NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. See the remarks of A. L. Gol'dberg, "Pervye nemetskie gazety, khraniashchiesia v Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteke im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina," Trudy Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, IX (12) (1961), esp. 189-190 and 196-197. The literature on the growth of the periodical press, especially in Germany, is considerable; Gol'dberg makes excellent use of some of this literature for his general remarks.

2. Some examples of ambassadorial reports for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be found in Puteshestvie russkikh poslov XVI-XVII vekov. Stateinye spiski, D. S. Likhachev, ed. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1954); for a somewhat exaggerated estimate of their importance as sources of information for the Muscovite government in the seventeenth century, see M. A. Alpatov, "Chto znal Posol'skii prikaz o Zapadnoi Evrope vo vtoroi polovine XVII v.," Istoriia i istoriki, Istoriografiia vseobshchei istorii. Sbornik statei (Moscow, 1966), 89-129. A good examination of the role of the Eastern Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire in keeping Muscovy informed of events there is in N. F. Kapterev, Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh, 2nd ed. (Sergiev Posad, 1914), Ch. VII. Kapterev provides examples from letters, depositions, and the like.

3. There are two excellent studies of Muscovite kuranty: A. Pokrovskii, "K istorii gazety v Rossii," Vedomosti vremeni Petra Velikogo, II (Moscow, 1906), esp. 1-38; A. N. Shlosberg, "Nachalo periodicheskoi pechati v Rossii," Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia (hereafter abbreviated ZhMNP), 1911, No. 9, sec. II, 63-135. Pokrovskii was apparently the only person to examine all the kuranty preserved in what is now the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow (TsGADA). Using much more limited material--specifically the few originals and few copies of kuranty now in the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN) and the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences (LOII), Shlosberg made a few important corrections of Pokrovskii's views and examined in much greater detail than his predecessor the question of thoroughness and accuracy of translations.

4. It would appear that the word kurant did not come to be used in Muscovy before the middle of the century. On this and some other questions of terminology found in the kuranty, see Appendix IIa.

5. "Perevody s vedomostei, prisylaemykh iz Pol'shi o raznykh v Evrope voennykh deistviakh i mirnykh postanovlenniiakh, a ot kogo prislany--ne oznacheno"; "Izo Gdanska goroda v gramotakh pishut, chto turskoi tsar' k pol'skomu koroliu takovu otkaznuiu gramotu prislal" (published by M. D. Kagan, "Legendarnyi tsikl gramot turetskogo sultana k evropeiskim gosudariam--publitsisticheskoe proizvedenie vtoroi poloviny XVII v.," TODRL, XV (1958), 249-250).

6. The following are examples of some of the formulae:

Perevod s spiska z gramoty, chto pisal iz Rugodiva v Rigu k voevode nachalnomu novoi rezident Petr Antonei Lefeldi dekabria v 1 den' proshlogo 1643 godu [Shlosberg, "Nachalo," 109].

Perevod s vestovykh pechatnykh listov. Spisok z gramotki kotoraia pisana iz goroda Midel"burkha dekabria 19 den' 1652-go [TsGADA, f. 155, 1652, No. 1, fol. 1].

Spisok iz razlichnykh gramotok kotorye pisany is turskoi zemli o evreiskom mesiashe kotorogo chaet oni k nim prishol i o ego chiudodeistvakh [TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 99].

Spisok s spiska s lista, kakov pisal k korolevskomu velichestvu gospodin ksents Ol'shevskii, artsybiskup Gnezninskii podkantseliarii korunnyi is Lebavy genvaria v 15 den' 1675 g. [BAN, 32.14.11, No. 4, fol. 15].

Perevod s pisma kakovo prislano iz nemetskoi zemli o zvezdakh [TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 6].

Perevod s polskogo pisma [ibid., fol. 52].

Perevod s nemetskogo pisma z gramotki kakovu pisal izo Gdanska inozemets Danilo Brandes posolskogo prikazu k perevodchiku k Andreiu Viniiusu chrez Rizhskuiu pochtu v nyneshnom vo 185-m godu maia v 4 den' [TsGADA, f. 155, 1677, No. 7, pt. 1, fol. 75].

Perevod s nemetskikh kurantov, chto podal v posolskom prikaze galanets Vakhromei Meller v nyneshnem vo 173-m godu febralia v 28 den' [TsGADA, f. 155, 1664, No. 3, fol. 8].

Perevod s kurantov, chto podal v posolskom prikaze d'iakom dumnomu Almazu Ivanovu s tovaryshchi posolskogo prikazu galanskogo iazyku perevodchik Andrei Viniius v nyneshnem vo 173-m godu febralia v 28 den'. A te de kuranty vzial on y galantsa torgovogo

inozemtsa u Volodimera Ivanova [TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 15].

Perevody s pismennykh i s pechatnykh vestovykh nemetskikh kurantov sneseny is prikazu tainykh del iiunia v 28 den'; perevedeny v posolskom prikaze v nyneshnem vo 174-m godu iiunia v 29 den' [ibid., fol. 193].

Perevod s tsesarskikh i galanskikh pechatnykh kurantov, kakovy prislany chrez vilenskuiu pochtu v nyneshnem vo 185-m godu sentiabria v 2 den' [TsGADA, f. 155, 1676, No. 8, fol. 6].

7. For examples, see Shlosberg, "Nachalo," 114.

8. Ontsegh-Brief Van den Turckschen Keyser aen den Coningh van Polen (Delf, 1621).

9. The texts read in part:

Wy Mahomet Sultan Doorluchtighe ende onverwinnelijcke machtige Keyser ende Engel Godes Turcksche Keyser Macedonische ende Babylonische Coningh in groot ende kleyn Egypten Regeerder van 't gantsche Christenrijck ende Europe Coningh van Alexandria ende Judea oock van Poortugael en van alle potentaten op Aerden... Ontbieden dy Coningh in Polen onse Keyserlijcke groet dat du in de sekrete Raed met dyn jonge Coninghskens teghen onse alder doorluchtighste Persooen...handelst...

Dewijl du dan (sondar eenighe ghegevene oorsaeck) dy onderstaen hâbst in onse Keyserdom en heerschappie als inder Muscou ons onse Onderdanen en Vassalen te overvallen en voor-ghenomen die selve ten uyterste te verderven gelijck oock vele plaetsen zijn verwoest in-ghenomen ende vernielt.
Dan wy voor dyne vasticheden ende insonderheyt voor dyn muyren te Cracou niet verschrickt zijn maer willen de selve stadt niet alleen maer oock dyn Hof

My saltan presvetleishii i neodolimyi sil'nyi tsar' i angil bozhei turskoi tsar' Makidonskii i Vavilonskii, korol' Vyshnego i Menshego Egipta i vladetel' vsekh krest'ianskikh tsarstv v Europe, korol' vo Aleksandree i v Iudee nad Portugalom i nado vsemi gosudari po vsei zemle...Posylaem tebe,koroliu polskomu, nashe tsarskoe pozdravlenie. Vedomo nam chto ty v svoei tainoi dume s svoimi mladymi korolevichishkami usovetoval protiv nashego presvetleishego persona...
A v nyneshnie vremena bezo vsiakoi viny i prichiny ty vschal v nashem kesarstve i gosudarstve v Moskovskom nashikh poddannykh voevati i umyslil do poslednego rastochiti i mnogiia mesta razoril i zapustoshil i poimal...

A my ot tvoikh krepostei i ot tvoei Krakovskie steny ne ustrashilisia; khotim my ne tokmo tot gorod no i vse tvoi stolnye gorody i mesta i vsiu

Hooft-legher en gantsche Land alsoo aengrijpen ende aen-vallen dat oock van de selve niet een- en steen op den anderen sal blijven en alsoo dyn Coningh-rijk en ghedachtenisse gheheel uyt-roeyen...
Dit alles hebben wy dy tot een bericht gegeven op onse onder-daniglicke Devan te Constantin-opel in 't jaer van onse Rijck etc. [Ontsegh-Brief, fols.2-2v].

zemliu tak khoshchu priniati i zachati chto kamen' na kameni ne ustoit i tvoe korolevstvo i imia tvoe i pamiat' tvoiu do kontsa vykorenit'...

Pisano v Konstiantinepole tsarstviia nashego [Kagan, TODRL, XV, 249-250].

The differences between the two versions of the letter consist mainly in omissions by the Russian version of occasional phrases. It was logical to omit the sultan's name Mahomet, since the sultan at the time was Osman II. Where the Dutch reads "onse Onderdanen en Vassalen," the Russian has only "nashykh poddannykh." For the Dutch "ja gantsch dyn ghedachtenisse en name uyt-roeyen," the Russian reads "i pamiat' tvoiu vykorenit'." When the same phrases recur later in the letter, the Russian text restores one of its earlier omissions, even though this time the Dutch lacks the phrase ("en ghedachtenisse gheheel uyt-roeyen"/"i imia tvoe i pamiat' tvoiu do kontsa vykorenit'"). The longest omission in the Russian text comes at the end, where the whole phrase mentioning the Divan disappears.

10. "Perevod s pisma kakovo prislano iz nemetskoi zemli o zvezdakh. Nyneshniago 173-go godu zimoiu iavlialisia 2 zvezdy s luchami" (TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 6). This particular translation seems to have interested the tsar or the Privy Chancellery clerks enough so that they also had it copied separately from the kuranty; see the inventory of the Privy Chancellery papers that lists a "perevod s pisma, kakovo prislano iz Nemetskoi zemli o zvezdakh" (Dela Tainogo prikaza, I [St. Petersburg, 1907], col. 362).

11. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 7; the original reads:

> A is tsesarskoi zemli pishut chto dekabria v 19-m chisle nad gorodom Venoiu ob'iavilis' mnogie 1,000 zvezd i khodili skoro po 4 v sherengi s vechera do polunochi k zapadu, a vyshli oni s poludnia. A posle togo ob"iavilas' ot zapada bolshaia zvezda s luchom. A luch' ot nee byl na iug vidom chorn.
> I astronomy po svoemu razsuzhden'iu skazali, chto mnozhestvo malykh zvezd iavliaet: turok stanet razioriat' mnogie nemetskie zemli. A pro bolshuiu zvezdu ob"iavili, chto vo 174-m godu v

yiune mesiatse v poludne budet velikoe solnechnoe zatmen'e, kakovo nikoli ne byvalo. I togda turkov i tatar pob'iut i vygoniat ikh iz nemetskikh zemel' i ustrashat i pozhenut turka i vse ego voisko pokamest evo razoriat.

12. On the Habsburg-Ottoman war, see the series of entries in the kuranty for 1664-1665 (TsGADA, f. 155, 1664, No. 3, fol. 1 et passim); terms of the truce between the two states concluded in August 1664 are given in TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 12-24. On the Lubomirski rebellion, see TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 35 et passim.

13. A few of the titles listed by Hammer (Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches, X, App. 12) give an idea of these publications: (No. 1925) "...Diesen sind beygefügt etliche der berühmtesten, sowohl alten als neuen Weissagungen, Muthmassungen und Erklarungen, von gedachten Türckischen Reichs Tyranney und Untergang (1664); (No. 1926) Des Grossen Propheten und Apostels Mahomeds Testament...benebenst Einer Türckischen Prophezeyung, worinn sie sich selbst ihres endlichen Untergamges wegen den Christen befürchten...(1664); (No. 1955) Catastrophe Muhammetica...(1664).

14. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 72. For the full Russian text of this and the items from the kuranty of the same year discussed below, see Appendix IIb. A break due to the loss of one or more sheets occurs in this tale following the first folio. The change in names following the first folio may indicate that I have pieced together two different versions of the same events, with the text on fol. 72 deriving from a printed pamphlet and the remainder of the work (fols. 93-90, 88, 89) coming from different vestovye pis'ma, as the inscription on fol. 89v indicates.

15. Perhaps a reference to the same signs is in the title of a pamphlet listed by Hammer (Geschichte, X, App. 12, No. 1897): Türken Trutz und Gottes Schütz, gewisser Extrakt, so mir aus Siebenbürgen durch einen guten Freund is uberschicket worden; in Betrachtung, dass im jetztlaufenden 1663 Jahr im Monat Junii in Arabien zu Medina Thalnabia im Himmel erschienen, Wunderzeichens gezeiget, dabei von des Türken Einfall und Grausamskeit, von der Hoffnung der Hülffe Gottes, von dem deswegen gebührlichen Verhalten gehandelt...Im Jahr 1663.

16. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 90, 88.

17. The legend about the magnet was mentioned but declared false in the Skazanie o meste Mediiskom which will be discussed in Chapter IV. Regarding another of the prophecies

associated with the grave, see the discussion in Chapter VII of the tales in MS, BAN 1.4.1.

18. On Shabbetai Zevi, see Henry Malter, "Shabbethai Zebi b. Mordecai," The Jewish Encyclopedia, XI (1905), 218-225; Josef Kastein, Sabbatai Zewi der Messias von Izmir (Berlin, 1930) (also in English): regarding the movement in Poland there is a study (which I have not seen) by the leading modern authority on the Shabbetaist movement: G. Scholem, "Le mouvement sabbataiste en Pologne," Journal de l'histoire des religions, XLIII (1953), 30-90, 209-232, and XLIV (1953), 42-77. Scholem's controversial two-volume study in Hebrew, Schabbetai Zvi (Tel Aviv, 1957), is inaccessible to me.

19. See N. F. Sumtsov, "Ioanikii Galiatovskii (K istorii iuzhnorusskoi literatury XVII veka)," Kievskaia starina, VIII (1884), 379-380. The book was first published in Kiev in 1669 as: Mesia pravdivyi Isus Khrustos Syn Bozhii ot pochatku sveta prez vse veki liudem ot Boga obetsannyi, i ot liudei otchekivannyi, i v ostatnyi chasy dlia zbavenia liudskogo na svet poslanyi.... A Polish translation appeared in Kiev in 1672 (Messiasz prawdziwy...). In the 1669 edition, see especially fols. 71ff.; in the 1672 edition, the section dealing specifically with Sabbetai Zevi is on fols. 52ff.

20. Fortunately there are two copies of the April 23/May 3 kuranty, the second of which enables one to confirm the proper order of the first, in which the folios have been mixed up. The first copy bears the title for the Dutch section: "Perevod z galanskikh pechatnykh i pismennykh kurantov chto sneseny v posolskoi prikaz is prikazu tainikh del v nyneshnem vo 174-m godu aprelia v 23 den'" (TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 79). The title of the second copy is simply "Perevod z galanskikh pechatnykh i pismennykh kurantov" (fol. 113), but the accompanying compilation based on German sources adds the information: "Perevedeny v nyneshnem vo 174-m godu aprelia v 23 den'" (fol. 109). The first set of Dutch kuranty for April 23/May 3 is on folios that should be read in the following order: fols. 79, 107, 108, 106, 105, 103, 104, 102, 99, 100, 101; the duplicate set is on fols. 113-124. The two sets of German kuranty for the same date are on fols. 97, 98, 96, 95 and on 109-112.

21. The Oprechte Haerlemse Courant began publication in Haarlem (Holland) in 1656, appearing twice weekly in its early years (it added as appropriate to the title the day of publication: Dingsdaegse or Saterdaegse [Tuesday or Saturday]). Beginning in 1667, it appeared thrice weekly; publication of the paper continued uninterrupted until 1941. See W. P. Sautijn-Kluit, De Haarlemse Courant (Leiden, 1873); Joh. Enschedé, Losse Aanteekeningen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Oprechte Haarl. Courant (Haarlem, 1906). The most complete set of the newspaper in existence is in the Museum of

Joh. Enschedé en Zoonen in Haarlem (the firm that published the paper from 1737 to 1941). Only a few issues from the first years under the previous publisher are missing. A presumably incomplete and rather inaccurate list of newspapers received in Russia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries notes the first receipt of the Haarlem paper in 1660 (A. Bulgakov, "Otvet na bibliograficheskii vopros," Moskovskii telegraf, pt. 16, No. 13 (1827), sec. I, 5-33).

22. Unfortunately comparisons with other Dutch newspapers are very difficult, since they have survived only in isolated copies from the 1660's. At least two other papers used in the Muscovite kuranty of 1666 may tentatively be identified: Tydinge uyt verscheyde Quartieren (Amsterdam) and Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante (Amsterdam). Bulgakov, "Otvet," lists the former for 1646 and again in 1655, but not the latter. In the July 12/22 kuranty, the items for Rome (May 22) and Warsaw (June 28) (TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 226) seem to be from items of the same dates in a fragmentary copy of Ordinarise Middel-weeckse Courante (June 15, 1666?) preserved in the Persbibliotheek in Amsterdam. The items from London, Hamburg and The Hague in the August 9/19 kuranty (TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 266-268 and repeated twice, fols. 292-294, 300-302) seem to be from Tydinge uyt verscheyde Quartieren, 1666, No. 28 (July 10) preserved in the Koninglijcke Bibliotheek in The Hague. Comparison of the contents of the latter with the Oprechte Haerlemse Courant for the same date and the few other such comparisons I have been able to make for seventeenth-century Dutch newspapers shows little obvious textual overlap in the material they contain--as a rule the datelines are different in the various papers, and where the dateline is the same, more often than not the content is markedly different. This is important, as I was forced to rely in part on summary notations of dateline and content from the kuranty when searching for the originals. Since a given "issue" of the kuranty generally used more than one article from a given issue of a newspaper, I feel reasonably confident of those identifications I have made for articles from the Oprechte Haerlemse Courant. Familiarity with the patterns of dates in the Dutch newspapers helps determine where one paper ceased to be used and information from another begins--generally the compilers of the kuranty appear to have run through one in sequence before going on to the next. The items from places closest to the place of publication naturally bear the most recent date, with the last item from Amsterdam or The Hague often bearing the publication date of the Haarlem paper. From this fact one derived as a rule that the most recent date from a city in the Netherlands indicates approximately the date of publication of the newspaper and somewhat less precisely the date when that paper began the trip to Moscow. Generally the items from Riga and Königsberg are even later in date, which probably indicates

that they derived from Dutch letters picked up en route. "Kuranty" printed in Königsberg were in German, although they may have provided the information on which some of the handwritten Dutch letters were based. It may be that the rather involved considerations used in my attempt to match the kuranty with their sources can be simplified at a stroke by a thorough search of the archive in Moscow. Bulgakov's list appears to have been based on copies of foreign newspapers he actually located in the archives; I did see one or two numbers there, but was not given others that undoubtedly exist.

23. Malter, "Shabbethai Zebi," p. 221. On the reaction to his arrival in Smirna, see Kastein, Sabbetai Zewi, ch. VIII.

24. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, f. 108. The first article in the 1666 kuranty to devote substantial attention to the "Messiah" appeared a month earlier. The text and its source from the Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant, 1666, No. 9 (February 27) are in Appendix IIb.

25. Unfortunately I do not have the Russian text, but the Dutch original reads: "In Catalonien, omtrent de Stadt Vich, soude men by klaren Dagh seecker Vier in de Locht gesien hebben, spreijende sign te weder zijden met Vlammen en Kolen uyt" (Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant, 1666, No. 12 [March 20], fol. 1).

26. The Russian text translates:

> From London, March 12. They recount the unrest of the Jews in Arabia in the following way: There is a place called Arabia Felix, where gold is produced, and in that Arabia is the kingdom of Elal, and in that kingdom, in the city of Aden, which contains many Jewish merchants and is situated on the Red Sea, a Jew named Jeroboam has revealed himself and thanks to his rhetoric has inclined all the Jews of that city to him. And they have killed the Pasha of that city and all the soldiers in the fortress. And they say that many of those Jews arrive daily and some say that they supposedly have taken the cities of Zion and Mecca, where the Turk's false prophet Mohammed lies [buried].

27. See for example the kuranty in BAN, 32.14.12, fols. 11 et seq., where a number of words (mainly place names) were glossed, although the glosses have largely frayed away with the edges of the MS.

28. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 105, 103.

29. Ibid., fols. 117-118.

30. Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant, 1666, No. 12 (March 20), fol. 2. Shabbetai Zevi encountered considerable opposition in the Jewish community; this ultimately led to his downfall. See Kastein, Sabbetai Zewi, passim.

31. Oprechte Haerlemse Saterdaegse Courant, 1666, No. 13 (March 27), fol. 1; Russian text in TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 103.

32. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 99-101.

33. Ibid., fols. 131-141.

34. Woodcuts and engravings of individuals and events described in the European Flugblätter were quite common; Malter, "Shabbethai Zebi," 219-221, reproduces three contemporary prints of the false Messiah, at least one of which apparently derives from a pamphlet.

35. This set of kuranty (TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 178-187) does not contain a date indicating when they were received, but the preceding group is dated June 15/25 and the following one June 29/July 9. Since the preceding group does not contain any material from the Oprechte Haerlemse Courant but indicates that its sources were Dutch kuranty and German hand-written listy, while all other sets, received regularly every two weeks, did contain material from the Dutch paper, it is reasonable to assume that the given set also belongs to June 15/25. The internal data support this, as the most recent item in the set is datelined The Hague, May 23. During the summer months, it was not unusual for Dutch news to be received in 30 to 35 days (in the winter, the interval could be as much as 45 days). In the June 15/25 set, the Oprechte Haerlemse Courant provided a strikingly large amount of material, as the following table of datelines and sources indicates:

kuranty datelines	source for information
Madrid, April 17	parallels in Opr.Haerl.Saterdaegse Courant,
London, April 12	1666, No. 18 (May 1).
Warsaw, April 12	Opr. Haerl. Sat. Courant, No. 18 (May 1).
Copenhagen, April 20	" "
Paris, April 25	Opr. Haerl.Dingsdaegse Courant, No. 18 (May 4)
Riga, April 14	" "
Warsaw, April 20	" No. 19 (May 11)
Amsterdam, May 10	" "

Rome, April 24	Opr.Haerl.Sat. Courant, No. 20 (May 15)
Warsaw, April 27	"(?) " (?)
Vienna, April 30	" "
Hamburg, May 11	" "
Amsterdam, May 15	" "
Smirna, April 1	Opr. Haerl. Dings. Courant, No. 20 (May 18)
Danzig, May 8	"(?) "(?)
Rome, May 1	Opr. Haerl. Sat. Courant, No. 21 (May 22)
Paris, May 14	" "
Venice, May 7	A different source (presumably a newspaper)
London, May 7	"
Warsaw, May 10	"
Vienna, May 8	"
The Hague, May 23	"

The heading for these June 15/25 kuranty indicates that they came from both printed and hand-written kuranty; so possibly the last group of articles, despite the suggestion from the dates that it is a sequence from a printed paper, derives from a hand-written newsletter.

36. One example illustrates the approach of the Muscovite translator/editor:

Opr.Haerl.Dings.Courant, No. 20 (May 18), fol. 1.

De outste der Jooden wel merckende waer dit heen wilde, besloten daer in te voorsien, en beraetslaeghden in de Synagoge maer hy daer van verwittigt, kreeg zijn toegenegene op de Been bestaende in 't getal van 300 Persoonen (Luyden die niet te verliesen en hadden) en quam op den selven Dag voor de Deur, die van binnen gesloten was, en merckende, dat zijn kloppen niet gehoort wierdt, begonde met Hamers daer op te slaen; die van binnen vreesende, dat de Deur wel aen stucken mochte raecken, deden open, hy daer in wesende gegon zijn verleyent voornemen te openbaren, seggende absoluyt voor de tweede mael, dat hy de rechte Messias was, begerende dat een yder hem daer voorkende.

TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 183.

Se zhe zria nekoi drevnye rabiny iz zhidovskie uchiteli sovetovali v sinagogakh, chtob ego izvesti. On zhe se uvedav khodil v ikh sobranie a s nim s 300 chelovek i dveri u nikh v"bili i inykh pribili a prochikh zastavili siloiu ego priimati za istinnago i pravdivago mesiiasha.

The Russian variant omits the details about knocking that was not heard, beating the door with hammers, and its voluntary opening, noting instead simply that the door was broken down (dveri u nikh v"bili). Other parts of the Dutch account include long sentences not found in the Russian version; for example, the details of the actions by Turkish officials against the Jews do not appear in the translation.

37. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 188. Galiatovs'kyi apparently used the original Polish pamphlet as one of the sources. He summarizes and quotes a text very similar to that found in the kuranty and renders its title in his marginal notes as: "Dziwny początek a straszny koniec tak nazwanego zydowskiego krola Sabetha Sebi, Roku 1666 wydana" (Messiasz prawdziwy...[Kiev, 1672], 54-55).

38. Ibid., fol. 191.

39. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 128-129. If the date in the Russian account is accurate, the source for the last item is not the March 6 article for Riga, found in the Oprechte Haerlemse Dingsdaegse Courant, 1666, No. 12 (March 23), which would, in any case, have been too old for the May 10/20 kuranty. However the texts of the Dutch account and the Russian one are in large part almost identical, and it may be that the Russian version relied on a letter that contained the same passage found in the printed paper. There is one very interesting difference between the two texts, which I have underlined here:

> Riga den 6 Maert. Men heeft alhier van goeder Handt uyt de Stadt Moscouw, dat aldaer in de Religie groote Differenten waren ontstaen, die eerst tot Cazan hadden begonnen, en voort in 't harte des Lants zijn voortgespreyt: Den Patriarch soude van de Party, die tot de Protestantse Religie inclineert self het Hooft zijn, en die souden alle Beelden verwerpen, roepende, dat sy geen ander Godt noch Verlosser en kenden, als die end Hemel an Aerde geschapen hadde; doch den Grootvorst soude dese dreygen met Vier en Swaert te vervolgen, daer tegens sy haer sterck vergaderen.

40. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fols. 253-263. I give the original text in full in Appendix IIb along with the other kuranty extracts. It is not unusual in such documents to find the statement, "Concerning such-and-such he had no knowledge," which shows clearly that the written work is a record of an oral interrogation. Presumably then had the false Messiah been of real interest, there might have been some question about him.

41. Shlosberg took issue with Pokrovskii on the

matter of selectivity, asserting that "in the transmission of the German text, the translator of that epoch attempted to adhere to it as closely as possible, rarely permitting himself any departure from or abbreviation of the original" ("Nachalo," 80). Shlosberg was careful to point out that his observations were based on a limited amount of material --specifically the kuranty of 1643 copied along with their German originals in the manuscript now preserved in LOII. For the 1640's, when probably the amount of material on which the compilers of the kuranty could draw was relatively small, Shlosberg's conclusion may be valid. However, Pokrovskii's remarks are certainly more correct for the second half of the century, when the phenomenon we find in the 1660's was prevalent: "...They translated only those parts which they considered for some reason at the time to be interesting" ("K istorii," 27).

42. Shlosberg asserts that "even before the establishment of regular connections with foreign parts we had as a substitute for the post more or less regular acquisition of foreign news" ("Nachalo," 113-114). His proof of this is curious, however, and displays a misunderstanding of the contents of printed newspapers of the time. He cites the fact that there are runs of information over a period of time for certain cities, but the runs he cites are short and could be the material contained in two or three newspapers, where one finds items from various dates for a given city. Pokrovskii ("K istorii." 35) is again undoubtedly more correct than his critic on the question of quantity and regularity. The facts regarding the completeness of translation mentioned above are certainly one good indicator of the amount of material available.

43. Item 12 on the tsar's list of desiderata to be obtained abroad (compiled February 22/March 4, 1659) reads: "News (vesti) from all states, monthly" (cited in I. Ia. Gurliand, Prikaz velikogo gosudaria Tainykh Del [Iaroslavl', 1902], 109).

44. The standard book on the Privy Chancellery is Gurliand's Prikaz velikogo gosudaria Tainykh Del; on the question of why the institution was created, see especially his concluding chapter.

45. Van Sweeden had been in Muscovy since 1646, first as an employee of a wine merchant (whose daughter he later married) and then as an independent entrepreneur, whose range of activity included the establishment of various industrial works and commissions to hire foreign craftsmen to work in Muscovy. Although documentation is lacking, it is probable that employment in activities such as the latter had connected him with the sphere of the Privy Chancellery prior to his contracting for the postal

service. While the government saw in him a person with the means and contacts to run the post, for him it was purely a business enterprise.

Biographical information on Van Sweeden is capsulized in Erik Amburger, Die Familie Marselis (Giessen, 1957), 155; for more details, see I. P. Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty i pervye pochtmeistery v Moskovskom gosudarstve, I (Warsaw, 1913), 60 et seq. Both the Russian and the Dutch archives contain little information on him--the former material, exhausted by Kozlovskii, is published either in the documents of his Vol. II or in the records of the Privy Chancellery (Dela Tainogo prikaza, I, III). The Dutch material, located by Amburger in the Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Amsterdam, consists only of the record of the banns being read for Van Sweeden's first marriage in 1641 (DTB, No. 456, p. 253) and the copy of the contract with Caspar Ruts for Van Sweeden to go to Moscow to work under Ruts' brother David in 1646 (Notarial Records, No. 1079, pp. 169-170).

46. TsGADA, f. 155, 1665-1666, No. 11, fol. 18. I reproduce this document in Appendix IIc, since the version published by Pokrovskii ("K istorii," 20-21) contains many errors. The document is a copy made for Van Sweeden from the original agreement, possibly so that he could collect the balance of the money due him (the reverse has a notation about his having been paid in full). On the reverse is Van Sweeden's own skrepka attesting to the completeness and accuracy of the document and a notation in his hand confirming payment. While I have had to rely on a sketch of these inscriptions for comparison, the authenticity of his signature would appear to be confirmed by his signature on the contract of 1646 (Amsterdam Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Notarial Records, No. 1079, p. 170). The original agreement was recorded in the record book (zapisnaia kniga) of the Chancellery for May 18/28, 1665, but not in full (see Dela Tainogo prikaza, I, col. 1065). The copy now found with the kuranty is probably the document referred to in the inventory of 1676: "Kuranty for the years 172, 173, 174 and contract (ugovornoe pis'mo) of the foreigners Ivan Van Svedin about why he brought those news kuranty and various letters to Moscow" (Dela Tainogo prikaza, I, col. 5). Concerning the questions of whether this document in fact represents the agreement for the establishment of the first regular postal service, whether the service had been established somewhat earlier, and whether there was a regular means of acquiring news earlier, see Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 58-60. Note that "Kizylbash" in Muscovy referred to Persia (see F. A. Brokgauz and I. A. Efron, eds., Entsiklopedischeskii slovar', half-volume 29, p. 50, s.v. "Kizylbashi.").

47. See Dela Tainogo prikaza, I, cols. 2, 4-6, 10,

13, 487-489, 637-638. The quotations read, in order, in the original: "Perevod s pechatnye Nemetskie knigi o Khineiskoi voine ot Tatar"; "Perevod s Pol'skikh pechatnykh tetratei, chto privez is Pol'shi dumnoi dvorianin Afonasei Lavrent'evich Ordin-Nashchokin vo 171-m godu, skol'ko Pol'skomu voisku posle Sveiskoi voiny zaplacheno zolotykh Pol'skikh i chego im ne doplocheno"; "Perechnevaia vypiska v tetratekh, iz Nemetskogo kalendaria na vpredbudushchii 1665 god posle Rozhestva Khristova"; "Perevod...s Pol'skoi s pechatnoi knigi, chto privez v Kiev is Pol'shi Kievskoi polkovnik Vasilei Dvoretskoi, a is Kieva prislan k Moskve o vsiakikh vestiakh...."

48. There is some question in my mind as to whether Van Sweeden actually began bringing in the news regularly in the first year of his contract, as he was engaged in various other affairs. The kuranty in TsGADA, 1665-1666, No. 11, which contains a fairly complete series for 1666, indicate that the service was quite regular by then. However, Van Sweeden still faced stiff competition from merchants who preferred to use their own couriers (Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 63-64). Kozlovskii provides details on the replacement of postmasters in 1668 and Van Sweeden's efforts to regain the position.

49. The authoritative work on the Marselis family is Amburger, Die Familie Marselis, based on printed Russian sources and both printed and archival materials from Western Europe. On the post under Marselis, see especially 159-160. Much more detail on the subject is in Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, Ch. III, with biographical material in Ch. II, 75 ff.

50. Evidence on this point needs to be cleared up. In the kuranty of June 23/May 3, 1665, for example (TsGADA, f. 155, 1665, No. 2, fol. 1), the heading refers to kuranty sent through the Vil'no and the Riga postal routes.

51. Kozlovskii is the authority on Vinius. See Pervye pochty, I, esp. Ch. IV, where the material is slightly more extensive than that found in the separately-published Andrei Vinius (St. Petersburg, 1911).

52. Belokurov, O Posol'skom prikaze, 136, lists only one translator from Dutch on the staff of the prikaz in the mid-1660's. One may assume that this was Vinius; hence he was responsible for the translation of kuranty produced then. He translated for the embassy of Jacob Borel to Moscow in 1665-1666; he translated in 1667 the certification by the striapchii Grigorii Nikolaev, who represented Dutch and Hamburg merchants before the Diplomatic Chancellery, that he had received a copy of the important Novo-torgovyi ustav

in 1667. The measure curtailed privileges of foreign merchants; Nikolaev's duty in this case was to inform his clientele of the new law. See Pamiatniki russkogo prava, VII (Moscow, 1963), 324.

53. Unfortunately, so far I have been unable to identify this manuscript, which existed as late as 1824. The most complete description of it, and the one used by Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 225-226, is by B. Fedorov, "Beseda russkogo startsa s synom svoim (Otryvok iz rukopisnogo Khronografa)," Otechestvennye zapiski, pt. 18, No. 50, June, 1824, esp. 337-338. Fedorov follows the description with publication of the first work in the manuscript.

54. "Description of the distances of capitals, of important cities. of famous states and lands, as well as of well-known islands and bays, by land and sea routes, according to the measurements of the book entitled 'Watery World' and other descriptions of the Russian state which are similar to it; from the capital city of his imperial majesty, Moscow, the number of versts to whatever city or bay, in alphabetical order, as given by the sheet attached below." The end of the work bears the indication that the "first rendering in the Slavic dialect" was completed in May 1667, by Andrei Vinius, "translator of state affairs (gosudarstvennye dela) of his imperial majesty." See the text published by V. A. Petrov, "Geograficheskie spravochniki XVII v.," Istoricheskii arkhiv, V (1950), 149-158.

55. There is a separate translation of this work: "Translation of a book called 'Watery World', that is a short description of the discovery by the first oceanic voyage and of the new unknown lands, as well as a description of all states." See A. I. Andreev, Ocherki po istochnikovedeniiu Sibiri, I, 2nd ed. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1960), 52, n. 88. Presumably this is the same work used by Vinius. However, his source was apparently an atlas; it is not clear whether that is the case with this separate translation.

56. On the fleet project, see Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 227-228; concerning his map, see Andreev, Ocherki, I, 53-55. Additional information about Vinius' works on Siberia is in Kozlovskii, I, 333-335, 338 ff.

57. On Vinius' translation, see the preliminary results of a study currently in progress by R. P. Tarkovskii, "'Zrelishche zhitiia chelovecheskogo'," TODRL, XXIV (1969), 249-253.

58. See Akademiia nauk SSSR, Institut literatury, Istoriia russkoi literatury, II, pt. 2 (Moscow-Leningrad, 1948), 412, where extracts from all three versions provide

a basis for comparison. It is not clear from these, however, whether the extracts may not in fact tell more about the language of the different originals than about the bookishness of the translators' language.

59. "Ne shchegolial inostrannymi slovami, a esli upotreblial ikh, to tut zhe staralsia raz"iasniat'; v perevodakh ego pochti ne bylo germanizmov, i oni otlichalis' krupnymi literaturnymi dostoinstvami" (Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 244-245). Pypin similarly noted about the translation: "Vinius' translation is good for that time: in it there are no Germanisms and the phraseology almost always corresponds to the demands of the contemporary literary language" (quoted by Pekarskii, Nauka i literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom, I, 201, from Ocherk literaturnoi istorii povestei i skazok). Tarkovskii, "'Zrelishche'," 250-251, notes that in places the translation is rather a retelling of the original and that there are a number of examples where Vinius used rhymed phrases (the original was in verse). One can assume from other evidence that Vinius' command of German was excellent, since a great deal of his correspondence which has been preserved was written in German. His son Matvei, employed by the Senate as a translator early in the eighteenth century, knew German but not Dutch (see Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 236, 278).

60. Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 235, notes that the verses are probably of Vinius' own composition (we cannot be positive) and that as poetry they are "nothing remarkable." The extract printed in ibid., 235-236, readily confirms this judgment.

61. On the later literary activity of Vinius, see Pekarskii, Nauka i literatura, I, 205-208.

62. Of particular interest here among his books are the following: Descriptions of Muscovy by Sigismund Herberstein and Adam Olearius, Nicolas Witsen's Nord en Oost Tartarye, the 1678 Polish translation of Paul Ricaut's The Present State of the Ottoman Empire, Alexander Guagnini's Kronika Sarmacyey europskiey (Krakow, 1611), Maciej Stryjkowski's Kronika polska (Königsberg, 1582), Cesare Baronio's Ecclesiastical Annals in the Polish translation published in Krakow in 1607, and a 1664 Nürnburg edition Alcoranum mahometanum. See the selective listing in Pekarskii, Nauka i literatura, I, 208-209. Vinius' library is apparently now in the collection of BAN.

63. "Kak pochtmeister i perevodchik, a potom d'iak Posol'skogo prikaza, Vinius dolzhen byl prinimat' deiatel'noe uchastie v sostavleniia 'kurantov'" (Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty,

I, 231). Before establishment of the postal service, Vinius often obtained from foreign merchants newspapers which he passed on to the Diplomatic Chancellery (Pokrovskii, "K istorii," 18-19).

64. See his letter of January 3/13, 1674, from Danzig, as summarized by Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 228.

65. Examples of these are in Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra velikogo, I, 510, passim.

66. This is related in Baron von Keller's report to the Dutch government in 1677, cited in A. K. Fabritsius, Pochta i narodnoe khoziaistvo v Rossii v XVII stoletii (St. Petersburg, 1864), 64.

67. Pekarskii, Nauka i literatura, I, 201-202. See also Ivan Kozlovskii, Sil'vestr Medvedev (Kiev, 1895), 28-30, 77-79. The verses were by the noted poet and littérateur Sil'vestr Medvedev. A reproduction of the engraving is appended to Vol. I of Rozvsknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom i ego soobshchnikakh, Arkheograficheskaia kommissiia, ed. (St. Petersburg, 1884).

68. Pokrovskii, "K istorii," 16.

69. [Heinrich Hissen], "Zhurnal gosudaria Petra I s 1695-1709. Sochinennyi Baronom Gizenom," pt. I, Sobranie raznykh zapisok i sochinenii, sluzhashchikh k dostavleniiu polnogo svedeniia o zhizni i deianiiakh gosudaria imperatora Petra Velikogo, III (St. Petersburg, 1787), 158, 160. On an earlier incident in which Muscovite protests brought about the burning of the offending material, see S. A. Belokurov, O biblioteke moskovskikh gosudarei v XVI stoletii (Moscow, 1898), 31-32.

70. In his concluding remarks, Marselis emphasized: "I am simply astounded that there are such godless and loose-tongued people that they are not afraid to condemn such a potentate for such unheard of and improbable reasons...and I pray that I will receive from you a reply to my letter at the first opportunity, in order that there be no unpleasantness about this matter between his imperial highness and his eminence the Brandenburg elector..." (Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, II, 30-31 [text of the letter]; see his comments in I, 141, where he notes that the end of the affair is not known, although further unfavorable comments on the Tsar's religious beliefs appeared in kuranty later in the same year).

71. Ibid., II, 111-114.

72. Ibid., II, 384-386.

73. "A posle togo tolko o shestvii gospod' poslov vedomost' iz kurantov priemlem" (Pis'ma i bumagi, I, 640).

74. The most extreme statement asserts that the government was secretive about the kuranty "so that no private individual would learn before the court what was happening in Western Europe, and moreover, so that every one would be restrained from writing anything impermissible and harmful to the state" (A. Piatkovskii, Ocherki po istorii russkoi zhurnalistiki [St. Petersburg, 1888], 12-13, as cited by S. Marlinskii, "Pervaia dopetrovskaia rukopisnaia gazeta," Istoricheskii zhurnal, 1945, Bk. 5, 74. Compare P. N. Berkov, Istoriia russkoi zhurnalistiki XVIII veka (Moscow-Leningrad, 1952), 29-30.

75. The most recent discussion of the fate of Baikov's stateinyi spisok is by N. F. Demidova in the book she wrote in collaboration with V. S. Miasnikov, Pervye russkie diplomaty v Kitae ('Rospis'' I. Petlina i stateinyi spisok F. I. Baikova) (Moscow, 1966), esp. 108-109. She corrects S. B. Bakhrushin (Nauchnye trudy, III, pt. 1 [Moscow, 1955], 44), who indicated that this was one of the documents Vinius provided Witsen in the 1690's. Bakhrushin is probably right in indicating that Vinius provided Witsen with some of the materials mentioned for the '90's; but the earlier connection must remain a hypothesis supported by Vinius' contact with the embassy and then his later connection with Witsen. Pekarskii, Nauka i literatura, I, 200, notes that Vinius translated for Borel.

76. See Kozlovskii, Pervye pochty, I, 138-140, and documents in II, 24-25 and 40-41. Apparently the provision of the Chancellery with copies rather than originals did not stop with Marselis: for 1677, in one of the kuranty there is a note at the end, "originals missing" ("podlinnykh net," TsGADA, f. 155, 1677, No. 7, pt. 1, fol. 44).

77. See Pokrovskii, "Iz istorii," 37; another example of such an inscription is in TsGADA, f. 155, 1677, No. 7, pt. 1, fol. 40: "Otdal dumnoi d'iak Larion Ivanov aprelia v 13 den'."

78. I have published one of these in my "On the Origin of the 'Correspondence' between the Sultan and the Cossacks," Recenzija, I, No. 2 (1971), 36-39, from MS Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR im. V. V. I. Lenina (hereafter abbreviated GBL), Museum Collection No. 1518 (Beliaev Collection No. 12). What would appear to be a very similar (but nonetheless different) text is listed by A. I. Sobolevskii, Perevodnaia literatura Moskovskoi Rusi XIV-XVII vekov (St. Petersburg, 1903), 248. Another pamphlet published in the Ukraine in Polish and containing verses on the defense of Chyhyryn appears to have been the source for a Muscovite

translation. See the text published by M. D. Kagan, "'Virshi ob oborone Chigirina ot turok'," TODRL, XVII (1961), 435-444, and my remarks, loc.cit., 21, n. 42.

79. Sobolevskii, Perevodnaia literatura, 250-251, lists these, found in MSS GBL, Undol'skii Collection No. 635 and Gosudarstvennaia publichnaia biblioteka im. M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrina (hereafter GPB), Pogodin Collection No. 1561.

80. GPB, Collection of the Russian Archaeological Society, No. 43.

81. Västeras, Sweden, Stifts-och Lands-Biblioteket, Codex Ad 10.