Chrześcian wszystkich grzech y zasmucenie, nad któremi się mścić y karać będę szablą Bisurmanską, y ogniem miasta y zamki twoie y mury rozwalę y w popioł obrocę, y w ten czas się doswiadczę twojej wiary y ukrzyżowanego Boga twego, w którym ty masz nadzieję y ufność twoją przeciw mocy naszej pokładasz y naszej wielmożności ty grozisz y odpowiesz z którego y wykorzystanie y was wszystkich Chrześcian. Niech ze się twoi ukrzyżowani Bogowie, iako chcą na mnie gniewają y pomocni tobie będą. Z Constantino-pola Miesiąca Manassessa 1637.

## II

[л. 303об.] Перевод с полского писма, которое писано в обозе туретцком, яже бе пот Чигириным лето от рождества Христова 1678-го //

[л. 304] Сие же писмо написана от резъедента Королевства полского, бывшего тогда у вязера в обозе турецком.

От одного дни вонъ же приидоша турки под Чигирин. Без всякого споможения и попечения иных бороняхуся токмо сами людие бывшие в Чигирине, яко через четыре недели толико мужественно, яко турки множественными поткопами и непрестанным из верховых пушек гранатным метанием ниже протчих пушек бесчисленным стрелянием, не воспоминаая из мелкого ручного оружия тмочисленным стрелянием, пачеже ниже самым огнем возмоща граду и посадом ничтоже или малую некоторую беду содеяти. Войнство же московское бывшее тогда во граде и казацы велию и знаменитую победу же и погибель турецкому чину или толпи же великую, яко в тридесять дней болши тридцати тысячъ // [л. 304об.] раненых и побитых турок вкупе у вязера обретеса. Во время же облежения того не бысть ни единого дня такового вонъ же бы заменить храбрости и безчисленного мужественного дерзновения онии чигириньстии крепко сердечнии воины над турками показали еже в велие подивление и самым турком бысть делность их и умение в стрельбе огненном и в оборонех града их же не боязненным сердец выхвалити сами турцы не возмогаху. Ромодановской же вождь московского воинства со всем великим безчисленным множеством воинства московского стояща под Бужиным ничтоже к ратному устроению и

промыслу попечения имеющие и потом же в пятую неделю, егда уже даже до половины град огнем позжен бысть, рушился свобододати Чигирина от облежения сего. Жаль мне, о Христе Боже, яко на оном месте еще не постояв в начатке, убо послужило им счастье, яко хана крымского со всею ордою и везиря и калылам пашу со всеми // [л. 305] иными пашами на горах стоящих, храбростию полковников особно же надворных с пехотою московскою тако победиша, яко не токмо обоих но и пятидесять шести пушек полковых взяша, а под кою же до пушкою по четыре коня впряжены бяху, пачеже и от всего турков отбиша и всех их пехота московская с поля онаго прогнаша, и аще бы Ромодановской токмо тысячу калмыков в погоню за ним послал, то бы их множайшую часть в Тясме потопил велми, бо нагло от пехоты помещькались турки и побежали, аще бо и на четыре моста бежаша и аще никто московского коняного воинства во след их женуша, обаче они сами между собою в переправах до шти тысяч человек поколошася и токмо в два часа до тридесять тысяч турков на свою сторону перебралося. Не бысть уже тогда в воинстве турецком ни единого человека, иже бы бежати не помышлял. вси бо уже коней вьучили тяшкое все мечуще и пушки оставляюще тогда и сам везирь пристрашен велми, // [л. 305об.] обаче и з десятию советники своими умысли не отступить от града но избра себе лутчий погибнути под Чигириным, нежели главу свою к салтану со срамом показати. По сем везирь повеле все мосты разметати и погнати. Блюдуше переправ от сил московских, их же тогда ниже мало показася пред очима его.

Последи же в неделю прииде все оное с Ромодановским воинство же поступивше во ополчении и обозом под град Чигириным при реце Тясме положишася и сея своя срамоты не возмогша поднять. Турьцы начаша к явьственному великому приступу уготовлятися, обаче приступать помышляху, конем же своим набег готовитися не отлагаху последи же разсмотриша, яко оное счастье на зло нача воинству московскому изменятися, паки над градом начаша промышляти и в пяти местах под град поткоп уготовиша. Их же казаки четыре обретьши разориша, тогда паки до толикаго отчаяния воинство туретское привелоша, яко уже // [л. 306] и не помышляху, о приступе ко граду держатися же токмо советоваху, по закону своему четьредесять круг града обхождения и потом оборонною рукою от воинства московского и уходити помышляху, зане вси в великом отчаянии и в боязни быша. Точию един везирь от всея сим крепящиеся под градом и сто мешков между енчаров и другое сто мешков между татаров злата и серебра рассыпа и великия чести грамотами гиспатом и цаушом и енчаром вечно раздаване и десять булав пашей страха ради иных подави и старых а свичерей премени и новых постави. По сем несчастный случай учинися над воинством чигиринским в неделю от полудни яко слышашася от полудни градских, вергоша от турков гранат в Чигирин и тое убиша воеводу градского околничего Ивана Ивановича Ржевского. По смерти же его толми людие градские смятошася, яко вскоре нижней град оставыше,

великим тиском вонь побегоша // [л. 306об.] и град сами запалиша. Везирь же видеша сие, недоумляющеся, якоый то бысть у граждан умысл. В то ж время и пятой поткоп взорвало. Той же еще вспящих и воста, стрегущий же поткопа того, турки вскочиша в поткопное место, идеже ни единого человека сиделца обретошася иже бы малое во граде промышление учинил.

Обаче из верхняго городка избегоша пехоты московские потчетырма знамены и у подкопа оного крепко жестоко опор сотвориша турком, казацы же тиснушася и бежаша на мост и множайшая их часть пребегоша на пески за оный мост и овии в леса, друзии же в таборы побегоша. Турки же тогда начаша из всех пушек жестоко велми и крепко по граду бити и во многих местах нижней и вер[х]ней град запаливше, на карысть обратися и в плен обаче мало полону взяша, за наказание едва не вси убегоша // [л. 307] прочии же вснедь оружию предани быша. Не спасеся их ниже шти сот человек; мнозии бо в реце истопоша. Пребысть же той кровавый и огненный багнет от полудни до пятого часа ночи. По сем убравшася со всем из обоих градов за мост пехота московская, запалиша в Чигирине вся порохи и гранаты и вся радны указы, ибо страшна и ужасна зрети яко подняся от оных порохов, место оно встрясеся и боязни страшные судному дню подобишася. Время оно турков самых во огни том погибе до тридцати тысяць человек, град же и дома бывшии в нем до основания взорвала и все огнем поедено явися, а сея своя срамоты никогда может Ромодановской покрыти, яко имеющий под справою своею толико избранное и в силах украшенна а устроенное воинство, ничтоже благаго сотвори, не токмо бо брани с турецким воинством // [л. 307об.] не состави, но еще и величающую неподатную срамоту своего дела, яко во очех своих погуби град Чигирин, и сам ноцию со срамом бегу предадеся с токовым великим воинством и пушками. Бяше бо в полку том кроме казатцких 50 пушек в семнатати приказах стрелецких по 12 пушак, кроме иных особных яже в различных полках бяху воинство же, бяху с ним князь кабардинский, имея с собою тридесать тысяць воинов, сын ево князь Михаила Ромодановской четьредесеть тысяць, Григорей Касагов четьредесеть тысяць, перьвой генерал Веденихт Змеев 30 тысяць, второй генарал Агей Шепелев 23 тысячи, третей генерал Матвей Кровков 10 тысячей, еще астраханских стрельцов и казаков и с татарскими и Кузма Козлов с колмыками их же 3 тысячи быти. Поведает о счислении же сил туретцких немощно // [л. 308] есть подлинно писати, аще он и не ведаше их, аще бо со всеа Азии и Еуропы собирахуся и аще вси пашы послани быша и хан крымской со ордою, обаче всех их бе 360 тысяч. Иныя же волныя их народы токмо обоз держали и загущали поля покрывающе, исходят же из обозу тоцию корысти ради, нежели по брани и приступом. Причиною погибели чигиринской никто же их тоцию Ромодановской един, перьвее, яко бегущих турок к Тясмину не повеле воинству ударити и ниже ведяще о победе и о поступках пехоты надворнай на горы всходящих и турок крепко сердечно и дерзосно убивающих, второе узреша турцы и познаша, яко не бяше

промышленник, Ромодановской целую бо неделю стояше под градом, ни единого // [л. 308об.] поможения граду ниже над ними промысл творяще, третье лакомства ради, яко слух древних воинов знаменитых, потребным им не удовольствовавше не во избранным же и не искусным благ бяше, которые во светлы дни болши пили нежели ся били особному божию изволению. Не токмо мы но и сами турки ни изложение Чигирина признавают быти. Зряху бо на самое разорение обоих градов в них же бе множество припасов воинских и градских и хлебных, величество еще же и воинов, их же храбрость и мужество видехом зело предивную, яко о сем и глаголати видитца дело не удобно, аще бы не испущен был на град той гнев божий, то не б тако веселилися от того сердца оных поганцов, занеже и сами они не домысляхуся еже бы творити.

Бысть же тогда под Чигириным турского салтана пашей: 1. Шахтан // [л. 309] паша, 2. Обреян паша, 3. Мусин паша, 4. Ахмет паша, 5. Магамет паша, 6. Алил паша, 7. Арап паша, 8. Карамамет паша, 9. Асам паша, 10. Еницаряга паша, 11. Тотарган паша, 12. Каплан паша, а силы с ними у всякого пашы было по 30,000 оприч мытнян и серпий и волох и ерд, а над всеми ими был вязерь туретский да хан крымский с оръдою.

Vndsigelse Bress  
**Som den Tyrckiske Key-**  
 ser nu nylige haaffuer tilskreffuit den Kom-  
 merste Kayserslige Maiestat Rudolphus.  
 Oss arme Christne forfærligt oc  
 ynckeligt at høre.

Met en Christelig paamindelse  
 til de Christne.

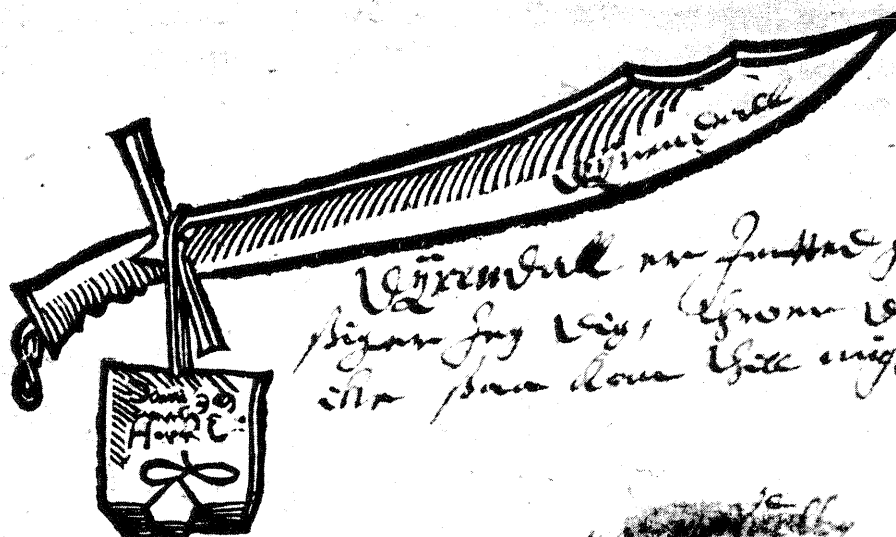


Viltu vide mere om Tyrckens Legende / da  
 læs det 38. oc 39. Capitel  
 Ezechielis.

Prentet i Ribbenhaffu / Aff Matz  
 Bingaard. 1593.



Undsigelse Bress  
 Fra den Tyrckiske Keyser / som hand nylige  
 haaffuer tilskreffuit den Kommercke Keyserlige  
 Maiestat Rudolpho.



**I** Soldan Soliman / Gud paa Jorden /  
 den store oc Allmechtige Gud paa Jorden. En v<sup>er</sup>  
 offueruindelig Keyser oc Regerendis Konning off<sup>er</sup>  
 uer alle Konger paa Jorden / fra Solens opgang  
 til hendis nedgang. Keyser oc Soldan i Babylon/  
 Hertug i den gamle Sleet / Arabia oc Armonia.  
 En baaren Første oc Herre offuer den tørre Beck / oc offuer den Beck  
 Arix. Baade de Guders Mahomets oc Iouis store oc veldige Hiels  
 pere. En Seperuindere oc Triumphator i Jerusalem. En Herre oc  
 Regentere offuer din Gressue din Kaarsfeste Jesum Christus.  
 Den gantse Christendoms oc deris som kaldis Christne / Forstyrre  
 oc affagde Ziende. Tilbiude dig Keyser i Behmen oc Ungern / oc  
 alle dine Førster oc Herrer / Dissigiste Pawen oc Cardinaler / Biscos  
 per /

per/ oc dine metfødde Slect/ vnder vor Kronis oc Kongerigis/ oc det  
gantse Lands indtagelsis fortabelse. De giffue dig Kysker her mee  
at vide/ at wi met 13. Kongerigers Folt/ nogle hundrit tusinde sterck/  
til Hest oc Fod/ met egne oc Tyrckiske Krigsrusting/ Ja met all vor  
Førstelige Herrs mact / som du oc dine aldrig haffue seet / hørt eller  
forfarit/ i en kaart tid acte at møde for Wien din Hoffuitstad/ oc be-  
synderlig besøge dig Kysker hiem/ De ville forderffue dig/ dine Hiels-  
peris Hielpere oc Anheng/ met Bwer oc Pile/ Ja met all vor Krigs-  
rusting/ met Brand/ Koff/ oc Mord/ oc lade dig omkomme/ oc hen-  
rettis met den yuckeligste Død / som wi kunde optencke : De dine  
fangne Christne somme myrde / somme holde euig fangne i elendig-  
hed / lige som Hunde/ at dine Børn ( ihuor ynge de end ere ) skulle  
stingis paa Staffre / dig oc dine Christne til spot oc haanhed : Om-  
komme de suuglige Quinder met deris Børn i Moders Liff / lige som  
Hunde. Thi wi haffue aldelis set off for / at tuinge dig Kysker/ som  
sidder i de ringiste Land/ oc vinde dig dit Kongerige aff met Suerd/  
De at nedtrycke oc atsprede den Stol vdi Rom/ met den Guld Spir/  
De ville see om din Kaarsfeste Iesus Christus skal hielp dig / Det  
lade wi siige dig oc dine/ Troer du hannom/ da see til/ huorledis hand  
haffuer hulpt sine Legater/ som haffue stadig troit paa hannom/ huil-  
cken wi icke tro/ ey heller ville høre saadane wbegribelige ting / at den  
skalde hielp dig/ som er død mange Aar siden / oc haffuer icke kundit  
hielp sig selff. Wi haffue huldit hans Land oc Eyedom/ oc hans Fren-  
der/ nogle hundrit Aar/ vdi vor mact oc Kegering / Saadant vilde  
wi tilforn giffue eder tilkiende / At du oc dine kunde vide at rette eder  
der effter. Datum i vor veldige Stad Constantinopel/ huilcken vore  
Forældre haffue vundit fra dine met stor Herrs krafft/ Vddressuit/  
Fangit oc Ihielsslagit dem/ ia myrd oc ihielsslagit Quinder oc Børn/  
effter vor villie huldit mange i Elendighed / til spaat oc haanhed ind-  
til deris Ende. Alle saadant skal snarlige vederfaris dig oc dine aff  
off. Effter vor Fødsel vdi det 28. De vor veldige Kegering vdi  
det Aar 92.

A ij

Forma

## Formaning til de Christne.

**D**Er kand huer Christen see oc beten:ke det store Ty-  
ranni / som huer kand vederfaris. Thi om wi ville fare  
frem vdi vort vilde væsen / med Slemmen oc Demmen /  
Horeri / oc wehristelig Klædedract / da vil der visselig følge  
straff effter / De Habakuks Prophetie vdi det første Capitel / vil ram-  
me oss / der hand saa siger : Vold gaar offuer Ketten / Derfor gaar  
det fast anderledis til end Ket / oc ingen Ket sag kand vinde / Thi den  
Wgudelige tager fordelen fra den Ketferdige / fordi gaar der vrang  
Dom. Seer iblant Hedningene / seer oc forundrer eder / Thi ieg vil  
giøre nogit vdi eders tid / huilckit i skulle icke tro / naar mand siger der  
aff. Thi see ieg vil opuecke Chaldeerne / it bittert oc snart Folck / som  
skal drage saa vijt som Landit er / at indtage Bolige / som icke ere der  
ris. De de skulle vere græfelige oc forfærlige / De som skulle binde oc  
tuinge / lige som de ville. Deris Heste ere snarere end Varder / Saa  
ere de oc mere glubendis end Blffue om Afftenen. Deris Kysenere  
drage hid med store hobe langt fra / De flue lige som Orne til ic  
Aadsel. De komme allesammen / at de ville giøre skade / oc bryde  
igennem huort de ville / som it Østen vær / De de  
skulle riffue Fanger tilhobe som  
Sand / etc.



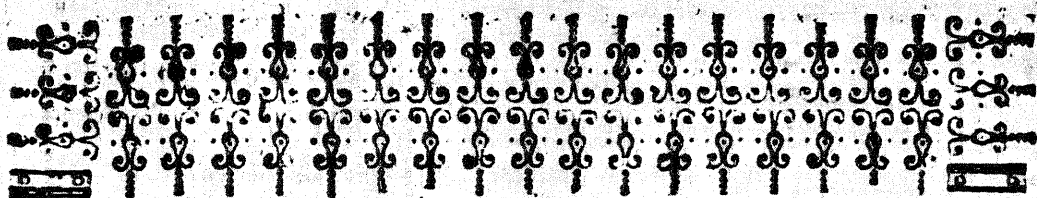
# Copia

## Des Türckischen Kayfers Brieff / an die Hosacken nach Szechrin.



---

Gedruckt im Jahr 1683.



Sultan des durchleuchtigsten Türckischen Kayfers Sohn /  
 Bojar der Türcken Macedonier / Babylonier Jerusalem / Bassa  
 in Silistrien groß und klein Egypten / König der Armenier und  
 allen Fürsten der Welt / Groß-Fürst / ein Engle Gottes / tapffer  
 Held der Christenheit / Instigator / Vormund des gecreuzigten  
 Gottes / grosser Erbe der Erden / Hoffnung und Freude der  
 Bissurmänner / der Christen Untergang / &c. Wir gebieten euch/  
 damit ihr mit aller einer Mannschafft euch gutwillig uns demüthi-  
 get und ergebet / und wider unsere Feinde in den Krieg ziehet/  
 dem Polnischen Kert kein Gehorsam leisten / müssen in kurzer Zeit/  
 wo ihr das nicht thun werdet / so solt ihr alle gefesselt werden mit  
 euern Weibern und Kindern / wie auch den Polnischen Kert  
 mir seinem ganzen Land will ich schlagen / und zu meinem Un-  
 terthanen machen.

#### Antwort von den Cosacken.

Sultan des verfluchten Türckischen Kayfers Sohn / und  
 Mitglied des höllischen Lucifer im Abgrund der Höllen / Türcki-  
 scher Kayser und Fußschemel der Griechen / Macedoner Koch /  
 Babylonier Schlosser / Jerusalem Stellmacher / der Asyrer  
 Brauer / groß und klein Egyptier Schwein-Hirt / des Alexander  
 Kolbake und Armenier Bestie oder Sobaka / der auff Erden und  
 der Welt warhaffte verfluchte Hencker-Bube / des Podolischen  
 Caminieck und selbigen Landes grosser Narr / und ein garstiges  
 Schwein der Welt / der Türckischen Bissurmänner Gasthimmel  
 Abigels und ganzen höllischen Reichs Cominendant biß im tieffen  
 Abgrund der Höllen zugethan / ein Engel des höllischen Teuffels/  
 ein Spötter des gecreuzigten Gottes / Feind und Vefelger seiner  
 Dien'r / ein Unterthan aller derer die auff Erden wohnen /  
 Untergang der Bissurmänner. Wie berichten dir / daß wir keine  
 Gedan

Gedanken haben / uns dir zu ergeben / aber tapffer männiglich  
und ewig mit dir zu schlagen resolvirt seyn / und den du einen  
Kerl nennest / als einem grossen Monarchen nicht abgesehē / welcher  
gleich deiner Sage nach / als ein Kerl im Wald das Holz fället /  
• Also wird er dich mit sampt deinen Bissurmännern uud ganzen  
Anhang niderfällen / und insonderheit dich / der du einem Kerl /  
Vielmehr einem verfluchten alten Weibe zu vergleichen bist / auch  
man mit Fuge dich also nennen mag / der du sitzt im Loch wie ein  
Teuffels-Kind / oder Hünner-Dieb / seinem nest einen anderen zum  
Krieg an deine Stelle / dar auß leicht zu erschen / daß du ein Narr  
bist / dagegen der / den du vor einen Kerl nennest / ist ein tapffer  
großmächtiger Monarch / und ein unüberwindlicher König.

