

**DIARY OF
GENERAL PATRICK GORDON
OF AUCHLEUCHRIES
1635 – 1699**

VOLUME VI: 1696 – 1698

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Portrait
des Generalen Patrick Gordon!

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The Last Campaigns

Dmitry Fedosov

...The time of my departure is at hand.
I have fought a good fight,
I have finished my course,
I have kept the faith.
2 Timothy, 4, 6–7

I rather wish someone else would tell or write of my service.
Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries

During the Holy League's war against the Ottoman Empire in the campaign of 1695 Russian forces, despite their capture of several Turkish strongholds on the Lower Dnieper, were strongly repulsed at the mouth of the Don. Azov, the main Turkish fortress in those parts, bravely defied the three-month-long siege and stayed unconquered. But an eminent historian thought with justice that "the reign of Peter the Great begins with the Azov failure"¹, for it was then that the young tsar first revealed his adamant will in striving to attain elusive goals. Almost incredibly, in one winter-spring season he managed to build, rig out, man and launch an entire fleet of 2 galleasses, 23 galleys and 4 fire-ships, besides hundreds of boats, to blockade Azov from the sea. Along with all-out preparations of land forces, the former divided command was abolished. The expedition of 1696 was led by Boyar A. S. Shein, *Voyevoda* of the Great Army, who held precedence over the division commanders, Generals A. M. Golovin, François Lefort and Carl Riegemann. But neither Shein, who has never been commander-in-chief before and did not even go to Azov in 1695, nor anyone else of the tsar's generals could even remotely rival the experience and merit of the head of another corps, the Scot Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries (1635–1699), known in Russia as *Piotr Ivanovich*. This hardy veteran, having served with distinction in the tsar's troops for 35 years, had previously fought for 6 years more in two of the best armies of Western Europe, Swedish and

¹ S.M. Solovyov, *Sochineniya. Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremion*, VII (Moscow, 1991), p. 513.

Polish.² Starting his career as a private trooper, he single-handedly, with little protection, reached the very top of military hierarchy, the rank of full general (as a non-Orthodox alien he could not have been styled *voyeroda*, and the rank of field marshal was only introduced in Russia after his death).

As we could expect, the military theme prevails in Gordon's famous journal, and its last surviving volume is no exception. In each of the three concluding years of his *Diary* the author took part in major campaigns at the highest level of command. A special place belongs to the chronicle of the second, victorious Azov expedition. After Tsar Peter himself, who left for Voronezh on 23 February 1696 to get the fleet ready, Gordon was the first to leave Moscow on 8 March, outstripping his colleagues as usual. His daily notes contain much data on supplies, ammunition and structure of his corps (*Diary*, VI, fols. 18–19 v., 21–21 v., 25 etc.), although evidence on the latter is incomplete. From other sources we know that the Scot headed 9 soldier regiments (his own Butyrsky; 4 from Tambov brought by his son, Colonel James; 2 from the “Low Country” and 2 from Riazan’), along with 7 *strel'tsy*³ regiments (led by Colonels I. M. Konishchev, F. A. Kolzakov, I.I. Chorny, V.S. Yelchaninov, M.F. Krivtsov, M. I. Protopopov and M.F. Sukharev); all units numbered 369 officers, 9,060 soldiers and 4,688 *strel'tsy*, in all 14,117 men.⁴ Of the three other army divisions, only Golovin's was comparable in strength: 11 soldier regiments, including the elite Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky, and 6 of *strel'tsy*, also totalling over 14,000. Riegemann had 7 soldier regiments (about 10,500 men), and Lefort, whose military talents were very modest⁵, only 3 (4,500).

Tsar Peter, who embarked on only his second serious military expedition (mock battles apart), was still largely relying on his wise old teacher in war, who says: on 18 May “his M[ajesty] overtook me, and coming into my boat stayed above and howre discoursing of the wayes the armyes are to march and where they shall post themselves befor the towne Assow dureing the siege” (fols. 33 v.–34). Habitually forestalling the main body, Peter and Gordon

² On Patrick Gordon's life and military career see the preceding volumes: *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchlenchries 1635–1699*, Vol. I: 1635–1659 (Aberdeen, 2009); Vol. II: 1659–1667 (Aberdeen, 2010); Vol. III: 1677–1678 (Aberdeen, 2012); Vol. IV: 1684–1689 (Aberdeen, 2013); Vol. V: 1690–1695 (Aberdeen, 2014).

³ Traditional Russian infantry.

⁴ *Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon*, III (St.Petersburg, 1853), S. 4–6.

⁵ “Admiral [Lefort] was the last to come to Azov and the first to depart, leaving his regiments and fleet, and in all probability proving himself absolutely useless...” (M.M. Bogoslovsky, *Piotr Velikiy. Materialy dlia biografii*, Vol. I (Moscow, 2005), p. 334).

almost simultaneously reached the Kalancha towers, seized from the Turks the year before. They decided not to wait for the rest and take action without delay. The first operation took place at the mouth of the Don against the Turkish naval squadron. The Don Cossacks attacked, burned some enemy vessels and drove others away to sea, after which Gordon “went downe with some companyes and cannon to the mouth of the river and sent boates to the ruined Turkish ships, who brought from thence 141 great bombes & 95 glasse hand-granadoes with diverse other things”. The old general had to remain there for several days, as if “forgotten” by Peter and Shein who did not send him any orders; however, not being used to waste time, he personally chose and marked out the site for a fort, and put his men to work (fols. 37–38 v.).

As in 1695, Gordon played a huge role throughout the campaign, but, unlike the first Azov siege, his division held the right flank of Russian lines, not the centre. Many key decisions were taken on his initiative: “June 5. I rode with the Boyar and viewed the lynes of circum- and contravallation which were makeing, and ordered the posts for the severall armyes”; “June 9. Went & viewed a place where the Donish Army should encampe, and sent men to fortify and entrench it”; “June 15. Haveing ordered a fort to be made on the declineing of the hill towards the Kalentzayes, I gott it done to contentment; which was to hinder succours getting in that way into the towne” (fols. 39 v., 40, 43). Large-scale works were carried on, including construction of forts, approaches and mines. For all that, the result was achieved by other means: first, by a tight and successful blockade from the sea, so that all Ottoman efforts to reinforce the garrison proved futile. The second crucial factor was an essentially simple, but rare and obsolete method of taking strongholds, i.e. a “filling wall”⁶, which resembled the siege of Korsun’ by Prince Vladimir of Kiev back in 988.⁷

Some sources attribute to General Gordon the very idea of a “movable rampart” at Azov. In his *History of Peter the Great* Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul relates the speech of his clansman and future father-in-law at a council of war: “The safest and most expeditious way to become masters of the town, would be to carry on before them a whole rampart of earth along the front of the town, which as they advanced, would hourly increase; by having 10 or 12 thousand men night and day at work, said he, we shall carry

⁶ *Zasypnoy val* – so called by Tsar Peter in a letter to Patriarch Adrian dated 4 July 1696 (*Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I (St.Petersburg, 1887), p. 80).

⁷ “Volodimer got his host ready and ordered to make a mound toward the town” (*Povest' vremennykh let* (St.Petersburg, 1999), p. 49).

and roll as much earth before us, as will not only be sufficient to fill up the fosse, but will have more over and above than will exceed the height of the town walls; by which means, in a few weeks we shall oblige the enemy to surrender, or we shall bury them alive. The Czar preferred this opinion, and told them to do as he had proposed”.⁸ This statement has all the more weight because Auchintoul then held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the tsar’s army and fought at Azov. The same, calling Patrick Gordon the chief conductor of the siege and describing the wall with technical details, is attested by the English Captain John Perry⁹, who, although acquainted with the general, only came to Russia two years later. However, the general’s own journal shows otherwise: “June 22... All the souldiery of the meaner quality and condition haveing solicited, and after their advice asked, desired & consented to the throwing up a wall of earth and driveing it on to the towne wall, wee assented to their desires” (fol. 45 v.). It follows that the proposal was made by rank and file, which finds curious, if indirect, support in a later petition by the rebel *strelets* Vasily Zorin, who claimed that already during the first siege of Azov the *strel'tsy* had offered to take it by means of an adjacent wall (*prival*), but the idea was turned down by their foe, Lefort.¹⁰

Anyway, the Russian command approved this plan, and Patrick Gordon certainly perfected it by additional measures: “July 3. I...projected the makeing a wall with batteries and sally ports behind the wall which wee were casting up to throw into the ditch, which must be as high if not higher as the Turks wall, and this to batter downe their new hightened workes and the stone-wall, to the which many seemed averse. 4. The wall begun and forwarded with great applause” (fols. 51–51 v.). N.G. Ustrialov, the great expert on the Petrine period, is surely right to conclude: “The ablest of Peter’s generals, whose hair turned grey in battles, Gordon... avidly caught at the vague idea of the army, developed it to the greatest extent and made a project of such a rampart as would overtop the fortress walls, with sally ports and battery platforms, so that it would be possible to fire over the outworks at the stone castle”.¹¹ Gordon demonstrated the grand scale of the works to German engineers who only arrived at Azov when its fate was virtually sealed, and they were very impressed (fols. 53 v.–54). Both walls, “the army’s” and “Gordon’s” behind it,

⁸ A. Gordon of A[u]chintoul, *The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia*, Vol. I (Aberdeen, 1755), p. 107.

⁹ J. Perry, *The State of Russia under the present Czar* (London, 1716), pp. 148–9.

¹⁰ M.M. Bogoslovsky, *Piotr I*, Vol. III (Moscow, 1946), p. 31.

¹¹ N.G. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*, Vol. II (St.Petersburg, 1858), p. 285.

are clearly visible in the plan of the Azov siege from the well-known *Diary* of the Imperial diplomat Johann Georg Korb.¹² Soon these labours bore fruit.

In mid-July the besiegers' wall was brought very close to that of Azov, equalling it in height, and Gordon's battery pieces destroyed the palisade of the Turkish corner bastion with help from skilled German cannoneers (fols. 56 v.–57). In tsar's words, "[we] have evenly brought our rampart toward the enemy ditch on all sides and, having filled in and covered the ditch therefrom, with the same rampart [we] did reach over that ditch to the enemy wall, and joined [both] walls so nearly that it was possible, apart from weapons, to struggle with the enemy with bare hands; earth was already thrown beyond their wall into the town".¹³ Vauban's principle, "the more sweat, the less blood", was observed, and losses were comparatively light, although they included Gordon's old friend and compatriot, the gallant Colonel Alexander Livingston. On 17 July Ukrainian Cossacks forced their way into one corner bastion, and two days earlier Gordon's soldiers gained ground upon another town bulwark. Meanwhile, frequent attempts by Tatar horsemen to divert the besiegers in the fields were repelled, and a general assault ordered. On the 18th the Ottoman garrison, having exhausted ammunition and lost all hope of support, capitulated on condition of free passage. The following day Tsar Peter's troops entered Azov; Gordon "put a guard of a hundred sojourns to secure the Governour [Hassan Bey] and the chieffest of the Turkes, who were gott about him with 16 collours. All whom I caused convoy out of the towne", which was all "in rubbish, not a whole house or hutt in it" (fols. 59–59 v.). The nearby Turkish fortress of Liutin also surrendered. This was the first major victory of Russian arms since the war against Poland-Lithuania in the mid-17th century.

Azov was restored from ruin and greatly reinforced by the victors according to the latest rules of European fortification, but for his nascent navy the tsar needed a permanent and convenient base on the sea, not on the narrow and shallow branches of the Don. This led to the birth of a new port, and Gordon played a part in its foundation: "July 27... rowed towards the said Tagana-Rogue... Haveing surveyed the situation and conveniencies of both places, most were of opinion that the first was the fittest place; the high, rocky

¹² J.G. Korb, *Dnevnik puteshestviya v Moskoviyu* (St.Petersburg, 1906). Original edition: *Diarium Itineris in Moscoviam Perillustis ac Magnifici Domini Ignatii Christophori Nobilis Domini de Guarient & Rall... Anno MDCXCVIII Ablegati Extraordinarii descriptum a Joanne Georgio Korb... Viennae Austriae*. [s.d.]

¹³ *Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I, p. 93.

ground, deepnes of the lake, spaciousnes of the place for the harbour, besides a small brooke of wholesome water giving ground for it” (fol. 63). Having finished the main works and left a strong garrison, the Russian army turned home. On 30 September 1696 it formed a triumphant procession towards the Moscow Kremlin, concluded with Gordon’s division: “My 6 reg-ts marched afterwards, in the reg-t of Butirsky sojourns being all the drummers, *boyboyes* and these who led the spare horses, with 12 men on each side of me, a dozen befor, and these who carried the military signes, as also the *furers* or under ensignes, were all clad in Turkish habite with turbants, which made a great & pleasant show, and much wondered at by the Russes as well as strangers. Wee marched through the Castle or Tzaars Court, and befor the last gate the reg-ts were dismissed to their quarters ... As wee entred the gate of the stone bridge, where the triumphal arch was, short speeches were made out of a speaking trumpet, and many cannon fired continually till all were past” (fol. 78 v.).¹⁴

On the whole, the second Azov expedition is described in the *Diary* in less detail than the first, but even so, we are presented with a wealth of important, sometimes unique evidence. To regard General Gordon as “the man chiefly responsible for the conquest of Azov”¹⁵ is an exaggeration; above all this honour belongs to Tsar Peter, but considering the facts we have to acknowledge that the Scot had a very substantial share in the feat.

* * *

Upon his return from the field of battle the customary course of peaceful life was resumed by the “patriarch” of Moscow’s Foreign Suburb (*Inozemskaya Sloboda*): councils and feasts in the tsar’s company, regimental routine in Butyrki, churchgoing and guidance of the Roman Catholic community, honorary presence at baptisms, weddings and burials, and a multitude of domestic concerns. There were also unusual occasions. On 4 November 1696 Gordon attended the historic “Cabinet counsell” (the Boyar Duma) in Preobrazhenskoye, which adopted the “Let there be ships” resolution and established “companies” to build men-o’-war (fols. 84–84 v.); a foreigner at an official meeting of the tsar’s government was “a novelty unheard of before”.¹⁶ But for this “foreigner of the Scottish land” there was nothing new

¹⁴ See also Bogoslovsky, *Piotr Velikiy. Materialy dlia biografii*, I, p. 346.

¹⁵ A. Brückner, *Patrick Gordon i yego Dnevnik* (St.Petersburg, 1878), p. 94. This remains one of the best essays on Gordon in any language.

¹⁶ Bogoslovsky, *Piotr Velikiy. Materialy dlia biografii*, I, p. 355.

in revising Muscovite customs: it was his home that was first honoured with a visit by the tsar, and it was he, a “heretic” without any Russian court rank, who first assumed independent command over a whole army of tsar’s soldiers and *strel’tsy*. An entry for 16 January 1697 yet again testifies both to his wide hospitality and to the general respect he inspired: in the morning he received Frol Minayev, *ataman* of the Don Cossacks (apparently, escorted by not a few Cossack elders), and right afterwards welcome was given to the newly arrived Venetian galley-builders (fol. 93 v.). Convivial intercourse with worthy representatives of different nations, creeds, estates and trades has always been typical of Gordon.

In a historical source one should consider not just the things contained therein, but also things omitted. We cannot but notice the utter absence in Gordon’s journal of any trace of preparations for one of Peter’s greatest enterprises, unparalleled either before or after his reign. This was the Grand Embassy to Western Europe, which the sovereign himself joined incognito, disguised as a humble NCO (*uriadnik*) of Preobrazhensky regiment. This gap is all the more strange because Gordon was the only man in Peter’s circle who visited and well knew almost all the main points of the Embassy route except Vienna, although he had a fair idea of that court’s policies too, due to his constant links and correspondence with Imperial officials. The Scot’s diplomatic experience was formidable: back in 1666/67 he went as a courier with tsar’s letters to London, and in 1686 the king of Great Britain even appointed him envoy extraordinary in Muscovy.¹⁷ Surpassing even the most skilled Russian diplomats, he had first-hand practical knowledge of European courtly protocol, mastered half a dozen languages and had no need of interpreters. Lastly, no one has done more than Gordon in order to turn Peter’s eyes and aspirations toward the West, whither the tsar was now irrepressibly drawn. With all this in mind, and given the perfect intimacy between Peter and his loyal advisor, they could not but discuss the aims and details of the forthcoming mission. Nevertheless, it was Lefort who became the “First Grand Ambassador”, despite having little to do with diplomacy before.¹⁸

Perhaps, Gordon was prevented from joining the Embassy by his advanced age (in March 1697 he turned 62) or failing health? But in the same year he was still strong enough to accomplish a very difficult campaign, comparable with

¹⁷ *Diary*, II: 1659–1667, pp. xxiii–xxviii, 221–69; IV: 1684–1689, pp. xxiii, 166–9.

¹⁸ “Lefort, having had no practice in this respect, was as nominal first ambassador with the embassy, as he was admiral in the navy” (Bogoslovsky, *Piotr Veliky. Materialy dlia biografii*, I, p. 378).

the journey abroad in length and distance, and much less comfortable. No, the explanation lies in his firm political beliefs. As so many of his compatriots, he remained a staunch Jacobite, i.e. supporter of the exiled King James II (VII).¹⁹ The last volume of his journal gives vivid proof of his stance: when at a banquet in the presence of the tsar and high dignitaries they drank to “the usurpator of Great Brittain”, Gordon pointedly raised his cup to “King James his good health” (fol. 25 v.) – few could afford such insolence! On 14 October he and like-minded persons regularly celebrated their rightful sovereign’s birthday (fol. 79 v.). But “the usurper of Orange” was *stadhouder* (ruler) of the Netherlands and acting king of England, heading two great maritime powers and Russia’s trading partners, which were the priorities of the Grand Embassy. This alone was sufficient to rule out Gordon’s participation. Moreover, for all the tsar’s wilfulness, and affection for his Swiss favourite, he had too much respect for the old warrior to subject him to Lefort, the Scot’s former protégé, who yielded much both in years and talents. And I would offer one more reason. On the very eve of the Embassy’s departure a plot by I.Ye. Tsykler and his accomplices was exposed; the tsar was so preoccupied with investigation that he twice postponed his promised visit to Gordon, which did not normally happen (fols. 97 v.–98 v.). Peter knew how many internal and external enemies he had; he also realised that A.S. Shein was a mediocre commander²⁰, let alone the mock “generalissimos” Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky and I.I. Buturlin. The tsar could have presaged that Gordon would be of much more use in Moscow, to perform his usual duties of protecting the frontier and lawful authority. This decision proved wise indeed.

In the spring of 1697, for the first time in many years, Peter and Gordon parted company for a long while. On 10 March *Uriadnik* Piotr Mikhailov left for Riga with his Grand Ambassadors, and on 6 April the general marched south with his troops again as second in command to Boyar Shein, who ordered to make haste to Azov, “because he had gott intelligence that the Turks with a strong army were on their march thither” (fol. 111). On 24 May the Scot yet again appeared at the familiar walls sooner than the boyar and others, and saluted Azov with three salvos. Fortification of the town and its environs was well advanced, but much remained to be done. According to Auchintoul, who

¹⁹ On Gordon’s Jacobitism see *Diary, V: 1690–1695*, pp. xxxi–xxxiii; P. Dukes, G.P. Herd & J. Kotilaine, *Stuarts and Romanovs. The Rise and Fall of a Special Relationship* (Dundee, 2009), pp. 162–84.

²⁰ I agree with Paul Bushkovitch that Shein “was more an administrator than a field commander” (P. Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great. The Struggle for Power, 1671–1725* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 186).

also made this campaign, “notwithstanding the Czar’s absence... the war was carried on pretty successfully against the Turks: the boyar A.S. Shein being left Generalissimo (but with express orders from the Czar not to undertake any thing of moment without General Gordon’s advice”).²¹ Even if such an order was not expressly made (for obvious reasons Auchintoul highly honoured his clansman and father-in-law), Shein was long acquainted with General *Piotr Ivanovich*, respected him as well, and could only gain by taking his advice. Gordon Sr. usually assumed responsibility upon himself and changed the disposition, “ordering the cavalierie neerer the flanks”, and causing “divide and assigne the stations to the regiments according to their strength” (fol. 115). The Turks and Tatars did not hazard to approach the fortress, being checked by the very presence of the tsar’s troops. Prisoners reported: “If the Christians did not come with a considerable army to Azow, the Turkes intended with all the forces they could gett together in these countreyes to attack it. But if any great forces should come and compleet the fortifications, then that they would never adventure the takeing of it without a great power” (fols. 117–117 v.). Anyway, light skirmishes with the enemy were frequent: “On the 3d of June a body of Tartars came up early in the morning, in view of the Russian camp... A battallion of foot, with 2 squadrons of horse and 2 field-pieces, together with the Cossacks and Calmucks under the command of Lt.Colonel Alexander Gordon [of Auchintoul], were ordered out against them. The Tartars were forced to retreat; the Cossacks and Calmucks pursuing them, killed a few of them, and took 6 prisoners”.²²

Vauban’s system was used on the banks of the Don to construct hornworks, ravelins, *contre-gardes* etc. On 4 July “after devotion and the usuall ceremonies... the new fort opposite over the Don to Azow was named by the titul of St. Peters Towne” (fol. 122 v.); one of the curtains, whether by its builder himself or his colleagues, was wittily called *Gordin*. J.G. Korb’s *Diary* contains a plan where the fort beyond the river, named Petropolis, appears not much smaller than Azov.²³ Works proceeded at a good pace in hopes of fast departure home, but the danger was not yet over. On 20 July over 20,000 enemy horse under Kalga Sultan arrived; “wee being alarumed, drew out all the cavalierie and sent for the Kalmuiks, placing them on the left hand or wing. Wee continued standing befor the campe about 4 or 5 howres, our voluntiers or these who were willing to go skirmishing with them all this tyme, with diverse

²¹ Gordon of A[u]chintoul, op. cit., I, p. 114.

²² Ibid., p. 115.

²³ See Korb, op. cit.

fortune; untill being sufficient weary, both parties retired". In the end Kalga failed to lure the Christians out of their ranks with a false retreat in order to a counterstrike, so often used by Tatars to deadly effect, and had to turn back (fol. 126 v.).

Meanwhile there was much hotter action on the Ukrainian front, especially Lower Dnieper, where the Ottomans with Crimean and Ak-Kermen Tatar hordes under the khan himself strove to reconquer Tavan', Kazy-Kermen and other forts.²⁴ They were opposed by local garrisons and corps under Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky and Hetman I.S. Mazepa, who dispatched worrying news to Azov, asking for help. On 3 August 1697 it was decided that Gordon would promptly march with a part of the army to defend Ukraine; to that end his Butyrsky and Tambov regiments were reinforced with 16 companies of the tsar's court cavalry (fols. 129–130). The general had an excellent knowledge of Ukraine, having served there for many years. He quickly reached Valuyka, where contradictory news and orders were received from Moscow, from Shein on his march, and Prince Yakov Dolgoruky from the Dnieper. Gordon dismissed the court horsemen, who were substituted for more efficient units (3 cavalry, 1 soldiers' and Rybnensky Cossack regiments), so that in total he now had 6,508 men in 8 regiments, besides Ukrainian Cossacks. By late September the general came to Oposhnia, where a council was held with his old friends Mazepa and Dolgoruky; they decided that "the business of Tavan requires a speedy relieffe. And so resolved upon a detachment of 20 or 30,000 men, whereof I and the *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. Dolgorukoy am to have the command over the Russes, & the Hetman to send a commander apart to command his men" (fols. 151–151 v.).

Gordon went on to assist Tavan'. By now it was deep and stormy autumn, a season which even the best of his soldiers were not used to spend in desolate steppes and forced marches. Hard drinking, grumbling and desertion began. Things became so bad that once "by the importunity of the impertinent drunken under officers of the Butirsky reg-t [Gordon's own!] I stayed till ten a'clock, which gave opportunity to many of the Tambovish to runaway". Nonetheless, on 15 October the Scot's corps arrived as far as the Dnieper, where they learned that the enemy had already raised the siege of Tavan' and Kazy-Kermen. "By w-ch newes many were rejoyced, and even all, for it is a very unseasonable tyme of the yeare for marching a army through a wild desert

²⁴ For more details see N.I. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskiye monografii i issledovaniya. Mazepa i Mazepintsy*, Kn. 6, Vol. XVI (St.Petersburg, 1905), pp. 464–72.

and uninhabited countrey 3 or 400 miles, the returne being more terrible & dangerous for lossing our horses for want of forrage” (fols. 144 v.–145).

Although this time Gordon never got a chance to fight the Turks and Tatars, his journal contains much valuable data on combat operations at Tavan’ and elsewhere, for he was regularly informed about it by participants and reliable persons (fols. 129–164 v., *passim*). He turned back, and through snowstorms and cold on 2 November made it to the village of Ivanovskoye near Yefremov, recently granted to him for Azov. He was so exhausted that on the following day the *Diary* says nothing at all. On the 9th he got home to the Sloboda. In a letter from Holland to Moscow Tsar Peter praised “the very joyful news of the valiant repulse by the Tavan’ garrison,.. for they, the garrison, are the only cause of that victory”.²⁵ The Tavan’ contingent fought bravely indeed, but here Peter was unjust to those who hastened to the rescue; the Turks and Tatars must have been aware of their approach, which contributed to enemy retreat. The tsar’s official letters to his Holy League allies – the emperor, king of Poland and doge of Venice – sounded different: “The said generals of our Tsarian Majesty, leading the army on the frontiers, immediately came to relieve these fortresses... [The enemy,] seeing the unexpected arrival of our Tsarian Majesty’s army, and the bold advance on themselves, leaving their intention, and unable to resist, fled quickly...”²⁶ Such was the outcome of one of the least bloody, but one of the longest, farthest and most wearisome campaigns in Gordon’s career, which lasted over 7 months. But the Scot had one more exploit to perform.

* * *

The first sparks of internal unrest flared up by April 1698. On the 3rd several hundred *strel'tsy* came to Moscow without leave to complain of their needs, and when the authorities tried to detain some of them, their comrades set them free by force. On that day Gordon observed that this “caused a great consternation among the great men, especially these in office in the city. The *Generallissimus Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] sent immediately for me, and haveing told me all the business with high aggravations, which I considering the weakness of that party and the want of a head, did not think it worth the takeing it so highly and apprehending so great danger. However I

²⁵ Tsar Peter to A.A. Vinus, 26 November 1697 (*Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I, p. 217).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 208–14.

went to the Butirky to prevent all misfortunes, and be ready in case any tumult or mutiny should be" (fol. 186a v.). Soon troublemakers were driven out of Moscow, and all seemed quiet. But Romodanovsky and others, appointed by the tsar to govern in his absence, could well remember the fateful events of 1682 and 1689, and did not worry in vain.

In early June Moscow was stirred by the ominous news that four regiments (those of Kolzakov, Chubarov, Chorny and Hundertmark) arbitrarily left the Lithuanian border, deposed their officers, elected commanders from rank and file, and were on the march to the capital to press their demands. Many loyalists must have blessed the prudence of the tsar, who had recently removed all *strel'tsy* units from Moscow, sending them to Azov and other faraway places. Of the ensuing panic we have several testimonies, not least from the tsar himself, who rebuked Romodanovsky from abroad: "A riot by the *strel'tsy* is announced... I do not know how you have got such womanish fright!.. Nothing is ever to be done with such cowardice!"²⁷ The terrified boyars decided to send against the rebels some trustworthy troops under Shein and Gordon, who remarks: "It was resolved to send an army against them of horse & foot, and that I should advance with the foot befor, untill the cavaliery might be conveened... And there being ordered that 500 of my regiment and as many of each of the other three standing regiments in Mosco should be commanded, I accordingly ordered the officers & sojourns who must go" (fol. 196 v.). On 13 June the general marched to River Khodynka with infantry and artillery. The day before, according to Korb, Gordon attended a banquet at the Polish envoy's, and "standing up from the table, took his leave of all, as he had to hasten to meet the rebels".²⁸ His composite brigade numbered 2,300 officers and soldiers, including 580 from his Butyrsky, 516 from Preobrazhensky, 596 from Semionovsky and 613 from Lefort's regiments; furthermore, express summons were ordered to 1,230 "writers" (*pod'yachiye*), grooms and court attendants, in all some 3,700 men with 25 cannon.²⁹

On 17 June news came that the *strel'tsy* were approaching the Resurrection (New Jerusalem) monastery, 40 *versts* from Moscow. Fearing lest they establish themselves behind its walls, Gordon ordered his foot to double pace, while he himself with a small mounted escort rode towards the rebels; the latter, being

²⁷ Peter to Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky, 9 May 1698 (*Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I, pp. 251–2).

²⁸ Korb, op. cit., p. 64.

²⁹ Ustrialov, op. cit., III, pp. 166–7.

about 2,200 strong³⁰ were already crossing the Istra river. “With expostulations & faire words” he advised them not to pass the river, which they insisted upon. Turning back to bring up his troops, deploy them and block the Moscow road, the general met the *strel'tsy* again in order to negotiate, “but found them very refractory to what wee desired” (fols. 197 v.–198). The next day, on the 18th, he went to the rebel camp for the third and final time, bidding them go back to the places assigned for their service, and give up the ringleaders and deserters, promising them pardon and tsar’s grace instead. Given the importance of this episode, I shall quote several accounts by contemporaries, each of whom, even if not present at New Jerusalem on that day, was closely acquainted with Gordon and must have heard the story from him direct.

Korb says in his *Diary*: “Gordon compensated force for stratagem, and came to the bank alone, wishing to speak with the *strel'tsy*. He found them already busy at the crossing, and began to dissuade them from further attempts in roughly the following expressions: what is their intention? Whither are they bound? If they are thinking of Moscow, the approaching night hinders them from going further and taking all the narrows of the higher bank; therefore, they better remain on the other side of the river, and use the night time for wiser deliberation what to endeavour tomorrow. The rebel crowd did not oppose such friendly advices, because physical fatigue affected their thoughts too, declining them from unexpected accidents of battle. Meanwhile Gordon, who has well observed all the conveniences of terrain, caused his soldiers occupy, with Shein’s consent, an advantageous hill nearby, distributed and strengthened the sentry posts, and omitted nothing which could serve, on the one hand, for the defence and protection of his troops, and on the other, for the detriment and loss of the enemy”.³¹

Okol'nichy A.A. Matveyev tells us: “Mr. General Gordon, a chaste man, above all a loyal servant and experienced soldier in all military matters, who for many years in the Tsars’ army was present everywhere, rode himself to the regiments of those *strel'tsy* mutineers and, admonishing them, averted them in every way from their malicious undertaking: “What do they thus dare to perform with an armed hand against His Tsarian Majesty, our lawful Sovereign? Let them, the *strel'tsy*, finally desist from their crime, and confess their guilt, for which they may yet obtain the Tsar’s grace for themselves; but if they, according to their former obstinacy, persist in their similar hard-hearted

³⁰ Ibid., p. 165.

³¹ Korb, op. cit., pp. 179–80.

frozenness, henceforth let them, the *strel'tsy*, not expect any mercy at all from His Tsarian Majesty". But thereafter to him, Mr. General, as formerly, they gave answer with much ignorance from hostile and rude words..."³²

The general's kinsman Auchintoul recalls: "The General (who had rested little or none that night, and fearing lest the rebels should seduce and corrupt any of his troops, had caused the officers patrol the whole night long) mounted his horse, and went out to commune with them as he had promised; and when some of their leaders came up to him, he asked them what they had resolved upon? said, he hoped they would be so wise as follow his advice, who was really their friend: they told him, they neither had nor would alter their resolution, but were determined (seeing they were so near) to visit their wives. If that was all, he told them their wives should be sent to them. They told him, that there was no use for that, since besides seeing their wives, they had all of them affairs of their own to look after, which they would put an end to before they could think of returning. Then he assured them in positive terms, that the Generalissimo was at hand with a powerful army, ready to fall on them and cut them to pieces; but, if they would yet return to their duty, he promised them still his majesty's most gracious pardon. The rebels interrupting him, told that they would go to Moscow, and were not at all in pain about the Generalissimo and his army. But he out of real pity insisting, said, he was sorry for them, for he saw plainly that in a few minutes they must be destroyed. They told him at last, to mind his own business; and some of them were so bold as to present their pieces to fire at him. Then he thought it time for him to march off, and putting spurs to his horse, rode up to the Generalissimo, told him, that these unhappy people were infatuated, and would not hearken to reason, so that there was no more time to be lost".³³

Lastly, here are the words of the protagonist himself: "I went to their campe, and commanded them to conveene and heare his M. gracious concessions. There conveened about 200 of them, to whom I caused first their deputies declare what was ordered, and then my self used all the rhetorick I was master of to perswade them to submission, and to bring a petition of being guilty of transgressing his M. commands. But they answered that they were all ready to dy or go to Mosko albeit for 8 or 3 dayes, and then to go whither his M. should order. And when I told them that they will not be permitted to go to Mosko, and that they should not once think of that, they replied that will rather dy as

³² *Zapiski russkikh liudey. Sobytiya vremion Petra Velikago. Zapiski grafa A.A. Matveyeva* (St. Petersburg, 1841), pp. 61–2.

³³ Gordon of A[u]chintoul, op. cit, I, pp. 126–7.

not go to Mosko; and two old fellowes among them began to aggravate their grievances & necessities, and halfe a dozen more confirmed what the other said, and kept a great deale of stirr. I advised them to consult each regiment apart and consider well what they did; which they refused, saying that all were of one mind. Then I told them that I would go without the campe and stay for ane answer, threatening them that if they did not now lay hold of his M. grace, hereafter they were not to exspect such conditions, if wee should be forced to use violence to reduce them. All which they valued not. So I rode out of their campe, and stayed at a litle distance about a quarter of ane howre, & then sent to them for their last answer. And they returning no other, with signes of commiseration I departed; and haveing viewed the conveniences, after consultation with the *Generallissimus* & others, wee resolved to draw out the army & cannon and use violence, if they should not submitt” (fols. 198–198 v.).

These descriptions diverge somewhat, but they agree in many things, above all in confirmation of Gordon’s perfect *sang froid*. His remarkable self-control is quite evident both from the narrative itself and the tone of his journal. Still, he subjected himself to mortal danger by repeatedly facing the rebels with a guard of just 10 or 12 men³⁴, surrounded by some 200 armed *strel’tsy*. The initial demand of the latter seemed harmless: “to be permitted to come to Mosko to visitt their howses, wiwes & children, and to petition for their necessities” (fol. 197 v.). But during subsequent investigation it turned out that their designs went much further: “In all four regiments the only talk has been that the Sovereign beyond the sea was no more, and the boyars wish to strangle the *tsarevich*; their only thought has been... to slay the boyars, to ravage Kokuy [Foreign Suburb], to slaughter the Germans, to plunder their homes”; if Peter were alive, not to let him back in, because “he is unmerciful to the *strel’tsy*, and began to trust the Germans”³⁵, but to put Tsarevna Sophia on the throne. We should pay attention to this generality in rebel confessions: “To cut down the Foreign Suburb; and most of all they are indignant at those aliens, for it is known that hardships and evil come from them...”³⁶

And now one of the principal “Germans” and “heretics” stood before them almost unprotected. In order to be heard, he had to approach as near as

³⁴ Ibid., p. 124.

³⁵ Ustrialov, op. cit., III, pp. 161, 165. In the 17th century all West Europeans were called in Russian *nemtsy* (literally, “mute ones”), which came to mean “Germans”, that nation being the most numerous in Muscovy.

³⁶ Bogoslovsky, *Piotr I*, III, p. 43.

possible, to look them in the eyes. True, the *strel'tsy* have long known Gordon very well, and could not but pay him due respect: at Azov the regiments of Kolzakov and Chorny formed part of his division and were directly subjected to him. They often saw him on the march and in battle, the veterans could remember him at Chigirin and Perekop. Remarkably, at the forthcoming investigation, where the *strel'tsy* fully revealed their hatred for "Frantsko Lefort" and other "Germans", they did not blame Gordon for anything. One source even claims that during negotiations the *strel'tsy* "bowed" to the Scot.³⁷ However, in similar circumstances, when in 1682 Boyar A.S. Matveyev strove to pacify the riotous *strel'tsy*, his speech seemed to work, but in a moment the enraged mob butchered him, even though he was Russian Orthodox, one of their own, a former *strel'tsy* colonel. A single shot or a poleaxe slash would have sufficed. The general could have been killed, wounded or taken hostage – and then, would Shein, who stayed behind all the time, and other commanders have coped without him? Auchintoul observes with some justice: "It is certain, that if the rebels had killed General Gordon on this occasion (which they might have done without any difficulty), they would have carried their point, for there was none other who had the resolution to oppose them".³⁸ As it happened, the general failed to convince the mutineers by peaceful words, but he came out unharmed from this verbal and psychological duel, gaining the time to concentrate government forces. After this the rebels' chances became minimal: they were outnumbered and outgunned as well as surrounded and pressed against the river.

When the talks broke down, the tsar's forces opened fire. "Shooting over them, encouraged them so that they began to flourish their collours, throw up their caps and prepare for further defence. But at the next firing of the cannon round they began to reell, seing some of their comorades in all quarters killed. So then, whither for despaire or to shelter themselves from the shott of the cannon, they sallyed out with 5 or 6 collours... At the third fyreing round many of them ran out of their campe towards the foot & horsemen; and at the 4th firing very few remained in their *waggonburg*. So I advanced downe into their campe with two battalions, and set guards round & within it. In the tyme of this service, which lasted about ane howre, wee had some wounded with small shott, and a Dutch bombardirer with a slugg. Of the rebells were 22 killed on the place and about 40 wounded, few whereof are like to recover.

³⁷ *Dnevnye zapiski I.A. Zbeliabuzhskogo, Russky arkhiv*, 1910, Kn. III, p. 60.

³⁸ Gordon of A[u]chintoul, op. cit., I, p. 127.

Wee caused all the prisoners be driven into the monastery and put into severall vaulted howses & other places” (fol. 199).

Gordon apparently took part in preliminary interrogation and punishment of the *strel'tsy*, ordered by Shein near New Jerusalem: “*Wee* were every day busied from morning to evening examineing business, and many were tortured, some whereof confessed”; “*wee* passed the sentence of death upon them, of haveing their heades severed from their bodies”. After the first act of this tragedy “130 were executed, 70 were killed & dyed of their wounds, 1,845 persons sent to prison in diverse monasteryes & 25 remained in this monastery” (fol. 201 v.). But the general had little or nothing to do with much more cruel investigations, tortures and executions conducted in Moscow and Preobrazhenskoye under personal supervision of Tsar Peter, as soon as he got back from the West. Gordon did his duty and evidently found no pleasure in gory reprisals. The *Diary* gives few details of this terrifying second process; by contrast with Korb, mention of executions is very terse, and the author records witnessing torture only once (fol. 210).

Naturally, for all its merits, the *Diary*'s description of the last *strel'tsy* revolt is not complete or blameless. For instance, Gordon does not say that he was not the only one to talk with the rebels; another negotiator was Prince I.M. Kol'tsov-Mosal'sky. Neither does he single out the artillery commander, the German Colonel von Krage, who otherwise often appears in the journal. On the contrary, Korb ascribes to his compatriot Krage the lion's share of success in the battle of New Jerusalem³⁹; indeed, that officer did well, although the action did not amount to the cannonade against the mutineers: there were also an abortive *strel'tsy* sally, the pursuit and taking of their camp. On the other hand, Gordon has never been known for vanity, and hardly ever extolled his own achievements; his concise message to Lefort on the rout of the rebellion runs: “I rather wish someone else would tell or write of my service in this. Praise be to God that a great fire is traced and quelled in the beginning”.⁴⁰ Indeed, the fire could have been much worse. The *Diary* does not contain the curious fact that the *strel'tsy* tried to tempt Gordon's Butyrsky soldiers, having decided “to go to Butyrki... and ask... whether the soldiers would stand for them?”, but “the soldiers refused, saying, do whatever you think fit, we cannot stand for you, for the Sovereign's *ukase* about you is severe”.⁴¹ Admittedly, this was only discovered in early 1699, for which the *Diary* is not preserved.

³⁹ Korb, op. cit., pp. 180–2.

⁴⁰ F. Lefort, *Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 284–5.

⁴¹ Bogoslovsky, *Piotr I, III*, pp. 224–5.

The author's final campaign was very short-range and brief, although its significance can hardly be overrated. In their last battle the old Russian *strel'tsy* troops were defeated by "new-order" units headed by foreigners, which is deeply symbolic. Once again, as in 1689, when, at the height of Tsarevna Sophia's struggle with young Peter, Gordon led foreign officers to his side, the Scot was instrumental in saving the tsar's throne.

* * *

Apart from military matters, the last volume of the *Diary*, like all the rest, is replete with various information in other spheres. It contains a lot of details on the author himself, his household, family and relations, on Moscow's Foreign Suburb and aliens in Muscovy (Scots, Germans, English, Dutch etc.), on Tsar Peter (with a break during the Grand Embassy) and leading figures of Russian government and administration, as well as on many other people and events. Although all parts of the *Diary* include not a few documents, Volume VI is especially rich in financial and economic material, such as lists of supplies, goods and services, estimates, bills, payrolls, enumerations of rent etc. There are also peculiar fragments like a description of rye brandy distilling in the town of Usiord (fol. 107).

General Gordon lived in his large mansion in the Foreign Suburb, with spacious grounds and gardens. Always distinguished for his diligence and ability to keep house, in the last years of his life he embarked on a major construction programme with improvements to both his residence proper and outbuildings. This was required by his status and constant necessity to entertain numerous high-ranking guests with their suites, starting with the tsar and foreign envoys, as well as the growing numbers of his kin and servants. There were large orders and deliveries of stone, brick, timber, iron, lime, tiles etc. Accounts were settled with contractors, masons, carpenters, smiths and oven-makers. On 2 January 1697 the general "agreed with Nikita & Stephan to build me a stone-house according to the modell, & to give him for worke 120 rubles and 10 *span* of brandy" (fol. 92); the "model" was probably designed by himself. Later on 15 rubles were allotted to build a mill (fol. 100). In April 1698 the hall (*Palata*) was added to, and in June it was agreed for 5 rubles "to change the pends & bring the two in one" (fols. 188 v., 196 v.). He also ordered "to set-over the double bathstove and cut 2 roomes above it, cover and do all within the new stone addition, and make the trally with gates, all for 13 rubles & 2 *spann* of brandy". At the same time the orchard received from Prince

Cherkassky “20 aple-trees, 2 peare-trees, and befor 21, with rizerberry [Scots for currant] trees 100”, and “10 aple- & 10 peer trees were got from the *diak*” (fol. 189 v.).

Major purchases were made of expensive overseas wines, malt, hops, fish, spices and other items. On 1 November 1698 Gordon “caused put into the greatest pond” (i.e. not the only one he had) 98 zanders, 300 sterlets, 50 breams and carps (fol. 214). Supplies from abroad usually arrived via Archangel; just one consignment comprised, on 6 waggons, “4 hogsheads of white wine, 2 of claret, 2 halfe *aames* of sack, 1 barell of pickled harring, 1 of salt kod, 1 of salmon, 1 of anchovies, 1 of bisket, 1 of butter, 4 *pude* of stockfish, 1 bar[rel] of har[ring], 1 of salt cod from Hary Gordon, a barrell of anczovies & ano-r of olives” (fol. 215 v.).

At this period Gordon’s annual salary amounted to 952 rubles (fols. 95 v., 174). After the conquest of Azov in 1696 more of the tsar’s favours followed: “a medall of 6 ducates, a covered gilted cup, a coat of cloth of gold lined with sables”; “received 90 rubles for a gilt cup of 6 pund & cloth of gold to a coat; received sables for 180 rubles to line the coat with” (fols. 91, 101). But the most important rewards were Gordon’s first Russian heritable lands (he already transferred his Scottish family estate of Auchleuchries to his eldest son John). Only the supreme commanders received lands for Azov; besides Gordon, the others were Shein, Lefort, A.M. and F.A. Golovins and N.M. Zotov. The Scot was granted 100 peasant households, and on 12 February 1697 he obtained a patent on the villages of Krasnaya in Riazan’ district (37 households) and Ivanovskoye in Solova district (25 households – fol. 96). But again the vain and jealous Lefort, as formerly with the First Selected regiment, stole a march on his old “cousin” and patron; the village of Krasnoye, which they both had a claim on, was given to the Swiss favourite (fol. 98 v.).⁴² Instead, Gordon got Krasnaya Sloboda in Riazan’ district with 64 households⁴³; on 20 March “His Ma-ties Priviledge letter or Patent” for these lands was delivered (fols. 99, 100 v.). The deficient 11 households due to him are not indicated in the *Diary*; they could have been added in the last year of Gordon’s life. On 27 May 7207 (1699), upon his petition, another estate was assigned to him “in

⁴² F. Lefort, *Sbornik materialov i dokumentov*, p. 225.

⁴³ Ustrialov, op. cit., I, p. 396: “In the year 205 to General P.I. Gordon – in Riazan’ district the village of Krasnaya Sloboda (confiscated from Prince Golitsyn) – 63 households [should be 64], 113 *cheti* of tillage, 3,000 ricks of hay, revenue 128 rubles”.

Yefremov district, in the town of Bogoyavlenskoye, in the village of Gogol”, which later became known as *Gordonovo*.⁴⁴

The general instantly took to settling the affairs of his newly acquired possessions: he visited them in person, appointed managers, registered his peasants and their goods, distributed their duties, and even gave instructions as to crop rotation: “Ordered 62 3/4 *tiaglaes* and so many *dia[s]atines* of rey and as much of summer corne to be laboured for me, the third part more or so much to ly ley, and to be brought in with the other by turnes” (fol. 206 v.). Soon waggon trains with rents and gifts were on their way to Moscow. The annual rent (*obrok*) from Krasnaya Sloboda amounted to “31 rubles in money, 15 bagges of rey meale, 15 bagges of buck-wheat groates, 11 bagges of hopes, 45 & a halfe *spanes* of brandy, 140 fishes, 25 *pude* of swines flesh, 10 *pude* of honey, 5 *pude* of butter, 25 pigges, 25 geese, 20 duckes, 37 hens, 22 1/3 tunnes of barley” (fols. 172 v.–173). In February 1698 the peasants of Ivanovskoye brought to their landlord “of table provisions: 40 geese, 29 duckes, 31 hens, 26 1/2 *spans* of wyne, 1,040 egges, 250 handfulls of lint, 2 *pude* & 30 pund of butter; & of my cornes: 18 tunnes of oates, 18 4/1 [*sic*] tunnes of rey, 1 tunne 1/7 of wheate, 9 *czetveriks* of hempseed” (fol. 176 v.) etc.

All this was surely of great help for Gordon’s hugely expensive way of life both at court and at home, and his campaigns demanded a lot of supplies as well. Moreover, he strove to increase his possessions by various means: “Changed lands with Lt. Geresin in the Columinsky district in the Meszerskoy *volost* in the *Dorp* Bunkovy, Gavrilovsky also”, and then bought 5 *chetvert*’ of land in the same place for 5 rubles (fols. 184, 196). He lent money against a pledge: “A gentleman, Alfim Velimbassuf *sin* Ochliabinin, borrowed 20 rubles to the 20 of May next, & layd in pawne of the Galitsky *ujasd*, Robdina *stan*, *dorp* Kunitzina 5 *pawres* with all their goods”⁴⁵; for nonpayment these serfs became the general’s property (fols. 173 v., 176, 180, 196). On another occasion he “bought a man and a wyfe with 3 sons from a gentleman Konrady Nikiforuf for 27 rubles” (fol. 101). He also took care to improve the skills of his servants: “Given the boy Filat to learne the shoemaker trade by the sutor Michael Minayuf for 8 months” (fol. 84 v.). In a word, Gordon tried to make the best use of every peaceful respite in order to perfect his household and estate.

⁴⁴ Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA), Moscow, Fond 1209, opis’ 1, № 147. I am grateful to L.N. Turbina for this reference.

⁴⁵ *Diary*, V, p. 454.

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On 9 August 1698 the general set out for his new country house with his wife, sons, daughters and grandchildren on “31 horses, 6 coaches & *kolesses*, 4 *polubes* & 5 slight waggons” and with a convoy of 25 soldiers and servants (fol. 205 v.). The cavalcade was so impressive that Charles Whitworth, the later British envoy to Russia who read the *Diary*, mistook it for a “march against the Turks”! The Gordon family was numerous indeed, but by this time most of its members lived apart, in houses of their own, and not all of them in the Foreign Suburb. The general’s second wife was the Roman Catholic Elizabeth Ronaer, daughter of a Netherlandish colonel of the tsar’s army; on 3 February 1698 they celebrated their silver jubilee (fol. 175 v.). Gordon’s eldest son by his first marriage to Catherine von Bockhoven, John (1667–1712), started as an ensign in the Russian army, but quitted military service, settled on the family estate of Auchleuchries and received a grant on it from his father. On 1 August 1698 he came from Scotland via Riga to Moscow with his wife Elizabeth Grant and two officers (fol. 205)⁴⁶, staying in the Sloboda until May 1699.⁴⁷ Patrick’s second son, James (1668–1722), in his father’s footsteps became a soldier, commanded the Tambov regiments as colonel and distinguished himself at Azov; he spent much time in Tambov and on campaigns, but often visited Moscow. The youngest of the general’s surviving sons, Theodore (1681–1733/4), was born in Kiev, graduated from the Jesuit College of Braunsberg (Braniewo) in Eastern Prussia, and also followed the military career; after the conquest of Azov he addressed a welcoming speech to the tsar, having “gratulated his M. safe returne & glorious atchievements”; on 5 August 1697 he was appointed ensign of Butyrsky regiment along with John Hamilton, who was also brought up in the Gordon family (fols. 77, 130 v.).

Both of Patrick’s daughters married foreign officers in Muscovite employ, but were soon widowed. The elder, Catherine Elizabeth (1665–1739), relict of Colonel Rudolf Strasburg, had three children by him. Joy and sorrow sometimes went hand in hand. On 15 February 1698 Catherine wedded Colonel Gordon of Auchintoul, but on the same day her sister Mary (1673–

⁴⁶ Russian State Archive of Military History (RGVIA), Moscow, F. 495, opis’ 1, № 65 (“Anent General Gordon’s petition on the visit of his son John from Scotland to Moscow with family, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas Gordon and Captain Robert Kinloch, to see his father. 18 June–13 July 1698”).

⁴⁷ RGADA, F. 150, opis’ 1, 1699, № 5.

after 1698) lost her husband: “At 9 aclock wee convoyed bride & bridegroom to their chamber. About 10 aclock my son in law [Colonel Carl Snivins] began to strugle with death, and continued in the agony about halfe ane howre, and so departed in the 32 yeare of his age...— a modest, discreet, civill, ingenious and godly person. I sent immediately notice to my howse that the musick should ceass, and let the guests go if they pleased” (fol. 178). The general’s young grandson, Patrick Snivins, soon followed his father to the grave (fol. 202).

In accordance with Scots custom, the general regarded members of his clan as his kinsfolk: “Even if I knew him not, for many belong to the house of Gordon in Scotland, and yet [we] are as if one family”.⁴⁸ Hearing of Patrick’s fame, many Gordons flocked from various parts of Europe to Muscovy, where they were certain to receive attention and patronage: on 13 December 1697 George Gordon was promoted to lieutenant (fol. 163); on 16 December “Achintowle graced colonell” (fol. 163 v.); on 26 December “C[aptain] Lt. Al. Gordon his daughter cristened and called Katherine, I with M[adam] Le Fort & others being God-fathers & mothers” (fol. 165); on 8 April 1698 “the letter or order for L.C. [Harry] Gordon to stay another yeare at Archangel gott out...” (fol. 188). Not all of such cases are reflected in the *Diary*. For example, on 14 January 1697 the tsar’s letters were sent to the *voevoda* of Kiev: “On his way to our, the Great Sovereign’s, employ, according to the letter and summons from our General Piotr Ivanovich Gordon, from the Imperial land through Poland, comes the foreigner Captain Gordon with servicemen of different ranks”.⁴⁹ On 3 June 1698 there arrived in Pskov one John Gordon: “He said he was born in the English land in the town of Pitaget [Peterhead in Scotland], an officer’s son, and he served in the English land as lieutenant of foot for four years”, and “is coming to Moscow according to the letter from his uncle General Piotr Ivanovich Gordon”; at the same time “there appeared at the State Embassy Office two visiting foreigners,.. and reported: both of them were born in the Scottish land, one is named Roman Yury’s son Killog [Robert George’s son Kinloch], the other named Thomas William’s son Gordon”.⁵⁰ I can also mention here the strange story of the “trickster” Gordon, related by Korb, but absent from the *Diary*.⁵¹

⁴⁸ *Diary*, V, pp. 246–7.

⁴⁹ RGVA, F. 495, opis’ 1, № 57, fol. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, № 65, fols. 5–7.

⁵¹ Korb, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–10.

The Scottish colony in Russia was far from confined to the Gordons. Apart from Robert Kinloch, Volume VI abounds with names like Menzies, Livingston, Hamilton, Crawford, Bruce, Scott, Gilbert, physician John Buck and others. As these people, mostly officers, moved along in space and career, an effective international system of recommendations was used. Thus, on 19 December 1698 Patrick Gordon “received a letter from Mr. John Drummond, recommending Capt. Georg Walker to me, dated Amsterdam 2 Aug. 1698” (fol. 218). The general was close both with new arrivals and long Russified Orthodox persons of Scots descent, such as Colonels A.V. Buist and I.I. Chambers (“at a feast by Coll. Chambers, where his M[a]jesty. Stayed long” – fol. 211 v.).⁵²

It was not just compatriots whom Gordon invited to Russia and patronised, but also immigrants from other countries. His summons was answered by Baron Johann von Blomberg from Kurland⁵³, who became colonel of the elite Preobrazhensky Guards. Among others, the Scot William Lindsay was joined by the Austrian Wilhelm Farscher, both of whom were enrolled as ensigns in Gordon’s Butyrsky regiment.⁵⁴ In fact, the general’s circle comprised all foreigners in Russia of any note, starting with ambassadors, “the first favourite” Lefort and opulent Western merchants, and down to junior officers and humble craftsmen. Besides, his Russian and Ukrainian acquaintances were similarly extensive and varied.

Unlike Volume V of the *Diary*, which contains dozens of letters by the author, Volume VI has a copy of only one, to Archbishop John Paterson of Glasgow, dated 29 January 1696 (fol. 6 v.). However, the general’s correspondence remains enormous both in numbers and in geographic, national and social scope. His correspondents include the tsar himself, Russian noblemen, governors and leading administrators, Hetman Mazepa and Ukrainian colonels, Scots lords, generals, diplomats, merchants, stewards and, naturally, his relations. Gordon’s high repute and respect for him in different parts of Europe are confirmed by his contacts with such figures as Emperor Leopold’s court doctor F.F. Ilmer von Wartenberg (fol. 54), treasurer of the British “Russia Company” Samuel Meverell (fol. 4) and Swedish Governor General of Livonia Erik Dahlbergh, who sent to him some “engineers’ printed

⁵² For more on Scottish influence under Tsar Peter see D. Fedosov, “Peter the Great: the Scottish Dimension” in *Peter the Great and the West. New Perspectives*, ed. L. Hughes (London, 2001), pp. 89–101.

⁵³ RGVIA, F. 495, opis’ 1, № 58.

⁵⁴ Ibid., № 54.

letters... on purpose, because those letters are most necessary for military conduct”.⁵⁵ The geography of letters stretches from Scotland to Siberia, over all the tsar’s European dominions from Archangel to Azov, including Kiev, Pskov, Novgorod, Smolensk, Tambov, Kazan’, Tobol’sk etc., and in the West, Aberdeen, Königsberg, Riga, Gdańsk, Kraków, Narva, Mitau, Hamburg, Amsterdam, London, Helsingør and Virovitica in Slavonia. Having diligently studied this aspect of our source, Daniel Waugh comes to the conclusion that Gordon “was exceptional for the extent of his networks and the degree to which he actively sought and obtained information. He had the experience of other cultural milieux that most in the Muscovite elite lacked”; for that reason the general may be considered as “the best connected man” in 17th-century Muscovy.⁵⁶

As for geography, in his final years Gordon seemed to have set himself a goal to visit those parts of southern Russia (on the Don, near Belgorod, Oriol, Tula and Riazan’) and Left-Bank Ukraine, which he did not see formerly. The names of many villages and rivulets possibly make their earliest appearance in his *Diary*, although some of them could have ceased to exist. True, the general could seldom spare time to describe these places at length (one of the exceptions is Divnogorsky monastery (fol. 27 v.)). Gordon viewed the world with the eyes of a soldier and almost always made some mention of citadels, fortifications or advantageous terrain, which lay on his route (fols. 15, 68, 109, 139 etc.). He was especially taken with hydrography, marking the course of rivers with their sources, branches etc.

* * *

During these years, as formerly, one of Gordon’s main concerns was his direction of the Roman Catholic community in Moscow and Russia at large. It was mainly through his efforts that the first permanent Catholic church and school in Muscovy came into being. Despite the opposition from Orthodox authorities and Protestant neighbours, the numbers and influence of Catholics increased, owing in part to Russia’s participation in the mostly Catholic Holy League against the Turks and Tatars. The Holy Trinity parish in Moscow’s

⁵⁵ RGADA, F. 150, opis’ 1, 1697, № 16, fol. 1 (File on Alexander Gilbert’s arrival, 20 May 1697).

⁵⁶ D.C. Waugh, “The Best-Connected Man in Muscovy? Patrick Gordon’s Evidence Regarding News and Communications in Muscovy in the Seventeenth Century”, *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, Vol. 7, № 2 (Aberdeen, 2014), pp. 61–124.

Foreign Suburb included many eminent members: Imperial and Polish envoys with their retinues, Admirals Lima and de l'Oisière, tsar's doctors Carbonari and Zoppot, noted military families of Ronaer, Menzies, Livingston, Strasburg et al., the rich merchants Guasconi and Lefort's wife Elizabeth. But the Gordons were held in special esteem. A little later Rev. Francis Emilian affirmed: "After the Most August Emperor, this mission is hardly indebted to anyone more than to the Gordon family. Let alone what they have constantly done for the missionaries themselves, they presented to this mission a select and most useful library, and a rather numerous one at that; they have built the larger part of the stone temple, taking care of its decoration, and they are always ready to do even more, if they are able to".⁵⁷

Patrick Gordon himself, as a devout and ardent son of his church, tirelessly worked for the prosperity of the parish, petitioned the tsar and boyars for its needs, ordered books and vessels, made donations and managed the finances of the community (fols. 4 v., 204 v.). When after some delation the dean was detained by soldiers, the general instantly bailed him out (fol. 174 v.). He also supervised the construction in stone of his burial chapel, adjacent to the wooden church (fol. 86), and strove "to repaire and highten the utmost roome of the congregation howse" (fol. 195). The library which he donated to the parish "consisted of the choicest works", valued at 600 florins or 300 Rhenish gold pieces.⁵⁸ On 20 September 1698 the Scot "sent 74 bookes to the *patres* for the use of the Church" (fol. 210).

At the solemn rite of confirmation on 6 July 1698 the general took the name of Leopold, and his son Theodore that of Joseph; these names, previously unknown in Clan Gordon, were assumed in honour of the German emperor and his heir the archduke, pillars of the Holy League and patrons of Russian Catholics (fol. 202).⁵⁹ As a good Christian, Gordon took part in deeds of charity: he brought up two orphans, sons of Lt.Colonel Hamilton, and in November 1698 he encouraged the christening and adoption by the community of a foundling child (fol. 215 v.).

Always keeping his deep and sincere faith, the general became ever more pious towards the end of his life. The *Diary* pages were increasingly filled with invocations and prayers to God, and words of repentance. But while

⁵⁷ *Pis'ma i doneseniya iezuitov o Rossii kontsa XVII i nachala XVIII veka* (St.Petersburg, 1904), p. 162.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 181.

⁵⁹ Gordon's godfather at this ceremony was the Imperial Envoy Guarient (Korb, op. cit., p. 68).

his spiritual strength was still there, bodily infirmities aggravated because of old wounds, exhausting campaigns and grandiose celebrations of Tsar Peter's "company", although Gordon was its most respected and temperate member. Disease affected him more and more, beginning with the siege of Azov in 1696, and often recurred later (fols. 47, 193 v., 204). From October to December 1698 the general was long confined to his bed, suffering from abdomen colic; at this period the *Diary* largely amounts to a medical report (fols. 212 and ff.). He was taken care of in the best possible way and treated by court doctors using the most expensive remedies from the tsar's pharmacy. Friends sent him different kinds of delicatessen (lemons and oranges from Lefort, Canary sack and wine vinegar from the Danish envoy – fol. 214 v.). As a result, the malady receded, but his last surviving daily entry runs: "This yeare I have felt a sensible decay of my health and strength. Thy will be done, O my gracious God!" (fol. 219).

Volume VI of Patrick Gordon's journal breaks off on 31 December 1698. The author kept notes from the very start of his military career in the mid-1650s, and I do not believe that in the last year of his life he suddenly dropped his pen; nor do I believe that such an assiduous and devoted diarist ceased to record his life altogether in 1668–76 and 1679–83, for which years we do not have his manuscript tomes. Probably the new notebook, begun in 1699, did not come down to us, although we do have some of his letters to the tsar of the same year.⁶⁰ Besides, other sources prove that Gordon, overcoming his illness, carried out his duties for several months longer, appearing at court and receptions, and liberally entertaining guests at home as before. Korb set down many instances of that kind (dates are new style): on 12 February Tsar Peter dined at Gordon's and told him of the insolent words of a convicted rebel: "Give way, Sire! It is I who must lie here [on the block]"; in March, departing from Moscow, the tsar allegedly said to the old Scot: "For a time I entrust everything to you; all should rest in your hands and on your loyalty"; on 18 May the Imperial envoy hosted a meeting of the Catholic community headed by Gordon Sr.; on 19 June "General de Gordon held a dinner for all English and Scottish merchants"; in late July he accompanied the Imperial embassy to Fili and attended the farewell banquets.⁶¹ Apparently, for the very last time he led his regiment at the Tsar's reception of Swedish ambassadors on 14 October 1699.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ustrialov, op. cit., III, pp. 495–6; *Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I, p. 780.

⁶¹ Korb, op. cit., pp. 123–4, 147, 150, 155, 163–4.

⁶² Ustrialov, op. cit., III, pp. 345, 526.

Patrick Gordon's final moments are described in detail by his confessor, Rev. Francis Emilian: "The general told me: "Father, why do you pray for my health? It is all over, let us prepare for the journey". Soon after, according to his desire, we began to say a parting prayer for his soul; as if by a given sign, he fell into agony, but then, rendering in a still steady voice his deepest gratitude to God for his dying unlike so many others, who had to die without a priest or holy sacrament in Tatar deserts, he asked us to read the psalm *Miserere*, briefly took leave of his wife, and blessed his sons and daughters... Raising his eyes to the image of the Most Blessed Virgin, which hung near the bed, [he] lost all senses at the very moment when the Most Serene Tsar entered the adjoining room... [The tsar] exclaimed to the dying one: "Piotr Ivanovich, do you not know me?" But he did not even take his eyes from the image of the Most Holy Mother, and gave no sign that he knew him. After two light convulsions he sweetly expired. Then the Most Serene Tsar, taking a mirror, looked if there was any sign of life, but found none and, glancing at me, said: "Father, I believe he is already dead"... Having closed the eyes of the deceased and kissed him, his own eyes filled with tears, [the tsar] went away".⁶³ In the eighth hour of the morning on 29 November 1699 General Patrick Gordon departed on his final journey – to eternity, and "the eyes of him who had left Scotland a poor unfriended wanderer were closed by the hands of an Emperor".⁶⁴

Despite bitter frost, the majestic funeral ceremony took place on 7 December.⁶⁵ Never has any of the Gordons, not even the Duke and head of the clan, been so solemnly escorted to his grave: the Butyrsky regiment, in deep mourning, led the way; the coffin, faced with red velvet and gold brocade with silver armorial bearings, was alternately carried by 28 colonels; then went the envoys of the Holy Roman emperor and elector of Brandenburg, the residents and commissaries of Britain, Sweden, Denmark and Holland; the widow was accompanied by two generals and 20 noble ladies.⁶⁶ "The Tsar was present with befitting modesty when the house was perfumed with frankincense, and the corpse sprinkled with holy water; he then led the ranks of his soldiers, and was afterwards present at devotion and sermon, standing now in the church itself, now in the sacristy".⁶⁷ "The firing of 24 large cannon

⁶³ *Pis'ma i doneseniya iezuitov*, pp. 46–7.

⁶⁴ *Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries* (Aberdeen, 1859), p. 193.

⁶⁵ *Theatri Europaei Continuati...* (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1707), p. 637.

⁶⁶ *Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon*, I, S. lv–lvii. Alas, the primary source for this description is not given.

⁶⁷ *Pis'ma i doneseniya iezuitov*, p. 48.

at the burial served either as an expression of grief, or as a salute”.⁶⁸ After a Catholic requiem mass, Gordon’s body was laid to rest in the family vault built by himself near the church of the Holy Trinity. The simple white gravestone was only marked with a cross and the epitaph: “Sacrae Tzareae Majestatis / Militiae Generalis / Patricius Leopoldus / Gordon / Natus An[no] D[omi]ni 1635 / Die 31 Martii / Denatus An[no] D[omi]ni / 1699 Die 29 Novembris / Requiescat in / Pace”.⁶⁹ Accounts of the memorial repast have not yet been found, but it was certainly attended by the tsar and the highest dignitaries of state and diplomatic corps. A silver-gilt spoon with the name of the deceased general and dates of his life is preserved; such spoons were given to guests of honour at funeral ceremonies.⁷⁰

The following judgement is ascribed to Tsar Peter at Gordon’s burial: “Myself and the realm have lost a diligent, faithful and brave general. If it had not been for Gordon, Muscovy would have been in great calamity [apparently meaning the *strel’sy* mutiny]. I am giving him just a handful of earth, but he gave me a whole expanse of land with Azov”. A.K. Nartov, who recorded the tribute, adds to it: “This foreigner, according to those who personally knew him, was beloved not only by Peter the Great, but also by his subjects. His death was generally regretted”.⁷¹ Peter also intended to order in Italy the statues of his trusty adherents, Gordon, Lefort, Shein and B.P. Sheremetev, and to erect them in St. Alexander Nevsky’s monastery in his new capital, saying: “These men, by their loyalty and merit, are eternal monuments in Russia. I shall unite my heroes together after their death, under the patronage of my hero, Prince Alexander Nevsky”. The sketches were allegedly sent to Rome, but Peter’s demise interfered with this plan.⁷²

I would agree with the words of a modern historian: “As if to make the last year of the old century an even more marked dividing point in Peter’s life, he lost... Patrick Gordon... Peter soon felt Gordon’s loss, both professionally and personally. Gordon was Russia’s ablest soldier, with considerable experience in many campaigns. His value as a commander and counsellor in the coming

⁶⁸ Korb, op. cit., p. 256.

⁶⁹ The slab, rudely broken and split in two with a loss of a bottom fragment, now belongs to the State Historical Museum in Moscow and, regrettably, is not on display; I saw it in the basement of the Intercession Cathedral (St. Basil’s) in Red Square.

⁷⁰ Museums of the Moscow Kremlin, Inv. № M3–2327 (*Rossiya–Britaniya* (Moscow, 2003), p. 97).

⁷¹ “Rasskazy Nartova o Petre Velikom” in *Sbornik Otdeleniya russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk*, LII, № 8 (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 104–5.

⁷² Ibid., p. 72.

war with Sweden would have been great; had he been present, the disaster at Narva, only 12 months after his death, might never have happened. Peter also would miss the grizzled Scot at his table, where the old soldier loyally tried to please his master by matching drink for drink with men half his age”.⁷³

Sadly, Muscovites have not just neglected the tomb of Peter the Great’s principal advisor, but desecrated and demolished it, and that in an “enlightened” age, on the eve of Peter’s 200th anniversary! In 1870 the decayed old Catholic church with the Gordons’ vault in Kirochny Lane was sold for demolition to a peasant woman named Beketova and torn down, the general’s gravestone was broken out and its fragments sent to the Rumiantsev Museum, while the coffins were allegedly transferred to Vvedenskoye cemetery.⁷⁴ However, the monument which survives to this day is dedicated to a “Colonel Gordon”, with no Christian name or dates given, which led to the conjecture that it is not General Patrick, but his son Colonel Theodore who lies there.⁷⁵ What really happened to the remains of one of the most remarkable figures in Russian history is still uncertain. Even if the Holy Trinity church and the bones of the Gordons were spared in the 19th century, their fate could have been as grievous during the ruthless destruction of churches and graves in Soviet times.

Partly to atone for this barbarity, and to preserve the grateful memory of Patrick Gordon, in 1997 the Moscow Caledonian Club presented a memorial tablet to his native land. It is installed in St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Cathedral in Aberdeen, with support and blessing from Rt. Rev. Mario Conti, Bishop of Aberdeen. The plaque bears the biblical words “I have fought a good fight”, quoted more fully in the epigraph to this article. We believe they reflect the achievement both of a soldier and a Christian.

* * *

Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries must be acknowledged as one of the best representatives of the numerous and mighty “Caledonian Phalanx”⁷⁶ not

⁷³ R. K. Massie, *Peter the Great. His Life and His World* (New York, 1981), p. 281.

⁷⁴ D. V. Tsvetayev, *Istoriya sooruzheniya pervago kostiola v Moskve* (Moscow, 1886), p. 126.

⁷⁵ See D.Yu. Guzevich, *Zakhoroneniya Leforta i Gordona* (St.Petersburg, 2013). Some points in this work are rather disputable. In particular, I cannot accept as proven that it was Theodore Gordon’s remains that were transferred to Vvedenskoye cemetery, not those of his father. Besides, the author was even unaware of the survival of Patrick Gordon’s gravestone.

⁷⁶ This was the expression used in 1805 by an English engineer, astonished by the numbers and influence of Scots in St.Petersburg. Under the same title in 1987 an exhibition

only in Russia (along with such names as Learmonth, Leslie, Bruce, Cameron and Barclay), but all over the world. He served three great powers (Sweden, Poland-Lithuania and Russia) with distinction, but always remained loyal to his native country and the royal house of Stuart, even after the exile of the latter. He heroically defended Chigirin, the hetmans' capital of Ukraine, from the most powerful force of that age, the Ottoman army. He became the most esteemed and highest-ranking foreigner in Muscovy. As one of the principal teachers of Tsar Peter, he played a crucial role in Russia's turn "from steppe to sea", i.e. from East to West. He became the first alien to have been honoured with a visit from the tsar, and twice made decisive contributions to save the tsar's throne. "Peter's entire programme was written by men of the 17th century",⁷⁷ and one of its main authors was a native of the small estate of Auchleuchries in the Scottish shire of Aberdeen. Were it not for Gordon, there would have been no Tsar Peter as he is known in history and to us, the bold reformer and westerniser, the talented commander leading a renovated Western-style army, the founder of the new European capital of the Russian Empire. According to N.G. Ustrialov, "Gordon was precious and irreplaceable to Peter. Exact to the highest degree in all his actions, especially in the discharge of his duties, vigilant, tireless, proven in valour, blameless in honour, endowed with a frank and noble character, he added to these his experience of many years,.. possessed a wealth of practical knowledge on the organisation of regular troops, and was an excellent combat general... Gordon was held in general respect by Russians and foreigners alike".⁷⁸

"At devotion, shott bombes after midday"⁷⁹ – this day's entry sums up Gordon's life. The first non-Orthodox alien in Muscovy to have independent command of large military formations, godfather of the Russian Guards, and one of the reformers of the armed forces at large, Gordon helped to introduce grenadier companies and dragoon cavalry instead of the old *reiter* and lancer regiments. A devout Roman Catholic, he founded Russia's first permanent church of his confession, with a school and library, and to his last hour remained its benefactor and head of his religious community. Lastly, in describing his life and times thoroughly and faithfully, he left us one of the greatest 17th-century chronicles both in volume and contents, whose first full

on Scotland-Russia links was held in Edinburgh, where Patrick Gordon was also represented (P. Dukes, "Scottish Soldiers in Muscovy", *Caledonian Phalanx: Scots in Russia* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 18–23).

⁷⁷ V.O. Kliuchevsky, *Russkaya istoriya*, II (Moscow, 1997), p. 493.

⁷⁸ Ustrialov, op. cit., II, pp. 124–5.

⁷⁹ *Diary*, V, p. 154.

edition is now accomplished. The Clan Gordon motto, *Bydand*, translates from Scots as *steadfast* or *abiding*, and, while our world lasts, the greatest son of his clan in Russia and his labours are destined to abide.

* * *

The manuscript Volume VI of Gordon's *Diary* is kept among all six surviving parts of this source in the Russian State Archive of Military History in Moscow.⁸⁰ The study of the original, as for the already published volumes, was made by M.R. Ryzhenkov, who has kindly provided the results of his research for the present edition.

The original Volume VI is written, like all the rest, on paper in quarto folded in quires and bound together. Pagination was made throughout by another hand after the MS entered the archive, probably in the 19th century. In one place two quires (Nos 18 and 19, fols. 140–156), of 8 folios each, were bound in a wrong order, which interrupts the original chronology of events from late September to early October 1697. In the text (fols. 139 v. and 148) this break, caused by the binder's mistake, and continuation of the entry for 14 September 1697 are marked #. If the sign belongs to Gordon himself, it implies that the MS was given to the binder after completion. But if the mark was made by a subsequent reader, the daily entries could have been written into a previously bound volume, and the mistake occurred during renovation of the binding, prior to archival pagination whose sequence is unbroken. In the present edition the chronological order is restored.

The text is placed on both sides of a folio and measures (when a page is completely filled) 18,5 x 12,5 cm. The margins are 1,5 cm wide on top, 2 cm on the left, 1,5–2 cm on the right, and 1–1,5 cm below. The hand leaves no doubt that this is Patrick Gordon's autograph. In some places the writing becomes very small, but still remains neat and legible. Words and fragments that present any difficulties are rare, and there are few corrections or blots. The length of one-time entries varies from 1 or 2 lines to 5 pages of continuous text; its density fluctuates from 5 (fol. 49 v.) to 38 (fol. 197 v.) lines per page. Entries for 19–20 June and 1–7 October 1696 are lacking, which implies losses in the original. In some places the author has left two or more blank pages (fols. 8–8 v., 22–22 v., 156 v.–157, 167–171 v.; in the last case, at the end of 1697).

⁸⁰ RGVA, F. 846, opis' 15, № 6.

On margins and between the lines there are many marks made by readers and translators in the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly by Charles Whitworth, British ambassador to Russia in 1704–1712, who studied the *Diary*.⁸¹ Some of these additions are amusing, i.e. the above-mentioned blunder by Whitworth about a “march against the Turks” (fol. 205 v.); on fol. 209 v. Gordon’s usual term for peasants (*panvres*) was literally rendered in Russian by some 18th-century hand – “pavry”.

Volume VI is written on Dutch paper, as attested by the watermarks “Amsterdam” and “Seven Provinces”; there are virtually no other filigrees here. Such paper was imported in large quantities from the Netherlands to Russia since the 1680s until early 18th century, which fully agrees with the dating of the MS.

The binding is of whole leather over cardboard, the leather smooth and dark (darker than in Volumes II, IV and V). There are remains of copper clasps, later substituted with cords. The leather surface of the covers has stamped frames and lozenge-shaped central figures with vegetable ornament; the figures on front and back covers are somewhat different. The covers’ dimensions are 21 x 16,5 cm, and the inner book with covers is 4,5 cm thick. There are no decorative details on the edges, and no laid-on elements on the binding. The style of stamping suggests that the binding was made in 17th-century Moscow, unlike those of Volumes I and III, which are typical for South Russian or Ukrainian craftsmen.

In 2002 Volume VI was restored at the Russian State Institute of Restoration and M.I. Rudomino State Library of Foreign Literature. The MS and binding were restored by experts in the field, I.S. Sharapova and I.A. Shilova respectively.

The total size of the 6-volume manuscript is 1,688 folios (3,376 pages, several dozen of which were left blank), including four drawings and one plan on a separate sheet in Volume III.

* * *

Soon after Patrick Gordon’s demise his journal began to arouse ever more interest from historians and writers, politicians and diplomats, Russians and foreigners. Among them were British ambassador to Russia Charles Whitworth, Russian Vice Chancellor Count A.I. Ostermann, Academician

⁸¹ Whitworth’s hand was determined by Graeme Herd: “Peter the Great and the Conquest of Azov: 1695–96”, *Peter the Great and the West. New Perspectives*, p. 163.

G.F. Müller, Lord George Gordon Byron (member of the same clan on his mother's side) and many others. In 1793 F.O. Tumansky, editor of the first Russian historical magazine, wrote: "The rarity of this Diary makes me hope that my compatriots shall with great pleasure see it printed in the Russian language, considering that it is not published in English, and hardly anyone has a copy of it. Many translated it either for an acquaintance, or for money, now into German, now into French; how much work then did it take to arrange everything in order, to conform and rewrite this Diary in Russian..."⁸² On 10 May 1831 the noted man of letters A.I. Turgenev, having acquired a copy of the *Diary* in London, broke news to the famous poet V.A. Zhukovsky: "This manuscript is surely a historical jewel, having to do with real affairs of state, as they were then understood, not just with the subjects of merely scholarly or antiquarian curiosity. It would have served Zhukovsky to compile a historical guide to this age..."⁸³ The greatest of Russian poets, Alexander Pushkin, shortly before his untimely death discussed Gordon's *Diary* with D.E. Koehler, who translated it at the Russian Emperor's behest: "The Emperor [Nicholas I] told me of this manuscript as of a rarity, but I did not know it is so extensive... Carry on with it, you will do a great service".⁸⁴ "A treasure unappreciated, predominantly historical material, yielding to no act in trustworthiness, replete with a multitude of most interesting particulars!"⁸⁵ – such was the opinion on Gordon's legacy of the renowned Russian historian N.G. Ustrialov. In 1907 M.O. Bender, director of the Military Archive in Moscow and keeper of the *Diary*, quoting the high appraisals of this source by his predecessors, regretted that the latter "have barely seen the original", and added: "Gordon has sent a 6-volume message *poste restante* to Russian society,.. but it turned out to be ciphered. We need a key, a golden key... If our society finds it, Russian historians who study the second half of the 17th century will be able to pay more attention to this precious monument".⁸⁶

Today, having completed over 20 years of work in translating, editing and publishing the *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries*, I would like to render my deep gratitude for their constant and manifold assistance throughout this long journey to Paul Dukes, Paul Bushkovitch, Graeme Herd, I.O. Garkusha, M.R. Ryzhenkov, to the staff of the Russian State

⁸² *Zapiski russkikh liudey*, p. 97.

⁸³ *Russkaya starina*, XXXI (1881), p. 199.

⁸⁴ *Diary of D.E. Koehler* (RGVIA, F. 846, opis'16, № 1150, fols. 37, 40).

⁸⁵ Ustrialov, op. cit., I, p. lxxxiv.

⁸⁶ RGVIA, F. 800, opis' 1, № 723, pp. 8–9.

Archive of Military History, the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts and the State Public Historical Library of Russia; to my colleagues and friends at the Institute of General History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and at the Moscow Caledonian Club, as also to my family. For expert advice on the commentary and publication at large I am much obliged to P.A. Avakov, O.A. Kurbatov, A.N. Lobin, O.Ya. Nozdrin, P.V. Sedov, M.A. Yusim and many other historians, all of whom it is impossible to name here. Special thanks go to Cairns Craig, Director of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen, for assuming the formidable task of publishing the *Diary*. Together we have finally managed to complete the first scholarly edition of this incomparable source both in the original⁸⁷ and in Russian translation, more than three centuries after it was written.

⁸⁷ Fortunately, the full edition of the original text of Gordon's *Diary* has been published in Aberdeen, centre of his native shire in Scotland. I am delighted that these books have already attracted attention. In his review of the first two volumes one of the leading Western experts on the period, Geoffrey Parker, says: "I started to study the military history of seventeenth-century Europe forty-five years ago, and yet I have never come across a source like the *Diary* written by Patrick Gordon" (G. Parker, "A Soldier of Fortune in Seventeenth Century Eastern Europe", *Journal of Military History*, № 76 (April 2012), p. 557). Professor Paul Bushkovitch believes it "is the most important source for Russian and European history of the seventeenth century to be published in decades" (back cover of *Diary, III*); "it is this insider view, combined with Gordon's literary talent and sharp eye, which makes it an invaluable testimony to a central moment in Russian history" (P. Bushkovitch, "Patrick Gordon and Russian Court Politics", *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies*, Vol. 3, № 2 (Aberdeen, 2010), p. 17).

Editor's Note on the Text

The text of Patrick Gordon's Diary is transcribed, collated, edited and reproduced in its entirety from the original autograph manuscript kept in the Russian State Archive of Military History, Moscow. Every care has been taken to preserve the author's spelling as faithfully as possible, with just a few most evident slips emended and repeated words excluded. The original punctuation has been taken into account and modified, since Gordon hardly uses any question, exclamation or quotation marks. Paragraphs have been introduced where they seemed appropriate. The capitals, rather wayward in the original, have been standardized. Foreign words (not English or Scots) are given in italics, and omissions indicated by ellipses. Except for some obvious or uncertain cases, most abbreviations, contractions and initials have been extended in square brackets, which are also used for editorial additions and conjectures. The author's own notes and significant corrections as well as variant readings of any substance are mentioned in the commentary

Note on Russian Titles and Ranks

Paul Bushkovitch

In the seventeenth century the only title held by Russian noblemen was that of prince (kniaz'). In the medieval period the title implied some degree of sovereignty, but by Gordon's time came to signify only greater honor. All Russian noblemen, titled and untitled, held a rank granted by the tsar. These were of two types, the higher being the Duma ranks, and the lower primarily honorific titles and many of the designations derived from court service. The Duma ranks implied the right and duty to sit in the Tsar's council, the Duma, and were, from the highest down, boyar, okol'nichy, Duma (adjective: dumny) nobleman and, rarely, Duma dyak (secretary) and Duma general.

Boyar was the traditional term for untitled aristocrats, dating back to the eleventh century, while the untranslatable word okol'nichy (from okolo, around or about) came into use about 1500 to mean a sort of junior boyar. Below the Duma ranks were noblemen with the rank of Moscow nobleman, stol'nik and other lesser grades. Stol'nik originally signified a table attendant at the court in the sixteenth century, a small group, but by 1650 included hundreds of noblemen, mostly concentrated in the capital. These ranks were not related to the princely titles. Some great families were princes and boyars, others only boyars, while many princes received only lower ranks.

The princely title was inherited by all sons and daughters of a prince. The ranks were not hereditary, but until 1682 were governed by the rules of the precedence system (mestnichestvo), which implied that most men inherited their father's ranks. A young aristocrat usually received a lower court rank in his youth, gradually moving up the ladder in the course of his life.

In the later seventeenth century the Duma ranks included some seventy men in the 1660s, rising to about a hundred by 1682, and 150 by the end of the decade. The lesser ranks numbered in the thousands, mostly provincial noblemen. All noblemen had landed estates, partly inherited and partly granted by the tsar, as well as grants in money and kind for their service in the army and administration or at the court.

July

1696.

10th Having been in the trenches and
Sat. joining all in a pretty forwardness we
concluded that against Tuesday morning all
things should be ready for attacking and
investing the earthen wall yet so as not
to enter over the wall only to beat them
from the wall and standing upon our
wall make their parapet or breastworks
ours.

A little before midday the Turks and
Tartar horsemen appeared in the Trenches
in great numbers, and after some light
skirmishes with the Cirkasses & Chaks
taking advantage of some foot stagers
ling'ring out too far into the trenches to the
body of a killed Tartar they assailed
them from the side and cut off their
passage from their Comrades, killed
about 20 Cirkasses and half a dozen
of Gentlemen and took some prisoners.

A little after this the Turks in the
Trenches despairing of being succoured ^{the Turks}
from without and being so straitened ^{by}
by our contiguous wall to theirs and our
having got possession of the parts of two
Bulwarks desired to Capitulate which
being easily condiscended to they sent
out

{fol. 1}¹

1696

Jan-ry 1², Wed. God give us all a good new year!

Gave to the Dutch³ trumpet[ers] 3 ducates.

2. Rec-d a letter from my son in law Snivins⁴, dated Archangel 24 *Dec-ris*.

Writt to Lt.Coll. Pawlofsky by a *vlosny panvr*⁵, desireing and ordering my things to be sent to Mosko with all expedition, as also such things belonging to the regiment⁶ as I found necessary.

Given of 2 chests with *cartonnes*⁷ to Andrew Valentin. Davits, w-ch belonged to James Bruce⁸, wherein should have been 623, but were no more as 383. Received hereupon from the said Davits 90 rubles, which delivered to Mr. Woolffe⁹.

{1v} Jan-ry 3, Frid. Afternoone rode to the saw-milne and s[aw th]e new [...] ¹⁰brought from Holland.

¹ Words and phrases from the original are in italics. Pagination of the MS does not belong to Patrick Gordon. Preceding folio 1a bears a Russian title in mid-18th century hand, which translates: "Journal or daily notes (in English language) of General Gordon, who was in the Russian service, written by himself. Volume VI, from 1696–1699". In fact, this volume does not include the events of 1699.

² At this period both Russia and Britain used the Julian (Old Style) calendar. The Gregorian (New Style) calendar, already adopted by Roman Catholics, was ten days in advance of the Julian in the 17th century.

³ By *Dutch* Gordon usually means German (Deutsch).

⁴ Major (later colonel) Carl Snivins was the husband of General Gordon's second daughter, Mary, and commanded a *streltsy* regiment in Archangel.

⁵ Boor, peasant (German: *Bauer*). Gordon uses this term whether peasants be German, Polish, Ukrainian or Russian. *Vlosny* is *volostnoy*, i.e. belonging to *volost'*, Russian for rural district.

⁶ Since January 1687 Gordon commanded one of Russian army's elite units, the Second Moscow Regiment of Selected Soldiers, which became known as Butyrsky after its quarters in Butyrskaya Sloboda, a Moscow suburb, or simply as Gordon's Regiment. It was raised by order of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich in 1657–58.

⁷ Powder bags.

⁸ Not the (soon to be) famous general, statesman and scholar James Daniel (Yakov Vilimovich) Bruce, but his Scottish namesake, probably a merchant, who stayed in Archangel and died near Azov on 21 July 1695.

⁹ Philip Wolfe, English merchant in Russia from the 1680s.

¹⁰ This folio is damaged, and two or three words are lost. Probably Gordon refers to the Dutch galley brought to Moscow as a model for Russian vessels which were built for the second Azov campaign.

4. In towne by most of the noblemen with whom I am concerned.
The reg-t mustered in Butirky.
5. At devotion.
Rec-d a letter from Lt.Coll. Palmer, dated Novogrod 31 *Dec-ris* '95.
6. In towne at the yearly ceremony¹¹, dined by Doctor Carbonary¹².
Rec-d a letter from Coll. Bane¹³, dated Belagrod 24 *Dec-ris*.
Lent to Capt. Albert Pile upon his bond in all 30 rubles. *This thereafter
payed.*¹⁴
- {2} [Jan-ry 7.] [In] towne, 1,000 sojourns of my Tambovish [soj]ourns
ordered to go suddainly to service [to] the New Sergeyu^f¹⁵.
Rode after to his Majesty¹⁶ and spoke to him about diverse things.
8. In towne, at consultation above¹⁷ with *Kniaz* Ivan Boris[ovich] Troyku-
ruf¹⁸ & others.
9. Writt to my son in law Snivins.
At the wedding of Capt. Albert Pile.
10. In towne, mustered the Stremeny reg-t with their boyar.¹⁹
11. Mustered Zukow & Titow their reg-ts.
Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell 29 *Dec-ris*.

¹¹ The blessing of the waters for the Orthodox feast of the Theophany (Baptism of Christ).

¹² Doctor Gregor Carbonarius de Wisenegg, properly Voglar (1651–1717), native of Slovenia, was sent by the Emperor from Vienna in 1689 on request of the Tsars. In 1700 he was captured by the Swedes after the battle of Narva, came back to Russia in 1704, and finally returned home in 1714.

¹³ James Bane (Bain), obviously a Scot, colonel of a Russian soldier regiment. In the first Azov campaign he belonged to Gordon's division and was wounded.

¹⁴ This phrase was written in later.

¹⁵ The top left corner of this folio is damaged, and some words are conjectural. Novosergievsk was the Russian name of a fort near Azov seized from the Turks in 1695. In the Diary Russian endings "ov" or "ev" are often rendered as "uf", a sign of the fact that the first Slavic language learnt by the author was Polish.

¹⁶ Tsar Peter I (later called the Great) (1672–1725), who ruled from 1682 and after the coup of 1689 gradually assumed full autocratic power.

¹⁷ I.e. in the Tsars' palace in the Kremlin.

¹⁸ *Kniaz* is Russian for prince. Prince I.B. Troyekurov (1633–1703), *voyeroda*, from 1677 boyar, head of several Offices, including, from 1689, that of the *Streltsy*. Brother-in-law to Tsar Peter (his wife was Anastasia Fiodorovna Lopukhina).

¹⁹ *Stremianny polk*, the Tsars' personal guard whose name comes from *stremia*, stirrup, because they escorted the Tsar while on horseback. Commanded by Colonels S.G. Sergeyev and I.M. Konishchev, during the Azov campaigns it was subjected to Gordon and formed part of his division. The *boyar* is Prince I.B. Troyekurov.

{2v} Jan-ry 12, Sun. Capt. Alex-r Gordon²⁰ came and [brought] letters for me from Pater Dumber²¹, [dated] at Gordon Castle [...] June, & from the G[o]vernour & Chancellour²² of Novog[rod].

Was afternoone by his M[ajesty].

13. Mustered Krovkow, Obuchow, Kapustin & Sucharow their regiments.²³

Rec-d a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Arch[angel] 28 Dec-r.

Lent to Coll. Roonaers widdow 10 rubles upon a silver becker for pawne.

{3} Jan-ry [14,] Tues. Writt to my son in law Snivins.

Was in towne, mustered the last of the *streltsees*²⁴. Was afterwards by Al[exey] Sim. Shein²⁵. Dined by Lew Kirilovitz²⁶. Was afterwards by diverse.

15. At home all day, exspecting notice from Alexey Sim. to go together to his M[ajesty].

²⁰ Alexander Gordon (1669–1751), eldest son of Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul and Isabel Gray, niece to Lord Gray. He studied in Paris, fought for the French in Catalonia and was promoted to captain. On 12 January 1696 he came to Moscow, soon became lt.colonel and took part in Azov campaign of 1696. In 1698 he married Patrick Gordon's daughter Catherine, but their children died young. In 1700, as colonel, he was wounded and captured at Narva by the Swedes. In 1707 he was exchanged by Russians, and advanced to major general. In 1711, on his father's death, he returned to Scotland, and in 1715 was among the leaders of the Great Rising, commanding the Jacobite centre at Sheriffmuir; condemned for treason, he lived in exile in France, but attainder under a wrong name allowed him to return home in 1727. He wrote *The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia* in 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1755), "impartial and in many cases true", according to N.G. Ustrialov.

²¹ Father William Dunbar († after 1714), Jesuit. King's Almoner in Scotland from November 1686 to 1688.

²² Gordon's usual terms for the Russian ranks of *voevoda* and *dyak*. The *voevoda* in Novgorod was then the Boyar Prince B.I. Prozorovsky (1661–1718).

²³ In the first Azov campaign of 1695 Gordon's division included seven *streltsy* regiments (*Stremiannoy* under Colonel S.G. Sergeyev, and those of Colonels D.R. Zhukov, S.M. Krovkov, I.M. Kobylsky, A.L. Obukhov, S.L. Kapustin and A.I. Kozlov, in all 4,620 men).

²⁴ *Streltsy* were Russian infantrymen of the 16th and 17th centuries, armed with long guns, poleaxes and swords. They were divided into regiments (*priказы*) of several "hundreds" each.

²⁵ A.S. Shein (1662–1700), boyar, one of Russia's chief generals in Crimean and Azov campaigns. In 1696 he was appointed "*voevoda* of the great army", i.e. commander-in-chief (Gordon calls him *Generalissimus*). Together with Gordon he quelled the *streltsy* mutiny of 1698.

²⁶ L.K. Naryshkin (1664–1705), brother of the late Tsaritsa Natalya Kirillovna, Tsar Peter's uncle and chamber *stol'nik* and from 1688 boyar. Virtual head of government at the start of Peter's personal reign.

16. At devotion. Sent in the rolls of all ammunition & necessaries for the 5 Selected regiments²⁷, for 4 *Ruskyes*²⁸, and of the officers for these & the rest.

The wedding of the chir[urgeon] Philemon.

{3v} Jan-ry 17, Frid. Received a letter from my son in law Snivi[ns], dated Arch[angel] 7th instant.

In Preobrasinsko²⁹.

Payed to Alexey Sotuf 15 ½ rubles for 3 ½ brewings of beer, and 2 rubles for fish. To the brewer & workemen about 2 rubles; brought but not rec-d.

*Received from Coll. Buist 15 rubles of the 20 which he owed me.*³⁰

18. In towne by Alexey Simonovits Shein.

19. At devotion. Dyned by Anton. Afterwards at the wedding of Jacob Gast.

20. In Preobrasinsky. At the wedding of Dmitre Karpuf.

{4} Jan-ry 21. In towne by Tichon Nikitovits³¹.

Writt to my son John³², my brother John, unkle³³, Laird of Crichy³⁴, cousin

²⁷ In fact, Gordon's regiment had a 5-regiment structure then: the Butyrsky proper and four Tambov regiments under his son James, Alimpy Yurenev, James Bane and Thomas Junger.

²⁸ I.e. Russian military units, not "regiments of foreign order" modelled on West European armies.

²⁹ Preobrazhenskoye, Tsar Peter's favourite residence north-east of Moscow, which Gordon frequented.

³⁰ Entry crossed out in MS. Alexey Vasilyev Buist, *stol'nik* and colonel, Orthodox convert of Scots descent. According to P.O. Bobrovsky, he commanded the Butyrsky regiment from 1685 to early 1687, when Gordon succeeded him. After the capture of Azov in 1696 Buist served in its garrison.

³¹ T. N. Streshnev (1644–1719), former tutor of Tsarevich Peter, from 1686 boyar, head of the Great Palace, Razriad and Stable Offices. During the Russian Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8 he was one of those in charge of the Muscovite government.

³² General Gordon's eldest son John (1667–1712), born in Russia, was made ensign by Tsar Fiodor, then sent by his father to study in the West, and finally settled on the family estate of Auchleuchries in Aberdeenshire, which the general handed over to him in 1692.

³³ John Gordon of Westertown (ca.1637–after 1698), the only surviving brother of the Russian general. Patrick's paternal uncle was James Gordon, his trustee in Scottish affairs.

³⁴ William Grant of Crichtie, Roman Catholic Scots laird whose eldest daughter Elizabeth was married to Patrick Gordon's son and heir John.

William³⁵, and to Mr. Meverell³⁶; all the other in his by Mr. Kintzius³⁷.

22. In towne by Tichon Nikitits & Alexey Simon[ovich].

Sent the names of the *Streletsky* colonels & lt.colonnells to *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. [Troyekurov].

{4v} Jan-ry 22, Wed. Sent of Dominico & Spakofskyes³⁸ money by Capt. Gregory Evertson in a leathern purse 22 rubles, in a bigg linnen bagge 34 ½ rubles, in a longish bagg 9 rubles 22 *altins* 2 *dengees*³⁹ and 10 reichs dollers, being Church money, and 10 rubles of my owne, all to Mr. Guasconi⁴⁰; being in all 81 rubles 22 *alt.* 2 *d.*, but after telling-over found but 76.

23. Rode to Butirky and mustered the new written in sojourns, who by proclamation of freedome had gone from their masters and found.⁴¹

{5} Jan-ry 24, Frid. In towne, by *Kniaz* Ivan Bor. Troykuruf, where wee concluded the placing and displacing of colonells & lt. colonells. Thereafter by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev].

25. In towne by Al. Sim. Sheyn. Afternoone by his Ma-tie.

Wrott to Mr. Frazer, Mr. Gray, Mr. Forbess⁴², Pater Schmidt⁴³, the late

³⁵ William Gordon, merchant in Aberdeen. Possibly, father of Thomas Gordon (1661/62–1741), who served in Russia from 1717, was chief commander of Kronshtadt from 1724 and full admiral from 1727.

³⁶ Samuel Meverell (ca.1630–1696/97), prominent English merchant active in Muscovy from 1658 to the 1680s, Gordon's old friend, correspondent and trustee. He was Treasurer of the British "Russia Company".

³⁷ Abraham Kintzius, Netherlandish merchant mentioned in Russia from 1687.

³⁸ Italian artillery officer Domenico Rossi and Ensign Shpakovsky were killed by the Turks in the Russian trenches at Azov in August 1695. Gordon, who founded Russia's first permanent Roman Catholic church, headed the Catholic community in Moscow and ran its affairs, including finances.

³⁹ *Altyn*, old Russian unit equal to 3 kopeks. *Denga*, half a kopek.

⁴⁰ Francesco Guasconi (1640–ca.1708), prominent Florentine merchant active in Russia from the 1660s onward. He carried out commissions of the Venetian government and, next to Gordon, was one of the leaders of the Roman Catholic community in Moscow.

⁴¹ According to the Tsar's ukase of 13 January 1696 serfs were permitted to enlist in the army for the Azov campaign and thus gain liberty from serfdom.

⁴² George Frazer, William Gray and Patrick Forbes, prominent Scottish merchants in Riga, Königsberg and Gdańsk (Danzig) respectively, old friends and correspondents of Gordon's.

⁴³ The Jesuit Johann Schmidt, native of Prussia, came to Russia with the Imperial embassy in 1684, remained in Moscow for Roman Catholic worship and headed the first Catholic school there. He left Moscow in August 1688 and became rector of the Jesuit Colleges in Reszel (Rößell) and Braniewo (Braunsberg).

Envoy Kurtz⁴⁴, and Mr. Ro. Maister & Gab. Dowcker⁴⁵, and sent to Mr. Forbes 30 ducates for money he disbursed for my son Theodorus⁴⁶. These and my letters of the 21 sent by Mr. Kintzius.

Sent also to Mr. Forbess a ring, being a token of gratuity for his lady.

{5v} Jan-ry 26, Sun. At the wedding of the Lt. Gregory Ostrofsky with [...] Czervinska, where scruples were scarcely overcome, which had been made upon the account of the bridegroom's having in sickness made a promise of turning monk.

27. In town & the Butirky mustering the new listed sojourns. At the wedding again in the evening.

Received letters from his Grace the Archbishop of Glasgow⁴⁷, dated Hamburg 27 July *s.l.n.* '95; from Mr. Ro-t Jolly, dated Hamburg the 1st of August; from Mr. John Buck, physician, dated Dantzick⁴⁸ 20 Jan-ry, with a copy of the Lord Achintowles⁴⁹ letter to me in his recommendation.

{6} Jan-ry 28, Tues. At the wedding of Lt.Coll. Scott⁵⁰ with Colonell Farensbachs daughter.

⁴⁴ Johann Ignaz Kurtz, Imperial envoy to Russia in 1691, later head of the Hungarian Chamber in Buda.

⁴⁵ Robert Maister and Gabriel Dowker, merchants in Narva and Gordon's trustees.

⁴⁶ Theodore (Fiodor) Gordon (1681–no later than 1734), Patrick's third and youngest surviving son, born in Kiev. He studied at the Jesuit College in Braunsberg, began to serve as ensign in Butyrsky regiment, became colonel in the Russian army and died in Moscow. He inherited General Gordon's archive; in 1759 Baron A.S. Stroganov acquired four volumes of the *Diary* (I, II, III and VI) from the widow of Theodore's son, late translator of the Admiralty College and bookkeeper of the St.Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

⁴⁷ John Paterson (1632–1708), in 1675–79 Bishop of Galloway, in 1679–87 Bishop of Edinburgh, in 1687–89 Archbishop of Glasgow. In the early 1660s he was parish minister in Ellon, homeland of the Gordons of Auchleuchries. As a Jacobite and a Non-Juror, he was subjected to imprisonment and exile by the London government.

⁴⁸ Polish Gdańsk. John Buck was a Scots physician who arrived in Russia on 25 March 1696 and was sent on to Moscow, where "he said in English that to speak Latin and German he can not, and he knows no other tongue but Scots... The people who had set out with him... three men, foreigners of the Scottish land, two of these remained in Gdańsk, and the third remained in Pskov". The latter was the interpreter William Licht Bodie.

⁴⁹ Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul Senior († 1710), in 1688–90 Lord and Senator of the College of Justice. After the Williamite coup he lost his office, moved to France and converted to Catholicism. His eldest son was Captain, later Major General Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul the younger, of the Russian service.

⁵⁰ Son of George Scott (in Russian, Yuri Andreyevich Shkot), colonel of obvious descent, who served with Gordon in Sevs. He was the progenitor of the Russian noble family of Shkot.

29. In Preobrasinsko.

In the morning about 10 a'clock his Ma-tie Tzaar Johan Alexeyovits deceased suddainly, being old.⁵¹

Writt to Mr. Jolly in answer to his, dated Hamburg *1-mo Augusti*.

{6v} Jan-ry 29, Wed.

May it please your Grace.

I find my self both honoured and obliged by yours of the 27th July. I am exceeding sorry for your sufferings, but cannot but rejoyce hearing of your constant loyalty and Christian patience. Suffering for a just cause is meritt, and will be rewarded either in this or the other world. I wish that my bearing a share of your grieffe might procure you ease, then should you in a large measure find allay.

I found my self very much concerned at the misfortunes of the loyall party⁵², and especially yours for many respects, which moved me (hearing of your stay at Leyden) [to] desire these ffriends who travelled from hence to present my due respects to you.

The Gentleman, Mr. Goodfellow⁵³, whom you are pleased to recommend, shall upon your acco-t receive all the kindness and assistance I am capable of, not doubting but he is a well qualified and deserving person.

I shall take it for a great kindnes [*crossed out*: think my self very happy] now & then to have a line from you when occasion offers, w-ch shall always find a joyfull acceptance & a suitable returne. And wherein I can be serviceable to you here, I entreat you freely to command,

May it please your Grace,
Your Graces most humble ser-t
P.Gor.

To his Grace the Archb-p of Glasgow.

{7} Jan-ry 30. His Ma-tie interred a litle after midday, yet was carryed out to the church about 9 a'clock.

I was in towne, dined by Doctor Carbonary, was afterwards by Al. Sim. Shein.

⁵¹ Ivan (Ioann) V (1666–1696), Tsar of Russia from 1682, elder half-brother and co-ruler of Tsar Peter. Being sickly and incapable to govern, he appeared “old”, although he did not live to the age of 30.

⁵² The Jacobite party, supporters of the exiled King James II of Great Britain (VII of Scotland). Patrick Gordon, his family and most of his clan were ardent Jacobites.

⁵³ Apparently, Charles Goodfellow († 1728), merchant who arrived in Russia by 1697 and became British Consul there in 1699–1712.

31. Writt to Mr. John Buck in ans-r to his of the 20th Jan-ry *st. n.* from Dantzick; to Mr. Forbess, informing him of my haveing remitted 50 ducates [to Mr. Buck *crossed out*]; to Mr. Fraser, desiring him to remitt 50 ducates to Mr. Forbes, and to advance to Mr. Buck whence to the value or summe of 50 ducates more; hereby a bill of credit from Mr. Munter⁵⁴ to him.

In Preobrasinsko, spoke about diverse things with his M[ajesty].

{7v} Jan-ry 31 [Frid.] My dearest child Katherine⁵⁵ very weake, being the eleventh day of her sickness.

On the day that his M. departed this lyfe and about 3 howres after departed also a *okolnitsze* called Ivan Ivanovitz Shadayuf⁵⁶, being about 80 yeares of age; this being remarkeable, that on the Sunday befor, being very weake and seeing his son standing by him lamenting and crying, he asked him why he cryed, saying, "There is no orders for me as yet, nor will be till Wednesday, when also there will be order for the eldest Tzaar"; which proved very true, for the Tzaar dyed unexpectedly about 10 aclock in the morning, and he about 1 aclock afternoone.⁵⁷

{9} Feb-ry 1, Sat. In the evening by M. Gen-ll Charles Rigeman⁵⁸ at a supper, where his M. and diverse others.

Writt to my son in law Maior Snivins.

2. At Church.

Received letters from Pater Schmidt, dated Br[a]unsberg⁵⁹ 16 Jan-ry, and from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 25 Jan-ry.

In the evening many ffrriends by me.

Pater Schmidt in his makes me creditor to 33 and Mr. Gray to 177 florens⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Heinrich Münter, wealthy merchant from Riga, Swedish subject who traded in Russia since the 1660s; an old acquaintance of Gordon's.

⁵⁵ Gordon's eldest daughter, Catherine Elizabeth (1665–1739), widow of Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg.

⁵⁶ I.I. Chaadayev († 1696), from 1663 Duma nobleman, from 1676 *okol'nichy*, *voyeroda* in Kiev, Pereyaslav, Archangel and Yarensk, head of Zemsky and Siberian Offices. *Okol'nichy* was a Russian court rank between *boyar* and *stol'nik*.

⁵⁷ There follow 2 blank pages in MS (fols. 8 and 8v).

⁵⁸ Carl David Riegemann, major general in Russia from 1692. In the second Azov campaign he was in charge of a division.

⁵⁹ Braniewo (Polish). In 1651–53 Patrick Gordon studied at the Jesuit College there (*Collegium Hosianum*), founded by Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius in 1565 and regarded as one of the best educational institutions of Poland-Lithuania. In 1692–95 Gordon's son Theodore also studied there.

⁶⁰ A *floren*, or *złoty polski*, was equal to 30 silver *groszy*.

3. At home. In the afternoone many strangers by me.

{9v} Feb-ry 4. At home. Sent about 600 men into the *Streletsky* Office to recruit the regiments of the *streltsees*.

In the evening by the Englishes.

Received a letter from my son in law, dated in Archangel 19 Jan-ry.

5. Many gentlemen the whole day troubled me about their servants.⁶¹

6. In towne & in Butirky, mustered the old & sick.

Lent to Simon Ivanuf *sin* Pankratiuf⁶² 432 rubles upon his note or bond.

7. The new written in sojourns brought to take their oath in the church.

I at Preobrasinsko by his M.

Col. Yonger⁶³ went from hence to Tambow.

{10} Feb-ry 8, Sat. Bought 54 *arsh[ins]*⁶⁴ of red & 6 ell of white taffety at 20 *alt. arsh.* for 10 collours for the Butirsky regiment and 2 [one *cr.o.*] *arshines* for crosses, white in the red and a red in the white, – 37 rub. 2 *gr.*

9. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort⁶⁵, where his M. & most of the boyars.

Newes of the Tartars being retyred.

10. Bought 88 *arsh.* of white mitkal at 4 *alt. 4 d. arsh.*; 13 ½ pieces of blew, yellow & black, 4 pieces [at] 30 *alt.* a piece [of] 3 *arsh.* or a halfe of each; *kindiakes*⁶⁶ at 30 *alt.*; 8 pieces of *kumake*⁶⁷, 4 red & 4 purpur, at 35 *alt.* a piece – all to 40 collours, came to 33 rub. 2 *dengees*.

Payed for binding of 2 bookes 23 kopikes.

Dined by Mr. Guasconi.

11. In towne by Al. Sim. Sheyn and in the Pagana Prudt⁶⁸, where wee consulted with the enginiers & fireworkers.

Received a letter from the Hetman, dated 31 Jan-ry, with a pipe of brandy.⁶⁹

⁶¹ Cf. entry for 23 January above.

⁶² *Syn* (Russian), son. Possibly, son of *gost'* (privileged merchant) Ivan Pankratiyev, who took part in raising money to build ships at Voronezh in winter of 1696/97.

⁶³ Colonel Thomas (son of Balthasar) Junger, apparently, of German origin. In Azov campaigns he commanded a regiment of Tambov soldiers in Gordon's division.

⁶⁴ *Arshin*, old Russian unit of length, which varied until standardised by Tsar Peter the Great in early 18th century to equal 28 English inches (71.1 cm).

⁶⁵ François (Franz) Lefort (1656–1699), Swiss officer from Geneva, famous as a favourite of Tsar Peter. He began his Russian employ in 1678/79 as captain in Kiev under the command and patronage of Patrick Gordon whose first wife, Catherine von Bockhoven, was a cousin of Lefort's wife, Elizabeth Souhay.

⁶⁶ A kind of obsolete printed cotton fabric.

⁶⁷ Same as *kumach*, i.e. calico, usually red.

⁶⁸ *Pogany* (literally “foul”) *prud*, a pond in central Moscow, renamed *Chisty* (“clean”) in 1703.

⁶⁹ Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa (1639–1709), Hetman of Ukraine from 1687. During the Great Northern War he changed sides and joined the Swedes, fled to Turkish dominions

{10v} Feb-ry 12, Wed. At home. Caused pay to be given out to the new written in sojourns, a ruble a man.

13. At home, mustered the *nitshikes*⁷⁰. Changed the writeing of Simon Nikitits Boborokin, receiving 16 rubles, and he giving a note for 112 rubles, with the former pawne.⁷¹

14. Lent 220 rubles to Mr. Munter for a year upon his note, he haveing now 600 r. in all.

Writt to Mr. Gray, ordering him to remitt the 177 fl. to Mr. Forbes in Dantzick or Mr. Frazer in Riga, the first in ans-r to his of the 25 Jan.; to Mr. Fraser and Mr. Buck, ordering another 100 r. dollers for the last; to Pater Schmidt in ans-r to his of the 16th Jan-ry; to Colonell Livingston⁷² in ans-r to diverse of his.

{11} Feb-ry 14. Writt to Coll. Bockhoven and Maior Jan Bresky by the petitioners.

The Boyar Alexey Simon. Shein by me.

Supped by Mr. Isbrandt⁷³ with his M. & others.

My pillars & other things came from Tambow.

15.

16. At devotion, had the *patres*⁷⁴ and other ffriends with me at dinner.

17. His M. promised to come to dinner to me on Wednesday.

{11v} Feb-ry 18, Wed. At a feast by G-ll Le Fort, where the *Reg[imen]t de Marine*⁷⁵ marched by.

after the battle of Poltava and died there. A pipe was a liquid measure, which in Britain amounted to about 477 litres.

⁷⁰ *Netchiki* (Old Russian), deserters.

⁷¹ See *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, Vol. V: 1690–1695* (Aberdeen, 2014), p. 272.

⁷² The Scot Alexander Livingston (Leviston) in 1666 was captain of Pereyaslav soldier regiment. In 1668, during the Ukrainian revolt of Hetman Briukhovetsky, he was “all covered with wounds, with an arrow in the head, musket shots in both legs, a finger slashed on his left hand”. Promoted to Lt.colonel on 20 October 1677, he served under Gordon’s command for many years. In 1684, along with Gordon and others, he signed a petition to establish the first Catholic church in Muscovy. Ca. 1687 his project was used to fortify the Sophia Gate of the Kiev fortress. As colonel, he was mortally wounded at the siege of Azov in July 1696 (see below, fols. 51v, 55v).

⁷³ Elizary (Eberhard) Isbrandt Ides († 1708), native of Holstein, from 1687 lived and traded in Moscow. He headed a Russian mission to China, setting out in the spring of 1692 with Gordon’s letter of recommendation to the Jesuits there, and returned in February 1695; his travel diary was published in Germany and other countries.

⁷⁴ Dean Franz Xaver Lefler and Paul Joseph Jaroš, Franciscan friars who officiated in Moscow’s Roman Catholic church of the Holy Trinity, founded by Gordon.

⁷⁵ This regiment, formed before the second Azov campaign to man the galley fleet, is

I invited & cause invite many boyars to dinner.

Writt to my son in law Snivins.

The officers according to my roll preferred.

19. His M. with many others at dinner by me, stayed late & were merry.

20. At a feast by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] upon the acco-t of his name-day, where his M. with many more, stayed late.

Writt to Coll. Georg Skott by his son.

21. Writt to Yeffim Czornoy, chan[cellor] in Novogrod.⁷⁶

Received 472 rubles for my halfe-yeares pay and cornes.

Remaining of money from the last expedition, and given:

	<u>Rubles</u>	<u>Alt[yn]</u>	<u>D[engi]</u>
To Ivan Baybakuf	1,085		
and by Nikita Solochin ⁷⁷	<u>1,348</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>2</u>
In all	2,433	28	2

{12} Feb-ry 22, Sat. Writt to the Cosakish Hetman by his ser-t Wisoczky.

23. At devotion. His M. went from hence.⁷⁸

Received letters from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 13 February; from my [nephew *cr.o.*] John, dated Narva 6 Feb-ry.

24. Received a letter from Mad[am] Mary Magdalena Menezes⁷⁹, a nunne in Diepe, dated there the 22 *Oct-ris* 1695.

regarded as Russia's first unit of marines.

⁷⁶ Ye.A. Chornoy († after 1701), from 1687 *dyak*, from 1694 served in Novgorod and in 1697–9 in Azov.

⁷⁷ Regimental clerk of Gordon's Butyrsky regiment

⁷⁸ Tsar Peter left for Voronezh to complete preparations for the Azov campaign.

⁷⁹ Evidently, a relation (sister?) of the late Major General Paul Menzies (1637–1694). Like Gordon, he sprang from an old Roman Catholic family in North-Eastern Scotland, Menzies of Pitfodels, and was distantly related to the Diary's author (his mother was Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Sutherland). Menzies studied at the Catholic Scots College of Douai in Flanders, then joined the Polish army. In 1661 he moved to Russia with Gordon, whose close friend he remained. In 1672 Major Menzies was sent by the Tsar to Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Venice and Rome to negotiate an alliance against the Turks, was promoted to colonel and possibly became the first foreign tutor to young Tsarevich Peter. With his regiment Menzies fought in the Chigirin and Crimean campaigns, and died in Moscow, honoured by Tsar Peter with a remarkably grand burial.

Caused buy 55 *arsh.* of white mitkal at 4 *alt.* 4 *deng.* p[e]r *arsh.*, 62 *arsh.* of *kumake* halfe red halfe violet at 35 *alt.* the piece for 20 collours to the 2 *Nisovy*⁸⁰ regiments.

{12v} Feb-ry 25, Tues. At devotion.

Writt to my son in law Snivins.

Bought 45 load of hay at 32, 33 & 35 kop. a load.

26. Writt to Coll. Leviston with his M. order for him to march to Voronies⁸¹.

27. In towne & Butirky.

Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 18 Feb. at Archangell, giving notice of his going from thence the 19th.

Sent away 10 loads with provisions, as 11 bigg & small rundlets of beer.

Received from the *Dvoretz* or his Ma-ties *Hoffe*⁸² a hogshead of white wyne, a *aame*⁸³ of Spanish, halfe a *pude*⁸⁴ of sugar and a good quantity of all sorts of spices.

{13} Feb-ry 28, Frid. Writt to Mr. W-m Kettlewell⁸⁵, merch-t in Narva, and to my [nephew *cr.o.*] there, ordering him to come as soone as possible to Novogrod & Mosko, desireing Mr. Kettlewell to assist him with cloaths & money; to Lt.Coll. Palmer in Novogrod to assist him also.

Payed to Alexey Zotuf the fishmonger 23 rubles, and for 4 ½ brewings of malt with hopes 18 rubles.

Payed for 14 bookes in folio great & small 10 rubles.

Received 300 rubles *podiom*⁸⁶ or for my equipage.

29. Payed for 25 bookes of different syzes & subjects 3 ½ rubles.

{13v} March 1, Sunday. At devotion, received the Blessed Sacrament.

2. *In towne, received 300 rubles for my mounting.*⁸⁷

Returned an ans-r to Madam Menezes in Diepe in ans-r to hers dated there the 22 *Octobris* bypast by Gen-ll Le Forts conveyance.

⁸⁰ Regiments levied in *Nizovaya zemlia* (Low country), i.e. middle and lower Volga regions. They were also part of Gordon's division in the first Azov campaign.

⁸¹ Voronezh.

⁸² *Dvoretz* (Russian), *Hof* (German), palace or court.

⁸³ *Aam*, old Dutch measure of liquids equal to 4 *ankers*, 135 to 160 l.

⁸⁴ *Pud*, pood, old Russian unit of mass equal to 16.38 kilos.

⁸⁵ William Kettlewell, prominent English merchant, from 1670 active in Narva, where he became burgher and had monopoly on tobacco.

⁸⁶ *Podiom* (Old Russian), allowance for official travel or military campaign.

⁸⁷ Entry crossed out in MS.

3. My son James⁸⁸ went from hence.

Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 20 Feb., with a stone with my coat of armes⁸⁹ on it, for w-ch I am to give 3 reichs dollers.

4. Sent for *podvodes*⁹⁰. A letter came from his M. adviseing his arrival at Voronies.

{14} March 5. In towne, tooke my leave of most of the boyars, and in the Pagana Prudt of the strangers.

In the evening 572 *podvodes* brought.

6. In towne, tooke leave of these others with whom I am concerned.

7. At devotion. Afternoone & in the evening many ffriends by me.

Payed to Ivan Lukianuf *sin* Golosuf 55 ruble[s] for 56 great bookes.

{14v} March 8, Sun. Marched from Mosko and stayed in Kosuchova all night.

9. Writt to Mr. Kurtius in answer to his, dated Buda [...] Jan-ry.

Writt to my wyfe⁹¹.

Marched to the river Pachry on the Cashiers way and crossing it lodged there, being 30 *verst*⁹² from Mosko.

10. Marched in a rayny day, dined in the vill. Yekimatof, 15 *verst*, and lodged in a vill. by the river Cashierka, 30 *verst*.

⁸⁸ James Gordon (1668–1722), Patrick's second son, was born in Moscow and made ensign by Tsar Fiodor, but then went to study in the West. In his own words, "in 1688 he joined the service of the English King's Guards as a cadet, and in the same year was promoted to ensign, and reached the rank of captain there, and was in sundry battles on land and water". On 27 July 1689 he was gravely wounded fighting for the exiled King James at Killiecrankie. After the defeat of the Jacobite rising he came back to Russia and, as colonel, distinguished himself in Azov campaigns and the Great Northern War. In 1700 he was captured by the Swedes at the battle of Narva, but soon escaped from Stockholm. In 1701 for his father's achievements he was created Count of the Holy Roman Empire, the first Russian subject to receive this title. In 1706 he became the first Russian native to be accepted into the Order of St. John of Jerusalem ("according to his vow he went to Malta and became a knight there"), calling himself a "Muscovite". He attained the rank of brigadier (Russian State Archive of Military History, Fond 490, opis' 2, No 50, fols. 11–13; Archives of the Order of Malta, No 265, fol. 180). Keeping his knightly vow of celibacy, he left no issue.

⁸⁹ Patrick Gordon's own description of his coat of arms: "[Azure,] 3 boares heads erased [or] with a very small crescent in the midle (being a difference), & above a pearle crowne" (*Diary*, V, p. 215).

⁹⁰ *Podvody* (Russian), waggons.

⁹¹ On 3 February 1673 Gordon married his second wife, Elizabeth Ronaer, daughter of a Netherlandish colonel in the Tsar's service.

⁹² *Versta*, old Russian unit of length, in the reign of Peter the Great equal to 500 *sazhen* (1.06 km).

11. Marched and crossed the river Occa by Cashier⁹³, 30 *verst*, and lodged there.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter & nephew.

{15} March 12, Thur. Writt to *Kniaz* Boris Alex. Golitzin⁹⁴, to Mr. Forbes & Mr. Ro-t Gordon in Dantzick, and to Mr. Vinus⁹⁵.

Marched and unadvisedly to the left hand, to the Orechofsky gate in the *sashek*⁹⁶, 20 *verst*, and lodged 5 *verst* further in the village Petrova belonging to the Pustshins, the r[iver] Mordwa⁹⁷.

My waggons & baggage haveing gone to the right hand, to the Aliontofsky gate, wee had but bad accommodation.

13. I by advise marched to the village Tolstoy, 5 *verst*, thinking to gett over by a bridge, but it being broke of by the violence of the ice & river, I resolved to cause make floats & gave orders for materialls, but being advertised that to Winieva⁹⁸ wee must cross another river called Polosa⁹⁹, broader as this Osiator, where neither bridge, floote, boate nor foord, and hearing that higher up at Rogutova there had been floats made, I resolved to march thither, being 4 *verst*.

In this village Tolstoy, w-ch now belongeth to the Davidufs & Palanskyes, ther is part of a stone wall standing of free-stone, it haveing been circular round 70 geometricall paces in diameter with lower & upper holes for muskets or small pieces, and was a dwelling {15v} howse of the family of the Coltofskyes, and held out a siege of the Crim Tartars with their Chan.

This river Osiator cometh from the west not farr from Winiew, and receiving the r[iver]s Winiew & Polose with diverse small rivers & brookes, falleth in the river Occa some *versts* above Columna¹⁰⁰.

⁹³ Kashira.

⁹⁴ Prince B.A. Golitsyn (1654–1714), Tsars' carver (*kravchy*), from 1689 boyar, head of Kazan' Palace Office. Former tutor to young Tsar Peter and leader of his party in the struggle with Regent Sophia. During the Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8 he was one of the chief members of Russian government.

⁹⁵ Andrey Vinus (1641–1717), *dummy dyak*, son of a Dutchman. He served in the Embassy Office, and later headed the Siberian and Artillery Offices, contributing to the development of mining and metal production in Russia, and translating Western military and technological treatises.

⁹⁶ *Zaseki* or *zasechnye cherty*, defensive structures along Russia's southern borders built to ward off Tatars and other invaders. They consisted of felled trees, ramparts, moats and natural obstacles connected by a chain of forts.

⁹⁷ Mordvez'.

⁹⁸ Veniov.

⁹⁹ Polosnia.

¹⁰⁰ Kolomna.

Being come to Rogutova wee caused swimme our horses, and ferryed over in small boates; and holding the right-hand way wee came to Vinieva about 2 aclock in the afternoone, and about 2 howres thereafter our waggons came, who had gone the directest and best way. Winiewa is 40 *verst* from Cashier, and the river by this towne falleth in the Osioter 5 *verst* below the towne.

March 14. About 8 aclock in the morning I marched and crossed the r. Viniofka about 3 *verst* of at a village called Beresova, and travelled 15 *verst* to the vill. Chaltobino, where rested a litle. Then 10 *verst* further wee went to the right hand, and crossing the litle r. Pronia wee lodged in a village belonging to the *Stolnik*¹⁰¹ Ivan Fomits Bibikuf, 10 v.[?]¹⁰² This evening after a bitter frost a most vehement storme of snow & haile with a violent wind from the north did come and oppress all, so that it was impossible to stirr out of doores all the next day and put our waggons upon sledges.

{16} March 16, Moon. A litle befor midday I set forward and came to the towne Epifan, 15 *verst*, haveing crossed near the towne the r. Luter¹⁰³ which falleth in the Don. The r. Don hath its fountaine from hence about 20 *verst* out of the lake Ivanova.

Here I lodged in the writer¹⁰⁴ David Moltsianuf his howse, and causing view my drinks found 5 bottells of cyder burst, wherefor I left 17 there because of the vehement frost. The governour here is Vasily Fiodorow[ich] Accentiuuf.

17. I marched about 5 *verst* and crossed the river Don at the vill. Muravlionka belonging to the Bachmetufs, and comeing 5 *verst* further to the Lesser Buets vil. & r[iver], belonging to the same family, a litle further cometh in the Tules way from the right hand. 7 *verst* further wee came to the great village Michalofka, where dineing wee crossed the river Nepriadva w-ch falleth in the Don some *versts* from hence; and 15 *verst* further to the village Lutochina called so from the name of the possessor. Here the r. Viasofna, which falleth in the r. Buets¹⁰⁵, where comeing late I lodged. The *versts* here are exceeding long.

{16v} March 18. Marched 5 *verst* and crossed the r. Sniosnoy¹⁰⁶, which falleth in the r. Viasnia, and that in the [...], and 15 *verst* further dined in the vilage Tioploe, so called for being scituated in a wood and consequently warme.

¹⁰¹ *Stol'nik* was a Russian court rank, originally an attendant at the Tsar's table.

¹⁰² After the name there is a short illegible addition, apparently indicating the distance in versts.

¹⁰³ Liutorich.

¹⁰⁴ Writer is Gordon's usual term for *pod'yachy*, middle-ranking civil official in old Russia.

¹⁰⁵ Viazovnia, or Viazovka, falls into the Don.

¹⁰⁶ Possibly Snezhnaya.

Then 7 *verst* further through the vil. Chrustshowa and 12 *verst* further lodged in the vill. Rokitna 3 *verst* short of Lebedan.

19. Marched by a monastery to the towne Lebedian, 3 *verst*. This towne is from Epifan 60 long *verst*. Here viewing a great case of bottels found all in which were French wine and claret burst, being 10.

After dinner I marched, crossing the r. Don on the ice (as befor) by the towne, came 10 *verst* further and lodged in the vill. Pawlofsky from whence by a sojour I did writt to my son James.

20. Came to the vill. Prusinkin, 10 *verst*, and 6 *verst* further dined in the vill. Studinets, crossing a r[ivule]t of the same name. Wee crossed throw the woods to the vill. Czernoe, 5 *verst*, and 10 *verst* further lodged in the great vil-lage Rsavets belonging to the Dutchess Voratinska¹⁰⁷. Here are about 1,000 howses.

{17} March 21, Sat. Advanced 10 *verst* to the vil. Dubova where the r[ivule]t Meczefka, w-ch falleth in the r. Voronies; and the way being bad, wee came but 5 *verst* further to the vill. Lasofka, where wee quitted our sledges and tooke us againe to our waggons and so stayed all night.

22. Went early and came to the vil. Aidorova, 25 *verst*, being a *verst* from the way to the left hand, and there being no place to lodge in nearer the towne, I stayed all night.

23. Marched early and about 10 aclock came to the towne Voronies, 20 *verst*, and haveing taken up my quarters went to his M., who was busy about his gallyes; and being invited dined with his M. by Fiodor Fiodorovitz Plesheyow¹⁰⁸.

This Voronies lyeth in the 51 degr. 33 min. of northerne latitude.

{17v} March 24, Tuesd. Writt to my wyfe.

Was with his Ma-tie viewing the gallyes.

Received a letter from my wyfe, dated the 17th instant.

25. Writt to my wyfe and both my daughters, Katherine & Mary¹⁰⁹.

26. Had notice that the Butirsky regiment was passed over the r. Don by Lebedan on Moonday last.

27. Writt to my wyfe, son Theodorus & Mr. Vinus.

¹⁰⁷ Probably Princess Boriatinskaya, because the family of Princes Vorotynsky was extinct by this time.

¹⁰⁸ F.F. Pleshcheyev (1677–1701), *spal'nik* (gentleman of the bedchamber) and officer of Preobrazhensky regiment, fought at Azov and took part in Tsar Peter's Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8.

¹⁰⁹ Gordon's second daughter Mary (1673–after 1698), wife of Colonel Carl Snivins.

Sent for 5 load of hay & 5 tunne of oates, w-ch the B[isho]p¹¹⁰ ordered to give me.

Received from the Colonel Perfly Nikitits Tutshuf¹¹¹ a roll of the ammuni-
tion, which had been brought to this place and the towne Kostansk this winter
for our present expedition, as followeth.

{18} March.

2,992 tunnes of powder weighing 17,951 *pude*, whereof 5,396 *pude* of mus-
quet powder; 6,005 *pude* of fine powder whereof 2 tunnes wet, and of the
same 151 tunnes made with brandy; 7,976 *pude* of cannon powder.

162 *pude* of tinne.

2,120 *pude* of wooll & haire.

2,000 *pude* of hempe.

500 *pude* of lunt.

3,080 *trubes*¹¹² to hand-granadoes.

13,993 *trubes* or *rores*¹¹³ to great bombes of different syzes.

50 *pude* of lint.

20 pieces of cannon of severall different syzes for the shippes or rather
gallyes.

Bullets to these

240 of 3¹¹⁴ pund, 960 of 5 pund, 600 of 4 pund, 2,280 of 3 pund, 9,600
of 2 pund.

Besides these, above 100 pieces of cannon with some mortar pieces for
the 30 gallyes and the 2 galleasses¹¹⁵ which are makeing.

34 pieces of cannon, each weighing 43 *pude*, long 3 *arsh*[*ins*], wanting
a 4-t of 6 pund ball, to these 7,680 bullets.

17 cannon weighing each 25 *pude*, long 3 *ar*., with the breech or touch
hole, to the which 5,100 bullets of 2 pund.

¹¹⁰ Mitrofan (1623–1703), Bishop of Voronezh from 1682. He was canonised by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1832.

¹¹¹ Tiutchev.

¹¹² *Trubka* (Russian), fuse.

¹¹³ *Robr* (German), tube or barrel.

¹¹⁴ Thus in MS, but one would expect 9- or 8-, because both here and below the author lists
calibres in decreasing order.

¹¹⁵ Galleasses were larger and more heavily armed vessels than regular (“light”) galleys. They
usually had three masts and up to 32 oars, each worked by up to 5 men.

Bombes of different syzes

98 of 8[or 9] *pude*, 29 of 6 *pude*, 7,801 of 3 *pude*.

{18v} March 27, Frid.

836 bombes of 2 ½ *pude*, 6,059 of 2 *pude*, 889 of 1 ½ *pude*, 2,028 of 1 *pude*, 2,803 of halfe a *pude*, 1,098 longish.

Hand granadoes

13,692 of 2 pund, 13,980 of one pund.

Cannon bullets

3,200 of 30 pund, 3,600 of 26 pund, 1,200 of 20 pund, 5,600 of 15 pund, 6,400 of 6 pund, 12,870 of 2 pund, 2,400 of one pund.

119 *pude* of iron *drobe*¹¹⁶ or cutt-haile.

455 *pude* & 12 pund of *saliter*¹¹⁷.

100 *pude* of brimston.

15,480 *arshins* of linnen.

2 *pude* of cotton.

20 rimme of writeing-paper.

20 rimme of gray paper.

150 *arshins* of *krasinin*¹¹⁸ or coloured linnen.

15 pund of threed.

10 pund of campher.

25 *pude* of terpentine. 3 *pude* of waxe.

9 tunnes of lint-seed oyle.

220 *span* of *duge*¹¹⁹ or waggon-smear.

30 *pude* of swines fatt.

8 *pude* 30 pund of red-copper for shuffles.

20 copper flatt pans.

10 copper kettles.

¹¹⁶ *Drob'* (Russian), small shot or grapeshot.

¹¹⁷ Saltpetre.

¹¹⁸ *Krasnenina* (Russian). Term explained here by Gordon himself.

¹¹⁹ *Zhban[ov] diogtia* (Russian), can[s] of tar.

25 copper formes or calmes¹²⁰ to cast bullets in.
 {19} March 27.
 15 *pude* of steele.
 400 white iron *blaiches*¹²¹ or plates.
 20 *blaich* funnels.
 30 *blaich* cases for lunt.
 330 *pude* of iron.
 3,391 iron shuffles.
 483 *kirkies*¹²². 187 mattocks.
 10 bores for mining. 10 *sezupes*¹²³.
 100 great needles.
 20 *naboiniks*¹²⁴. 10 *koczetuges*¹²⁵.
 10 iron ladles. 4 great sheeres.
 20 knives. 20 great bodkins.
 10 halfe *skurnoy*¹²⁶ sawes.
 10 paire of *kuskies*¹²⁷. 5 *ostrozubes*¹²⁸.
 2 paire of bellowes. 5 steddyes.
 2 grindstones. 6 hammers of different syzes.
 6 tunnes of white-pitch or rozin, weighing 44 *pude* 15 pund.
 5 tunnes of red rozen, weighing 53 *pude*.
 5 *slude*¹²⁹ lanthornes.
 500 quilts or *voyloks*¹³⁰ of cowes or neats haire.
 520 great matt bagges.
 12,970 litle matt bagges.
 20 troughs. 5 sieves. 2,000 tallow candles.
 11 covered waggons with lockes.
 92 cables of different syzes.
 {19v} March 27, Frid.

¹²⁰ *Calms* (Scots), bullet-moulds.

¹²¹ *Bleche* (German).

¹²² *Kirki* (Russian), picks.

¹²³ *Shchupy* (Russian), probes or feelers.

¹²⁴ *Naboyniki* (Russian), tampers.

¹²⁵ *Kochedyki* (Old Russian), awls or puncheons.

¹²⁶ *Shkurny* (Old Russian), leathern or belonging to leather.

¹²⁷ *Koshki* (Old Russian), here, apparently, small anchors or pole hooks.

¹²⁸ *Ostrozuby* (Old Russian), literally "sharp teeth", i.e. some cutting or piercing tools.

¹²⁹ *Slinda* (Russian), mica.

¹³⁰ *Voylok* (Russian), felt.

- 25 *peitches*¹³¹. 1,500 fath[oms] of hempen ropes.
 22 *pude* of small hempen ropes or cordes.
 4,120 basten ropes.
 6,000 double-matts. 1,396 single-mattes.
 60 oaken thick boords for *l'affuits*¹³².
 600 *pude* of kettle and other copper, being 240 kettles, 1,061 plattes of different syzes.
 4 copper pulishes & to these 4 copper wheeles whereof 2 bigge.
 One tunne of oyle-*d'olives*.
 3 tunnes of calaphony.

According to my roll given in in Mosko, besides other things, there wanteth 6 great bores with scrues for mineing; 20 anckers of different syzes, 4 being of 12 *pude* & 16 of 6 *pude* weight.

Of lead 8,538 *pud* & 16 *pude* of lead in 551 pigges.

{20} March 28, Sat.

29. The Butirsky Regiment & that of Michael Kriftsow came.

The post came & brought me letters from Mr. Pat. Forbes in Dantzick, dated 16 *Martii*; from Mr. W-m Gray in Konigsberg, dated 14 March, giving me notice that he had payed to Mr. Frazer on my account 177 florens; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 12 *Martii*, acquainting me of the reseat of 46 r[eichs] d[ollers] and 15 gr[osses] from Mr. Gray, and that 100 r.d. had been payed to Doctor Buck in Dantzick, and he is to give him as much there, all upon my account, the said Mr. Buck being arrived there and to hasten forward; from Mr. Vinus, dated Mosco 23 *Martii*.

{20v} March 30, Moond. Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinus; to my son John; Mr. Joseph Woolffe in London & Mr. Philip in Mosco about the remitting of 4 [...] to Scotland.

31. This day I ended the 61th [*sic*] yeare of my troublesome lyfe. Blessed be the Great God who hath given me so long a time of repentance!

Writt to the *Dummy* Achtemon Ivanuf¹³³ about 6 mineing-bores with screwes and the 20 anchors I had put in my roll at Mosko.

¹³¹ *Peitschen* (German), whips or lashes.

¹³² *L'affûts* (French), gun carriages.

¹³³ A.I. Ivanov († 1709), from 1688 *dummy dyak*, in 1693/94–1696/97 head of the Foreigners' Office (*Inozemsky Priказ*).

{21} April 1. Caused writt the following list of ammunition for my reg-ts of sojourns & *streltsees*:

8,000 hand-granadoes. 9,000 *trubes* to them.
 10 copper *camsees*¹³⁴ for casting of bullets.
 2 *pude* of steele. 100 *blattes*¹³⁵ of white-iron.
 1 *pude* of tinne.
 10 lunt cases of white iron.
 6,000 *arshins* of linnen.
 50 *span* of *decht* or smeer.
 1,000 iron shuffles. 200 *kirkies*.
 100 mattockes. 5 mineing-bores.
 5 *sczupes*. 2 smiths steddies w[i]t[h] bellowses.
 1 *slife-stone*¹³⁶. 6 hammers of different syzes.
 300 great matte bagges. 6,000 litle bagges.
 40 cables of different syzes.
 10 empty tunnes. 1,500 basten ropes.
 2,000 double-mattes. 500 single-mattes.
 For the way 150 *pud* of fine powder.
 100 *pude* of lead. 25 *pude* of cannon powder.
 1,400 cannon bullets of 2 pund.
 35 *pude* of lunt.

For the Tambovish reg-ts who are going by land:

150 *pude* of fine powder. 100 *pude* of lead.
 15 *pude* of lunt. 15 *pude* of cannon powder.
 1,000 cannon bullets of 2 pund.
 500 *arshins* of linnen.

{21v} April.

A list of *struges*¹³⁷ for w-ch I have occasion:

¹³⁴ *Calms* (Scots), bullet-moulds.

¹³⁵ *Blätter* (German), plates.

¹³⁶ *Schleifstein* (German), grindstone.

¹³⁷ *Strugi* (Russian), large river-boats propelled by sails and oars.

18 for the Sojour reg-t w[i]t[h] as many boates.

48 w[i]t[h] their boates for the 4 *streltsee* reg-ts, whereof 5 with *shardakes*¹³⁸ for ye col[one]ls.

2 with 2 boates & a *yesaulny* for the Generall.¹³⁹

1 with a boat for the two chancellours¹⁴⁰.

For 8 writers with the money treasure one *struge* with its boat.

For the Generals adjutant, quarterm[aste]r and maior of the ammunition 1 *struge*, 1 *yesaulny* & a boate.

For 16 *stolniks* adjutants 3 *struges*, one *yesaulny* and 3 boates.

For the ammunition 2 *struges* with boates.

For the 2 Low Countrey reg-ts 33 *struges*, 2 *yesaulnyes* & 33 boates.

For the surgeons with their medicaments.

For the fireworkers to worke in.

For the smiths with the coales.

In all 112 *struges*, 10 *yesaulny* & 112 boates.¹⁴¹

{23} April 1, Wed. I rode early to have mett the *Generalissimus*¹⁴², but he was come to his lodgings in the night, whither I went and visited him, and spoke about diverse businesses.

2. This day 3 gallyes were launched out on the river, and were with some ceremonies called by the names of *Principium*¹⁴³, *St. Marke* & *St. Mathew*.

Writt to my wyfe per post.

3. Caused receive 37 floats of 15 or 17 trees in each, and 13 not received. Col. Leviston with his son came from Kyow¹⁴⁴.

Doctor Carbonary came and brought letters for me, dated 16 *Martii* from my wyfe, son, daughter & son in law, as also some other things along w[h]ich were forgott.

The Capt. Ivan Katzayuf came and brought a letter from my son James.

{23v} Aprill 4, Sat. Was by the Boyar and afternoone by his M.

The Coll. Michael Protopopuf came with his reg-t.

5. In the fields visiteing the great boates.

¹³⁸ *Cherdaki* (Old Russian), ship cabins.

¹³⁹ The *General* is Gordon himself. *Yesaulny* here and below stands for *yertoulny* vessels, i.e. sailing in the van.

¹⁴⁰ I.e. *dyaki*.

¹⁴¹ There follow 2 blank pages in MS (22 and 22v).

¹⁴² Boyar A.S. Shein.

¹⁴³ The Tsar's galley whose captain was Peter himself.

¹⁴⁴ Kyiv (Ukrainian), Kiev (Russian). Gordon spells it the Polish way.

2 Tartars ran away out of Mich. Protopopufs reg-t.

6. In the morning by the Boyar Al. Sem. [Shein] about business.

The post came & brought me letters from my wyfe, daughter Kat[herine], son in law, *Kniaz* Ivan Bor. Troyk[urov] & Yemelian Ukrayntzuf¹⁴⁵.

Over the r[iver] with his M., afterwards by G-ll Acht[omon] Mich. [Golovin]¹⁴⁶.

7. Writt to my wyfe, daughter Kate, son, son in law, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krevet¹⁴⁷ and to the Russe lords I correspond with, as to Lew Kir. [Naryshkin], *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn], Tichon Nikit. [Streshnev], *Kniaz* Peter Ivan. Prosarofsky¹⁴⁸, *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. Troyk[urov], Yemel. Ukra[intsev] & Achtemon Ivanuf.

It haveing been a great tempest of wind in the night, about day light it began to snow and storme exceedingly, which kept me at home the whole day, & no worke was done at the gallyes.

{24} April 8, Wed. It continued storming with snow, frost and wind the whole day. About 3 aclock in the afternoone his M. came to me and stayed till midnight.

[He] gave me of my instrument for throwing of bombes and received his case againe.

9. It continued still great tempests of wind with frost.

I payed to Gregory Tituf his ser[van]t Elias Semenuf for 15 measures of oates, at 14 kop. p[e]r measure, 2 rubles & one *grivnee*¹⁴⁹.

An order to receive 47 *struges* with their boates and one *yesaulny*.

10. Wind, cold and abundance of snow in the night-tyme and in the morning. Afternoone somewhat relented, and warmer.

His M. sent me 2 circles, a transport, with 2 other small instruments.

11. Miska came & brought me letters from my wyfe and children, dated 28 *Martii*; from Mr. Dowker, dated 21 Feb-ry.

Received a letter from Mr. Vinius, dated 8 April.

¹⁴⁵ Ye.I. Ukraintsev (1641–1708), *dummy dyak*, noted diplomat, head of the Embassy Office.

¹⁴⁶ A.M. Golovin (1667–1720), general, commander of Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments and of a division in Azov campaigns. In 1700 he was captured by Swedes at Narva and only released in 1718.

¹⁴⁷ Henry (Andrey) Crevet, English merchant in Russia from the 1660s and translator of the Embassy Office. He enjoyed the trust of Tsar Peter who nicknamed him “Crayfish” (*Rak*).

¹⁴⁸ Prince P.I. Prozorovsky (1644/45–1720), former tutor of Tsarevich Ivan Alexeyevich; from 1676 boyar, from 1689 head of the Great Treasury Office.

¹⁴⁹ *Grivna*, old Russian monetary unit of 10 kopeks.

Wee began our devotion of the Resurrection about 7 aclock at night.
 {24v} Aprill 12, Sund. About midnight the Russes had their devotion of the Resurrection.

13. I was by his M. & the Boyar.

The post came & brought me a letter from Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], dated 8 *Aprilis*.

14. Writt to my wyfe, da[ughte]rs, son & son in law and Mr. Vinius, and to the noblemen I correspond with.

7 Tartars haveing made their escape in the night-tyme by digging out a hole from under the oven & roome [in] Sucharufs regiment, under whose guard they were, I sent to seek them, who caught one of them not farr from the Don.

I dined with his M. & others by Peter Matfeovitz Opraxin¹⁵⁰.

Rode in the afternoone downe by the river syde.

{25} Aprill 15, Wed. At home, being indisposed & melancholyous.

Caused receive 7 old *struges*. Sent away 11 floates.

An order to send Michael Protopopuf w[i]t[h] his reg-t to guard the ammunion.

An order to receive for the sojourns & *streltsees* a 4-t of meale & as much bisket.

I caused bring a list of the sojourns and *streltsees*, who brought as followeth:ⁱ

The Chosen Regiment of sojourns	960 men
Ivan Czornoy his <i>streltsees</i> reg-t	581
Michael Kriftsow his reg-t	587
Michael Protopopuf his reg-t	609
Michael Sucharuf his reg-t	569
From the townes	<u>128</u>

In all 3,474¹⁵¹

16. Received my *struge*.

Sent the Turks writeings interpreted to the Boyar.

2 Tartars who had escaped 10 dayes ago retaken at the ferry.

¹⁵⁰ P.M. Apraksin (1659–1728), brother of Tsaritsa Marfa, second wife of Tsar Fiodor. From 1689 *okol'nicby*, then *voeyevoda* in Novgorod, governor of Astrakhan' and Kazan'. From 1715 count, from 1717 senator, from 1722 President of Justice College.

¹⁵¹ The numbers actually add up to 3434.

Gen-ll Le Fort came.

{25v} April 17, Frid. An order for receiving 92 *struges*, 1 flatt & a large boate, so that 19 are dimi[ni]shed of the required number.

The Admirall galley & another launched from the stocks.

18. Sent to receive the boates, but they were not ready.

19. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort where w[i]t[h] great solemnity was drunk the usurpator of Great Brittain¹⁵² his health, which I refused, and in place thereof drunk King James¹⁵³ his good health.

Received letters by the post from my wyfe, daughter, Doctor Buck, Mr. Krevet, Mr. Frazer & Mr. Vinus; from my son in law & Mr. Woolffe. By this I heard of the sicknes of my son, and his being become better – praised be God!

From the Russe noblemen I correspond with, all dated the 14 & 15 instant.

{26} April 20, Moon. Received a letter from my son James, dated Tam-bow 11th of April.

Went aboard my boate.

21. At the feast of the Boyar Alexey Simon. upon his entring on shipboard.

22. Being ordered to go befor, I went & tooke leave of the Boyar Alexey Sim. and thereaft[er] of his M.

Gave Ivan Czarnoy with his regiment to safeguard & convoy the provisions.

Writt to my son James by Capt. Georg Ried, by whom I sent my horses.

23. Haveing dispatched the horses with Capt. Ried & heard devotion, I made ready to be gone, and a litle after midday gave the signe to make of.

Wee had not gone farr when with the wind and force of the streame some boats were driven on shallow places and with much ado gott of. So with much worke wee gott downe to the vil. Shilova, the river running very crooked and not being in its {26v} banks, being about 15 *verst* by water and 5 or 6 by land from Voronies. Our boat being by the falling fowle on other boats became

¹⁵² William of Orange (1650–1702), from 1674 ruler (*Stadlbouder*) of the Netherlands. In autumn of 1688, allegedly to defend the Protestant faith and the rights of parliament, he led a successful invasion of England with Dutch and mercenary forces, dethroned his father-in-law, King James II (VII), and was proclaimed King of Great Britain (so-called “Glorious Revolution”). Until 1694 he ruled jointly with his wife, Mary II. For Gordon, an ardent Jacobite, he always remained a usurper.

¹⁵³ James II (VII) (1633–1701), King of Great Britain and Ireland in 1685–88, was deposed by Prince William of Orange, who seized his throne. In 1690 James headed the army of his supporters in Ireland, but was defeated by William and left for France. For Gordon, whose son and clansmen fought with the Jacobites, as for many other loyalists, James always remained the rightful monarch whose exile was considered temporary.

very leake, so that with much worke the whole night wee could gett her kept dry.

Aprill 24. Having stopt our leake, about midday wee made forward, and at 3 aclock came into the river Don, haveing passed by the [river *cr:a*] vil. [...] on our right hand; and with less trouble sailed downe the river Don, and in the evening layed on and stayed all night a *verst* short of the vill. Truskina¹⁵⁴.

25. Put of early; passed by the vill-s Trustina, Grimatzia & Lubilofka¹⁵⁵ and the towne Costianets¹⁵⁶, all on o[u]r right hand, which is from Voronies by land but 15 or 20 *verst*, and by water about 40. And so by turnings and windings by the Monastery Bursa¹⁵⁷ on our right hand, which belonged to the Dons Cosakes, but upon some miscariage taken from them some yeares ago, and in lieve thereof their ancient pension confirmed & payed. It belongs now to the Bishop of Voronies. I stayed this night by the vill. Strasova on our right hand on a hill, from whence its name.

{27} April 26, Sun. Marched early, haveing sent 25 vessells befor with Lt.Coll. Snivins to ferry over the regiments comeing from Tambow, and haveing now in the fleet but 55 vessels. Wee stayed all night by the towne & cittadell Uriw¹⁵⁸, on o[u]r right hand, where beside sojourns there are a company of Cosakes which serve in the Ribnaes regiment¹⁵⁹; haveing passed this day by the r[ivule]t Ch[vo]rostantianky on our left hand & the vill. Selavno on our right hand, and the monastery Pustin¹⁶⁰ on our right hand.

27 [Moon.] By day light wee put of, and about 9 aclock came to Krotiak¹⁶¹, a large towne with a cittadell situated on a hill on our right hand as the other and all the villages are. For since the Tartars some yeares ago destroyed the villages on the left hand of the river and carryed the people into captivity,

¹⁵⁴ *Truskina*, called *Trustina* in the next line. Possibly, Trostianka, although this village on the Don lies downstream from Gremiacheye (*Grimatzia*). Since on his journey Gordon recorded the names as pronounced by locals, and in great detail, down to small hamlets and rivulets, some of them are hard to trace. Several of these place-names are absent even from the best 19th-century Russian maps (by I.A. Strelbitsky, 10 *verst* to an inch); perhaps not all of them survived until the period of exact cartography, let alone the present. Besides, Cossack towns and villages were sometimes moved from place to place or ceased to exist altogether, as it happened to the once-important Panshin.

¹⁵⁵ The name was added above the line and is barely legible.

¹⁵⁶ Kostensk.

¹⁵⁷ Evidently, Borshchevsky Trinity monastery, abolished in 1764.

¹⁵⁸ Uryv.

¹⁵⁹ Ostrogozhsky Ukrainian Cossack regiment, also called Rybnensky after the other name of its central town.

¹⁶⁰ Lysogorskaya Trinity hermitage (*pustyn*).

¹⁶¹ Korotoyak.

that syde remaines still uninhabited. This being the last Russia towne where a governour, I stayed untill the sojourns had furnished themselves with some necessaries. I dined by Gregory Andr. Plemenikuf, by whom, being shortly to returne to Mosko, I did writt to my wyfe and sent in a *croby* my *lawdan shube*¹⁶², Theodorus his bajonet and some Turkish books. {27v} And Colonell Levis-ton sent 50 rubles by the same *stolnik*, who had been heer getting in provisions, he with 2 others haveing 94,000 tunnes of bisket, oatmeal & oat-groats.

About 2 aclock, the signe given, wee put of, and at 3 aclock came where the river Sosna, comeing from the right, falleth in the Don. Below which is a small monastery called Div[n]ogorska, wherein a prior and 40 monkes. It standeth low by the river, being furnished with some iron cannon and muskets and environed with a ditch and woodden wall for fear of the Tartars. I went a shore, the prior conducted me up a strait hill just above the monastery or convent into a chappell cut out of a rock of a white stone or rather chalke. Above this are the ruines of ane old monastery, which they said had been built at the charges of a Greek Emperour called Andronicus¹⁶³. After short prayers sung by the monkes in the chappel wee returned and being invited, went in with the prior to his cell, where he presented us with a drink of beer. I gave him a ducate for his paines and so went to our boat. Here is a very pleasant prospect, the chappell and diverse rocks of chalke looking like statues afarr of.

{28} Two howres thereafter wee passed by another chappel also digged out of such a rock, supported howe[ve]r with pillars, and haveing long vaulted galleries as the other. Hereby two small cottages where the fryers live. This is called Preobrasinsko or the Transfiguration; the land being high only on our right hand, and the river broader and straighter, wee rowed downe the whole night.

Below Krotiak a small river of the same name falleth in the Don.

April 28. By day light wee passed by a small fishers cottage, and 4 howres thereafter by another, both on our right hand; the river, as all along, being on both sides well plenished with plenty of oakes, though not very stately, and the countrey every where extraordinary pleasant. Many of our boates being farr behind, I caused give the signe in the evening to come to shore, and stayed all

¹⁶² *Korob* (Russian), box or chest. *Shuba* (Russian), fur coat. *Laudan* was a kind of silk.

¹⁶³ Such was the name of five Byzantine emperors from late 12th to early 15th century. But their role in the foundation of Divnogorsky monastery is unlikely, because at that period the Don region was dominated by hostile infidel hordes. This religious house is believed to originate in mid-17th century.

short 3 houres way of the r[iver] Bituk, haveing this day passed the mouth of the r. Morok on our left hand and the r. Sherod¹⁶⁴ on our left also.

{28v} April 29, Wed. By day light, haveing given the ordinary signe to put of, and so rowed downe in the usuall order. About 7 aclock in the morning wee passed by the mouth of the r. Bitug, which runneth a long course from near Tambow. About one aclock in the afternoone a sojour going out in a litle boate turned over and was drowned, but the body recovered.

About 5 aclock afternoone wee passed by a rock [*on margin:* called Buyuf] on our right hand, very dangerous when low water, because the river runneth with a strong current and at this rock suddainly turneth.

Wee rowed downe till midnight and then, it beginning to grow darke, wee stayed by the land till day light.

Our course was for the most part all this day south.

30. By day light wee rowed away, and about 8 aclock in the morning came by the mouth of the r. Kalitwa on our right hand; the wind contrary and our course most east. The course of this river is exceeding uncertaine for the many and short turnings and windings.

In the evening wee passed by the mouth of the r. Mamon on our right hand¹⁶⁵, and so rowed on {29} till midnight; then laying by to the brink of the river, wee stayed till day light.

May 1. By day light wee rowed away and at 8 aclock came by the mouth of the river Bogutzar on our right hand, which is about 15 *verst* from Donetsky, the first towne belonging to the Dons Cosakes. Two howres thereafter wee passed by the r[ivule]t Tulicefka¹⁶⁶, and about ane howre thereafter another r-t of the same name, both from the left hand. About midday wee passed by a cell belonging to the Div[n]ogorsky monastery, and ane howre thereafter another cell or monastery, very poor, belonging to the Cosakes. About 6 aclock afternoone wee came by the first Cosakish [town], or rather pitifull village called Donetsky, and came late to our station and stayed all night about 2 *verst* from Donetsky by land and 4 by water.

{29v} May 2, Sat. At 5 aclock wee passed by the r[ivule]t Kasinka, left. At 7 aclock wee passed by the 2d towne, Casanets, on o[u]r ri[gh]t hand; about midday be [*sic*] the r-t Peskovatka on o[u]r left hand. At 5 aclock afternoone

¹⁶⁴ Probably the Marak and Osered' rivers, although the latter flows into the Don further downstream than the Bitiug does.

¹⁶⁵ Mamonovka is the *left* tributary of the Don.

¹⁶⁶ Apparently, Tolycheva.

wee passed by the 3d towne, Migulin, on our l[eft] hand, and one howre thereafter passed by the r-t Tichae on o[u]r ri[gh]t hand. At 8 aclock wee passed by the 4th towne, Tishansky, on our left hand, and in the evening laid by to the land.

3. Marched early and at 5 aclock by the 5th towne, Reshatow, on our left hand. About midday wee passed by the 6th towne, Viesky, on our left hand. At 5 aclock wee passed by the mouth of the river Chwapior¹⁶⁷ on our left hand, and less as one howre thereafter the towne called Ust-Chwapior on our left hand. Wee came in the evening to the place where I had ferryed over the yeare befor, and stayed all night, haveing made great way this day, the weather being faire and brave brizes of wind in our rear. From this place I did writt to the Boyar Alexey Simonowits [Shein] & to my son James.

{30} May 4. Haveing left 7 old and 4 new uncovered great boates for ferrying-over the reg-ts with my son, as also a new covered boate for his provisions, I put of and at 5 aclock in the morning came by the monastery called the Transfiguration. And 2 howres thereafter wee passed by the mouth of the r. Mediveditsa on our left hand, and a litle below the Cosakish towne Glasunow or Ust-Medieveditza; and it being a great tempest of wind, wee were forced to come to land and stay till the next morning.

Here the Cosakes of this towne came to me and told me that they had received a letter from their army at Czirkask¹⁶⁸, giveing them notice that they should have a care and give notice to the other townes to be vigilant, because they had gott sure intelligence that Kubek Mursa was gone with a strong party towards the upper townes for to gett intelligence of the march of our armies.

{30v} May 5, Tues. Wee put of early and at 7 aclock came by the litle Cosakes towne called Rostopin¹⁶⁹, left hand. And it being a great tempest of wind about midday, I was forced to lay by to the shore and stay 2 howres untill the boates who were stayed behind came up. At 4 aclock afternoone wee rowed by the towne Kletskey on our right hand. About sunsett wee came to chaulky hills on our right hand wherein a doore & window, being a beginning to some cell, hermitage or monastery, as also another. Here were curious statues, but whether by nature or art uncertaine, the raine and weather haveing it may be defaced them. These hills continued about ane howres rowing. A litle

¹⁶⁷ Khopior.

¹⁶⁸ Cherkassk, then capital of the Don Cossacks.

¹⁶⁹ Raspopin.

after midnight wee passed by a towne [on] our left hand called Prekopskoy, and by day light another on our left hand called Kremenoy.¹⁷⁰

6. About 9 aclock a great tempest of wind ariseing, wee were forced diverse tymes on land, and haveing broke our rudder, wee stayed for mending of that and untill the storme was over about 3 howres. At 2 aclock afternoone wee passed by the towne Novoy Gregoriofsky on our right hand. About 3 howres thereafter wee passed by the towne Staroy Gregoriofsky on o[u]r right hand. About sunsett wee passed by the towne Sierotina on our right hand.

{31} May 7. Haveing in the evening and night-tyme passed by chawky hills or rocks on our right hand, which make though not so faire as the other, yet a most delicate prospect, about day light wee passed the mouth of the r[ivule]t Ilovoy¹⁷¹, which cometh from the left hand; where also the towne Ilovoy. At 5 aclock wee passed by the towne Kaczalin on the same hand. At 7 aclock wee came to the towne Panczin on our left hand. Here I stayed untill all the fleet conveened, and haveing left 19 *budares*¹⁷² for bringing downe my two Low Countrey regiments and written letters to the Boyar Alexey Simon. [Shein], to the governour of Tzaricza and Colonell Evanitsky about his making hast and on the way to provide great & small gabions¹⁷³, *Frisish ryters*¹⁷⁴ or turne-pikes and other materialls.

In the evening, it being stormy with a great raine, I was forced to stay all night.

8. So that in the morning by the peep of day I caused put of, haveing written to my wyfe by a Moskovish *trubnik*¹⁷⁵. By the way the Cosakes brought a sturgeon alive to me.

About one aclock afternoone wee passed by the mouth of the r. Golubitza, which cometh from the right hand, and 3 howres thereafter by a towne of the same name. At 10 aclock at night the Cosakes from the towne Piat Isb brought a living sturgeon to me, and 2 howres thereafter wee passed by their towne.

¹⁷⁰ According to reliable 19th-century maps, Cossack villages (*stanitsy*) Raspopinskaya, Perekopskaya and Kremenskaya lay on the *right* bank of the Don. Gordon could hardly be mistaken thrice in a row: in the 17th century Cossack settlements often changed places because of Tatar raids and other reasons.

¹⁷¹ Ilovlia.

¹⁷² *Budara* (Old Russian), large boat with freight capacity of 15 to 25 poods.

¹⁷³ Gabions, baskets or boxes made from wickerwork, filled with rocks, sand, soil etc, and used for cover in fortifications. During the defence of Chigirin in 1678 Gordon used gabions of his own design (*Diary*, III, pp. 48–50).

¹⁷⁴ *Spanischer Reiter* (German) or *chevaux de frise* (French), defensive anti-cavalry obstacles consisting of a portable wooden frame covered with long spikes.

¹⁷⁵ *Trubnik* (Russian), trumpeter.

{31v} May 9, Sat. At 7 aclock in the morning wee passed by the towne Vierchny Czir on our right hand & about 4 howres thereafter first passed by the r. Moskova¹⁷⁶, l[eft], & then by the towne called Lower Czir on our ri[gh]t hand, both named from the river Czir, which comeing out of the Crimish fields falleth in here. The Cosakes from this towne brought me a liveing sturgeon, and begged from me my great boat which Ivan had left here in his comeing from Assow. At 3 aclock afternoone wee passed by the r. Czir on the ri[gh]t hand. At 7 aclock wee passed by the towne Kobilak. An howre thereafter wee passed the r. Rikun comeing from the right hand, where also the r[ivule]t Salona.

In the night, about one after mi[dni]ght, wee passed by the towne Yesawluf on our right hand.

10. At 5 aclock in the morning wee passed by the towne Ziemoveikin on our right hand. Here wee had notice of 2 or 300 of the Tartars to have showne themselves below, and wee our selves did see 30 or 40 of them on our left hand, wherefor I caused shoot of 2 cannon to give notice that our souldiers should be vigilant and circumspect. At 7 aclock wee passed by the Upper Kurman Yar, r[ight]. At 3 aclock afternoone wee passed by the towne Nagafkin, r[ight]. At 7 aclock afternoone wee passed by the towne Nether Kurman Yar; here the r. Yurkwall falleth in the Don, r[ight]. A litle befor midnight wee passed by the towne {32} Guvnin, r[ight]. Ane howre thereafter wee passed by the towne Preligin, on our left hand.

May 11. Two howres thereafter wee passed by the towne Ternowoy, r[ight]. At 7 aclock in the morning wee passed by the towne Tzimla on owr right hand; the Cosakes of this towne brought me a liveing sturgeon. At one aclock afternoone wee passed by the towne Kumshak, r[ight]. At 3 aclock wee passed by the towne Romanofska, r[ight]. At 9 aclock wee passed by the towne Kargala, r[ight]. A litle after midnight wee passed by the towne Kamishow, r[ight].

12. At 3 aclock in the morning wee passed by the towne Bistrinska, l[eft]. At 5 aclock wee passed by the towne Upper Michalew, l[eft], from whence the Cosakes brought to me a sturgeon. At 8 aclock by the Nether Michalew, r[ight]; at 10 aclock by the towne Troilow, r[ight]; at 1 aclock afternoone by the towne Kagalnik on a illand, more pleasant & fashionable as the other; here Stenka Razin¹⁷⁷, intending to winter, was taken by the Donish army and sent

¹⁷⁶ Myshkova.

¹⁷⁷ S.T. Razin (ca.1630–1671), *ataman* (leader) of the Don Cossacks, who headed a powerful popular rebellion against the Tsar's forces in 1670–71. Gordon took part in suppressing its echoes in the vicinity of Novy Oskol.

to Mosko in chaines. At 3 aclock by the towne Vedernikuf on ane illand, also r[ight]. At 7 aclock wee passed by the towne Babie, r[ight]. At 9 aclock at night wee passed by the towne Zolotoe, r[ight]. One howre thereafter wee passed by the northern mouth {32v} of the r. Donets, r[ight]. At midnight wee passed by the towne Koczetow on the left hand. Here on the same hand the r. Sal falleth in the Don.

May 13, Wed. At 5 aclock in the morning wee passed by the t[own] Semikorokor, r[ight]. At 8 aclock wee passed by the t. Rosdora¹⁷⁸, where the other branch of the r. Donets falleth in the Don; on the left hand the illand & r. Susat. At midday wee passed by the t. Melechow, l[eft]. Here, a litle below, the r. Axay goeth to the right out of the Don and maketh the great Cosakish illand wherein Czirkass[k] & other townes stand. At 5 aclock afternoone wee passed by the t. Besergenuf, r[ight]; at 9 aclock by the t. Bagay. About midnight wee passed by the t[own] Manits¹⁷⁹, where the riwer Manits comeing from the left falleth in the Don. A litle below this by reason of the great wind, which had continued since midday, wee were forced to stay

14. till day light, and then comeing within a couple of *verst* of Czirkask, I came to stand by the right bank of the river; whither M. G. Rigeman, who {33} stayed a litle higher up in order to his ferrying over, came & gave me a visitt. I went after dinner and viewed the cannon, mortar pieces and ammunition, and set people presently a worke to draw out all the artillery and fitt them upon *l'affuits*. Here are 26 cannon [great guns *cr.o.*] of different syzes, whereof 7 spoiled, and 7 field or regiment pieces and [...] mortar pieces of different syzes.

May 15. The *Ottoman* Frowl Minayuf¹⁸⁰ visited me.

His M. came with 4 gallies at 4 aclock afternoone and ankered befor the towne. I followed in my boat, but could not overtake him untill he had anchored. I was kindly received and entertained, and afterwards *ad hilaritatem*¹⁸¹ by the *Ottoman* Frowl. Came home late.

Writt to my son James with Marka the corporall.

16. Received letters from my wyfe, daughter, son & others, dated 29 *Aprilis*; to my wyfe I returned an answer immediately.

{33v} May 17, Sund. Haveing loaden in 45 tunnes of powder & 32 piggs of lead with 6 great battering pieces and 15 mortar pieces, at 4 aclock

¹⁷⁸ Razdory.

¹⁷⁹ Manych.

¹⁸⁰ Frol Minayev, *ataman* of the Don Cossack army in 1680–1700.

¹⁸¹ At an entertainment (Latin).

afternoone I removed and stood all night a litle above Czirkass[k], on the other syde.

At 10 aclock at night his M. sent Alex-r Kikin¹⁸² to me to tell me that I should come the next morning early to him and I must march early to the Novosergeyuf.

18. Haveing been early by his M. and consulted about our march, the reason whereof was that 2 ships were standing at the mouth of the river and disloadening provisions, and that I should march and take post on the illand where the r. Kallentzay goeth out, untill he with his 9 gallies and 1,000 Cosakes who were to go along should see to take these ships.

About 7 aclock I rowed away, and at 12 aclock his M. overtooke me, and {34} comeing into my boat stayed above ane howre discoursing of the wayes the armyes are to march and where they shall post themselves befor the towne Assow dureing the siege.

At 3 aclock I went ashore with some people and walked to the hight where a high *kurgan*¹⁸³ or heape of earth, from whence wee could see Assow and the whole countrey on that syde to Czirkassk.

The wind being contrary, about 10 aclock at night wee passed by the Mertvoy Donets, and

May 19 [Tues.]¹⁸⁴ at 5 aclock in the morning came to the Kalentzay Towers¹⁸⁵ now called Novoy Sergeyuf; and haveing saluted them with 2 piece of cannon, I was answered with all the cannon they had on the wall.

*About 9 aclock his M. came aboard my boat and after a short consultation departed.*¹⁸⁶

Haveing invested the litle fort below on the Don, I tooke the Butirsky regiment and 100 men of each of the other, and rowed over to the illand of Kalentzay. And the old fort being too litle, I measured out another round that of 180 paces round from the river Kalentzay to {34v} the Don, being a *tenailles*¹⁸⁷; and getting all hands a work and good guards, I returned. On the

¹⁸² A.V. Kikin (1670–1718), Tsar Peter's orderly, later head of the Admiralty dockyard. He was executed in connection with the process of Tsarevich Alexey.

¹⁸³ *Kurgan* (Russian), mound or hill.

¹⁸⁴ The day is marked on the next page of MS.

¹⁸⁵ Named after Kalancha, a branch of the Don. These two stone towers stood 3 versts above Azov on both sides of the Don, being armed with cannon and linked with heavy chains, which blocked access to the sea.

¹⁸⁶ Entry crossed out in MS.

¹⁸⁷ *Tenaille* (French), an advanced work in the ditch before the curtain of a fortress, taking its name from resemblance to the lip of a pair of tongs.

river I did meet his M. and went with him to the fort and then to my boat, where with the Boyar Fiodor Alex.¹⁸⁸ and the Donish *attoman* wee consulted of the designe his M. had of attacking the 2 ships lying in the road below Assow on the lake¹⁸⁹; and concluded that his M. with his gallyes, the *Attoman* with his Cosakes should go and attack them, and for a diversion I should, upon intelligence of the Turks rowing or going downe to assist their ships, march out with 3 regiments from the new fort on the illand, which might give some stop lest they should be attacked in their rear.

A litle befor evening I rode to the place where our bridge had been over the neerest *yerik*¹⁹⁰, and did writt to my son James by the Cosakes convoyance.

In the evening the Cosakes with about 40 boates (about 20 men in a boate) went downe the river, and his M. followed with 9 gallyes and one of my regiments of foot.

{35} May 20, Wed. By day light I went over the Don with two regiments of *streltsees* and sent out to know if the Turkes were stirring. And hearing the shott of a cannon from the towne, I marched out of the fort 5 or 600 paces and stayed there in good order about 5 howres, in which tyme some of their horsemen set over the river and advanced towards us to see and observe what wee intended; and after a short stay and receiving some small shott retired.

A litle befor evening wee perceived our gallyes returning.

I went and visited both the forts of Kalentzay, now called Novosergeyuf.

About midnight his M. returned in his boat.

This morning a strong party marched out of Azow at the water gate, and in the evening returned with 800 men, which had been put ashore the evening befor & in the morning.

{35v} May 21, Thur. About 10 aclock his M. came to me and told me how that he had been at sea and had seen about 20 saile of gallyes & ships and a great many lichters¹⁹¹; that he found it not fitt to adventure upon them, and so had ordered the gallyes to returne, being very melancholious or grieved.

¹⁸⁸ F.A. Golovin (1650–1706), “near” boyar, noted statesman and diplomat. From 1699 admiral, from 1700 Russia’s first field marshal, from 1702 count. Also “Commissary General”, State Chancellor, head of Embassy, Naval and Yamskoy Offices, Governor General of Siberia and director of the Mint.

¹⁸⁹ Gordon makes use of the ancient name for the Sea of Azov, *Palus M(a)eotis*, Maeotian lake or swamp.

¹⁹⁰ Russian dialect word for river arm or channel.

¹⁹¹ Scots term for a loading boat.

About midday the gallyes returned to their stations, as also my Tambovish regiment who had not been at the mouth of the river Kalentzayuf, the gallyes not being able to gett out for want of water.

At 3 aclock afternoone his M. came to me and told me good newes: how that the Cosakes had the evening befor fallen upon the Turkish fleet, ruined & dispersed them; that they had killed diverse, taken 27 prisoners with a great deale of booty viz. 700 pikes, 600 *shables*¹⁹² or simitars, 400 Turkish guns or muskets, 8,000 *arshins* of cloth and a great deale of all sorts of cloaths, provisions, as bisket, meale, rice, tobacco, serap, *bechmel*¹⁹³, vinegar &c., with much powder, bombes and granadoes; and of their 18 gallyes & ships burned 3 and 10 lichters of the 24, 6 getting in to Assow with 50,000 ducates, the rest putting out {36} to sea. The prisoners reported that 800 men were put ashore that morning and gott in to Assow; whereupon his M. ordered me to order the garrison of Novosergeyuf to invest the two forts and secure my boates, and that I should follow him with the three regiments I had by me.

About 5 aclock his M. went downe the r. Kalentzay with his boates only, and I haveing ordered all things in the best way I could, in the evening went downe with 3 regiments, haveing 8 field-pieces by me.

May 22, Frid. Haveing rowed, yet at leasure, the whole night, by day light I came to the mouth of the r. Kalentzay where by a illand I found his M. with the Kosakes staying. I layd on with my boates on the other syde and then went to the illand, where the Cosakes were divideing their booty.

About midday his M. went to the Novosergeyuf, ordering me to stay till further orders. The *Attaman* of the Cosakes gave me a Turkey karpet. I removed to a higher ground by the river a litle further up, and the Cosakes by reason of the encreasing water did {36v} the lyke. Befor evening the Cosakes went up the river, and I removed higher up.

May 23, Sat. I removed to the other syde to a higher ground, and sent to his M. for orders.

24. I received letters of the 22 *Aprilis* from Mosko.

25. Notice being given in the afternoone that some boates were seen at sea, I went downe in boates to the mouth of the river and see some boates going too & againe about the Turkish ruined vessels; whereof I gave immediately notice to Novosergeyuf to his M. And in the evening, haveing discovered a boate in the mouth of the river, I removed to the other syde of the river to a place of greater security.

¹⁹² *Sablia* (Russian), sabre.

¹⁹³ *Bek-mes* (Turkic), grape syrup.

{37} May 26, Tues. I went downe with some companyes and cannon to the mouth of the river and sent boates to the ruined Turkish ships, who brought from thence 141 great bombes & 95 glasse hand-granadoes with diverse other things. In the afternoone the gallyes went downe by another arme of the r. Kalentzay into the sea.¹⁹⁴

27. I gave notice to his M. that I had recovered so many bombes & hand-granadoes.

I had notice that the Boyar Alexey Sim. [Shein] was come to Novosergeyuf.

28. I did writt to all my ffriends¹⁹⁵ in Mosko with whom I correspond.

Afternoone a great tempest from the sea driving up a great deale of water, it encreased so, that being forced to take of our tents wee retired into our boats; and it still encreasing, in the evening the boates were by violence of the wind & water driven ashore on the land, so that wee passed this night in great anxiety.

{37v} May 29, Frid. By day light, the wind being calmed, the water began to run of, so I made hast to gett of with the boates from the land. Yet some remained fast, which with a great deale of worke wee gott of and put afloate.

I did writt to the Boyar Alexey Sim. and gave him notice of all.

30. His M. sent orders to me that I should advance with the fleet downe to the mouth of the river. So haveing advanced to the illand, because the wind was high and I had no ankers, I found it not fitt to go further; went out my self in a small boat & spoke with his M., who went immediately to Novosergeiuf, because of the next day being Whitesonday, promiseing to be with us in the evening. The chancellours & *stoln[iks]* came.¹⁹⁶

31. Haveing heard the Russe devotion and dined, the water being by a westerly wind encreased, I removed and came into the Zaperty Yerik, where I stayed all night, haveing given notice hereof to Al. Sim. [Shein].

{38} June 1, Moon. Haveing the evening befor viewed the places by the r. Don and been at the gallyes who were come into the mouth of the river, and found out a more convenient station for our boats nearer the Don, I removed thither in the morning; whereof I gave notice to his M. & the Boyar.

In the evening diverse officers from the gallyes came to me.

¹⁹⁴ Russian galleys began to blockade Azov from the sea to cut off Turkish reinforcements and supplies.

¹⁹⁵ It should be noted that in Scots usage *friends* stands for both close acquaintances and kinsfolk, and Gordon uses the word in both senses.

¹⁹⁶ Clearly, the *dyaks* and *stol'niks* attached to Gordon's division.

2 [Tues.] Haveing not any answer from his M. nor the Boyar, on which syde of the river or how the fort should be built, and being loth to loose tyme, I marched with one halfe of the regiments which I had by me to the place I though[t] most convenient. And haveing drawne out a fort, such as the situation of the place would give, I set all hands at worke to build it.

The officers from the gallyes dyned by me.

Afternoone his M. being come to the gallyes, who were removed befor to the mouth of the river, he came to me, viewed {38v} the fort, which was in pretty good forwardnes. He was well pleased with the contrivance thereof, promised to come to my campe the next day.

A litle thereafter my son James came, who haveing with some danger come with three regiments, had encamped befor Assow.

I received letters by the post from my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinius, Krevet and the noblemen I correspond with, dated Mosco 5, 8 & 14 of May, all which I answered immediately.

My son, haveing been by his M., in the evening returned to the campe.

{39} June 3. Coll. Leviston went to the *leaguer*¹⁹⁷.

After dinner his M. came to me and stayed 2 or 3 howres, afterwards went to the fort and so returned to the gallyes.

4. I dined early. Afterwards his M. with others came to me and told me that I should go to the campe, and leave two regiments of *streltsees* in the fort.

A litle after midday I rowed away with the Butirsky reg-t and in the evening came to the campe to the *Generallissimus*; whither His M. came thereafter, when wee had much discourse about posting our selves befor the towne, and forming the siege.

{39v} June 5, Frid. I rode with the Boyar and viewed the lynes of circum- and contravallation which were makeing, and ordered the posts for the severall armyes¹⁹⁸.

I sent the regiments up to the hill and stayed my self all night in my barge or boat.

Our army of the Moskoes horsmen came and encamped near the other campes.

6. I marched my self up the hill and pitched my tents in the fields.

7. In the morning the Tartars came befor the *leaguer*, killed 2 gentlemens servants and a third was taken prisoner.

¹⁹⁷ *Lager* (German), military camp.

¹⁹⁸ Gordon often uses the term *army* to designate a division or corps.

{40} June 8, Moon. I removed into the entrenchment by the great wall on the right-hand.

9. I caused entrench ane old garden near the place where I intended to breake ground, to be a reserve in case of need, and put 1,000 men therein with two pieces of cannon. Went & viewed a place where the Donish Army should encampe, and sent men to fortify and entrench it.

In the evening wee marched all into the old trenchees and repaired them. Only 3 men were killed by a cannon bullet in the guard of reserve, no man else being killed or wounded.

10. The Turkish horsemen came early very near our campe, but being discovered, our horsmen made hast out and put them to the flight, killed 10 or 12 of them and tooke 4 prisoners. 5 of our gentlemen were wounded.

The Cosakes being removed, the rest of the {40v} regiments marched and joyned the former.

His M. haveing been in the campe, I convoyed him to his boate, and thereafter with the Boyar & generalls went & viewed all the trenchees, which were to satisfaction; only the *leaguer* lyne on the left hand was not made in a fitt place.

Received by the post a letter dated 19 May from Mr. Krevet.

June 11, Thur. In the night the trenchees were advanced, and a place entrenched for a battery.

I went and viewed the trenchees, and rode thereafter downe to the Popovy Shiak whither 13 cannon were brought.

I gave orders for breaking of 3 boates to make beddings on the batteryes for the cannon.

Being Corpus Christi day, wee heard devotion.

I did writt to my wyfe & ffriends in Mosko & to the noblemen I correspond with.

In the evening I went into the trenchees, and 2 batteryes being ready, caused plant 3 cannon on each of different syzes.

This night being very rainy, wee advanced but very litle with our trenchees.

{41} June 12, Frid. Haveing ordered 10 of those cannon which were brought into the Popovy Shiak to be unloaden in the night-tyme, because of the Turkes firing out of their cannon at that place in the day, they were unloaden & brought up.

*My son James gave in to me the acco[un]t of the money he had rec[eiv]ed.

	<u>Rubles</u>	<u>[Altyn]</u>	<u>D[engi]</u>
From Mosko taken along	1,600		
Sent from Mosko by a writer	<u>1,500</u>		
In all	3,100		
Given out to the sojourns to a man			
1 rub.	<u>2,595</u>		
Remaines	505		
Of this disbursed	<u>7</u>	-	-
Remaines	498	-	-
Sent from Mosko by the Major			
Anisim Posniakow to buy horses for		-	-
the artillerie	144		
Bought in Tambow 29 horses for	86	24	2
Remaines	<u>57</u>	<u>9</u>	-
Sent to feed 90 horses	90	-	-
Disbursed of that	<u>23</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>4</u>
Remaines	66	5	4
In all received	3,335	-	-
In all given out	<u>2,683</u>		
In all remaines* ¹⁹⁹			
{41v} June 12. The rear admirall with one gally & 4 <i>branders</i> ²⁰⁰ came.			
My son James gave in ane acco-t of moneyes received & disbursed, as followeth:			

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>D.</u>
Taken from Mosko	1,600	-	-
Sent from Mosko	<u>1,500</u>	-	-
In all	3,100	-	-
Disbursed to 2,595 sojourns to			
a ruble a man	<u>2,595</u>	-	-
Remaines	505	-	-

¹⁹⁹ This table is crossed out in MS. Cf. the one below.

²⁰⁰ *Brander* (German), fireship. Rear admiral – the Frenchman Balthazar de Lauzier (properly de l'Oisière) († 1697), who served in Russia since 1687.

Sent from Mosko to buy horses	144	-	-
To feed them with	<u>90</u>	-	-
In all	234	-	-
Disbursed for 29 horses	86	24	2
To the maiors to feed these horses	17	16	4
To a lt. <i>progon</i> ²⁰¹ to Mosko	1	2	4
On other small things	5	8	2
To 3 Kalmuiks for convoying him to Assow	<u>6</u>	=	=
In all	116	18	4
Remaines	117		
Received all in all	<u>3,334</u>	=	=
Disbursed all in all	<u>2,711</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>4</u>
Remaines all in all	622	14	4

{42} June 13, Sat. Caused give to 205 Tambovish sojourns who wintered in Kalentzayuf pay for 5 months, to witt Feb., March, Ap[ril], May & June, amounting to 410 rubles.

Sent for 6 mortar pieces & other ammunition, and to breake & bring up 4 great boates.

The day befor, night & this morning haveing been very rainy, wee could not get any thing done in the trenchees.

In the afternoone being faire, wee set all hands at worke to advance the trenchees and make up the batteries. Planted 5 cannon more, in all 11 and the 12th a short *shraut*²⁰²-piece.

I was where the boates were a breaking, and ordered a ferry boate to be made.

I ordered the redoubt wherein the mortar pieces are to be placed to be laid with strong planks, and 3 cannon of 6 pound-ball to be brought into the campe from the Kalentzayes.

I ordered the trenchees to be advanced & another redoubt on the left-hand and the hill on the right to be entrenched round.

²⁰¹ *Progon* (Russian), payment for post-horses.

²⁰² *Schrot* (German), small shot or grapeshot.

{42v} June 14. In the morning I was in the trenches and ordered all things necessary. Thereafter wee espyed some Turkish gallyes coming towards the road, and immediately after they anchored at a great distance.

Wee rode as farr as the hill by the river Kagalnik to take a neerer view of them, and perceived them to be 16 great vessells and a great many lesser, but how many wee could not well discerne. *This fleet was commanded by Tour-nacza Basha, aboard of it 4,000 foot to be brought into the towne.*²⁰³

Wee concluded to send over fowre regiments of foot to invest the fortress on the other syde of the Don. The command of this detachment was given to Colonell Alex-r Leviston.

Wee resolved likewise that if the Turkes should put the succours ashore wee should march out with 10,000 foot and all our horsemen, and meet them so as to fight them.

His M. went in all hast to the gallyes, and in the evening rowed into the river.

By reason of an alarum haveing been in the night-tyme in the trenches, litle was done, only the lyne of communication betwixt G-II Aftemons attaque & Rigemens was finished.

{43} June 15, Moon. Haveing ordered the regiments of the detachment to march, I went into the trenches and found them pretty well advanced.

About 8 aclock the regiments marched towards Kalentzay, and gott thither by 2 aclock afternoone, and by 5 were gott over the r. Don.

Haveing ordered a fort to be made on the declineing of the hill towards the Kalentzayes, I gott it done to contentment; which was to hinder succours getting in that way into the towne.

I caused bring 12 mortar pieces into the trenches.

I received letters from Mosco from my wyfe & children & Mr. Krevet & Ukraintsuf, dated 2 *Junii*, with notice of the death of Coll. Bockhoven²⁰⁴, and the coming of the enginiers sent from the Roman Emperour²⁰⁵.

I lay all this night by the sojourns battery to observe our detachment, when it should take possession of the fort on the other syde.

²⁰³ This phrase was inserted between the lines and on margin. *Tournacza Basha* was a junior commander of the Janizaries.

²⁰⁴ The military family of van (or von) Bockhoven, Roman Catholics from the Netherlands long settled in Moscow, were related to Gordon through his first wife, Catherine van Bockhoven.

²⁰⁵ Leopold I (1640–1705), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1658, Russia's ally in the Holy League against the Turks and Tatars.

{43v} June 16. By day light I perceived that Colonell Leviston had taken possession of the fort, and were busy in repairing it.

I caused make up another redout befor that where the mortar pieces stood, and on the right hand digg a ditch round the hill, where I intended to have my maine battery.

The line of communication betwixt Aftemons attack & mine was finished.

In the afternoone it was thought fitt to summon the towne. So a paper being writt in Turks & another in Russe, after the vaveing of a white ensigne, was sent with a Christened Turk (who is a Cosake) unto them. But they shooting both at him and the ensigne, after halfe ane howres stay wee tooke in the white & set out the red ensigne, and then began to fire our cannon & throw bombes, which wee continued this evening & threw bombes all the night. His M. was present and went to his gallies in the evening.

{44} June 17, Wed. I did writt to my wyfe & children, to Mr. Buck & Krevet & the noblemen I correspond with.

Wee continued firing all the day long, not without doing great harme in the towne.

About midday the Czirkass army²⁰⁶ began to appear on the way from Scopin.

Wee rode round the *leagner* with the Boyar to see a convenient place where the Czirkass army should encampe.

18. In the morning the Czirkass army came, being in all about 20,000 strong, and encamped on the left hand of the army in the fields without both the walls.

Whilst they were encamping, wee had notice that the Turkish horsemen were marching on the other syde of the r. Kagalnik; whereupon our horsemen marched out into the fields and engaged with those few who were come over the river, whom after some skirmishing they drove over the river; and some shotts were interchanged on both sydes {44v} for about halfe ane howre, when the Turks seeing our numbers encrease, they began to march of, and ours the lyke.

They were in number about 2,000 and ours were 5 or 6,000 in the fields. Wee gott 2 prisoners, and they wounded 15 or 20 of ours; one of the prisoners a *mursa*²⁰⁷.

²⁰⁶ *Cherkasy*, another name for Ukrainian Cossacks. Their contingent at the siege of Azov comprised five regiments under the command of Colonel Yakiv Lyzohub.

²⁰⁷ *Murza*, Tatar nobleman.

Wee had notice how the boates from all our fleet had been out to discover the Turkish fleet, but being come neer, the Turkes sent out their boates, ours were faine to retire, being with the Cosakes 50 or 60 boates.

The prisoners reported that the horsmen were expecting more; that they had invited these who were a-shipboard to go with them towards our *leaguer*; that they had refused, saying they had only order to bring in the provision & ammunition into the towne and themselves, and that they would attempt nothing else; that they had sent to the Sultan²⁰⁸ for orders that they would expect; that the succours they intended to bring in being 1,500 Janizaries and 2,500 new-levyed people.

{45} June 21.²⁰⁹ In the night were 3 false alarums.

In the morning, being in the trenches, I found them litle advanced because of the many alarums.

Having sent over to Coll. Leviston 6 mortar pieces and 4 great cannon, I caused send the ammunition and requisites for them.

Colonel Yonger gave me an acco-t of the money he received in Mosko & Tambow.

	<u>Rub.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>D.</u>
In Mosko received to feed 25 artillery horses	30		
Disbursed on them and for waggons & <i>decht</i> ²¹⁰ or tarr	9	20	-
Remaines	<u>20</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>
Received in Tambow for every sojour a ruble in all	1,000	-	-
Disbursed hereof to the sojourns	<u>802</u>	=	=
Remaines	198		
All in all	218	13	2

{45v} June 22, Moon. Writt to my wyfe.

The last lyne of communication betwixt Aftemons army and myne finished.

²⁰⁸ Mustafa II (1664–1703), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1695.

²⁰⁹ There are no entries in MS for 19 and 20 June, which, given the detailed narrative here, implies that they were removed.

²¹⁰ *Diogot* (Russian), tar.

My trenchees advanced till within 20²¹¹ fath[oms] of the ditch, and another communicating lyne with the other begun.

Caused send for timber to make the syled approches and gallery to the mynes.

The line betwixt Aftemons attack & Rigemans, though ordered, yet scarce begun; neither had my *streltsees* done any thing, excuseing themselves that the frequent alarums which were in the night tyme had hindred them from working.

The river overflowing by the southernly wind, nothing could be brought up.

The enemyes horsemen haveing come over into the illand where one of the Kalentzayes towers stand, tooke some of our hay-mowers, killed others and fired all the hay.

All the souldiery of the meaner quality and condition haveing sollicitied, and after their advice asked, desired & consented to the throwing up a wall of earth and driveing it on to the towne wall, wee assented to their desires.

Caused plant 8 field pieces on the hill nearest the towne.

{46} June 23. The fields below being overflowne with water, wee could gett nothing brought up.

I went through all the trenchees and caused make preparation for throw-ing-up the wall.

I caused begin to make a pitt and gallery for a mine, which albeit farr of (as about 20 fath. from the counterskarp), yet not to be idle, I caused begin it here & now.

In the evening my son in law Snivins came & brought me letters dated in Mosko the 5 May, & from Mr. Meverell dated London 3d *Aprilis*, giving notice that he had remitted 50 lib. st. to my son John for my brother.

Wee began to throw up the wall a litle after sunsett.

A thowsand sojourns of Gen-ll Le Forts given to me to worke in the trenchees.

A Cosake whom Vasily Vayikuf²¹² had ransomed, being let go with a writing to his ffrriends to send his ransome, he haveing agreed for 7,000 dollers, came to us and told that by the Kuban r[iver] no Tartars were more, that all their forces were here, & be in all about 5,000 men.

{46v} June 24, Wed. Haveing been early in the trenchees, I found our wall pretty well advanced, but nothing done by the Czirkasses.

²¹¹ Corrected from "15".

²¹² Voyeykov.

About 8 aclock wee were alarumed by the enemyes horsemen, who haveing in considerable numbers passed the r. Kagalnik, did fall upon our forragiers. Whereupon our horsemen drew out, dispersed & followed them to the r. Kagalnik disorderly; which the Turks seeing, wheeled about with hideous cryes, repulsed and put our horsemen to a confused retreat, killing 15 or 20 persons, wounding many and takeing 2 *stolniks*. Whereupon wee sounding a retreat, began to draw of much against reason, whereas wee should have kept the field, being farr more in number as they. But the confusion and consternation was such that it was to be feared a greater mischieffe had fallen out, if they had kept the fields any longer.

Some *stolniks* dyed of their wounds, so that in all 25 are killed & taken.

In the evening I was in the trenchees with the Boyar and ordered what necessary.

{47} June 25. It haveing been great raine in the night tyme with thunder & lightening, litle was done in the trenchees.

I rode over the Don by the bridge, and then by water to the road betwixt Azow & Lutina²¹³, where I intended to build a fort. Thereafter by Colonell Leviston in that fort.

The enginiers & fireworkers from the Elector of Brandenburg²¹⁴ came.

His M. haveing been in the campe and trenchees, went thereafter to the fleet.

26. I ordered that Colonell Leviston should send a maior with 200 men & 2 pieces of cannon to build a fort by the Lutinaes road and invest it, as also a brest-worke neerer the Don by the former fort over against the towne.

The Turkish horsemen appeared in the fields, but our horsemen drawing of they retired also.

In the evening I had a most violent fitt of the colick, which continued above 5 howres with most violent torments. After a potion sent by the doctor & taken in a howres tyme I gott some ease.

{47v} June 27, Sat. I was so weakened by the former nights sickness that I was not able to rise. Tooke phisick, which had good operation.

Our wall advanced 10 fathome & the gallery to the mine 4.

²¹³ Liutin, Turkish stone fort on the Miortvy Donets, which covered Azov from the north. It was built in 1660.

²¹⁴ Friedrich III (1657–1713), from 1688 Elector of Brandenburg, from 1701 first King of Prussia as Friedrich I.

A Tambovish souldier haveing runaway from the Tartars told that he was taken the 18 instant, and observing his tyme had with a sable cutted the thong wherewith he was bound. He could tell nothing of their strength or intentions.

About midday the Turkish horsmen advanced, and desired a conference with ours, which being permitted, they desired ane exchange of prisoners, and that wee should send a list of these wee had, and of these a missing and taken by them, and of what quality.

{48} June 28. Had notice that the fort on the road to Lutina was completed, being a redout of 14 fath. a line, and that 56 fath. of the brest-worke was made by the Don.

Our wall advanced 3 fath. this last day & night, so that it was now 13 fath. in all advanced, & the gallery to the mine 1 ½ fath.

I sent in a list of these of my army who were taken prisoners, being 22 *streltsees*, 4 sojourns & 3 servants, in all 29 persons.

In my army or division killed & dyed of their wounds [...]; wounded and in cure [...]

In the evening his M. came & heard devotion. The Gen-ll Afternoon by me.

{48v} June 29, Moond. In the morning the Turkish horsemen appeared very early befor our campe and within cannon shott, which obliged us to discharge some shott at them. They hovered to & fro till after midday and then marched of.

His M. haveing heard devotion, and being felicitated & gratulated by all on this his name day, he went to his galleass with the *Generallissimus* & all the pppl persons (except us Gen-lls), where was feasting, drinking with salvees of cannon.

A prisoner haveing escaped in the night tyme out of the towne, told that the one-halfe of the garrison are for delivering-up the towne, & the other not; that in the towne is scarcety of provisions & not any plenty of ammunition; that many are killed, sick & wounded. All which moved the *Gener-s-s* without my knowledge to send a summons with promises of a good accord; and that his M. had condescended to such a measure of grace & mercy upon the accot of his name-day. But the Turks returned no other answer {49} but by the mouths of their armes.

In the night a sally had been upon the Cosakes to litle effect.

June 30. I was early in the trenches. Thereafter rode to the lower syde of the towne, and viewed the convenience of the other syde of the Don, where another fort may be built over against the lower end of the towne for annoying that quarter; and immediately dispatched the Enginier Adler to Coll.

Leviston with orders to cause build a fort and batteries in it, capable of having 2 or 300 men in it.

500 horsemen of the Low Countrey as Jaick²¹⁵ etc. came.

{49v} In the evening I found my self very indisposed, which about 10 aclock break out with a violent vomiteing & purging, which continuing the whole night weakened me very much.

{50} July 1, Wed. The enemyes horsemen appearing in the fields, after they had taken halfe a dozen of prisoners at the watering place towards the Kalentzay, began to skirmish with those few of our horsmen who came hastily out. But the foot drawing out, and thereafter the horsmen, after some light skirmishes they were forced away and glad to keep farther of.

I received letters from Mosko of diverse dates, the latest the 19th past, being from my wyfe & children, M-rs Vinius & Krevet and the noblemen I correspond with.

About midday the Turkes sallyed out on our workemen in my and Afte-mons q[uar]ter, and were repulsed with great loss. Wee lost 12 men.

In the evening his M. with diverse noblemen came to visit me, haveing lyen the whole day. It was told that the Turkes out of the towne had made signes for a parley, but being asked by ours out of the trenchees, they denyed by their mute signes and shooting at these who asked them; so that I looked upon it as a fancy or imagination.²¹⁶

{50v} July 2, Thur. In the morning early the Turkish horsmen comeing near the watering place & medowes above the towne tooke away some horses. Whereupon our horsmen drew out with the foot and cannon, and after some facing another the Turkes charged our skirmishers so smartly as made them retire in some disorder to the bodyes, where being assisted with the most part of the cavalierie, they put the other to the flight. Wee had 10 gentlemen wounded in this engagement, and so both parties marched of.

The Turkes haveing in the two former nights hightened the wall of the corner bastion, which by the cannon which I had planted on Tuesday could not be beaten downe, I began to advise on another way to do it.

{51} July 3. I was early in the trenchees, projected the makeing a wall with batteries and sally ports behind the wall which wee were casting up to throw into the ditch, which must be as high if not higher as the Turks wall,

²¹⁵ Yaik, former name of the Ural river.

²¹⁶ In the bottom right corner of this page there are figures in Gordon's hand, 1868 and 25-4-, one above the other. Cf. the end of entry for 3 July.

and this to batter downe their new hightened workes and the stone-wall, to the which many seemed averse.

Had notice of the fort being compleeted on the other syde of the Don, and so sent orders for one of the regiments to march of in the night tyme into the *leagner*.

Writt to Mosko to my wyfe, children, M-rs Vinius, Buck & Krevet, as also to the noblemen I correspond with.

Writt to his M. that to give the officers of my army full fowre months pay will be needfull to send 1,868 rubles 25 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

{51v} July 4, Sat. The wall begun and forwarded with great applause.

The horsemen in the fields, and skirmished with the Turks, but very near the campe. At last the Turks assaulted the Cosaks who were stragled a litle too farr out on the right-hand, and put them to flight, but they rallying againe entertained these horsemen so hotly with their small shott that they were glad to retire.

His M. came & lodged in the campe all night.

5. Coll. Yonger went with his regiment and relieved Coll. Leviston, who came in the afternoone. And in the evening he going into the trenchees and looking unwarily over the wall, was unluckily shott with a musket-bullet from the towne wall through the cheek & mouth, all his nether teeth & a piece of his tongue shott away.

I rode with the Boyar to the parts below the towne to consider if it be needfull to make any more fortifications there, which I judged altogether {52} unnecessary. Wee went to the trenchees afterwards, & so to the campe againe.

This same evening Lt. Peter Pawlofsky was killed by a cannon bullet in the new fortress on the other syde of the Don.

July 6. Haveing been in the trenchees and by the *Generallissimus*, the Turks & Tartars horsmen appeared in great numbers in the fields, and beginning to skirmish with our horsemen, the foot with cannon were drawne out, and soone cleared the fields of them.

{52v} July 7, Tues. Haveing been in the trenchees early and found all things in pretty good forwardnes, after a litle repose the *Generallissimus* sent for me. And hearing the relation of one who was escaped from the enemy, that they intended to breake through with a 1,000 foot and bring them into the towne the upper way by forcing one of our forts, wee concluded to raze that fort, which was out of the lyne, and cast up a trench from the bridge to the last-made fort with some redoubts on it, and so to hinder all passage so

well on this as on the other syde. And so set all hands a worke, and befor day brought all in a posture of defence.

{53} July 8, Wed. The sojourn mine brought to the ditch, and the wall heightened alike with the other.

The horsmen came downe towards the medowes, and seing the new workes which were ready, returned.

The Cosakes tooke a Tartar prisoner who related that 300 Janizaries under 6 collours were come on land from their fleet; that they had resolved to break through one way or other into the towne; that they expected Galga Sultan²¹⁷ out of the Crim with 6,000 men in a day or two.

Received letters from my wyfe & children, M-rs Vinus, Krevet & the noblemen I correspond with, dated the 26 *Junii*.

A fellow intending to gett into the towne by swimming, and espyed by the guards, 2 of them getting into the river naked with pikes, after some resistance which he made with a pike which he had, was wounded & taken. But being brought to the campe speechless he dyed, and so wee wanted the intelligence which he could have given us.

{53v} July 9, Thur. A sojour who had been taken prisoner when he was yong came over to us from Lutina and informed that there was at first 300 men in Lutin; that 200 had been taken out to the fleet; that 35 pieces of cannon are therein with sufficient ammunition & provisions; that they had prepared boats wherein to embarke themselves so soone as Assow should be taken.

The enginiers, miners & fireworkers sent by the Roman Emperour came to the Novosergeyuf.

This evening wee began to fill up the ditch with earth, but the sojourns throwing unadvisedly too many bundles of dry reeds & baggs with dung in the ditch together, the Turkes fyred & consumed it.

{54} July 10. A Czirkass who had been taken prisoner in May last by Gunderow²¹⁸ escaped by swimming over the Don. He could tell litle, haveing been kept closs prisoner, only that he heard at first that they were 4,000 strong in the towne; that he knew not how many were now; that the Bey dyed 2 dayes ago.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer dated Riga 30 *Aprilis*, and in it a letter from Mr. Forbes dated Dantzick 4 May.

11. The new enginiers came to the campe and dined with the Boyar.

²¹⁷ Kalga Sultan was the title of the prince next in line to the Crimean Khan of the Geray dynasty, usually his eldest son and heir.

²¹⁸ Gundarov, a Cossack town on the Donets.

Befor evening I went with them through all the trenchees and visited the mines. They admired the great worke & labour wee tooke in the trenchees.

The Baron of Borstorffe²¹⁹ brought me a letter from Friderick Ferdinand Ilmer von Wartenberg, Counsellour & Chieffe Phisitian to his Imp. M.²²⁰, dated Wienna 29 Feb-ry.

{54v} July 12, Sun. The Colonell Kraghe²²¹ with all the enginiers & *minir-ers* dyned with me. Thereafter went into the trenchees, and the coll. over the river to view the batteryes.

His M. by me an howre.

The enginiers haveing been in the trenchees, concluded to bring up 6 cannon on the new batteryes which they were to enlarge; whereof haveing informed his M. and the *Generalliss.*, it was accorded.

{55} July 13. The towns ditch at the sojourns quarter or attack filled. Showres of stones falling on both sides.

In the 2d howre of the day great shooting from the enemyes fleet.

Writt to Mosko to my wyfe, children, M-rs Vinius, Woolffe, Krevet & the noblemen with whom I correspond.

A Kalmuick, being drunk & comeing as from our trenchees, would needs make a tryall of getting throw our lines of contra- & circumvallation, but payed it dear, for not being knowne at the utmost redouts for our owne, was killed.

The horsmen skirmished with the Cosakes, some being killed & wounded on both sydes, wee getting a prisoner who dyed of his wounds befor wee could learne any thing of him.

Rec-d letters from Mosko of the 4th July.

By this post wee had sure intelligence that 3,000 Kalmuiks were comeing to our army.

In the evening I went and visited Coll. Leviston, and tooke my leave of him.

{55v} July 14, Tues. Being early in the trenchees, I gave orders for bring-ing up cannon upon the new batteryes.

I sent a list of the artillery and appurtenances in my army and attack.

²¹⁹ Baron Ernst Friedrich von Borgsdorf, one of the chief Austrian military engineers sent to Russia by Emperor Leopold. He left Muscovy in October 1699.

²²⁰ F.F. Il(l)mer von Wartenberg († 1698), doctor of philosophy and medicine (Bologna, 1657), court physician of Emperor Leopold. Professor at the University of Vienna, author of *Disputatio de bilis natura, speciebus, differentiis...* (1677) and other works.

²²¹ Kasimir von Krage, military engineer from Brandenburg, colonel of artillery. He remained in Russian service until 1700, when taken prisoner by the Swedes at the battle of Narva.

Sent two pieces shooting 15 pund to the other syde of the Don.

About 3 aclock afternoone Coll. Leviston departed this lyfe.

In the evening in the trenchees with the Boyar, where some contests about the mynes.

Sent to the Donish *Attoman* for an order to permitt Colonell Leviston to be interred in the churchyard in Czirkask, which he granted with some reluctancy.

{56} July 15. Renewed the date of most of my former letters, sealed & sent them to the Post.

In the morning being in the trenchees, gave orders for fyreing from the new batteries, which was done with extraordinary good effect, breaking out [all *cr.a*] the pallisadoes on the corner bulwarke.

About 2 aclock the corps of Colonell Leviston was carryed out of the campe in order to his buriall in Czirkask. I convoyed him to the bridge below the hill, and then went into the trenchees.

A Valachian came over from the [enemy] horsemen, as a few of them appeared befor our campe, who related that they were dayly expecting Galga Sultan with 6,000 men, and the like things, which others had related befor.

{56v} July 16, Thur. Our new wall brought alike and closs to theirs at the point of the bulwarke, and possession taken thereof.

The cannon from my batteryes ruined the most of the pallisades on the corner bulwarke.

The Turkish horsemen appeared in the fields in greater numbers as ordinary, and had some light skirmishes with our Czirkasses & Kalmuiks with great harme.

The Post to Mosko dispatched.

I was in all the trenchees with the Boyar and ordered the hastening of them forward.

The souldiers the night befor haveing lodged themselves in the [middle *cr.a*] corner bulwarke, this night secured their lodgings and covered it; the Turkes haveing drawne in their cannon within the traverse in the gorge of the bulwarke.

{57} July 17. In the morning a spy of 16 or 17 yeares was taken at the fort by the bridge, who being examined, told that this was the 2d tyme that he with others had come out of Assow; that now 2 others which came out with him went to the Kalentzay; that the governour²²² had ordered them to survey

²²² Bey Hassan, Turkish commander in Azov.

the army in the campe, the ammunition & provisions in the boats, and what preparations were making against them.

The Czirkasses tooke possession of the corner bastion on their quarter without the pallisadoes on the wall, and the sojourns of my army had two dayes befor lodged themselves in the corner of their bastion.

In the afternoone the Czirkasses essaying to gett out 3 small pieces, w-ch {57v} they had made fast with ropes, a great tumult and skirmishing happened betwixt them and the Turkes; so that to divert the Turkes from attacking them with all their force, wee were forced to make a show as if wee intended to storme or make a generall assault, which continued near ane howre. Then I caused beat a retreat.

In the evening I gave orders to enlarge the lodging in the corner of the bastion.

In the night wee having sent granadiers to assist the Czirkasses, they drew out 3 small pieces out of the bastion, after the Turkes had burn't their *l'affuits*. At the same tyme the Donish Cosakes drew of another small piece from ano-r place of the wall.

{58} July 18, Sat. Haveing been in the trenchees and found all in a pretty forwardnes, wee concluded that against Tuesday morning all things should be ready for attacking and investing the earthen wall; yet so as not to enter over the wall, only to beat them from the wall, and standing upon our wall make their parapet or brest-worke ours.

A litle befor midday the Turks and Tartar horsemen appeared in the fields in great numbers, and after some light skirmishes with the Czirkasses & Cosakes takeing advantage of some foot str[a]geling out too farr into the fields to the body of a killed Tartar, they assailed them from the syde and cut of their passage from their comorades, killed about 20 Czirkasses and halfe a dozen of gentlemen, and tooke some prisoners.

A litle after this the Turks in the towne despairing of being succoured from without, and being so straitened by our contiguous wall to theirs, and our having gott possession of the parts of two bulwarkes, desired to capitulate. Which being easily condescended to, they sent {58v} out a Turke called Mustapha with a letter, who being conducted to the *Generalissimus* and the letter interpreted, wherein they offered to render the towne on conditions that they might have liberty to depart with their wives, children, armes & goods, and to be convoyed, and have carts or waggons by land or boats by water to the other syde of the r[ivule]t Kagalnik to their horsemen who lay encamped there. Which after some sendings to & againe was granted and pledges given.

The greatest difficulty was that they scrupled to give out the German Jacob, who last yeare ran away from us and was the occasion of much evill, because he was become a Turke and entred into the order of the Janizaries.²²³ Yet at last they condiscended to deliver him, and so accordingly they brought him out & delivered him.

{59} July 19 [Sun.]. Ten regiments being ordered to invest the towne, and 8 to be ranged in two lynes through which they were to pass from a sally port near the river to the boats, all marched about 5 aclock, the ten reg-ts to the wall, and the eight to the medowes below the towne.

The boates being come to the shore below, the Turkes came out not in any order, but each as he could gett ready, and some embarked with their wiwes within the towne, which should not have been. Yet wee were glad to let them go, and looke through our fingers to small miscarriages, especially seeing the Czirkasses became so unruly that without order they thronged into the towne in great numbers and did fall to plunder, which notwithstanding all meanes used to hinder them could not be remedied.

In the meane tyme I put a guard of a hundred sojourns to secure the Governour and the chieffest of the Turkes, who were gott about him with 16 collours. All whom I caused convoy out of the towne in {59v} safety to the Boyar who was on horseback neer the boates; where the collours being delivered, they embarked, and so rowed downe the river, our gallyes being drawne in order at their anckers, & letting the boats pass through the lane betwixt; when also diverse salvees were given of great and small shott, which was some vaine glory in us, and too much honour for them. A litle after midday they arrived below the r-t Kagalnik, and were received with great congratulations.

Wee having taken possession of the towne, the sojourns were all this day busy in digging and seeking-up the hidden goods of the Turkes, and found good store of vessels & cloaths, but nothing of any great value.

I went and saw the Christians church and the 2 Turks *mesczets* or mosques, w-ch were all ruined with bombes, as the whole towne in rubbish, not a whole house or hutt in it; the Turkes being all lodg'd in hutts or holes under or contiguous to the earthen wall.

Writt to my wyfe.

²²³ The Dutchman Jakob Jansen, who joined Russian service as a sailor and bombardier, but defected to the Turks during the first siege of Azov and gave valuable information to the enemy.

{60} July 20, Moon. The enginiers were sent to view the towne, and draw a draught of the fortifications necessary for the defence [& inlargment *cr.o.*] thereof.

Our scouts being out, returned & related that the Turks & Tartars horsmen were all gone, which was confirmed by one who had been prisoner by them & escaped from them.

Wee were at a rejoycing feast by the *Generallissimus*, where much drink and powder spent.

Wee were busy at the filling of the trenchees and levelling of the batteries.

In the evening wee had alarum as if the Turks were returned by water to take possession of the towne againe, which was both incredible & ridiculous. However it put all our armyes in a fiery-fary which continued a good part of the night.

The Dons Cosakes haveing without order gone with some boats to Lutina, called to those in the garrison to render, telling them that Assow had rendred, which they not beleeving, were at length perswaded by giving a *manat*²²⁴ or hostage, to send {60v} one to know the truth, & so came in the night-tyme into the campe.

*Received from Mr. Ruell 52 rubles upon Mr. Munters acco-t whereof 44 is for the rent of my money for...^{*225}

July 21, Tues. In the morning the Turke sent from Lutina was sent into the towne to view the place. So being convinced of the truth, and haveing power to capitulate, desired nevertheless one to be sent along with him, with such articles as wee should grant. So one Ivan Bachmetuf²²⁶ was sent with 300 *streltsees* on horseback with orders to conduct them to the *leaguer* in safety with their wearing-cloaths and sticks in their hands, all their armes, and other things to be left. In this towne were 31 brasse cannon, good {61} store of ammunition and provisions of victualls for 2 or 3 months. The booty of cloaths or other things was given to the Dons Cosakes, the horses, about 40, to the Kalmuiks. They marched out 115 men and left one old Turke of 84 yeares behind, who desired to be christened, fearing that they might kill him.

This fort is built of stone, haveing 4 towers 8 corner'd, one gate the doore thereof beat over with strong iron platts; the baragues round contiguous to the wall, two rowes one above another; some roomes in the midle also for the

²²⁴ *Amanat* (Arabic), hostage.

²²⁵ Entry crossed out in MS. Christian Ernst Ruell, lieutenant of the Swedish army, from 1692 engineer in Russian employ, was Lefort's protégé. Cf. below, fol. 127v.

²²⁶ Ivan Yefremovich Bakhmetev, *stol'nik* and "*commissioned (posyl'ny) voyevoda*".

governour and ppll persons and a litle mosque; the magazine & provisions in the towers. By two and most of the third syde from the land ane earthen wall, but low, and a ditch not broad with water in it. A litle and unequall distance from it a *yerik* or outlet from the river round it; the river syde haveing nothing but the stone wall. The wall-gang above the upper baraques with convenient places to go up. It was built, as also the Kalentzay towers, in the year of our Redemption 1663 by Mechmet {61v} Girey Chan at the command of the Sultan Mahomet the 4th²²⁷ to hinder the Dons Cosakes from comeing downe the river Donets into the Palus Meotis²²⁸.

Wee were at a feast by the Admirall Le Fort, where all well f[ull].

July 22. The garrison of Lutina marched by our campe, gott 20 horses to carry their baggage & provisions, for they had been permitted to carry most of their substance along, and were convoyed over the r. Kagalnik, and then lett go whither they would.

Received letters from my friends in Mosko dated 7 & 8th of July.

Wee were busy levelling our trenchees and bringing the cannon from the batteries, and putting all things in order.

Tryall made to gett out some sunk vessels out of the river, but did not succeed.

{62} July 23, Thur. Wee levelled the trenchees and campos made the last yeare, which the Turkes for want of tyme had not levelled.

Eight thowsand men ordered to be left in Assow whereof I am to give 3,500, viz. 1,000 Tambovish sojourns, 500 Resanish, 500 Nisovish & 1,500 *streltsees*.

The draught or *plana* of the towne as it is to be new fortified being brought, wee concluded it impossible to make all this year; so resolved to fortify the old earthen wall in a more regular and defensive way.

24. Writt to my wyfe, children & ffriends.

Le Fort went from hence by water.

Ordered 2,000 men to be ready for the worke the next-day.

Sent carpenters to repair one of the Turkish mosques, which is to be converted into a Christian church.

The Ensigne Ivan Mechmetuf went from hence with my boat & my baggage to Voronies.

²²⁷ Mehmed IV Geray (1610–1674), Khan of Crimea in 1641–1644 and 1654–1666. Mehmed IV (1641–1692), Turkish Sultan in 1648–1687.

²²⁸ *Palus Meotis*, ancient name of the Sea of Azov.

{62v} July 25, Sat. Wee began to worke at the fortifications of the towne, divideing among the armyes the worke.

26. Wee had all at worke notwithstanding the Sabath day.

About midday his M. sent for the *Generallissimus*, me & others to go with him by water to view a place for building a towne & harbour at the Tagana-rogue on the Crimish syde. So went aboard the gallyes and rowed downe the river, without the mouth whereof wee stayed all night at anker, haveing course accommodation.

{63} July 27. Wee weighed ankers about 5 aclock in the morning, but could not get forward by reason of the shallowness. So wee quitted the gallyes and went into the boates, and so rowed towards the said Tagana-Rogue, whither wee came about 4 aclock afternoone.

This is a promontory of high ground on a rock. [Then *cr.o.*] Haveing viewed and considered the situation of this place and the convenience of a harbour, wee went further out to another lower promontory ane English mile or two from this, being lower as the other & a clayish ground, near w-ch a small illand. [a litle *cr.o.*] This lyeth just over against the Oczakofsky-Rogue (from whence so called I know not).

Haveing surveyed the situation and conveniencies of both places, most were of opinion that the first was the fittest place; the hight, rocky ground, deepnes of the lake, spaciousnes of the place for the harbour, besides a small brooke of wholesome water giveing ground for it. In the evening wee rowed back to this place, and stayed at anker all {63v} night with very ordinary convenience, the night being cold, a narrow bench for a bed, and litle to eat or drink.

July 28, Tues. By day light wee rowed up towards the mouth of the river Donets²²⁹, but comeing neer it wee were forced to draw our boats over the shallow places for 2 or 3 English miles. Wee went rowing up that mouth of the river which is next the high ground & the west, being the streightest, broadest and deepest, to the fort, which I have befor described. Haveing viewed it sufficiently, wee tooke guides, and rowing all night, came about 7 aclock to Assow by the river way up the Kalentzay, and passed throw the bridge.

29. I found the face of the corner bulwarke in pretty good forwardnes, and all busy with more as ordinary dilligence.

{64} July 30. The curtaine lyne measured out, and all hands set a worke to enlarge the ditch.

²²⁹ Clearly, the Miortvy Donets.

The Preobrasinsky reg-t marched out of the *leaguer* to be gone by water to Voronies.

31. Received letters from my ffriends in Mosko, dated 18 & 19th July.

Notice being given that the Kalmuiks whom wee had desired the Yayuka²³⁰ to send were comeing near to Czirkask, orders were sent that seeing they were come too late, they should do some service to his Ma-tie in going to the r. Kuban and there ruine the inhabitants of that place.

The galeass being ready, sailed downe the river & in passing the bridge broke it, sinking some boates.

{64v} Aug. 1, Sat. No worke befor midday because of the great procession to the river, used every year on this day.²³¹

Afternoone began to worke at the curtaine.

2. Writt to my wyfe & ffriends in Mosko.

The ravelin befor the port drawne out, and the gate ordered to be made.

Ordered the army to worke night and day in three exchanges.

The Preobrasinskoy reg-t went from hence by water.

3. The Kalmuiks brought near to the campe a great number of horses to be sold, which they had taken from the Turks neer the r. Kuban (as they said).

{65} A Russe runaway from the r. Kuban over to us reported that the inhabitants by that river were retired into the hills & some into the Crim with intention to returne privately without their families to earne their harvest.

Gott 120 rubles a months pay.

Aug. 4, Tues. Were busy at worke.

The bridge begun to be set-up.

The post went but this day.

Caused [bring] the ammution, broken armes and other instruments near to the towne wall.

5 [Wed.] Some regiments marched into the towne, the rest being busy in levelling the ruined places & clearing the rubble.

G. Le Forts reg-t of foot went from hence by water.

{65v} The howses ready for laying up the cordage, tackling, sailes, cannon and the other things belonging to the gallyes.

The ravelin befor the gate [ready *cr.o.*] drawne out and begun to worke at.

²³⁰ Ayuka (1642–1724), principal chieftain (*taysha*) of the Kalmyks from 1672, first Kalmyk khan from 1690.

²³¹ Orthodox Holy Cross Day. By tradition, Rus was christened on this day by St. Vladimir of Kiev, which is commemorated by blessing the waters.

Aug. 6. Notwithstanding the holy day of the Transfiguration all were at worke.

Wee dyned by the Boyar, where his M. All were pretty m[erry].

7. Wee began to lay with turffe the foundation of the curtaine.

The Czirkasses haveing gott 15,000 rubles, and their pp[ri]v officers being rewarded apart, each according to his quality, as also 6 field pieces, marched from hence to go homeward on the Crimish syde.

{66} Aug. 8, Sat. The Turkish mosque or *mesquit* being made ready and covered, it was with great solennity consecrated, and the first Christian service done therein; the great guns round the towne, from the gallyes & galeass, as also from the campe being fyred three severall tymes, and 3 vollies of small shott.

I went & felicitated his M. as he came from divine service.

The pallisadoes begun to be sett round [*sic*] the ravelin without the ditch.

Sent the last of our sick people away by water.

Caused each regiment make a *prumme*²³² or ferry-boate to ferry us over.

A feast by Simon Ivan. Yasikuf²³³.

I observed on one of the water gates of Assow, above it I meane, on a stone engraven a gr[ati]ph. What it should meane, I know not.

{66v} Aug. 9, Sun. The foundations of the [curtaines *cr.o.*] flankes lay'd with turffe.

I had all the stranger colonells at dinner.

The raine hindred our working.

10. The Boyar went to Lutina.

Some prisoners haveing escaped out of prison from the river Kuban, reported that the inhabitants there were for the most part fled into the hills; that Galga Sultan was retired into Czirkassia; that they were threatening & talking of comeing to besiege Assow the next spring.

The traitor Jacob haveing revealed that a considerable treasure of money & cloth was hidd in a vault or hole under ground, workemen were sent to digg it out, but after much labour such a hole was found, but nothing in it.

Caused give to Colonell Bush his halfe yeares pay, being 92 rubles.

Caused give to Lt.Colonell Snivins 30 rubles which rested of his advance money in Mosko.

²³² *Parom* (Russian), ferryboat.

²³³ S.I. Yazykov, from 1688 Duma nobleman. In the Azov campaigns he was in charge of army provisions. Later *okol'nychy*, in 1700–1705 general *proviantmeister*.

{67} Aug. 11, Tues. They began to take of the takeling and other things from the galeasse & gallyes.

The Kalmuiks refused to go to Kuban unless wee send some of our people with [them] & some cannon, so they were permitted to go home.

The Boyar returned, haveing had with him priests who consecrated the litle mosque or *mesczet* in Lutina to a C[h]ri[sti]an church.

12. The Marine regiments marched away in boats.

13. The post came & brought us letters, dated Mosko 28 July & 1 *Augusti*, from my wyfe, children & other ffriends.

I was by his M. on the galeass and was op[pressed?] with d[rinks?].

Rec-d a letter from Mr. Kurtius, dated Buda or Offen 3 July.

Wee ended our worke.

{67v} Aug. 14, Frid. I caused the waggons & baggage of the Butirsky and the 5 *streltsees* reg-ts march to the Kalentzayes and ferry over the Don there.

In these six regiments were with officers and ammuniti^{on}, *stolniks* & my waggons in all 1,249 waggons.

I let off the 2 Kasanish regiments, they being to go by water in boats.

Received 63 rubles 26 *altins* 4 *dengees* from my son in law for the cred[it?] of J.B.²³⁴

15. Dined with his M. by the *Generallissimus*.

The galeass of Capt. Meyer brought downe to the kay.

His M. went from hence to Czirkass[k] by water in his barge.

The waggons & baggage of the 4 Tambovish & two Resanshe reg-t[s] let off to the ferry.

A traitor Vaska Boldiruf hanged, and two other pardoned.

Lent to the *Generallissimus* 400 rubles.

{68} Aug. 16, Sun. Haveing heard devotion, wee began to march about 8 a'clock, the *Generallissimus* on the Nagaish syde of the Don, and I crossed it a litle above the Kalentzaish towers. And so marched all along the Don, and crossed the Donets by a foord, and marching over a high ground crossed the r-t Temernik and encamped; the way betwixt the Don & Donets being 10 *verst* & from the Donets to this r-t 5. This r-t is very plentiful of fish. At the mouth thereof, where it falleth into the Don, is a old earthen fort, and above it a *keurgan*, both called by the name of the river or r-t. Here the Cosakes who had been guides to the Czirkasses, and brought them to 'Tor'²³⁵ from Assow

²³⁴ Possibly, James Bruce (see fol. 1).

²³⁵ Tor (Solianoy), Cossack town, now Slaviansk, Donetsk region, Ukraine.

in 10 dayes, and returned in 4, came to me & informed that they had heard nothing of any enemy.

17. I marched early and passed the r[iver] & valley Kisitrinka, and rideing to the Kubiak Kurgan, I perceived the steep descent of another valley and that by turning to the left hand a litle wee could avoid such inconvenience, I caused the *waggonburg*²³⁶ march that way, and so came to another great {68v} valley of an easy de- & ascent called the Great Meadow, where I dined. And then, ascending to the high ground, march in good order along by the river Axey in the valley, & encamped near the foord of that river called Karay, being passed the towne Czirkask a litle on our right hand. When I had encamped, I caused discharge the cannon round the campe once.

At the ends or mouths of the brookes & valleyes wee passed this day are forts and high *keurgans* on the hills adjoining, and the inhabitants report that not many years since at certaine tymes shooting was heard under ground as out of cannon, and many fables or fancies more. This dayes march was 15 long *verst*.

Orders sent to the Boyar Boris Petrovitz Seremetuf²³⁷ & the Hetman to dismissee the armyes to their quarters, and that the Hetman might come & see his M. at Ribna²³⁸.

{69} Aug. 18, Tues. I rode early to Czirkask and dined with his M. & others by the *Attoman* Frowl Minayuf. In the evening wee had fireworks which lasted till midnight, w-ch occasioned my staying there all night.

19. I went over the river, and dineing with the *Generallissimus*, gott the officers whom I had preferred confirmed. I rode to the campe, being 10 *verst*, and let off the Tambovish regiments.

20 [Thur.] Writt to my wyfe per post.

Marched early without guides, yet directing our course N. & by W., wee came about 10 aclock to the river Tuslow, which comeing from the West runneth most part East & falleth in the river Axey. Here I dined and in the meane tyme caused each {69v} regiment to make a passage over the river, which a litle after midday wee crossed a litle above where the r. Grushofka falleth in it and below the stony foord.

I directed my course N.W. & by N., but the guides of the Cosakes comeing befor evening made us turne to the right hand, and crossing a fountaine or

²³⁶ *Wagenburg* (German), a temporary, moveable fortification made of army waggons.

²³⁷ Boris Petrovich Sheremetev (1652–1719), eminent commander and diplomat; *voyeroda*, from 1682 boyar, from 1701 field marshal, from 1706 Count.

²³⁸ Rybnoye, later and at present Ostrogozhsk.

branch of the r. Grushofka dry I encamped on the other side, haveing good convenience of grasse & water for necessity, but no wood; haveing marched this day to the river Tuslow 12 or 15 *verst*, and to Suchino Swiatoe (for so this place is called) 9 *verst*.

21. Wee marched early and in 2 howres tyme came to another branch of the r. Grushofka, which wee passed without great difficulty, and [in] 2 howres came to the last branch of the same river, which crossing with greater trouble, wee dined. At 3 aclock afternoone wee marched and in the evening came to the brooke Kadamofky, which passing easily wee lodged here, haveing marched this day 15 or 18 *verst*; our course being all day N. & by E. Here wee had no wood, but water & grasse in plenty.

{70} Aug. 22, Sat. Wee marched very early and came to one of the heads of the r. Kerczik, which wee crossed dry, and about 9 aclock came to the roade w-ch wee went last yeare, and keeping it came to one of the heads or fonts of the r. Kondrusha²³⁹, which crossing dry at one aclock afternoone wee dined, haveing marched about 18 *verst*. At 4 aclock wee marched, and haveing quitted the ordinary roade because of our great *waggonburg*, made a large compass, and came to the r. Kondrusha, not crossing it because it was late & the descent uneasy as the passage of the river. I had notice from sojourns come from Czirkask that the Boyar or *Generallissimus* was come to the r. Axey, and that my sone with the Tambovish regiments, haveing gott over the heads of the r. Kerczick, was gone the same way which he went last yeare.

{70v} Aug. 23, Sund. I marched downe the stony or rocky hill, over the river, and encamped on the right hand of the way, haveing good convenience and accommodation of wood, grasse & water. Here I stayed all the day, expecting the *Generallissimus*.

Haveing received some accounts of my army, I now set them downe as followeth, to the 8th of August:

Money

Received by Ivan Baybakuf
In Mosko from Agafon Meskow & others
The remnant of the last expedition

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>Deng.</u>
Out of the Great Treasury pay	1,085	16	-

²³⁹ Kundriuchya.

For the officers	6,120	31	-
From the Great Army for pay			
for the Russe officers & sojourns	<u>1,153</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>
Received in all	8,359	27	1

{71} Disbursed according to the examined particulars

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>D.</u>
To the colonells & officers, to some for 4, to others for 6 months pay	7,266	14	1
To the Majors Westhoffe and Posniakuf for food to his M. horses	120	-	-
To Colonell Bush	92	-	-
To Lt.Colonell Snivins	30	-	-
To Maier Lambe	25	-	-
To the Butirsky priest for his paines on Whitsunday	-	25	2
For a <i>pude</i> waxe to the mines	4	-	-
To 453 sojourns each a ruble	453	-	-
To the Serjeant Ivan Plutanin, & those sojourns & <i>streltsees</i> who did extraordinary service	18	-	-
For 10 rim of paper	13	21	-
In all disbursed	<u>8,022</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>1</u>
Remaines	337	-	-

{71v} Money received and disbursed by the writer Ivan Borisuf

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>Deng.</u>
Received in Mosko out of the Great Treasury for payment of 4,100 Tambovish sojourns & 400 who remained the winter in Kalentzay			
	11,651	1	2
From Colonell Yonger	218	13	2
From Colonell Gordon	622	14	4
From the <i>Gen[era]lliss.</i> for the 2 reg-ts Resanish sojourns for Aug. for them in all	<u>1,759</u>	=	=

In all	14,250	29	2
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Disbursed

{72} Money remaining by the R[egimen]t Quartermaster Nikita Solochin, Aug. 15

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>D.</u>
Of the last years Assovish expedition	1,174	25	4
Of these stayed on the way	86	19	2
Of the present expedition	<u>189</u>	<u>25</u>	1
In all	1,451	3	3

{72v} Aug. 23, Sun. In the evening, haveing notice of the approaching of the *Generallissimus*, I did ride out, and saluteing him, rode along with him a good way. He told me that his M. had lodged last night at the heads or fonts of the r. Kerczik and was gone this morning towards Ribna; that the Hetman of the Cosakes had sent notice how that the Zaporovian Cosakes²⁴⁰ had been with great numbers into the Euxine or Black Sea; that they had gott some booty & taken 20 Turks prisoners.

24. Marched by day light to the r. Lichoe, 15 *verst*, which passing, dined. About 2 aclock the other army came & stayed on the other syde. I marched over strait ground and to the left by the head of the r-t Olsianky, and encamped over the Kaminka r[iver], 20 *verst*.

25. The *Generallissimus* with his army came about 10 aclock to the r. Kamionka. I then haveing saluted him, marched, and because {73} of the strait ground and secure way, I caused defile & march regiment-wise to the r. Donets, 7 *verst*, where 4 ready bridges over which I marched, and encamped on the other syde about a *verst* from the bridges. Here I found the oates & provisions, which these I sent befor had bought for me.

Aug. 26. Marched by day light and dined by the r. Olshianka, 20 *verst*; then over the r. Matiakin, 3 *verst*, and lodged over the r. Dubia²⁴¹, 5 *verst* further, where 2 of my pacing horses were stolne from me or strayed.

²⁴⁰ Zaporizhian Sich (Zaporogi, Zaporozhye), located on an island in the middle of the Dnieper, was a major Ukrainian Cossack centre from the 16th to the 18th century, and headquarters of the Zaporizhian Host, the Cossack army.

²⁴¹ Evidently, Dubovaya.

27. Marched by day light and at 10 aclock came and crossed the r. Derkul on ready bridges, 12 *verst*. Haveing dined, came to the r. Czugina in 5 howres tyme, being about 15 *verst*, which passing, lodged or encamped on the other syde.

{73v} Aug. 28, Frid. I marched early, and ordering the army to march the road, I rode to the right hand to the Grodistsha, which viewed, I found it to be a mount or hill, on all sides steep, yet on the northwest syde a easy as- or descent, and in some places easier as other; the river Czugina on the north syde making a large figure, and on the south side a brooke. Above a large plaine from east to west, about 300 fathome, in breadth unequal; in the broadest 100 fath. There is no appearance that it hath bee[n] inhabited, for there are only two litle mounts above, and no other vestige of any habitation or dwelling. On the descent to the north a large thicket of trees, and in a declining valley to the south some trees also; large medowes. The river Derkul, though not navigable, yet plentiful of fish, fields & soile fertile, and all the blessings of nature bestowed on this place. Yet because in a wild desert, no passage or an[y] other necessity for setling a plantation, except to evacuate encreasing multitudes of inhabitants, or setling a magazine of provisions for armies marching this way, it may be perhaps neglected.

This dayes march being long, wee came to the r. Yaufsuga²⁴² about 1 aclock afternoone, which crossing, rested about {74} two howres. Then marched up a steep hill, and haveing brought all the regiments together, encamped in the fields, with convenience of wood & grasse, but farr from water. This dayes march was 35 *verst*.

Aug. 29, Sat. I marched early and about 10 aclock came to the river Aidar, which crossing, I encamped to the right of the way. Here I let off the *stolnikes* to go to their habitations.

30. Haveing notice that the *Generallissimus* was neer, I caused make dinner ready and rode out to meet him, and invited him with the other to dinner, w-ch he excused, being invited already by his brother in law, it being his name-day. He came, however, into my tent & stayed halfe ane howre.

All the colonells and officers with the gentlemen, as also the inferiour officers, being called & conveened together to the *Generallissimus* his tent, the Tzaars collours {74v} were brought, and a writeing read wherein persons of all quality were thanked for their services, and the gentlmen dismissed.

²⁴² Yevsug.

After dinner I marched and turned to the right hand over the high ground and came to the r-t Casimka, 12 *verst*, where I supped; the regiments not encamping, but each standing with convenience. About 8 aclock afternoone I marched and by day-light crossed the head of the r. Bialinka²⁴³, 30 *verst*, where resting till sunriseing,

Aug. 31. I marched and about 10 aclock came to the [...] Dolina, where wood and digged pitts wherein water for necessity, 15 *verst* or [20 *cr.o.*]. Here I stayed till 3 aclock afternoone, then marched & in the first howre of the night came to water where good grasse but no wood, about 20 *verst*. Here I stayed till two aclock in the morning.

{75} September 1, Tuesd. Marched and by day light came to the r. Vra[ye]fka, 12 *verst*, then 7 *verst* to the other Ura[ye]fka, w-ch crossseing I dined, whither the governour of Vailuka²⁴⁴ came to me. After dinner I rode to Vailuka, 10 *verst*, and encamped by the Yempsky Slaboda. In the evening the *Generallissimus* came.

2. I dined with the *Generallis*. by the governour, and haveing gott 130 *podvodes* I marched, the *Generallis*. being gone by the way of Kuresk. About midnight I came to a lake a litle short of a r[ivule]t, where stayed 3 howres, 20 *verst*.

3. Marched and in the first howre of the day comeing to good convenience of grasse, wood & water, I rested & dined by Iagor Ivanovits Ianuf²⁴⁵, about 20 *verst*; and in the evening came to Novo Oskol, where supping & haveing gott fresh *podvodes* I marched all night, and at 6 aclock came to the village Akuniova²⁴⁶, 30 *verst*.

{75v} Sept-r 4, Frid. I caused writt orders for the sojourns reg-t to have 30 and each of the *streltsees* to have or gett 20 *podvodes* for bringing-up the sick people. Haveing dined I marched to Sary Oskol, haveing crossed the r. Oskol thrice. Here were few *podvodes*, yet receiving these who were I stayed all night, and by day light

5. I crossed the r. Oskol, 10 *verst*, and rested on the other syde by the vill. Kraviova. Then to the vill. Opotczka, 20 *verst*, and 10 *verst* further to water in pitts on the right-hand of the way, where lodged.

²⁴³ Belen'kaya.

²⁴⁴ Valuyka was then the southernmost fortress of Russia's steppe frontier, so that the hardest part of the return march was over. Its *voyevoda* was Afanasy Gavrilovich Ragozin.

²⁴⁵ Ye.I. Yanov, *stol'nik*, who as early as 1682 was sent to the Don Cossacks to administer their oath.

²⁴⁶ Okunevo.

6. Marched by 2 aclock to the r-t Kalitina, 6 *verst*, & as much to the other Opotczky; then 12 *verst* further & rested, a vill. & water being on the right hand, but farr of. Then marched 10 or 12 *verst* further to water on the left hand, where stayed till 10 aclock at night. Then marched and

7. by sun-rising came to the towne Livin, {76} 25 *verst*. Here I crossed the river Sosna and haveing received *podvodes*, I tooke by misinformation of guides the way to the right hand, and marched a great way all along the r-t Livinka, being a hilly narrow way. Then over a desart in the evening came to a litle brooke, which crossing, I lodged, 20 *verst*.

Sept-r 8. I marched early and came to the r. Luboshy, 5 *verst*, w-ch crossing by a village, and 5 *verst* further came to the great way, which keeping through a wood of oakes where scarcity of water, 20 *verst*, and then had water on the right hand, being wells. Here resting a litle, I marched over corne fields to the r. Sushia²⁴⁷, which crossing came to Novosilla, 20 *verst*, where receiving *podvodes* I marched 10 *verst* further and lodged by good convenience of grasse & water, but no wood.

{76v} Sept-r 9, Wed. A litle after midnight I marched and about sunriseing came to a litle brooke, 30 *verst*, which crossing I dined. Then to the r. Plova, 20 *verst*, whither I came 3 howres befor night and here caused bury the Ensigne Martin. Here wee had no wood but what wee fetched from the village.

10. I marched at 10 aclock at night & befor day light came to the river Solova, 20 *verst*, and 30 *verst* further to Tula; where dineing and receiving *podvodes* marched 12 *verst* and rested 3 howres. Then through very troublesome miry way

11. by 10 aclock I came to the iron-workes, about 40 *verst*, where I found his M. and many noblemen.

I did writt by the post to my wyfe.

{77} Sept-r 14, Moond. My son Theodorus came to me.

I sent orders to let of the *podvodes* and send my baggage to Mosko.

16. Theodorus gratulated his M. safe returne & glorious atchievments in a set speech.

17. Haveing notice that the Marines who went by water were some of them come to Voronies, his M. went to the Protwa iron workes, and I to Czerpuchow, 20 *verst*.

²⁴⁷ Zusha.

18. Marched by day light and came to the vill. Lopatin[o], 25 *verst*, where dined; then to the vill. Mlodia²⁴⁸, 15 *verst*, where lodged.

19. Marching early, I came to the r. Pachry, 20 *verst*, where the reg-ts were encamped.

{77v} Sept-r 20, Sund. I dined by the *Okolnitsze* Ivan Ivano. Golovin²⁴⁹.

24. *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz Golitzin being come to his howse Dubrovitzza, sent to desire me to come to him. I went & stayed till Saturday.

26. Haveing dined I returned to the campe.

At 8 aclock at night his M. being come to Dubrovitzza, and haveing gott notice that the Marines were marched from Czerpuchow, sent to me ordering me to march with all to Columinska²⁵⁰.

27. I marched and came about 12 aclock to the vill. Novinka, where I lodged with the Butirsky reg-t, sending the other reg-ts to quarter in Kosuchova and Nagatina.

{78} Sept-r 28, Moon. His M. came. Being by him, it was concluded to make our entry on Wednesday, and orders sent to the Preobrasinsky reg-t to hasten day & night.

29. The *Generallissimus* came, advised with his M. about the ordering of our entry. Haveing dined there, I returned and caused prepare all things for the next day.

30. I caused the reg-ts to draw out and march and stand in order on the right side of the way, by the Semenofsky²⁵¹ monastery.

At 9 aclock the Marines marched first by; then the *Generallissimus* with his houshold and other attendants; then the taken collours & the prisoners; then the *Bombardirers*; then the Generall Aftemon Mich. Golovin with his 5 reg-ts in the first whereof was carryed on a scaffold the traitor Yaska with stretched out armes to the side-trees of a gallowes, his neck in a halter or rope tyed to the upper tree, above him a halfe-moone & starr, on his brest a inscription, he in Turkish habite with a turbant & irons on his {78v} leggs, well guarded on all sydes, which spectacle had many spectators.

My 6 reg-ts marched afterwards, in the reg-t of Butirsky sojourns being all the drummers, *boyboyes*²⁵² and these who led the spare horses, with 12 men on

²⁴⁸ Molodi.

²⁴⁹ I.I. Golovin, *okol'nicby*, in 1693–4 *voyevoda* in Smolensk.

²⁵⁰ Kolomenskoye, the tsars' grand country estate south of Moscow, now within city limits.

²⁵¹ Simonovsky.

²⁵² At that period army musicians were often called “oboists”, although early military woodwind were usually fifes, not oboes.

each side of me, a dozen befor, and these who carryed the military signes, as also the *furers*²⁵³ or under ensignes, were all clad in Turkish habite with turbants, which made a great & pleasant show, and much wondered at by the Russes as well as strangers.

Wee marched through the Castle or Tzaars Court, and befor the last gate the reg-ts were dismissed to their quarters, the *Generallissimus* to his house. The traitor Yaiska was convoyed by the Preobrasinsky reg-t to Preobrasinsko.

In the evening his M. sent for the Turkish collours to the *Generallissimus*, who at the first & second message refusing them, at the third getting a severe reprehension, was forced to deliver them.

As wee entred the gate of the stone bridge, where the triumphal arch was, short speeches were made out of a speaking trumpet, and many cannon fired continually till all were past.

{79} Oct-r 8, Thurs.²⁵⁴ In the afternoone at the buriall of Lt.Colonell Balk his son.

9. At home, being indisposed.

10. The anniversary of the departure of my first bedfellow & deare love.²⁵⁵

11. At devotion. In the evening at the *sponsalia*²⁵⁶ of Eustachius Boleman with Coll. Christoph Rigeman his daughter, shee being my God-daughter.

12 [Moon.] Given into the Office 48 horses whereof 6 strayed, and left in Tambow 55, in all 103.

{79v} Received letters from my son John, dated Achluichries²⁵⁷ 8 Aug. '96.

From my unkle, dated Westertowne the 14th Aug.

From my brother John, dated Bridgend the 9th July.

²⁵³ *Führer* (German) in 17th-century Russian infantry was a company sub-ensign (*podznamenshchik*).

²⁵⁴ A week-long break in Gordon's notes suggests a possible loss of folios in MS.

²⁵⁵ Gordon's first wife, Catherine von Bockhoven (1650–1671/72).

²⁵⁶ Betrothal (Latin).

²⁵⁷ Auchleuchries (Gaelic *Achadh luachrach*, field of rushes), Patrick Gordon's family estate and birthplace near Ellon in Aberdeenshire. These lands once belonged to the general's mother, Mary Ogilvie, and were not rich, although he cherished them greatly. They yielded £ 357 6 sh. 8 d. Scots (about £ 30 sterling) a year (Aberdeen University Library, Special Collections, MS 252, Valuation of Aberdeenshire, 1674, fol. 39; MS 568, The Book or List off Poleable Persons within the Shire off Aberdein, 1696, fol. 831). The estate was held by the Gordons of the Hays, Earls of Erroll, in feu-ferme for an annual payment of £ 12 Scots. On 11 January 1692 General Gordon signed and sent to Scotland a formal deed transferring Auchleuchries to his eldest son John.

From my daughter in law²⁵⁸, dated Achluichries 8 Aug.

From Margaret Burnet²⁵⁹, dated Peterhead 28 April.

From my cousin W-m Gordon, dated Ab[er]d[een] 21 Aug.

From Mr. Meverell, dated London 4th 7bris, all 1696, with the copy of his, Apr. 3d.

Oct-r 13. In towne by the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein and in the Butirky. The regiment exercized & mustered, being 1,055 men whereof 26 not come as yet; and of these 12 left in Czirkask & 14 by the way; 141 without armes.

14. Being the birth day of our Royall Sovereigne King James, I sent for all the countrey men wee have here, and were merry at the drinking the remembrance of him & well affected persons.

His M. came hither in the 5th howre of the night.

{80} Oct-r 15, Thur. Gave orders for sending in 49 horses to the *Pri-kase*²⁶⁰ whereof 6 are such as *podvodshikes*²⁶¹ left by the way.

Payed visitts to Lt. Gen-ll Gulits, Col-s Westhoffs & Kraghe.

The Boyar Boris Petrovitz Seremetuf being come, I had a particular relation of the expedition of the Zaporovish Cosakes into the Euxin Sea as followeth.

The *Cashovoy*²⁶², as they call him, went with about 1,500 men in boates into the sea in the beginning of the month of July, and passing or stealing by Oczakow roamed some dayes up & downe. They at last did fall on 3 ships of the Turkes going with merchandize to Caffa²⁶³, and takeing two of them gott good booty, some cannon & 30 or 40 prisoners. Destroying these ships, they went farther to seek for more booty and did fall upon some vessells coming from befor Assow, which they attacked and had already made themselves masters {80v} of one of them, when 3 galleyes comeing on, put them to their shifts in resisting; and after a sharp conflict, their *kashovoy* being wounded, retired and with him about 150 Cossakes, which the rest seeing betook themselves to flight, and were persued by the Turkes two dayes, who had also given notice to these of Oczakow to secure the passages into the r. Boristenes²⁶⁴. So that the

²⁵⁸ Elizabeth Grant († 1726), eldest daughter of the Roman Catholic Scots laird William Grant of Crichton, wife of Patrick Gordon's eldest son John.

²⁵⁹ Probably a relation of Gordon's old comrade-in-arms, Colonel Andrew Burnet of the Tsar's service.

²⁶⁰ *Prikaż* (Russian), government office.

²⁶¹ *Podvodchiki* (Russian), carters or waggoners.

²⁶² *Kashovyi otaman* (Ukrainian) was the highest military leader of the Zaporizhian Host, elected by Cossack elders.

²⁶³ Medieval name of Feodosiya, Crimea.

²⁶⁴ Ancient name of the Dnieper.

Cossakes seeing themselves besett on all hands, resolved to go ashoare & fire or cut in pieces their boates & so march over land with their prisoners, and to leave on the illand [...] the cannon and such booty as they could not carry along with them with a part of their forces, who haveing buried the cannon and hide such booty as they left, might by tyme steale into the river.

So the Colonell Czily was left there with 300 men. The rest haveing destroyed their boates marched away by land. But being not farr from {81} Oczakow, a Turke who being prisoner the year befor, had taken the C[h]ri[sti-]an religion, had done them good service and was trusted by them, runaway and gave the Turkes in Oczakow notice of all, especially of the Colonell Czily with his party in the illand. Whereupon a great detachment of foot was sent to search them out, which they did for many dayes, yet could not find them, the illand being bigg and full of bushes & marishes. But the Cossakes finding their provisions failing & that they must be discovered at last, resolved to take themselves to their boates, which they did, and rowing over to the Crim, plundered & set fire on diverse villages, and then to sea againe. But being persued by the Crimeans & the Turkes of Oczakow, they were forced to land and so march of. But being hotly persued by the foot as well as horsemen who had joined them, they were driven into a thicket, where no water. Here {81v} they defended themselves 2 dayes, when fainting for want of water²⁶⁵ and haveing 50 of their number killed, they were forced to surrender and were carryed prisoners to Oczakow.

Oct-r 16. Colonell Ivan Roman. Farensbach dyed of ane inward apoplexy, haveing lyen speechles and without sence or moveing 4 dayes.

17.

18. At devotion. Towards evening by Mrs. Guasconi.

19. His M. in the evening by M. G. Menezes his widdow.

{82} Oct-r 20, Tues. At devotion.

Of seale skins in the trunke 26.

Of *saffians*²⁶⁶ 34. 3 other skins & 4 granate baggs.

Of barked skins brought by Ivan Mechmetuf 130.

7 rimme of paper & 4 rimme not whole.

21. 3 howres befor day a fire in the Twersky street whereby 20 howses were consumed.

22. In Preobrasinsko. Spoke with his M. about the writeings.

²⁶⁵ Written over "drink".

²⁶⁶ *Saffian* (Russian), morocco leather.

At the buriall of Colonell John Farensbach.

Caused receive 17 balls of cloth of a *maliny*²⁶⁷ or raspberry collour, being 170 pieces or halves and 5,055 $4/3$ [*sic*] *arshins*, to be coats to the sojourns.

23. Sent in the bookes into the Stranger Office wherein were written these of the last yeare who were taken into service, to witt 147 freemen & 225 men who had belonged to boyars & others, in all 372.

{82v} Oct-r 24, Sat. Mr. le Ditte valued the jewell at 800 rubles.

At the buriall of Mrs. Cookes daughter, wyfe to [...] van Geveren.

Received a letter from the English merch-ts, dated Archangell 12th instant.

25. Rode to Pokrofska or Chwily²⁶⁸ where his M. & others.

26. Ane attonement or agreement made.

Writt to the English merch-ts in ans-r to theirs of the 12th.

Came home

27. at two aclock in the morning.

{83} Oct-r 28, Wed. Payed 5 rubles for drawing my picture to the wast.

29. At Preobrasinsko, dined thereafter by the *Dummy* Aftemon Ivanuf with his M. & others.

30. Payed 2 rubles 7 *grivnees* postage for my last packet from Scotland, it weighing 10 *zolotniks*²⁶⁹.

Cannon brought downe to fire at the great treat by G. Le Fort.

{83v} Oct-r 31. Payed 7 rubles, 9 *alt.* & 1 kop. for the ovens of the roomes for the guards.

Mustered the sojourns who were enrolled this yeare, and turned out some of them.

More for 3,000 bricke & 10 load of clay, 55 *altines* to the abovem-d ovens.

The roll for pay of October for these who stayed in Mosko: 13 serjeants, 7 *furiers*²⁷⁰, 15 corporalls & pipers²⁷¹, 92 sojourns, 3 *emeriti*, widdowes 140, 5 sojourns sons.

{84} No-r 1, Sun. At devotion.

At the feast or treat by Gen-ll Le Fort, where stayed till 3 aclock in the morning.

2. Stayed at home, being indisposed, only heard devotion.

²⁶⁷ *Malina* (Russian), raspberry.

²⁶⁸ Fili, old country estate of the Naryshkin family, now part of Moscow.

²⁶⁹ *Zolotnik*, old Russian unit of weight equal to 4.2658 grams.

²⁷⁰ *Fourier* (French & German) was a company billeting NCO under the regimental quartermaster.

²⁷¹ I.e. fifers, there were no bagpipes in the Russian army.

3. At the wedding of Ensign Carolus von Smallenberg.
4. At the Cabinet counsell in Preobrasinsko, where concluded that the lords of 10,000 *pawres* should build & furnish out a ship with all & maintaine it constantly; so many to make up that number joyning together²⁷², and these gentlemen who have under 100 of *pawres* shall give of each howse or *pawre* halfe a ruble. And there being {84v} in Russia of these haveing upwards of a 100 *pawres* with the church lands 480,000, so there will be 48 ships built; all which must be ready against the first of Aprill 1698. It was concluded also to send 20,000 men of the Ukrainish or countrey militia to assist at the building a towne and harbour at Tagana-Rog, which army is to conveen at Valu[y]ka the first of March, and be there the first of May.

Given the boy Filat to learne the shoemaker trade by the sutor Michael Minayuf for 8 months; given 3 rubles in hand & 2 to be given 8 months hence.

- No-r 5. Invited to Alex-r Petr. Protasiuf²⁷³ his treat, but did not go.
6. In the Butirky.
{85} No-r 7, Sat. At home.
8. At the grand treat by the *Generalissimus*, where firing at the drinking of healths out of 36 cannon. Came home at 12 aclock.
9. At 6 aclock in the morning a fire beyond the Colugaes Gate to the w-ch I went, where his M. also.
10. At the wedding of Lt. Adam Wedel.
11. His M. came in the evening to me and stayed about 2 howres.
{85v} No-r 12, Thur. At a treat by M. G-ll von Mengden²⁷⁴, where the stranger who stayed last was evill treated.
13. A fire in Gen-ll Le Forts house, but soone quenched.
14. In the evening by Gen-ll Le Fort, where his M. & others.
15. At devotion, and being St. Leopoldus day, I had ffriends & drunk to the Rom. Emperour, with K[ing] Joseph²⁷⁵ and other good healths.

²⁷² This act of the Duma obliged the owners of 100 peasant households or more “to join themselves together for a ship of 10,000 households”, i.e. to form companies (*kumpanstva*) for shipbuilding.

²⁷³ A.P. Protasyev (1655–1699), *voyeroda*, *okol'nichy*, head of Vladimir Judicial Office, from 1696 was in charge of galley-building in Voronezh and other places. Disgraced for bribery, he “died of grief and shame”.

²⁷⁴ Georg von Mengden († after 1702), in Russian sources Yury Andreyevich Famendin, Livonian German officer in Tsar's army. Having served in Kiev with Gordon, probably on the latter's recommendation he was given command of the elite Preobrazhensky regiment on 30 March 1692, then became a major general.

²⁷⁵ St. Leopold (1073–1136) is the holy patron of Austria. Prince Joseph (1678–1711), son and heir of Emperor Leopold I, was Archduke of Austria, from 1687 King of Hungary,

{86} No-r 16. Payed for 26 plates of iron weighing 10 *pude* 12 pund, at 8 *gr.* p[e]r *pude*, 8 - 28; for 6 *stangs*²⁷⁶ weighing 6 *pude* 10 p[un]t, at 4 *g.*, 2 - 5 -. In all 10 rubles 7 *grivnees* 8 *den.* This to a doore & 2 windowes in my buriall place.

17. In Butirky, mustered out 43 of the most unlikely men.

18. Payed to the maltman for 7 tunnes of malt, at 21 *alt.* p[e]r tunne, 4 rubles 4 *gr.* 1 *kop.*; and for 25 pund of hopes, at 4 *kop.* p[e]r pund, 1 ruble.

19. At devotion.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 5th of No-r, in ans-r to myne dated here the 2d *Oct-ris*.

{86v} No-r 20, Frid. Writt to Mr. Fraser in ans-r to his rec-d yesterday.

In the evening by G. Le Fort where his M. & others.

21. At a wedding feast by *Kniaz* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn], where many boyars & thereafter his M.

22. At devotion; dined by I. Persenofsky²⁷⁷.

23. In Preobrasinsko. Thereafter by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky]²⁷⁸, where conc[luded...]

{87} No-r 24. In Butirsky. Caused measure over the cloth, there being of sad collour 1,784 *arshins* 3 4ts, and of light collour 3,254 *arshins* 3 q-ts & 2 *verstkie*s²⁷⁹; in all 539²⁸⁰ *arsh.* 2 q-ts 2 *verstkyes*, there being wanting 16 *arshins* & 2 *verstk.*

Dined by Mr. Termond²⁸¹.

25. At devotion. Dined by my da-r Katherine, being her name-day.

26. In Butirky, distributed cloth to the sojourns.

Received a letter from Mr. Woolffe, dated 16 *No-ris* Archangell.

27.

{87v} No-r 28. In Butirky, where having calculated the number of measures in the cloth, caused give to each 5 *arshins*.

from 1690 King of the Romans, and from 1705 Holy Roman Emperor.

²⁷⁶ *Stange* (German), bar or rod.

²⁷⁷ I. Persenovsky, apothecary in Moscow.

²⁷⁸ Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky (ca.1640–1717), Tsar Peter's "Prince-Caesar" and mock Generalissimus, head of Preobrazhensky, Siberian and Apothecary Offices. During Peter's Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–98 Romodanovsky was the virtual ruler of Russia.

²⁷⁹ *Versbok*, old Russian measure of length equal to 4.45 cm.

²⁸⁰ Should be 5,039.

²⁸¹ Johan Termond, a native of Friesland, soon to become chief physician with Tsar Peter's Grand Embassy to the West.

29. At the wedding of Eustachius Boleman, Major, with Agnes, daughter to Colonell Christophor Rigeman and my Goddaughter, where his M. & others.

30. At devotion, being St. Andrewes day, and againe at the wedding.

Agreed to make 400 brazen overgilt pieces to the brests of the sojourns coats for 10 *altins* a piece.

{88} Dec-r 1, Tuesd. Payed for 9 *pude* 29 pund of Swedish iron 4 rubles 16 *altins*, & for 10 plattes of iron weighing 3 *pude* 30 pund 3 rubles.

2. A list of the reg-t for Dec-r, Jan-r & Feb-r pay: 1 fireworker, 32 serjeants, 27 *capt. armes*²⁸², *furiers* & *foriers*, 42 corporalls, 45 *boyboyes*, 2 *verstany*²⁸³, 851 not *verstany*; in all 1,000, 3 *emeriti*, 181 widdowes, 53 orphans.

Caused give 50 rubles for makeing of furniture to the sojourns cloaths.

3. In the evening by his M. in Preobrasinsko, came home late.

4.

5.

{88v} Dec-r 6, Sun. At devotion. Dined by Eustachius Boleman, being the inferr feast²⁸⁴.

7. Notice given for a feast by my son James.

8. Invited to the feast.

9. The feast, where his M. & many others.

Colonell van Kragge made the tryall of his shooting, which was & pleased well.

10. Advanced upon the acco-t of Mr. Philip Woolffe 13 rubles to Ro-t Cooper.

Writt to Mr. Tho. Loftus by him.

11. In Butirky. Agreed to make crests to the granadiers caps at 8 copikes a piece, being painted on white-iron.

{89} Dec-r 12. Payed for 2 *pude* of Sweds iron 32 *altins*.

13. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort, wher all or most d[runk].

Rec-d a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 3 Dec-r.

14. At home indisposed.

²⁸² *Kaptenarmus* (French *capitaine d'armes*), senior NCO responsible for storage and distribution of arms, ammunition, uniforms and provisions.

²⁸³ *Verstany* (Russian), a serviceman with increased pay in kind, money or even land. Gordon sometimes calls one "*a gentleman sojour*".

²⁸⁴ *Infare* (Scots), feast given by bridegroom to celebrate the coming of his bride to her new home.

Rec-d a letter from C[olonel] Levenfelt, dated Tobolsky²⁸⁵ 20 *Oct-ris*.

15. In Butirky, did much business.

16. At the buriall of Niclaes the ships carpenter. Dined by his M. in Preobrasinsko, came home late.

17. I examined the business betwixt my son & the Tambovish sojourns. In the evening by Mr. Guasconi, who came last night.

{89v} Dec-r 17. Nikita Solochin gave in a note of the money by him of the last two expeditions:

Of resting money	1,262	30	1
Of sojourns not come	<u>84</u>	<u>21</u>	=
In all	1,347	17	5
Of this disbursed			
(not agreeable w[i]t[h] ye former)	97	18	-
To Fiodor Snietkofsky	100	-	-
To <i>plaszczies</i> ²⁸⁶	50	-	-
To other such	20	-	-
To Lubim for painting	3	6	4
To the smiths to granad-bags	2	-	-
To timber to the roome	15	-	-
To Telepin to buy timber	6	-	-
To the carpenters	<u>3</u>	=	=
In all	<u>199</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>
Remaines	1,148	11	1

Given to 939 sojourns cloth 5 *arshins* to each. Not given to 66, whereof 15 not come. Cloth remains 320 *arsh-s* 3 q-ts, besides what is made and to be made in caps about 15 *arsh.*; to 8 ensignees – 40.

{90} Dec-r 18. In the night about 2 aclock in the morning *Kniaz* Andrew Petr. Prozorofsky²⁸⁷ his howse burned, where all.

Sent [...]

The bookes of the last expedition given into the Stranger Office.

²⁸⁵ In 1693 for some grave offence Colonel Christoph Löwenfeld was exiled to Tobol'sk, capital of Siberia.

²⁸⁶ *Plashchi* (Russian), cloaks.

²⁸⁷ Prince A.P. Prozorovsky († 1722), boyar from 1692.

Received a letter from Colonel Fiodor Affanasseevitz Kolsakow, dated Azow 23 *No-ris*, wherein he writeth his reg-t is 750 strong, many whereof are sick & weakly.

From Col. Alexey Vasil. Buist, dated Azow 1 *No-ris*, showing that in October are 26 of his reg-t runaway & 26 dyed.

From Major Timofe[y] Belevin, dated Azow 3 *No-ris*, showing that that regiment is 938 men strong whereof 200 sick.

19. Received from Mr. Woolfe a letter, dated Archangel 14 *No-ris*, & with it a hogsheid of claret, two halfe-*ames* & an halfe-*ancker*²⁸⁸ of sack, with other things of his.

Al. Ob. Kn.²⁸⁹

20. At devotion.

{90v} Dec-r 21, Moon.²⁹⁰ Gott home the iron doores & windowes, w-ch weigh 24 *pude* & 30 pund; iron being given to them 17 *pude* of Swedish *stang*-iron and 39 pund, and of plates 14 *pude* & 2 punde; so that wants 7 *pude* 9 pund; 1½ *pude* of small things over 4 plates.

Nikita Solochin his acco-t received, wherein he writes:

Received pay for 960 sojourns wherein the under officers comprehended, from the first of March to the first of 7ber of the 7204 year after the Russe acco-t 6,057 – 30 – 4.

Given out of this:

For March to 955 persons	1,168	8	1
For April to 956 persons	900	26	4
For May to 951	924	31	2
For June to 946	1,127	30	-
For July to 947	921	9	2
For August to 924	<u>899</u>	<u>2</u>	=
In all	<u>5,942</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>
Remaines	115	16	a[<i>sic</i>]

²⁸⁸ *Anker*, old Dutch measure of volume, or small cask holding around 45 bottles, or approx. 38.75 l.

²⁸⁹ Undeciphered. Possibly a Russian name.

²⁹⁰ Under the year 1696 AD on top right margins of this page and the next Gordon adds the year according to the Russian Orthodox calendar “from the Creation of the World”, 7205.

Payed to my ser-ts their yeares fee	<u>Rubles</u>		
To Ivan Beresin & his wyfe	6	-	-
Ivan the cooke & his wyfe 5	8	-	-
& for service 3			
Nikita & wyfe	5	-	-
Archip & wyfe	5	-	-
Miska 3 r. & for service 3	6	-	-

{91} Payed of Kusma for the last year 1 ruble & for the future 2 rubles, he being hired for 8 rubles a yeare.

Dec-r 22. At the buriall of Peter Marselis merch-t.

Lent to Ivan Bogd. Yakufleuf 500 rubles, being the deceased Coll.

23. Leviston his aires money at 10 p[e]r cento with pawne and writeing payable at Christmass 1697; and I have given my bond to the aires for that money, haveing the gentlemans writeing & pawne by me.

24. Payed to Michael Fiod. Artisuf for two darke-gray Dutch coach horses 100 rubles.

25. A litle befor midnight at devotion, confessed & communicated.

26. Sent for into the towne. A *skaska*²⁹¹ or declaration read to us above, wherein after a particular relation of our services it was told us that the Boyar²⁹² shall receive a medall of 13 ducates with a chaine, a covered gilted cup, a coat of cloth of gold lined with sables & 307 *pawres*²⁹³. To the Generall [A.M.] Golovin & me to each a medall of 6 ducates, a covered gilted cup, a coat of cloth of gold lined with sables & {91v} 100 *pawres*. To the Generall Commissary [F.A.] Golovin a medall of 5 ½ ducates, a cup, coat, with 57 *pawres*. To diverse others cups, medalls & coats; & to Nikita Zotuf²⁹⁴ 40 *pawres*. Wee dined by the *Generallissimus*, went afterwards & thanked his Ma-tie.

Gave to Alex. Sim. [Shein's] singers a ruble.

Dec-r 27, Sun. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] & L.K. [Naryshkin]. Dined by Colonell Kray, where the agreement betwixt him & the Baron.²⁹⁵

²⁹¹ *Skazka* (Old Russian), notification or report.

²⁹² A.S. Shein.

²⁹³ Here and just below peasant households (*dvory*) are meant.

²⁹⁴ N.M. Zotov (ca.1644–1718), former tutor to young Tsar Peter, *dummy dyak*. Also held the mock title of “All-Foolish Father Ioannikit, Patriarch of Presburg, Kokuy and All Yauza”. In the second Azov campaign he directed the headquarters chancellery.

²⁹⁵ Colonel von Krage and probably Baron von Borgsdorf.

- 28.
29. His M. by me in the morning; gave orders that the Colonell Kray should make another tryal of shooting.
30. In towne by Tich. Nik. & Al. Simon.
Gave to Lew Kiril. singers 2 rubles.
31. The great company of singers by me²⁹⁶, to whom I gave 3 rubles, and to the other singers a ruble.

²⁹⁶ “At Yuletide a company of some 200... in several dozen sleighs would tour the city all night till morning “to sing the praises”; at the head of the procession was the mock Patriarch in his vestments with crozier and tin mitre, followed at full gallop by sleighs crammed with his singing and whistling attendants. Owners of houses honoured with a visit by these laudators had to entertain them and pay for the praises; they drank horribly at that...” (V.O. Kliuchevsky, *Russkaya istoriya*, II (Moscow, 1997), pp. 485–6).

{92}

1697

Jan-ry 1, Frid. God give us a good new yeare!

Writt to Mr. Frazer about the deck sent by Ro-t Cowper, the booke I wrott for formerly & some Rigae butts.

The great *slavitznike*²⁹⁷ in the Butirky, to whom given 10 rubles.

2. Agreed with Nikita & Stephan to build me a stone-house according to the modell, & to give him for worke 120 rubles and 10 *span* of brandy.

3. At a great feast by Gen-ll Le Fort.

Gave to the Dutch trumpeters fowre ducats.

4. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev]. The reg-t mustered.

5. Againe in towne.

Agreed with Julian Saveliuf to furnish 300 tunne of lime at 6 *alt-s* the tunne w[i]t[h] 10 tunne to the boote; given 27 rubles in hand.

Agreed for the *yuft*²⁹⁸ of white stones, being 100 of ane *arsb.* & 100[?] ²⁹⁹ of 3 4-ts *arsb.* at two rubles 7 *gr-s* the *yuft*.

{92v} Agreed for bricks at 60 *alt.* 5 kop. the 1,000 with carriage, and 14 *gr-s* without cariage; given to the master 60 rubles.

Jan-ry 6, Wed. Called above early and gott orders together with the Boyar Alexey Simonovits Shein & *Kniaz* Luka Fiodorovitz Dolgorukoy³⁰⁰ to go to service to Azow.

7. In towne, gott nothing done about the villages. In the afternoone by Mr. Vinius.

8. In towne againe, & in the afternoone by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn].

Magnus Menezes³⁰¹ came in the evening.

²⁹⁷ *Slavil'shchiki*, Russian choirs which sang praises during Christmastide.

²⁹⁸ *Yuft'* (Russian), leather, originally treated with tar.

²⁹⁹ The last digit is indistinct.

³⁰⁰ Prince L.F. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) († 1710), from 1671 *stol'nik*, then *voyevoda* in Kiev, from 1697 commander of Sevsk *razriad* (army corps).

³⁰¹ Magnus, eldest son of Major General Paul Menzies, was born in Moscow ca.1677. In 1691 he went to the "Imperial lands" to study, which he did for about a year and a half, then served in the Emperor's army as ensign and lieutenant for four years more. On 8 April 1697 he became a Russian subject. On 19 November 1700, as major, he was captured by the Swedes at the battle of Narva.

9. Harry Gordons³⁰² business done.
 {93} Jan-ry 10. 9 regiments of *streltsees* ordered to service, 6 to Azow, 2 to Byallogrod³⁰³ & 1 to Kyow.
 The Venetians came.³⁰⁴
11. In towne, and by his M.
12. Dined by Colonell von Kraghe, where his M., and diverse proofs made of military inventions.
13. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] and by Mr. Boetenant³⁰⁵ and by L.K. [Naryshkin].
14. Dined by the Baron of Borgstorffe.
- {93v} Jan-ry 16, Sat. The *Ottoman* of the Dons Cosakes by me in the morning, as also the Italians or Venetians lately come.
- In the afternoone Colonell van Kraghe shewed proofs of shooting out of cannon and with bombes extraordinary speedily, w[i]t[h] cartouses and bombes prepared with a rope tyed round them, neither *spiegel*³⁰⁶, prop nor the bombe pitched, which, as reason, pleased.
- In the evening wee went all to John Vryes, where began the grand treat by the Englishes.
17. Feasted all this day and came home a litle befor midnight.
18. Agreed with the smiths Fiodor Ivanuf, Michala Nikol[ayev] for 10 kopikes a *pude* for worke; 2 kop. for a sowder & as much for a *obuch* & *sasove*³⁰⁷,

³⁰² Harry (Henry, in Russia *Andrey*) Gordon, Scottish Jacobite captain. In 1689 he was an officer in the Edinburgh garrison under his clan chief Duke of Gordon, who held the castle against William of Orange (*Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1689* (Edinburgh, 1828), pp. 36, 58, 60, 75). In September 1691 with the Duke's recommendation Harry came to Russia via Warsaw. Under the patronage of General Gordon on 16 August 1692 he was promoted to major, then served in Count Graham's regiment in Belgorod and saw action against the Tatars in Ukraine. On 21 January 1695 in Moscow he married Caroline Ronaer. Probably took part in Azov campaigns. In 1697–8, as lt.colonel, he was based in Archangel. In 1700 he fell prisoner to the Swedes at Narva, but 10 years later won his freedom with Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky and other Russian captives, who seized the Swedish frigate that transported them from Stockholm to Göteborg; on 19 June 1711 they reached Russian-held Reval.

³⁰³ Belgorod.

³⁰⁴ Evidently, galley builders sent upon Tsar Peter's request by his ally, the Republic of Venice.

³⁰⁵ Heinrich (Andrey) Butenant von Rosenbusch (ca.1634–1701), originally a merchant from Hamburg, since 1679 served as Danish factor (resident) in Moscow and was ennobled by his King; he also owned iron foundries in the Tula and Olonets regions.

³⁰⁶ *Spiegel* (German), sabot, a device used in a cannon or firearm to fire a projectile that is smaller than the bore diameter.

³⁰⁷ *Obukh* & *zasov* (Russian), bolt eye and bolt, or bar lock.

1 kop. for a *kruike*³⁰⁸.

Given Fiodor the chieffe smith ten rubles.

Received a letter from the Cosakes Hetman Masepa, together with a pipe of brandy, a wild boar & a rae. Gave to his ser-t a reichs doller.

{94} Jan-ry 19, Tues. In towne twice. At night by Ivan Moskow.

20. At home indisposed.

Gave to the brick-maker 100 rubles, now in all 160 r.

21. Haveing had a violent fitt of the colick in the night-tyme, I kept my bed all day.

22. Haveing taken phisick at night, it had good operation this day, so that I began to recover.

Colonell Baltazar de Lauzier dyed, and the chirurgions, who had cutted and promised confidently to cure the excrescency under his eye, imprisoned.

23. Gave to Nikita the *podriadshik*³⁰⁹ 5 rubles.

To the carpenter 2 rubles.

24. The wedding of Mr. Isbrandt with Mr. Munters daughter.

{94v} Jan-ry 25, Moon. I durst not hazard abroad, being not fully recovered.

26. A *skasky* or declaration to the sojourns. Every one to have a gold kopike, and these who have lands to gett 100 *czetverts*³¹⁰ augmentation and each eight rubles in money.

His M. dyned by the *Okolnitze* Peter Matf. Opraxin, who goeth governour to the Great-Novogrod.

27. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev], L.K. [Naryshkin] & Al. Sim. [Shein].

28. The buriall of Coll. de Lawzier with Catholick ceremonies.

29. In towne by his M. about the Imp[erial] coll.³¹¹ his busines. He with the *Dummy* by me in the evening.

30.

31. At the wedding of Pope with Mr. Mullers daughter, with great pompe.

{95} Feb-ry 1, Moon. At the wedding of Jan Jacobson with Andrew Litzkin his daughter, and in the evening at the other wedding.

³⁰⁸ *Kruike* (Russian), hook.

³⁰⁹ *Podriadshik* (Russian), contractor or master builder.

³¹⁰ *Chetvert'* (Russian), literally, fourth part or quarter, but here and elsewhere it means an old measure of land of varying size, in some cases 40 by 30 *sazhen* (fathoms).

³¹¹ Probably, von Krage.

2. Writt to the Hetman in answer to his of the 7th past by his ser-t Jacob Ivanuf.

Dined with his M. by the Imp. colonell.

Afterwards in the Ambassy *hoffe* and at the wedding by Doctor Carbonary.

3. In towne, and againe in the afternoone.

Found T. Nik. [Streshnev] by *Kniaz* Yury Fiod. Shachofsky³¹².

4. At the wedding of Lt.Colonell Georg Westhoffe with Colonell Gaspar Gulits his widdow daughter.

5. At the buriall of Jan Vlamme³¹³; dined in Preobrasinsko.

{95v} Feb-ry 6, Sat. At the buriall of van der Hulsts³¹⁴ mother.

7. At devotion. Dined by the Engineer Holtsman. The misfortune of the Imperiall colonell in wounding the *minirer*.

My yeares pay brought, being 952 rubles.

8. At a birth dayes feast by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovitz Romadanofsky, where late.

9. At home indisposed.

10. In towne, nothing done.

11. In towne, then by *Kniaz* Fiod. Yurio. Dined with friends by Mr. Guascony, came home late.

{96} Feb-ry 12, Frid. In towne. Gott ane order for the village Krasna in the Resansky district, being 37 *pawres*, & Ivanofska in the Solofskyes district, being 25 *pawres*. A writer of the *Bolsboy Dworets* called Fiodor Deraviagin³¹⁵ being ordered to go thither, writt over all things and deliver them to any I shall order.

Dined by Al. Sim. [Shein], stayed [till *cr.o.*] late as all the reg-ts also to have been present at the fireworks, but they not being ready, all was deferred till the next day.

13. In the first howre of the night the fireworkes were fired, & continued till 10 with good success.

14. At a feast by the Admirall Le Fort. Thereafter at the wedding of Andrew Boetenant von Rosenbush with Jean Crawford of Jordanhill³¹⁶.

³¹² Prince Yu.F. Shakhovskoy († 1713), *stol'nik*, one of Tsar Peter's court jesters, styled as "Archdeacon Gedeon of the All-Drunken Synod" and "Knight of the Order of Judas".

From 1711 he was general *genaltiger*, i.e. head of Russian military police.

³¹³ Jan Vlamme(e), captain of the 44-gun frigate *Santa Profetie*, built on Tsar Peter's commission in Holland and sent to Archangel in 1694.

³¹⁴ Zacharias Arnold van der Hulst († 1694), Dutch doctor at the Tsars' court.

³¹⁵ F. Dereviagin, *podyachy* of the Great Palace Office (*Bolsboy Dworets*) from 1688.

³¹⁶ Jean Crawford, daughter of Major General Daniel Crawford of the Russian service (†

This day my son Theodorus being borne, an entertainment was intended, and delayed till the next day, because I could not be p[rese]nt.

{96v} Feb-ry 15, Moon. Had an evening entertainment upon the acco-t of my sons birth-day, where all merry till 4 aclock in the morning.

Dispatched Capt. Kaczayuf with the writer to receive the 2 villages.

16. At home, being indisposed.

Doctor John Buck after much solicitations was received by my intercession into his Ma-ties service on Sunday last.

17. Being Ash Wednesday, at devotion and the sprinkling of ashes ceremony.

18. Given in a note of officers for the Butirsky & the 3 Tambovish, viz.: 3 colonells, 5 lt.colonells, 11 maiors, 27 captains, 3 capt. l-ts, 37 lievtennants, 3 quarterm-rs, 1 adjutant, 46 ensignes; in all 136 officers, to whom with me for 4 months full pay cometh 4,973 rubles 9 *alt-s 2 dengees*, but to reckon in the yeares pay comes to 3,315 rubles 12 *alt. 4 dengees*.

In towne, Butirky & in Preobrasinsko.

{97} Feb-ry 19, Frid. At home, tooke phisick which had good operation.

20. In towne, at a birth- or names-day feast by Leo Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], where his M. & others.

21. At devotion. Dined by Greg. Yakuf. Roonær.

Rec-d a letter from Mr. Joseph Woolffe, dated London Jan. 19.

22. In towne by Tich. Nik. [Streshnev], Leo Kiril. & Al. Semen. [Shein]. The Stranger Office given to Al. Sim.

{97v} Feb-ry 23, Tuesd. At home. In the evening by Gen-ll Le Fort, where a merry intended night spoiled by an accident of discovering.³¹⁷

24. At devotion. Expected his M. to supper, but being taken up with multitude of business he could not come.

25. At a *veczerinko*³¹⁸ by G. Le Fort, where dancing till 3 aclock in the morning.

26. His M. promised to come to me, but did not come.

27. The M[utineers?] p[ined?].

My ser-ts returned with the writer, haveing written up and given of the vilages of Ivanofsky & Krasna, in the first 25 and in the last 37 *pawres*.

28. At devotion. Ffriends by me in the evening.

1674), who had been Gordon's regimental commander and friend. These Crawfords belonged to the family of Jordanhill, an estate near Glasgow.

³¹⁷ On this day the Tsar was informed of the conspiracy of Ivan Tsykler and his accomplices.

³¹⁸ *Veчеринка* (Russian), party, soiree.

{98} March 1, Moon. In towne & in Preobrasinsko, by his M.

The Boyar Tichon Nik. [Streshnev] by me in the evening.

2. At a feast by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky].

The traitors sentenced by all the boyars.

3. The traitours should have been executed, but was deferred till the next-day.

4 [Thur.] About 11 a'clock the traitors Alexey Prokofiuſ Sukownin, Ivan Eliseuf Sichler, Fiodor Matfeuf Puskin³¹⁹ were brought forth to the place of execution; and after their crimes were read befor them, the two first had their hands & feet cut of & then their heades; the last only his head.

A pillar being erected on the *piaczko* in the towne, on the tops whereof on iron pins the heads were set up, and the cut-of members round about, the rumpes were throwne downe by the pillar; all being brought as in procession from Preobrazinsko where they were executed. They all confessed that they had an intention to have murdered his Ma-tie, and to that purpose had tryed {98v} to draw the *streltsees* to their party. And because the Boyar Ivan Michaelovitz Miloslawsky³²⁰, who decessed about 12 yeares ago, was the author of all the plotts ag-t his present Ma-tie, it was ordained that he should be digged up and brought in his coffin to the place of execution, which was accordingly done; and he being drawne on a sledge by two great boares brought to the place, & the coffin being made open and he uncovered, the blood of each of their heades as they were cut of sprinkled on the dead carkass, which in some places was rotten & consumed.

His M. had promised to come to supper to me, but was hindred by going to the buriall of his unkle Martimian Kiril. Narishkin³²¹.

The village Krasna, about which the difference betwixt G. Le Fort & me, given to him.

March 5. I was in towne.

In the evening his M. came to me and supped and stayed till near midnight.

³¹⁹ A.P. Sokovnin († 1697), *voyeroda*, from 1682 *okol'nicby*, from 1690 *yasel'nicby*. Ivan Yeliseyevich Tsykler († 1697), *streltsy* colonel of foreign stock, Orthodox convert. He supported Tsarevna Sophia and was a leader of the *streltsy* revolt of 1682. In 1689 he defected to Tsar Peter's party, informing him of Sophia's plot. In 1692 he became a Duma nobleman and *voyeroda* in Verkhoturys. F.M. Pushkin († 1697), *stol'nik*.

³²⁰ I.M. Miloslavsky (1635–1685), boyar and *voyeroda*, one of the leaders of the Miloslavsky party and the conspiracy of 1682. He was in charge of the Foreigners', Reiters' and Cannoneer Offices.

³²¹ M.K. Naryshkin († 1697), chamber *stol'nik*, then boyar.

{99} *Mart.* 6, Sat. Strict examination of diverse malefactors.

By *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] concerning the *dorpe*³²² Altzowa.

7. At devotion.

Gott the order to receive the village Krasna Slaboda in the Resansky district, being 64 howses.

My sone went from hence.

The Butirsky regiment marched from hence.

8. In towne.

9. A feast by Gen. Le Fort from whence all went to Nikolska, 15 *verst* from hence, where I with others lodged.

10. Having dined early, his M. bidd adiew to all there³²³, being most of the senators & pppl strangers. Thereafter wee tooke our leave of the ambasadour³²⁴ and all the rest, who lodged this night in Czesnikow³²⁵, 40 *verst* from Mosko.

The peasants came from Ivanofsky, brought 20 tunnes of rey & 5 tunnes of oates; and remained in 2 barnes as yet 25 tunnes of oates and 5 of rey.

{99v} March 11, Thur. Sent away the orders to receive the village by Capt. Kaczayuf.

12. Sent away the most of my baggage *yet by accident was forced to stay.*³²⁶

Given to Ivan Mechmetuf 10 rubles.

Mustered these who remained in the Slaboda, being 102 men whereof 13 serjeants, 5 *furiers*, 9 corporalls & 72 common souldiers; 130 wiwes & mothers of unmarried sojourns, at 15 *altins* per month; 159 widdowes who have male children, at 15 *alt.*; 6 *emeriti* who have male children, at 20 *alt.*; 51 orphans.

Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort.

13. In towne, tooke leave of diverse in the towne & Slaboda.

Advised by Dimitre Gavriel[ov] to buy Pobedna Slaboda on the other syde of the river Poswa and Valina Polania on the other syde of the river Paria in the wood.

³²² *Dorf* (German), village.

³²³ In March 1697 Tsar Peter departed on his unprecedented Grand Embassy to Western Europe, which was to last a year and a half.

³²⁴ "The First Grand Ambassador" of this remarkable Russian mission to the West was General Lefort, the second, Boyar F.A. Golovin, and the third, *Dummy Dyak* P.B. Voznitsyn.

³²⁵ Chashnikovo.

³²⁶ Marked words crossed out in MS.

The writer Ivan Baybakow gave of to the writer Terenty Kirilow³²⁷ 608 rubles 9 *alt.* 4 *deng*.

{100} March 14, Sund. At devotion. Dined by Mr. Guasconi with friends. Russ friends by me in the evening.

15. Gott 50 rubles, which had been taken into the *Dworets* out of my village Ivanofska.

78 r[ubles] by I[van?].

16. In towne, tooke leave of some lords.

17. Made up my acco-ts with Mr. Munter, he being owing me 600 rubles. Made good Mr. Frasers assignation to him in part of the interest for the last yeare.

18. Payed to Kusma 6 rubles 26 *altins* for spices.

Writt to my son John & Mr. Joseph Woolffe in answer to theirs of the 8th of August & 19th Jan-ry per post.

19. Payed to Alexey the fisher 7 ½ rubles for alive-fish and 6 more for to morrow.

Given to Ivan Beresin 15 rubles to build a mill.

Given of my daughter Katherine her money 400 rubles, to receive the next year this date 440 rubles, receiveing in pledge 46 pund & 92 *złotniks* in silver plate, and a round to a cap sowed with pearle & small diamonds & rubies.

{100v} March 20, Sat. His Ma-ties Priviledge letter or Patent brought to me for the Hereditary Lands of Krasna Sloboda or Grodno, and Ivanofsko, as also a medall of sixe ducates, by the Chancellour Ivan Timof. Kubiakuf and the writer Michael Gregor. Gulayuf³²⁸, to each of whom I gave 5 ducates. The parchment to the letter cost 12 rubles, the silver case to the seale 3 rubles & 10 *altines*, the other decorements six rubles, the boxe to keep it in 1 ruble & 2 *grivnees*.

The Boyar Tichon Nikitovitz [Streshnev] with his chancellours and some writers and acquaintances dined with me, in all about 30 persons, and were merry.

21. At devotion.

Rec-d a letter from his Ma-tie, dated Novogrod 17 *Martii*, and written some of it with his owne hand.

³²⁷ I. Baybakov and T. Kirillov, *podyachye* of the Foreigners' and Judicial Palace Offices respectively.

³²⁸ I.T. Kobiakov († 1700), from 1690 *dyak* of *Razriadny Prikaz*; M.G. Guliyev († after 1704), from 1674 *podyachy*, from 1700 *dyak* at the same Office.

22. Writt to my son John & his wyfe, the Lord of Achintowle, the Laird of Crichy, my unkle, brother, cousin W-m and to Marg. Burnet in answer to these received last, and given this packet with my picture to Mr. Ph. Woolffe.

To Harry Gordon at Archangel in ans-r to his of the 23 past. The packet for Scotland sent with my picture by Mr. Stiles³²⁹.

Sent my people to view a place to be sold 35 *verts* from Mosko.

23. Gave to the writer who writt the Priviledg-letter a ruble, because he had gott too litle.

Made up my acco-ts with Mr. Woolffe; payed him upon the acco-t of the deceased James Bruce 91 rubles, and upon my owne acco-t 61 rubles, so that there remaines by him over the 200 rubles given to him 48 rubles.

{101} March 24. Gott halfe *aame* of French wine from Mr. Woolfe.

Bought a man and a wyfe with 3 sons from a gentleman Konrady Niki-foruf for 27 rubles.

Gott 40 rubles, which had been taken into the *Dworets* out of my village Krasna Slaboda or Grodno.

25. At devotion.

26. Writt to his Ma-tie³³⁰ in returne to his of the 17th.

27. The Boyar *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz Golitzin with severall others dined by me.

Received 90 rubles for a gilt cup of 6 pund & cloth of gold to a coat. Received sables for 180 rubles to line the coat with.

28. At devotion.

29. Rode to Bratofshin 30 *verst* and then to Andrushina 18 *verst*, where viewed the conveniences of that place which I intend to buy; returned to Danielofsky belonging to the Czudofsky monastery, 4 [*vers*], where I lodged.

The place or *pustosh*³³¹ called Andrushina, belonging to *Kniaz* Ivan Perfiliovits Shachofsky³³², for w-ch he asketh 490 rubles with a family, & I give him 350 rubles.

{101v} March 30, Tues. Returned to Mosko at 3 aclock afternoone.

³²⁹ Henry ("Andrey") Stiles († 1712), prominent English merchant who enjoyed Tsar Peter's favour. Mentioned in Russia since 1684, he entertained the Tsar in London in 1698. In the 1700s he founded a powder factory in Obukhovovo on the Kliaz'ma, which for a while became the largest in Russia.

³³⁰ This letter from Gordon to the tsar survives and was published (*Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, I (St.Petersburg, 1887), p. 614).

³³¹ *Pustosh* (Russian), wasteland.

³³² Prince I.P. Shakhovskoy (1636–1716), chamber *stol'nik* of Tsar Ioann V.

Received a letter from the Ambassadors Le Fort, dated Plesko³³³ 27 *Martii*, which day he with his suite went from thence.

31. At devotion. Payed to Al[exey] for alive fish fyve rubles.

This day I ended the 62d yeare of my troublesome lyfe. Blessed be the great & glorious name of the Almighty and Most Mercifull God for giving me so long and large a tyme of repentance, whereof if I have not made due use, I crave pardon of God Almighty!

This same day about 3 a'clock afternoone I begin the 63d yeare of my lyfe, being my great climacterick, and so accounted the most dangerous.

O most gracious God, dispose of me according to thy good will & pleasure. I resigne my self wholly to thy will, *ecce ego in flagella paratus sum*³³⁴. If thou art pleased to afflict me, it is but what I deserve. If thou shalt be pleased to call for me out of this world, thy will be done. If thou shalt be pleased to prolong my lyfe and peregrination in this world, thy will be done. Grant me only that I may make better use of my future tyme, as I have done of the bypast. Grant me true contrition, amendement of my lyfe, to conforme my will to thine, and with joy to expect the tyme of my dissolution. Amen. Amen.

{102} Aprill 1, Thur. At devotion, confessed and received the blessed Sacrament.

In the evening I was by the *Generallissimus*, he haveing sent for me to advise concerning our march.

2. At devotion.

3. Given or advanced in all to the sojourns 71 rubles for their pay for Aprill, & other casualties.

4.

5. Jacob Kusmin *sin* Kormiltzin my neighbowr in Resan³³⁵ came to me, promising assistance in the village business.

{102v} Aprill 6, Tuesd. At devotion, received the benediction from the paters. At 9 a'clock bid adiew to my family and went through Mosko, and lodged in Pachry or the vill. by the r[iver] Pachry called [...]

7. Rode to Dubrovitzza, tooke leave of *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn], haveing first dined. Then rode to Molodiach, where rested, & lodged in Lopatin[o].

³³³ Pskov.

³³⁴ Lo, I am ready for the scourge (Latin Vulgate, Psalm 37:18).

³³⁵ Riazan'.

8. Came to Czerpuchow. Passed the r. Occa in the night with some difficulty.

9. Breakfasted in the village Lipitsa, 3 *v[erst]*. Rode to the iron workes and lodged in Kamionka, whither our waggons came late; this from the iron workes 10 *verst*, and these from the r. Occa 20.

10. Passed by a church on the right hand, 10 *verst*, to the *dorp* Telegin[o], 5 *verst*, & 5 *verst* further dined by the vill. & r. Voshiana, which running to the west falleth in the r. Volotta 7 *verst* from hence, and 20 *verst* further lodged by the r. Volotta, which falleth in the r. Occa³³⁶ 30 *verst* from the high way or road.

{103} April 11, Sun. Came to the towne Tula, crossing the r. Uppa, 10 *verst*, where getting fresh horses and haveing dined and bought necessaries for the *panvres* I had with me, I went the Msczinesk road, and because of the bad way going about to the left by the vill. Rudakovo, lodged by the r-t Koslofka in the *sasbek* by the high way from Tula, 10 or 12 *verst*.

12. Passed through the *sasbek* to Yasnja Polania, 3 *verst*, & the *d[orp]* Grodnu, 1 *verst*; 1 *verst* further to the vil. Koczak Migunuf on the right hand; to the *dorp* Yesiorky³³⁷, 5 *verst*. Then going from the Msczenesk way [to] the Murafska road³³⁸ by the *d*. Spiczin on the left hand, 3 *verst* from Yesiorky; then through a desert yet corne-land by a house alone and villages on the r. Uppa on the left hand, came to the *d*. Czubarevo, about 20 *verst*, where haveing refreshed men & horses, rode to the high way againe by a small *d*. to the r. Uppa by the vill. Zariow Pristan, 5 *verst*, haveing gone this day about 40 *verst*.

13. Rode out into the desert, haveing the r. Uppa on our left hand to a place called the Bishops Bush³³⁹, 10 *verst*; and 10 *verst* further by a vil. belonging to the Chrusczowes. Then haveing the r. Krasiva Meczet on our left hand came to a village belonging to the Ignatiufs, 5 *verst*, {103v} and 5 *verst* further to the *d*. Ivanofska, by which the r. Zitowa Meczet³⁴⁰ runneth, which about 10 *verst* from it falleth in the river Krasivo Meczet, haveing first from the south

³³⁶ Gordon is incorrect here: Vashana river flows into Oka, and Volot' into Upa.

³³⁷ Ozerki. The first Slavic language that Gordon mastered was Polish, and even after many years in Russia he sometimes polonises Russian words (Polish *jezioro*, lake).

³³⁸ *Muravsky shliakh*, steppe road, which led from the Crimea through the watershed of the Vorskla and Seversky Donets rivers towards Livny and Tula. Crimean Tatars often used it to invade Ukrainian and Russian lands.

³³⁹ Apparently, identical in meaning and location with Vladychnye Kusty, mentioned by Gordon on his return journey (below, fol. 158v).

³⁴⁰ Sitova Mecha. This very village of Ivanovskoye was recently granted by the Tsar to General Gordon. Hence his instructions below to the village elder (*starosta*) and servants.

west received the r-t Kamine or Stony Meczet. This *dorpe* is 40 *verst* from Tzareow Pristan and 90 from Tula, from Yefremow 20 or 30, and from Novosila [...]

Left here by the *starost*³⁴¹ Nikifor 12 rubles to buy roomes for ser-ts, 6 to pay the land bought from Marke. 5 rubles by Yelfim to pay the other gentleman for his land, and with my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf 9 rubles to give to 3 ser-ts with their families, and 2 to buy necessities for the other ser-ts.

April 14, Wed. Haveing dined, I rode along the r. Zitovy Meczet by some howses on the other syde, and a litle vil. on this syde, to the vill. Kadno, 10 *verst*, where lodged. Here groweth woods of pleasant birches & other trees, which the inhabitants here being petty gentlemen & sojourns preserve each the places opposite to his habitation; all the rest of the countrey to the west & south a great way being desert without wood, yet good corne-land.

15. Crossed the river Krasivoy Meczet by a bridge, which I caused repaire, and passing by diverse villages came to the towne Yeffremow, 20 *verst*, where crossing the r. Meczet I dined. This r. Meczet falleth into the river {104} [Sosna *cr.o.*] Don about 30 *verst* from hence, being here pretty navigable for small vessels. Marched 12 *verst* further and lodged in the fields by wood & water.

Aprill 16. Marched early and came 15 *verst* to the r-t Palonke by the vil-s Sadnoe & [...] Came 10 *verst* further and crossed the r. Palnoe or Great Palnoe, which haveing received the Lesser falleth in the r. Sosna some *versts* below the towne Yelets. Then passing by the vil. Kapustin on the left hand & ano-r on the right came to the vill. Rogatow, where lodged, 10 *verst* from the r. Palnoe.

17. Marched to the towne Yelets, 5 *verst*, where first crossing the r-t Yelets & then the river Sosna by a bridge, gott change of horses and dined on the other syde. This r. Sosna, being here a navigable river, falleth in the r. Don 30 *verst* from Yelets, and below Lebedan some *versts*. Here I left two of my best horses.

At 3 aclock afternoone I marched and keeping the high road through a desert 20 *verst*, passing here 2 small brookes, or rather one, where a church standing alone, & on the other side a *d.* called Slepuchino. Then in the night-tyme crossed the r. Snova by the vil. Dolgushino. This Snova haveing {104v} received the r-t Lomovets & others falleth in the r. Don 20 *verst* from Dolgushino. Came to Lomoftsa vill., haveing crossed the r-t of that name 10 *verst* from Slepuchino.

³⁴¹ *Starosta* (Russian), village elder.

Writt to my wyfe by the Tules *yemshik*³⁴², addressing it to Tule to [...], and to my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf by the *potesbne*³⁴³ Safka.

April 18, Sund. The waggons comeing but this morning, I marched 10 *verst* & dined in the vil. Kaminin, where a fellow without any occasion given rung the larum bell, whom I caused lay hold on and beat him soundly; then caused ty him neck & heeles, intending to take him to the governour of the next towne, but the priest and seniors interceeding, I let him go at last. This vill. is from the r. Don 15 *verst*. Then crossing the Lesser Snova came to Ziemlianska, about 30 *verst*, where lodged.

19. Marched not early, the fresh horses being brought but late. Then came to the r. Veduga, 10 *verst*, which crossed by a foord at the vil. Ievliova. This r. falleth in the r. Don about 20 *verst* from hence. Marched 25 *verst* further to the vil. Chochlova, where the r. called the Smierdusha Dievitsa or Stinking Maide, where lodged. This r. falleth in the Don 30 *verst* from hence.

{105} April 20. Haveing crossed the forsaid river, which is very cleare and in many places exceeding deep, came 10 *verst* to the vill. Nikolska, where the brook called the Dry Yemantsa which falleth in the r. Dievitsa; and 10 *verst* further crossing the r-t Swietla Voda, dined at the village Siomadieseta³⁴⁴. Came then about 12 *verst* further & lodged by the vill. Krasno, where no river.

21. Turned of from the Ribnaes road to the right hand & came to the r. Potudin³⁴⁵, 10 *verst*, which crossing by a bridge at the vil. Podgorna. This r. falleth in the r. Don 20 *verst* from hence. Then 10 *verst* further to the vil. Setitza³⁴⁶, and a *verst* further dined by the vil. Salomnova. Then a *verst* further by the vil. Chmielova, which belongeth to the Wsiords district, and 10 *verst* further to the d. Prutky, where the r-t Kapleika, which falleth in the r. Wsiord 7 *verst* from the dorp. Here I lodged.

22. Came at 8 aclock to the towne Wsiord³⁴⁷, crossing the r. Wsiord by the towne, where it falleth in the Southerne or Calme Sosna, which falleth in the r. Don at the Diw[n]ogorsky monastery 50 *verst* from this towne.

Writt to my wyfe, da[u]ghte[r]s, M-rs Vinius, Krevet, Woolffe, Stiles, Frazer, Forbess, Gen-ll Le Fort, G[reat] Cap[tain]³⁴⁸, Fiod. Al. [Golovin], Fiod. Fiod.

³⁴² *Yamshchik* (Russian), coachman.

³⁴³ *Potesbnye* was the name of Tsar Peter's "playmen" of Preobrazhenskoye and Semionovskoye, who were formed with Gordon's help into two elite regiments in the early 1690s.

³⁴⁴ Semidesiatka.

³⁴⁵ Potudan'.

³⁴⁶ Setishche.

³⁴⁷ Usiord, then an important frontier fortress, today the village Streletskoye.

³⁴⁸ G[reat] Cap[tain], i.e. Tsar Peter, who went on his Grand Embassy to the West incognito,

[Pleshcheyev], the govern[ors] of Zieml[iansk], Yelets, Yefremof & to my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf, by this governours convoyance.

{105v} Aprill 23, Frid. I rose early and came to Olshianka, 30 *verst*. Dined by M. Gen-ll Rigeman, and then to Ribna alias Ostrogosky, 10 *verst*, where haveing consulted with the *Generallissimus* concerning our further march, I returned to Olshianka and resting there,

24. came about 8 aclock in the morning to Wsiord, and dined by the governour.

The same evening dispatched my letters by the governours convoyance. Received a letter from the governour of Olshiansky concerning the giving halfe a tunne of oates for each of his Ma-ties horses, being 126, to the which I answered immediately.

25. Had the governour and other ffriends by me to dinner.

20 horses with waggons sent from Ribna to furnish these defficient in my regiments.

Received a letter from Mr. Vinius, dated Mosco 7 *Aprilis*, with gazettes of the 9th of March.

26. Dined by the chancellour.

The governour of Olshianska sent 63 tunne of oates for the artillery horses, which I caused receive & answer his letters immediately.

Sent a captaine to enquire of the march of the Tambovish regiments.

Bought a horse for 9 rubles.

{106} Aprill 27, Tues. Dined by Coll. de Duthe.

Sent another officer to enquire of the Tambovish regiments.

28. A Smollensky regiment belonging to Colonell Bush went by.

The colonell with other officers dyned by me.

The Boyar & *Generallissimus* came in the evening. I did meet him on the other syde about a *verst* from hence, and the Butirsky regiment on the other syde of the bridge.

29. The *Generallissimus* with the ppll persons dined with me. After dinner I convoyed them over the bridge & returned.

Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinius by a gentleman Ivan Ivan[ov] in the *Gens[sim]us* his *converto*.

30. Writt to my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf in Ivanofsky not to receive the 3 ser-ts which offered themselves there, for diverse reasons.

Left in Ivanofsky by the [...]

{106v} May 1, Sat. Rode out to view a place to encampe in.

2. Writt a *otpisky*³⁴⁹ to the *Generallissimus*, and letters to Lubim Olfer. Dumnin³⁵⁰, to Doctor Karbonari, to Alex-r Ivan. Priklonsky with a letter to my wyfe in the last; these sent by the Lt. Johan Hampe.

Writt to my son James by Affonasse the *furer*.

Writt to my wyfe, daughters and Al. Abr. Pestzow *woyn[oda]*³⁵¹ of Yelets by Sergey Vikulin a *prikasny* writer³⁵² of Tula; sent by him two horses which the *podvodshikes* from thence had deserted, wherof he acquitted.

Dined by the governour.

9 horses haveing strayed out of the desart to my horses, I sent them after the army by Roman Pudofkyn.

Of money by Fiodor Sniatkofsky 344 r. 9 *alt*. 4 *d*.

Caused Gregory Evertson the capt. content the writer of Yelets for a horse taken from thence.

{107} May 3. Viewed a place where they distill brandy, being a house, wherein one oven and kettell for boyling of water. On the same syde, a great *chaane*³⁵³ or fatt wherein they mask. On the other syde two great ovens, each being separate below but plaine above. A[t] the side next the wall, in each oven two kettles walled in, in all 4, to each a narrow furnace. In the masking-fatt, which contains 4 or 5 hogshheads of water, they put in 8 q[uar]t[er]s or *czetferiks*³⁵⁴ of rey meale (yet if mixed with malt better); then boiling water in the great-kettell, and power thereon, and maske it as beer; then let it stand 24 howres; then put barme to it, and so let it worke other 24 howres. Which being done, they fill the small kettels, putting potts with pretty large *trubes*³⁵⁵ in them and well closed about with dough. Then putting fire leisurely into the furnaces, lett it distill at leisure so long as it begin to smell of burning, or is but watery; which is received in vessells under the *trubes* or pipes and put in a tunne, and this they call *riake*³⁵⁶. It is better to distill it without the seeds or malt, drawing it of. Then this *riake* is distilled againe in the same kettells well skowred & cleansed, so long as it doth not tast too waterish, or according as you will have

³⁴⁹ *Otpiska* (Russian), written report or answer.

³⁵⁰ L.A. Dumnin († after 1703), from 1663 *podychy*, from 1676 *dyak* of *Razriadny Prikaz*, from 1688 *dumny dyak*.

³⁵¹ *Voyevoda* (Russian), governor or military commander.

³⁵² S. Vikulin, *podychy* of *Razriadny Prikaz* from 1677.

³⁵³ *Chan* (Russian), vat or tun.

³⁵⁴ *Chetverik* (Russian), quarter.

³⁵⁵ *Truby* (Russian), pipes or tubes.

³⁵⁶ I could not find a Russian equivalent for this word.

it strong. Out of a tunne of meale cometh ordinary 6 *spanne* or *viaders*³⁵⁷, and more or better if mixed with malt, I beleeeve, of ordinary or slight-brandy, as they call it.

{107v} May 3. The writer Fiodor Bogdanuf gave in a writeing of money received from Ivan Baibakuf, as followeth; this *shatrovy*³⁵⁸.

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>D.</u>
Received	608	9	4
Disbursed on diverse small things	8	26	2
Remaineth	599	16	4

The writer Terenty Kiriluf received from the writer Ivan Borisuf of money left over of officers & sojourns pay of the last yeares expedition 6,037 – 26 – 2, whereof 7 r. 26 *alt.* 2 *dengees* badd.

By Fiodor Sniatkofsky, as befor, 344 – 9 – 4.

Acco-t of money from Nikita Solochin

Of money left of the sojors pay	1,703	20	5
From Ivan Baybakuf	<u>64</u>	=	=
In all	1,767	20	5
Disbursed according to bookes	<u>1,000</u>	<u>12</u>	=
Remaines	767	8	5

{108} May 4. Received a letter from Dmitre Vrantzow, giving thanks for sending the 9 horses which belonged to his *streltsees*.

Removed and marched without the wall & encamped.

The Lt. Hampe returned and brought me letters from the *Generallissimus*, the *Dummy* Lubim D[ominin] & Doctor Carbonary.

5. Sent the *furer* Makey to meet the Tambovish regiments with orders for them to make hast.

The *furer* Affonasse returned, bringing no notice concerning the Tamb[ov] regiments.

6. Received a letter from the *Generallissimus*, dated at the r-t Ura[ye]va the 5th, giving me notice that he is to march the next day towards the r. Aidar and that he sends me a packet come from Mosko by post; from the *Dummy*

³⁵⁷ *Vedro* (Russian), bucket.

³⁵⁸ *Shatrovy money*, sums from *Razriadny shatior* (tent), the Russian army camp office.

L. Dumnin with the same and above that the Boyar Peter Vasil. Seremetuf³⁵⁹ departed the 22 past.

Received a letter from Mr. Vinius, dated Mosko 28 Apr., wherein he salutes me from the Great Capitaine by his expresse order, and giveing notice of the *Grand Ambassades* arrivall at Mittaw³⁶⁰ the 11th of Aprill, with gazettes, the yongest the 23d of March.

Had notice of the 'Tamb[ov] reg. ferrying over by Krotiak; wherefor removed further to better convenience of grass by the r. Slow Sosnia about 4 *verst* from the towne. The same evening received a letter from my son, dated Krotiak the 5th, that he arrived the day befor and was ferrying {108v} over the regiments with all possible hast; that he had his compleet number of men; intended to march the next day.

May 7. Writt to my wyfe by Ivan Vasil. Terayuf his ser-t, as also another to her, but dated the next day, by my landlord Stephan Simonuf the writer. To my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf in Ivanofsky, recommended to the governour of Yephremuf Yakim Step. [Zhdanov], by the same writer.

8. Received a letter from the *Generallissimus*, ordereing some officers with horses to be sent to receive such ammunition as I have occasion for in my regiments. To which I immediately returned answer that such ammunition as I had occasion for on the way to Azow was received in Mosko, and that the horses in my regiments were scarce sufficient to bring the same forward.

Caused bring eleven horses, who were suspected to have strayed from the army.

The Tambovish regiments came and encamped on the other syde of the r. Sosnia.

{109} May 9, Sun. Caused distribute armes and ammunition to the Tambovish regiments, 288 musquets to each, powder, lunt, bullets for musket & cannon with other necessaries.

The Tambovish regiments being come over the river and encamped, I stayed untill the regiments had ordered their business.

10. Marched early along the *greben*³⁶¹, as they call it, or high ground, where pleasant valleyes with bushes on each syde. On the right hand a place where it appeares a small fort has been, but to what purpose I know not, seeing here is neither passe nor high roads, scarcity of water, and now but litle woode,

³⁵⁹ P.V. Sheremetev the Younger (ca.1650–1697), *voeyeroda*, from 1678 boyar, from 1689 head of Estate Office (*Pomestny Prikaz*).

³⁶⁰ Mitau (German), now Jelgava, Latvia.

³⁶¹ *Greben'* (Russian), ridge or crest.

albeit in former tymes there may have been good-store. There are some vestigees that the ground has been manured hereabouts. Haveing marched 10 long or 15 ordinary *verst*, I dined by good convenience of wood, water and grasse. Haveing rested 3 howres, marched 15 *verst* more and lodged on the left hand of the way, by the same good convenience.

This day marching on the high ground, wee had on the right hand the springs or heads of the rivers Palatia & Valuya, and on the left some springs of the r. Czarna Kalitva. {109v} The place where I dined was called the Skaradna Dubrowna, and that where I lodged the Kopany Bayrake. Befor noone wee had some valleyes to passe, but after all even ground, the way leading about the heads of the vallyes; our course, if directly kept, being south.

May 11, Tues. Marched early and passed by the Saltsovy Yarug on the left hand, where diverse other valleyes on both hands, as also the Dechtarny Bairak, and dined by the Povrotna Dubrovna, 16 ordinary *verst*. Here the soldiers tooke and brought to me a roe buck, which because he was too wild and like to kill himself, I caused kill.

Marched over the chieffe head or font of the r. Aidar, it running to the left hand, and over another valley, and lodged at the place called Kulakovo, where good convenience of wood, water & pasturage; 15 or 18 *verst* from the place where I dined.

{110} May 12. Marched early, all along the high ground, haveing the r. Aidar on our left hand, pleasant valleyes with timber growing on both hands, about 12 *verst*. Came to the river Aidar, a litle below where the r. Nagolnia, comeing from the east, falleth in it, and above a litle where the Great and Lesser, or Higher & Lower Losnia, comeing from the west, falleth in it. I crossed it by a foord, and because there was here no wood, I marched 5 *verst* further downe the river; and because the passing the river had taken up some tyme, and hearing also that the *Generallissimus* was not as yet come to the r. Aidar at the Karpova Isba, I stayed here all night by good convenience of wood, water & grass.

I did writt to the *Generallissimus* from hence, giving him notice of my march, and that I am marching along downe the river to joyne him. With this I sent my son in law Lt.Coll. Snivins.

{110v} May 13, Thurs. Haveing caused make 2 bridges over the r-t Rutke, I marched over them, being about halfe a *verst* from our campe. Then 5 *verst* further over the r-t or brooke Burolom, and 5 *verst* further over the brooke Beresovke. Then 3 *verst* to the Prekopne Luge or medowes, and a litle further dined by the river Beloy, where I caused make bridges whilst wee dined;

and then marched over them and 10 *verst* further marched about the brooke Rogova, and two *verst* over the r-t Kaminke, and a litle further encamped on the Oshinove medowes.

Here my son in lawe returned and brought to me letters from the *General-lissimus* that I should march over the r. Yaufsuga & there joyne him. I received also letters from Mosko from Mr. Vinius, dated the [...] of April, but no gazetts.

14. I marched to the left hand from Aidar over the plaine desart and dined by a head of the r. Derkul, about 30 *verst*. Then further 12 *verst* and came late to a head of the r. Yaufsuga, where good convenience beyond expectation. The r. Bitug³⁶², comeing from the right hand, falleth in the r. Derkul.

{111} May 15. Marched along the r. Yaufsuga 8 *verst* to the place where the bridges were made, at which tyme the *Generallissimus* with the great army came also, whom I went to salute, and he permitted me to go befor. So haveing dined with ffriends of the great army, I marched over two great valleyes and through the desart, haveing the r. Derkul and the hill Grodishtza on our left hand and the r. [Yevsug] on the right, both a good way from the great road, but the Derkul furthest. This was a long march and more as 30 *verst*. I encamped 5 *verst* short of the r. Czigina in the fields, where wood and water but farr of.

16. Marched early and crossed the r. Czugina, which falleth in the r. Derkul not farr from hence, and encamped on the right hand. Here I had the *stolniks* and others at dinner. I received a letter from the *Generallissimus*, desiring me to stay till he came up.

In the evening he came with the great army and encamped 3 *verst* short of the r. Czugina. I went to him, and after some discourse he desired or ordered me to march befor to Azow with all expedition, because he had gott intelligence that the Turks with a strong army were on their march thither.

{111v} May 17, Moond. Writt to my wyfe and Mr. Vinius by the post. Marched 15 *verst* and crossed the r. Derkul by ready bridges, where dineing, I marched, haveing the r. Donets in sight, and crossed the r-t Dubovia higher up as in our returne from Azow. Then going higher up, lodged in a pleasant field by the r. Mitiakin, 5 *verst* from Dubovia or Dubia, which is 15 *verst* from Derkul.

³⁶² Obitok.

Maxim the Cosake or *yesaule*³⁶³ came and lodged by me. He told me that their *Attoman*³⁶⁴ was at the r. Donets, had a prisoner by him, whom the Cosakes had brought being at sea, but had lost 30 of their owne men. This prisoner related how the Turks with great forces were preparing for Azow.

18. Haveing caused mend old & make some new *gatts*³⁶⁵, passed the r. Mitiakin and ano-r head of it. Came 5 *verst* further and crossed the r-t Vasilefka, being a miry dirty marish, with some difficulty. 5 *verst* further wee rested by the r-t or brooke Olchovnoe. Then marched 15 *verst* over sandy ground to the r. Donets, which I crossed by a bridge and encamped on the other syde; whither the *Attoman* of the Dons Cosakes came & saluted me; from whom I received 3 guides, a Russe Nikifor and 2 Kalmuiks.

From hence I wrott to the governour of Azow³⁶⁶ to send boates to the river Mertvoy Donets for transporting the army, by the Lt. Varlaam Ieganofsky.

{112} May 19. Marched over the r. Kamionka, 7 *verst*, & dined; then marched to the r. Lichoe, 30 *verst*, where lodged.

20. Haveing mended the old *gattes*, marched over the r. and came to the Bigger Kondrusha r., 15 *verst*. Haveing dined, I passed over by foords, and turning to the right hand came to the head of the Lesser Kondrusha, 10 *verst*, where lodged because of water. All the rivers & brooke[s], which I passed from Aidar, with it fall into the Don.

21. Marched over the brooke and along the desart on a high ground, haveing the r. Grushofka on the right & Kadamofka on the left hand, which falleth in the r. Tuslow, and the first in the Axay. Haveing marched about 20 *verst*, turned of to the r. Grushofka and dined by good convenience. After dinner marched to the high ground, & comeing on the road I went last yeare kept that, and came to the same Grushofka a litle below where wee crossed last yeare, and lodged, haveing marched after dinner 12 *verst*.

{112v} May 22, Sat. Haveing made *gatts*, wee passed the rivulet Grushofky with difficulty, being very miry, and came 5 or 6 *verst* to the other, Lesser Grushofky, which wee also *gatted*³⁶⁷. Here a wild-boare being started, the guides followed him on horseback and overtaking him, the Kalmuik killed him with ane arrow. They brought him to me and I gave them a doller wages. Marched

³⁶³ *Yesaul*, Cossack officer comparable to captain.

³⁶⁴ Frol Minayev, *ataman* of the Don Cossacks.

³⁶⁵ *Gat'* (Russian), causeway.

³⁶⁶ The first Russian *voyevoda* in Azov was *Okol'nichy* Prince Piotr Grigoryevich L'vov († after 1705), whom Gordon had met in Vologda in 1694. In late June 1697 L'vov was substituted in Azov by Boyar Prince Alexey Petrovich Prozorovsky.

³⁶⁷ From Russian verb *gatit'*, to span or bridge, especially marshy ground.

12 *verst* further & dined by the r-t Kotlubany, a litle lower where I lodged last yeare. After dinner marched towards the Neswetay river, because the water in the r. Tuslow was so high that wee could not cross it where wee had the yeare befor. The r. Neswietay haveing high banks, wee made passages and passed it, being 12 *verst* from Kotlubany. Lodged about a *verst* further by the r. Tuslow at the Stony Foord.

23. I caused two bridges to be made and the old way made broader for 4 waggons to pass. Marched over and encamped on the other syde, where I stayed till near midday because of White-Sunday. Haveing dined, I marched, and had a false alarum of the Tartars. I turned by advice of the guides to the {113} left hand and encamped by the mouth of the r. Axay, where it floweth into the Don; but had gone neerer by going directly to the river Temer[n]ik, as likewise I had done by comeing from the r. Kondrusha to have kept the Greater Grushofka on my left hand.

May 24. Marched early, and going to the right hand came to the r. Temer[n]ik, which haveing *gatted* and being come 10 *verst* from the Don, marched over and came 10 *verst* more to the Don, where the r. Mertvoe Donets goeth out; where I found 17 great-boates and some litle. After a litle and short refreshment I began to ferry over. At my comeing, being in sight and neer Azow, I saluted it with 3 shott of cannon.

Received letters from my wyfe, daughter and Yem. Ukraintzuf, dated the 12th May; from Mr. Vinus, dated the 13th with gazetts; from the *Generalliss.*, dated the 22d from the Donets; from L[euwenfelt], dated Tob[ol'sk] 8 Feb-ry.

I wrott againe to the governour of Azow to cause bridge the passages on my way to Azow.

Had notice by this post of the death of the King of Sweden³⁶⁸, who departed the 5th.

Writt to the *Generaliss.*, giving notice of my arrivall to the Donets, & that I am ferrying over.

{113v} May 25, Tuesd. About 4 aclock afternoone, all being ferryyed over & marched, I went by water and landed below the Kalentzay Towers about midnight.

26. All being gott over the Don, I marched with ane intention to have marched up the hill and encamped befor the towne, but the bridges over the *yeriks* not being ready, I was forced to stay on the medowes all night.

³⁶⁸ Karl XI (1655–1697), King of Sweden from 1660. He was succeeded by Karl XII, adversary of Tsar Peter the Great.

27. The wind blowing from midnight out of the sea, the water rose so high that notwithstanding our marching early, wee were not gott halfe over, when the water overflowed the fields; so that with much ado and with the help of boates wee gott out of the lower ground. I encamped betwixt the old walls on the syde of the hill towards the medowes, and being invited by the governour, went to dinner, where at drinking of healths the cannon were fired round the towne 3 tymes. Three horsmen appearing on the *kurkans* as wee were encamping, seeing our forces, retired immediately. I caused invest and make 3 redouts to serve for out-guards and guard the bridges.

{114} Writt to my wyfe & daughter. Writt to the *Generalliss.* by C.Lt. Yergolsky.

May 28. Writt to Mr. Vinus.

My boate with provisions came.

29. I received 2 letters from the *Generalliss.*, one dated 26 May from the font of Grushefka, the other the 27th from the r. Nieswetay, which I answered immediately by Capt. Nikita Krovkow; and writt also to Lubim Dumnin, with my letters to Mosko in a bagg. Writt to Leo Kiril. [Naryshkin], Tich. Nik. [Streshnev], K[niaz] Fiod. Yur. [Romodanovsky], Yemel. Ignat. [Ukraintsev], Achtemon Ivan[ov] & Gregory Kochintzuf ³⁶⁹.

The governour gave me a visitt.

30. The *Generallissimus* came to the Donets. Received a letter from the *Generalliss.*, dated by the Donets this day.

Being his Ma-ties birth day, I dined by the governour, where at drinking his M. health the cannon were fired round the towne.

{114v} May 31, Moond. Maxim Menezes³⁷⁰ came and brought me letters from his mother, my wyfe & daughter, dated 22 *Aprilis*.

Dined by Coll. W-m von Delden.

Received letters from Vasily Savitz Narbekuf³⁷¹ and my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf, as also from Sisoy Kusnitsuf.

Afternoone the wind blowing from the sea, the water overflowed the medowes.

{115} June 1, Tuesd. The *strellsees* regiments began to ferry over, being much incommodated by the deep way.

³⁶⁹ G. Kochintsev, captain in Gordon's Butyrsky regiment.

³⁷⁰ Russified name of Magnus Menzies (see above, fol. 92v).

³⁷¹ V.S. Narbekov, *vojeroda*, from 1681 Duma nobleman, from 1682 *okol'nichy*. Gordon knew him at least since the Crimean campaign of 1689.

2. The post came, by which I had no letters.

The gen-ll quarter[master] came & brought me a letter from the *Generaliss.* with a list of the regiments how they should stand, which I changed, ordering the cavalierie neerer the flanks.

3, Thur. I went by water to the *Generalliss.* and had consultation with him about diverse businesses. As I was returning, I discovered the Tartars falling upon our forragiers, w-^{ch} made me make hast, but I came too late. For about 50 or 60 of these Turkes & Tartars had suddainly from a valley where they lurked fallen upon the forragiers in the medowes, who seeing them runaway most of them over a brooke. Yet they overtooke some, takeing 3 sojourns & 8 gentlemens ser-^{ts} prisoners and a dozen of horses, and wounded a sojourn dangerously. This was about 8 a'clock befor n[oon].

I rode out afternoone and caused measure the utmost earthen wall, where the army shall encampe, and found it to be from the declining of the hills round the wall 81 ropes long, the rope being 27 fath. ordinary long. So that I caused divide and assigne the stations to the regiments according to their strength.

{115v} June 4. The governour gave me notice that the fishers had seen about 100 Turkes or Tartars below the towne by the river, and that there be 2 or 300 more on the other syde of the r. Kagalnik. Wherefor, fearing lest they, haveing intelligence from the prisoners they had taken that no horsemen were come over as yet, they should swimme over the Don and fall upon our horses in the illand, I caused 4 or 500 sojourns mount on horseback, though few of them with sadles, with their armes after the Donish fashion, and drawing them up in trowpes, marched round without the utmost wall, sending scouts out into the fields to discover, and so returned.

I sent also in the night a recruit to the guard by the horses, ordering them to keep neer the fort and in case of being attacqued gett into it.

5. M. Gen-ll Rigeman came & tooke up his station in the campe.

Afternoone the *Generaliss.* came by water to the towne & lodged by the governour.

Cosakes sent out by water & land for intelligence.

{116} June 6, Sun. Rode with the *Generaliss.* round the utmost wall, who afterwards came by me and stayed ane howre or two.

Some regiments of foot came & tooke up their stations & posts in the places allotted them.

7. The regiments of horse came and invested their respective posts.

8. Writt to my wyfe, daughter & Mr. Vinius, to Vasily Savi[ch] Narbekuf and to all the noblemen and other Russe I correspond with p[e]r post.

Received letters from my wyfe & daughter, [the other] daughter, dated 28 May; from Mr. Vinius and Yem. Ig. Ukr[jaintsev], dated 27, with gazettes of the 12th May.

{116v} June 9, Wed. The Cosakes came, being about 4,000 men. They came all by water.

A party sent towards the r. Kuban returned and reported that they had not seen any enemy any where, and that all the places there were wast, the inhabitants being fled to the hills on the other syde of the r. Labia.

Alarum by our owne people.

10. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, M-rs Vinius, Guasconi, Tabert³⁷², and to the noblemen I correspond with. Resolved not to send the post this day, but to stay till the ordinary on Tuesday next.

Dined with the *Generaliss.* by *Kniaz* Andrew Michael. Gagarin³⁷³.

Sent workemen to bring the bridges in the low medowes to another place, because of the water & deep wayes.

{117} June 11. Went over the river with the *Generalis.* and the Gen-ll Ingenier Antonius de Levall³⁷⁴ and had the fort on the other side drawne out.

12. The 3,000 Kalmuiks sent by the Ayuka Taizi³⁷⁵ came with letters from the Ayuka to the *Generaliss.* These were command[ed] by a nephew or cousin of the Ayuka called Muchtimir Taiza, being a cousin of Ayuka. They brought a prisoner being a Tartar with them, taken some weekes ago in a skirmish, who being examined could not give any certaine knowledge of things; only that some thowsands of men *commanded by Aly Bassa^{*376} sent by the Sultan were come to the Temruk & Kertsh with intention to build a fort at the mouth of the r. Kuban; that the Nuradin Sultan³⁷⁷ had collected the usual tribute this winter in the countrey of Cabardinia; that the noise was there that if the Christians did not come with a considerable army to Azow, the Turkes intended with all the forces they could gett together in these countreyes to attack it. But

³⁷² Elias Ta(u)bert († 1698), Dutch merchant in Russia from the 1660s.

³⁷³ Prince A.M. Gagarin, *stol'nik* from 1680, *voyeroda*.

³⁷⁴ A. de Laval (La Valle), one of the chief military engineers sent from Vienna to Russia in the summer of 1696. In 1698 he was accused of treason and brought in shackles from Azov to Moscow.

³⁷⁵ *Taysba*, chieftain of the Kalmyks.

³⁷⁶ Words added on margin.

³⁷⁷ Nur-ed-din was the title of the next in line in the Geray dynasty after the Crimean khan's heir, Kalga Sultan.

if any great forces should {117v} come and compleet the fortifications, then that they would never adventure the takeing of it without a great power, & such things more; that last winter had been a great fight betwixt the Kalmuik Tartars and them, for some of the Kalmuik Tartars haveing seperated [*sic*] from the Yayuka and gone to the Kuban, were persued by a party sent from the Yayuka, and being overtaken, entred into a sharpe conflict with them; but these deserters haveing befor given notice to the Crimean, Nagayish and Kuban Tartars, these came timely to their assistance, and after a whole dayes fighting the Kalmuiks were worsted and forced to retire.

This afternoone two persons, one a Donish Cosake, the other a Poll, haveing escaped out of prison from the Tartars, came to our campe; who could not tell any thing else as what the Tartar had told.

The *Generalissimus* removed to the place allotted & prepared for his abode durement this campagne.

{118} June 13, Sun. Dined by the Boyar and were afterwards by diverse others.

14. Began to worke at the horne worke, ravelin and *contragarde*³⁷⁸ befor the towne.

15. Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinius, and changed the dates of those written the 10th to the noblemen.

{118v} The acco-t of the money given in by my son James:

Remained over the advance money of the Tambovish sojourns – 514 rubles.

Of this disbursed for severall things as waggons, smier etc., and 5 rubles to each maior for oates to his M. horses, in all – 24 rubles 3 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

Remaines – 489 [r.] 29 *alt.* 4 *d.*

June 16. By the contrary winds, which had filled all the low ground, the post did not come the day befor as usuall, by which I had no letters.

The last regiment of foot came into the campe.

Ivan Ivanovitz Shepin³⁷⁹, *Dummy Dworarin*, came with his army of 4 or 5,000 men to the Slow or Southern Donets³⁸⁰.

{119} June 17, Thurs. Dined by Colonel Mevis.

18. Received by an extraordinary post letters from my wyfe, dated 7th *Junii*; Hary Gordon, dated Archangel 25 May; from Johan Gilbert, dated

³⁷⁸ *Contre-garde* (French), an outwork in a bastioned fortification that usually comprises only a low rampart and lies in front of the fortress moat that runs around the bastions or ravelins.

³⁷⁹ I.I. Shchepin († after 1706), Duma nobleman, *royevoda*, head of the Judicial Palace Office.

In 1697 he was sent to build the town of Taganrog on the Sea of Azov.

³⁸⁰ Probably, Miortvy Donets.

Riga 20 May. By this post wee had notice that our Ambass[adors] were at Konigsberg.

19. Sent to Czirkask for the ammuntion howse.

A party of the Kalmuiks & Cosakes sent out for intelligence.

20. The horne worke with the ravelin & *contragarde*, after prayers and the usuall processions round them, were with ceremonies begun, and 3 turffes laid by the priest, one by the *Generaliss.*, then I, and the others in their stations, according to their quality.

The M. Gen-ll Rigeman and all the stranger colonells dined by me.

{119v} June 21, Moon. I dined by Col. John von Delden.

22. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinius and the noblemen I correspond with per post.

Dined by Gregory Petr. Gudenow³⁸¹.

23. Dined by the Boyar, and after rode to the mouth of the r. Kagalnik, viewed the old fortifications on the hill, and going in a boat turned the severall currents of the r. Don to find a convenient passage for gallies to pass, but could find none. The river spreading along the slacks very shallow, and the currents such as they are changing with the inundations, so that there are small hopes and litle encouragement for makeing a harbour here.

The *Generallissimus* mustered the Smollensko gentlemen.

{120} June 24. The new governour, *Kniaz* Alexey Petrovits Prosarofsky³⁸², arrived and at his landing was saluted with all the artillerie round the wall.

I dined by the Lt. Generall *Kniaz* Ivan Michalovitz Mosalsky³⁸³.

25. The Ribnaes regiment with others came to the Still Donets.

26. The new governour feasted by the *Generallissimus*, where much liquor & smoake.

27. Dined by Ivan Michaelovitz Volinsky³⁸⁴. Went over the r. Don and surviued the fort to be made there.

Received letters from my wyfe, dated the 10th; from Mr. Krevet, dated the 7th & 12; Mr. Vinius, the 10th; the Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], the 14th

³⁸¹ G.P. Godunov (1664–1704), *stol'nik* from 1678.

³⁸² Prince A.P. Prozorovsky († 1705), from 1690 boyar, in 1697–9 *voyevoda* in Azov and later in Archangel.

³⁸³ Prince I.M. Kol'tsov-Mosal'sky († 1708?), *voyevoda*, from 1668 *stol'nik*. Lieutenant general in the Azov campaign of 1696. Took part in suppression of *streltsy* mutiny in 1698, later full general.

³⁸⁴ I.M. Volynsky, *stol'nik*, in 1697–8 head of Judicial Vladimir Office.

ditto or instant, with gazettes of the 26th May; from P[ater] Pawlus Jaross, dated the 5 of June.

{120v} June 28. Laid on the storme-pales³⁸⁵ on my quarter and sent over the Don to divide the worke there.

The two prisoners brought yesterday related that many Turkes & diverse nations were convening together by the r. Kuban with intention to come to Azow.

29. Writt to my wyfe, daughter Katherine, M-rs Vinius & Krevet, and to the noblemen I correspond with.

According to the acco-t now given in by F. Sniatkofsky and delivered to Vasily Biczkow:

	<u>R.</u>	<u>Alt.</u>	<u>D.</u>
Is over in money	354	5	1
Whereas befor but	344	9	4
By Nikita Solochin still, accord-			
ing to his acco-t, as befor	767	8	5
Yet by Fiod. Sniatk. of his M.			
money	53	10	2
Of the Reg-t money	<u>18</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>1</u>
In all	72	1	1

Being his M. name-day, wee were all feasted by the *Generaliss*. In the meane tyme a *stolnik*, *Kniaz* Vas. Sim. Lvow, came with his M. letters of grace to us for our making hast to Azow, which were read publickely in the *Shater*³⁸⁶, and {121} first, the *Generaliss*. his good health was asked; then his M. gracious sentiments or praise (as they call it) for his making hast to this place; lastly encouragement, that seeing his M. favour [for his service *cr.o.*], he should strive in the future to deserve it & serve faithfully and sincerely; at each of which paragraphes he bowed himself to the ground, acknowledging his M. favour and praying for his M. health. Then the *stolnik* asked me and the Lt. Generall *Kniaz* Ivan Michaelovitz Musalsky by the predicate of *Tovarises*³⁸⁷ or [...] of our healths, and the next expression also, at both which wee bowed our selves to the ground, and prayed for his M. good health. Then the colonells and

³⁸⁵ *Sturmpfäule* (German), defensive palisade, tilted outward.

³⁸⁶ *Shatior* (Russian), pavilion or tent.

³⁸⁷ *Tovarishch*, in 17th-century Russia, commander subordinate to the chief *voyeroda*.

other officers with the gentry their good healths were asked. Lastly, the under officers with the sojourns and *strellsees* were asked.

At dinner volleys of great shott were given at many healths, and at the prayers befor masse all the great guns round the campe, towne, gallyes & Kalentzay were fyred, and thereafter all the regiments fired their pieces.

At the same tyme the *Generallis.* received his instructions or commission, I being named his first *Towaris.*

{121v} June 30, Wed. One who had been taken prisoner and escaped came to us & related the same things that the others, with this more particular that the Galga Sultan, who with about 3,000 men lay at the mouth of the River Kuban in a safe place, for fear of being attacked by us, had sent to the Turkes in Temruke to go along with him either to Azow, or to fall upon the Ayuka Taiza.

The Ayuka Taisa his 3,000 Kalmuicks gett 20 oxen and 200 sheep every weeke.

{122} July 1, Thurs. Dined with the *Generallis.* and others by the *Stolnik* Gregory Petr. Gudanow.

2. Went over the r. Don, the bridge being scarce ready, and caused begin the worke there; the regiments under my particular command getting that side towards the Kalentzayes, consisting of two halfe-bastions and the curtaine, the faces being 40, the flankes 20, & the curtaine or *Gordin*³⁸⁸ 60 fathome; in all 180 fathome.

I dined there.

3. All the other regiments haveing gott their shares in the worke, began to provide & labour.

I tooke in 30 fath. more for my reg-ts from M. Gen-ll Rigeman, being so much of the other face of the bulwarke.

{122v} July 4, Sund. After devotion and the usuall ceremonies by the benediction of a place, the new fort opposite over the Don to Azow was named by the titul of St. Peters Towne.

Dined by the Boyar *Kniaz* Alexey Petrovits Prosarofsky, the new governour.

5. At a feast by the *Generalliss.*, when the *stolnik* who came last Tuesday was dismissed. The *Generalliss.* gave him diverse pieces of silke stuffe. I gave him 9 *arsb.* or a parties of white *lawdan.* The other *Towarise* a parties of

³⁸⁸ Apparently a pun by the author himself or his colleagues, which reflects his role in building this fortification.

ordinary *lawdan*, the *Dummy* the like, & each of the chancellours a parties of slight taffety.

The old governour, *Okolnitsze Kniaz* Peter Gregoriovits Lvow, with his cousin the above-said *stolnik* came by me & tooke their leave.

{123} July 6. Writt to my wyfe, daughter Katherine, M-rs Vinus & Krevet, and to the noblemen I correspond with.

Sent a detachment with an *ingénieur* to the river Miaus to recognosce the conveniences of that place for a harbour, wee being informed by Nikita the Usumshe³⁸⁹ Cosake and other of extraordinary advantages for a harbour there.

7. The Donish Cosake Affonassy came, haveing been in some danger by that rable for his enrolling himself to stay in Azow.

8. Received letters from my wyfe & daughter Katherine, dated the 16, 23 & 24 *passat*.; from my daughter Mary, dated the 22; from Mr. Philip Woolffe, dated Mosco the 23d *Junii*; from his bro-r Joseph, dated London 2 April, with the copy of his former dated 19th January; from my grand-child Elizabeth³⁹⁰, 22 *Junii*; from Mr. Vinus, the 24.

Mr. Joseph Woolffe in his informeing me of haveing made over 400 p. sterl. to my son John; maketh me debtor upon my son James his acco-t.

{123v} July 9, Frid. Our worke advanced with great celerity in hopes of a dimission in short tyme, though in some places retarded by the flowing of the river, occasioned by the south westerly winds.

10.

11. Dined by M. Gen-ll Rigeman.

12. A post came from the Biallygrodish³⁹¹ encamped at the r. Kolumna³⁹² with letters dated 3 July, informing that *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy³⁹³ with the Cosakish Hetman Ivan Stephan. Masepa were marched the 16 past towards the Dneper, intending below the *Porobies*³⁹⁴ or falls to go or send by water towards Oczakow and the Black Sea; that prisoners had related, as well

³⁸⁹ I.e. of Izium, important town in eastern Ukraine, centre of a Cossack regiment.

³⁹⁰ Elizabeth ("Olinka"), daughter of Gordon's eldest daughter Catherine and the late Colonel Strasburg.

³⁹¹ Troops of the Belgorod corps (*razriad*).

³⁹² Evidently, Kolomak river in Ukraine.

³⁹³ Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) (1639–1720), boyar from 1697. In 1687 he was sent as ambassador to France and Spain to secure support of these powers for the anti-Ottoman alliance. In 1689–95 head of Moscow Judicial Office. He took part in Azov campaigns, spent 1700–11 in Swedish imprisonment and after a bold escape became a senator.

³⁹⁴ The Dnieper Rapids.

as some escaped out of prison, that the Turkes had sent 30,000³⁹⁵ & some 70,000 men for the defence of Oczakow, intending to fight the Christian army {124} befor they gett to Oczakow. Others had said that only 3,000 Janizaries were come to Oczakow & 10,000 horsmen; that they had made and fortified an earthen wall round the towne, with some gallyes to anchor at the mouth of the Dneper or Boristhenes to hinder the incursions of the Christians by water into the Black Sea, which last I looke upon as the piece of truest newes.

July 13 [Tuesd.] Writt to my wyfe, daughter Kat., Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krevet, Mr. Joseph & Philip Woolffes, with an enclosed to my son John in Mr. Jos. letter, & that to Mr. Vinius. To Coll. von Kraghe in answer to his of the [...] past, received p[e]r last post.

This evening received letters from my wyfe, daughter Katherine, Mr. Vinius, Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Yemel. Ignat. [Ukraitsev], dated the first of July.

Herewith notice that my daughter Mary was delivered of a son the 28 past.

{124v} July 14. The more particular acco-t of the businesses and money belonging to my army:

	<u>[R.]</u>	<u>[Alt.]</u>	<u>[D.]</u>
Received in Mosko <i>podyem</i> money for the Butirsky regiment	3,000	-	-
Given to the 896 sojours at 3 rub.			
p[e]r m[onth]	2,988 ³⁹⁶	-	-
Remaines	312	-	-
Received in Mosko <i>podyem</i> money for the Tambofsky sojours to a rubles [<i>sic</i>]	3,696	-	-
Given to 3,182 sojours	3,182	-	-
Remaines	514	-	-
Disbursed of that for diverse necess.	24	3	4
Remaines	489	29	4
Received for May & June months pay for the Butirsky reg-t	1,955	4	1
Remaines of this for 4 sojours	9	4	2

³⁹⁵ There is no gap in the text here, but a word is lost, perhaps denoting armament or ammunition.

³⁹⁶ A slip. It should be 2,688, which agrees with the remainder below.

Received for May & June months pay for the Tambofsky 3 reg-ts, according to the list for 3,165 men	2,562	1	3
Given to 5 old serjeants at 9 <i>d.</i> pr day	13	24	1
To 34 new serjeants at 20 <i>alt.</i> pr month	40	26	4
To 1 <i>furer</i> at 1 <i>r.</i> 10 <i>alt-s</i> pr month	2	20	-
To 3 corporals at 8 <i>deng.</i> a day	7	10	4
To 2,979 sojourns	2,448	26	4
In all to 2,979 men ³⁹⁷	2,413	8	1

{125} Remaines

For 180 runnawayes	144	-	-
For 4 taken prisoners	3	6	4
For 2 dead-men	<u>1</u>	<u>20</u>	=
In all for 186 men	148	26	4

Since meanes received – 11 runaway, 2 dead.

Now present 2,966 men.

The Gen-ll *Inginieur* de Lavall went to the Tagana-Roghe.

{125v} July 15, Thursd. Dined by the *Dummy* Lubim Olferiovitz Dumnin.

16. A litle befor day the Kalmuiks who had been sent out for intelligence returned & told that they had been neer to the Czarna Protoka, and had discovered about 2,000 Tartars or Turkes come over the said Protoka; and upon neerer discovery perceived a great number on the other syde. So that they reckoned them to be in all about 20,000 men and that they were keeping the direct way to Azow, the way lying by the lake-syde. This with what a Kalmuiks boy runaway from them had told two dayes befor so terrifyed the Kalmuiks under Munkutimir Taiza, that they immediately sent such baggage as they have over the Don into the illand, and removed from their stations by the *r.* Kagalnik, to the side of the *r.* Don above the towne.

Another party sent out to discover & bring sure intelligence.

³⁹⁷ This number should not have been identical with the previous line, because the regimental complement included not just the soldiers but also NCOs, indicated in this table above. Therefore the sum total should have been higher than the soldiers' pay alone.

{126} July 17. The M. Gen-ll Liarsky with the ppl officers & gentlemen of Smollensko dined by me; the *Generallissimus* dineing at the same tyme by the Ribnaes colonell³⁹⁸, whither I had been also invited.

18. Dined by Ivan Ivan. Rsewsky³⁹⁹ with the boyars & others.

The Kalmuiks party returned and brought us no intelligence of the enemy. Wee sent out however this and the day befor to burne of the grasse in the fields, where the enemyes should march or encampe.

19. Being the day on which the yeare befor wee tooke possession of Azow, wee were all at a feast by the *Generallissimus*.

{126v} July 20, Tuesd. In the first howre of the day the Tartars, being in the night tyme come neer and lodged themselves in the valleyes neer the campe, broke out suddainly and tooke away some horses and prisoners. Wherewith wee being alarumed, drew out all the cavalierie and sent for the Kalmuiks, placing them on the left hand or wing. Wee continued standing befor the campe about 4 or 5 howres, our voluntiers or these who were willing to go skirmishing with them all this tyme, with diverse fortune; untill being sufficient weary, both partyes retired, ours to the campe, & the Tartars with the Turkes to the River Kagalnik, which passing, they encamped. On our side wee had 27 wounded, but none killed. These were commanded by Galga Sultan, and appeared in the fields not above 5,000 strong, but wee haveing had intelligence of their being more as 20,000 strong, durst not hazard too farr in the fields for fear of being engaged and entangled beyond possibility of coming of without loss.

Received letters from my son John, dated the 8th of Feb-ry, by way of Archangel; from my wyfe & daughter Katherine and Mr. Vinus, dated the 8 July; from Harry Gordon.

{127} Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinus, Mr. Krevet & others I correspond with.

July 21. The party sent out the evening befor to recognosce returned with notice that the enemy was retired in the night-tyme towards their owne habitations. Wherefor another party was sent out, who returning in the evening, reported that the enemyes were fled in great hast, had buried 12 persons where they stood, and 3 further of.

³⁹⁸ Petro Bul(l)art, formerly follower of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir of Moldavia, although his surname comes from the Netherlands. In 1693–8 colonel of Ostrogozhsky (Rybnensky) Cossack regiment.

³⁹⁹ I.I. Rzhnevsky (1653–1717), *stol'nik* from 1678. Son of Gordon's comrade-in-arms, *Okol'nichy* I.I. Rzhnevsky Sr., who was killed in Chigirin in 1678 (see *Diary*, III).

22. Dined by the governour. The Generall *Ingenieur* de Lavall returned, haveing drawne out a pentagon fort on Petrushina Tuba, 5 *verst* further as Tagana Roghe. The Cosake Nikita returned, haveing been out at sea, discovered no ships or other vessells, only horsemen on the land.

Frowl Minayuf haveing given notice that a new path or *shlach*⁴⁰⁰ of Tartars were seen marching up towards Maynits, and desired that some of the Cosakes might be returned for safeguard of their townes, wherefor the halfe of them were permitted to returne.

{127v} July 23, Frid. Our party sent out returned and gave notice that the Tartars, being come to the r[iver ...] had divided in three companies and marched sundry wayes homewards.

24. Andrew Czulka, a Cosake who had been taken prisoner in the spring and now escaped, related that Aly Bassa, governour of the countreyes on the Euxine Sea and Meotish Lake, forced with threats about 27,000 horsmen to come towards Azow; that he was busy with about 10,000 Turks in building a towne or fort at the mouth of the r. Kuban; that it was talk'd there that the Sultan himself would come with a great power the next yeare to Azow.

Invited by the *Dummy* Ivan Sim. Lorionuf⁴⁰¹, but did not go.

Received from Mr. Ruell 52 rubles upon Mr. Munters acco-t, whereof 44 is interest for 400 rubles due to me last winter; I owing him now 28 upon this yeares interest.

{128} July 25, Sun. Being taken in the night-tyme by a violent fitt of a colik, I tooke phisick; was better, yet kept bed the most part of the day.

26. Mustered the 300 Tambovish sojourns who are to stay in Azow.

27. From midnight a most terrible tempest of wind, which drove the water so high that all the low ground was overflowed. Some people & horses drowned.

Writt to my son John & to Harry Gordon, to my daughter Mary, Mr. Vin-ius, Mr. Krevet, Tichon Nik. [Streshnev] & Yem. Ignat. [Ukraintsev].

Received letters from my wyfe, daughter Kate, Mr. Krevet & Nikita Zotuf.

Newes of Friderich Augustus, Elector of Saxony, being chosen King of Polland the [...] of June.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ *Shliakh* (Old Russian), road or way.

⁴⁰¹ I.S. Larionov, Duma nobleman, second *voevoda* in Azov.

⁴⁰² Friedrich August I, the Strong (1670–1733), from 1694 Elector of Saxony, from 1697 King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania as August II. Tsar Peter's ally against Sweden in the Great Northern War of 1700–21.

{128v} July 28, Wed. The bridge being broken with the storme, there was no passage over the river; neither did the waters aswage much by reason of the s.s.-western wind.

29. The bridge being gott ready at midday, wee sent over to worke at Fort Peter.

30. A great storme & raine in the night, whereby all the low ground was under water againe. Towards evening somewhat calmer, but in the night againe a great wind ariseing from the same airt.

31. All was overflowed againe. Yet towards evening the wind turning, the waters began to fall.

This day many horses & some people were drowned, amongst the rest a Smollensko gentleman.

{129} Aug. 1, Sund. *Post nubila Phoebus*.⁴⁰³ The wind being calmed in the night-tyme, the waters run of, and this a very calme pleasant day.

The Lt. Gen-ll Mosalsky with the Gen-ll *Ingenieur* and others sent to view the conveniencies of the r. Miaus.

2. Munkutimire Taiza with his Kalmuiks let of to their homes, he and some of the ppl persons with him getting presents, and the rest nothing but their weekly provisions of sheep & oxen; they haveing this yeare served for the ruble a piece, which they gott the last year, when they came too late & did nothing.

3. Writt to my wyfe, daughters, M-rs Vinius, Krevet & Woolffe with the noblemen I correspond with.

Newes in letters by ane express come from the Dneper from the Cosakish Hetman & *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy, that they were come with their armyes below the falls; that many vessells were bruised & some broken comeing through the falls; that the governour of Tavan had informed them that the Tartars Chan⁴⁰⁴ was on the north syde of the Dneper by Aslan with all his forces; that they were expecting {129v} foot from Oczakow, 6,000 whereof were come in 30 gallyes & other vessels, there being in Oczakow befor 4,000 old sojourns, Janizaries; that it was to be feared that when these forces are joyned they may attack Tavan, or seeing our armyes on the other syde of the Dneper, the Chan with his forces may fall into the Ukraina and ruine the

⁴⁰³ "After clouds, Phoebus", i.e. the sun (Latin). This saying goes back to the French divine and poet Alain de Lille (ca.1128–1202).

⁴⁰⁴ Khan Selim I Geray of Crimea was repeatedly deposed by Turkish Sultans, and ruled four times (1671–77, 1684–91, 1692–99, 1702–04).

countrey. Wherefor, it was concluded that I should march with all expedition with a part of the army to Valu[y]ka, and according to intelligence, march and guard the countrey.

The Smollensko gentlemen and Ribnaes reg-t marched from hence.

Officers received pay for July & August.

Received pay for the sojourns, which [I] am to give out in Valu[y]ka.

{130} Aug. 4. Ivan Ivan. Rzewsky, after much contesting with the *Dworanyes* and *Silitskyes* companies⁴⁰⁵ who would not march under his command, marched without them.

16 companies of the Tzaars house were ordered to go along with me & be under my command, I receiving a written order for it. 5 of these were of the quality & predicate called *Dworany*, and 11 called *Siltsees*.

5 [Thursday]. I marched early with the foot regiments into the fields and formed the *waggonburg*; and there being above 3,000 waggons belonging to these gentlemen, I could scarcely get them stowed within the sojourns *waggonburg*. About 10 a'clock I went to take my leave of the Boyar, who kept me to dinner, afterwards convoyed me to my *leaguer*, and after drinking of some healths & firing of cannon wee parted, I on my way, & he towards the campe. I marched and lodged in a closs *waggonburg* at the head of the river or [...] Koysova⁴⁰⁶.

{130v} This day my son Theodorus & John Hamilton⁴⁰⁷ I placed ensignes in the Butirsky regiment.

August 6. I marched early. Dined below or a litle short of the Zapolny Kurgan, and marched to the river Don a litle below the Zolotoy Yerik, where the 15 great boates which I had sent away two dayes befor were ready, and *pristanes*⁴⁰⁸ made. I caused two regiments of foot ferry over all the night.

7. The rest of the foot and the most part of the horsemen were ferried over.

I did writt to the *Generallissimus*, acquainting him of my being ferried over & hasting to the r. Axay, dateing & sending away my letter the next-day.

{131} August 8, Sund. Sent downe the 14 *budars* & one of myne, on which wee ferried over, to Czirkass[k] for the use of the other army.

⁴⁰⁵ *Dvoriane* (gentlemen) and *zhibil'sy* (literally, "dwellers", i.e. at the Tsar's court) were two lower ranks of Russian gentry of whom military service was required. They were formed in companies.

⁴⁰⁶ Koysoy.

⁴⁰⁷ John Hamilton, son of the Scottish Lt.colonel of the Tsar's army who died in 1693, was brought up as a Roman Catholic in Gordon's house.

⁴⁰⁸ *Pristan'* (Russian), landing or pier.

Marched by sunriseing, dined over against the towne Bisargenuf, and crossing the r. Axay, encamped on the other syde.

9. Marched, and dined by the r. Kerczik, about 5 *verst*, where I stayed 5 howres untill the army were gott out of the strait ground & come together. The post from Mosko passed by. Haveing crossed two heads of the r. Kerczik, encamped on the other syde.

10. Marched early. Dined by the Litle Kondrusha r[iver] and lodged on the other syde of the Greater.

11. Marched early. Dyned over the river Lichoy & lodged by the r. Kamionko, a very great afternoons march. All this way from the Axay hither wee had no abundance of grasse, all being dyed up, and about 60 *verst* thereof, to witt from the Litle Kondrusha to Kamionko being rocky ground.

{131v} Aug. 12, Thursd. Marched over the r-t Kamionky and the river Don[ets] on 4 bridges, and encamped on the high ground, where stayed the whole day waiting for those who had wearyed horses.

I received letters by post from my wyfe, daughters, Mr. Vinius, Krevet, Ukraintzuf and others, dated the 29th of July.

Marched this day three reg-ts befor, myne and the gentryes waggons in the middle, a reg-t of foot & the Ribnaes reg-t in the rear.

13. Marched early through heavy sandy ground & dined by the r-t Mitiakin, which crossing & the r. Dubovia, lodged on the other syde. Here the sojourns brought a hind and two raes alive, which they had taken.

Writt to the Boyar by post & to the Valu[y]kaes gov-r. Writt to my ser-t in Ivanofska by Coll. Bularts convoyance to Yelets & from thence by that and the Yeffremovsh governours.

14. Marched early and crossing the r. Derkul by bridges encamped and dined on the other syde. Then marched to the r. Czigin, where watering the horses and takeing water along, wee marched 8 *verst* further and lodged on the right hand of the way over against the Mount Grodistsha.

From hence dispatched Fiodor Steph. Obonossuf to my wyfe in Grodno, [letter] dated this morning at Dubovia.

15. Marched early a long march to the r. Yaufshuga, which crossing encamped & dined. Marched and came to the r. Aidar about midnight.

{132} Aug. 16. Marched about 8 aclock over the r. Aidar, and because of the strait ground below, marched to the right hand to the r. Kosinka, where dined. From hence marched reg-t wise, yet encamping at midday and at night in the usuall square *waggonburg*, and this night by the r. Bialloy.

17. Crossed the head of the r. Bialloy [*above*: Kamenkoy] and dined by the oake-wood, where digged pitts of water. Lodged by the r. Uras[ov]a, where good convenience of grasse & water, but no wood. This day wee did meet the Moskoes post.

18. Marched early and crossed the r-s Uras[ov]a and Ura[ye]va. Encamped on the high ground on the other syde. This day another Moskoes post went by.

19. This day lay still. Gott 10 *podwodes* for my provisions.

{132v} Aug. 20, Frid. Sent away the most part of my horses & baggage to my vill. Ivanofsky, being 26 horses & mares, 6 covered & 6 uncovered wag-gons; 7 of these horses and mares being strayed horses; with these sent the Lt. Ivan Mechmetuf and 4 *denshikes*⁴⁰⁹ with about 20 sojourns.

Caused give 2 rubles of the *shatrove* money to buy oates for his M. horses in the Butirsky reg-t.

Received a letter from his Ma-tie⁴¹⁰, dated Mosko the 10 of August, wherein are related the newes which the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiodorovitz Dolgorukoy had written, and is here befor written the 3d instant (his letter dated the 20 of July); ordering me to march in great hast with my army to the most convenient place for the guarding of the countrey against the incursions of the enemy, and annoying them upon occasions, and frequently to give notice of what passeth to Mosko & to the *Generallissimus*, and to conforme my self to this order and letters sent from the *Generallissimus*, and to returne an answer immediately, in what place this letter hath found me.

Upon this I immediately dispatched a *otpiska* to the *Generallissimus* to acquaint him herewith and to desire his orders, sending it by a Captaine Ivan Tobolefsky. Writt to Lubim Alfer. Dumnin by this.

In his Tzaarsky Ma-ties letter was particularized how that the *Dumny Dworannin* Vasily Boris. Buchchostuf⁴¹¹ had written to the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiodor. Dolgorukoy that the Turks and Tartars were come in great numbers the 14 of July and had taken possession of the castle Aslan, from whence they shott continually at the fort [...] out of cannon and musquets; that they had conveyed {133} themselves into [upon *cr.o.*] the illands above the forts & hindred & stopped all passages that way; that more cannon & foot were coming from Oczakow to attack the fort on Tavan; that the Chan with all his forces was

⁴⁰⁹ *Denshchik* (Russian), orderly.

⁴¹⁰ I.e. a letter from the Russian government in the name of the Tsar, who was away in Western Europe.

⁴¹¹ V.B. Bukhvostov, from 1691 Duma nobleman, in 1697 *voyeroda* of Tavan' fortress on the lower Dnieper; for his able defence against the Turks and Tatars promoted to *okol'nichy*.

rendevouzing at the Kalantziak and intended to fall into the Ukraina townes; that the Boyar had sent 3 regiments of foot under the command of the *Dummy Dworanin* Simon Protas. Niepluiuf⁴¹², & the Hetman forces under the command of the Czernichovish colonell⁴¹³ befor, and that he with the Hetman with all their forces were prepareing to go downe by water.

Aug. 21 [Sat.] Dispatched the gentleman which brought his Ma-ties letter with ane answer thereto. Writt with him to the Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev].

About 4 aclock afternoone came a messenger from the *Generallissimus* with a *otpiska*, that I should according to his M. order march with great hast to Bogoduchova on the river Merlo to the above-said purpose. Whereupon I immediately dispatched a sojour [to] my waggons and prepared to be gone the next-day early. I sent for 60 *podwods* or horses for the cannon and ammunition, which were brought late and distributed among the regiments.

{133v} Haveing caused muster and given pay for August month to the regiments, the following list was brought to me.

In the Butirsky regiment 892 men, under officers and sojourns, all armed, whereof 30 w[i]t[h] a serjeant by the *Generallissimus* a guard to the treasure. Not compeered to receive pay 51.

In the Tambovish regiments

In the first 1,152, whereof 121 without muskets. Not compeered to receive pay 51 persons.

In the second 639, whereof 82 without muskets. Not compeered to receive pay 79 persons.

In the third regiment 621, whereof 43 without muskets. Not compeered to receive pay 26 persons.

In all present 2,500⁴¹⁴, whereof without armes 246.

⁴¹² S.P. Nepluiyev († after 1713), *postel'nicly*, *voyevoda*, from 1688 Duma nobleman. In 1697 he oversaw the transfer of 121 large boats from Briansk to the mouth of Samara river for a joint Russian and Cossack campaign down the Dnieper.

⁴¹³ Yakiv Lyzohub († 1698), in 1665–88 general *osavul* of the Zaporizhian Host, from 1687 colonel of Chernihiv. In 1696 he was interim (*nakaznyy*) hetman of Ukrainian Cossacks at the conquest of Azov. In Tsar Peter's words, "a man skilled in virtue and in military labours".

⁴¹⁴ Instead of the crossed-out 2,664. However, the addition of the given numbers of Tambov regiments amounts to 2,412 men. Possibly Gordon includes the officers in the total

Absent 156 persons.

{134} Aug. 22, Sun. In the morning early, as I was ready to march, I received an order not to go from hence, but await the coming of the *Generallissimus*.

A litle thereafter I received letters from Mosko from Mr. Vinus of the 5 & 13 instant, from Yemelian Ignat. Ukraintzuf & Nikita Zotuf of the 5.

Being invited, I went & dined by the governour, and being not in good disposition stayed not long.

Dispatched an answer to the *Generallissimus* his letter by Capt. Gregory Evertson. Writt 3 letters to my wyfe.

The Smollensko gentlemen marched by to their homes.

23. In the evening I received a letter from the *Generallissimus* wherein he writeth that I shall stay in Valu[y]ka with my army, and upon notice of the enemyes advancing march thither, and that I shall have of his army under my command 3 regiments of horse, a regiment of foot & the Ribnaes reg-t. Received 2 letters from Mr. Vinus of the 12 & 19 inst-t, from Nikit[a] Mos. Zotuf of the 5.

24 [Tuesd.] Sent to view a place to encampe in.

Rode and mett the *Generallissimus* at the river Uras[ov]a, then went & dined by the Ribnaes colonell. From the r. Uras[ov]a the army was dismissed, and the collours from the gentry received.

Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinus. Writt to the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy & his bro-r *Kniaz* Luka by the *woynods stanitza*⁴¹⁵, and to his Ma-tie by the Chancellour Archipa.

{134v} I dismissed the *stolniks*, who had been with me from Mosko, and the companyes given me under Azow.

The names of the *ruitmasters*⁴¹⁶ were, by the companies of the *Dworanyes*:

1. *Kniaz* Potap *Kniaz* Chochonin *sin* Daviduf⁴¹⁷.
2. *Kniaz* Ivan *Kniaz* Dmitreuf *sin* Isupuf.
3. Dorofe[y] Affonasseuf *sin* Lichatshow.
4. Peter Dmitreuf *sin* Daviduf.

or simply rounds the figure.

⁴¹⁵ *Stanitsa* (Russian), Cossack party or settlement.

⁴¹⁶ *Rittmeister* (German), captain of cavalry.

⁴¹⁷ Bagration-Davydov (Bagrationi-Davitishvili), Georgian princely family descended from King Alexander I of Kakheti († 1511), and settled in Russia from 1666.

5. Andre[y] Andreuf *sin* Sestakuf. This dyed the 20 inst.

Siltzy companyes

1. *Kniaz* Peter *Kniaz* Alexeyuf *sin* Kropotkin.
 2. Ivan Gregoriuf *sin* Kobiakow.
 3. Vasile[y] Konradiuf *sin* Pawluf.
 4. Mikita Michaeluf *sin* Kutusuf.
 5. Jacob Vasileuf *sin* Kortashow.
 6. Ivan Averkiuf *sin* Opuchtin.
 7. Mikita Nazariuf *sin* Melnitskoy.
 8. Sidor Artemiuf *sin* Iliin.
 9. Rodivon Gregoriuf *sin* Besobrasuf.
 10. Kirilo Gregoriuf *sin* Kruszczow.
 - 12.⁴¹⁸ [11.] Michael Stepanuf *sin* Zdanuf⁴¹⁹.
- All *stolnikes* by office.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet without date [Mosko *cr.o.*]

After wee had read and considered the post-newes the *Generallissimus* came into my campe and tent, where stayed ane howre, then went to the towne.

{135} Aug. 25. Dispatched my son in law & son Theodorus to my wyfe in Krasna. After breakfast rode to the towne, conferred with the Boyar about many things, then brought him out of towne, & so parted, he on his way & I to my campe.

An order to give the officers & sojourns pay of the money remaining over.

26. Sent ane order to the colonells to send in a list of their officers, horsemen, sojourns, armes, ammunition, cannon & waggons.

Sent and caused measure out the place I am to encampe in.

Writt *otpiskyes* to the *woywod* of Charkow⁴²⁰ called Simon Obrosimovitz Durow and to the Isumshe Colonell Fiodor Wolodomirovitz Shilow, giving them notice of my being here with an army for the defence of the countrey, and that upon certaine information of the [enemy's] approach or designs they shall give me immediately notice.

27. Received a letter from the Boyar, confirming the newes of the Turks & Tartars lying still at the siege of the forts Tavan & Singerey, as yet the 2d of

⁴¹⁸ Thus in MS.

⁴¹⁹ Zhdanov.

⁴²⁰ Khar'kov.

August; that at the towne New Bogoroditza⁴²¹ by the r. Samara the Tartars had appeared in great numbers and passed the river at the Sandy Foord, and had been seen at Bogdanova, and that it appeared that they intended to fall into the Ukraina townes; that therefor I shall do my best {135v} to hinder them and preserve the townes and *slabods* from harme, according to his Majesties former order. Wherefor, being ready to march to another campe, I resolved to march directly to the most suspected places, and so marched over the r. Valuy & encamped on the other syde of the towne.

Aug. 28. In the morning by other letters wee had the confirmation of the former newes, so I marched immediately, divideing the army in two for the neerer & quicker passage over the r. [O]skoll; the one halfe crossing a litle above the towne, and the other 5 or 6 *verst* further up. A litle befor evening I encamped at the head of the Litle or Dry Kosinka by good convenience of wood, grasse & water.

I wrott to his M. and to the *Generallissimus*, informing of my march, as also to the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. [Dolgoruky] & his brother *Kniaz* Luka of the same.

Sent some of my most un[ne]cessary horses and other things to my village Ivanofsky and the heaviest materials & ammunition to Mosko on 15 horses.

Received a list from the colonells of their regiments, as followeth:

Colonell Gaspar Gulits – 982 lancers & *ryters*⁴²², 370 wag.

Col. Nicolay von Verden – 944 *riters*, 407 wag.

Col. Vasily Bratsuf – 1,003 l[ancers] & *ryt.*, 323.

Col. Ivan Tertova⁴²³ – 431 sojors, whereof 181 without armes.

{136} Writt to my wyfe, to Mr. Vinius & Krevet, and to the Russe ffriends I correspond with in Mosko.

Aug. 29. I rested and sent befor to the townes and villages neer which I was to march, to make ready and bring out bread & provisions for our money.

30. I marched early, crossing the head of the Dry Kosinky and holding to the west to passe by the head of the other Kosinka. Dyned by a wood, where water for necessity, and came to the village Olchova on the head of the Wett Kozinka, encamping a *verst* to the syde of it.

Writt to the Isumshe colonell.

⁴²¹ The fortress of Novobogoroditsk, founded on Samara river (Ukraine) in 1688. Gordon, as an experienced military engineer, took part in its planning.

⁴²² *Reiter* (German), *reytary* (Russian), troopers. This term used to denote cavalry “of foreign order” in Russia, as distinct from traditional mounted gentry.

⁴²³ Тьртov.

31. Marched, and quitting the Isumshe way, turned to the right. Dined not farr from the village & head of the r. Burluk, then encamped in the evening by the r. Kotumka⁴²⁴.

{136v} Sept-r 1, Wed. Being the feast of SS. Simon & Jude and the first day of the new year by the Russes, I stayed till their devotion was finished. Then marched over the r. Chotumka through the desert to Saltowa by the r. Donets, encamping on the Nagaish syde of the river, a litle above the towne, which is on the other syde. This towne is from Valu[y]ka 12 miles, from Novoskol 15, from Belagrod 6, from Zoloczow 6, from Peczinega 3 & from Charkow 6, from Czugoyow 6.

2. Writt to his Ma-tie & the *Generallissimus* by the Corporall Marka Urivuf; by the same occasion to the noblemen I correspond with, to Mr. Vinus & Krevet, to my wyfe & daughters, and to the Maior Gen-ll Rigeman in Novoskol. To the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy in Belag[rod] by Capt. Brink, to *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. by the Saltovich *stanitsky* guides.

Received letters from the Isumshe Colonell Fiodor Volod. Shilow in ans-r to myne, with the same newes in the former from the *General[issimus]*, promising to advertise me of any newes that should fall out; these dated Ishume 28 Aug. 1697.

{137} Sept-r 3. Caused give halfe a months pay to the officers & sojourns, which amounted in all to [...]

4. Capt. Brink returned from Belagrod with notice that the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. was returneing and come to the Kudak the 28 of August.

Received a letter from M. Gen-ll Rigeman, dated Novoskol the 3d instant, to the which I returned an answer immediately. Received a letter from Col. Devits⁴²⁵, dated 3d inst.

5. Had all the ppl persons in the army at a feast.

The Ribnaes colonell came.

Received a letter from Coll. Gast, dated 3d inst.

6. Received a letter or *otpiska* from *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. Dolgorukoy, dated 3d instant in answer to myne of the 24 from Valu[y]ka.

Writt to *Kniaz* Jacob & *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. Dolgo. and to Col. Gast, in whose these to the former, desiring him to forward them.

{137v} Sept-r 7, Tuesd. Dyned by the Ribnaes colonel.

⁴²⁴ Just below Gordon writes it with *Ch*. Evidently, Khotomlia.

⁴²⁵ Probably identical with Colonel Devissen mentioned by Gordon in *Diary IV* and below.

Received a letter from the Ishumse Colonell Fiodor Wolodomir. Shilow, to the which returned an ans-r immediately.

Having sent an imperiall order to the governour some dayes ago for *pod-nodes*, and being still delayed and put of with excuses, I sent a 100 sojourns & in the villages take so many horses as I had oc[ca]sion for.

In the evening received a *otpiska* from *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. that there is no newes in his army; that his brother the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. is returned to the Dneper and ferrying over at the Kudakes ferry; this dated the 6th inst.

8. After devotion, a litle befor midday I marched the road to Volczy [Vody]⁴²⁶, and first crossed the brooke Griasny, then the Zapolny and a litle further the Ilmine Kolodes or brooke, all which at ane equal distance, about a *verst* & a halfe from another, fall into the Donets. I encamped 4 *verst* short of Volczy, because of the convenience of wood, grasse and water; yet in lakes, out of which the Ilmine.

{138} Sept-r 9. Sent the cannon and spare ammunion belonging to the Butirsky regiment to Valu[y]ka, as also 53 horses belonging to that reg-t and 2 belonging to the surjeon prentices, in all 55.

About midday I received letters from his Ma-tie, dated in Mosko the 1st of 7ber, but sent from Mosko the 2d in the 6th howre of the day. Wherein is written how that *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. had written from Tavan [Kasa-Kermin *cr.o.*] how that a formidable force of the Crimish Tartars with some Turkes foot were come to Aslan-Gorod, and a great power of the Belagrods Tartars⁴²⁷ were come on the other syde to Kasa-Kermin; and that the Turkes from Oczakow with artillery and ammunition in above 100 gallyes or furcates as they call them, besides other boates & vessels, were coming up the Dneper; that he had certaine intelligence from prisoners and others escaped from them, that they intended to besiege and attact the forts of Tavan & Sangerey, as also to keep him and the Hetman up with their armyes there; that the Chan may in the meane-tyme with all his power fall into the Ukraina and ruine the country.

To prevent which, his Ma-tie ordered me to march in all hast to such places where the enemy is expected, and to send for (if needfull) Maior Generall Rigeman, the Coll-s Mevis, Czubaruf, Kolsakow, Czarny & Hundertmark to joyne me and march to any place where {138v} notice shal be had of the enemyes, and have a great care that the countrey gett no harme. Hereby were

⁴²⁶ Later and now Volchansk, Ukraine.

⁴²⁷ The Akkerman (Belgorod) horde of Tatars was based in Budjak, a plain along the Black Sea between the Danube and the Dniester.

imperiall letters to the above-said colonells w-ch I dispatched immediately with others from my self to them in the townes wherein they lay.

I returned also an answer to his Ma-ties letters, and wrott also to the *Generallissimus*, the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. & his brother *Kniaz* Luka, all by post. Writt also to M. Gen-ll Rigeman.

Sept-r 10, Frid. A list of these who have received pay for the halfe of September month, given by the maiors:

Butirsky reg-t	839	the rest 61 absent employments,& 3	on diverse supernumerary
Gordons ⁴²⁸ reg-t	1,038	not compeered	102
De Duithes reg-t	704	not compeered	23
Pawlofskyes reg-t	<u>567</u>	not compeered	<u>55</u>
In all			<u>180</u>
In all present	3,148	absent	241

Not agreeable with the former by 11 persons.

This cleared, one being dead & 10 more runaway.

{139} Sept-r 11. Received letters from his M. upon myne of the 28 from Valu[y]ka, when I was on my march, with the substance of the former therein, to the which I returned immediately an answer, & to the *Generalliss*. These letters dated the 4th instant.

Received a letter from M. G. Rigeman, dated Novoskol 9 inst., which ans-d immediately. Writt to the Coll-s Devissen & Gast.

12. Received an ans-r from Coll. Devissen.

13. I marched, crossing the r. Volczy at a small towne of the same name, and marching about 8 *verst* further encamped by the same river too soone & out of the way, whereas I could have marched further and had the same convenience. This done by the unskilfulnes of the guides.

On the way to the right hand by the river on a hill is a ancient fort with a double trench about, and on the corners vestigees of bulwarks, it being 4 square. There is a well within it, but when and by whom built no body knowes.

⁴²⁸ Colonel James Gordon, Patrick's son.

{139v} Sept-r 14, Tues. Marched early over corne-field and then the high road through the *stepe* or desert; have the small towne Nesegoll on our left hand & the r. Volczy on our right hand, about 12 *verst*, & encamped by good convenience.

Whilst I was at dinner, I received by the post from Mosko his M. letters with a more particular relation of the passages at Tavan & Kasa-Kermin. And seeing it was presumed by letters from thence that the Turkes under the *Seraskier*⁴²⁹, and the Chan with his Tartars shall besiege or stop the passage of the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. & the Hetman, that I should call for the aboves-d maior generall & the colonells & march directly with all possible hast to the New Bogaroditska, and from thence according to intelligence to the forts Tavan and Kasa-Kermin, and endeavour with all power the relieffe of the said Boyar & Hetman. Hereby were orders to the aboves-d m. gen-ll & colonells, which I dispatched immediately by an express of my owne, and {148}⁴³⁰ sent also Lt.Coll. Ronaer to the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. with letters. Writt also to M. Gen-ll Rigeman & the colonell of Ribna. Writt also to *Kniaz* Luka Fiod.

Removed a litle lower downe and encamped by the river, where sort of good convenience.

Writt to his M. and to the *Generallissimus* by post.

Sept-r 15. Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Krevet.

{148v} Sept-r 16, Thur. Writt to Coll. Ghast in Belagrod.

Received a letter from Coll. Mevis.

Maior Lambe came.

17. Captaine Riedt came.

Received a *otpisky* and a letter from Coll. Fiod. Aff. Kolsakuf, dated Ishum the 14th.

18. Returned ane answer to the yesterdayes letter by the same bearer his *pristave*⁴³¹.

Received a letter from Coll. Gast, informing that the Turkes were come by sea and besieging Tavan; that the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. had sent a regiment of sojourns and another of *streltsees* to their releefe; the *kormovy*⁴³² Donish

⁴²⁹ *Serasker Pasha*, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army.

⁴³⁰ In this volume of the Diary the next two quires (Nos. 18 and 19) are filed and bound in reverse order, but the pagination (not by Gordon) is continued despite the breach of chronology. In the MS (fols. 139v and 148) this breach and the ongoing entry for 14 September 1697 are marked #, possibly by Gordon himself. The present edition keeps the chronological order.

⁴³¹ *Pristav* (Russian), an official assigned for escort.

⁴³² *Kormovy* (Russian), receiving payment (*korm*) from the Tsar's government in kind and/

Kosakes sent also, and that he is to stay with the army in the fields untill notice be of the enemies marching away from the siege.

{149} Sept-r 19, Sun. Received a *otpiskey* from the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein, dated Tula the 7th instant, by the writer Fiodor [...], with 2,000 rubles to pay the souldiers. Received also a letter from the *Dummy* Lubim Alf. Dumnin & the chancellours by him.

20. Received a letter from his Ma-tie with grace, thanks & praise for upon newes of an enemy going from Vailuka and comeing so soone to Saltow, with encouragement to proceed in his M. service with alacrity. And because nothing is to be heard of an enemy, to stay in a convenient place without going further.

Hereby another imp. letter, giving me notice that the two other regiments of *streltsees*, to witt Affonasse Czubaruf[s] & Tichon Hundertmark[s], are also ordered to go to Rzew, with his M. letters to them; which I immediately dispatched to them by Ivan the Kalmuik, a Butirsky sojour, giving him halfe a ruble on the way; writeing by him to Coll. Hundertmark, from whom I received this day a *otpiskey* and a letter with the {149v} following newes. That 62 of Crimish and Nagaish Tartars came to Tor; that 73 Donish Cosakes & Kalmuiks being upon party, and first did fall upon their *kaus*⁴³³, being a station where they leave their spare horses & victualls, and tooke 4 Tartars & 66 horses; these Tartars conducted them to their comorades, and so the Cosakes did assaile them by the r. Torts⁴³⁴ and routed them, killing many and taking 7 prisoners.

Sept-r 21. In the morning early Lt.Coll. Roonaer returned and brought me letters from the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiodor. Dolgorugoy, informing me that the Hetman had written to him, how that by letters from the Zaporovian Cosakes out of Szetczy⁴³⁵ he had notice how that the Turkes were attacking the fort of Tavan with all their force, and by continuall throwing of bombes and shooting [of] cannon had forced them to quite their outworkes, as also the fort of Kasa-Kermin; that they were busy both by water & land in forcing of it; that Aly Bassa, who had been building the fort at the mouth of the r. Kuban, was come with 7 or 8,000 men; that the Chan {150} with his Crimish Tartars and the Belagrodish *hordae*⁴³⁶ were still there, and that they had so

or money.

⁴³³ *Kosh*, Tatar or Cossack camp.

⁴³⁴ Toretz.

⁴³⁵ Zaporizhian Sich (Ukrainian), Sech (Russian).

⁴³⁶ *Orda* (Russian), horde.

closed up all passages by water & land that there could no body gett in to them; that others thereafter were come, who had been on the illand neerest to it, and declared that in 3 dayes they had heard no shooting. Wherefor the Boyar desired me most earnestly to come thither and be at a counsell with the Hetman, who was to come from Hadits⁴³⁷ in some dayes; and that he with the army will march towards Rublefsky⁴³⁸ to be neerer to the Hetman.

With this I received a short relation of his journey and passages there, as that they had fortified the fort Tavan with new workes; that the Chan with his Crimish Tartars on the Crimish syde, as also a great power of Turkes, Janizaries & other foot with cannon, morters and other military provisions were there also and fired continually at the fort Sangerey, and came continually on the illands, especially on that of Tavan, striving all they could to hinder the compleeting of the fortifications; that on the Belagrod syde the Belagrodish *bordae* with 3,000 *spahies*⁴³⁹ and other Turkes did also infest them; that the fort {150v} Sangerey, being too farr to be relieved from the maine fort Tavan, he had caused it to be demolished; that some dayes befor he marched from thence the Turkes had lyen still without acting any thing; that he had left a garrison of about 6,000 men in the fort with 60 pieces of ordinance, and provision sufficient till the winter way with all sort of warlike provision; that he marched from thence the [...] of August, came to the illand Tomakofsky the 26, and the 30 of August to the Czernetskoy ferry; had on the 3d of 7ber ferried over the Dneper, and came to Kolumka the 9th, where hath joyned with his brother *Kniaz* Luka, and stayes now there.

Sept-r 21, Tuesd. I returned answers to his M. letters by the same who brought them, and wrott to the *Generalliss.*, as also to Mr. Vinius and Krevet; to my wyfe enclosed in one to Yak[im] Step[anovich] Zdanuf, governour of Yeffremow.

I tooke journey and came to Volczy, and in the evening to Saltova, where changing horses I travelled the whole night, crossing the brooke Babka, 5 *verst* from Saltova, and then through the *step*; and crossing {151} the r-t Niemisly within 3 *verst* of the towne Charkow, which is from Saltova 5 miles. Here in the suburbs I crossed the r. Charkow, from whence the towne hath its name,

Sept-r 22. and being come to a lodging 2 howres befor day, I stayed till 7 aclock for fresh horses. Then crossing the river Lopian by the towne, came

⁴³⁷ Hadiach, Ukraine.

⁴³⁸ Rublevka, "hundred's" town of Akhtyrsky Cossack regiment, with a fortress.

⁴³⁹ *Sipahi*, elite Ottoman heavy cavalry, the Sultan's horse guards, recruited from ethnic Turks who owned land.

to the r. Uda, 6 *verst*, which crossing at a milne, I came to the r-t & great village Lubotin; where refreshing our selves & horses, being from Charkow 3 ½ miles, I went throw badd way in thick woods, and came in the evening to the towne Chmielofka, 4 miles. Here I rested till midnight.

23. I marched, and by mistake of the guides went to the right hand towards Kalentayuf, yet came to the campe about 8 aclock in the morning. Haveing dined with the Boyar⁴⁴⁰, wee rode towards Rublefy, and there crossing the r. Merlo, to the suburb of Opoczno⁴⁴¹; where after a long conference and many debates wee at last concluded that the business of Tavan requires a speedy relieffe. And so resolved upon a detachment of 20 or 30,000 men, whereof I and the *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. Dolgorukoy {151v} am to have the command over the Russes, & the Hetman to send a commander apart to command his men.

Here I had further information how that at the first coming of the army to Tavan a party of the Hetmans *companshikes*⁴⁴² had been drawne into ane ambush by the Belagrodish Tartars, and above 200 of them killed & taken; that the new fort of Tavan is a tetragon; that no other outworkes was made befor it; that notwithstanding the Turkes & Tartars were staying there with a designe to attack it, yet that the scarcity of provisions had forced the Boyar and Hetman to returne, leaving a garrison of 6,000 men; that if they should have stayed any longer they must have consumed the provisions, which were to be left for the subsistance of the garrison; that in their retreat they had no trouble from the enemy; that whilst they sailed or rowed up the river the horsemen who were with them swimm'd their horses up the river from illand to illand; that haveing heard of new supplies come to the Turkes, they had detached 3,000 men {152} more to strengthen the garrison; that they hoped these were entred; that no certaine intelligence they had thereafter, only that the Zaporovish Cosakes had from the illands heard the thundring of the cannon and bombes; that a Cosake lately come had related that in three dayes befor he came from thence no noise of cannon or throwing of bombes had been heard, by which wee presumed that either they had quitted the siege, or that the garrison had begun to capitulate, which last wee concluded to be most likely. However, wee resolved to send the fores-d detachment, and that to show our dilligence, as also to give a terrour or diversion to the enemy.

⁴⁴⁰ Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky.

⁴⁴¹ Oposhnia.

⁴⁴² In Ukrainian sources, *kompaneyschiki* or *kompaneysy*. Gordon himself explains this term as “mercenary horsmen of the Cosakes” (*Diary*, III, p. 58).

Haveing supped by the Hetman and to drive away melancholy made merry, wee returned to the campe, the Hetman at parting haveing presented me with a silver overgilt & enameled kan of above 2 pund.

{152v} Sept-r 24, Frid. Haveing taken leave of the Boyar and his brother with other ffriends, some whereof convoyed me, I went the direct road to Chmielofky; and after I had gone about three miles, a servant of the Hetmans did overtake me with a good horse, being a pacer, which he presented me. I gave the servant 5 reichs dollers wages and to the Cosake with him one.

Haveing changed horses at Chmielofky, about sunseting I went from thence and travelling all the night the same road I came,

25. came to Charkow by day light, from whence getting fresh horses I came in the evening to Saltow; where changing horses I crossed the r. Donets and about 9 aclock came to Volczy, & a litle after midnight to my campe.

{153} Sept-r 26, Sun. About 8 aclock in the morning a gentleman of the *Rosriade*⁴⁴³ brought me his M. letters, dated the 16, where I was ordered, in case all be quiet in the Ukraina, and that the effaires of *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. requires not assistance, then that I shall muster or view the regiments and dismisse them, and come my self to Mosko. I answered these letters immediately and shew the reasons why I could not dismisse the regiments nor come to Mosco, being necessitate to march to the relieffe of Tavan. Received also a letter from Mr. Krevet, which I answered. Wrott also to Mr. Vinius & my wyfe.

Dispatched Captaine Nikita Krovkow to the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. with notice of my being to march to Charkow the 28, and sent him the copy of his M-s letter to me. Writt also to Tichon Nikit-s [Streshnev], to M. Gen-ll Rigeman & to Coll. Bullart, ordering him to provide 100 good Cosakes with 3 or 4 weeks provision to go along with me & to come to me himself in great hast.

I ordered also 100 horsemen out of each regiment to go along, and gave orders for {153v} quartering the regiment of horse in the neerest townes.

Sept-r 27. Received a letter from M. G. Rigeman.

The Ribnaes colonell came.

I dispatched my best horses & some waggons with my superfluous things.

28. Haveing breakfasted, I marched and passing Volczy encamped neer our old *leaguer*.

29. Marched to Saltow, where crossing the r. Donets, I marched to the r-t Babia⁴⁴⁴, where encamping, staying there all night.

By the way received gazets sent from Mr. Vinius.

⁴⁴³ *Razriadny Prikaz* (Office).

⁴⁴⁴ Babka.

{154} Sept-r 30, Thurs. Marched and by the way Capt. Krovkow did meet me with a *otpiska* from the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod., desireing me to march with as much hast as possible to the relieffe of the fort Tavan, sending the copy of a letter sent from the Hetman with intelligence of what passeth at Tavan, to witt that the Turkes had the first 8 dayes of 7ber with great force attacqued Tavan; that they expected assistance & relieffe from us.

Encamped in a ffield near the towne by the r-t Niemisly.

{154v} Oct-r.

Ane acco-t of the money received, disbursed and in the treasury, by the writer Terenty Kirilow:

Received	R.	Disbursed	[R.]	[<i>Alt.</i>]	[D.]
From the writer Ivan Borisuf	6,030	To the sojourns for the month Sept-r pay	1,834	20	5
Of moneyes left over of August & July of the Tamb. sojourns	66	To Fiodor Bogdanuf for the officers	31	6	-
From the regi- ment writer Vasily Mediv[ehev] Sent out of the great army	300 2,000	In all	1,865	26	5
In all received	8,396				

Remaines the last of September 6,530 – 6 – 3.

{155} Oct-r.

Ane acco-t of the money received, disbursed and remaining in the treasury by the writer Fiodor Bogdanuf:

Received		Disbursed						
<i>Shatrovoy</i> the writer Baybakuf	from Ivan	608	9	4	For necessaryes to the treasury	8	26	2

From Coll. Gordon of money left-over of the <i>pod'iom</i> for the Tambovish sojourns	516	-	-	For necessaryes in the Tambovish reg-ts	24	-	-
In all received	1,124	9	4	To Cosakes for convoying	4	-	-
From Terenty Kirilow	31	6	-	For oates	6	-	-
<i>Sum. sum.</i>	1,155	15	4	To Ivan Kalmuik	-	16	4
				For a horse	4	-	-
				To the officers of pay for halfe 7ber	547	6	-
				In all disbursed	594	15	4
Remaines	561	-	-				

{155v} Oct-r.

The acco-t of the reg-t writer Vasil[y] Med[vedev]:

Received for				Disbursed				Rests			
July											
Men	R.	<i>Alt.</i>	<i>D.</i>	Men	R.	<i>[Alt.]</i>	<i>[D.]</i>	Men	R.	<i>Alt.</i>	<i>D.</i>
900	879	9	5	892	871	11	1	8	7	25	-
August											
900	879	22 ⁴⁴⁵	5	889	868	18	1	11	10	18	-
September halfe											
900	425	30	-	831	393	30	-	69	32	-	-
Sept-r the other halfe											
900	425	30	-	827	391	31	4	79	33	31	4

⁴⁴⁵ Second digit blotted out in MS.

In all remains 84 r. 8 *alt.* – *d.*

Sent in all horses away	26	
Here by me still	21	& 2 <i>kasionny</i> ⁴⁴⁶
Bought one, being a mare	1	
In all	48	

{140}⁴⁴⁷ Oct-r 1, Frid. Haveing given the sojourns pay for the other halfe of 7ber, I stayed here to give them tyme to buy and provide themselves of provisions, but they consumed the tyme most in drinking, by which many quarrels.

I dined by the governour and gott 50 *podvodes* or horses with provisions from the governour & Ribnaes colonell.

2. I marched early and went round the towne, crossing the r[iver] at a milne and the r. Uda at a milne 5 *verst* from the towne, and 2 miles further through the village Lubotin; and a large mile further encamped among corne fields, haveing for convenience of water the font of the r. Merczik on our left hand, which haveing run about 200 fath. sinketh unsensibly into the ground, and cometh out on the right hand of the way about a mile and falleth in the r. Merlo a good way of.

The governour of Charkow came to me in the evening and stayed all night.

Received by the way a *otpiska* from the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod., w-ch I ans-d by the Lt. Olfery Sniter.

{140v} Oct-r 3, Sun. After devotion & breakfast marched and going through the towne Perecop⁴⁴⁸ encamped on the other syde, hard by the towne, haveing passed by the towne Valky a litle of on our left & the towne Olshianky⁴⁴⁹ on our right hand. Here is the font of the river Moz.

4. Arose about midnight and rode to the towne Kolumka 1 ½ mile. Here the *sotnik*⁴⁵⁰ told me how that the Tartars, about 100, had at the place where salt-peter is made not farr of taken 11 persons and 2 horses. From thence to

⁴⁴⁶ *Kazionny* (Russian), government (adj.).

⁴⁴⁷ Pagination failure is due to a mistake in the binding order of two quires in this volume. See above, fol. 148.

⁴⁴⁸ Perekop, important fortress in Ukraine founded in 1643 (not the one on the Crimean isthmus). “Hundred’s” town of Khar’kov Cossack regiment.

⁴⁴⁹ Later and now Ol’shany.

⁴⁵⁰ *Sotnik* (Russian & Ukrainian), an officer of Cossacks or *streltsy* in command of 100 men. Kolomak was a “hundred’s” town of Akhtyrsky Cossack regiment.

the Boyars campe by the r. Merlo over against the towne Kalentayuf, where I consulted & dined with the Boyar & his brother. I returned a neerer way through the towne Chmielofka and came to my campe at 9 aclock in the night.

Writt to his M., the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Sim. [Shein], to my wyfe, Mr. Vinius and Krevet, dated yesterday & now dispatched.

Whilst I was by the Boyar, letters came from the Hetman with a relation of what a Cosake Lukian had told: that he came with the *Cashovoy Ottoman* & the Russes sent to strengthen the garrison of Tavan the 1st of 7ber; that in their passing from the Kustorsky illand the Turkes {141} and Tartars had annoyed them with small shott & arrowes from the Kasa-Kermins syde; that the Zaporovian Cosakes had gone ashore and beat them of; that the garrison of Kasa-Kermin had sallyed out also & assisted them; that they went & landed on the Tavanish illand and taken post in ane entrenchment befor the fort; that the Turkes had made their approches on the illand towards the fort, had twice stormed it, setting up their ladders to the walls, and were beaten of with great loss; that the Turkes for 12 dayes had out of 6 mortar pieces shott bombes into the fort, w-ch however had done litle harme; that they had in the same tyme fired out of cannon perpetually, dismounted the guns of the fort; that after that they had ceased to trouble them much in that fort, but were busy in attacking Kasa-Kermin; that they had sprung two mines to their owne loss, they breaking out & falling upon themselves, killing many; that being now used and acquainted with this play, they did not value the danger so much as at first; that the passage was free betwixt Kasa-Kermin {141v} and the fort Tavan, as also the passage downe the Dneper free; that by prisoners they were informed that the Turkes were intended to stay till the first of October or untill the cold should drive them away.

Oct-r 5, Tues. I stayed here, waiting for horses from the Boyar.

In the night tyme about 400 of the Tambovish sojourns ran away.

6. I did writt to the Boyar by my brother in law⁴⁵¹.

Received from the Boyar 50 horses & 20 waggons.

Left the horse I gott from the Hetman and two mares here, recommending them to the governour.

{142} Oct-r 7, Thurs. Marched, and passing by the 2 heads of the r-t Sliachowa, and rested by another font of the River Moz. Marched further and lodged by a head or font of the r. Orczik. All this way, being a mile from the Precop, [two *cr.o.*] wee had on our left hand thick woods, which serve for a

⁴⁵¹ Either a brother of Gordon's first wife, of the Bockhoven family, or the second, of the Ronaers.

defence to the countrey, and on the right ffields. The other mile wee had the r. Orczik, though farr of, on our left hand & the desart on our right.

My brother in law returned and informed that *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. [was *cr.o.*] marched on Tuesday last.

8. Wee marched and encamped by the river Orczik and dined, being two miles, and two miles further encamped by the same river and stayed all night, having good convenience of wood, grasse & water at a place called the Milnes⁴⁵².

9. Marched two long miles and encamped by the Cosakes Pristane, where good convenience of wood, water, grass & hay. Here the Cosakes of Pultava have their apiaries, and fishers live here in small huttes. I stayed here all night, being too farr to water & wood. This is 6 miles {142v} from Pultava and as much from the litle towne Niech[v]orostsha by the river Oriol.

Oct-r 10, Sun. Marched a litle after 7 aclock. At [halfe *cr.o.*] 8 marched south west (whereas our march along the river had been south) from the river Orczik. About 10 aclock crossed the great road from Miaus to Pultava and the Ukraina, and an howre thereafter a dry head or font of the r-t Lipianka, and at 2 aclock afternoone the right Lipianka, where encamped and stayed all night by good convenience of hay, grasse & water, but litle wood.

From hence I dispatched a post with letters to *Kniaz* Luka Fiod., giving notice of my march and desiring to know of his, and if any newes from Mosko or Tavan. Writt also to Coll. Devisson, both this by Lt. Hampe.

{143} Oct-r 11. Marched by 7 aclock along the r-t Lipianka to the towne Niech[v]orosh, so called from a small brooke falling [in] the r. Oriol here. Here I passed the rivier [*siz*] Oriol at a milne below the towne and encamped by a oaken wood on the other syde by all sort of good accommodation. Here I did meet 2 *companshikes*, who told that a post was gone by to the Hetman with intelligence that the [Cosakes had sent a *cr.o.*] Turkes had quitted the siege at Tavan. Wherefor I resolved to stay the next day and expect the certainty of such newes.

Writt to his Ma-tie, to the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Alexey Sim. [Shein], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin], to my wyfe & daughter, M-rs Vinus and Krevet. Sent these letters by the guide Pawl Stepanuf to the governour of Precop, with a letter to him from my self. Gave to the guide halfe a ruble.

⁴⁵² Probably, Mlyn.

The Cosakes of this towne Nech[v]orosha told that they had notice that the Pultavish Colonell Iskra⁴⁵³ with these by him were come to Scetsa, and to go immediately farther, to Tavan.

{143v} Oct-r 12, Tuesd. The yesterdayes newes made me stay here all day, expecting the returne of the officer sent to *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. I sent also a officer to the campe where the *companshikes* stay to learne the truth of the yesterdayes relation, and what passeth amongst them; who returned befor evening and told that what was told yesterday was false.

I caused give halfe a months pay to the sojourns, which amounted:

To the Butirskies [...]

To the Tambovish [...]

To the Romanovish [...]

In all [...]

13. Marched over a dirty mire out of the strait ground, and ordering the *waggonburg* marched directly south, haveing the river Oriel on our right hand, as also the towne Maiatzek, and the desert on our left. A litle past midday I rested by convenience of water, hay & grasse, but the wood farr of. On our left hand were two *kurgans* about a mile from another, where people were busy making salpeter. At 3 aclock I marched and passing by the towne Tzaritzinka⁴⁵⁴ and crossing the r-t {144} of the same name, encamped on a bare ffield near the towne, to have convenience of buying in provisions.

This morning returned the officer I had sent to the *Stolnik Kniaz* Luka Fiod. with ane answer to my letters, adviseing that he was passed the r. Oriel at Kitay & marching forward without delay to Samara, desireing me to make hast also, that wee may march together after wee have ferryed over the Dneper. Some passages were also written concerning the siege of Tavan, how the Turkes had sprung 4 mines and were making ready the 5th under Kasa-Kermin; that these mines were fallen over on themselves and killed a number of them; that at outfalls and by such accidents above 7,000 of the Turkes [were killed] with litle loss on our syde, and many particulars more, which needs confirmation and a strong faith.

{144v} Oct-r 14, Thur. By the importunity of the impertinent drunken under officers of the Butirsky reg-t I stayed till ten aclock, which gave opportunity to many of the Tambovish to runaway.

⁴⁵³ Ivan Iskra († 1708), colonel of Poltava in 1696–1700. He was executed for a delation against Hetman Mazepa, which was considered false.

⁴⁵⁴ Tsarichanka.

I marched and had the towne Kitay on our right hand & the desart, yet some corne ffields, on my left; and comeing on the Kitayes road, I marched to the east, haveing all the way on the r. Orczik & to this place marched south. Haveing marched 4 or 5 long miles, I encamped on the further syde of the brooke Czaplinke, and by marching a litle to the right had good convenience of forrage for the horses.

15. I marched early and dined by convenience of grasse & water, even with a wood of firrs on my right hand. Then rode to the other campe by *Kniaz* Luka Fiodorovitz, where he informed me that Vasily Koslow with other were gone by yesternight from Tavan and Setczy with certaine information that the Turkes were marched of from the siege of Tavan and Kasa-Kermin. By w-ch newes many were rejoyced, and even all, for it is a very unseasonable tyme of the yeare for {145} marching a army through a wild desart and uninhabited countrey 3 or 400 miles, the retorne being more terrible & dangerous for lossing our horses for want of forrage as the march thither. So haveing concluded to send 1,000 tunnes of meale and 125 tunne of oate-groates to recruit the provisions of the garrison, wee resolved to retorne. Haveing supped, I returned to my campe, which was neer the r. Dneper about halfe a mile of.

Oct-r 16. I marched early and dined at the same place wee had dined the day befor, and encamped all night by the brooke Czaplinky where befor, being 5 good miles.

From hence writt to his M., Al. Sim. [Shein] & Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], informing them of the certainty that the Turkes had broke up their siege befor Tavan & Kasa-Kermin, and that I am returning with my army, which according to my former orders I am to dismiss in a convenient place. Writt to my wyfe also, and sent by Kosakes of the towne Korotsha to Precop to the governour there, ordering him to forward it to Mosco.

{145v} Oct-r 17, Sund. Marched 3 howres befor day, and being darke, with difficulty passed the marish. About day light it began to snow so vehemently that wee could hardly see the way, the snow with a great wind being wet, made very unpleasant weather. Wee rested a litle nevertheless in the fields over against the towne Kitay, & then passing by Tzaritsinka encamped on a low ground halfe a mile from Majatsko. This dayes march was 5 miles.

18. A litle after midnight there was such a violent tempest of wind with wet snow and raine that all our tents were blowne over & torne, and such a cold thereby that wee could not stay any longer for feare of starving the souldiery. So marched in the night tyme over the river Oriel and lodged the

army in the towne Maiatsko, where wee stayed the whole day & the night there to compose & dry ourselves.

From hence I dismissed the horse trowpes who were with me.

{146} Oct-r 19. Marched by day light over the r-t Mayatsko by a bridge and so up along the river Worskla and over the brooke Niech[v]oroshtsha, and then turning to the left hand, to the head or font of the r-t Lipianky, where dined. Then went the road to the r. Orczik, and came at 2 aclock in the morning to the Cosakes Pristane, where stayed till daylight. Here the Afterks colonell⁴⁵⁵ with his regiment lodged, going the same errand I went. This dayes march was 5 long miles. This day I received a letter from his Ma-tie, dated the 4th of October. Writt to the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fidor. Dolgorukoy.

20. Marched a litle befor sunriseing. I stayed a litle for the Afterks colonell, who came to give me a visit. Haveing marched a mile & a halfe, dined at the place called the Milnes, and then marched up along the r. Orczik and came about 10 aclock to one of the heads or fonts of the r. Orczik, being 3 long miles.

{146v} Oct-r 21, Thurs. Marched about 5 aclock and came to the towne Prekop and encamped on the north syde thereof in the fields. Here I mustered the regiments of foot. After dinner I rode to the campe of the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fidor. Dolgorukoy, but found that he was marched in the morning, haveing dismissed the army. His campe was by the river Merczik.

22. Writt to his Ma-tie that seeing the siege befor Tavan & Kasa-Kermin was raised, and no notice of the Tartars to come & invade the Ukraina townes, I had dismissed the army, haveing first mustered the regiment[s]. Writt here-with to my wyfe by Lt. Loree.

Marched after I had dismissed the reg-ts severall wayes, crossed the r. Merczik, dined a mile further, and came and lodged in the towne Olshianka, being 3 miles from the towne Prekop. By this towne is a r-t of the same name, which falleth in the r. Uda a mile below the towne, and the r. Merczik which wee crossed this day falleth in the r. Merlo.

{147} Oct-r 23. Marched a litle after midnight and crossed the r-t Losin⁴⁵⁶, which falleth in the r. Uda, as also the r-t Rogosinka, which falleth also in the Uda, this being 10 *verst* from Olshianka, and 5 *verst* further the r. Uda by the village Dolshin⁴⁵⁷. This Uda falleth in the r. Donets. 5 short *verst* further wee came to the towne Zoloczow, where haveing dined, marched over

⁴⁵⁵ Ivan Perekestov, in 1681–1704 colonel of Akhtyrka, *stol'nik*.

⁴⁵⁶ Losinaya.

⁴⁵⁷ Later and now Dolzhik.

the brooke Duvalna, 4 *verst*, & 6 *verst* further the r. Lopan above a village of the same name, and stayed in the fields till about midnight.

24. Marched, and crossing the r-t Vaselky under or by the towne Belagrode, came to the Boyars⁴⁵⁸ house at 9 aclock. Haveing had long conference with him, I dined with him, were merry, and after dinner haveing discoursed of many businesses, his lady & daughter at parting gave each to me a piece of excellent stuffe with gold flowers. Haveing visited ffrriends, and with them came to my quarters 2 *verst* from the towne, crossing the r. Donets by a long bridge. The village I quartered in is called the Old Towne, the towne Belagrod haveing stood [here *cr.o.*] neer this place befor; the walls & ditches being still knowne, but nothing of a towne, save some holes where {147v} cellars have been, being all overgrowne with weeds.

Oct-r 25, Moond. Haveing gott fresh horses, I marched about midday by the Yempsy Slabod and along the great road, haveing the r. Donets decored with pleasant villages on both sydes on our left hand, and the high ground on our right hand well cloathed with woods. And being come about 15 *verst*, wee quitted the Korotshaes road on the righ[t] hand, and going directly forward lodged by a wood near villages on both sydes; this place, called Olchovoy Kolodes, being about 20 *verst* from Belagrod.

26. Marched befor day 4 howres and came to the *oshinovie* wood, where dined, 15 *verst*, and 15 *verst* further lodged by the Graitseve Dubrovne.

{156}⁴⁵⁹ Oct-r 27, Wed. Marched early, about 8 aclock, left the great road on the left and marched by the village Pusatzcina, about 20 *verst* from the Grayova woods, and passed over the r. Garasim at a milne, & dined in the village Kuskina. This r. Garasim falleth in the r. Oskoll. Here I changed the *podwodes* or horses and marched 10 *verst* further, lodging in the woods by good convenience.

28. Marched early, and about day light the road from Staraskoll did fall in, and dined in the edge or border of the Savinoy woods, 15 *verst*, and 15 *verst* further lodged by the long-wells on the left hand of the way.

29. Marched a litle after midnight and came about 10 aclock to Livna, crossing the r. Sosna by the towne. Here I stayed all night, lodging in the ffields by the suburbes.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸ Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky.

⁴⁵⁹ Pagination failure is due to a mistake in the binding order of two quires in this volume. See above, fol. 148.

⁴⁶⁰ There follow 2 blank pages in MS (fols. 156v and 157).

{157v} Oct-r 30, Sat. Marched early the Yefremish way and crossed the r. Livinka at a milne 3 *verst* from the towne and came to the village Solovie, where breakfasted and gott fresh horses, being 10 *verst* from the towne. After dinner marched 10 *verst* over the r. Czernafky, which falleth in the r. Sosna [some *cr.o.*] 15 *versts* below Livna by a towne of the same name. This was a difficult passage and a strait hill to go up, which consumed much tyme, so that wee were forced to lodge in the village Czernafka 2 *versts* from the river.

31. Much snow being fallen, wee came with some difficulty with our waggons to the village Litle Lesky, 10 *verst*, on the left hand of the way; where haveing dined and furnished our selves with sledges, wee rode to the high way which wee had quitted on our right hand, and leaving the roade to Yeffremow on the same hand, rode on in the Murafsky *sliach* or road; and crossing the r. Lokotsh or Lokotecz, which falleth in the Semen[ek], and this in the Sitowy Metz⁴⁶¹, wee lodged in the village Daritza⁴⁶², 5 *verst* from the river & 15 from Liasky.

{158} No-r 1, Moon. Marched ane howre befor day light and passed by the vill. Puczkovo on our left & the vill. Novogolsko on our right hand, and passing the r. Dry Gogol turned to the right hand and dined in another Novogolsky by the r. Gogol, which falleth also in the r. S[e]men[ek], about 15 *verst*; and then came 10 *verst* further and lodged in the village Dolgo Lesky to the left hand of the roade. [Marched *cr.o.*]

This day I rode by the r. Dry Gogol to the right Gogol and viewed lands on the syde of that river not given out as yet, for which I intend to supplicate, and to exchange with some body on the other side to gett both sides for a milne.

2. Marched ane howre befor day and, crossing the Murafsky way, came to the village Archangel by the r-t Gresnoy. Then crossing the r. Kameny Mecz et at a milne, came about 10 aclock to my village Ivanofsky, crossing the river Zitovy Mecz by the village, haveing marched 12 *verst*.

{158v} No-r 4, Thur. After breakfast marched 5 *verst* and crossed the Zitove Mecz by a village belonging to the Ignateofs. Then passing by diverse villages on the right hand & a large vill. Volozy on the left, from Ignateova 5 *verst*, & 10 *verst* further passed by the Vladiczny Kuste, and yet 10 *verst* to the Tzareof Pristane, where lodged. This is by the r. Uppa. This vil. belongeth to the Volqhonskyes.

⁴⁶¹ A mistake: Semenek falls into Krasivaya Mecha.

⁴⁶² Darishchi.

5. Marched at 1 aclock in the morning or after midnight to the r. Solovy, 20 *verst*. Dined at the Osiorky, and came to Tula at 3 aclock afternoone, being 40 great *verst* from Tzareuf Pristane.

6. About 2 aclock in the morning marched, crossed the r. Volota, 10 *verst*, & 20 *verst* further dined in the vill. Olsianko. Then crossing the r. Volshiano⁴⁶³, to the *d[orp]* Telegni 3 *verst* & to Kamionky 7 *verst*, and 10 *verst* further came to the upper iron workes, 10 *verst*, and going to the right hand lodged in the vil. called St. John Baptist, 2 *verst*.

{159} No-r 7. Marched a litle after midnight and by day light came to the village Lipiets, 20 *verst*, and 5 *verst* further to the Czerpuchovsh Ferry over the r. Occa. I dined in Czerpuchow and haveing gott fresh horses, I went in the evening from thence and with very bad & troublesome way came to Lopatina, 20 *verst*, about 25 [*sic*] aclock after midnight.

8. By day light I marched and at 11 aclock came to Mlodiach, 15 *verst*, where dined, & came to Pachry, 20 *verst*, where lodged.

9. Marched a litle after midnight and came to the Slaboda about 9 aclock in the morning. After haveing heard devotion, I dined with ffriends, and received many visitts.

10. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 16 April '97, by Alex-r Gilbert⁴⁶⁴, and one from Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg the 8 Aug., by Ensignie Georg Gordon. These recommendations from the fors-d persons of the bearers.

{159v} No-r 11, Thur. Dined by Mr. Tabert, where our *Generalliss[imus]*, who from thence came & gave me a visitt in my house.

12. Went to towne and was by the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

13. In towne by the *Generalliss.* & *Kniaz* Boris Alexeiovits [Golitsyn].

14. At devotion. Dined at home with ffriends.

15. Being St. Leopoldus day, wee had extraordinary devotion.⁴⁶⁵ Dined by the Imperiall colonell, came home late.

16. Had many visits given me.

⁴⁶³ Vashana.

⁴⁶⁴ Alexander Gilbert, apparently of Scottish descent, was a lt.colonel's son from Riga. He came to Moscow in May 1697 with recommendations to General Gordon as his kinsman, was accepted for the Tsar's service and sent to join the main army at Azov.

⁴⁶⁵ Probably the special solemnity of this feast of Austria's patron saint had to do with the recent battle of Zenta in Serbia (11 September N.S. 1697), which resulted in the brilliant and complete rout of Ottoman forces by the Imperial army under Prince Eugene of Savoy.

17. Repayed to M[adam] Guasconi a 100 rubles which my wyfe had borrowed in my absence, and dispatched the Krasna Slabodaes *pawres*, haveing put a yearly rent upon them {160} what they are to pay, to witt: from each house, according to the *pistsory*⁴⁶⁶ bookes being 64, a ruble & 2 *spanne* of brandy, a *pude* of swines flesh. From the whole village: 50 measures of barley, 30 of buck-wheat groates, 30 of rye meale, 20 *pude* of mead or honey, 10 *pude* of butter, 10 pund of hopes from each house; from each *tiaghy chetverty*⁴⁶⁷, a goose, a duck, 2 hens & a pigge, & from two houses a sheep.

No-r 18. Sent away 10 horses to Ivanofsky.

19. Writt to the Great Ambassadour Le Fort, to Mr. Frazer in answer to his of the 16 of Aprill, to Mr. Gray in answer to his of the 8 of August, to Mr. Forbes.

20. Sent to the Chancellour Andrean Greg. Ratmanuf 10 dollers, & to the writer Miki for Fiod. Rumiantzuf for their paines about the *nipis*⁴⁶⁸ & future advices, and promised to Simon [...] Zukuf⁴⁶⁹, who hath the ordering of the Yefremovsh effaires, a gratuity.

{160v} No-r 21, Sun. At devotion.

22. In towne by Al. Sem. [Shein].

23. In towne by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] and *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn].

Payed to Eliáz Tabert 30 rubles which was borrowed in my absence. [and 100 rubles to Mrs. Guasconi *cr.o.*]

24. Received by a Captaine Yerofe[y] Kosakuf two Tzaars letters, one dated the 16 & the other the 17 of 7ber. The one for 200 *podvodes* for me & the army, the other that if no newes be to be heard of an enemy, to dismiss the army and come to Mosco. These had been in *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. [Dolgoruky] his army and sent by him from Sewsky hither.

I was in the morning by the *Generall*[*issimus*] *Kniaz* Fiod. Yuriovits [Romodanovsky].

{161} No-r 25. At a names feast by the deceased M. Gen-ll Pawl Men-ezes his widdow.

26. Writt to his M., which I delivered to the Post-M[aste]r⁴⁷⁰ my self.

⁴⁶⁶ *Pistsory* (Russian), written.

⁴⁶⁷ *Tiaglaya chetvert'*, old Russian unit by which annual peasant duties were assessed.

⁴⁶⁸ *Vypis'* (Old Russian), official written extract. A.G. Ratmanov († after 1718), *dyak* of the Estate Office from 1692. N.F. Rumiantsev, from 1681 *poddyachy*, in 1702–4 *dyak* in the same Office.

⁴⁶⁹ Probably, S.L. Zhukov, from 1681 *poddyachy* of the Estate Office, in 1701–2 *dyak*.

⁴⁷⁰ A.A. Vinus.

27. In towne by Tich. Nikit. [Streshnev], *Kniaz* Peter Ivan. [Prozorovsky] & Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin].

At devotion [*partly cr.o.*]. The *Stolnik* Ivan Bogdan. Yakufleuf brought 200 rubles of the deceased Coll. Leviston his money, tooke most of the pawne away, leaving only on[e] paire of pendants, a round top of a cap sowed with pearles & slight stones, a silver bridle & sable coat. He payed also the 50 rubles for the rent of the 500, and tooke out his note, giving another for 300 rubles.

28 [Sun.] At devotion, being the first Sunday of the Advent.

{161v} Received his M. letter, dated Mosko, wherein after notice given of diverse things it was written that 5,000 rubles were sent to the armyes on the acco-t of the Tavanish expedition.

No-r 29. By *Kniaz* Fiod. Yuriovits Romadanofsky.

30. At devotion, being St. Andrewes day.

{162} Dec-r 1, Wed. Signed a list of the Butirsky regiment for Dec-r, Jan. & Feb-r moneths pay, as followeth: a fire-worker, 33 serjeants, *furiers* & *foriers* 27, 46 corporalls, 41 pipers, 6 *verstany* sojourns, 846 not *verstany* and 5 more lately sent, in all 1,005.

Emeriti or cashired sojourns, who have male children yong, 5.

161 widdowes, who have male children yong.

51 orphans.

Received a letter from Lt.Coll. Rider, dated Azow.

2. In towne by diverse lords. Dined by *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn].

3. Received letters from Coll. Pfeningbeer his widdow Gertrude Wilhel-movna and from her son John.

4. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & others.

{162v} Dec-r 5, Sun. At devotion. Ffriends dined by me.

6. Being St. Nicolays day, at devotion.

Dined by Coll. von Werden.

7. In the evening *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovits [Romadanovsky] by me.

8. Being the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, at devotion.

9. In towne by the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Sim. [Shein].

10. Writt to his M. & the Amb. Le Fort.

Lt. Coll. Le Ade murdered about 8 aclock at night by his owne ser-t.

Received letters from Lt.Coll. Gordon, dated Archangell 29 *No-ris*.

{163} Dec-r 11, Sat. In towne by the *Generallissimus* about the business with Vas. Sav. Narbekuf.

12. At devotion.

13. Payed to my ser-ts their yeares pay: to Ivan Berezin & wyfe 6 rubles, to Miska 5, to Ivan & wyfe 5, to Nikita & wyfe 5, to the Turke & wyfe 5, to Lorion & family 5.

Georg Gordon made lt.

14. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn]; by Jan Baltus.

15. Writt to *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy, to Coll. Gast, Lt.Coll. Gordon, Maior Pfeningbeer & to his mother.

{163v} Dec-r 16, Thur. My *pawres* came from the vill. Ivanofsky with provisions.

Achintowle⁴⁷¹ graced colonell.

Writt to Mr. Frazer, Peter Mat. [Apraksin] & Coll. Westhoffe by Coll. Blomberg⁴⁷² his ser-ts.

17.

18. In towne by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin]. [By John *cr.o.*]

19. At devotion. The Danish Envoy⁴⁷³ & other ffriends at dinner by me.

Received letters from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 9 Dec-r; from Anth. Schade, dated Amsterd[a]m 19 November.

20. In towne by Alexey Simon. [Shein].

{164} Dec-r 21, Tuesd. Being St. Thomas day, at devotion. In the evening by M. Gen-ll Charles Rigeman.

22. In the Butirky, Gilbert graced ensigne.

Let of the *pawres* of Ivanofsky and with them a *prikaschik*⁴⁷⁴ Vasile Fiod. Nieczayuf with his wyfe, and with him the Tzaars letter to the governour of Yefremova for geiving 90 *czetverts* of land to Ivan Yakimuf.

23. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Lew Kirilovits [Naryshkin], Alexey Simonovitz [Shein] & *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn].

In the evening Vasile Ivan. Everlaker⁴⁷⁵ by me.

⁴⁷¹ Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul the younger.

⁴⁷² Baron Johann Ernst von Blomberg, as lt.colonel of cavalry, came to serve in Russia from Kurland via Pskov in December 1696 on General Gordon's invitation (Russian State Archive of Military History, Moscow. Fond 495, opis'1, No 58). He shortly became colonel of the elite Preobrazhensky regiment.

⁴⁷³ Poul Heins († 1705), Danish envoy in Russia from 17 July 1697 until his death.

⁴⁷⁴ *Prikaschik* (Russian), clerk or steward.

⁴⁷⁵ V.I. Everlakov, *stol'nik* of foreign origin, in 1681–2 *voyevoda* in Kol'sky Ostrog, in 1698 sent to serve in Tavan' on the lower Dnieper.

24 [Frid.] The Boyar *Kniaz* Mich. Yak. Czirkask[y]⁴⁷⁶ went from Mosko.

Wee had notice that 300 Tartars had been by Tzaritsinka and driven away their horses and cattell, but the Cosakes of that & the adjacent places haveing followed & overtaken them, beat them, recovered all their booty, killed many and tooke nine prisoners, who reported that the Turkes are {164v} resolved to come & lay a formall siege to the forts Tavan & Kasa-Kermin; others that they will make ane invasion into the Ukraina and march into Hungary this summer; the first is most probable or likely.

Writt to his M., Ambas[sador] Le Fort, Mr. Frazer, Lewenfelt, Andre Fiod. Narishkin⁴⁷⁷. Writt to Le Fort for the bookes: Pierre d'Avity & *Excerpta Besoldi*⁴⁷⁸; to Mr. Fraser for 3 bookes: [Pierre d'Avity *cr.o.*] Georg Andr[ea]s Boekler *Nützlich Hauße & Veltbuch, syn Kriegse Shule*⁴⁷⁹, *en Orbis Polonus* p[e]r S. Okolsky⁴⁸⁰.

Dec-r 25. About one a'clock in the morning wee went to devotion, confessed & communicated at high masse.

⁴⁷⁶ Prince M.Ya. Cherkassky († 1712), from 1680 *stol'nik*, from 1684 near boyar; *voyeroda* in Novgorod and from 1697 in Tobol'sk.

⁴⁷⁷ A.E. Naryshkin († ca.1716), uncle of Tsar Peter, from 1686 chamber *stol'nik*, in 1693–8 *voyeroda* in Tobol'sk.

⁴⁷⁸ Pierre d'Avity, sieur de Montmartin (1573–1635), French writer, historian and geographer. Gordon probably means his main encyclopaedic work: P. D'Avity, *Les Estats, empires, et principautéz du monde: représentez par la description des pays, moeurs des habitans, richesses des provinces, les forces, le gouvernement, la religion, et les princes qui ont gouverné chacun estat; Avec l'origine de toutes les religions, et de tous les Chevaliers et Ordres militaires* (Paris, 1613); this edition was later enlarged by him and others, and by 1660 grew to 6 volumes. Christoph Besold (1577–1638) was a noted German jurist and historian, professor of law at Tübingen and Ingolstadt, who converted to Catholicism. It is unclear what *Excerpts* of his are meant by Gordon, for I could not find such a title among his numerous works.

⁴⁷⁹ Georg Andreas Böckler (ca.1617–1687), German architect, engineer, inventor and expert on fountains who worked in Nürnberg. Gordon ordered his massive and richly illustrated treatises: G.A. Böckler, *Nützliche Hauß- und Feld-Schule: Das ist: Wie man ein Land-Feld-Guth und Meyerey mit aller Zugehöre... Mit Nutzen anordnen solle: Worbey dann auch zugleich eine zur Haußhaltung auf dem Lande nützliche Hauß-Artzney für Menschen und Viehe...* (Fürst, 1678), 1309 pp.; idem, *Schola Militaris Moderna, oder Neu vermehrte Kriegsschule, ein Handbuch für den Kriegsmann. Das Buch handelt von den Kriegsämtern, Proviant, Sold, Munition, Armatur, Artillerie, Exerzieren, Kriegsrecht, Kommando, Taktik, Lager- und Festungsbau, Friedensschluss, Allianzen usw.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1685), 856 pp.

⁴⁸⁰ Szymon Okolski (1580–1653), Polish Dominican friar, from 1641 superior of Dominican monastery in Kamianets-Podil'skyi, from 1648 provincial of his order in Lviv; he was a divine, historian and expert on heraldry. Gordon ordered his fundamental Polish armorial: Sz. Okolski, *Orbis Polonus splendoribus coeli, triumphis mundi, pulchritudine animantium condecoratus, in quo antiqua Sarmatorum gentiliata pervetusta nobilitatis insignia etc. specificantur et relucunt*. 3 vols. (Kraków, 1641–3).

Jan Stanislaw Bokiej, *Subjudex i Deputat ad pacta conventa Woiwodstwa Trockiego*⁴⁸¹, came extraordinary or rather ordinary Envoy and Resident hither and was in church, whom I invited to dinner, but he did not come excuseing his not eating flesh, the Christmasse after the new stile being past.

{165} Dec-r 26, Sun. At devotion. The Polls resident dyned with the *patres* & other ffriends dined [*sic*] with me.

Received letters from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 21 *Dec-ris*, & Mr. Georg Gordon the elder⁴⁸².

C[aptain] Lt. Al. Gordon his daughter cristened and called Katherine, I with M[adam] Le Fort & others being God-fathers & mothers.

27. At devotion early. Rode to Nikolska convoying my wyfes sister, where dined by *Kniaz* Michael Yak. Czirkassky with *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn] & others. Came home at 9 aclock at night.

28. Writt to Maria Yakufleofna⁴⁸³ and sent my ser-ts to convoy her.

{165v} Dec-r 29, Wed. At the buriall of Claudius Le Ditte *jubilier*⁴⁸⁴.

30. In towne by diverse noblemen. In the evening by Gen-ll Le Forts lady at a wedding feast, where *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] comeing by me & then thither proved troublesome.

31. Blessed be God Almighty for preserving me this yeare bypast from all dangers, misfortunes & inconveniencies!

Rec-d a letter from Coll. Konishuf, dated Azow the 23 of No-r, giveing me notice of the reseat of 10 tunne of malt & 2 *pude* of hopes for my use, which the Ribnaes colonel had sent. By this I had also notice that Ajuka Taiza with 8 or 10,000 men was gone against the Kuban Tartars; that they had driven to Azow a great number of all sort of bestiall to sell.

{166} Dec-r.

The writer Terenty Kirilow gave in a writeing of the money received & disbursed by him, as followeth:

⁴⁸¹ Subjudge and deputy for the articles of agreement from the Voivodeship of Troki (Latin & Polish). Jan Stanislaw Bokiej in 1689–94 was deputy cup-bearer, in 1690–5 city clerk, in 1694–1703 subjudge, and in 1703–5 district judge, all ranks being in the Troki Voivodeship. In 1697 he took part in the election of King August II of Poland as a deputy from the same palatinate. He represented Poland-Lithuania in Moscow until the end of 1698.

⁴⁸² Probably the father of Lt. George Gordon, who came to Moscow with a recommendation to his clansman, the Russian general (see above, fols. 159, 163).

⁴⁸³ I.e. Mary, daughter of Jacob. Apparently, Maria Ronaer, sister of Gordon's wife.

⁴⁸⁴ *Juwelier* (German), jeweller.

Received in Mosko from the writer Ivan Borisuf 6,030 rubles & of bad money 7 rubles 26 *altins* 2 *dengees*.

From the great army 1,529 rubles 26 *altines* 2 *dengees*.

From the Butirsky regiment writer 300 rubels.

In all received 16,859 rub. 26 *alt.* 2 *d.*

Disbursed to officers & sojourns 10,441 r. 2 *alt.* 4 *deng.*

Remaines: the money received from Ivan Borisuf 6,030 rub. and bad money 7 rub. 26 *alt.* 2 *d.*

Of the money sent out of the great army 388 rub. 24 *alt.* 4 *d.*

In all 6,418 rubles 24 *alt-s* 4 *d-s* and 7 rub. 26 *alt-s* 2 *d-s* bad money.

Money received by Fiodor Bogdanuf from the writer Ivan Baybakuf 608 rub. 9 *alt.* 4 *d.*

From Colonel James Gordon money left over of the *podyem* money of the Tambovish sojourns 516 rubles.

From the writer Terenty Kirilow 38 rub. 22 *alt.* 4 *d.*

In all 1,162 rub. 32 *alt.* 2 *d.*

{166v} Disbursed: to the officers for the halfe of September month 554 rubles 22 *alt.* 4 *d.*

For oates & necessaryes to the regiments 75 rub. 9 *alt-s* 4 *dengees*.

In all 1,162 rubles 32 *altins* 2 *dengees*.

Remaines 533 rubles.

In all 6,951 rubels 24 *altines* 4 *dengees* and 7 rubels 26 *altins* 2 *dengees* bad money.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁵ Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 167–171v).

{172}

1698

Jan-ry 1, Sat. God send us all a good new yeare!

Dined by *Kniaz* Michael Ivanovitz Likow⁴⁸⁶, and was thereafter by other friends. Came home late.

2. At devotion. In the evening friends Russes & strangers by me.

Received a letter from Maria Yakufleofna from Troitza⁴⁸⁷.

3. The little girl having dyed last night was buried.

4. In towne & in Butirky, dined by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin]. Was afternoon by Aftemon Ivanuf.

5. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], & thereafter by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky].

{172v} Jan-ry 6, Thurs. In towne by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn], and dined with my wyfe & others by the Danish Envoy, and in coming home by M. Gen-ll Charles Rigeman.

7. In towne in the afternoon by Tichon Nikitits, Mikita Mos. [Zotov].

8. *Kniaz* Fiod. Yur. with others dined by me.

9. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 30 *Dec-ris*.

At the wedding of Lt.Coll. Christopher Timmerman with Coll. Tornier his widdow called Saidakuf.

The *pawres* from Krasna Slaboda brought provisions and money, being *obrok*⁴⁸⁸ or duty from this year, which began the first of September last: 31 rubles in money, 15 bagges of rey meale, 15 bagges of buck-wheat groates, 11 bagges of hopes, 45 & a halfe *spanes* of brandy, 140 fishes, 25 *pude* of swines flesh,

{173} Jan-ry 10, Moon. 10 *pude* of honey, 5 *pude* of butter, 25 pigges, 25 geese, 20 duckes, 37 hens, 22 1/3 tunnes of barley.

11. Writt to the Coll-s Gast & both the Devissons, to *Kniaz* Michael Yak. [Cherkassky] & to my wyfes sister.

⁴⁸⁶ Prince M.I. Lykov-Obolensky (1640–1701), *voevoda*, boyar from 1682 and head of the Robberies Office.

⁴⁸⁷ Trinity-St.Sergy Lavra, the most famous monastery in central Russia, north of Moscow.

⁴⁸⁸ *Obrok* (Russian), rent in kind.

12. Osip Andr. *sin* Romeika⁴⁸⁹ gave a writeing with his owne hand to bring Larka his wyfe & children the [...] of Feb-ry next.

13. At devotion, and in the evening at the wedding of Lt. Thomas Yochimson with widdow Jansons.

14. Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort, M-rs Frazer, Gray, Karsten & P[ater] Ernest Sturme⁴⁹⁰, Mr. Forbess & Mr. Gordon.

{173v} Jan-ry 15, Sat. At the buriall of Maior Gaspar Gulitz, and thereafter at a feast by Mr. Gen-ll Rigeman, where were the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Simonovits [Shein] with others.

16. Received letters from Gen-ll Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 17 *Dec-ris*; from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 11 Jan-ry; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 6 Jan-ry; Mr. Grayes ordering 30 ducates to be advanced to his nephew Geo. Gordon.

The Paniins⁴⁹¹ & the Polls Envoy by me in the afternoone & evening.
Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort.

17.

18. In towne. Received two letters, one to recover runaway *panres*, another to get 5 *panres* belonging to Ochlebin[in] upon the acco-t of money he owed me.⁴⁹²

Mr. Kintzius in the evening by me and tooke his leave of me.

Received a letter from the Hetman by his ser-t.

{174} Jan-ry 19, Wed.

20. At the buriall of M. Gen-ll Bilts his widdow, and at night at the wedding of Baldwin Andrews⁴⁹³ with the widdow of yong Betling.

⁴⁸⁹ Probably a gentleman from a Lithuanian-Belorussian family. During the Russo-Polish War of 1654–67 Andrey Romeyko-Gurko was taken prisoner by the Russians, and his descendants became Russian subjects.

⁴⁹⁰ Ernst Sturm, Austrian Jesuit based in Mitau, Gordon's friend and correspondent from 1686. He wrote a work entitled *Catholische Glaubens-Bekentniß deß uralten Römischen Reichs... denen Königen, Churfürsten, Fürsten und Herren-Ständen... im Römischer Kayserlicher Wahl zu Franckfurt 1658... übergeben und... zum anderthen mahl... nachgedruckt* (Mitau, 1671).

⁴⁹¹ Possibly, Duma Nobleman Vasily Nikitich Panin, who in 1673–4 was *voeyevoda* in Sevsk, where Gordon also served then, and his son Ivan (1673–1736).

⁴⁹² On 14 December 1695 "a gentleman, Alfim Velimbassuf *sin* Ochliabinin, borrowed 20 rubles to the 20 of May next, & layd in pawne of the Galitsky *ujasd*, Robdina *stan*, dorp Kunitzina 5 *panres* with all their goods" (*Diary*, V, p. 454).

⁴⁹³ Baldwin Andrews (ca.1650–1705), English merchant and manufacturer in Russia from the 1670s. His wife was named Susanna.

Writt [to Pater Sturme and Mr. Karsten *cr.o.*] to Mr. Frazer, Mr. Gray, Gen-ll Le Fort, Fiodor Alex. Golovin, Prokofy Bogdanovitz Vosnitse⁴⁹⁴, Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyuf, all by Mr. Kintzius. Writt to the Hetman Masepa.

21. Received my yeares pay, being 952 rubles.

22. My daughter Katherine made-sure to Coll. Gordon of Achintowle. Dined with the pppl lords by Timofe[y] Rzewsky⁴⁹⁵.

23. Received a letter from G-ll Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 24 *Xbris*; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga [...] Jan-ry; from Coll. Yonger, dated Klinow⁴⁹⁶ 6 Jan.

At the wedding of Herman Becker von Dellen, Maior, with Colonell Crow his sister.

Given to Lt. Georg Gordon 20 rubles, & 3 dollers befor, by order of Mr. W-m Gray in Konigsberg.

{174v} Jan-ry 24, Moon. In towne.

In the evening sojours from Preobrasinsko tooke the Pater Decan away by force to Preobrasinsko, upon a petition from a graver, and rudely handled.

25. In towne early.

The Pater released on baile.

26. At a birth dayes feast by the *Generallissimus* Alexey Simon. [Shein], his son Sergey being borne on this day of the month.

27. Three letters of his M. sent to me, one to the *Stolnik* and *Woywoda* Yeffim Pankratiiovitz Zibin in Pereslaw Resansky⁴⁹⁷; the other to the *Stolnik* & *Woywod* Peter Paramonovits Tiatur⁴⁹⁸ [Timofe Ivanovitz Bobarikin *cr.o.*] in Galitz; the third to the *Stolnik* & *Woywod* Dimitre Vasileovitz Polonskimu in Voronies, all in my effaires.

At the wedding of Elizabeth von Bockhoven with Capt. Buck in the evening.

{175} Jan-ry 28, Frid. At home, being indisposed.

29. Maior Generall von Mengden with his family dyned by me.

⁴⁹⁴ P.B. Voznitsyn († ca.1702), noted diplomat, from 1690 *dummy dyak*. In 1697–8 he was third amdashador in Tsar Peter's Grand Embassy to the West. He represented Russia on the side of the Holy League at the Congress of Karlowitz, where he signed an armistice with the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁹⁵ T.I. Rzhevsky (ca.1640–1705), son of *Okol'nichy* I.I. Rzhevsky, Gordon's comrade-in-arms who perished in Chigirin in 1678. *Stol'nik* from 1669. Later *voyeroda* in Astrakhan', where he was killed by Cossacks.

⁴⁹⁶ Possibly, Klin near Moscow, or Khlynov (Viatka).

⁴⁹⁷ Old name of Riazan'. Ye.P. Zybin († 1725), *stol'nik*, *voyeroda*, later high commissioner of artillery.

⁴⁹⁸ Titov.

30. At the wedding of Francis Shulett the *bildhauer*⁴⁹⁹ with Mary Hamilton.

Received letters from my son John & wyfe, dated 25 7bris '97; from the Laird of Crichy and my brother John, dated at Rothemay & Bridgend the 21; from my unkle, dated Westertowne 28 *ditto*. From Mr. Georg Fraser, dated Riga 20 Jan-ry '98.

31. At home indisposed.

{175v} Feb-ry 1, Tuesd. In towne by Tich. Nikit. [Streshnev], Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] & Alexey Simon. [Shein].

Caused invite to the feast.

2.

3, Thurs. About 4 aclock in the evening most of the invited guests being conveened, wee went by paires from my daughter Katherine her howse to myne, and there kept the remembrance of my nuptiall feast, it being now 25 yeares that I have been marryed with my present wyfe. Wee were all merry & sat up late.

*Sent Capt. Evertson to Galits to bring 5 families forfeited to me for debt.*⁵⁰⁰

{176} Feb-ry 4. Writt to his M., my son John, to Mr. Frazer & M[r]. Gray, to Madam Leowenfelt; that to his M. by Mr. Krevets convoyance and that to my son by Mr. Woolffes, the other by post.

5. At the buriall of Mr. Brest his wyfe, and dined or rather supped thereafter by Andrew Artemonovits [Matveyev].⁵⁰¹

6. Received letters from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 27 Jan-ry; from Mr. Forbess, dated Dant[z]ick the 29 Jan-ry; from Mr. Andrew Marjorybanks, dated the 28 Jan-ry; from John Gordon⁵⁰², dated 28th Jan-ry; from my son John, dated Achleuchries the 1st of August '95⁵⁰³.

At the wedding of Lt. Yochimson with M. Assenius. My son in law Coll. Snivins sickened.

⁴⁹⁹ *Bildhauer* (German), sculptor or carver.

⁵⁰⁰ Entry crossed out in MS.

⁵⁰¹ Hendrik Brest, Dutch merchant in Russia in the 1670s–90s. A.A. Matveyev (1666–1728), eminent diplomat and statesman. Son of Boyar A.S. Matveyev, whom Gordon knew well, and Evdokiya Grigoryevna Khomutova, who probably descended from a Scot named Hamilton. From 1699 Matveyev jr. was Russian ambassador in The Hague, London and Vienna, then president of the Marine Academy and Justice College. In 1715 he was created count. In his memoirs he mentions Gordon with great respect.

⁵⁰² Possibly, the Scot from Poland mentioned in previous *Diary* volumes from 1688.

⁵⁰³ Thus dated in MS. It is either a slip or this letter took very long to arrive.

Capt. Evertson went from hence to fetch the 5 *pawres* of Ochlobin[in].

7. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] condoling the loss of his wyfe, by Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin], *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn].

Notice that Coll. Bruckell was a missing and said to be runaway.⁵⁰⁴

My son in law tooke bed, being oppressed with a great heat & distemper in his head especially.

{176v} Feb-ry 8, Tuesd. At a feast by Lubim Alfer. Dumnin.

Let of the Ivanofsky *pawres*, who had brought of table provisions: 40 geese, 29 duckes, 31 hens, 26 ½ *spans* of wyne, 1,040 egges, 250 handfulls of lint, 2 *pude* & 30 pund of butter; & of my cornes: 18 tunnes of oates, 18 4/1 [*sic*] tunnes of rey, 1 tunne 1/7 [q-ts *cr.o.*] of wheate, 9 *czetveriks* of hempseed.

A note also brought me of all sorts of bestiall in the *Hoffe* there: 10 oxen & bulls, 2 cowes, 50 sheep, 5 turkyes, 33 hens, 26 geese, 16 duckes, 1 cran.

In the evening *Kniaz* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn] by me.

My son in law no better, tooke a powder.

9. Writt to Lt.Coll. Gordon.

Haveing given three watches to the Hetmans ser-t, I sent the other two after him to Donskoy Bogaroditsa⁵⁰⁵, but he was gone.

10. At a *Requiem* feast by the Polls Envoy.

The Danish Envoy afterwards by me.

*Payed the smiths 27 r. 31 *alt.* 2 *deng*.^{*506}

Sent Ivan Krasnoe to Krasna Slaboda & Voronies to recover runaway *pawres* and bring two waggons of mine from Voronies to Krasna Slaboda.

My son in law let blood in the forheid, whereafter some ease.

{177} Feb-ry 11. Writt to Mr. Fraser, Mr. Marjorybanks, Mr. Forbess & Mr. Gordon in answer to theirs received last post, by post.

In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Simonovits [Shein], and thereafter in Butirky.

Payed to Mr. Baltus 21 rubles 13 kop. for diverse things taken this winter.

My son in law rather worse as better & sometymes speaking idly.

Payed to the smith Philemon [...] for 31 *pude* of irone made in windowes & doores, at 8 *gr.* per *pude*, 28 rubles [...] *alt.* [...] *d.*

⁵⁰⁴ Bruckell, German engineer. After the conquest of Azov in 1696 he fortified the place. In 1697 he was ordered to build a canal between tributaries of the Volga (Kamyshinka) and the Don (Ilovlia), but when the project failed he stole out of Russia.

⁵⁰⁵ Donskaya Mother of God (Orthodox icon). Apparently, Donskoy monastery on southern outskirts of Moscow.

⁵⁰⁶ Entry crossed out in MS.

12. Payed to the fisher Alexey Isotuf⁵⁰⁷ for malt, hopes and fish 23 rubles. In towne by Tichon Nikitits.

Caused invite to my daughter Katherine her wedding.

Wee had notice that the Tartars had made ane incursion as farr as Saltow and destroyed two villages, carrying away all the people into captivity.

Clashing betwixt the *Prikases*⁵⁰⁸.

The doctors consulted about my son in law, ordered a cooling-drink, a powder & a clister.

{177v} Feb-ry 13, Sund. The sweating powder had no operation, neither did the clister come of, and was very much distempered in the night. The doctors consulting againe, ordered another diaphoretick powder, a cordiall drink and vesicatories⁵⁰⁹ to be put to his neck and wrists.

No apothecary being to be found in the apothek, nor any that would go thither, no medicines were to be had, only the vesicatories & some ingredients but not all for a clister; which being applyed, had againe no operation, and the whole night he raved and struggled to gett up, so that two persons were forced to keep him downe.

14. In the morning his head began to sweat and thereafter a great sweat was over all his body. The doctors being come, they caused renew the vesicatories and ordered cordiall drink to be given. He lay still the whole day without speaking except when spoken to, casting and turning.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 3d Feb-ry.

Dined by the Englishes.

{178} Feb-ry 15. My sone in law nothing better, but all simptoms of weakness & of death, some preludiums of convulsion. About 8 aclock he was quite gone, the pulse ceassing, yet recovered afterwards & spoke some words. It was not found fitt to administer any thing to him, only renewed the vesicatories.

All the ffrriends being conveened, wee went to church with the bride-groome, and about 12 aclock they were marryed. At 3 aclock the *Generallissimus* Alexey Simonovitz [Shein] with others came. At 9 aclock wee convoyed bride & bridegroome to their chamber.

About 10 aclock my son in law began to struggle with death, and continued in the agony about halfe ane howre, and so departed in the 32 yeare of his

⁵⁰⁷ Gordon usually calls him Zotuf (Zotov).

⁵⁰⁸ *Priказы* (Russian), government offices.

⁵⁰⁹ Plaster made from Spanish flies (*Lytta vesicatoria*).

age; he being borne *An. D-ni* 1667 the [...] of July, a modest, discreet, civill, ingenious and godly person. *Requiescat in pace!*⁵¹⁰

I sent immediately notice to my howse that the musick should ceass, and let the guests go if they pleased.

Received a letter from Harry Gordon, dated Archangel 19 Jan-ry.

{178v} Feb-ry 16, Wed. Many condoleing visitts.

17. Caused make preparations & invite to the buriall.

18. Desired Mr. Woolffe to writt for some bookes, furniture to witt 26 stooles, & provisions with other things.

An order sent that upon my *otpiska* to the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein 2,000 rubles had been sent to me from Tula in the beginning of September to pay the sojourns, and that 337 rubles had been taken out of the *Rosradnoy shater*⁵¹¹ of money taken from the gentlemen which did fall sick by the way and were let of to Mosko; and that his M. had ordered that money to be sent into the *Rosriad* out of the remaining money in my army, & to send it in to the Stranger Office to be remitted thither. And there being 388 rubles 24 *altins* & 4 *dengees* left-over of that money, I ordered it to be sent immediately according to the order.

{179} Feb-ry 19 [Sat.] Most of the ffriends being convened, betwixt 11 & 12 the corps was brought out. First marched a battallion of foot of 300 men in 6 divisions, 2 whereof pikes, betwixt which 6 collours, preceded by a company of granadiers, all with their armes as also the collours in the mourning posturs; the drummes covered with black cloth beating a march, and the fleutes playing by turnes with the drummes. Then a marshall with his battoon or stock in mourning; then a horse of honour richly caparisoned, led by two [...]. Then a horse covered with mourning and a coat of armes on each syde, and led by two [...]. Then the honours, as a paire of spurres, a paire of gantlet gloves, a drawne sword with the sheath a crosse, a casket or helme, all on black cushions and carryed by officers in mourning. Then a marshall, and one after him carrying the deceaseds coat of armes. Then the two inviters. Then the ministers with the schoole-master and children befor and round the coffin with candles, the carriers round the coffin also, and the coffin elevated on a high theatris sledge covered with black; on the coffin a white linnen sheet and above that a mortcloth whereon a white cross and a batton above 4 coates of armes, one on each syde and at the head & feet, all drawne by 2 blacke horses covered with mourning. After the coffin a marshal befor the men mourners and another befor the women mourners, all in deep mourning.

⁵¹⁰ Rest in peace (Latin).

⁵¹¹ *Razriadny shatior* (*Razriad* Office tent), the Russian army camp office.

Being brought into the church, and after preaching into the churchyard, at the letting downe into {179v} the grave, when downe, the battallion gave a volley, when the earth was all throwne on another & a third when they began to depart. All the mourners, leaders, carryers, marshalls & others who had any office, with the officers of the battallion dined with me, and to the sojourns was given bread, beer & brandy sufficient. 68 *floores*⁵¹² were given, some more as needfull. 5 rubles to the minister for his paines & preaching, 10 copikes for each cloake etc.

Feb-ry 20, Sun. At devotion. The neerest ffrriends dined with me.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 10 Feb-ry.

21. Payed 5 rubles and a halfe for a iron kettle.

Fiodor Sniatkofsky gave in a accusation against Nikita Solochin of haveing playd fowle play in his acco-ts.

Writt to M. Gen-ll Rigeman.

{180} Feb-ry 22, Tues. Payed 11 rubles 15 *alt.* to Andrew, being now in all 30 rubles in 2 weekes tyme for spices & other things, as sugar etc.

For the last *floors* or *krep*, being in all 68, and in all money 16 rubles 16 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

In the evening Gregory Evertson came and brought the *otkasny*⁵¹³ booke of Ochlebin[in]es 5 *panres*, and 3 of the *panres* with him, they with all their horses & cattell being valued at 61 rubles.

They brought me letters from the *woynwod*, the Capt. Neliduf & the writer.

23. Ane order sent to give 3,000 rubles for *podjom* money to the three Tambovish regiments, to Coll. James Gordon.

Another to send into the Stranger Office [...] r[ubles] [...] for 2 months advance to the colonells & officers who go to service.

24. At devotion.

{180v} Feb-ry 25, Frid. Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort, Mr. Frazer.

Received a letter from M. Gen-ll Rigeman, dated Iron workes 23 Feb-ry '98.

Gave orders to send in 1[...] rubles into the *Inoshemsky Prikase*, 80 to the chancellour & 75 to 25 sojourns who go to the Tambovish regiments, being *podiom* money 3 r[uble]s for each.

A note of how much is abated of the pay of the Russ officers for their lands, for each howse:

From a colonel to 11 *altins* & 4 *dengees*.

⁵¹² *Flor* (German), crepe.

⁵¹³ *Otkazny* (Russian), renouncing (a right).

From lt.colon. & majors to 8 *alt.* & 2 *dengees*.

From capitaines to 7 *alt.*

From lieutenants to 6 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

From ensignes to 7 *alt.* 5 *dengees*.

From quarterm-rs & adjutants & waggonm-rs to 5 *altines*.

26. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] and Al. Sim. [Shein].

Lett of the three *pawres* of Ochlebin[in]s and writt by them to the *Woywod* Peter Paramonov. Tituf, to the Capitaine Ivan Affonas. Neliduf & to the writer.

Agreed with them to give 8 rubles for this yeare and to bring it at the 1st of 7ber.

{181} Feb-ry 27, Sund. Received a letter from his M., dated London 18 Jan-ry; from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 17 Feb-ry.

Was in the evening at a wedding feast by Doctor Carbonari.

28. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev], A.L.S. [Shein] & *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn], & in the evening by Frantz Timmerman⁵¹⁴.

{181v} *Martii* 1, Tuesday. Agreed with the Smoyolovsky⁵¹⁵ Ivan Troyiluf to bring *bude*⁵¹⁶ or wild stones a fath. at 2 rubles.

2. In towne by the *Generallissimus*. Dined by the Doctor Carbonari.

The cooke Ivan absconded or runaway.

3. Received letters from Ivan Konishuf, Martinian Sucharuf and Drag-neovits, dated Azow [...] Feb-ry.

At the wedding of Major Stephan Lima with Gertrud von Treyden *genant* de Trotta.⁵¹⁷

4. Writt to the Boyar *Kniaz* Alexey Petrovits Prosarowsky, Ivan Konishuf & Martinian Sucharuf.

5. At dinner with my wyfe by *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn].

{182} *Martii* 6, Sunday. At the wedding of Maior Ostoya⁵¹⁸ with Dorothea von Bockhoven.

⁵¹⁴ Frans Timmerman († 1702), Dutch merchant who taught young Tsar Peter geometry and mathematics. At the first siege of Azov he served as a military engineer.

⁵¹⁵ I.e. from the Tsars' estate of Izmaylovo east of Moscow.

⁵¹⁶ *But* (Russian), quarry stone or rubble.

⁵¹⁷ *Genannt* (German), called. Major Stefano Lima was the son of Giorgio Lima, "master miner" from Venice, who moved to Russia in 1678, served under Gordon in Chigirin and Kiev, and became colonel in Tsar's army, then vice admiral in the navy.

⁵¹⁸ Apparently, Josef Ostoya, artillery officer sent from Vienna to Russia.

Received a letter from Gen-ll Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 11 Feb-ry; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 24, and from Mr. John Gilbert *dato ibid. & ei[usdem]*⁵¹⁹.

Wee had notice that Mr. Quarant the Emp. Envoy⁵²⁰ being come to Konigsberg & taking his way towards Smollensko by a letter from him, dated there the 1 *Martii st. n.*

7. My son James went for Tambow.

Baron Blomberg with his lady, Coll. Kragge, Madam Pfenningbeers with others dined by me.

8. Received a letter from Mr. Forbess, dated Dantzick the 30 *Dec-ris*, with a litle booke & a kalender, as also some butts from Riga.

9. At devotion, received the ashes.⁵²¹ In the evening by Lt.Colonell Roon-aer & Mr. Guasconi.

{182v} March 10, Thurs. The *Dummy* Yemelian Ig. Ukraintzuf was by me in the morning, with whom I had large discourses about all our transactions, and about the fortifying of Smollensko.

Wee had notice that the Tartars had brought in provisions to Kaminiets⁵²², and with 10,000 men had made ane incursion as farr as Lublin in Polland and ruined all, and captivated many.

11. Writt to his M., to Gen-ll Le Fort, Mr. Frazer & Mr. Gilbert in answer to their last above-mentioned.

A list of the Butirsky regiment for the months of March, Aprill & May pay.

1 *bombardirer*.

34 serjeants.

27 *furiers* & *foriers*.

46 corporalls.

25 pipers or *boyboyes*.

5 *verstanies*.

837 not *verstany*.

5 lately sent.

980 in all, besides 18 pipers & 7 sojourns sent to service.

⁵¹⁹ Dated there and then (Latin).

⁵²⁰ Baron Ignaz Christoph von Guarient und Rall († after 1710), Envoy Extraordinary of the Holy Roman Empire to Russia in 1698–9, sent to confirm the anti-Ottoman alliance. In 1706 he was appointed in the same quality to Constantinople.

⁵²¹ On Ash Wednesday.

⁵²² Kamyanets-Podilskyyi (Ukrainian), Kamieniec Podolski (Polish). The capital of Podolia was seized by the Turks in 1672, but returned to Poland in 1699.

24 wiwes whose husbands are at service.

161 widdowes.

50 orphans.

1,215 [in all].

Received 32 rubles from Simeon Ivanovits Pankratiuf for the rent of 400 rubles by him, lent to him 204 yeare [1696] 8 Feb-ry⁵²³.

{183} March 12. Writt to my son James & Achintowle by Coll. von Delden. To the Hetman by his ser-t Samuel Vasilkofsky, his surgeon.

In towne by Mr. Vinus.

Sent to the Hetman the other two watches, having sent the other three by Vasily Czuikovits, his oldest writer.

Writt to Maria Yakufleovna by the *Chirurgus* Gottefried.

Payed of the wood-mongers according to their owne notes, which cost me 9 rubles more as I expected.

13. At devotion. In the evening by M[adam] Le Forts.

14. Writt to Coll. Konishuf to give 20 *spanne* of bier to Coll. Snivins, as much to Nicolay Balke, and to [*sic*] 10 to the Co-lls de Duithe & William von Delden.

Haveing agreed for 5 fath. of *bude* or wild stones at 2 rubles a fath., I gave him⁵²⁴ 5 rubles. Agreed for 100 tunne lyme at 2 *gr.* the tunne; he brought now 19 tunne, I gave him 3 rubles.

Given to Archip (this to Archip Fiodoruf) to buy necessaryes for him and his wyfe 2 rubles, they being to go to Ivanofsky.

{183v} March 15, Tuesday. Sent 3 ston'd horses and 2 coach horses to Ivanofsky.

Tooke phisick which had no operation.

16. Tooke phisick which had good operation.

The boores from Ivanofsky came & brought 16 tunnes & 3 q-ts of oats & 14 *spanne* of brandy.

Rec-d a letter fr[om] C.I.B.⁵²⁵

17. About one aclock after midnight I gott a violent fitt of the colick, which kep't me about 4 howres. Afterwards gott some ease, and kept my bed the whole day.

⁵²³ See above, fol. 9v, entry for 6 February 1696.

⁵²⁴ Apparently, to the above-mentioned supplier Ivan Troilov.

⁵²⁵ Initials undeciphered.

18. Writt to my son John, the Laird of Crichy, my unkle & brother in a *covert* to W-m Gordon in Aberdeen, addressed to Georg Frazer in Riga.

Writt to my son James by the Ensigne Sawa, to Ivan Neliduf by his ser-t.

{184} Changed lands with Lt. Daniel Michaeluf *sin* Geresin in the Columinsky district in the Meszerskoy *volost*⁵²⁶ in the *Dorp* Bunkovy, Gavrilovsky also. His share 15 *czetverts* in the ffield and twice as many with it, with a *Hoffe* and on the *Hoffe* building a roome on a *podklet*⁵²⁷, another stove, a new *ambare*, 2 *sarayes*⁵²⁸ covered, the howse environed about or hedged with balkes; and his boore Affonka Anikeyuf with his wyfe Matrona, and on his *Hoffe* a stove and bath stove, the house also *sabor'd*⁵²⁹ about. Given him for this 20 rubles.

March 19. Writt to my son James by Capt. Printz.

The boores from Krasna Slaboda came with provisions.

20. At devotion.

Received letters from the Pater Ernestus Sturme, dated Mittaw 24 Feb-ry 1698; from Mr. Karsten, dated *ibid.* 3 *Martii*; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 10 *Martii* 1698.

{184v} *Martii* 21, Moond. Given to the Krasna Slaboda boores the following writeing.

The last year, 205 [1696/97], received from them *obrok* in all 85 rubles, wants [hereof *cr.o.*], to 2 rubles from ane howse, 43 rubles.

This 206 yeare by both their sendings received:

55 rubles.

111 *spannes* of brandy.

42 *pudes* of swines flesh.

23 pigges.

20 *pude* of honey.

10 *pude* of butter.

25 tunnes and a halfe of rey meale.

24 tunnes & a halfe of buckwheat groates.

43 tunnes of barley.

14 bagges of hopes.

25 geese, 20 duckes, 37 hens.

⁵²⁶ *Volost'* (Russian), rural district.

⁵²⁷ *Podklet* (Russian), ground floor or basement.

⁵²⁸ *Ambar* & *saray* (Russian), barn and shed.

⁵²⁹ *Zabor* (Russian), fence.

Not brought: of money with the last yeares

52 rubles.

17 *spannes* of brandy.

12 *pude* of swines flesh.

4 tunnes & a halfe of rey meale.

5 tunnes & a halfe of buck-wheat groates.

7 tunnes of barley.

18 geese, 23 duckes, 49 hens, 43 sheepe.

Brought more:

88 paire of basten shooes⁵³⁰ & 3 troughs.

2 ½ rubles *yempsky* or prisoner money.⁵³¹

9 tunnes of rey & as much oates for the *streltsees*.

Sent Capt. Ried with Miska & Lorion his son to view the land bought from Dan. Mich. Geresin.

Received a letter from Harry Gordon, dated Arch[angel] 8th of March; from Jeremy Polansky chancellour⁵³², dated there *ditto*.

{185} *Martii* 22, Tuesd. Given to the Ismailufs boores now in all for 5 fathome of *bude* 10 rubles, at 2 r. p[e]r fath.

Given 20 *altines* to Lazar the locksmith.

Maior Ivan Kaczayuf went from hence with the Tzaars letter concerning the lands by Krasna Slaboda.

23. Received letters from Ro-t Gordon, dated Krakow 25 January; from Mr. Andrew Marjoribanks, dated Dantzick 30th Jan-ry; from John Gordon, dated Dantzick 2 Feb-ry, all 1698, all by Lievtennant Nicolaus Hendrich de Ram.

Ivan Krasnoe came & brought me acco-t of the runaway boores, with a letter from my *prikastzik* concerning that and other businesses.

24.

{185v} March 25. Writt to Mr. Forbess, Mr. Gordon, M[r.] Marjoribanks, Mr. Gray, Mr. Fraser & Lt.Colonell Gordon p[e]r post.

⁵³⁰ *Lapti*, traditional footwear of Russian peasants.

⁵³¹ *Yamskiye den'gi*, old Russian tax for the upkeep of coachmen, post horses and stations. Prisoners' money was the tax levied for ransom of Russian prisoners, especially from the Crimea.

⁵³² Ye.L. Poliansky († 1700), from 1675 *dyak* of the Foreigners' and Reiters', from 1681 of *Razriad*, from 1687 of the Cannoneer Office. In 1690 he was dismissed and exiled, but in 1694 was *dyak* in Pskov, and from 1697 in Archangel.

At devotion.

26. Rec-d in part of payment from Coll. Buists lady 10 rubles, so much being still owing. This ordered to pay the rest of the lime.

27. At devotion.

Received letters from Mr. Gordon, dated Dantzick 15; Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg the 1, and Mr. Fraser, dated the 17th of March; Pater Franciscus Xaverius Leofler⁵³³, dated Voronies 7 *Martii*.

28. Given to the cooke Ivan 4 ½ rubles, he being hired for 9 rubles a yeare 2 weekes ago.

{186} March 29. Writt to M. G. Charles Rigeman, my son James, Achintowle & Coll. Gast by Ensigne Detlovits.

Lt.Coll. Roonaer his child dyed.

30. Caused writt on the servants in the Slave Office⁵³⁴, w-ch cost a *grivnee* for each head, an *altine* for every ruble, halfe a ruble to the chancellour & 20 *altines* to two writers.

Given to Stephan the *bildhawer* 2 rubles.

31. At the buriall of Lt.Coll. Roonaer his son.

This day I ended the 63d yeare, being the grand climicterick of my age, and troublesome lyfe. Blessed be my gracious God for giving me so long a tyme to repent me of my sinnes! Grant, O my gracious God, that I may make better use of the future tyme I have to live and employ it in repenting & doing satisfaction for my sinnes, liveing a more godly lyfe by fervency & zeale in prayer, and doing workes of charity; and that I may be alwayes ready with a peacable conscience and chearfulness to resigne my sowle into thy hands!

{186v} April 1, Frid. The Tambovish sojourns by me, whom I diswaded to trouble themselves with petitioning or being at expences untill his M. returne.

The Ensigne Simon Alex. Bleklow brought an order to be a lievtennant in Ivan Yowmatufs place.

2. The writer Fiodor Bogdanuf brought the following acco-t of the *shatrovy* money:

In *cassa* 533 rubles.

⁵³³ Dean Franz Xaver Lefler, German Franciscan friar who officiated in Moscow's Roman Catholic church founded by Gordon. He was then in Voronezh in order to serve the religious needs of Catholic Venetians who worked at the wharves there.

⁵³⁴ Or Serf Office (*Kholopiý Priказ*). Gordon resorted to that Office in order to recover his runaway servants.

Mart. 6 given by order into the *Inoshemsky Prikase*⁵³⁵ 175 rubles 6 *altins* 2 *dengees*.

Given to the writer Terenty Kirilow to suply the pay of the officers 231 rub. 17 *alt.* 2 *dengees*.

In all given out 406 rubl. 23 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

Remaineth 126 rubles 9 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

The writer Terenty Kirilow brought the following acco-t of the money in his custody:

	R.	<i>Alt.</i>	<i>D.</i>
Received in Mosko from Ivan Borisow the money left over in the former expedition	6,037	26	2
Out of the great army for the Tambovish regiments at and on the way from Azow	10,529	27	2
From the regiment writer of the Butirsky regiment of money left over of <i>podyom</i>	<u>300</u>	=	=
In all received	16,867	20	2

Of this disbursed

Pay to the Tambovish regiments	1,041	2	4
Added for pay to the officers for halfe 7ber month	38	22	4

{186a}⁵³⁶ April.

And this yeare by severall orders out of the Stranger Office

	R.	<i>Alt.</i>	<i>D.</i>
Feb-ry 22	1,134	5	1
Feb-ry 24	38	11	-

⁵³⁵ Foreigners' Office (*Inozemsky prikaz*) dealt with foreigners in the Tsars' service as well as "regiments of foreign order", i.e. regular army units of horse, dragoons and foot soldiers organised and armed along Western lines. Gordon and other Western officers in Russian employ were responsible to it.

⁵³⁶ It is not an inserted folio, and its additional number has to do with the fact that this folio was left out when the MS pagination was made after Gordon's time.

The same date	337	-	-
Feb-ry 22 for <i>podyom</i> to the Tambovish regiments	3,000	-	-
Feb-ry 24 <i>podyom</i> for 25 Butirsky sojourns	75	-	-
Same date to the Chancellour Nef. Nikit. ⁵³⁷	80	-	-
To the writer Ivan Borisow	20	-	-
To buy necessaryes for the Tamb. reg-ts	15	-	-
To the officers of the horse- men for Tavans service	952	13	5½
To the officers of the souldiers	<u>732</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
In all disbursed	<u>16,863</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>4½</u>
And from Fiodor Bogdanuf	207	-	-

6 officers have not received as yet.

{186a v} April 3. At devotion. Dined by the Polish Envoy.

This day afternoone the *streltsees* who were petitioners & these who had runaway out of the army of *Kniaz* Michael Greg. Romodanofsky⁵³⁸, being near 400 as was said, came most part of them to the house of their Boyar *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. Troykuruf⁵³⁹, desiring to be heard. And when it was told them that they should send in 4 of their ppl persons, who being come declared that it was impossible for them to go to service in such bad way and desired tyme, remonstrating the great necessities they had suffered and still laboured under, and aggravating all beyond measure, and that they are redacted almost to despaire. But the Boyar interrupting them, ordered them immediately to service and to be gone instantly; which they refuseing, he ordered them to be

⁵³⁷ Possibly, Kuzma Nikitich Nefimov († 1699), from 1695 *dyak* of the Embassy Office. *Podyachy* Nikita Nefimov also served there at that time, but Gordon always uses the term “chancellor” as a synonym for *dyak*.

⁵³⁸ Prince M.G. Romodanovsky (1653–1713), *voeyevoda*, Gordon’s comrade-in-arms since the Chigirin campaigns. From 1678 boyar. In 1697 he headed Russian regiments on Lithuanian border intended to help the Elector of Saxony who became King of Poland. In 1698 this division was moved to Toropets, which annoyed the *streltsy*, who wished to return to Moscow. Romodanovsky had to deal with the mutineers and take part in the inquisition against them. He ended up in disgrace, but was later pardoned.

⁵³⁹ Prince I.B. Troyekurov, head of the Streltsy Office.

seized & carryed to prison, which their comorades seeing, they drove away those who had seized them as they were on the way to the prison, and set the prisoners at liberty, which caused a great consternation among the great men, especially these in office in the citty.

The *Generallissimus Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] sent immediately for me, and haveing told me all the business with high aggravations, which I considering the weakness of that party and the want of a head, did not think it worth the takeing it so highly and apprehending so great danger. However I went to the Butirky to prevent all misfortunes, and be ready in case any tumult or mutiny should be. I haveing caused make dilligent search if all the sojourns were at home, and finding that they were, except those on duty, I laid me downe to rest, being late, haveing first giving notice of all to Alexey Sim. [Shein] & *Kniaz* Fiod. Yur.

{187} April 4. By day light I sent to recognosce what was doing in the citty and especially at the judicial howses belonging to the *streltsees*. And haveing notice that all was quiet, I rode to the *Generallis*. Alexey Simonovitz and to *Kniaz* Fiod. Yur., who had all been at a counsell above. I found the last and these with him very apprehensive of danger still, which I strove to extenuate. But as the Russes are by nature very apprehensive of danger, so in this & the like they have another designe, which is by aggravateing things of this nature to make their service and dilligence in appeasing, oppressing and overcomeing the difficulties appeare more illustrious and meritorious. I returned to the Butirky after I had been at my howse, and haveing had all the officers together at the exercizeing of the regiment, I dismissed two thirds of the officers to their howses and to comply with the feares of others stayed my self with the rest all night. Some hundreds of the Simonofsky regiment haveing been sent to hasten away the *streltsees* to service, they not only not resisted, but made themselves ready, and haveing delivered up the ringleaders of the sedition, were all gone by midnight.

{187v} April 5, Tues. I caused the regiment come together, and the officers being come, I caused march them out into the ffields & exercize them, and after dinner passed the tyme with decideing of controversies among the sojourns.

6, Wed. I rode in the morning out into the ffields, and by *Kniaz* Alexey Petr. Prosarofsky his countrey house called Amsterdam, to Petrofsky, a countrey howse belonging to the Boyar Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], where I found him & his lady, with whom haveing drunk a glass of wine, I returned to the Butirky.

Begun to cleanse the garden.

7. I rode into the towne and visited Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], and then rode to Alexey Sim. [Shein], whither came afterwards the engineers, with whom haveing had some discourse, it was concluded that they should come in the afternoone by me and consult about all things. And so afternoone they all came, and after much discourse it was concluded to set up a list of the workmen & materials for the building of the haven at the r[iver] Miaus, which the Sea Captaine Mathew Melanthon Simon, a Venetian who hath {188} undertaken to build it, did immediately and promiseth very confidently to bring it to perfection.

April 8. I did writt to his M. the passages of this last weeke.

The letter or order for L.C. Gordon to stay another yeare at Archangel gott out, & writt to him.

Rec-d a letter from C. Lewenfelt, dated Tobolsky the 11th of March.

Given to Gavriel Bazuf⁵⁴⁰ 5 rubles for this yeare.

Payed to the brewing workmen for 9 brewings of beer 4 ½ rubles.

Given to Vasily the carpenter 20 *altines* to buy wood, he haveing agreed to make the biggest *raames*⁵⁴¹ to the windowes for 5 *altines* and the lesser for 4 *altines* a peece. Given to the carpenters one ruble more.

Writt to Colonell Yonger.

{188v} April 9, Sat. Writt to my ser-t Vasily Neczayuf by Ivan Bassuf his ser-t.

10, S. At devotion.

11. In towne by Tich. Nikit. [Streshnev], Alexey Simon. [Shein] & Daniell Hartman. Heard the rolls read, which the enginiers had given up.

Received a letter from Gen-ll Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 21 March.

Mr. Woolffe & Mr. Meverell⁵⁴² by me in the afternoone.

Maior Katshayuf returned, without haveing gott any thing done.

12. Elias Tabert deceased.

Coll. Andrew Zeugh his howse burnt downe about 9 aclock at night.

Lent to Ivan Andreuf Liach 10 rubles upon his note to pay it in Voronies to Pater Franciscus or Capt. Meyer.

Given to Ivan & Stephan the *podriadshikes* 5 rubles, they being to have 20 rubles mor for building the addition to the *Palate*⁵⁴³.

⁵⁴⁰ Apparently, Bazhov.

⁵⁴¹ *Rama* (Russian), frame.

⁵⁴² Otto Meverell, English merchant, son of Gordon's old friend Samuel Meverell.

⁵⁴³ *Palata* (Russian), chamber or hall.

13. Writt to *Kniaz* Michael Ivan. Likow, to Jeremey Leontiovi[ch] Poliansky & to Harry Gordon by his ser-t Nikita. Writt to my ser-t Vasily Neczayuf and to the Reg-t Quarterm-r Ivan Leonty. Yakimuf, and to the Governour of Yefremow Yakim Stephan. Zdanuf with his M. letter to the governour to *otkas*⁵⁴⁴ or give-of the lands, being [...] *czetverts*, which I have exchanged with Ivan Yakimuf.

{189} April 14. In towne by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] & Al. Simon. [Shein], Bald. And[rews] & in *K[niaz]* M. Yak. Czirkasky his after *Hoffe*⁵⁴⁵ & garden.

15. Writt to his M., G. Le Fort, Mr. Gray & Mr. Fraser.
Given to the ovenman 6 rubles in hand.

A list of the sojourns in my 7 regiments.

Butirskyes	1,000
Tambowsh	4,500
Wasenyes ⁵⁴⁶	500
Czaronzufs ⁵⁴⁷	190
Viatczinies ⁵⁴⁸	<u>1,177</u>
In all	7,367

A note of the money in the Butirsky regiment.

By Nikita Solochin	500 rubles
By Vasily Biczkow	126 rubl. 20 <i>alt</i> .

Given orders to give out pay to the sojourns for March month & for halfe Aprill out of the money remaining in the regiment.

{189v} April 16, Sat. Writt to the Boyar *Kniaz* Michael Yakufleovitz Czirkasky & to Mary Yakufleofna by their ser-ts.

⁵⁴⁴ *Otkaz* (Russian), renunciation or quitclaim.

⁵⁴⁵ I.e. back yard.

⁵⁴⁶ Vazhane, soldiers recruited in the Vaga province in northern Russia, along the Vaga river.

⁵⁴⁷ Inhabitants of Charonda region in northern Russia, on or near the lake Charondskoye (Vozhe). In the 17th century it was a separate province with its own *vojevoda*, administration and numerous population subordinate to the Great Palace Office. Today Charonda is a fully extinct village of the Vologda region.

⁵⁴⁸ Natives and/or inhabitants of Viatka.

Dined by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovitz Romadanofsky, it being his daughter her name day. El. Tabert buried.

Bought from him [Romadanovsky] 5 mares for 55 rubles.

20 apple-trees brought from *Kn*. Mich. Yak. and 2 pear-trees, and befor 21, with rizerberry⁵⁴⁹ trees 100, or bushes.

17. At devotion.

Lent to L.Col. Roonaer 3 rubles, being now in all 33 r. which I have lent him.

18. At devotion.

The Boyar Fiodor Petrovitz Seremetuf⁵⁵⁰ by me in the evening. Got 10 apple- & 10 peer trees from the *diak*⁵⁵¹.

Made up my acco-t with Alexey Izotuf, and I to give to him for 41 tunnes of malt at 20 *alt.* p[e]r tunne, 85 pund of hopes at 5 *deng.*, & for fish 6 rubles; in all 32 rubles 24 *alt.* 2 *deng.*

19. Received letters from Mr. Pat. Forbes & Mr. And. Marjorybanks, dated Dantzik 4 & 8 *Aprilis*; Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg the 5 of March; Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 7 *Aprilis*.

Agreed with *plotnikes*⁵⁵² to set-over the double bathstove and cut 2 roomes above it, cover and do all within the new stone addition, and make the trally with gates, all for 13 rubles & 2 *spann* of brandy.

{190} The Roman Emperours Envoy [...] ⁵⁵³ made his entry at the Kolu-gaes gate, being met by a gentleman at the farthest suburb, and there went over into his M. coach drawne with 6 white horses; the *pristave* sitting by him on his left hand & the interpreter befor them. Befor rode a *stallm[aste]r* with 100 *konuches*⁵⁵⁴, 3 & 3 in brest; then 200 writers, haveing ane of themselves for an officer befor them; then came 2 trumpeters belonging to the Envoy, but not sounding; then the *stallmaster*; then 4 rideing-horses with sadles & deckes & rich furniture, led by his servants, they haveing the horses on their left hand; then his Major-domo and 6 gentlemen on horseback 2 & 2; then the Tzaars coach with the Envoy, & 6 lackeyes in good liveryes by the coach; then 3 of the Envoyes coaches rich & fashionable, each drawne by 6 horses, a 4th drawne

⁵⁴⁹ Scots for currant.

⁵⁵⁰ F.P. Sheremetev (1655–1722), *voyevoda*, from 1684 boyar. Gordon was in close touch with him during their joint service in Kiev in 1684–5.

⁵⁵¹ For this Russian rank Gordon normally uses the term “chancellor”.

⁵⁵² *Plotnik* (Russian), carpenter.

⁵⁵³ Baron Ignaz Christoph von Guarient.

⁵⁵⁴ *Stallmeister* (German), equerry. *Koniukh* (Russian), groom.

also by 6 horses wherein 3⁵⁵⁵ *patres*; then the baggage with servants in livery on horseback attending it. He hath in all 35 persons & 40 horses. He was lodged very straitly by the Pokrovish street.

Payed for making two silver cups, a bridle and a *charke*⁵⁵⁶, being a pound or 14 r[eichs] dollers, & for worke 2 rubles.

Writt to Capt. August Meyer to receive ten rubles from Ivan Liach the Dons Cosake, w-ch I had lent him.

{190v} Aprill 20, Wedn. At devotion.

Given in a note of the necessary things to be given or added, according to the number of 7,367 men:

19 regiment cannon whereof 3 *droboviks*⁵⁵⁷, to which luntstocks, *stampels*⁵⁵⁸, screwes, shuffles or ladles and leatherne covers, and two towes to each 10 fathome long & 2 *verstkyes* thick.

3,500 musquets, 5,000 *patrone*⁵⁵⁹ cases or powdercases, 120 hallebards, 2,000 Hollands pikes or the irons at least, 40 partizanes, 4,000 *berdises*⁵⁶⁰.

21. At devotion, confessed & communicated.

Payed to Alexey the fisher mor 1 r[uble] 13 [alt.] 2 [dengi].

Given to Simon the *staliar*⁵⁶¹ 2 rubles more, so that he hath gott now 4 rubles.

{191} Aprill 22, Frid. At devotion.

Giving to the masons 5 rubles more, so that they have now gott 10 rubles and are to receive yet 15.

Given to the stone dealer 2 ½ rubles, which with the former is 4 ½ ruble[s], and to give yet halfe a ruble when all is compleet as it should be.

Given to the wrights 3 rubles & one *spanne* of brandy in hand.

Writt to Mr. Fraser, Coll. Westhoffs, Kirila Alex. Nariskin⁵⁶² & Peter Matfeowitz Opraxin by post.

23. At devotion. In the evening at 8 a'clock began the Office of the Resurrection, which lasted about ane howre & a halfe.

⁵⁵⁵ Corrected from 4.

⁵⁵⁶ *Charka* (Russian), small cup.

⁵⁵⁷ *Droboviki* (Old Russian) are described by Gordon himself as “short pieces for small shott”.

⁵⁵⁸ *Stampfer* (German), rammers.

⁵⁵⁹ *Patrone* (German), cartridge.

⁵⁶⁰ *Berdysbi* (Russian), long crescent-shaped poleaxes.

⁵⁶¹ *Stoliar* (Russian), joiner.

⁵⁶² K.A. Naryshkin (1670?–1723), *stol'nik*, Tsar's carver (*keravchy*), later high commandant of Pskov and governor of Moscow.

{191v} Aprill 24, Easter day. At devotion. Many communicants. Pater Pawlus had his *valete*⁵⁶³ preaching.

25. At devotion. Nothing from his M., only notice that he is as yet in England.

26. At devotion. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] & A. Si. [Shein].

Gott from the serv-t of Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] 100 *pude* of *z̋viasny*⁵⁶⁴ iron wherein 28 *stanges* & 2 broken pieces with 14 *obuches* among them; 50 *pude* of *polosatovo* in 37 *prutes*⁵⁶⁵; the *z̋viasny* at 30 & *polosaty* at 35 kop. the *pude*.

Newes by prisoners come out of the Valachia that the Vizier⁵⁶⁶ was still at Adrianople; that *bassaes* were sent to Belgrad, Mortesa & Haly Bassaes to Oczakow with a good army to observe the Moscovites; that the King of Poland is still in Dantzick expecting the Elector of Brandeburgh to conferr with him; that a *nuntius* from the Pope⁵⁶⁷ was come into Polland to compose busines.

{192} Aprill 27, Wed. In towne by L.K. [Naryshkin] & K[*niaz*] Bor. Al. [Golitsyn]. A fire in the night in Kudashewa⁵⁶⁸, where a quarrell betwixt the sojourns & the burgers.

28. At devotion. The Englishes by me in the afternoone.

29. In the Marina Bush⁵⁶⁹ with ffriends.

30. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alex. Sim. [Shein], & afterwards gave the Emperours Envoy a visit.

Wee had intelligence that 20,000 Turkes were to come to Oczakow and attact Tavan, if our armyes do not prevent them; that [...] Bassa is to command them.

Given a ruble to the *plotnik* Michael.

{192v} May 1, Sund. Our new *patres*⁵⁷⁰ entred on their function.

I dynd by Coll. Kragge, and was afterwards with ffriends in the Simonofsky woods, where very many and choice company.

⁵⁶³ Farewell (Latin).

⁵⁶⁴ *Sriazny* (Russian), bracing or fastening.

⁵⁶⁵ *Polosovoye* (Russian), band (iron). *Prut* (Russian), rod or bar.

⁵⁶⁶ Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha (1644–1702), Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire from 1697.

⁵⁶⁷ Innocent XII (1615–1700), Pope from 1691.

⁵⁶⁸ Kadashevskaya sloboda in Moscow, beyond the Moscow river.

⁵⁶⁹ Maryina Roshcha, then a suburban grove popular with Western immigrants, now part of Moscow.

⁵⁷⁰ Roman Catholic priests from the diocese of Olmütz (Olomouc, Moravia), who arrived with the Imperial embassy, Franz Emilian (Milan) (1662–1738) and Jan Berula (1661–1744). They were Jesuits in disguise.

Writt to Coll-s Konishuf, N. Balk & de Duithe.

2. Gave to the *plotniks* the 4th ruble.

3. Writt to my son James and Achintowle by a Cornet Fiod. Affon.

Kartow.

The English by me in the afternoone.

Payed to Ivan Kiriluf 4 r. 4 *gr[ivnee]s* for 40 balkes.

4. The gunsmith buried.

5. At the wedding of Daniel Sheir with the daughter of Lt.Coll. Rolland.

6. In towne & in the Butirky. The Danish Envoy by me in the afternoone.

Writt to my son John & his wyfe in a *covert* to Mr. Frazer. Received a letter from my son James, dated Belgrad⁵⁷¹ 22 Apr., showing his arrivall the day befor.

7. Gott 40 r[ubles] from Vas. Nediveduf⁵⁷².

Given to the masons Ivan Nikitin & Stepan Stepanuf ten rubles, being in all 20, & to the *plotnik* Michael 2 rubles, being in all 6 rubles.

Stated my acco-ts with Mr. Munter, & he remaineth owing to me 464 r[eichsthaler]s 5 sh.

{193} May 8. The Roman Emperours Envoy in the church with ceremony. Dined by Col. Casimir von Krage.

9. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 28 April.

About 2 aclock I went from Mosco & lodged in Odintzova, 15 *verst*, &

10. the next morning early came to Wiasomka, 15 *verst*, where dined, & rode to the *dorpe* [...], where againe dined. And after noone rideing-over a bridge, Gabriell Ivanovitz Golofkin⁵⁷³ did fall in the pond with horse & all, the bridge haveing broke under him, whom with danger & trouble wee recovered. Came in the evening bake [*sic*] to Wiasomka, 3 *verst* or rather 5, being extraordinary bad way. Wee supped late, and after supper tooke leave of the Boyar *Kniaz* Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn]. Went to my lodging, &

11. the next morning about 4 aclock went from thence, and came to the Slaboda at 11 aclock.

12. Writt to my sister in law, and to my son James by a *stolnik* Ivan Yefsheyowits Bechteow.

13 [Frid.] Writt to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 28th past.

⁵⁷¹ Belgorod.

⁵⁷² Medvedev.

⁵⁷³ G.I. Golovkin (1660–1734), chamber *stol'nik*, later count and chancellor, president of the College of Foreign Affairs and head of Russia's foreign policy.

{193v} Afternoone gott a violent fitt of the colick, which continued about 3 howres with womiting and extreame paines. Caused apply warme baggs with oates & sand whereby some ease.

Received letters from my son James, dated Bialygrad or Tiaplanka 6 May; from Achintowle, dat. Abuninka 29 April.

May 14. Haveing slumbred the night over, was more at ease this day. Afternoone bathed with a decoction my belly and applyed a plaster, which gave much ease of the gripeings of my belly. Drunk at night a spirit. Payed the smiths 2 r. 14 *alt.* 4 *dengees*.

15. Hade some ease of the gripeings & voided blood downeward.

*16. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated 6th May, with notice that M. Gordon came thither ye second.*⁵⁷⁴

Had some gripeings, was advised to take a laxative, which Doctor Carbonari prescribed and Mr. Persenofsky made up.

Sent Basuf & Alabin to Gavrilofsky.

17. Tooke the laxative at 5 aclock in the morning, which 3 howres thereafter began to operate with greater torments as any purge, which continued 6 howres with most violent gripeings. Then after a litle rest some ease and operation.

Sent my 5 great-mares with a foale to Evanofsky with Peter the *dentshik*.

{194} May 18. At better ease, in the afternoone rose up.

Sent a petition to Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] to delay further enquiry about Narbekufs ser-t till his M. returne, as also that he may be kept fast in the *Prikase*, which he granted.

19. Writt to Harry Gordon.

The Imperiall Envoy Mr. Quarriant by me in the evening.

Received 200 rubles from Mr. Munter by his ser-t.

Sent cornes to Gavrilofsky a *osmin*⁵⁷⁵ of barley, 2 *czetveriks* of hempe, 6 *czetveriks* of buckwheat and linseed, & a *czetverik* of wheat.

20. Mr. Timmerman went from hence.

Given to the *plotnik* Michaell 1 ruble, being now 7. Agreed with him for 40 *altines* to uncover and againe cover the 2 litle chambers, and with the masons to build the walls of the chambers 2 *arshins* higher, 2 rubles.

⁵⁷⁴ Entry crossed out in MS, but added in Gordon's hand on margin: "this right".

⁵⁷⁵ *Osmina* (Russian), eighth part.

21. Given to my daughter Mary the writeings and assurances, *daans* & *kupshies*⁵⁷⁶, as also a writeing from my self to secure the howse wherein she liveth to her & her heires generall begotten of her body.

Payed to the iron merch-t 22 rubles, he haveing now gott in all from me 47 rubles for small things.

{194v} May 21, Sat. Sent to Mr. Meverell 12 rubles, which makes up the acco-t betwixt his deceased father & me.

Given to the masons 2 rubles, in all now 22.

22. Written to *Kniaz* Jacob Fidorovitz Dolgorukoy, to my son James & Achintowle.

Heard devotion by the Polls Envoy, wee both being not well disposed.

23. Received a letter from the Ambassadour Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 29 *Aprilis*, showing that his Ma-tie was returned from England in good health, and that they are to depart for Wienna shortly.

24. In towne by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev], Alex. Sim. [Shein] and by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. Romadan[ovsky].

The boyes Ivashka Borisuf *sin* Trubishin of the towne Torshok and Ivaska Anikeyuf *sin* Kolokolczin of the vil. Petrova written on in the Stranger Office; signed by Al. Yatsky, & given to the writer Ivan Muranuf.⁵⁷⁷

25. Consulted about takeing of phisick.

26. At the wedding of Lt.Coll. Robert Bruce⁵⁷⁸ with the widdow Westhoffes, borne Meyerin.

I tooke in the morning a *digestiva* julip.

{195} May 27, Frid. Signed a list of the regiment for June, July and Augusts meanes, viz. 1 granad. mr., 34 serjeants, 27 *foriers* & *furers*, 46 corporalls, 25 pipers, 5 *verstany* sojors, 837 not *verstany*, 6 newly sent, in all 981 persons; *emeriti* 6, 24 wiwes of sojours whose husbands at service in the Tambovish regiments, 161 widdowes, 51 orphans; in all 1,223.

⁵⁷⁶ *Darstvennye* & *kupchiye* (Russian), deeds of grant and purchase.

⁵⁷⁷ A.G. Yatsky († after 1703), from 1682 *dyak*, from 1698 in the Foreigners' and Reiters' Offices. I. Muranov, from 1686 *pod'yachy* of the Estate Office.

⁵⁷⁸ Robert (Roman Vilimovich) Bruce (1668–1720), son of William Bruce, Scots colonel in the Russian army. He took part in Crimean and Azov campaigns, and in 1697 was a member of the Grand Embassy as far as Königsberg, where he stayed to study artillery. From 1704 he became first high commandant of St. Petersburg, and later lieutenant general. Elder brother of the famous Count James Daniel (Yakov) Bruce (1669–1735), whose title was inherited by the offspring of Robert.

The petition or *iaſka*⁵⁷⁹ of myne upon the cooke Ivaska Ivan. Panamaruf, that haveing stolne silver plate, tinne & other vessels to the value of 125 rubles he run away. This written on the 5th of March, signed by the *Diak* Stephan Alexeyuf⁵⁸⁰; given to be written on by the writer Ivan Muranow.

In the morning I sent to Altzowa to learne the condition of that place. They returned early, it being 20 short *werst*.

Writt to Coll. Scott by his son.

Payed for the impression on the grave stone of my son in law Snevins 60 *altines*.

28. Tooke phisick, being a purge, which had but litle operation.

29. At devotion early. Rec-d l-rs from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 21 May, & Mr. Fraser, dated Riga ye 19th. Received letters from Capt. Meyer, dated Woronies 20 May & the *woynwod* there.

30. At devotion. Agreed with *plotnikes* to repaire and highten the utmost roome of the congregation howse for 6 rubles. In the afternoone by Mr. Guasconi and Mr. Woolffe.

31. At a feast by the *Generalliss*. Thereafter by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky], haveing been in the morning in the Butirky.

{195v} June 1, Wedn. Writt to my son James with the Tzaars letter, to give the 25 sojours with him their monthly pay out of the money remaining over of the *podjom* money.

Writt to Maior Everson & the *woynwod* of Woronies, as also to Capt. Gustavus Meyer. To my ser-t Vasily Neczayuf in Ivanofsky.

Given to the *plotnike* Michel 2 rubles, being in all he hath gott now 9 rubles.

Had notice that the Boyar Dolgorukoy [Romadanofsky *cr.o.*] marched from Belagrod the 17 past.

2. At devotion early.

3. Writt to Mr. Fraser in ans-r to his of the 19 past, and to Mr. Gray in ans-r to his of the 21.

4. Had notice from Azow that the son of Murteza Pasha was come to the Kertcz, and that Ali Pasha was come with a few men to their new built fortress by Kuban, and that they were to conveene the Kubansh and other Tartars and make an incursion into the Ukraina.

⁵⁷⁹ *Yavka* (Old Russian), claim or application.

⁵⁸⁰ S.D. Alexeyev († after 1711), from 1684 *pod'yachy*, in 1697–9 *dyak* in *Razriadny*, and later in the Foreigners' and Reiters' Offices.

{196} June 5. Received a letter from his Ma-tie, dated Amsterdam 9 May; from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 26 May, with the state of acco-ts betwixt him & me, which is so [...]

The Ro[man] Emp., Danish & Polish Envoyes with their suites, the paters & other ffriends dined by me & stayed till night.

Dispatched Shapparra to Evanofsky with letters to Vasily Neczayuf & Peter Rakuf, as also Archip to Bunkova.

6. Bought 5 *czetverts* of land in the *dorpe* Bunkova for 5 rubl.

7. Gott a writeing from Ochlebin[in] to possess the land, the *panvres*, which I have from now [to] enjoy for 3 yeares to come, and another, not to ask of me nor myne the money, viz. 40 rubles, w-ch the *panvres* were valued above my debt of 20 rubles.

8. Writt to my son James & to Coll. John von Delden.

Some rumors comeing of the 4 regiments of *streltsees* at Toropets enclineing to mutiny & disobedience, a querry was sent to bring notice of their doings.

9. An order to send 4 officers & 40 sojourns to overtake the *streltsees* reg-ts and take 140 runaway *streltsees* and convoy them to the Ukraina townes; as many of the other reg-ts ordered.

Made up my acco-ts with Mr. Woolffe and sent him 47 r. 28 *alt-s* 2 kop., and retained 50 rubles upon the acco-t of 20 or 30 p[oun]d st. disbursed by my son John to the deceased Ja[mes] Bruce his mo[the]r & sisters.

{196v} June 10, Frid. Writt to Mr. Fraser in ans-r to his of the 26th past.

Given to the mason Ivan 2 rubles, haveing agreed with him for fyve to change the pends & bring the two in one.

Newes of the 4 regiments of *streltsees*, which had been in the campe at Veliky Luky and now at Toropets, upon the dimission of the rest of the army and orders for them to go to diverse townes, were discontent and enclineing to mutiny.

11. Two capitaines arrived from Toropets and related how the *streltsees* after diverse private consultations had agreed and resolved not to go to the designed places, but to go directly to Mosco, and desired their colonells & officers to go along with them; and upon their refusall had dismissed them and chosen 4 of each regiment to be their directors, and were absolutely intended for Mosko. This brought no small consternation among the grandees. Wherefor a counsell being called, it was resolved to send an army against them of horse & foot, and that I should advance with the foot befor, untill the cavaliery might be conveened. So I was sent for, and told hereof accordingly. And there

being ordered that 500 of my regiment and as many of each of the other three standing regiments in Mosco⁵⁸¹ should be commanded, I accordingly ordered the officers & sojourns who must go.

12. I was above in counsell, where the former resolutions were againe concluded. No further notice from the mutineers.

I dined by the Polls Envoy with the other Envoyes and friends.

Rec-d a letter from Coll. Westhoffs, dated 5 *Junii*, & from [my cousin *cr.o.*]⁵⁸², dated both at Plesko.

27 querries and 2 *stolpory* [*dvoriane*]⁵⁸³ sent to me to be made use of to send befor and on messages to Mosko.

{197} June 13, Moon. I was againe above in counsell, and they persisting in the former resolutions, I was ordered to march to the r-t Chodinka with the foot & artillery, and there wait orders. So haveing caused give a months pay to the sojourns and sent the 5 pieces of cannon to the Butirky and received 150 *podwodes* & marched in the afternoone from the Slaboda. And haveing stayed ane howre in the Butirky untill all was ready, I marched & encamped by the r-t Chodinka, and the other 3 reg-ts came about midnight.

14. Gave notice of my arrivall, and that I had sent out on all the wayes for intelligence. Received answer from those I had written to, as to Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Alexey Simonovits [Shein] & *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovits [Romodanovsky].

The Polls Envoy came to our campe, as also my [...]

Sent diverse tymes to Mosco with such intelligence as wee could learne from people comeing from these places neer to which the *streltsees* mutined, without any certainty.

In the evening the *konuch* or querry who had been sent from Mosko the 9th returned.

15. The Boyar⁵⁸⁴ came to the army, mustered the gentlemen of his M. Court, and I caused the houshold servants of his M. and the writers to be mustered. After which the Boyar with the ppl persons who were here came by me, stayed an howre or two and then returned to Mosko.

⁵⁸¹ Lefort's, Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments.

⁵⁸² Apparently, one more of many Gordons who came to Russia; mentioned above (fol. 193v).

⁵⁸³ *Stolboye dvoriane*, members of old Russian noble families whose names and estates were recorded in special lists (*stolbty*).

⁵⁸⁴ A.S. Shein.

16. I marched about 5 a'clock and encamped by the r. Swidnia⁵⁸⁵ short of Tushina a *verst*.

I mustered the houshold servants belonging to the Court, as also the writers, & found to be 96 houshold servants on horseback & 113 to foot, and of writers 280 on horseback and 741 to foot.

About midnight the Boyar came and brought orders upon all the articles which wee had sent to the counsell to be instructed and impowred herein.

{197v} June 17, Frid. I marched with the foot about 6 a'clock, and passing by a old entrenchment & the vill. Tushina, to Czernieva 10 *verst*. Here I did meet a gentlemans servant who told me that he had lodged last night with the *streltsees*, and that they were marching very hard, intending to gett to the Voskresczinsky monastery⁵⁸⁶ this night; which made me make as great hast as possible to preveene them. And being come 5 *verst* further to the *dorp* Nachabina, I rested a litle and gave notice to the Boyar of all, and that he should send some horsemen to me.

Here returned some of the horsmen whom I had sent out on diverse wayes to recognosce, telling that they had been a great way of & had heard no certainty of the *streltsees* march. But these I had sent befor to the monastery and whom I had instructed to bring certaine intelligence where the *streltsees* should encampe this night, and which way they were marching, I expected not till the evening.

Having rested & refreshed men & horses ane howre or two, I marched over the r-t, and fearing that the mutiniers might prevent me, I made hast with such horsemen as I had gott together, and within 2 *verst* of the monastery 4 *streltsees* were brought to me by these querryes whom I had sent to recognosce the monastery way; who told that they were sent a man from each [of the *cr.o.*] regiment with a petition to the Boyar. Which I haveing read, found it to be only a list of their services, with ane aggravation of their grievances and a desire to be permitted to come to Mosko to visitt their howses, wiwes & children, and to petition for their necessities. I dispatched these to the *General-lissimus*, and haveing learned from these that they were 15 *verst* of & not like to reach the monastery this night, I ordered the campe to be drawne out neer the monastery in the most convenient place.

About sunsett I came to the place where wee should encampe, and gott immediately notice from our skouts that they were advanced to the river and

⁵⁸⁵ Apparently, Skhodnia.

⁵⁸⁶ Resurrection (Voskresensky) monastery ("New Jerusalem"), founded by Patriarch Nikon in 1656 on the bank of Istra river, 40 versts from Moscow.

were passing it at a foord. I hasted thither with such horsmen as I had by me, and with expostulations & faire words advised & commanded them to returne over the river againe & encampe {198} on the other syde, to the which they would not assent. So they turned into a lane and encamped in a meadow w[i]t[h]out the village by the river. I hasted back to bring up our foot and haveing mett them, ordered the two formost regiments to march through the village and take post in the most convenient place, and the other two to take post in the fields by the Moskoes way.

I rode then downe to them and communed with them, but found them very refractory to what wee desired. However I perswaded them to send 2 deputies more to the *Generallissimus*, which they did, and after promise made on both sides that no moveing should be this night, they went to their campe leaving a strong guard in the lane. And I caused a battallion to keep guard a litle from them, and another battallion at a distance for a relieffe, and then went to the other regiments and ordered strong guards & plottons in severall places in view of their campe to observe them, and recognosced their campe my self at a distance. And finding no appearance of stirring among them, and haveing againe visited our guards, I returned to the campe at the beating of the travallie by us (which I had forbidden them) and rested ane howre. Then went to the *Generallissimus* and consulted what should be done.

June 18, Sat. Having well advised, wee concluded that I should go to their campe and intimate to them that, 1st, they should returne and go to the places to the which they had been ordered; 2, that they should deliver the 140 fugitives who had run from Veliky Lugy to Mosko, as also the ringleaders and stirrers up of this mutiny & disobedience to his M. commands; and that his M. should in the places to the which they should go cause give them their usuall pay & bread or money according to the price currant there; and that this fault of their disobedience should be pardoned them; as also the others more guilty should not suffer any great punishment.

So takeing their 6 deputies along, I went to their campe, and commanded them to conveene and heare {198v} his M. gracious concessions. There conveened about 200 of them, to whom I caused first their deputies declare what was ordered, and then my self used all the rhetorick I was master of to perswade them to submission, and to bring a petition of being guilty of transgressing his M. commands. But they answered that they were all ready to dy or go to Mosko albeit for 8 or 3 dayes, and then to go whither his M. should order. And when I told them that they will not be permitted to go to Mosko, and that they should not once think of that, they replied that will rather dy as

not go to Mosko; and two old fellowes among them began to aggravate their grievances & necessities, and halfe a dozen more confirmed what the other said, and kept a great deale of stirr. I advised them to consult each regiment apart and consider well what they did; which they refused, saying that all were of one mind. Then I told them that I would go without the campe and stay for ane answer, threatening them that if they did not now lay hold of his M. grace, hereafter they were not to expect such conditions, if wee should be forced to use violence to reduce them. All which they valued not.

So I rode out of their campe, and stayed at a litle distance about a quarter of ane howre, & then sent to them for their last answer. And they returning no other, with signes of commiseration I departed; and haveing viewed the conveniences, after consultation with the *Generallissimus* & others, wee resolved to draw out the army & cannon and use violence, if they should not submitt.

I brought the foot regiments & the cannon to a convenient place and environed their campe on the other hand with the cavallierie. And haveing planted 25 pieces of cannon, sent a gentleman to summon & advise them to submitt; and upon their refusall, another to demand a categoricall {199} answer. But they rejected all propositions of accommodation and prepared for defence, bragging of being alike with us if wee should begin & use violence.

So wee, seeing all hopes of their submission vanished, caused fire the cannon round; which shooting over them, encouraged them so that they began to flourish their collours, throw up their caps and prepare for further defence. But at the next firing of the cannon round they began to reell, seing some of their comorades in all quarters killed. So then, whither for despaire or to shelter themselves from the shott of the cannon, they sallyed out with 5 or 6 collours into a lane, which post wee had well guarded, yet this put me to my shifts how to do. So I commanded G-ll Le Fort his reg-t and 4 companies of the Butirskyes to secure that post, and going my self ordered 100 musquetiers to go along by the river and post themselves under the shelter of a low ground with a paralell hight opposite to the lane, and fire on them as they should appeare or aproach into the lane. Which the *streltsees* perceiving, run out of the lane to their campe againe, and some into the barnes & out-houses. At the third fyreing round many of them ran out of their campe towards the foot & horsemen; and at the 4th firing very few remained in their *waggonburg*. So I advanced downe into their campe with two battalions, and set guards round & within it.

In the tyme of this service, which lasted about ane howre, wee had some wounded with small shott, and a Dutch *bombardirer* with a slugg. Of the rebels

were 22 killed on the place and about 40 wounded, few whereof are like to recover.

Wee caused all the prisoners be driven into the monastery and put into severall vaulted howses & other places; and then caused make ane inventory of their horses, and ordering their waggons or goods not to be stirred, only the ammunition & other regiment waggons wee caused be brought to the pavilion and revided [*sic*] there.

{199v} Immediately after the action wee dispatched a gentleman to Mosko with a short relation of the business, and were busy all the afternoone with gathering the armes which were strayed in the campe & fields.

June 19, Sun. Haveing gott some notice from those who thought to preoccupate favour, of some of the ring-leaders, wee called some of the principall and examined them; and thereafter befor noone mustered one of the regiments, and asking the opinion and votes of most of the ppl persons & others as to their behaviour, they freely declared some to have been ring-leaders and troublesome mutiniers. And so wee placed those who were declared good to on hand, and the bad to the other; and afternoone with another regiment the lyke.

I received a letter from the chieffe enginier Baron Borgsdorffe, dated Woronies the 9 *ditto* or instant, wherein he complaines of the slow dispatch was made for him.

20. Wee removed our campe to befor the monastery for the being neerer our business & being out of the great dust & stuffe which was on the tilled ground where wee stood; and dined by the *stroytel*⁵⁸⁷ of the monastery, which is the *oecunome*.

{200} June 21. Wee mustered another of the regiments after the former manner, and examined & brought to the torture diverse persons, who confessed their malicious designs had they gott to Mosko. Wee gave notice to Mosko twice, thrice & more tymes of all that passed.

22. Haveing found 24 persons by their owne confession guilty of hainous crimes, as of ane intention when they were gott to Mosko of massacring some of the ppl boyars, forcing an augmentation of their salary or pay and a regulation of their services, wee passed the sentence of death upon them, of haveing their heades severed from their bodies. They were set apart and ordered to confess, take the communion, & prepare themselves for death.

⁵⁸⁷ *Stroitel'* (Russian), builder.

23. These who were sentenced yesterday, Boriska Fiodoruf & comrades, were executed by severing their heads from their bodies.

The 4th regiment mustered after the same manner as the former.

Provisions of brandy, fish, groats & *sucharyes*⁵⁸⁸ brought for the sojourns.

24. I did writt to his Ma-tie in short all the circumstances of this expedition, and sent it to Mr. Vinius.

25. This and the following dayes, except Sunday, wee were every day busied from morning to evening examineing business, and many were tortured, some whereof confessed.

26. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 16, wherein he writes that my son John is not arrived as yet.

{200v} June 27. A *okolnitse*, *Kniaz* Fiodor Ivanovitz Shachofsky⁵⁸⁹, came to the campe and in a set speach asked of our healths, praised our service, with other usuall ceremonies and complements. First the Boyar was asked, then wee the *Towarises*, and then the *tzarodwortzees*⁵⁹⁰, colonells, officers & sojourns, after the usuall manner. The Boyar feasted him and all the ppill persons, and at the drinking of his Ma-ties & other healths the cannon were fired, whereof 20 were placed round the place.

Orders brought to send the less guilty *streltsees* to diverse monasteryes, to be kept in prisons there.

28. Some who had confessed themselves guilty, being prepared, were executed by hanging; and wee wrott to Mosko for orders concerning the rest who were guilty of twice deserting and clamouring and being troublesome.

Writt to my son Jame[s].

29. Being his Ma-ties name day, wee celebrated it first with devotion, & then with feasting & firing of cannon at our healths drinking.

Wee dispatched many of the *streltsees* towards the monasteryes klogged & with strong guards of sojourns and monasteryes servants.

30. Many examined & brought to the torture of Coll. Hunder[t]marks regiment, but none of them would confess to be more guilty as another, but were all alike. So wee ordained them to cast lotts, that every tenth man should dy, which they did.

Above 200 persons *knuted*⁵⁹¹ in the afternoone.

⁵⁸⁸ *Sukhari* (Russian), dried bread.

⁵⁸⁹ Prince F.I. Shakhovskoy († after 1700), *voyeroda*, from 1659 *stol'nik*, from 1683 *okol'nichy*.

⁵⁹⁰ *Tsaredvortsy* (Russian), Tsar's courtiers.

⁵⁹¹ *Knut* (Russian), whip. Already in 1661 Gordon affords perhaps the earliest instance of the verb to *knout* in English or Scots usage (*Diary*, II, p. 138). It by far predates the year 1716 given by Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

Writt to Generall Le Fort.⁵⁹²

{201} July 1, Frid. 45 men of Coll. Hunder[t]marks reg-t being by lott to dy, were brought out, and after some supposed intercession mercy was showne that every two should cast lotts; w-ch being done & they set apart, it was told them that if yet they would tell who were the ring-leaders of the mutiny, they should be let go free. After some pawses they began to mumble & tell of one or two, who being brought to the torture, without much ado confessed themselves guilty & told of 3 or 4 more, who were also brought to the torture, and after some stripes they confessed also. So were set apart and ordered to prepare themselves for death, and these on whom the lotts had fallen wer let free.

Orders came in the afternoone that these who had twice deserted & some others should be hanged.

2. This day were 72 persons hanged to fyve and to three on gibbets. Many *streltsees* as on the former dayes sent away, the officers & sojourns who convoyed them getting a months pay, the sojourns getting provisions sent from Mosco, and the *podvods* who remained with us getting to a kopike a day.

Wee examined many this day and sentenced 4 to be beheaded, and ordered the sick & wounded with 4 persons more for future further inquisition to be left in the monastery, so that but 25 persons remained here.

{201v} July 3. This day his Majesty letters came to dismiss the army and was read publikely, in the beginning whereof wee had all thanks for our services. The gentry departed immediately, and three of the sojourns regiments aft[er] dinner. The *Generalli[ssi]mus* and wee his *Tonarises* with cancellary, chancellours & writers with the Butirsky regiment stayed all night.

This day were the last of the *streltsees* sent away.

4. In the morning the 4 sentenced on Saturnday last were brought out into the fields, where the other were, and beheaded. They all, except some few, dyed very insensibly without speaking [of *cr.o.*] any thing, but crossing themselves, and some takeing leave of the spectators. 130 were executed, 70 were killed & dyed of their wounds, 1,845 persons sent to prison in diverse monasteryes & 25 remained in this monastery.

At 7 a'clock I dismissed the Butirsky regiment and a litle thereafter marched away my self. By the way I did meet with letters from Mr. Fraser & my son John, dated Riga the 23 *Junii*, showing of my son & his wyfes arrivall thither

⁵⁹² This letter, written in Low German, survives and was published in *F. Lefort. Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 284–5.

the 19, and that he was to go from thence the 28th. I rested one howre at Nachabina, and came home at 4 aclock afternoone.

Received letters from my son James, son in law and Mr. Gen-ll Rigeman, dated 2 *Junii* from Kolumka; from L.C. Harry Gordon, dated Archangell 20 *Junii*; from Lt.Coll. Palmer, dated Novogrod 28 *Junii*.

{202} July 5. Writt to my son James, Achintowle, M. Gen-ll Rigeman by the ordinary, and to Harry Gordon, Mr. Woolffe and the governour by Ivan Antrushin.

6. I rode in the afternoone and visited *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuri. Romadan[ovsky]. My daughter Mary her son very sick and small hopes of his recovery.

Received many visits.

This day after devotion I with many more were confirmed by the Archbishop of Ancira called Petrus Paulus de S.Joseph of the Carmelite order⁵⁹³, I takinge the name of Leopoldus and my son Theodorus that of Joseph.

The Danish Envoy & many others by me in the afternoone, I haveing dined by Coll. von Kragge.

7. I was by Al. Sim. [Shein], *K[niaz]* Fiod. Yur. and in towne by *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn], who detained me to dinner. After which I came home with the Archb-p, who stayed one howre or two with me.

Dispatched Lt. Ivan Mechmetuf with a writer to Evanofsky.

8. Writt to my son John, to L.C. Palmer & to the governour.

About 8 aclock in the morning my grandchild Patrick Snivins dyed. I caused the same day invite to the buriall against the next day in the afternoone, and provide all things thereof, takeing ane anchor of sack & another of white wine for 6 rubles the first & the last for 8.

{202v} July 9, Sat. I was in the morning by Tich. Nikit. [Streshnev]. Thereafter at devotion, where the Archb-p confirmed diverse, among the rest Coll. Lima his son Stephanus, who named himself Petrus, I standing Godfather to him.

About 4 aclock those invited being conveyened, wee convoyed the child to our church and after the usuall devotion and ceremonies put him in the vault by my son Peter. The Emperours and Polish Envoyes with others came home with me and stayed ane howre or two.

⁵⁹³ Pietro Paolo Palma de Artesia († 1700), scion of a noble Neapolitan family, nephew of Pope Innocent XI. In 1673 he joined the Carmelite order and preached in India. In 1696 appointed Vicar Apostolic of India and Archbishop of Ancyra. He was also styled “Councillor of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and His Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary to the Kings of Persia and Ethiopia, as well as to the Great Mogul”. He visited Russia en route to India, where he arrived in 1699, but shortly died at Surat.

10. At devotion, and afternoone at the vespers.
11. By the Boyar Al. Sim. [Shein] & *Kniaz* F. Yur. [Romodanovsky]. Some friends by me in the afternoone.
12. Being a name-day of the Roman Empress⁵⁹⁴, wee were magnificently entertained by the Emperours Envoy Mons-r Guariant and came home late.
13. Peter Rakow came from Evanofsky, bringing along 2 great oxen, 27 yong sheep, 530 egges, 5 sides of spek & 12 hens.

Writt to Ivan Mechmetuf in Evanofsky by the *pawres*. Writt to my son James & Achintowle by the ordinary.

{203} July 14, Thur. The acco-t of Ivan Yakimuf of 20 rubles given him: For expences for thrice or three seisins of lands 2 r. 8 *alt.* 4 *dengees*; for bought lands 7 rubles; for howses & tenments 8 rubles 7 *alt.* 2 *d.* In all 17 r. 16 [*alt.*]

Rests by him 2 rubles – 17 – 2.

Writt to my son John by Theodorus.

Rec-d l-rs from my son James, dated Czaplinka 14 June, & from Achintowle, dated Oriol r[iver] the 10.

15. Payed to the *petcznykes*⁵⁹⁵ or oven-makers Fiodor Stepanuf & ano-r of the same name for the ovens in the upper and in the middle roome next the kitchin, being therein 950 pots or *kachles*⁵⁹⁶ at 3 *dengees*, and the oven in the roomes below, being 340 green *kachles* at 1 kopike & a *polushke*⁵⁹⁷, in all with the 7 rubles they gott befor 18 rubles 16 *alt-s* 4 *deng.*

Writt to Mr. Frazer.

Given to Pimin 5 bookes to bind.

Received l-rs from L.C. Gordon, dated Archangell the 5th inst-t; from my son James, dated the 30 of June from Samar[a] and 4th of July from Woronofka; and from Achintowle the 30 of June from Samara.

I was by Al. Sim. [Shein], Tich. Nikit. [Streshnev] and Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

16. Writt to L.C. Harry Gordon by a *diasatnik*⁵⁹⁸.

Payed to the carpenters 12 *altines* for 4 *raames* & given them 15 *altins* for wood for more *raames* to the windowes in the new roomes.

⁵⁹⁴ Eleonore Magdalene of Pfalz-Neuburg (1655–1720), third wife of Leopold I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

⁵⁹⁵ *Pechnik* (Russian).

⁵⁹⁶ *Kakhli* (Old Russian), tiles used to decorate a stove.

⁵⁹⁷ *Polushka*, Russian coin equal to 1/4 kopke.

⁵⁹⁸ *Desiatnik* (Russian), NCO in command of ten men in *streltsy* and “town Cossack” regiments.

Writt to Ivan Irkatuf in Krasna & to Ivan Mechmetuf in Evanofsky, the first by the *Kn[iagina]* Maria Petrovna Chilkow⁵⁹⁹ her convoyance, the other by Peter Rakow.

In the afternoone I rode to have seen *Kn.* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] at Tucharow, then to have seen the Archb-p at his boat, but he was not come & the first gone from thence.

In the evening late Mr. Lhoyd came to me with one Capt. Perry & Mr. Deane lately come from England, the one for makeing of the canal, the other for building 5 fregattes.⁶⁰⁰

{203v} July 17. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 7th of July, wherein he advises me of my son his being gone from thence the 2d, and that he had payed for a *kolesh*⁶⁰¹ for him 70 r[eichs] d[ollers], and for 8 horses hire to Plesko 48 r.d. at 6 r.d. p[e]r horse; to Kinloch⁶⁰² 15 & to Grissell Gordon 7, making me debtor for 140 r.d. 56 g[rosses].

Received a letter from Coll. Westhoffer, dated Plesko the 10th instant, advising me that my son arrived thither the 8th and departed from thence the 10th instant.

18. Payed of the wood-merch-t Ankudin Gregoriuf *sin* Danieluf *siedielets*⁶⁰³ for 48,000 burn't bricces at 17 *gr[iven]* p[e]r 1,000; for 266 white stones 3 q-t-s *arsh[in]* long 3 r. 33 *alt-s*; for 188 white stones 1 *arsh.* long 3 r. 23[?] *alt-s* 2 *d.*; in all payed to him 88 r. 22 *alt-s*. I gave him also 2 rubl. for 10 tunne of lime which I received from Mr. John Vry. If 48,000 bricks, he is to have 10 r-s as yet.

I was in the morning by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky].

Given a note to the reg-t writer for 200 rubles which I have borrowed to my pay.

⁵⁹⁹ Maria Petrovna, née Matiushkina, second cousin of Tsar Peter, widow of Prince Mikhail Yakovlevich Khilkov († before 1698), *stol'nik* and *voeyevoda* in Viatka in 1688–90.

⁶⁰⁰ William Lloyd, British merchant in Russia from 1689, obviously a Welshman. John Perry (1670–1732), captain of the Royal Navy, in April 1698 was invited into Russian service as engineer by Tsar Peter in London. At first he worked on the project of the Volga-Don canal, but after its failure was sent to Voronezh. In 1712 he returned to England and published his account: J. Perry, *The State of Russia Under the Present Czar* (London, 1716). Another Englishman, John Dean(e) († 1699), also joined Russian employ in Amsterdam in 1698, and should be distinguished from his younger countryman and namesake active in Russia in 1712–21, who wrote the *History of the Russian Fleet during the Reign of Peter the Great by a Contemporary Englishman, 1724* (London, 1899).

⁶⁰¹ *Koliaska* (Russian), waggon or carriage.

⁶⁰² Captain Robert Kinloch came to Russia from Scotland via Riga in July 1698 along with John Gordon, the general's son.

⁶⁰³ *Sidelets* (Russian), shop assistant.

19. Being sent for to Preobrasinsko, his M. gracious praising our services and encourageing us in the usuall formes were read, as also to the sojourns, to whom it was told that they should have: a serjeant to a ruble & 10 *altines*, a corporall a ruble & 5 *altines*, and each sojour a ruble, & all to have their Ma-ties table. Wee were also entertained to excess, especially in drinking, the cannon being fyred at the drinking of the healths.

A list of the Butirsky regiment given in of those who had been in the late expedition, to witt: on[e] master *granadierer*, 14 serjeants, 15 *foriers* & *furers*, 21 corporalls, 22 pipers, 5 *verstany* and 499 sojourns; in all 577 persons.⁶⁰⁴

{204} July 20. I was sick the whole day, even unto death almost, and kept my bed.

21. I was at a feast by the Danish Envoy and magnificently treated, came home late.

22. Writt to Mr. Fraser with a large letter in my *coverto* from Mr. Munter to him.

Received a letter from L.Coll. Harry Gordon, dated at Archangell the 12th of July.

Caused writt out how many *czetverts* there are in Krasna Slaboda. So it is that I have 113, and to Vasily Sav. Narbekuf & to the Dutchess Maria, widdow or wyfe to *Kniaz* Michael Chilkow, was given in the yeare 191 of the *oitzine*⁶⁰⁵ of [Michael Timof... *cr.o.*] Alexey Lichatshowa each of them 66 *czetverts* & a *osmina*, so that they both have in that place 133 *czetverts*, which is 20 more as I have.

23. Made up my acco-ts with Alexey Zotuf, and am to pay him for 400 small sterlets in the pond 9 rubles, and for other small things & fish 3 rubles 28 *altines*; in all 12 r. 28 *alt-s*.

With Ivan Kiriluf the day befor for diverse things 8 rubles 31 *alt-s* 2 *d*.

24. Received a letter from my son John, dated Novogrod the 19th, & from Lt.Coll. Palmer of the same date.

{204v} July 25, Moon. At devotion. Dined in the towne by the Imperiall Envoy & was merry.

Received a letter from Mr. W-m Gray, ordering 40 r.dollers to be given to his nephew Georg Gordon.

⁶⁰⁴ This list corresponds exactly with the published document from Russian archives, signed by Gordon (N. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*, Vol. III (St.Petersburg, 1858), p. 586).

⁶⁰⁵ (*V*)*otchina* (Russian), patrimony, heritable estate.

26. In the morning by Alex. Sim. [Shein] & K. Fiodor Yuriiovitz [Romodanovsky].

Sent Miska to Bonkowa and given 16 rubles along to buy rey.

Given to Michael the *plotnike* 3 r., in all now he hath received 12 rubles.

Given to the *petsbnik* Semon Osipuf two rubles, which with the former 3 maketh 5.

Kniaz Fiod. Yur. was by me.

27. Writt to my son James, Achintowle & Harry Gordon.

Gave a visitt to M. Gen-ll von Mengden, Coll-s Westhoffe & Gulits.

28. At devotion.

Sowne in Gavrilofsky 10 tunnes of rey.

29. Made up againe acco-ts with Ivan Kiriluf, I being now to give him 17 r. 30 *altins*, and for the church 38 r. 4 *d*.

Received letters from Lt.Coll. Gordon and Mr. Timmerman, dated Arch-angell 19 July.

30. Gott halfe a *aame* of red wine from Mr. Guasconi and a hogshead of white wine from Mr. Andrewes; for the first I am to give 8 r. & for the other 22.⁶⁰⁶

31. At devotion. The Imperiall Envoy dined with me.

{205} Aug. 1, Moon. My son John with his wyfe came, by whom I received letters: from the Earle of Errol⁶⁰⁷, dated Slaines the 3d of March & 25 April; the Earle of Airlie⁶⁰⁸, dated the 30 April; Count Lesly⁶⁰⁹, dated Fetternier 30 May; the Laird of Creichie, dated there 26 April; his lady, dated Rothemay the 20 Apr.; her sister, dated Rothemay 2 May; Nethermuir⁶¹⁰, dated there the 23d of March; my unkle, dated Westertowne 4th May; my sister⁶¹¹, dated New-towne of Ardenret 29 Apr.; brother, dated Bridgend May 4; Cults⁶¹², dated May 2; Fa[the]r Dumbar, dated Bamffe 30 Apr.; Achintowle⁶¹³, dated there the

⁶⁰⁶ Gordon's note on margin: *payed*.

⁶⁰⁷ John Hay, 12th Earl of Erroll († 1704), Lord High Constable of Scotland, General Gordon's feudal lord over his estate of Auchleuchries.

⁶⁰⁸ James Ogilvy, 2nd Earl of Airlie (ca.1615–1703), chief of clan Ogilvy, to which General Gordon's mother belonged.

⁶⁰⁹ Jacob Ernst (James) Leslie (1669–1728), Count of the Holy Roman Empire from a well-known Scottish clan. Judging by the date of his letter, in 1698 he visited his family home in Scotland. He was uncle to Elizabeth Grant, wife of General Gordon's son John.

⁶¹⁰ John Gordon of Nethermuir, Patrick's cousin.

⁶¹¹ Patrick's sister Elizabeth Gordon (1644–after 1698), widow of William Hay of Ardenrit.

⁶¹² Patrick Gordon of Cults, cousin of the Russian general.

⁶¹³ Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul the elder.

14 of March; my brothers son, dated Bridgend May 2d; from Craig Forbes, dated Aberdeen the 2d *Junii*.

2. The *pawres* of Krasna brought 38 sheep, 5 dying by the way.

By the *Generallissimo*. Capt. Perry tooke his leave.

Writt to my Krasnaes *prikasczik* by the said *pawres*.

3. Writt to L.C. Gordon & Mr. Timmerman in answer [to] theirs of the 19th of July.

4. At devotion.

5. Writt to the Laird of Creichy in a *coverto* to Mr. Fraser.

6. Payed to the *petschnik* Simon Osipuf now in all 8 rubles.

Writt to my son James & Achintowle by M. Westhoffe.

Given to Georg Gordon 5 rubles, and a note for 17 on Mr. Munter.

The *pawres* of Krasna brought on the great-boates 10 waggons with covers, 2 bagges of groates, 1,000 egges, 3 turtle-doves, 11 windowes, 24 geese, 14 ducks, 45 hens, 2 tunnes of rey of *streletsees* bread and as much of oates.

{205v} Aug. 7, Sund. At devotion.

8. In towne & above by the boyars. Afterwards by the Imp. Envoy.

Payed to Tichon Grachofsky the *petschnik* in all 7 rubles, the *kachles* being at 2 kop. in the greatest roome.

Payed to Ivan the mason 1 ruble, being all due to him.

9. Writt to Lt.Coll. Gordon & Mr. Woolffe.

I went from Mosco, haveing in my company my wyfe, sons & daughters with their children, 31 horses, 6 coaches & *kolesses*, 4 *polubes*⁶¹⁴ & 5 slight waggons, 25 sojourns & servants. I lodged on a medow by Novinka all night, 7 *verst*.

10. I went not early from hence, dined at Pachry, 25 *verst*, and lodged at Mlodia, 15 *verst*.

11. Jorneyed early. Came to Lopatina, 15 *verst*, dined by a r-t 13 *verst* short of Sherpuchow; then to Sherpuchow & over the ferry, lodged by Lipnitsa.

12. Marched⁶¹⁵ early. Came to the iron workes, 20 *verst*, where dined; then 12 *v.* to Kamionka and lodged.

13. Being a great raine, wee stayed till 3 aclock afternoone, then went forward & lodged in the *dorpe* [...], 10 *verst*.

14. Marched by sunriseing, dined in the woods, came to Tula, 35 *verst*.

⁶¹⁴ *Paluba* (Old Russian), roofing or cover for baggage.

⁶¹⁵ Gordon uses his habitual military term here. This beguiled Charles Whitworth, British envoy in Russia and early reader of the *Diary*, who on this page captioned Gordon's family trip to their country estate as *March against ye Turkes!*

15. Dined here, marched & lodged at the river Solova, whither wee came late.

Affonasse Nurakuf.⁶¹⁶

{206} Aug. 16, Tues. Marched to the Tzareow Pristane, 10 *verst*, dined by the Vladishny Bushes, 10 *verst*, and to the Krasivo Mecz, 14 *verst*, to Evanofsky 6 *verst*.

17. My waggons having gone astray the evening befor and lodged in the fields all night, came this morning.

18. Some gentlemen came to see me, some whereof brought complaints.

19. I rode to Kadno, fished in the Krasivoe Mecz, and wiewed the woods & lands which I have bought.

20. I rode to the milne of Gresnofky, 8 *verst*, dined there, and towards evening came to Gogol, 22 *verst*. Here was Samson Alex. Krivintzuf.

21. Haveing dined, I tooke jorney. A lt. called Gregory Tichon. Putckow did meet me. Came to the village Archangel where supped by Yermola[y] Ivan[ov], then came to Evanofsky late.

22. I heard the complaints of Abr[am] Gabr[ilov] Pashintzow & others, & made strict inquisition in that business. Diverse gentlemen dined with me & Seliverst Petr[ov] w[i]t[h] his wyfe.

23. I sent to fish at the milne of Gresnofky.

The old *starost* gave in the following acco-t: Threshed out 2 *ovines* or 4 *kopnaes*.⁶¹⁷ of oates, wherein 2 tunnes & 3 *czetverikes* of oates.

Gott this acco-t of my mothers father. The Laird of Petlurg married Janet Ogilby, daughter to the Laird of Cullen, and was soone after killed at the batel of Pinky⁶¹⁸, leaving him who succeeded unborne or in the cradle. She was afterwards married to one Ogilby of Blarak her cousin, a cadet of the house of Cullen, and [owner] of 3,000 merks in the Boyne⁶¹⁹. By him she had a son called James, brother uterine to Sir John Gordon of Petlurge & unkle to Mr.

⁶¹⁶ Name written by Gordon at bottom of page.

⁶¹⁷ *Ovin & kopna* (Russian), barn and rick.

⁶¹⁸ John Gordon of Pitlurg (1517–1547) fell at the battle of Pinkie near Edinburgh on 10 September 1547, when the English army under the Duke of Somerset routed the Scottish host under the Earl of Arran. At that time King Henry VIII of England, trying by force to obtain the hand of young Mary Queen of Scots for his son, afflicted Scotland with punitive invasions (“Rough Wooing”). The Scots, however, won their independence yet again, with French help.

⁶¹⁹ Boyne, large estate with castle (now ruined) of the Ogilvies near Portsoy in Banffshire.

Robert. This James married Marjory Gordon, daughter to Georg Gordon of Coclaraghy. These my grandfa-r & grandmother.

{206v} Aug. 24, Wed. Haveing caused writt over all the people in the howses, and considered their abilities, I advised how to order their duties, examined and punished the *prikasçzik* & others.

25. Diverse officers & gentlemen came to visitt me and dined with me. The *paures* with their wiwes dined also & were merry.

26. Ordered 62 4/3 [*sic*] *tiaglaes*⁶²⁰ and so many *dia[s]atines*⁶²¹ of rey and as much of summer corne to be laboured for me, the third part more or so much to ly ley, and to be brought in with the other by turnes.

I received a letter from L.C. Leviston, giving hopes of his Ma-tie being in Mosko this weeke; another from C. Kinloch & L. Gordon, both dated Mosco 23d Aug., & one from L.C. Gordon, dated at Archangel 8 Aug.

27. Haveing made all things ready & breakfasted, I rode to Czernieva 6 *verst*, to Niepriadv 4 *verst*. Here crossed the Krasivoe Mecz & dined; marched 6 *verst* further, all S.S.E. & by S., then turned to the left hand to Platayow⁶²² E., 9 *verst*, where lodged. Here Yefremow was to the right hand 10 *verst*.

28. Rode 5 *verst* to Dzielinkow and to the r. Mecz all along by it & pleasant villages 5 *verst* more & dined by it. Then marched up the hill and through corne-fields and oaken woods to the Kosakes village 20 *verst*, and lodged a *verst* further by a milne on the river Ptania. This day our course most east.

{207} Aug. 29, Moon. Marched early and came to the village Tiaply, 7 *verst*; to the r. Viasofka, 4 *verst*, which crossing & along by it came to the towne Donkowa, 5 *verst*. The cittadell of this towne is situated on a hill by the river Don, which was now foordable. Here dined, and being detained by mending of the waggons & shooing the horses till neer sunsett, I then rode over the r. Viasofka and crossed the Don by a bridge a *verst* below the towne, where lodged with good accommodation.

30. Marched by diverse villages to Karpowka, 10 *verst*, & dined 3 *verst* further by a river where wee fished; then to Topkowa 2 *verst*, and by diverse villages on both hands to the font of the r. Kobielska, 15 *verst*, where lodged, and gott provisions from Fiod. Petr. Werd[erevsky]⁶²³ his ser-ts.

⁶²⁰ *Tiaglo* (Old Russian), peasant couple or household as a unit of taxation. The fraction should apparently be 3/4.

⁶²¹ *Desiatina*, Old Russian measure of land, equal to 2,400 square *sazbens*, approximately 10,925 square metres.

⁶²² Apparently, Ploty.

⁶²³ *Stol'nik* F.P. Verderevsky served in Gordon's division in the Azov campaign of 1695.

31. Marched by & through diverse pleasant villages to the r. Little Chuputka⁶²⁴, 20 *verst*, which crossing, dined by a valley and came to the towne Ria[zh]sk, 1 *verst*. Here the cittadell all ruined. Here I crossed the r. Chuputka by a foord and rode 6 *verst* further to the vill. Diochtania, by which I lodged.

Donkow is from Epifan 60 *verst* or rather 50, from Ria[zh]sk as much, from Lebedi[a]n 30 & from Yeffremow 40 or [4]5.

{207v} Sept-r 1, Thurs. Rose early, rode through the vill. Veselofka and diverse others to the vill. Uchalofka⁶²⁵, 9 *verst*, and 12 *verst* [further] dined in the woods 3 *verst* short of Saposhek⁶²⁶. After dinner rode over the river Saposhka⁶²⁷ by the towne and crossed the r. Poswa⁶²⁸ by a bridge, 2 *verst*, and the r. Kormishinka, 4 *verst*. Then through corne-fields, haveing the villages Borky & the other Krasna on our right hand, came to my village Krasna Slabod, 6 *verst*.

2. I caused writt up all the people, the horses & cattell in each howse.

About eleven aclock I received a letter from L.C. Leviston, dated 25 Aug., with notice that his M. was arrived the same day in Mosko and had been in my howse asking for me. Wherefor I caused hast with my preparations to be gone the next-day early.

Received a letter from my cousin W-m Gordon, dated Aberdeen the 3d *Junii*; from Mr. Philip Woolffe, dated at Archangel the 15 Aug.; from L.C. Gordon, dated there so also.

3. I arose early and viewed the lands in question with me & others. Returned about 8 aclock and tooke jorney at 10 aclock. Came by the village Kriuli, 2 *verst*, to Piasetsne⁶²⁹, 5 *verst*, [and *cr.o.*] dined in the woods 7 *verst* further and lodged by the r. & vill. [...] In the woods wee had very bad & strait way.

4. Wee marched early and came to the village Shilowa, 5 *verst*, where ferried over the r. Occa and dined. Rode some *verst* afterwards through thick woods all along downe the river Occa, then to Usty & through diverse {208} other villages, and lodged by the vill. [...], haveing the river Occa now on our left hand. This & yesterdaye[s] jorney was most north west. Haveing supped, I tooke some few persons with me and travelled all night, about 10 *verst*. Then turned out of the road to the right hand some *versts*, & I perceiving by the starrs that wee were not right, I caused stopp till day light.

⁶²⁴ Malaya (Little) Khupta river.

⁶²⁵ Now Ukholovo.

⁶²⁶ Sapozhok.

⁶²⁷ Sapozhok stands on the river Moshka.

⁶²⁸ Pozhva.

⁶²⁹ Krivel' and Pesochnoye.

Sept-r 5. Haveing gott a guide, wee returned to the high way by a village called Nikola. Then rode along at a distance by the r. Occa, dined 3 *verst* short of the vil. Dubrovitz; then into the low ground or medowes along by the river Occa came to the Zloczow⁶³⁰ monastery, and 3 *verst* further lodged in a medow by corne-land, our course being still N.W., haveing rode this day & night about 50 *verst*.

6. About midnight rode through the low ground, & againe went astray, to the left hand towards the vill. Kusminka⁶³¹ on the other syde of the river; & finding our selves wrong againe, stayed till day light. Then being informed, returned to the road againe, and came to the monastery Niscza, where a writer called Gabriell Ivano[v] hath a great trade of brandy. From hence our guide shew us to the right hand, which way wee went about 10 *verst*, it being to the monastery Nikola Radost⁶³². So being informed by a cross that wee were wrong, wee tooke another way to the left hand and came to the vill. Bielo-omet, this being all through a firr wood, through which 2 *verst* further dined in a medow. Then through diverse pleasant villages by the river Occa, where great-boates were building, to the vill. Diedilova⁶³³, where it being exceeding great raine, I lodged in a howse, haveing marched this day about 50 *verst*. These villages pay to his Ma-tie their duty in fish and complaine hugely of the great oppression of the officers.

{208v} Sept-r 7, Wed. Haveing gott a sure guide, wee went forward about midnight, and about 7 aclock crosseing the r. Mosco came to Kolumna, 25 *verst*. Here I dined, & rideing round the towne (the stone-wall whereof is decaying), came through diverse pleasant, commodious & well situated villages and lodged in a vill. 5 *verst* short of Brunits⁶³⁴, 35 *verst*.

8. Wee tooke journey a litle after midnight and came through the vill. Brunits & by others to the ferry, which is distant from Brunits 20 *verst*. Haveing crossed the river, 5 *verst* further I rested a litle, and at 9 aclock going from thence, I came to the Slabod at 12 aclock.

In the evening his M. sent for me & received me very graciously, he being in Colonell von Kragge his howse. Here I stayed about 3 howres & came home at eleven aclock.

⁶³⁰ Solotcha.

⁶³¹ Probably, Kuzminskoye.

⁶³² St. Nicholas Radovitsky monastery.

⁶³³ Dedinovo.

⁶³⁴ Bronnitsy.

9. Rode to the *Generallissimus* Kn. Fiod. Yur. [Romodanovsky]. After heard masse & stayed at home the whole day, many ffrriends visiteing me.

I received here in Mosco letters from Mr. Geo. Fraser, dated Riga 18 Aug.; from the Cosakish Hetman, dated at Kasa Kermin [...] Aug.; from my son in law Achintowle, dated Kaza Kermin the last of July; from my son James, dated 16 Aug. 30 *verst* from Kasa Kermin by the r. Ingulets; from Capt. Ripley⁶³⁵, dated 26 July; from M. Gen-ll Rigeman, dated 5 miles from Kasa Kermin 16 Aug.; from Mr. Timmerman, dated Colmogrod⁶³⁶ [...] Aug.; from Lt.Coll. Palmer, dated the 23 July from Novogrod.

{209} Sept-r 10. Writt to the Cosakish Hetman.

Was by the Boyar Al. Sim. Shein, and in the afternoone by the Gen-ll Le Fort, whither his M. came. The Imperiall Envoy being there also, he came home with me.

I sent Miska to meet my wyfe.

In the evening about 8 aclock my wyfe came.

11. At devotion, dined by the Imperiall Envoy.

12. I made a calculation of the *pawres* in Krasna Slaboda, and regulated them and ordered their duties, and found them to be 81 howses, & in them dwelling 336 worke-people. So reckoned every two worke-people or a man and wyfe, a *osmuch*⁶³⁷, as they call it. I ordered 158 *osmuchaes*, spareing some old & infirme people, and ordered the duty of them so:

From every *osmuch* a 8th part of a tunne of rey, as much of buckwheat groates & of wheat, 4[th] of oates & 3[rd] of barley; 3 pund of butter, or 2 *altines*; 2 pund of cleane hopes, a pund of dry *gribees*⁶³⁸; 12 fishes, whereof 2 pikes of an *arshine* long, 2 *bresemes*⁶³⁹ of 3 q-t-s, 4 perches & 4 *plotitses*⁶⁴⁰; a *span* of brandy & 15 *altines* in money. From each *czetvertky*: 1 *pude* of swines flesh, a goose, a duck & a hen all alive, and a pigge. From the whole village 10 *pude* of honey, and this to be taken of these who have no or few beeskepes, and of every beeskepe a pund of honey, and to be sure to make up 20 *pude* in all. And of all the village 8 *span* of hempe-oyle. Which maketh in all: wheat, rey &

⁶³⁵ William Ripley († 1699), English captain who brought to Archangel the yacht *Royal Transport*, presented to Tsar Peter by King William III. In June and July 1699 Gordon wrote to the Tsar about Ripley's disappearance and his body being found in the Yauza river near Moscow (N. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*, Vol. III, pp. 495-6).

⁶³⁶ Kholmogory.

⁶³⁷ *Os'mukha* (local Russian), eighth part.

⁶³⁸ *Griby* (Russian), mushrooms.

⁶³⁹ *Brassen* (German), bream.

⁶⁴⁰ *Plotitsa*, *plotva* (Russian), roach.

buckwheat of each 19 tunne 6 *czetferiks*; 78 of oates, 58 [tunne] & 4 *czetferiks* of barley; 11 *pude* & 38 pund of butter; 20 *pude* of honey; 158 *spann* of brandy; 71 rubl[es]; 7 *pude* 36 [pund]⁶⁴¹ of cleane hopes; 3 *pude* 38 pund of *gribees*; 316 pikes of an *arsh.* long, 316 *bresomes* of 3 q-t-s, 632 pearches, 632 *plotitsees*; 79 *pude* of swines flesh, 79 geese, 79 duckes, 79 hens, 79 pigges. From the whole village 8 *span* of hempe-oyle; 500 *kopnaes* of hay.

{209v} Sept-r 13, Tues. I was at a feast by the Imperiall Envoy, haveing been in the morning by the Boyar Alex. Sim. [Shein] & *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuri. [Romodanovsky].

I dispatched the *pawres* to Krasna with the regulation of things there, ordering the resting duties to be brought in this harvest tyme how soone the worke-tyme is past, writeing to the *prikasczik* to that purpose.

14. Sent 16 horses to Evanofsky with my ser-t & two sojourns, and writt to the *prikasczik* Gabriela Bazuf & the sojour Peter Rakow, ordering 20 or 30 tunne of oates to be brought to Mosko, and 5 or 6 tunnes of rey.

15. Rode to the Boyar Alex. Sim. & *Kniaz* Fiod. Yur.

16. Tooke phisik. Miska returned from Lubimofska or Kamionka.

17. Many *streltsees* brought & pined, his M. intending a more severe inquisition as wee had done.

18. At a feast by Fiodor Al. Golovin, where much company and drinking with dancing.

19. At home, being indisposed. Strict inquisition made among the *streltsees*.

{210} Sept-r 20. More *streltsees* brought, many examined & pined, and to some given notice to prepare themselves to death.

Sent 74 bookes to the *patres* for the use of the Church.

21. Writt to Mr. Woolffe & Harry Gordon, to my son James and to Maria Yakufleofna.

At devotion, being St. Matthews day. Some strangers by me in the evening.

22. By *Kniaz* Fiod. Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky]. Many *streltsees* brought to examination & the pine.

His M. came to me in the evening and told me many things concerning the examination of the *streltsees*; stayed about halfe ane howre, drunk one glass of sack, and being called for, departed.

23. Writt to Mr. Geo. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 18th Aug., and to Mr. W-m Gray in ans-r to his of the 19th of July.

⁶⁴¹ Repeat in MS: *pude*.

Intending to go to Preobrasinsko, on the way I did meet his M. and was with him by *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuri.

In the afternoone went to Preobrasinsko in vaine, all being busy above about takeing out of some of the attendants on the Princess Sophia⁶⁴², & putting the [Princess *cr.o.*] Queen⁶⁴³ in the monastery.

24. In Preobrasinsko see the maid Anna Alex. pined and afternoone the Lt.Coll. Kulpakuf.⁶⁴⁴

{210v} Sept-r 25. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort with his M. & others.

The *pawres* from Ivanofsky came.

26. By the Boyar Alex. Simeon. Shein.

Given to the potter Simon Osipuf 5 rubles, which with the 2 given in my absence & the 8 given befor maketh in all 15 rubles.

The Imperiall Envoy by me.

27. In Preobrasinsky, dined by *Kniaz* Boris Al. [Golitsyn].

The *pawres* went from hence.

28. In Preobrasinsko. Gott a bajonet from his M.

29. At devotion.

Given to the potter Tichon Garochofsky a ruble in reckoning for the oven in the great roome, being in it 504 potts at 2 kopikes the piece, 13 *bolases*⁶⁴⁵ at 3 *dengees*, 180 green at a kopike, being in all 12 r. 13[?] *alt*. He hath gotten now 8 rubles payed [in] all & 15 *altines* more because the green are at a kopike & *polushky*.

30. In Preobrasinsko. Many *streltsees* executed.

The *pawres* from Evanofsky brought me 13 ½ tunnes of oates & diverse other things, and the following acco-t from Basuf: 235 *kopnaes* of oates and the 13 ½ tunnes sent to Mosko, 48 *kopnaes* of buckewheat, 9 tunnes of peese threshed out and one of whytt-peese, and 9 tunnes of *prossa*⁶⁴⁶.

⁶⁴² Tsarevna Sophia (1657–1704), daughter of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich. In 1682–9 she ruled Russia as regent to her under-age brothers Ivan and Peter, with Prince V.V. Golitsyn as first minister. After deposition she was confined in Moscow's Novodevichy convent. According to the inquest on the mutiny of 1698, the *streltsy* planned to put her on the throne, so that after the defeat of the mutineers she was forced to become a nun. Some *streltsy* were hanged under the very window of her cell.

⁶⁴³ Tsaritsa Evdokia Fiodorovna, née Lopukhina (1669–1731), estranged first wife of Tsar Peter. On 23 September 1698 she was made to go to the Intercession monastery in Suzdal' and had to take the vows there.

⁶⁴⁴ Anna Zhukova, servant of Tsarevna Marfa, and Lt.Colonel Vasily Kolpakov who were interrogated and tortured during the process of the *streltsy* rebels.

⁶⁴⁵ *Balias(in)y* (Russian), balusters, here meaning decorative glazed colonnettes on a stove.

⁶⁴⁶ *Proso* (Russian), millet.

{211} Oct-r 1.

2. At a feast by Alex. Sim. [Shein], where his M. and others.

3. In Preobrasinsko, where I saw the crocodile, swordfish and other rarities which his M. had caused bring from England & Holland.

The boyars & other counsellours examined upon their *skaskies*.

4. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort, it being his name-day, where his M. and others came after dinner. His M. went to Troitza in the evening.

5. I was by the Boyar Alexey Sim. & *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky].

6. The *pawers* [*sic*] of Krasna Marka Nikitin & comrades brought 44 rubles, 7 whereof was wanting of the last-yeares duty and 37 of the former.

His M. returned with the vice- & arrear admiral.⁶⁴⁷

{211v} Oct-r 7. Strict examination.

8. In the evening my son in law Achintowle came.

9. At devotion. Thereafter at a feast by Coll. Chambers⁶⁴⁸, where his M. Stayed long.

10. I being unwell, stayed at home. In the afternoone by the *patres* with the Imperiall Envoy.

11. The Imperiall Envoy dyned with me. Afternoone Gen-ll Le Fort, M. Gen-ll Carlovits⁶⁴⁹, M. Boetenant & others were by me.

12. I was by the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein & *Kniaz* Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky]. Came home, after dinner found my self much distempered and tooke bed.

Payed 2 rubles to the potter Simon Osipuf, which w[i]t[h] the 15 given befor is 17 rubles. He is yet to have 4 rubles 15 *altines*, there being *kachles* in 4 ovens: in the northermost oven 384, in the next 337, in that next the kitchen 339, in the after *hoffe* 371; in all 1,431 at 3 *dengees*.

⁶⁴⁷ Vice Admiral Cornelius Cruys (1655–1727) and Rear Admiral Jan van Rees († 1705), both hired by Tsar Peter in Holland.

⁶⁴⁸ John (Ivan Ivanovich) Chambers (1650–after 1708), in his own words, “a Muscovite of Scots race”. An early military instructor of Tsar Peter, in 1690s he was colonel in command of Semionovsky and in 1700–6 of Preobrazhensky regiment. From 1704 lieutenant general and one of the first to receive the highest Russian order of St. Andrew.

⁶⁴⁹ Georg Carl von Carlowitz (1658–1700), major general in the army of Saxony, sent to Moscow by King-Elector August II to prepare an alliance against Sweden. He was killed at the siege of Riga when the Great Northern War broke out.

{212} Oct-r 13. Tooke phisick and fomentations with some ease, but nothing to the maine chance.

14. Applied the same remedies with the same effect.

15. In the same condition still with the ordinary paines in the abdomine.

16. A great feast by the Imperiall Envoy, where his M. & others.

17. 110 persons executed by diverse hands.

My son James came.

I caused set a *ventose*⁶⁵⁰ on my belly.

18. I found some ease.

The Polls Envoy by me.

{212v} Oct-r 19. Many executed.

Roman & Michael came from Evanofsky and brought with [them] on 4 *podvodes* 2 *kades*⁶⁵¹ with honey, 2 *czetferiks* of *haire*⁶⁵²-groates, a *czetverik* with a *czetfericzok*⁶⁵³ of oate-groates, a 3d p[ar]t of a tunne of brandy, a *czetfert* & 5 *czetferikes* of rey meale, a bagge with wooll, 2 pillowes with feathers.

The Imperiall Envoy gave me a visitt.

My regiment ordered to releve the guards in his M. *Hoffe*, castle & towne.

20. The Great *Ambassade*⁶⁵⁴ at audience by his Majesty.

Was at a great deale more ease this bygone night & today as before.

Payed of the potter Simon Osipuf for 1,431 potts to the 3 ovens in the after chambers & the one in the after *hoffe* in the lower roome, at 3 *dengees* the pott, 21 rubles 15 *alt.* 3 *dengees*.

My regiment releved the guardes in the towne.

21. I kept my bed still.

22. A great feast by Leo Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], where his M. & others.

23. A great feast by Gen-ll Le Fort. In the evening his M. went to Woronies without givinge answer to my petition presented on Wednesday last about the eleven *pawres*, which I wanted.

{213} Oct-r 24. Received a letter from Johan Philip de Wartt or Ward, lt. & commendant in Wirovitz⁶⁵⁵, dated ther the 25 *7bris*, for which I payed 20 *altins* postage, it weighing 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *zlotnikes*.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ventouse* (French), cupping glass.

⁶⁵¹ *Kadi* (Old Russian), tubs.

⁶⁵² Possibly from *Hirse* (German), millet.

⁶⁵³ *Czetverichok* (Old Russian), small *czetverik*, quarter-measure.

⁶⁵⁴ This was the ceremonial return of 'Tsar Peter's Grand Embassy, although its principal figures were already back in Moscow on 25 August.

⁶⁵⁵ *Wironiŭitz* (German), Virovitica in Slavonia, Croatia. This fortress was liberated from the Turks in 1684, but long remained at the theatre of Austrian-Ottoman wars. Gordon

25. Tooke a powder of Doctor Salmons, which troubled me much without operation till two howres in the night; then after good operation gott ease.

26. Found my self much lighter. Yet the paines in the lower part of my belly returned now & then, yet without great violence.

27. In the same condition & apparant bettering way.

Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 6 *Oct-ris*.

28. Haveing invited the doctors Karbonary and Sabbot⁶⁵⁶ & the apothecary Persenofsky to dinner, I desired them to consult about a remedy to remove the cause of my disease. Which they did and prescribed a ointment and a drink to take 7 dayes together, a laxative, with ane elixir or *essentia* to be taken 30 drops at a time each morning.

{213v} Oct-r 29, Sat. I found my self on the bettering hand.

Received a letter from Pater Pawlus Josephus Jaross, dated Smollensk 22 *Octobris*, which day they went from thence; from Lewenfelt, dated Kirginsky Slaboda⁶⁵⁷ the 22 July.

30. I tooke phisick. Felt no alteration till befor evening I felt most grievous paines which continued some howres; haveing vomited 3 [times], then purged below, whereby some ease.

31. Being distempered, I could neither take phisick nor arise.

{214} No-r 1. I tooke phisick againe, dined sparingly at the ordinary tyme. Ane howre thereafter gott a press of vomiteing, then very great paines. Sent for the doctors, who after consultation ordered a glister and other phisick with ane ointment. In the evening a glister was set, which haveing kept ane howre & a quarter had good operation whereby I gott ease.

2. About noone the doctors came, prescribed me a dyet with another glister.

3. Tooke the glister, which had good operation, haveing taken the prescribed 30 drops also.

4. Tooke the drops in the morning, found me eased of my paines, and great appearance of health.

5. In the same condition. The Danish Envoy visited me.

could have received this letter through the Imperial envoy, which would explain its relatively quick delivery.

⁶⁵⁶ In his diary Johann Georg Korb, secretary of the Imperial embassy to Russia, mentions "the Tsar's doctor Zopot". He was Roman Catholic and died on 4 December 1699.

⁶⁵⁷ A settlement on the river Kirga near Irbit in the Urals.

I caused put into the greatest pond 98 *sudakes*⁶⁵⁸ 78 whereof of halfe a *arshine* long, 20 of 5 *verstkeyes*, 300 sterlets [of] 5 ½ *verstkeyes*, a karpe of 1/3 of an *arsh.*, another an *arshin* wanting 2 *verstkeyes*, 50 *bresemes*.

{214v} No-r 6, Sun. On the mending hand. The doctors dined by me, they prescribed a laxative & *corroborantia pro stomacho*⁶⁵⁹ for 6 dayes.

The wedding of Boris with the new brought girle.

7. In the same condition, tooke the ordinary 30 drops.

Payed 2 ½ rubles for the worke of setting round with diamonts the last piece of gold gott from his Ma-tie for my Azovish service, being therein 24 diamonds weighing 7 ½ *zlotnikes* with the gold & diamonds.

8. Tooke the laxative which caused great, though not so extraordinary, paine & torments as befor.

Payed for this phisik 11 *grivnees* & for the former 8.

9. I could not take any thing, by reason the laxative had not quite its operation.

Gen-ll Le Fort sent me 6 fresh limons & a orange.

10. Tooke the corroboratieng stomachicall [*sic*] electuary and was somewhat better this day.

My children at a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort.

11. The Danish Envoy sent me 3 bottles of Canary sack, haveing befor sent me ane ancker of wine vinegar.

12. Received letters from M. Gen-ll Gulits & Colonell Skott, dated Shewsky⁶⁶⁰.

{215} No-r 13, Sun. *A feast by Gen-ll Le Fort, where all my children were.*⁶⁶¹

The *patres* dined by me. Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, who had been in Holl., Engl. & Italy, came and gave me a visitt.

14. Diverse ffriends by me. An order not to reseate any of the wiwes or children of the *stre*[*l*]/*tsees* who have been executed.

15. Writt to Maior Gen-ll Gulitz & Colonell Skott, desireing the coll. to cause find out the place where my deceased wyfe was buried.

A feast by the Imperiall Envoy, it being the Emperours name day. My children were there.

⁶⁵⁸ *Sudak* (Russian), zander.

⁶⁵⁹ Roborant for the stomach (Latin).

⁶⁶⁰ Sevsk.

⁶⁶¹ Entry crossed out in MS.

16. I continued phisiking, one day takeing to 30 drops of the elixir or *essentia*, & the other day the *electuarium*.

17. A feast by my son in law Achintowle, where Gen-ll Le Fort & others. In the evening *Kniaz* Boris Alex. [Golitsyn] gave me a visitt. He promised to give L.C. Roonaer his pay for so much of this yeare as he shall stay in Casan⁶⁶², till the tyme he change the governour of Sarapol.

18. Gen-ll Le Fort, and the *Dummy Diack* Lubim Alfer. Dumnin by me in the morning.

Writt to Scotland to W-m Gordon, to Elsinure to Patrick Lyall⁶⁶³, to Mr. Georg Fraser in Riga by post. To *Kniaz* Michael Yakuf. [Cherkassky] & to Maria Yakuf. in Sibir, to Lt.Coll. Roonaer in Casan.

{215v} No-r 19. Being my wyfes name-day, some ffrriends at dinner.

A child, a boy, being found upon the streets and brought to us, wee caused christen him & called by the name of Josephus Mattheus in the Catholick Church.

Received a letter from Baron Borgsdorffe, dated by the river Miaus 3 *Oct-ris* 1698, and from the Capt. Mattias [...] the Italian⁶⁶⁴, dated 10 *Oct-ris* 1698.

20. The Emperours Envoy & others dined by me.

My provisions came on 6 *podvods* from Archangell, being 4 hogsheads of white wine, 2 of claret, 2 halfe *aames* of sack, 1 barell of pickled harring, 1 of salt kod, 1 of salmon, 1 of anchovies, 1 of basket, 1 of butter, 4 *pude* of stockfish, 1 bar[rel] of har[ring], 1 of salt cod from Hary Gordon, a barrell of anzovies & ano-r of olives.

21. I found my self in a pretty good condition, yet tooke drops.

Gave to the [...]

22. I tooke no phisick, willing to have nature help itself.

Writt to Ivan Paramonovits Tituf governour of Galitz & to the Lt. Ivan Neliduf, to send out my Galitz *panres* with the last & this yeares duties.

23. Tooke no phisick. In the evening found paines in the lower part of my belly againe.

Sold the sables for 120 rubles.

The *Generallissimus* Shein his lady delivered of a son.

⁶⁶² Kazan'.

⁶⁶³ Already in mid-16th century the Scots made up nearly 14% of the population of Helsingør, and the Lyall family was very influential, Alexander Lyall being the burgomaster and director of the Sound Toll. His clansman Patrick Lyall († after 1707), Gordon's correspondent, was British consul in Helsingør from 1681 (T. Riis, *Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot... Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450–1707* (Odense, 1988), passim).

⁶⁶⁴ Apparently, the Venetian Captain Matteo Simon mentioned above (fol. 187v).

24. Tooke drops & kept dyet, whereby some ease and in the night much better as befor.

25. I found my self indifferent well, yet after victualls imediately paines in abdomine, & stoppage.

26. Tooke 5 drops of the oyle of citrons, which seemed to do well, yet haveing taken some victualls, found paines & stoppage as usuall, which continued till midnight.

Sent Miska to Buntsova⁶⁶⁵ & Columna, given him 2 rubles.

Let of the *pawres* who brought the 4 load of hay.

{216} No-r 27, Sun. Received a letter from Coll. Michael Sucharuf, dated Kyow *Oct-ris* 25.

Let of the two sojours to Archangel & given them 2 rub. for *progon* & on the way, & 22 *altines* 4 *dengees* which they had disbursed on the way hither.

28. My ser-ts returned with hay from Buntzova.

29. Writt to Harry Gordon at Archangell.

The officers gott their yeares being 4 months pay.

30. As to my health, I continued in the same condition, haveing great paines in the lower region of my belly after I take victualls.

Bought 74 sterlets for 13 *grivnees* & 5 kopikes, some, to wit 10, of 10 *verstkiees* betwixt head & taile, 54 of 8 *verstkeyes*; and in October⁶⁶⁶ from Alexey: 1 karp of 3 q-t-s, 1 of an *arsh.*, 20 *sudakes* of 5 *verstkeyes*, 300 sterlets of 5 ½ *verstkeyes*, *bressomes* 5 of 4, 31 of 6, & 13 of 5 *verstkeyes*; in all 49 *bressomes*.

Befor sturgeons

And befor that [...] sterlets; this last payed, being [...]

The 100 *sudakes* 5 rubles, the 2 karps 2 rub. 16 *alt.* 4 *deng.*; the 300 sterlets 5 rub. 13 *alt.* 2[?] *deng.*; 50 *bresoms* 2 r. – 8 – 2. The former 9 sturgeons 1 ruble 23 *alt.* 2 *dengees*.

{216v} Dec-r 1, Thur. Tooke no phisik.

Had notice of the great troubles in Polland betwixt the nobles among themselves, & the King & them, which was the occasion of M[ajor] G[eneral]⁶⁶⁷ returning to his M. to Woronies.

2. Received a letter from the governour of Pereslaw⁶⁶⁸ Yeffime Pankrat. Zibin, one from a lt. from Ustjuga & one from Ivan Yakimuf.

⁶⁶⁵ Mentioned above as *Bunkova*.

⁶⁶⁶ 5 written above the line.

⁶⁶⁷ Major General von Carlowitz, agent of the King of Poland.

⁶⁶⁸ Pereslavl'-Riazansky, later and now Riazan'.

3. Writt to the governour of Pereslaw.

4. At Church in the morning, and should have dined by my daughter Katherine with the Envoyes, but could not sitt at table by reason of my indisposition, by going abroad too soone. Wherefor went home & haveing 5 drops of the oyle of *pomerantses*⁶⁶⁹, I found ease. Yet tooke bed, resolving to take no more phisick, and to rely only on Gods help, and to take rest and keep a good dyet.

5. Was not well at ease, so kept bed.

My regiment relieved the guards above, in the Tzaars Pallace & round the townes⁶⁷⁰ & other places, haveing on the guard 600 men.

Received a letter from Yeffim Pankrat. Zibin, governour of Pereslaw, dated there 26 *No-ris*.

6. Ivan Ivan. Buterlin⁶⁷¹ *sayg*. & *Kniaz* Ivan Boris. Lvov⁶⁷² visited me.

In the evening hay brought from Buntsowa 5 load by the *pawres*.

{217} Dec-r 7. By keeping of dyet & takeing rest I found ease and could eat meates of easy digestion indifferently, for w-ch praise be given to my gracious God.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Woronies the 26th of November. Mr. Lloyd by me in the evening.

8. Kept bed still.

Given the *pawres* 1 ½ tunne of meale & dismissed them.

9. The Hetmans ser-t by me in the morning, who told me that the Kyovish colonell⁶⁷³ & he were to be dismissed, they haveing been sent for to verify some miscariages of the Belagrodish *woynwods*⁶⁷⁴ in the last campagne. He told me also that the Hetman had been by his M. at Voronies, and had been very kindly received.

10. Writt to the Hetman by his ser-t.

Newes of the Enginier Rowell being drowned with all with him in a boat on the Meotish Lake. *This found false.*⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁶⁹ *Pomeranets* (Russian), bitter orange.

⁶⁷⁰ Apparently, Kitay and Bely Gorod, walled central parts of Moscow.

⁶⁷¹ I.I. Buturlin (1661–1738), “near” *stol’nik*, first major of Preobrazhensky regiment, from 1693 *Generalissimus* of mock troops, from 1721 “general-in-chief”. The meaning of the following abbreviation is unclear.

⁶⁷² Prince I.B. L’vov, *stol’nik*, inspector of Russian students in Holland and England, from 1716 *Ober-Equipagemeister* of the Navy.

⁶⁷³ Konstantin Mokievsky († 1709), Cossack colonel of Kiev (1691–1708) and Chigirin (1708–1709), kinsman of Hetman Ivan Mazepa.

⁶⁷⁴ Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky.

⁶⁷⁵ Phrase added later.

My ser-ts returned with hay.

11. Found my self better disposed & rose up. *Gloria tibi Domine*.⁶⁷⁶

{217v} Dec-r 12, Moon. The Boyar Fiodor Alexeyovitz Golovin came to me in the morning early. Shew me a letter from his M. with his owne hand wherein: that a prisoner escaped out of the Crim & come from thence in 5 weekes informes that the Chan is prepareing with all his forces to come and burne the ships which are a-building at and about Woronies. Wherefor he ordered 6 companies of souldiers to be sent thither in all hast. An order also that from every 100 *pauvres* a man shall be sent thither well armed & provided with maintenance for 3 months.

I ordered immediately 2 companyes of my reg-t to be ready, being in all with under officers 161 persons.

Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated 1 *Dec-ris* '98.

13. Received a letter from the Baron von Borgsedorffe, chieffe Enginier, complaining of bad usage, dated Pawlofsky the 5 of No-r.

14. In the morning the Donish Cosakes came by me and brought me a letter from the Donish *Attaman* Frowl Minayuf & the army, desireing me to befriend & interceed for them.

In the afternoon the Generall Commissary Carlovitz gave me a visitt, being come from Woronies, and told me that his M. intended from thence hither the 18 instant.

The two companies marched from hence in the night, haveing gott each and pay [*sic*] along to the first of March.

15.

{218} Dec-r 16, Frid. Writt to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 1st and for bookes for our schoole.

17. Made up my acco-ts with Alexey Zotuf the fisher, and I am to pay him 30 rubles 10 *altines*.

18. Found my self better, but weake.

19. Received a letter from Mr. John Drummond, recommending Capt. George Walker⁶⁷⁷ to me, dated Amsterdam 2 Aug. 1698.

20. His M. came and was the same evening by Coll. Blombergh.

21. A feast by Gen-ll⁶⁷⁸, where his M. & others late.

⁶⁷⁶ Glory to Thee, O Lord! (Latin).

⁶⁷⁷ George Walker, one of the first commodores of the young Russian Navy. He was senior in rank among ten Scots engaged for the Tsar's employ in Amsterdam by Captain Cruys.

On 3 June 1698 he arrived in Archangel and was given a salary of 40 thalers a month.

⁶⁷⁸ Lefort.

22. Being a stormy day, I was very indisposed.
 30 *podwods* from Evanofsky came & brought [...] Received of my pay 880 rubles, being only wanting cornes.
 {218v} Dec-r 23. Writt to Mr. John Drummond in ans-r to his of the 2d Aug. Writt to my brother in law L.C. Roonaer with the Tzaars letter to give him halfe a yeares pay.
24. Sent the *pawres* for wood.
25. All went to Church about 11 aclock. I heard mass at home, being not able to go abroad.
 About midday his M. came, and ane howre & a halfe by me.
 In the evening M. Gen-ll Carlovitz & others came by me.
 Gave to Al. Sim. [Shein] his singers a ruble.
26. In the morning Yermolaisko⁶⁷⁹ came by me with his comorades, to whom I gave 3 reichs thallers.
 Many colonells came to me.
27. The *Dummy* Lubim Alfer. Dumnin came to me.
 Afternoone & in the evening feaverish.
28. Payed to Ivan Kiriluf the former note 16 rubles 25 *alt-s* and for the last 4 rubles 4 *alt-s*; in all 20 r. 29 *altines*.
 Lukian came to sing, gave the singer a r.doller. Other two dwarfes came, to whom 1 ½ doller.
29. Afternoone feaverish.
 Payed to Ivan Kiriluf for all acco-ts 20 rubles 29 *altines*.
 Payed to Alexey Zotuf 30 rubles.
 Payed to Ankudin Gregoriuf for all acco-ts 7 rubles.
 Payed to Peter in the iron market 14 rubles. 20 rubles.
 To Mr. Woolffe on reckoning 100 rubles.
 To Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] on reckoning 100 rubles.
 To Vasily Ned[vedev] 399 rubles.
 To Baldwin Andrewes 22 rubles.
 To Elizary Kluik⁶⁸⁰ – 14.
 To Mr. Guasconi – 8.
- {219} Dec-r 30, Frid. Dispatched the *pawres* of Sorokina and sent with them money to the people there, to Ivan a ruble, to Boris 40 *alt-s*, to Simon a ruble, to his son 8 *grivnees*.

⁶⁷⁹ Yermolay Danilovich Mishukov, Tsar Peter's dwarf.

⁶⁸⁰ Dutch merchant in Russia from the 1660s.

31. Sent away the people of Buntzowa and given to them: to Lorivon with his son 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *czetvert* of meale, to Archip a *czetvert*, to each of the others a *osmin*. Sent 3 horses with them, 2 being there already.

God Almighty be praised for his gracious indulgence to me in prolonging my lyfe, and grant, O mercifull God, that I may make a good use of this large tyme of repentance, which Thow art pleased to give me.

This yeare I have felt a sensible decay of my health and strength. Thy will be done, O my gracious God!

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