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J. G. Sparwenfeld's Diary of a Journey to Russia 1684–87

EDITOR

Ulla Birgegård

S L A V I C A



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KUNGL. VITTERHETS HISTORIE OCH
ANTIHKVITETS AKADEMIEN

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Edited, translated and with a commentary by Ulla Birgegård



STOCKHOLM 2002

Abstract

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The present work is an edition of the Russian travel diary of Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727), the compiler to be of a large Slavonic-Latin dictionary, *Lexicon Slavonicum*, which was published only recently. Sparwenfeld's interest in the Russian language and Russian culture began with his journey to Russia in the 1680s. He went there as a member of an embassy, but stayed in Moscow for another two and a half years to study the Russian language and Russian affairs. The diary is written mainly in Swedish and French, but includes a few pages in Italian and a large number of names, terms etc. in Russian, sometimes in the Latin and sometimes in the Cyrillic alphabet. The edition contains, in addition to Sparwenfeld's original text, a translation into English, an extensive commentary, appendices, indexes, a few of Sparwenfeld's own drawings etc. Apart from a fairly detailed account of the journey itself, the diary provides an eye-witness report from Moscow during a very complicated period in Russian history. This period proved to be the final years of the old Russia, before Peter took power into his hands and a new era began.

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Contents

Information to Readers	7
Acknowledgements	9
Introduction	11
The Diary Text	34
Commentary	242
Some Linguistic Observations	344
Appendix 1	348
Appendix 2	352
Bibliography	359
Index of Personal Names	370
Index of Geographical Names	375
List of Illustrations	378

Information to Readers

Symbols used in the edition:

- < > the text is found in the margin of the original
- /: :/ Sparwenfeld's brackets
- [] addition by the editor (UB)
- () deletion by Sparwenfeld (not included in the translation)
- { } the text cannot be deciphered with absolute certainty

In the original text on the left-hand page of the edition, Sparwenfeld's own arrangement of paragraphs is preserved.

In the representation of Sparwenfeld's text in Cyrillics, his use of graphic variants has been normalized to a certain extent: the Cyrillic characters *y*, *я* and *e* are used throughout. A Cyrillic letter in italics represents a letter written above the line.

In the English translation, geographical and personal names are normalized as far as possible.

A question or exclamation mark within square brackets refers to the word directly before if there is no space and to the phrase or sentence if there is a space between the last word and the brackets.

Glossary of Russian Terms

(some of them marked with an asterisk in the text the first time they appear)

<i>blišnij</i>	privileged, near (in rank)
<i>cholop</i>	serf, bondman
<i>d'jak</i>	secretary (of a chancellery)
<i>dumnyj d'jak</i>	Council Secretary, a <i>d'jak</i> with a seat in the Duma
<i>dvorjanin</i>	member of service gentry, courtier, court official
<i>gorodovye</i>	relating to (fortified) towns other than Moscow
<i>gost'</i>	privileged merchant
<i>igumen</i>	abbot
<i>jam</i>	post-horse station
<i>korm</i>	food allowance in kind or monetary allowance for food
<i>lod'ja</i>	large, flat-bottomed boat with masting for freight
<i>namestnik</i>	governor-general
<i>okol'ničij</i>	courtier of rank below boyar
<i>pod'jačij</i>	clerk, under-secretary (subordinate to <i>d'jak</i> in a chancellery)
<i>podvody</i>	horsecars, waggons
<i>pogost</i>	North Russian administrative division, centred on a church and cemetery
<i>poslannik</i>	envoy, inferior in rank to <i>posol</i>

<i>Posol'skij prikaz</i>	Chancellery for Foreign Affairs
<i>prikaz</i>	chancellery
<i>pristav</i>	escort for envoys
<i>sloboda</i>	settlement exempted from taxes, suburb
<i>spal'nik</i>	chamberlain, attendant in tsar's bedchamber
<i>stol'nik</i>	Lord-in-waiting, court officer, in rank after the <i>duma</i> boyars
<i>strelec, strel'cy</i>	Musketeer(s)
<i>strjapčij</i>	page, courtier beneath a <i>stol'nik</i> in rank
<i>tsarevič</i>	tsar's son, tsarevich
<i>voevoda</i>	governor of a province
<i>žilec, žil'cy</i>	resident court servitor(s), in rank inferior to <i>dvorjanin</i>

Most of the above explanations are taken from Pennington 1980.

Acknowledgements

This book has taken far too long to finish. There are many reasons for this, which I shall not go into here. The length of time spent on this project has probably had the good effect of more question marks being straightened out and certain themes being brought to greater maturity. It has, on the other hand, resulted in an uneven depth of treatment of different themes in the commentary: some have been dealt with in perhaps more depth than is good for them and for the book as a whole, while others have been covered rather superficially. It should also be mentioned here that the number of different subjects treated by Sparwenfeld in his travel diary has not made it easy for the editor to keep up with him. As Sparwenfeld's text is often difficult to read and in addition fragmentary, it contains many unknown quantities, which has made it both an exciting and a complex task to try to decipher it. However, although there are still "темные места" (black spots) in the text, it is high time to make this journal available to other scholars, for them to carry on the work.

Several funding bodies have made this project possible. My many years of work on the text and commentary, sometimes full-time, more often part-time, were financed, during the first period, by the Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences and by Uppsala University. When, finally, there was uncertainty whether this project would ever be finished, I was invited to join the research program Cultures in Dialogue at the University College of South Stockholm, which gave me the time and encouragement necessary to bring my work to a successful conclusion. I have benefited from travel grants from Uppsala University, allowing me to spend time in Russia, mainly Moscow, for studies in libraries and archives. The actual publication of this work has been financed by the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities. To all the above I express my sincere thanks.

As for the many individuals who have supported and encouraged me over the years, only a few can be mentioned here: Prof. B.A. Uspenskij, Moscow/Naples, has been there from the start, sharing with me his all-embracing knowledge, and he also read and commented on the manuscript at a crucial stage; the Moscow historian Dr A. V. Lavrent'ev read the whole manuscript at a fairly late stage and made many very valuable comments; Dr. A. A. Selin from St Petersburg was indispensable when it came to toponyms; Prof. L. Đurovič, colleague and friend of many years' standing has given support and good advice during the whole process; the Uppsala Romanist Dr S. Björkman gave generously of his time to help with French passages that caused particular headaches; the Italian Slavist Dr Giorgio Ziffer, Udine, helped me to decipher and understand the very troublesome passages in Italian, assisted by Prof. Mats Forsgren, Stockholm; my true Latinist friends Monica Hedlund and Hans Helander helped elu-

cidate many black spots; the art historian Dr E. A. Gordienko from St Petersburg offered valuable advice within her field of expertise; the Finnish historian Ch. Kuvaja, Turku, helped with problems related to the Finnish part of the journey; and so the list could go on. My husband Gunnar and our two sons Daniel and Andreas have always been there for me, and in addition helped in a very tangible way with my translation into English and with computer problems. We will all be relieved when this is over.

In putting the finishing touches to the manuscript, Ebba-Stina Königsson of the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities has been a rock with her vast experience. And last, but not least, the indispensable Martin Naylor has, once again, made my English texts into something they were not. To all the above, and to those not mentioned who have lived with me and Sparwenfeld during this period, I am sincerely thankful.

Ulla Birgegård

Introduction

The place of Russia in relation to Europe has been discussed for centuries, a discussion that is still going on today. From the point of view of Europe, Russia has mostly been on the periphery, situated in a direction in which it has not been natural or usual to look. There was some difficulty of access, caused by a religion which demanded seclusion so as not to endanger its purity, and a language and alphabet which stood apart from Latinized Europe. In the eyes of the Russians, Europe was a threat to the only true faith, a faith which had survived only in Russia and which that country had taken it upon itself to protect from contagion. Russians and West Europeans often had little contact, the fences between the two worlds were high and reluctance was mixed with suspicion and fear. When West Europeans travelled in Russia or Russians in Europe, the representatives of each of these worlds watched each other at a certain distance and tried to fit their observations into a pre-existing framework. Communication often failed, the cultural codes of the Other were distorted and misinterpreted on both sides, and no true meeting came about. The subject of cultures in search of communication, or, as is often the case, asserting that there is no communication, can above all be studied in travellers' journals.

The present edition deals with Swedish-Russian relations in the 1680s. Was Sweden, in its relationship to Russia, to be regarded as a typical European state, or did it have characteristics of its own in its dealings with Russia and the Russians? It has been maintained that the Swedes knew the Russians better than did other Europeans. Sweden had, after all, also been marginal in the eyes of Europe, situated as it was in the far north, the home of the barbarians of earlier centuries. In the 17th century, however, the Swedes under Gustav Adolf had presented themselves to Europe in a very tangible way, as standard-bearers of the threatened Lutheran faith, and the country was inevitably to be counted among the European states of importance. Sweden was, though, a close neighbour to Russia, with a long history of both contact and confrontation with that country. The image of the Russians as the principal enemy, however, seems to have formed at a later stage. The two countries in fact shared much in terms of external conditions of life. Did that help to create common ground, or did their geographical vicinity rather add to the problem? This volume might provide some material for that and other discussions.

Russia in the 17th century has been described by many foreign travellers before; indeed, some of the classics of the genre, like the work of Adam Olearius, were in fact eyewitness accounts by travellers in 17th century Russia. Other well-known travellers, too, have played an important role in shaping the image we have of the final century of the old Muscovite state, before a tsar of a new era,

Peter the Great, entered the scene. Among them the Swede Petrus Petrejus and the imperial envoy Augustin von Mayerberg should be mentioned. A number of English 17th century travellers published their works shortly after their visits to Russia, thereby influencing Europe's perceptions of the Russian state. Of 17th century accounts presented later, that of the Scotsman Patrick Gordon stands out. He was employed in Russian service as a military officer for many decades and wrote an important diary about his experiences. Adelung and Zajončkovskij in their bibliographical studies have done a lot to introduce different travellers to Russia to interested scholars. Marshall Poe's recent bibliography on the Internet is another major source of information. At the end of the 19th century in Tsarist Russia and during the last one in the Soviet Union and in new Russia, a large number of foreign travel journals have been published in Russian translation, in part or in full. Even if many of the works mentioned cover earlier periods of the 17th century, like the chaotic and dramatic "Time of Troubles" at the beginning of the century or the interesting reign of Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič, the 1680s have their share of descriptions, too.

Notwithstanding the above, the present diary, written by the Swede Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, may have something to add to previous knowledge of 17th century Russia. Even people with a comparatively good grasp of Russian history often have a rather vague idea of the 1680s, perhaps quite understandably. It was, literally, a decade of interregnum, squeezed in between earlier decades dominated by Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič, and later ones dominated by Peter. Still, as has been pointed out fairly recently by historians like O'Brien and Hughes, this decade, and the people who acted during it, in many ways prepared the ground for what was to come: it did not all begin with Peter the Great. It would be tempting to maintain that the fierce feud between the Miloslavskij and Naryškin clans mirrored the broader struggles of the era. However, this is not entirely true. Though the Naryškin clan (Peter's people) had the reputation of being "progressive" and in favour of change—making the Miloslavskij clan, by consequence, the opposite—the leading figures of the Miloslavskij clan, Sofija and, particularly, her foreign minister V. V. Golycyn, were in fact known to be pronounced Westernizers. It may all the same be claimed that the conflicts of the 1680s help explain developments in Russia during the following decades. This period in the history of Russia might in fact contain more of interest than expected.

Our informant and his relationship to Russia might also be of interest. Our traveller, Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, is now sometimes referred to as "the first Swedish Slavist". He was known by the learned community among his contemporaries to be a great expert on the Slavonic languages, especially Russian. This reputation he gained, above all, by compiling his large Slavonic-Latin dictionary in four volumes, the *Lexicon Slavonicum*, preserved in the original at the University Library in Uppsala and published recently by the editor of the present volume (J. G. Sparwenfeld, *Lexicon Slavonicum*, vols. I–IV, Index, ed. U. Birgegård, Uppsala 1987–1992). This dictionary, apart from being one of the

most comprehensive Slavonic dictionaries of its time, is of particular interest, as it has been possible to follow each word from the final version, through the draft to the source, as Sparwenfeld handed the whole workshop down to posterity. The journey to Russia described in Sparwenfeld's travel diary, in fact marked the beginning of his life-long fascination with the Slavonic languages, first and foremost Russian.

As we shall see, although the diary is sometimes rather fragmentary and also contains some of the more tedious elements of the genre, it is crammed with facts. It occasionally supplies new information and fills in gaps or reaffirms our previous knowledge. And here and there it depicts a scene from real life thereby giving an intimate insight into an age long past.

The Traveller

So, who is the traveller through whose eyes we are to become acquainted with the Moscow state of the 1680s?

Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655–1727) was the only child of Christina Uggla, of noble descent, and Johan Gabrielsson Sparfvenfeldt, a military man, who had been elevated to the nobility in recognition of his achievements. Johan Gabriel was sent to Uppsala to study at the age of seven and stayed there for thirteen years. Exactly what he studied at the gymnasium and the university is not known, but judging from marginalia in books, he must have been well-versed in law and foreign languages at an early age. His great interest in and knowledge of history would suggest that this, too, was a subject he studied in Uppsala.

His first serious journey abroad, for study purposes, began in 1677 and lasted, with a short break, for about five years. The itinerary included Holland, France, Italy, England and Denmark. From the outset, Sparwenfeld knew how to make good use of his time. Everywhere he went he would make a thorough study of the treasures of libraries and archives, making contact with learned and influential personages and obtaining, often with the help of these contacts, books and manuscripts whenever possible. Even during this first journey, Sparwenfeld demonstrates traits of his personality that were to become increasingly noticeable: a constantly inquiring mind, an insatiable hunger for knowledge. He also, even now, stands out as the born *collector*, of books and manuscripts, of acquaintances, of experience and knowledge.

He came home from his first five-year journey in the spring of 1682 (*Fig. 1*).

In February 1684 a large Swedish embassy under Conrad Gyllenstierna was sent to Moscow to ratify two peace treaties. Sparwenfeld served with the delegation as a *hoffunker*, and was to work closely with Gyllenstierna. When the embassy returned home at the beginning of June, Sparwenfeld remained in Moscow, having been awarded a scholarship by the King and Council to study the Russian language and Russian affairs. Here, as in other places, he was not slow to gain possession of precious and rare books, both printed and handwritten.



Fig. 1. Portrait of J.G. Sparwenfeld. Anonymous oil painting, the Rudbeckian Gymnasium, Västerås.

During his stay in Moscow he started planning and preparing a large Slavonic-Latin dictionary, intended for the European public. He left Moscow in February 1687 after a conflict with the powerful head of the Foreign Office, Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn. When Sparwenfeld came back to Sweden in June 1687, he brought with him large numbers of literary treasures on historical, linguistic and other subjects, which were later to enrich Swedish libraries.

In April 1689 Sparwenfeld embarked on a journey that was to take him through most of the countries of Europe and to northern Africa. This was a mission initiated by King Karl XI with the purpose of surveying, and, if possible, procuring the Swedish and "Gothic" relics which, according to hearsay, were to be found in different libraries in Europe. This mission, which it was hoped would enhance the glorious past of the Swedish great power, now at its peak, ended in disappointment. Nothing of importance from a Gothic-nationalistic point of view was unearthed, in spite of Sparwenfeld's thorough search of all the libraries and archives, public as well as private, that had been mentioned in this connection. On the other hand, he did manage to make contact with many influential people and procure books in every possible field. During a stay in Rome in 1692, Sparwenfeld was granted an audience with the Pope, Innocent XII, whom he honoured with a copy of a Latin-Slavonic dictionary in a de luxe binding with silver-mounted covers. Sparwenfeld pointed out in his letter of donation—written in Russian-Church Slavonic and Latin—that this dictionary could be useful in Rome's missionary work. As a token of thanks he received from the Pope the keys to the Vatican, which meant that he had free access to the Vatican library and archives, an honour never previously conferred upon a Protestant. Sparwenfeld's portrait is said to have been painted with him holding his gift. The donation was, no doubt, used as a propaganda victory in Rome and caused quite a stir in many Protestant quarters.

In the early summer of 1694 Sparwenfeld arrived back in Sweden. He brought with him a rich collection of books on a variety of subjects that he had managed to collect despite his limited private means. He was in that connection undoubtedly aided by his erudition and social skills. Now he looked forward to settling down to work on his rich material on different subjects, above all Slavonic studies and history.

Sparwenfeld was appointed Deputy Master of Ceremonies in 1695 and Chief Master of Ceremonies in 1701 (*Fig. 2*), posts which served his purposes well as they were not too demanding. In his private life, his evidently very happy marriage to Antoinetta Sophia Hildebrand was interrupted by the untimely death of his wife as she gave birth to their eighth child.

One of the more delicate tasks Sparwenfeld had in his capacity as Master of Ceremonies was to inform the Russian resident, Andrej Jakovlevič Chilkov, about his arrest in connection with the outbreak of the Great Northern War in October 1700. Sparwenfeld was—from his Moscow years—personally acquainted with some of the generals and their secretaries who ended up in Sweden as prisoners of war after the battle at Narva. In fact Sparwenfeld's positive



Fig. 2. Portrait of J.G. Sparwenfeld. Oil painting by Lukas von Breda, Uppsala University Library.

attitude towards and friendly treatment of the Russian prisoners caused the Swedish authorities some concern. Chilkov himself and at least three other prisoners helped Sparwenfeld for some time as scribes and informants in his large dictionary project, an arrangement that was later discontinued at the behest of the Swedish authorities, to the regret of later scholars of historical lexicography. So Sparwenfeld devoted his spare time to his Slavonic dictionaries, and also made translations from Spanish and other languages. Besides these occupations, he kept up a prodigious correspondence with many of the scholars of the age, such as Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, Hiob Ludolf, Gisbert Cuper and Eric Benzeliuss the Younger. His correspondence with Leibniz is of particular interest as regards *slavica*.

Sparwenfeld was considered a great authority on linguistic matters. He is reputed to have spoken and written fourteen foreign languages, besides possessing a passive knowledge of others (concerning his command of two or three foreign languages at that time, we can draw conclusions from his Russian diary). In other matters, too, his opinion was eagerly sought, above all on historical questions. There can hardly have been any academic subject debated in his day on which he was not well informed. A large portion of Sparwenfeld's correspondence is preserved in the City Library of Linköping, Sweden.

After 1712, when Sparwenfeld resigned from his court duties, he spent most of his time at the family estate of Åbylund, not far from Västerås, where he continued to translate different texts right up to his death in 1727.

It is clear from many remarks in Sparwenfeld's letters that he considered that books were things to be read and not hidden away in private libraries. Faithful to his conviction, he began as early as 1705 to donate part of his enormous collection of books to Swedish libraries. Several other donations followed, in which he allocated different subjects to different libraries. The lion's share of his Slavonic collection went to Uppsala University Library through large donations in 1721 and 1722. Some of his Slavonic books were donated to the City Library of Västerås by his grandson in 1774.

For more detailed information on Sparwenfeld's life the reader is referred to Sparwenfeld's biographer C. V. Jacobowsky (1932), from which many of the cited data are taken, and to Birgegård (1985).

The Journal

Sparwenfeld evidently wrote journals from all his travels, preferably in the language of the country visited. We know, for example, that the university librarian Georg Wallin the Younger, who at the instigation of Uppsala University delivered an oration in his memory half a year after his death, used Sparwenfeld's travel journals as sources for his highly eloquent *Parentalia in Obitu ... Sparwenfeldii*. Sparwenfeld himself also mentions his journals on several occasions. All of these accounts, however, are now missing, with the exception of the Russian one, which was evidently not used by Wallin.

The Russian travel journal was found in the 1880s in the archives of Tidö Castle by the historian Ellen Fries, who published the news of her find in *Historisk tidskrift* in 1886, as well as giving a few quotations. Sparwenfeld's biographer Jacobowsky also used the journal for his work. The manuscript was eventually moved to the National Archives in Stockholm, where it is now kept under the catalogue number *Tidöarkivet 501*.

The manuscript is stored in a cardboard box containing four folders. The folder relevant to this edition bears the text "Ryska resan 1684–85" (changed from 1683–84, should be: 1684–87) written in pencil in careless handwriting, probably by an employee at the National Archives. In the lower right-hand corner is written "73 bl." (there are, however, 71 leaves, 142 pages). A pagination in pencil stops after page 23. The leaves measure 24 × 35 centimetres. The diary text is sometimes, especially towards the end of the manuscript, interrupted by fragments of differing content: on pages 107–10 there are eighteen different alphabets (Chaldean, Phoenician, Hebrew, Ethiopian, Armenian, Georgian etc.); on pages 111–13 there are notes of varying content; pages 114–17 deal with Count Carlisle's embassy to Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič in 1663, the report printed in London in 1669. Sparwenfeld comments (in French) on Carlisle's book, gives a summary of the aim of the mission, comments on the audience (he quotes Carlisle's speech on that occasion in its Latin translation) etc. He also quotes a Latin letter from Carlisle to the Tsar. On pages 126–29 Sparwenfeld quotes from the 1638 Polish translation from Church Slavonic of the Psalms of David. On pages 130–31 he writes about how the Swedish king's titles should read in Russian and how the Russians should be made to show the Swedish king greater respect (cf. Zernack 1958, 163–70). On pages 133–36 he outlines his mission to search for Old Swedish and Gothic antiquities (to be realized in 1689–94, cf. p. 15). On page 139 there is a table showing distances between different cities (Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir etc.). On pages 141–42, finally, there are various recipes, for instance for: "aqua odorifera", "Leau d'ange pour embellier et colorer de rouge le visage", "Aqua Damascena", "aquavitae stomachalis" etc.

Three more folders are kept in the same box, with notes on their contents written on each folder. According to these inscriptions, one contains religious reflections (35 leaves), one "various notes", mainly in Russian (30 leaves) and the third various recipes (9 leaves).

The diary text is written in Sparwenfeld's handwriting, often careless and at times very difficult to decipher. His biographer Jacobowsky was of the same opinion, observing: "Sparwenfeld's many notes, however, are not readily accessible sources, since his handwriting is one of the most difficult to read. It is a rather characteristic hand, nervous and extremely careless, sometimes small and stenographic, sometimes with high stems, ink-wasting, spacious; even when the handwriting is distinct, it is difficult to decipher." (UB). The major part of the text is written in Swedish, but there are extensive passages in French, a few pages in Italian, a few sentences in Spanish and a large number of place-names, personal names, culture-specific terms etc. in Russian, in both Cyrillic and Latin

letters (*Fig. 3*). This state of affairs does not make the deciphering of the text any easier. In fact, sometimes only intuition comes to the aid of the troubled reader. This having been said, however, the text is now more or less deciphered, although there remain a number of question marks which the interested scholar should turn to the original to try to resolve.

The diary covers the period 5 February 1684 to 31 March 1687, but is not evenly spread over that period. From 1685 onwards the text becomes shorter and more and more sporadic. From June of that year the diary loses its way, with hardly any regular entries. There are two fragments without clear dates (the first one constituting the end of a text already begun) which should evidently be referred to the spring of 1686 (p. 225), and three later entries added in margins (pp. 227 and 229) cover September–October of that year. Then there is a gap until 26 February 1687, when Sparwenfeld sets off on his journey home. To our regret it seems that Sparwenfeld became so involved in the realities of Moscow life that he had no time to write (in fact, the short and fragmentary notes from 1685 on seem to confirm that assumption). At the same time, it seems strange that a person so used to writing and collecting data would refrain altogether from taking notes of memorable experiences. The continuation of a missing beginning of an entry, mentioned above, hints at the possibility of part of the diary having been lost. At any rate, this gradual petering out of entries has clearly deprived scholars of some very valuable information from a person who, judging from scarce later evidence, moved in extremely interesting circles in the Russian capital.

One circumstance should be commented on here. The long title in Italian: “*Giornale dun Viaggio di Muscouia ...*” concludes with the words: “*lo scrisse io Giouanni G. Sparwenfeld pell’aiuto di memoria*” (UB’s italics). There has been some discussion as to how to interpret the last words. Sparwenfeld’s biographer Jacobowsky has interpreted them as meaning “with the help of memory”, i.e. indicating that the journal was not written at the time of the actual events, but later, from memory. He does not, however, believe that this was in fact the case, but believes rather that the phrase was used because of its suitability in connection with a possible future publication. I agree with Jacobowsky that the somewhat “official” title of the diary might indicate that at that stage Sparwenfeld had plans to publish his account. The words “*pell’aiuto di memoria*” should, however (according to my informant Dr G. Ziffer), be interpreted as meaning: to help the memory, i.e. to help the traveller remember his journey. Whether the diary was actually written from memory or to help the memory could have some bearing on the accuracy of the facts reported, as memory, as we all know, is a deceiver. What external and internal evidence can be found in the text itself to elucidate this question?

The external data seem to favour the second interpretation. From an examination of the colour of the ink, the handwriting etc., it seems clear that Sparwenfeld sometimes wrote entries covering only one day, and sometimes reported on two or more days at the same time. This is probably a situation familiar to

many writers of diaries, that one does not always have time and opportunity to write every day, so sometimes several days in a row have to be accounted for (in fact, from memory!). Sometimes it is very easy to discern which text fragments have been written on one occasion, such as when the colour of the ink is identical and the size of the letters and the quality of the pen give the handwriting exactly the same appearance. It is also often noticeable that Sparwenfeld's handwriting is much more readable when he starts writing anew, another fact well-known to people used to writing long texts by hand. At the end of the diary, covering the end of 1684 and most of 1685, where entries are often very short and fragmentary, Sparwenfeld's writing pattern becomes particularly visible and leaves no doubt that the text was produced on a day-to-day basis or for a few days at a time.

The internal textual data also often seem very evident. The text sometimes contains very detailed descriptions of landscapes, buildings etc., with exact figures, for example. It also gives on-the-spot accounts, like the following: 26 March 1684: "Now the ground is already bare over almost the whole plain, which makes it very difficult to use sleighs." 6 August 1684: "Wild strawberries, raspberries, bilberries and cherries will soon be over now and are hardly possible to find. They now sell 70, 80 yes up to 100 cucumbers for 1 kopek." 26 September 1684: "Snow and rather cold." 5 February 1685: "Today one year ago I left Sweden. Blessed be the mercy of God, who has this year graciously endowed me with health and prosperity." Sometimes, however, he seems to have written his report rather a long time afterwards, as on 12 March 1684: "After prayers and breakfast we left from here at 9 o'clock and changed horses at Onstopel' [...] where we were more than 30 horses short, so that we had to leave the presents and the luggage there *until the morning of the 23rd* [UB's italics]." There are, though, certain internal facts that are rather puzzling: See note 589, for example. Semen Erofeevič Almazov, according to Crummey, became a member of the *duma* on 30 March 1687. But already in January 1685 Sparwenfeld calls him a *dumnyj d'jak*. Note 401: Le Fort was appointed colonel in 1687, but at the time this entry was written he was only a lieutenant-colonel. There are more examples of this kind. Of course, when it comes to people's titles and functions, whether a person is a *d'jak* or a *dumnyj d'jak*, a colonel or a lieutenant-colonel might be easy to overlook (especially if the ranks are foreign). So, our general conclusion regarding this issue is that the diary was written at the time of or shortly after the actual events had occurred. This inference is supported by a fact difficult not to attach conclusive importance to: the words Sparwenfeld gives in Russian—whether in Cyrillic or Latin letters—at the beginning of the diary are written by a beginner. The forming of the Cyrillic letters as well as the spelling of the words reveal that he was in the process of getting acquainted with the language and of figuring out the connection between the Russian letters and the sounds he heard. A quotation in Russian given at the end of his stay (p. 200), however, is written in a very practised and flowing hand and gives quite a different impression. This rather lengthy discussion, prompted by Jacobowsky's

interpretation of the words “*pell’aiuto di memoria*”, stems from a need to elucidate the conditions at hand in order to decide whether the information given can be expected to be accurate or not.

Apart from reporting on his own journey Sparwenfeld also, as the delegation makes its way to Moscow, endeavours to report on Conrad Gyllenstierna’s journey in the event of their taking different routes. This is the case, for example, when Sparwenfeld is allowed to leave the delegation to go to Viborg and Nyenskans on 20–27 February. After writing that he arrived in Narva on 27 February, he returns to 24 February to report on Gyllenstierna’s arrival in Narva, also weaving his own experiences into the narrative, although the dates do not fit (see pp. 10–11).

In this connection it should be mentioned that Sparwenfeld of course, both as a member of an official embassy and later as a student of the Russian language and Russian affairs, expected to report in some way to the Swedish authorities what things were like in Russia. In that context, too, notes to help the memory could be of use.

The Embassy

Sparwenfeld, then, travelled to Russia as a member of Conrad Gyllenstierna’s numerous embassy of the spring of 1684. Its task was to confirm the peace treaties of Kardis (1661) and of Pljussa (1667). The treaty of Kardis in fact mainly restored the situation created by the 1617 peace treaty of Stolbova. In the treaties Swedish dominance over the Baltic region was fully established, although Sweden did not succeed in achieving its ultimate goal: to gain full control of Russian trade with the West, including the northern port of Archangelsk. In the Russian-Swedish war of 1656–58, Russia reconquered some of the land lost under the Stolbova treaty, but the negotiations preceding the treaty of Kardis led by and large to a restoration of the post-Stolbova situation.

On the conclusion of the treaty of Kardis, one of the points outstanding was the fact that the Swedish King, Karl XI, was not of age and the country was governed by a regency. After much discussion it was decided that the Kardis treaty would be signed and sworn by the queen mother and the five chief officers of state, on the understanding that it would be confirmed in the usual way when the king had come of age. The same stipulation was included in the Pljussa treaty of 1667.

In the autumn of 1683 a Russian embassy led by Ivan Prončiščev had visited Stockholm, and the Russian side had confirmed the two treaties in a solemn ceremony. Conrad Gyllenstierna’s mission now was to fulfil the Swedish part of the undertaking. Gyllenstierna, the head of the delegation, was known to be extremely loyal to the king. He had suffered a few setbacks earlier in his career, mainly his dismissal after three years as provincial governor of Kalmar province in 1677. After that, however, he was appointed President of the Great Commission on the Administration of the Regency, a very responsible post that rehabilitated him to a certain extent after his previous misfortunes.

A few areas, however, still needed to be negotiated and clarified between the two countries. The most sensitive one was that of religion. The question of the Russian Orthodox population in Ingria in particular, most of which territory had been included in the Swedish realm after Stolbova in 1617, was still not settled to the satisfaction of both sides. The peace treaty of Stolbova gave no guarantees of freedom of religion for the populations of the newly conquered areas. Specified groups, particularly the nobility and townspeople, were allowed to move to Russia within a prescribed period after the signing of the treaty, a right not accorded to the rural population and the parish priests. From that time on the strategy of the Swedish authorities *vis-à-vis* the Russian Orthodox population had varied, but in general the new subjects were looked upon with suspicion, as possible traitors in times of war, and the long-term policy was to convert them to the Lutheran faith. A number of missionary projects were launched, though often with limited success.

In the spring of 1683 a change of policy was announced. The King and Council adopted a resolution on 4 May proclaiming a new policy of "segregation". The idea was that the Russian-speaking population of Ingria would be left to practise their faith in peace. Efforts to bring about conversions would instead be concentrated on the Finnish-speaking members of the Russian church, i.e. *ingrikot* and *vatjalaiset*, Ingrians and Votes, who in fact, it was said, could not possibly understand the faith they confessed. The Ingrians and Votes should therefore be segregated from the Russian Orthodox Church and, one way or another, affiliated to the Lutheran church. The religious question was one of the major points to be discussed in Moscow. Other outstanding issues had to do with trade and the final fixing of the frontier between the two countries. The actual substance of these negotiations is not reported on in the diary, only the external factors involved.

It is well known that the semiotics of diplomacy are complex and that one of the key tasks even today is to mark the importance of one's own side as compared to the other. In the 17th century this was very much the case, not least between rulers with conflicting aims like the Swedish and Russian ones. Endless reports from diplomats of everything that could go wrong in this connection are well-known, endless accounts of virtual positional war over some detail of extreme symbolic importance. Such information is found in this account too, but also information about similar conflicts within the Swedish embassy itself. Evidently the question of mutual rank and dignity was as crucial to the heads of the embassy as to the hofjunks. Sparwenfeld gives a rather amusing and discerning account of what was going on in this respect. Luckily, he was not emotionally involved himself, as his rank was the highest possible: number one among the hofjunks. It seems that the members of the embassy, before entering the main fight with "the Others", had to establish a pecking order among themselves.

The Political Setting

Sweden

During the reign of Karl XI (1660–97, until 1672, however, through a regency), Sweden enjoyed a period of peace lasting for twenty years, the longest during Sweden's era as a great power. By 1660 Swedish expansion had reached its climax. The regency had endeavoured to preserve the status quo and to seek balance of power and the role of mediator in conflicts. But in the 1670s this policy met with complete failure and Sweden was drawn into the all-European war between France and its opponents. Sweden suffered some initial disasters involving, not least, the navy, followed by the occupation by Danish forces of most of the province of Skåne in the summer of 1676. Karl XI, initially very interested in military fame, with the help of good advisers managed to mobilize the country's last remaining resources and defeat the Danes at Lund in December 1676. This experience had once and for all opened the eyes of the young monarch to the costs of war, and Sweden succeeded in extricating itself in 1679 with virtually no territorial losses, mainly thanks to the military successes of its ally France. To avoid future wars and to be more independent, Karl tried to diminish the French influence in Swedish foreign policy and to establish closer relations with England and the Netherlands.

To improve the country's finances the king, with the support of the commoner estates and the lower serving gentry, concentrated power in his own hands and radically diminished the dominance of the higher nobility. This move made it possible to initiate a regency inquisition and the so-called "reduction", which resulted in about half the land held by the nobility being returned to the crown. The resources thus created were then used for a military reorganization.

When it came to relations with Russia, Sweden clearly had an interest in consolidating the situation and finalizing the peace treaty of Kardis. For King Karl XI the fiscal issue was very much in the foreground, and the implementation of the reduction was a complicated and sensitive process that required careful attention.

Russia

The domestic political situation in Russia was influenced for years to come by the bloody rebellion which in Russian history goes under the name "the *strel'cy* uprising" (стрелецкий бунт). It broke out on 15 May 1682 and had the following background.

Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič was married twice: first to Marija Miloslavskaja and, after her death, to Natal'ja Naryškina. When he died in 1676, at the age of 44, his eldest son from his first marriage, Fedor Alekseevič, succeeded him on the throne. In connection with Fedor's advancement to tsar, his mother's family, the Miloslavskijs, regained the ground they had lost after the remarriage of the old tsar. But Fedor was of fragile health and he died as early as 1682, with no heir. Nine children of Aleksej Michajlovič were still alive: seven from the first

marriage and two from the second. Of these, three actually figured in the discussion about possible successors: Ivan, the only surviving son from the first marriage, Sofija, from the same marriage, and the only son from the second marriage, Peter, later known as “the Great”. Ivan had physical and possibly also mental handicaps and showed no interest in the throne. Sofija was strong-willed, intelligent and ambitious for power. Peter was physically strong, very alert and intelligent. As a successor to the throne the Patriarch and others recommended Peter, and he was consequently proclaimed the new tsar. His mother, Natal’ja Naryškina, was to function as regent during his minority. The Miloslavskij clan, once more, had to give up their privileged position, as the Naryškins took over again. In May 1682 the revolt of the *strel’cy* erupted.

The *strel’cy*, introduced by Ivan the Terrible in the 16th century as his personal guards, were not infrequently a power and a threat within Russia. Much research has been done in an effort to explain the factors unleashing this revolt—in particular, Sofija’s role has been much discussed—and as so often, it seems that several different factors coincided to produce the chain of events that ensued. There were ingredients such as discontent among the *strel’cy* with their working conditions and their commanders, there was the political uncertainty stemming from the lack of a tsar who was of age and the feud between the Miloslavskij and Naryškin clans, there was the religious situation, with the schism between the “reformed” church and the Old Believers (see below), and there were personal attempts by certain individuals to take advantage of the discontent of the *strel’cy* to further their personal aims. Whatever the reasons, the revolt cost the lives of many people, both among the higher nobility, some of whom became the victims of the furious mob at the very height of the revolt, and eventually among individuals looked upon as enemies of the *strel’cy*, and later among those accused of having been involved on their side in the uprising. The most immediate result of the revolt was that a diarchy was introduced: Ivan was crowned as the first tsar and Peter as the second. In practice, however, power was in the hands of Sofija and her cultivated favourite, Prince Vasilij Vasil’evič Golitsyn, the head of the Foreign Office (*Posol’skij prikaz*).

A major factor influencing Russian life in the second half of the 17th century, and reflected in the diary, was the tragic schism in the Russian Orthodox Church caused by the reforms introduced by Patriarch Nikon, (the formal split took place at the Church Council of 1666–67). The reforms included a revision of the church’s service books and practices. Nikon argued that the original, true Orthodox faith taken over from the Greek Orthodox Church had been distorted over the centuries on Russian territory. He wanted to correct the Russian texts and rituals using the Greek liturgy as a pattern. Those who opposed Nikon’s reforms, known as the Old Believers (старообрядцы, староверы), maintained that they were the only true representatives of the old Orthodox faith and that it was the Greeks who had distorted it. The most charismatic and colourful leader of the Old Believers was the Archpriest Avvakum.

Nikon left Moscow in July 1658 after a conflict with Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič. Officially he was not removed from office until 1667, but his reforms lived on. Many Old Believers chose to suffer martyrdom, sometimes by committing collective suicide. People were also sentenced to death by the official “reformed” church. Old Believers were executed in large numbers, but their places were constantly filled with new converts, and for the authorities this insubordination gave cause for much concern.

Sparwenfeld in his diary depicts the “international Moscow”, the circles centred on the *Posol'skij prikaz* and the doings of the foreign minister, Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn, and the people around him. Quite a number of foreign embassies, “secretaries” and couriers from different countries appeared in the Russian capital during his stay there. There were Russian embassies preparing for their tasks, envoys sent on more or less obscure missions and nightly meetings to discuss burning political issues. So there was a great deal of political activity in the area of foreign policy. At the same time there was the highly complex internal situation, occasionally resembling a low-level civil war, with the power struggle between the Miloslavskij and Naryškin clans using the two young tsars as their prominent figures but with the people behind them as the most active players. This struggle, which generated constant rumours of intrigue, conspiracies and attempted murder, was watched by the foreign community, whose members more or less openly sided with one or other of the parties. And in this atmosphere external questions such as the following were waiting to be solved.

The most urgent question was how the European states were to counter the Turkish threat. Russia had to make up its mind whether it should “join Europe”—or rather the states in Europe most directly exposed to the threat—and play an active part in the “Holy League”, consisting of Habsburg, Poland, Rome and Venice. But before joining, Russia laid down the condition that its unsettled business with Poland had to be resolved once and for all, i.e. the prolonged truce of Andrusovo had to be transformed into an “eternal peace”. To that end, Russia required other states to help put pressure on Poland to give up its claims. The imperial embassy figuring in the diary had to go back empty-handed, as they had not taken the Polish question into account.

Linked to the Turkish question was Russia's long-standing problems with the sultan's vassals, the Tatars, who with their constant raids into Russian territory in the south were inflicting enormous costs in men, arms and ransom money. The members of the “Holy League” planned to leave to Russia to deal with the Tatars.

Linked to the Polish problem was the uncertainty about the Cossacks, who were masters at playing the Polish or Russian card depending on the circumstances and who had strong supporters of independence in their ranks. The Cossacks were very important as soldiers, and added immensely to the military force of the country they pledged allegiance to.

And, last but not least, there was the Swedish question and the decisions to

be made regarding the finalization of the “eternal peace” with Sweden, on which negotiations had been under way for more than two decades. Finalizing that peace would mean Russia relinquishing—at least for now—her claims to the Baltic Sea and, thereby, control of trade through the Baltic with Europe. On this issue the diary provides interesting information about what was going on behind the scenes. The Danish envoy extraordinary Hildebrand von Horn played an important role here, actively seeking to persuade the Russians to form a union with France, Brandenburg and Denmark and to start a war with Sweden to recapture the Baltic provinces, thus rallying the Russian people around a common cause and thereby solving the internal strife to—it is understood—the advantage of Peter. However hard von Horn tried to convince V. V. Golitsyn about the wisdom of such a move—and he used both words and gratuities in his efforts to do so—he did not succeed, as Golitsyn needed to put the Swedish question aside for now to be able to concentrate on more pressing matters.

The “eternal peace” with Poland was signed while Sparwenfeld was still in Moscow, on 26 April 1686.

The Diary as a Source

What value does this diary have as a source? The 17th century travel accounts from Russia cannot always boast of accuracy and objectivity. The general circumstances certainly give us cause to be cautious. We need to create a “profile” of Sparwenfeld as an informant.

First of all, what did people in general, informed Europeans, know about Russia? It probably varied from country to country, but the natural way for an “intellectual” to find out about Russia would be to read travellers’ accounts. As mentioned, there were quite a few printed accounts written by visitors to Russia. The classic and perhaps most widespread ones were those of Herberstein, Petrejus, Olearius and Mayerberg. Sigismund von Herberstein’s *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* was printed in Vienna in 1549, his experience of Russia gained in the course of two journeys, in 1516 and 1526–27. Within a short time it was translated into German, Italian and Czech and it had seen ten new editions before the year 1600. It was, in other words, a “best seller” in its day and very popular. Herberstein’s work had an enormous influence on later descriptions of Russia and to a large extent helped form the image of Russia that prevailed in the West for a very long time. Herberstein on the whole paints a rather objective picture of Russia and the Russians, even if some of the more “colourful” components of his work were taken over and developed further by subsequent travellers, like the next “classic”, the Swede Petrus Petrejus. He wrote two accounts, one printed in 1608 in Stockholm (*Een wiss och sanfärdigh Berättelse ...*) and the other in 1615, also in Stockholm (*Regni Muschovitici sciographia ...*), with later translations into German. His second account, in particular, had an influence in creating the image of Russia of the 17th century. Petrejus spent time in Russia between 1601 and 1605. Kari Tarkiainen (1973) and others have drawn

attention to stereotypes which Petrejus took over from Herberstein and others. The third classic is Adam Olearius, often quoted in the commentary section of this work. He published the first version of his famous account in 1647 (*Ausführliche Beschreibung ...*), but particularly influential was the revised and enlarged edition of 1656, *Vermehrte neue Beschreibung ...*, presenting his experiences from three journeys to Russia and with references to earlier literature on that country. His work was quickly translated into French, English, Dutch and Italian, and had the influence in the 17th century which Herberstein had in the 16th. Here, again, we find descriptions deriving from Herberstein and being repeated by Petrejus. The fourth account which was extensively read at this time was Augustin von Mayerberg's *Iter in Moschoviam ...* (without place and year of publication), covering an embassy sent from the Emperor to Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič 1661–62. It should be noted that these four works, which were probably instrumental in setting the tone as regards perceptions of Russia among the reading public of that time, were all public reports of diplomatic missions. All four travellers had been sent out on missions by their respective rulers, and their accounts described those parts of their experiences that were suitable for a wider audience. Sparwenfeld refers to Olearius in his diary, and was probably well acquainted with his work. He also gives a list of previous accounts of Muscovy, including both printed and non-printed works, in which both Herberstein, Petrejus and Mayerberg are mentioned. The list also includes a number of printed English travel accounts, among them that of Carlisle, which he evidently read in detail (see p. 18). As Sparwenfeld was an avid reader, it is probable that, with time, he would have read all the available literature of importance.

What other information did he have on Russia? It is possible that he had seen Palmquist's work. It is less likely that he knew about Kotošichin's work at this time (see below). As has been pointed out by Tarkiainen (1974), the Swedish authorities of course had very firm opinions about Russia and the Russians. A neighbour of that size, with which Sweden had fought many wars over the centuries, was naturally not judged objectively in Sweden. Tarkiainen gives an account of the national characteristics of the Russians, as seen from the point of view of the leading circles in Sweden. Sweden also had centuries-long experience of the Russians as negotiating partners. Naturally, in the Foreign Office and among diplomats dealing with that country there existed a strong oral tradition, and the stereotypes of the Russians were constantly fed with fresh evidence that fitted perfectly into the existing pattern. It is easy to imagine the diplomatic jargon used in these quarters. So the influence of Sparwenfeld's travelling companions was likely to give him quite unfavourable expectations as to what he would experience on his journey. Descriptions offered by old and experienced people (such as the interpreters, on whom Sparwenfeld evidently relied to keep himself informed) to newcomers, like Sparwenfeld, also tend to depict reality in loud colours. In addition there is the mere fact that the Russians, to the members of this delegation, were the adversaries and, even if the Swedes were to talk about peace, the Russians had to be looked upon with suspicion and scepticism.

So it would seem that many of the factors that could create strongly coloured views were present. To what extent does Sparwenfeld fit into our stereotype of a 17th-century western traveller to Russia? He had some experience of foreign countries before, having been confronted with different cultures during his five-year-long peregrination. And another question: does a Swedish traveller to Russia feel more “at home” in Russia, his northern neighbour, than for example an Italian traveller? After all we share many conditions of life with people just across our borders.

The reader will notice that many of my comments are introduced by the words: “Many foreign travellers have commented on this ...” etc. Numerous quotations from other travel journals are given, not least from Olearius. When it comes to Olearius, we know for certain that Sparwenfeld had read his work. We also know that he at least knew the work of Herberstein and many others. But are there any traces of direct borrowings from his predecessors? I would be prepared to answer “no” to that question. Even if the information Sparwenfeld gives in many cases shows great similarities to other travellers’ reports as far as external data are concerned, my impression is that he has not taken over images, stereotypes or value judgments from other travellers. He does comment on many of the themes which they also deal with, but this does not, I believe, mean that he has taken over those themes from them or felt a need to comment on certain things simply because they have done so. The crucial factor here rather is, that West European travellers simply paid attention to and saw the same things in Russia, namely the things that differed most from their own countries and cultures, the striking things, the exotic things. It is no wonder that foreign diplomats described the very spectacular Byzantine pageantry with which they were received, something that the Russians wanted and counted on. It is not strange that foreigners described the pomp surrounding the celebration of such festivals as New Year or Epiphany. Quite naturally, the Russian Orthodox religion exhibited traits seen as exotic and strange through the eyes of West Europeans with a Catholic or Protestant background. Sparwenfeld, incidentally, gives an enormous amount of information about monasteries, churches, icons, religious ceremonies etc., and with no noticeable prejudice. It should be mentioned as an aside, that Sparwenfeld’s experience and knowledge of the Russian Orthodox Faith was used by Nicolaus Bergius in his dissertation *Exercitatio historico-theologica de statu Ecclesiae et Religionis Moscoviticae*, printed in Stockholm 1704–05, as Bergius had not himself been in Russia. Bergius work has been praised as being outstanding for its time in terms of accuracy and objectivity in its description of a faith, foreign to the author (Ruščinskij 1871, 33). Probably Sparwenfeld, as his informant, should have some of that credit (Birgegård 1990). There are no general statements in Sparwenfeld’s diary about the character of Russians or Russia. In fact he does not write about Russia and the Russians, but about what he himself experienced in Russia. He talks about individuals, not about representatives of different categories. The only statement of a general nature in the diary regards the Finns in the border area as compared to

the Russians. Here the Russians are treated very favourably, while the Finns got the worst of it. Instead of talking in general terms about the drinking habits of the Russian clergy and monks, a theme treated by almost all travellers, he describes without comment a scene he saw with a drunken pope being hauled inside the house by a troubled boy. He gives an eyewitness account but draws no general conclusions.

There are, however, borderline cases: There is an occasional touch of a supercilious or ironic tone in the judgment of food, for example. It emerges that Sparwenfeld was not fond of the Russian beer and other drinks, which he provides with different adjectives expressing disgust. The same goes for some of the “snacks” offered by the governor in Novgorod. The long and enervating fasting (“maigre à la moscovite”) leading to endless fishmenues was rather met with resignation. Once or twice, negative value judgments can be extrapolated from positive judgments of others, like the comments on the level of education and civilization of the “half Poles” at the Iberian Monastery at Valday. On the other hand, Sparwenfeld is full of admiration for the Russians’ mastery of building in wood, he often comments on the beauty of the landscape and of buildings and icons. On the whole his diary is descriptive, with few personal comments.

And how did Sparwenfeld perceive the attitude of the Russians towards himself? On the whole, it seems, as hospitable and generous. As he often travelled alone with but a few companions or his Russian boy, he managed to see and experience things that were not available to the embassy at large. The attitude towards foreigners in the 1680s was a complex one. The aging Patriarch, Ioakim, was known for his pronounced xenophobia and his wish to send all heathens (*pogane*) out of the country. On the other hand, people like Golicyn had a reputation of being extremely fond of foreigners and everything foreign. Peter surrounded himself with foreigners from an early age. Sparwenfeld experienced expressions of both attitudes, sometimes being seen as a representative of an unclean faith (as in Vjažišči), sometimes being allowed even inside the most sacred space, the altar room. It could be expected, that Sparwenfeld’s attitudes changed during the course of his stay in Russia, that his attitude was different at the beginning—when he depended on information from his informants—and at the end, when he had had the possibility to form an opinion of his own. Unfortunately, no definite conclusions can be drawn on this issue, as the more experience he gets the less he writes in his diary. Towards the end of the diary, however, especially in connection with his forced journey home, his tone concerning the “official Moscow” is rather irritated, not least towards Golicyn.

Another factor should be taken into account here. We know that Sparwenfeld during his stay in Moscow became extremely interested in the Russian language and Russian culture, something that led to his taking home a rich collection of books, both printed and in manuscript. Some of these books had been provided by Russian friends, in other cases he had ordered copies from the *Posol'skij prikaz*. During his studies in Russia and later at home he even wrote poems in Russian. In other words, Sparwenfeld must have felt a deep love for the Russian lan-

guage and culture, something that also, of course, influenced his attitudes to the people. As mentioned, he was regarded as annoyingly pro-Russian by the authorities in his dealings with the Russian prisoners of war.

If Sparwenfeld must be regarded as unusually free from prejudice against Russians, does this mean, then, that his diary is objective and trustworthy as a source? Concerning its objectivity, it has probably emerged from what has already been said that his account of Russia contains very few value judgements on the whole, and very few, if any, of a more generalized adverse nature. When it comes to the reliability of the information he provides, it seems, as far as I have been able to check, to be correct in a broader sense of the word. He might be mistaken when it comes to the exact year of a fire or the date of the beginning of a fast, but in general his information is surprisingly accurate. Occasionally there might be a misinterpretation of things he saw or heard. It is, however, for the reader to decide whether my impression is correct. I may have spent too much time with the man to be completely free of his influence.

The Edition

My aim has been to make this travel journal available to international scholars and to an interested readership broadly defined. As the original text is written in Swedish, French, some Italian etc. and in the language of the 17th century, it is not always easy to understand. We are dealing here with many unknown factors. The language of the 17th century was much more varied, much less formalized and much more interwoven with foreign words and phrases than is usual today. In other words, if only the original text of the diary were to be presented, comparatively few scholars would be able to use it with reasonable ease. Therefore the entire text is given in English translation. However, the original text is also included, reproducing in detail Sparwenfeld's own manuscript. This also gives the reader the possibility of checking the original, when the translation seems strange or doubtful.

This leads on to the difficulties involved in producing this translation. Apart from the first obstacle, the actual *reading* of the text (see above), there is the difficulty of understanding 17th century Swedish, French etc. It is also partly a question of reading and interpreting a text written by the author in what to him was a foreign language, which means that there are linguistic errors in both the French and the Italian text. The target language in this edition is English, and I have entirely refrained from trying to impart an archaic flavour to the translation—generally a risky enterprise—with the exception of trying to avoid obviously 'modern' words and finding a terminology closer to what was used during the period in question. The most problematic aspect from the point of view of translation technique has been the mass of culture-specific words, especially the large number of titles in the very elaborate system of ranks of pre-Petrine Russia. In the course of the translation process I have vacillated back and forth: first trying to translate all these *stol'niki*, *spal'niki*, *bližnie bojare*, *strjapčie*,

okol'ničie etc. into some kind of English equivalent. Then I thought it best to write the Russian term in italics, to allow those familiar with the system to “place” the person in question correctly on the scale. That led to all the difficult problems with the inflection of the words: should they be given in their correct Russian forms (always in the nominative, though, but, for example, *stol'niki* in the plural), or should Sparwenfeld's own pattern be followed and the word rendered in English as *stol'niks*, to be compared with Sparwenfeld's Swedish plural ending—*er* in *stolniker*? Sparwenfeld's own language is in fact—as a product of its time and also of a person extremely interested in languages—very mixed, and he likes to use the Russian terms, no doubt because it was much easier than to try to figure out a fitting Swedish or French counterpart, but also because he found it interesting to document his growing knowledge of the Russian language and the Russian state of affairs. (Within the Swedish Foreign Office with its frequent dealings with the Muscovite state, many of these culture-specific words were well-known.) While I have, in general, ended up keeping many of these Russian names for officials, like *d'jaki*, *okol'ničie*, and for institutions, like the very frequent *Posol'skij prikaz* etc., I have sometimes not had the strength to be consistent. Sometimes there have simply been too many of these italicized words in a row, and sometimes I have not been able to handle the inflections in a reasonable way. In other words: people interested in this particular area are recommended to look at the original, to see what is written there.

Now then, for whom is the commentary written? The answer is that the expected reader is a person with broad interests. Of course, people interested in political history, history of culture and religion, foreign relations, ethnography, historical anthropology, Slavists broadly defined etc. might be the main target audience, but no specialist knowledge of Swedish or Russian history is expected, nor any particular familiarity with the Russian language or the Russian Orthodox Church. As a consequence, the commentary is extensive, sometimes detailed or very detailed. It is meant to give a fairly broad outline of Russian life and conditions in the 17th century. The reader will see that I make extensive use of two sources in particular: the *Short Memorial*, preserved at the Royal Library in Stockholm, an anonymous and unpublished report of the same embassy, which is read in parallel with the diary, and the reports of Hildebrand von Horn, the diplomat in Danish service. In my view, the friendship between von Horn and Sparwenfeld lends an extra dimension to some of the information given in the diary. I have also decided not to refrain from quoting extensively from these sources, since they, and especially the first-mentioned of them, might not be readily accessible. For someone with a background in Slavonic philology and historical lexicography like myself to take on the task of writing a commentary on a text that would seem to demand a specialist knowledge of political history, history of religion, ethnography, economic history etc. can be said to be more than risky. All the same I decided to do so, mainly because it is so very exciting to try to fish out the actual circumstances from this often rather fragmentary text, which presupposes quite a different frame of reference to the one we have today.

It has also been my aim to evaluate this diary as a source, and to be able to do so, it has been necessary to try to compare Sparwenfeld's information with data published elsewhere. And last, but not least: I have lived so many years of my life with the author, Sparwenfeld, that I know him, and especially his dealings with Russia and the Russian language. But it has to be stated clearly from the outset, that the reader with a specialist knowledge in some of the fields involved in this diary will find the commentary primitive, while for others it will be too detailed. Whatever the reactions, it has been enjoyable to write it, and immensely troublesome to dabble in so many different fields.

INI.

[P. 1]

Giornale dun Viaggio di Muscouia Cominciato sotto la Condotta delle Eccellenze De' Monsignori il Barone Conrado Gyldenstier-na Capo dell'ambasciada il signore Klingstedt conciliario di Cancelleria, et sigr. Stackelberg Conciliario Prouinciale in Liuonia nell'anno doppo la nascita dell N.S. 1684 ai Cinque di Febraro e finito nell Mese di Giunio l'istess anno. lo scrisse io Giouanni G. Sparwenfeld pell'aiuto di memoria.¹

[P. 3]

5 Feb. 84.

Essendoci partiti da Stockholmo alli 5 di Febr. che fu Martedì a 8 hore di mattina /: non uolendo alcuni fra Noj partir sine il Lunedì per cattiuo augurio, pregauamo l'ambasciadore Gyldenstierna² che comitauo io, di uolere lasciare passare la Notte, prima di uscire, e così ben che fosse già parato loro diede dilazione :/ Con cento uinti due trainau, la prima Cambiatura fu a una hostaria Israelsdahl chiamata 3½ legue di Stockholmo L'altra in Tarualla Lensmansgård 3 legue più innanzi, la terza fu in Suanberga 1½. la quarta fu a Gresselshambn 2¾ leg. dove restassimo la prima Notte doppo hauer fatta la 1. giornata de legue 10¾.

6. Ci fuissimo leuati col giorno spuntante et cominciassimo con ogni diligenza a passare il Mare Åhlandico, che pareua giusto il ghiacciale. fu per certo un curioso spettacolo, et per noi altri assai strordinario, di uedere colmi é monti di ghiaccio chil fluttuante mare forzato haueua e talmente consolidato, che credeuero i Paesani rustici che fosse sin alfondo congelato l'acqua, alcuni pezi di qua e di la meteuanano un punto d'extremità fora, come se volesse pigliare l'aria, tutto il suo retto essendo consolidato coll altro pauimentu ghiaciale, altri pezi representaueno cippi sepolchrali eretti di 2. o 3 canne romane,³ tras parenti má pur dun colore poco meno turchino, altri fuero buchi et recetto d'animali siählar detti grandi uccelli si fecero ancho uedere, che al fine se n'andauano nascondere in quei buchi, fatti fortuito dall raccolto ghiaccio. tra queste escrescenze di neue ci fu mestiere andar di qua e di la ad aprirci il camino non dritto ma come en serpentant, il più grand gusto haueua colui che fu l'ultimo nella fila, che fu l'ambasciadore stesso, doppo hauer fatto continuo uiaggio sin a non poter uedere la terra, benche fosse il più bel, et più chiar giorno che si potesse bramare, et doppo auer passato una piccola apertura /: råkna :/ di 6 quarti di canna succese ariuassimo all fine uerso la sera ad un scoglio oue ab-

In Nomine Jesu

[P. 1]

Journal of a journey to Moscow, begun on 5 February 1684 after the Birth of our Lord under the leadership of Their Excellencies Baron Conrad Gyllenstierna, Head of the Embassy, Mr Klingstedt, Head of the Royal Chancellery, and Mr Stackelberg, Provincial Councillor of Livonia, and finished in the month of June of the same year, written by me, Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld, to help the memory.¹

[P. 3]

The 5th of February 1684. We left Stockholm on 5 February, i.e. on a Tuesday, at 8 o'clock in the morning. /: As none of us wanted to leave on a Monday, since that is a bad omen, we had asked Ambassador Gyllenstierna,² whose attendant I was, to allow us to spend the night there before leaving. Thus, although everything was ready, he agreed to the delay :/. With 122 sleighs the first change of horses took place at an inn called Israelsdahl, 3½ leagues from Stockholm. The second change was made at the county sheriff's house in Tarvalla, 3 leagues further on, the third at Svanberga, 1½, the fourth at Grisslehamn, 2¾ leagues, where we stayed the first night, having covered 10¾ leagues on the first day.

The 6th. We got up at dawn and started travelling across the Åland Sea as fast as we could, as the ice seemed good. Indeed it offered a remarkable sight, rather extraordinary to us, to see pinnacles and mountains of ice which had forced the billowing sea to congeal so that we almost believed the simple farmers who thought that the water had frozen down to the bottom. Here and there extremities were sticking out as if snatching at air, with the whole of their length stiffened by ice. Other pieces resembled tombstones, two to three Roman *canne*³ high, transparent but of a little less turquoise colour. Others were the holes and shelters of animals called *sälar* [seals]. We also saw big birds, which then hid in the cavities that had accidentally been created by the pack of ice. We were forced to zig-zag among these outgrowths of ice to open up the road, not straight ahead but twisting. The most comfortable was the one who was last, i.e. the ambassador himself. Having travelled without stopping and without seeing land—although the weather was as beautiful and as bright as we could have wished—and having passed a small open channel in the ice six quarters of a *canna*, we finally arrived towards the evening at a rocky islet, where a single family was living, privileged by the king to live there for the comfort of travellers. This Signilskär is situated 5 leagues from Grisslehamn. Then we continued further across the sea and arrived at Eckerö village in Åland in the evening, 1¼ leagues, where we spent the

itava una sola famiglia, dal re priuilegiata per uoler habitarla, per la commodita dei uiaggianti e fa questo signilskär 5 legue de Greselhamn, et poi continuando anchora sul mare ariuassimo a la sera a Eckerö by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ legue in Ålandia, ove restassimo la notte, scrissimo alcune lettere a Stockholmo. le legue erano hoggi 6 $\frac{1}{4}$.

7. Passato (il traietto Watskiftet gia) noi ohlanda a Ömkarby fu la Cambiatura 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. poi Torsarby 2. Wargata 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. et passato i traietto Deilen chiamato (et finito ill territorio d'åhlanda) arivassimo a Kumblinge 3 legue alla Notte. hauendo fatto pel giorno legue 9.

[P. 4]

dh 8. doppo le precationi si fece ogni diligenza et passato Brände 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. si tragetto il stretto che si chiama Watskiffe fra la finlanda et Åhlanda capitassimo a Warsahla in Finlanda 2 $\frac{1}{4}$. poi a Töfsala 2. ouì si desinaua, e ci era una bella chiesa⁴ piena di dentro d'armi antichi de famiglia nobile di finlandia, ci erano anchora le armi del vescovo che ci fu nel tempo del Papato colla mitra sopra una sedia scolta nell legno, doppo hauer pransato coll pastore /: che pure spiaceua tanto al nostro Signore che ../ chi era stato professore a Åbo,⁵ partissimo de la verso Lemo 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. et capitassimo a la Citta d'åbo 2. alle 10 hore di notte dopoo hauer fatto pel giorno legue 11 $\frac{1}{4}$: <Legue 11.^{1/4}:>

a abo restassimo sin all' duodecimo di Febraro.

dh 9. Éscritto colla posta a Stockholmo del ambasciador et noi altri qui Nostri.

dh 10. Fussimo a Desinare dall Gouvernatore della citta et della Provincia de Finland all castello fuora della città, Struttura uecchia.⁶ doue haueua le sue stantze il signor gouern. Lorentzo Creutz.⁷

11. Pransaua con mon L. Creutz. Viddi la libreria:⁸ da resto non c'è grand cosa da uerer la mentre la citta siè tutta abbruciata l' anno 1680⁹ colla chiesa di dentro, che sta anchora tutta desolata et mal accommodata. Je dinois aussì chez Mons le Conseiller Simon Ruth¹⁰ mon amij d' upsal. Borgerskapet hadhe ärnat sig i geuär emot oss, men emedan vij kommo så seent om natten kunde dhet ey skee elliest war Landzhöfdingen mycket Ciuil emot oss ock kom ey allenast att biuda Ambass. adieu men kom och i min och Gref Leijonhufwuds¹¹ kammar och böd oss farwähl.

[P. 5]

Le 12. parti d' ela par ytterwägen.¹² qvon dit aupres de la cote de la mere en laissant le chemin a gauche qui meine par tawast finnarna et nous ariuames par Seeuola 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ et Hendelle. 2 lieux a Pärìs 2 $\frac{1}{4}$: (a) dans la paroisse Biärna. jordans

night. We wrote some letters to Stockholm. The number of leagues covered to-day was $6\frac{1}{4}$.

The 7th. Having passed Åland with changes at Emkarby, $2\frac{1}{4}$ leagues, Tosarby, 2, Vargata, $1\frac{3}{4}$, and having passed the straits called Delet, we arrived at Kumlinge towards nightfall, 3 leagues, having covered 9 leagues on that day.

[P. 4]

The 8th. After the prayer we hurried on and having passed Brändö, $2\frac{1}{2}$, we crossed the straits called Vattuskiftet between Finland and Åland and arrived at Varsala in Finland, $2\frac{1}{4}$, then at Tövsala, 2, where we had lunch. There there was a beautiful church⁴ full of old coats of arms of Finnish noble families, including the arms of the bishop who was there at the time of the Pope, with a mitre above a carved wooden chair. Having eaten with the clergyman /: whom our lord disliked so much that .../ who had been a professor at Åbo,⁵ we travelled on to Lemo, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and arrived in the city of Åbo, 2, at 10 o'clock in the evening, having covered $11\frac{1}{4}$ leagues that day. < $11\frac{1}{4}$ leagues. > We stayed in Åbo until 12 February.

The 9th. I wrote with the ambassador's post to Stockholm, which, incidentally, some of the others among our people did too.

The 10th. We had dinner with the governor of the city and of the province of Finland at the castle outside the city. It is an old building⁶ and Governor Lorentz Creutz⁷ has his quarters there.

The 11th. We had lunch with Mr Creutz. I had a look at the library.⁸ Apart from that there is not much to be seen, as the city burnt down in 1680,⁹ including the interior of the church. It is still deserted and in a poor state. I also had dinner at the house of the judge of appeal Mr Simon Ruuth,¹⁰ my friend from Uppsala. The townspeople had planned to meet us in arms, but as we arrived so late at night it was not possible. But the governor was very obliging to us. Not only did he come to say goodbye to the ambassador, but he also came to the quarters where Count Leijonhufwud¹¹ and I were staying to bid us farewell.

[P. 5]

The 12th. We left from there by the so called "outer road"¹² along the coast and did not take the road to the left, which leads through Tavastland, and we arrived via Sievola, $2\frac{1}{2}$, and Häntälä, 2 leagues in Päärinen, $2\frac{1}{4}$, in Bjärnå parish, at Jordan's manor,¹³ where we slept on hay like almost every other night, having travelled $6\frac{3}{4}$ that day.

The 13th. From there early, and having done one league, whereupon we crossed a bridge, we left Finland behind and entered Nyland, where we could make ourselves better understood, because here they speak Swedish almost everywhere.

sätgårdh,¹³ ou nous couchames sur la paille comme presque toutes les autres nuits. apres avoir fait ce jour la $6\frac{3}{4}$

Le 13. Delà de bonne heure et apres auoir fait une lieue, ou nous passames un pont nous laissames la Finlande Derriere. et entrames en Nylande, ou nous nous pumes mieux faire entendre car l'on y parle presque par tout Suedois, a un uillage Sueneby. 2. Pol. $1\frac{3}{4}$. Nyby $1\frac{3}{4}$. par Tenala socken der liggr Poio sokn s. ost ifrån. Kimito. westr. i Rasborgs lähn. i Halliko häred Nyby till Nat-ten klok. 9: ankomne. öfwer Caris åå wed skawista järnbruk¹⁴ af hwilka här äre fyra styck¹⁵ i denna älfwen som kommer uhr Tauaste land ock löper in i een wjk som kommer här inn af Stora Saltsjöön: denna dagen reste wij $5\frac{1}{2}$.

Le 14. a diné a Kockis 2 lieux. i Siunda sockn: apres Kårkulla $3\frac{1}{4}$. i Körkeslätt sockn arrivé a minuit, couché la ayant fait $5\frac{1}{4}$.

Le 15. Till Quarneby Länsmansgård i Aspå sockn $1\frac{3}{4}$. et apres a 10 heures a la uille de Helsingfors 2. passant par deuant Colonell Aruid Gullenerrs gård ahlberg.¹⁶ Ofv een uijk af Stora sjön hwar man ock strömming fiska kan, ock komma hädan med skutor till slakt. Nordan för detta ligga Wictis ock Lujo socknar, sönnan är siöhn. Här ändas Rasborgs lähn, ock staden Helsingfors liggr i Bårgo lähn. Staden ligger wakert på een peninsula ock kan man mz skepp komma in till bryggan, men förr än staden hade bränt ock blef flyttat ifrån föra läge kunde dhet ey skeep,¹⁷ salt watten rundt omkring. 6 mjl räknas till Pårkala udd. borgerskapet wore i geuär emoth oss wid pass 90 man, bore sig nog löyeliget åth med deras marche ock salvor. <Träkyrka. all öfr måhlat med andelige historier innan uthi.¹⁸> i dhetta lanshöfdinge dömet gick dhet mycket orichtigt med hästar Till middags måhltijd kom Landshöfdingen Gust. Rosenhane¹⁹ godh ok from man, han hade swårt att skaffa oss hästar nog. han war ock hos oss till måhltijdh förän vi reste bort om dh

< $3\frac{3}{4}$.>

16. ifrån staden klock 10. till Sibbo gästgifver gård $3\frac{3}{4}$. Klockan 3 ef. midd. Sedan till Bårgo stadh $2\frac{1}{2}$ mjl klock 8 om afft. ingen skoug här emellan ok Helsingfors. Borgarna i geuär wid pass 150 man till fot och några till häst gofwo salva, ock skute svensk lösen med 2 stycken, rede så för ambass. chaise till quarteret. Staden är mindre ock sämbre en Helsingf. ligger på een kulle 2 kyrkor 1 finsk af trä och en suensk af sten dog slätt och rätt.²⁰

< $6\frac{1}{4}$.>

[P. 6]

Le 17. efter hörd predican hema i huset, och åtet middagmåltijd till Perno Lensmans gård 3 mil dädan till Kupis länsmansgård $3\frac{1}{2}$. här reste wi om Sarlax herregård Lor. Creutz. skönt steenhus²¹ han har ock här i soknen järnbruk och

To a village called Svenskby, 2, then to Pol, $1\frac{3}{4}$, and Nyby, $1\frac{3}{4}$, through Tenala parish—from here Pojo parish is to the south-east and Kimito to the west—to Raseborg province, Halikko district. We arrived at Nyby at 9 o'clock at night, having crossed the River Karis at Skavistad ironworks,¹⁴ of which there are four¹⁵ on this river, which comes out of Tavastland and runs into an inlet, which at this place comes in from the Big Sea. On this day we travelled $5\frac{1}{2}$.

The 14th. We had dinner at Kokkila in Sjundeå parish, 2 leagues. Then we arrived at Korkkulla in Kyrkslätt parish around midnight, $3\frac{1}{4}$. There we spent the night after covering $5\frac{1}{4}$.

The 15th. To Kvarnby county sheriff's house in Esbo parish, $1\frac{3}{4}$, and after that at 10 o'clock to the town of Helsingfors, 2, having passed in front of Colonel Arvid Gyldenär's estate Alberga¹⁶ across a bay of the Big Sea where one can fish for herring and they bring the haul from there by ship for slaughtering. To the north are Vichtis and Lojo parishes, to the south the sea. Here ends Raseborg province, and the town of Helsingfors is situated in Borgå province. The town lies delightfully on a peninsula and one can reach the pier by ship, but until the town had burnt and been moved from its former site this could not be done.¹⁷ Salt water all around. It is 6 Swedish miles to Porkala point. Some 90 of the burghers met us with rifles, acted quite foolishly with their marching and their volleys. <Wooden church, the whole interior was covered with paintings of religious tales.¹⁸> In this province there were serious problems with horses. The Provincial Governor Gustav Rosenhane,¹⁹ a good and pious man, came for dinner. He had difficulty coming by enough horses for us. He also joined us for a meal before we left on the

< $3\frac{3}{4}$.>

16th from town at 10 o'clock. To Sibbo hostelry at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, $3\frac{3}{4}$. Then to Borgå town at 8 o'clock in the evening, $2\frac{1}{2}$ Swedish miles. There are no forests between here and Helsingfors. Burghers at arms, some 150 men on foot and some mounted, fired volleys and the Swedish salute with two cannon, then rode ahead of the ambassador's carriage to his quarters. The town is smaller than and inferior to Helsingfors. On a hill there are two churches, one Finnish of wood and one Swedish of stone, neither of them, however, anything special.²⁰

< $6\frac{1}{4}$.>

[P. 6]

The 17th. After listening to the sermon at home in the house, and after eating a midday meal, we went to Pernå county sheriff's house, 3 Swedish miles. From there to Kuppis county sheriff's house, $3\frac{1}{2}$. We travelled by Sarvlax Manor, belonging to Lorentz Creutz, a beautiful stone-built house.²¹ He also has ironworks in this parish and some 40 peasants. Then we passed Captain Wrede's estate, $\frac{1}{4}$.²² Further ahead on a slope there is a cross, dividing Viborg province from

af 40 bönder. Sedan om Captein Wredes²² gård $\frac{1}{4}$ bättre fram är på een backa ett Kors som skillier Wiborgz lähn ifrån Bårge lähn det är ved pass $1\frac{1}{2}$ mijl från Perno, sedan om abborfors H. Joh. Creutzers gård²³ stor bygning och wacker gård belegen ved een stor flodh som är gott Laxfiske i. Sedan aftonen seent om Pyttis kyrka och kom klock 8 om afton för.

◁Mijl $6\frac{1}{2}$.▷

Le 18. Till Wekelax 3. Mijl klock. 2. som ett fiskeläge²⁴ 80 borgare, besåg kyrkan af trä och predicas finska, feck där af kyrkioherde²⁵ 2 ryska stycken för en $\frac{1}{2}$ Rr. åth dhe fattige Här ifrån genast öfwer finska bottnen äre 25 mijl till Naruen öfwer Lausari, men emedan för så stoor suite ey kunde finnas hästar på öhen, moste man gå åth Willajocki närmare viborg. Ibland våra skiutzbönder wore trenne bönder som pretenderade wara adelsmen, de kalla dh Knaper. ok heeta. Pijlhierta, Branstaka. ock husgafwel.²⁶ reste så denne dagen intet längre än hjt.

Le 19. Till Pytelax härregård, hörer Kongen till, köpt af herr ambassad. C. Gylls:²⁷ 3. Mijl. dädan till Willajocki $4\frac{1}{2}$ dijt vi ey kom för än effter midnatten dh 20 ock som man war trött blef heela suiten där dh dagen och reste sedan ifrån Willajocki <dh 21. ambassadeurens wäg till Homeljoki $3\frac{1}{2}$, Sortewalla $2\frac{1}{2}$, [H]ariewalla²⁸ $2\frac{1}{4}$, [C]apurien 3, [Pe]llule 2, [P]odoga 2, Naruen 2. detta mijletahlet är quarteremestarens²⁹ som med ambass. war.> men iag feck af ambass. ett pass att reesa till Wiborg och Nyenskantz dhet att bese. reste så straxt klock 8 bort **dh 20** ock kom till Wiborg klock 2. effter midd. 3 mijl: NB. här effter räknas alt gamla finska ock ingermanske mijl, uppa hvar af dem gå 5 uirster. och 15 uirster göra iust 2 Nya svenska mijl eller 6000 fambnar. Wiborg är een deyelig stad men lijten ligger wäll till för seglatz: har 14 a. 15 fotz vatten och tårkar aldrig uth, slättet brafft kring flutet,³⁰ hwarest iag såg Wiborgz Kittil, som dhe kalla Heluittin Kattula. Kan vara $1\frac{1}{2}$ aln i diameter, ok något mera än en half aln djup. inmurat i muren i ett mörkt håll.³¹ Wackra steenhus mäst alla,³² men kyrkian intet wacker.³³ Nyen ock Narven ruinerar stadens handell i dhet dhe drar åth sig till dh ryske. äfwen ok dh finske tiäru handeln och gör sig så stor till som Wiborg, skeppa nu uth 3000 läster så tiära som smör etc.³⁴ Nyen ock Narven är ingen diup hambn att löpa inn med skepen som i wiborg. logerade hos Lifmans änka.³⁵ hälsade på Borgmestr Smitt.³⁶ Lanshofding Carl falkenberg var ey hemma.³⁷

[P. 7]

L 21. Partij de Wiborg a 10 heur apres auoir dejeuné, till Perrå. $1\frac{7}{8}$ i Mola Sockn a midi, et couche a Jwola Öhmans fogdes gård som är $\frac{1}{4}$ för gästgifveri Pampalla. apres auoir changé de cheuaux a Kangaspeldo i Mola sokn. $2\frac{1}{8}$.

Borgå province, this is some 1½ Swedish miles from Pernå. Then to Abborfors, Sir Johan Creutz's estate,²³ a big building and a beautiful estate, situated by a large river, where the salmon fishing is good. Then late in the evening we passed Pyttis Church and reached our destination at 8 o'clock in the evening.

〈6½ Swedish miles.〉

The 18th. To Veckelax at 2 o'clock, 3 Swedish miles. It looks like a fishing village,²⁴ 80 burghers were out to meet us. I looked at the wooden church, where they preach in Finnish. I was given two Russian coins by the vicar²⁵ for half a riksdaler for the poor. The distance from here to Narva via Lavansaari straight across the Gulf of Finland is 25 Swedish miles. But since not enough horses would be found on the island for such a numerous party, we had to go to Vilajoki closer to Viborg. Among our coachmen were three peasants, who asserted that they were noblemen. They are called "knaper" and their names are Pilhierta, Brandstake and Huusgafvel.²⁶ We did not go any further this day.

The 19th. To Pyterlax Manor, belonging to the king, bought from Mr Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna,²⁷ 3 Swedish miles. From there to Vilajoki, 4½, where we did not arrive until after midnight on the 20th, and as all were tired the whole party remained there that day and then left Vilajoki on the 21st. 〈The ambassador's route went through Homeljoki, 3½, Sordavala, 2½, [H]arievala,²⁸ 2¼, Koporje, 3, [Pe]llule, 2, [P]odoga, 2, to Narva, 2. This number of Swedish miles I got from the quartermaster²⁹ who was with the ambassador〉 But I received a passport from the ambassador to travel to Viborg and Nyenskans to inspect them. Thus I left already at 8 o'clock on **the 20th** and got to Viborg at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, 3 Swedish miles. NB. Hereafter all will be measured in old Finnish and Ingrian miles, to each of which there are 5 versts. And 15 versts constitute exactly 2 new Swedish miles or 6,000 fathoms. Viborg is a beautiful town, but small. It is well situated for navigation: it has 14 to 15 feet of water and never dries out. The castle is completely surrounded by water.³⁰ There I saw Viborg's Cauldron, which they call *helvetin kattila*. It is probably 1½ ells in diameter and somewhat more than a half ell deep, immured in the wall in a dark hole.³¹ Most of the houses are beautiful stone houses,³² but the church is not beautiful.³³ Nyen and Narva are ruining the town's trade, as they attract the Russian as well as the Finnish tar trade and make themselves as important as Viborg, as they are now shipping 3,000 lasts of tar as well as butter etc.³⁴ In Nyen and Narva there is no deep harbour for the ships to run into as in Viborg. I took lodging with Lifman's widow.³⁵ Visited Mayor Schmidt.³⁶ The provincial governor Carl Falkenberg was not at home.³⁷

[P. 7]

The 21st. We left Viborg at 10 o'clock after having breakfast and came to Perrå in Mola parish at midday, 1⅞. We slept at Ivola, in Öhman's bailiff's house, a quarter of which is used as an inn, in Pamppala, after changing horses at Kangaspeldo in Mola parish, 2⅞.

L. 22. Om Palwanselki 4 Mjl öfuer Systerbeck³⁸ som skillier Nöteborgs lähn ifrån Wiborgs lähn ok har uarit een gammal grentze nog renomerad är dog intet annat än een lijten regn bäcken föga annat att man kan wäll håppa öfr honom. och till Walkiasari i Nöteborgs lähn 2. ligger 1 mjl innan Systerbeck. i Toxa lähn ock Korbosolski sockn dädan till Nyen Skantz 3 mjl äre således emellan Wiborg ock Skantzen effter Slåtsbokhållarens opsatz mig gifwen 13 Mjl. effter Nya mätningen.³⁹ Komme så till Nyen Skantz⁴⁰ klock 10 om afftonen, ock effter stoort beswär och många repulser hoos een ock annan /: emedan ingen gästgifwar är där på orthen⁴¹ :/ finge wi hus hos Rådmannen och Postmästaren dher sammastädes Mons Timmerman⁴² een uäll beleuat man. i Walkasari kunde iag ey åthniuta mit pass uthan moste leya hästen dhe 3 mjl. alt in till Systerbeck tahlas finska, men straxt öfr bäcken begynna dhe att förstå Ryska. och är här i Ingermanland och hälst i Nöteborg lähn. föruthan dhe rätte Luther-ske finnar. 3 slags Ryssar. 1. rätta Ryssar som i sin religion obehindrade blifwa emedan dhe dh så wäll som språket förstå kunna. 2. äre ingrikar kalladhe, dhes-sa äre af Rysk lära ock därtill tillgodo att dö derför ehuru dhe äre finnar, ock kunna icke förstå ett endesta ord kan ske af Ryska, mindre ueta något i dhess religion, hålla dog altijdh wed Korskyssningen af een wana och arf ock villia ingalunda låtha döpa sina barn af våra prester, uthan låta dhem hällre bli odöpte till dhes thet kan ske af Ryssarna. 3. slaget kallas Wettalaisar, ock äre af samma slag som desse senare, ehuru dhe till nambnet åthskilde,⁴³ men dhesse alle som Ryska ey rätt förstå är nu ordres gifvit att dhem instruera i Luth. relig. och med force tage och döpa dheras barn etc. som presternas instructioner lyda uthgifne af Gen. Guverneuren i Narven Sperling⁴⁴ och af Superintendenten Joh. Gezelius⁴⁵ som iag sett och läsett hafwer. Här i Korbosolski soken äre 14 heman som kongen har reducerat ifrån dhem dhem före fått hadhe som war Iuan Wirinhof hwilken lefwererde nyklarna till Nöteborgs Slott åth gref iacob Dela gardie⁴⁶ ty han war wachtmester, men när receuilen sedan skedde reste in i Rysland igen och {godh} {eudue}. här recknas land i ops:⁴⁷ alt ett med Hake. Kyrkioherden här sammastäde[s]⁴⁸ sade att ops är 30 tunnors uthsäde, och en Kyrkioherde har 2 ops land. een Capellan 12 tunneland ock klockaren 6. tn. Land,⁴⁹ på 30 år har ey warit så swår tijdh som nu för dhet att såden har frusit bort. Samma prest sade mig ok att Helmfelt⁵⁰ hade inrättat i Nöteborg att små gåssar äre plichtige att löpa på skijdor alla dagar ifrån 12 till 1. sedan åter i skohlan igen hvilket rätt nyttigt wara skall.

[P. 8]

Le 23. Om morgonen sände Moraht⁵¹ till Mig ok lät beda mig till sig ock enär iag war kommen ock med honom ätit middag, moste iag låtha föra mijna släder och saker till honom och där Logera brachte så dagarna till med honom och roade både honom och mig. War ock hoos Majoren som är Commendant på skantzen Fraser⁵² som mig wäll fägnadhe ock mera än iag wille pläga wille. Sände åther Morath effter mig att iag skulle komma hem emedan han längtade

The 22nd. To Palvanselki, 4 miles, across Systerbäck,³⁸ which separates Nöteborg province from Viborg province and was once an old border, much renowned—is however nothing more than a small rainwater stream, not much broader than that it can be readily jumped across. And on to Valkiasari in Nöteborg province, 2, situated 1 mile before Systerbäck in Toxa province, Korboselski parish. From there to Nyenskans it is 3 miles. So between Viborg and Nyenskans it is 13 miles according to the new survey,³⁹ which can be seen from the court notary's essay, given to me. We came to Nyenskans⁴⁰ at 10 o'clock in the evening, and after much difficulty and a lot of frustration for some people /: as there was no hostelry in that town⁴¹ :/ we were given accommodation by the councillor and postmaster there, Mr Timmerman,⁴² a well-versed man. In Valkiasari I could not benefit from my passport and was obliged to hire a horse for the 3 remaining miles. Up to Systerbäck Finnish is spoken, but from across the brook they begin to understand Russian. Here in Ingria, and especially in Nöteborg province, there are, apart from the proper Lutheran Finns, three kinds of Russians. 1. Russians proper, who are unconstrained in their religion as they understand it as well as they do the language. 2. The so called Ingrians. They are of Russian creed and prepared to die for it, although they are Finns and might not understand a single word of Russian and even less do they know anything about their religion. Yet they maintain the kissing of the cross by habit and by heritage and under no circumstances do they want to have their children baptized by our priests, rather letting them remain unchristened until it can be done by the Russians. 3. The so called *vatjalaiset* [Votes]. They are of the same kind as the last mentioned, although different by name.⁴³ But concerning all these who do not properly understand Russian, orders have been issued that they be instructed in the Lutheran religion and that their children be taken by force and baptized etc., as the instructions to the priests read, decreed by Sperling,⁴⁴ the Governor General of Narva, and by the Superintendent Johannes Gezelius,⁴⁵ which I have seen and read.

Here in Korboselski parish there are fourteen homesteads which the king has repossessed from those who had formerly been given them. Among them was Ivan Wirinhof, who delivered the keys to Nöteborg Castle to Count Jakob De la Gardie,⁴⁶ as he was warden. But when the repossession took place he left again for Russia and bid adieu [?]. Here land is reckoned in *obs*,⁴⁷ which is the same as a *hake*. The vicar resident here⁴⁸ said that 1 obs is 30 barrels of seed, and that a vicar has 2 obs of land, a chaplain 12 acres and the bellringer 6 acres.⁴⁹ For 30 years times have not been as hard as they are now, because the crop has frozen. The same clergyman also told me that Helmfelt⁵⁰ had ordained in Nöteborg that small boys are required to ski every day from 12 to 1, then to return to school again, which is considered to be quite healthy.

[P. 8]

The 23rd. In the morning Morath⁵¹ sent for me and asked me to come to him, and when I had arrived and had lunched with him, I was obliged to have my

effter mig. Skantzen⁵³ besågs, är af 4 bastioner af iord wakert höga diup kringfluten graf som aldrig kan wara toom emedan floden Newa stryker dh eena sijdan så när att hon och gör skantzen skada, ty han ligger nästan långt uth på een udde som tränges i hopa af Neva, och een annan lijten ström som komer emellan staden och skantzen. Elliest är orten admirabel behagelig för sin slätheet skul och hälsosamme situation, staden är nys bygder igen sedan han afbränt hadhe samma åhr⁵⁴ som wiborg ock åbo, med stoora gator, och 2 träkyrkor.⁵⁵ men dhett bästa är att med dhen Neva som komer ur laduga komma Rysslodior neder och skola nödvändigt om Nötheborg och så om skantzen in i finske botten och handla, ett Nytt uerk⁵⁶ är ock anlagt, hvar till store preparatifer äre giorde och d[a]gelige dagswirker giöres af allmogen, blir dhett ferdigt så blir dhett een skön orth. dheras barndom[!] läser ifrån barndomen tyska, finska, Swenska, ock Många af dhem och så Ryska, så att enär dhe äre vuxne kunna dhe redan 3 eller 4 språk. folket är här i orthen långlijfdare än annorstedes och fruchtsammare iag har sett emellan Wiborg och här een far far af 100 åhr kljifwa upp på ungnen 3 eller 4 trapsteg, stoora ock höga, och ser sijna barne barns barn ligga i wagger, ia in till att 5 wagger gå på golfwet och alla bo dhe i een stuga, eller rökehus,⁵⁷ ock äre dhe mycket warma, ock enär röken är mäst uthgången kan man i denna winteren där inne rätt wäll trijfwat. dhe är alla på ett maner gorde, med een ungn som ellers, och glöden rijfwes fram på ett ihåligt trästäck med steen besatt innuthi sin iholighet som ett baketråg där röka brandarna uth. icke genom någon skorsteen, dhem dhe ey hafva för kolden om winteren som dhem sunderfrysa som dhe säga, uthan genom ett håhl på taket och genom 2 eller 3 glugger mitt på wäggen, och när röken mäst är uthe stoppas hålet på taket igen, men gluggarna på weggen blir altijd öppna in till aftonen då tända dhe sijna lius upp som äre pärtor⁵⁸ klyfde af grän, och wäll tårkade brinna tämligen wäll.

«Il ya 3 chemins pour aller de Nyen a Naruen. Le Capourien est celuy que nous auons tenu et qui est cy dessus marqué. l'autre s'appelle le Gobaniske weg. qui est a la gauche plus haut dans l'ingrie uer les frontieres. celuy cy que i'ay tenu est le plus proche a la mere bothnique. mais le 3. est le chemin Begounitzske wäg qui est (au) de millieu entre ces deux dits et celuy ci est le chemin de la poste, nous ne l'auons pas peu faire a cause quil ny a point là des biens de gentils homes, et quil nia que des paisans la qui ne nous eussent pas donné de cheuaux selon nostre passeport. ce chemin est comme ca. de Nyen et est le plus proche. ils uienne[n]t ensamble et se rejouingne[n]t a jamo 3 lieux de Naruen. De Nyen a Douderhof cest la ou se separent les 3 chemins celui de la poste va a Semsempalla 2 lieu de la a Ontoza 4. Verst:⁵⁹ Tescowa 2. verst. Begunitz 2: v. Negoditza 3. v. Circouitza. 3. Osiritza. 3. Couta 2. Gurillowa 1. v. Jamskowitz 2 gambla mijl. jamo 2 mjl gamle Narven 3: Straxt ved jamo komma dhe 3 vägarna ihopa. NB. dans tous ces chemins il nya point de Gastgeber ny auberges ny lougeurs qui Donnes de cheuaux pour argent, mais il se faut trainer miserablement par ce pay ou par le passeport du Gouverneur. ou avec son propre cheval.»

sleigh and things brought to him to reside there. Then I spent the days with him and amused both him and myself. I also visited the major who is the commandant at Nyenskans, Fraser,⁵² who regaled me well, indeed beyond my wishes. Once again Morath sent word for me to come home, as he missed my company.

We inspected the fortress.⁵³ It has four bastions of earth, of a good height, and is encircled by a deep moat, which can never be empty, since the River Neva touches one side so closely, that it in fact damages the fortress, for it is situated too far out on a tongue of land, which is squeezed by the Neva and another smaller stream running between the town and the fortress. Otherwise the town is admirably pleasant because of its levelness and its healthy location. The town has recently been rebuilt, having burned to the ground in the same year⁵⁴ as Viborg and Åbo, with broad streets and two wooden churches.⁵⁵ However, what is best about the town is that on the Neva, emerging from Ladoga, Russian boats descend and have to pass by Nöteborg and then by Nyenskans into the Gulf of Finland to trade. A new suburb [hakelverk]⁵⁶ has also been founded, for which great preparations have been made and day labour is being done by the peasantry. If finished it will be a fine place.

From childhood they read in German, Finnish, Swedish, and many of them also in Russian, so that when they are grown up they already know three or four languages. People in this area live longer than elsewhere and are more fertile. Between Viborg and here I saw a [great-]grandfather of 100 years climb up onto the stove, three or four steps, large and high, and he could see his great-grandchildren lying in cradles, yes as many as five cradles could be rocking on the floor. They all live in one cottage, or smoky hut,⁵⁷ and they are very warm. And when most of the smoke has gone out, one can be quite comfortable inside during a winter like this. They are all made in the same fashion, with a stove, as in other places, and the embers are raked out on a hollow log with stone inlaid inside its cavity, as in a baking-trough. The smoke from the firewood does not go out through a chimney—as they do not have them because of the cold in the winter, which shatters them, as they say—but instead through a hole in the roof and through two or three openings in the middle of the wall. And when most of the smoke is out, the hole in the roof is stopped, but the apertures in the wall always remain open till the evening. Then they light lights, which are wood torches [pärtor]⁵⁸ of cleft spruce, well dried, they burn rather well.

< There are three roads to get from Nyen to Narva. The Koporje road is the one that we have taken and which is marked below. The second one is called the Gubanicy road, which runs to the left, higher up in Ingria towards the frontiers. The one that I have taken is closest to the Bothnian Sea. But the third one is the Begunicy road, which is in between the two mentioned above. This is the road for the postal service. We were not able to take that one, because there are no estates of noblemen there, only peasants, who would not have given us horses in accordance with our passports. This road runs like this from Nyen (and is the shortest, they [the roads] come together and join at Jama, 3 leagues from Narva): From Nyen to Duderhof—where the three roads separate—the one for the postal

[P. 9]

Le 24. war iag i dh tyska kyrkan och ook heen till Moraht till middagz måhltijd igen, ock straxt kom een köpman Tunder Burgraf Tunderfelts bror i Naruen,⁶⁰ och recommenderade sin son jahn till min poicke, ock emedan Moraht och recomenderade honom tog iag honom an, hälst efter han ock kan tahla och skrifwa godh Ryska och i Muskow föder är. där war ock sedan Postmestaren Timmerman till aftonmålhtijdh, och recomenderade att iag skulle i Novogrod påminna ambassadeuren att skaffa honom reuenge på dh gräntze uachtare som wed sidste gräntze marknaden ey wille släppa honom inn, der det dog efter Cardiska fordraget⁶¹ stode honom fritt att handla med dhem.

‹ingriske och ryske Mijl föllia nu här effter.›

Le 25. Tog iag afsked af Morath och hans fru⁶² och reste med Kungens skiutz effter mitt pass. till Duderhof 5 mijl alt slätt skönt land, straxt ved hofvet ligger ett stort bärg snart dhet endeste i dh nägden som heter duderhofs tå på finska, dhen uthan är alt slätt. Duderhofs hästarna skiutzade mig fort till Pasta till Natten ‹om Semsempalla› 4 mijl till een gammal Leutenant Bremert, som emot tog oss så slätt ock rätt, gaf mig ey heller skiutzning, uthan moste taga duderhofs hästarna ‹9 mijl gamla dont 3 font 2 neufves a 15 virst› dh

26 Om Sasdrowa ett ljetet hof af 5 böndr under arende af Chronman⁶³ därifrån till Noua Bura, där ved kyrkan bor öfverste Skullman⁶⁴ är hijt 3. virst. där fick iag omsider ombyte af öfwerstens son, som mig höfligen straxt fort hielpte. dhem iag hadhe alt till Capuriens fästning och by ‹4 mijl. gamla vel 20 virst›, öfwer Wornas dahl som är ett tämmeligt diupt alveus dog lijten bäck alt behageligen wäxt med ahl och löfträ på både sijdor om strömen men är dh störste dahl i heela landet, och om man kunde kasta duderhofs tå där in skulle heela landet blifva slätt, sed frustra. denne dahl ligger 6 verst från Bura. sedan om Klopitz kyrka ok Krog och så till Capurien,⁶⁵ som är ett slott af (några) 5 runda torn med een slät strike mur emellan dhem af stor tioclek af stor kalksteen lika som tällie steen opmurat irreguliert. een diup tårr graf kringom och där till 20 eller 30 gårdar, i slottet är dh svenska kyrkan, dh finska uthan om haketwäret, ok dh Ryska straxt wed slättet. och emedan iag där intet ombyte fick nödgas iag taga hästarna till Lomaka ‹3 virst från Capurien› till Fogden öfr Capurien. som ok straxt afskaffade mig med 3 hästar och 2 ryska skiutzpoikar till Pillola 4 mijl ‹4 mijl.› een krog hör Gref bengt Oxenstierna⁶⁶ till. dijt kom iag klock. 11. om natten i stort yrewäder, låg så där öfr natten, och feck freska hästar, reste så bort klok 6 dh

27. till Padåga herrgård kom hijt klock 10. detta ligger vid jonxa ström ‹3 mijl›. här ifrån närmaste vägen genom ett morass äre ey mera än 3 eller 4 virster till ryska gräntzen, dijt rymma esomofftaste dhe som göra illa här. Dädan klok 11. Kom så till Narwen klockan 1 effter middagen ‹3 mil›.

service goes to Semsempalla, 2 leagues, from there to Antaši, 4 versts,⁵⁹ Teškovo, 2 versts, Begunicy, 2 v., Negodicy, 3 v., Čirkovicy, 3, Ozerticy, 3, Kutý, 2, Gurl-eva, 1 v., Jamskovicy, 2 old miles, Jama, 2 old miles, Narva, 3. Near to Jama the three roads come together. NB. Along all these roads there are no hosts, nor are there any inns, or innkeepers who provide horses for money, so one has to drag oneself along in a miserable way through this country, either with the help of the passport of the governor or with one's own horse. >

[P. 9]

The 24th. I was in the German church and also went to Morath's home for a mid-day meal again. And a little while later a merchant Tunder arrived, the brother of Burgrave Tunderfelt in Narva,⁶⁰ and recommended his son Jahn as my boy. And as Morath recommended him as well I took him on, especially as he can speak and write good Russian and was born in Moscow. Later the postmaster Timmerman also came for the evening meal and recommended that, when in Novgorod, I remind the ambassador to gain him revenge on the border guard, who at the last border fair did not want to let him in, although according to the treaty of Kardis⁶¹ he had the right to trade with them.

<from now on follow Ingrian and Russian miles>

The 25th. I bid Morath and his wife⁶² farewell and travelled by carriage, furnished in accordance with my royal passport, to Duderhof, 5 miles, all pleasant level country. Just by the manor farm is a big hill—almost the only one in that area—named “Duderhof's toe” in Finnish. Apart from that all is flat land. The Duderhof horses took me to Pasta by nightfall <by Semsempalla>, 4 miles, to an old Lieutenant Bremert, who received us rather meanly. He did not give me conveyance either, so I had to take the Duderhof horses on

<9 old miles, of which 3 make 2 new ones of 15 versts>

The 26th past Zaostrov'e, a small manor of five peasants leased by Cronman.⁶³ From there on to Nova Bura. There, by the church, lives Colonel Schulman.⁶⁴ The distance to here is 3 versts. There, at last, I could change my horses with the help of the colonel's son, who courteously and rapidly helped me on. Those horses I kept until the fortress and village of Koporje. <4 old miles or 20 versts> Across the Voronova valley, which is a rather deep river-valley, though the brook is small. Everything is pleasantly overgrown with alder and broad-leaved trees on both sides of the stream. But this is the largest valley in the whole region. If one could throw Duderhof's toe into it, the whole area would become level, but to what avail? This valley is situated six versts from Bura. Then by Globicy church and tavern and then to Koporje,⁶⁵ which is a castle consisting of five round towers with a smooth wall between them of great thickness, made of big limestone slabs resembling soap stone, irregularly built. A deep dry moat surrounds the castle and 20 or 30 farms belong to it. The Swedish church is in the castle, the Finnish one is outside the suburb, and the Russian one is next to the castle.

NARWA

[P. 10]

Le 24 arriva Mons. L' ambassadeur icy apres les uepres, mais fut assez mal recue sans que qui qu se fut luy alla a l'encontre et a peine son trainau peut il entrer par la porte de la uille tant fut este rempli de neige, et sans qu'un soldat luy eut montré un autre passage, il auret esté obligé de desendre la chaize pour entrer a pied, dont il estoit fort scandalise et avec raison. Si crede pero che il Governatore⁶⁷ hauesse fatto quello a posta, mentre hauess impedito li Cittadini di farli quell honore chaueuano uoluto fare Nulla di meno uenne il Generale visitare sua Eccellenze ma assai frigida fu la visita, come si dice. dal resto fu male alloggiato, ma scambio el poi.

Le 25 Fu l'ambasador a pranso coi 2 conti dall Gen. Governatore. et fecero ogni diligenza d'ubbiacarl'ambas. ma indarno. il Gener. Govern. domando dall'ambassad. di uedere la sua instrutione etc ma lui sene rideva. che non toccaua a luy uedere sta cosa, non.

Il est arivé ces jours passes un Courier de Novogord pour advertir le changement qui sest fait la avec un nouveau Woïwod, il l'a adverti a la ville de Narven parce qu'on y est obligé par pactes. cet home cy est un Suedois renegat⁶⁸ qui du temps de Mr Douglas⁶⁹ se sauva dici a Mouscou avec toute la chancellerie cependant on le laisse aller comme un fort honet homme.

La poste pour la Suede ne vat pas ordinairement un certain jour par semaine mais quand le Gouverneur est prest a escrire.

Une demie lieu de la uille Le Bourgraf⁷⁰ a des Cies fort grandes dans la riviere de Narve qui ont 8 lames et coupent 8 ais en 3 ou 4 minutes de temps, il y a la une cheute deau asse rapide olearius en parle ausi⁷¹ Ie l'ay vu le 28. en y allant en trainau avec le fils Tunderfelt.⁷²

le 27 Le Commissaire Cocq⁷³ arrive de Reuel. et fu le 28 a dine chez nous.

28. ariua Landtrat Stakelberg icy qui doit estre le troisieme Ambassadeur il ariua avec sa femme⁷⁴ qui doit aller a Stockholm au premier jour. (Stakelb) Ie fus rendre la visite au superintendent Gezelius⁷⁵ ou nous resonions de toute chose, il condamna fort le livre du Pere Cimon.⁷⁶

Mons. Lambassadeur escrivit au Roy.⁷⁷ et a Cl. Fl.⁷⁸ de l'accueil quon luy a fait icy. Tutta questa contrada e mall sodisfatta dall Gen. Gobernat qui. et il russu medesimamente perche é troppo duro. bono dicono fu Fers.⁷⁹ peggiore Skultz⁸⁰ ma questo passa [?] li 2. la provincia si rovinaua pei lavori qui a la forteza et per altre essatzioni.

29. Stackelberg fè render la visita 1. all amb. C.G. chi luy la redio a 11 hore io ci fù anche. et li inuito a pranso i qvali ci furono sin a 2 hore.

And as I received no exchange there, I had to take the horses on to Lomaka <3 versts from Koporje> to the bailiff of Koporje, who swiftly sent me on my way with three horses and two Russian coachmen. To Pillola, 4 miles <4 miles>, a tavern, which belongs to Count Bengt Oxenstierna.⁶⁶ I arrived there at 11 o'clock in the evening in a great gale. I spent the night there and having received fresh horses I left at 6 o'clock on

the 27th to Podoga manor, I got there at 10 o'clock. It is situated by Jonxa[?] stream <3 miles>. From here the shortest route through a morass it is no more than 3 or 4 versts to the Russian border, across which, rather often, escape those who do ill here. From there at 11 o'clock. Finally I arrived at Narva at 1 o'clock in the afternoon. <3 miles>.

NARVA

[P. 10]

The 24th. The Ambassador arrived here after evensong, but was rather badly received, with no one coming to meet him. And his sleigh could only barely enter through the towngate, so filled with snow it was. And had a soldier not showed him another passage, he would have had to step down from his carriage to enter on foot, which made him furious, and with reason. But it is believed that the governor⁶⁷ had done this on purpose, and that he had impeded the townspeople from showing him the honour they would have liked to. All the same the [Governor] General came to visit His Excellency, but the visit was rather chilly, they say. Besides, he was badly accommodated, but then he moved lodgings.

The 25th. The ambassador with the two counts went to the Governor General for a meal and the latter tried very hard to get the ambassador drunk, but in vain. The Governor General asked the ambassador to show him his instructions, but he laughed and said that this was really not something that concerned him.

During the last few days a courier has arrived from Novgorod to report about the change which has been made there, with a new *voevoda**. He reported this in the town of Narva, because one is required to by treaties. The man in question is a Swedish renegade,⁶⁸ who, during Mr Douglas's⁶⁹ time, escaped from here to Moscow with the whole chancellery. All the same he is treated as a very honest man.

The post for Sweden does not ordinarily leave on a certain day of the week, but when the Governor has finished writing.

Half a league from the town, the Burgrave⁷⁰ has a very big sawmill on the Narva river. It has eight sawblades and cuts eight deals in three or four minutes. There is a rather swift waterfall there. Olearius talks about it as well.⁷¹ I saw it on the 28th, when I went there by sleigh with the son Tunderfelt.⁷²

The 27th. The commissary von Kochen⁷³ arrived from Reval and on the 28th came to us for dinner.

Martius

[P. 11]

Le 1. Mons. Fersen⁸¹ nostre Marchal est arriué apres diné. et est uenu uoir l'ambassadeur. Le Gouverneur Gen. y fut aussi, et s'offrit de uenir diner icy demain. Le soir on enuoya prier Stakelb. au preche avec sa femme, (il y uint et Mo)

le 2. il y vint au preche, et Mons. Fersen avec, qui y furent tous deux a diner quand le Gouverneur general sceut que Stackelb. y deuoit uenir aussi a diner il promit de uenir lundy, en ayant esté prie par C.G. que luy fut dire hier soir qvil n'auoit pas assez de quoy le traiter selon ses merites, mais en effet c'estoit pour ne pas uoir Stakelb. et luy en contestation du rang, car il connut bien par la reponse douteuse que Stakelb. luy fit dire par le maistre d'autill[!]: Disent que cetoit son jour de jeune le dimanche, quoy que cela ne fut pas. car il y a fort bien mange aujoudhuy. Par la on a connu qvils s'eurent les uns les autres pour la competence. Sperling a pourtant este uoir Stackelb. apres Dine nous fumes uoir le Chateau ou fort de Iwanogorod,⁸² qui n'est qu'une grande mesure sans regularité ny rempars, baty de grande pierre de taille comme celuy de Capurie, et de meme façon, hor que celuicy est plus grand 4 fois, il y a dedans une eglise alà Mouscovite,⁸³ avec un dome au haut du millieu, peu de lumiere, il y a encor 2 rues des maisons. la figure de leglize est a peu pres comme uous voyez cy contre, marquée ø [Fig. 4] il y a encor par cy par la quantité de uieilles mesures dans la fortesse tant dans la 1. que dans la 2. cour La Figure ou le plan de la Citadelle est environ comme cy contre [Fig. 4], avec des tours rondes quelques unes quarées, quelques unes hautes qvelqves unes basses, quelques unes pointues, quelques unes plattes courantes des ais. la riviere de Narua baigne la muraille de la Citadelle du coté du midi, uers les Cies du Borgraw,⁸⁴ et vers le couchant entre la uille et Ivanogorod. le terrain alentour est plat pay, et du rempart du fort on decouure une grande etandue de pay de tous Cotez la veue y est tres agreable. vis a uis de ce fort est le chateau⁸⁵ dont le Gouverneur General ocupe une portion. cest une vieille mesure qvi nest rien qu'une ruine des pierres antasées et ruinés, a moitié, neantmoins il a fallu que ce chateau eut tenu tete a iuanogord quand le chateau estoit aux suedois, et l'autre au Moscovite et la riviere entre deux. qv'une partie de Mousquet la fortification de la uille nest pas reguliere, ce nest qu'une muraille de cette pierre de taille qu'on troue en grande quantité sur ce terrain. Mais la nouvelle fortification⁸⁶ qvon est {?} pres a faire, sera peut estre quelque chose, et il faut bien puisqu'elle coute tant au Roy et aux pauvres jujets[!] dens l'Ingrie, qvi y trauaillent tous les jours jusques a se creuer et leurs cheuaux. au souper Mons. de la Fariole⁸⁷ ariva et pria l'ambassadeur de luy accorder la grace d aller avec a Mouscou. Apres souper Monsieur l'ambr me prit a part, et me tiró a la fenestra assicurando me che fra tutti gli caualieri et gentilhuomini che sono giu et che possino uenire,

The 28th. The provincial councillor Stackelberg, who is to be the third ambassador, arrived here with his wife,⁷⁴ who is to leave for Stockholm at the earliest opportunity. I called on the superintendent Gezelius,⁷⁵ where we discussed many different things. He strongly condemned the book by Father Simon.⁷⁶ The ambassador wrote to the King⁷⁷ and to Claes Fleming⁷⁸ about the way he was received here. This whole area is dissatisfied with the Governor General here, and the Russians are too, because he is too hard. They say that Fersen⁷⁹ was good, but Schultz⁸⁰ was worse, but this one is worse than either of them. The province was ruined because of the works here at the fortress and because of other exactions.

The 29th. Stackelberg called for the first time on Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna, who received him at 11 o'clock. I was there too. He invited them for dinner and they stayed until 2 o'clock.

March

[P. 11]

The 1st. Mr Fersen,⁸¹ our marshal, arrived in the afternoon and came to see the ambassador. The Governor General came as well and proposed that he come here for dinner tomorrow. In the evening word was sent to Stackelberg and his wife to come for the sermon.

The 2nd. He came for the sermon, and Mr Fersen as well, and both of them came for dinner. When the Governor General heard that Stackelberg was to come for dinner too, he promised to come on Monday instead, having been asked by Conrad Gyllenstierna, who sent word last night that he did not have enough to treat him according to his merits. But in fact it was to avoid seeing Stackelberg and him compete with each other over rank. He was well aware of that because of the dubious answer he got from Stackelberg through the steward, saying that Sunday was his day of fasting. This was not true, however, because he ate very well today. Thereby it became known that they avoid each other because of their rivalry. Sperling, however, has paid a visit to Stackelberg.

After dinner we went to see the castle or fortress of Ivangorod⁸² which is nothing but a huge hovel with neither regularity nor ramparts, built in big ashlar like the one in Koporje, and in the same fashion, apart from the fact that this one is four times bigger. There is a church à la Muscovite⁸³ inside, with a dome in the highest part of the middle, little light. There are also two more streets with houses. The plan of the church is approximately as you see it opposite here, marked \emptyset [Fig. 4]. Here and there in the fortress there are a number of other old hovels in the first as well as in the second courtyard. The configuration or the plan of the fortress is approximately as shown opposite here [Fig. 4], with round towers, some square, some high, some low, some pointed, some flat covered with boards. The River Narva washes the wall of the fortress to the south, towards the



Fig. 4. vers la ville, Midi, 436, 78, vers le Hakelwerk ou sont les Mouscovites et leurs eglise — towards the city, south, 436, 78, towards the suburb where the Muscovites are and their church

io sarei sempre il primo al principale. me disant quil avoit desia fait le rang de nous autres, et que iauray le pas deuant le Lieutenant Chronman,⁸⁸ et le capiteine Funck⁸⁹ et le Lieutenant Tunderfelt⁹⁰ qui ont obtenu de uenir avec, quoy que Le Roy ayt defendu a Mons. L'ambassadeur de prandre aucun gentilshome qui soit engagé desia a quelque charge dans la milice

[P. 12]

Le 3. Giusto all'Mezogiorno giunse il 3. ambassadeur Clingstedt⁹¹ quando fumo a tauola, Col. Gener. Gouvernadore che fu accolto da noj a pranso. a 11. hore inazi il desinare l'amb. C.G. fu uisitar Gen. Gou. Sperling solo con 2 o 3 staffieri, et sans train. le Gouv. gen. refusa chez nous boire La santé Du Roy et n'y beut point de vin a cause de son gaucier, a ce quil dit, et par cequil estoit enrumé, mais en sortant de chez Mons. Lambass il sen alla souper et se souler chez le Colonell Funk, dont le fils un Capiteine d'infanterie, a instament demandé de lambassade[ur] de pouvoir suivre a Mouscou, et apres auoir etè receu a condition de se contenter de ceder a Chronman et moy, il n'a rien fait ces 2 jours que briguer d'estre le premier ne uolent ceder a Moy neantmoins Son Excellence ma juré ce soir, de ne point demordre, et quil le plasseroit sous moy. soulds Chronman et soulds Wolfschilt,⁹² et en cas quil ne fut content de cella, quil n'auroit que demeurer icy. On a soupconné ce soir quon a voulu briguer cest[!]

sawmill of the Burgrave,⁸⁴ and in the west it runs between the city [Narva] and Ivangorod. The country around is flat, and from the rampart of the fortress one can see large stretches of land on all sides. The view from there is very pleasant. Opposite this fortress is the castle,⁸⁵ of which the Governor General occupies a section. It is a ramshackle old building, which is nothing but a ruin consisting of a heap of stones, half destroyed. All the same it was necessary for this castle to keep Ivangorod in check when the castle belonged to the Swedes and the other to the Muscovites, with the river, only a musket shot's breadth, in between. The fortification of the city is not regular, it is just a wall built of this ashlar, of which one can find a huge quantity on this land. But the new fortification,⁸⁶ which they are about to build, will maybe be something, and it had better, because it is so costly for the King and the poor subjects in Ingria, who toil there every day, about to work themselves and their horses to death.

At supper Mr De la Fariole⁸⁷ arrived and asked the ambassador to graciously allow him to come with us to Moscow. After supper the ambassador took me aside and drew me over to the window, assuring me that among all the cavaliers and gentlemen who were here and who could come, I would always be his right-hand man. He also told me that he had already established our order of precedence and that I would have precedence over Lieutenant Cronman⁸⁸ and Captain Funck⁸⁹ and Lieutenant Tunderfelt,⁹⁰ who had received permission to come along, although the King had forbidden the ambassador to include any gentleman who was already engaged in some duty within the militia.

[P. 12]

The 3rd. Right at noon came the third ambassador Klingstedt⁹¹ when we were at table with the Governor General, who was received by us for a meal at 11 o'clock. Before dinner Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna had gone to visit Governor General Sperling with only two or three servants and without a retinue. The Governor General refused to drink the health of the King when he was at our place and he did not drink any wine because of his sore throat, as he said, and because he had a cold. But after leaving the ambassador's place he went to have supper and to get drunk at the house of Colonel Funck, whose son, a captain in the infantry, insistently asked the ambassador to allow him to come with us to Moscow. And having been received on condition that he be content to give precedence to Cronman and myself, he has done nothing else during the last two days but intrigue to become the first, as he did not want to give precedence to me, although His Excellency swore to me tonight that he would not give in and that he would place him beneath me, beneath Cronman and Wolffensköld,⁹² and if he were not content with that he only had to stay here. It was suspected tonight that they want to intrigue in this matter with Mr Klingstedt, who still has 300 écus from the King to include three regular gentlemen, and it was believed that Klingstedt had been given a horse to take sides with Funck, but the ambassador assured me that he would do nothing and that he would make them see that he was chosen head of the embassy by the King. It is evident that the marshal is on his side too.

affaire aupres de M Clingstett, qui a encor 300 escu du Roy pour receuoir 3 gentilshomes ordinaires, et on croait, que Clingstet ayt receu un cheual pour estre du Coté de Funk, mais Mons. l'amb. contesta quil n'en feroit rien, et quil leur feroit uoir qvil est fait du Roy Chef de l'ambassade, on a bien ueu que le Marchall est encor de son coté. ie uiens a scauoir que Clingstett a este ce soir a souper chez Founk, et s'y est grandement soulé quoy quil n'ayt pas encor este chez Mons. l'ambassadeur. <a Narua. Le Bourgraf Tunderfelt les 2 consuls Herberst⁹³ et Swartz. Mon hoste fut Conseiller de la ville Felthousen⁹⁴>

Le 4. Mons. l'amb. C.G. fut uoir Stakelb. apres auoir Enuoye (en suite) G. Krook⁹⁵ pour demander l'estat et la santé de Clingstet, et uoyant quil ne s'impressoit pas a Le uisiter selon la coutume, et l'obligation estant le seconde qui deuoit rendre la uisite le premier, il luy fit dire par Gyllencrok que sans quelques affaires qui lampechoint de sortir, il Le donneroit l'honneur de le visiter. Nb cestoit pour le sonder seulement et pour luy faire uoir en quoy il auoit manqué. Mais l'autre, soit quil fit le sot, ou quil l'estoit en effet, respondi quil estoit un peu indisposé, et quil attandroit Mons. lamb. C.G. apres diné, et quil luy seroit le bien uenu, le gentilome revien avec ses parolles, alors Monseigneur se fachat fort, et cella avec raison et Dit: ie niray pardieu pas chez luy, puisquil a bien pu aller souper chez Funck hier, et non pas voulu uenir chez moy me saluer, on uoit par la le peu d'estime quil a pour moy. a midy Mons. Stackelb. fut ches nous, et luy estant sorti Mons. l'amb. C.G. envoyat un gentil home a Clingstet lui faire dire quil auoit mal a la teste, et en allant ches Stackelberg ce matin /: NB. cetoit pour faire envoyer l'autre a luy dire quil uoyoit Stakelberg, son entagoniste pour le rang :/ ce mal cest augmenté, quil ne pouoit venir chez luy.

[P. 13]

Un moment deuant le souper Mons. lamb. C.G. me racconta, comme quoy Le Secretaire Törneros,⁹⁶ s'est uenu plaindre a luy du rang quon luy auoit donné, en luy faisant ceder au Commissaire Cock /: car tell estoit l'ordre du Roy :/ et silon ne vouloit changer cella quil auroit de la peine a se resoudre d'aller a Mouscou avec Monseigneur luy repondi, que pour ce qui est de sa personne, quil en estoit le maitre de suivre ou de reste[r], et que cella Luy estoit presque indiffrent, puisquil auoit en main un jeune gentilhomme capable d'en faire un secretaire, et une personne que le Roy a deigné de nomme une fois dans ce rencontre, dont il se peut seruir, mais du rang quil ne le pouuoit aucunement changer. Le secretaire surprit de cette indiffrence, soit quil soupçonait que cetoit Moy dont Mons. l'amb. entendoit parler, soit quelque autre, sen alla sans dire dauantage. Il dit pourtant quil auoit esté chez Clingstett cette apresdinée, qui luy auoit dit quil uojoit bien que Mons. lamb. C.G. faisoit plus de cas de Stackelb. que de Luy, quil l'iroit uoir demain, luy demanda aussi si l'amb. C.G. auoit desia escrit au Roy Leur maitre. le secretaire dit qu'ouy. De reste les gen-

I have just heard that Klingstedt went for supper in Funck's home tonight, and that he got himself really drunk, although he has not yet paid a visit to the ambassador. <At Narva. The Burgrave Tunderfelt, the two councillors Herbers⁹³ and Swartz. My host was the city councillor Felthusen⁹⁴>

The 4th. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna went to see Stackelberg, after sending Gyllenkrok⁹⁵ to ask about the condition and health of Klingstedt. And as he saw that Klingstedt was not in a hurry to visit him, according to custom and obligation, as he was the second ambassador, who should pay a visit to the first, Gyllenstierna sent word to him through Gyllenkrok that unless he had affairs preventing him from leaving the house, he ought to honour him with a visit. This was only to sound him out and to make him see in what way he had failed to meet his obligations. But Klingstedt, whether he played a fool or in fact was one, answered that he was a bit indisposed, and that he expected Mr Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna in the afternoon, he was very welcome. When the gentleman returned with these words, my Lord became very angry, and rightly so, and said that, by God, I will not go to him, because he was able to go for supper to Funck's house yesterday but was not willing to come to me to say how do you do. From this it is evident how little respect he has for me. At noon Mr Stackelberg was at our place, and when he had left the ambassador sent a gentleman to Klingstedt to inform him that he had a headache, and that when he had visited Stackelberg this morning. /: NB. this was to let the other man know that he had seen Stackelberg, his antagonist regarding precedence :/ the ache had got worse, so he could not call on him.

[P. 13]

Just before supper Mr Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna told me how the secretary Törneros⁹⁶ had come to complain about the rank he had been given, as he had been placed underneath Commissary von Kochen /: because such was the order of the King :/. He said that if they were unwilling to change this he would find it difficult to make up his mind to come along to Moscow. My Lord answered him that, as far as he was concerned, Törneros could decide to come along or to stay here, whatever he wished, and he was almost not bothered, because he had at hand a young gentleman, capable of becoming a secretary, a person that the King had deigned to mention by name once in this connection. He could use this person and the rank he had could not be changed. The secretary—surprised by this indifference, whether he suspected that it was about me the ambassador had heard or someone else—left without saying anything else. He said, however, that he had been at Klingstedt's this afternoon, who had said to him that it was evident that the ambassador held Stackelberg in higher esteem than him and that he would call on him tomorrow. He also asked him whether Mr Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna had already written to the King, their sovereign. The secretary said that he had. Besides, the gentlemen who have been at Klingstedt's a few times complain about his haughtiness, and that he paid no honour to those who came to talk to him on behalf of Conrad Gyllenstierna. In fact he likes a comfortable

tilhomes qui ont été chez Clingstett quelques fois se plaignent De son orgueil et quil ne faisoit aucun honneur a ceux qui vienne[n]t luy parler de la par de C.G. En effet il ayme un peu ses aises, ce quil a bien fait voir par le voyage quil a fait de Stockholm a Naruen plus dun mois. pour le diuertissement nous n'auons eu aujjourd'hui aucun autre que d'auoir este hor dela ville nous promener a cheual les deu Contes⁹⁷ et encor quelques Cauailers, et en meme temps nous auons eu la Curiosité de uoir un Moulin au uent, pour crier des ais par le vent, ce Moulin est situé au bord du fleuve Narua un $\frac{1}{4}$ de lieu hors de la uille, il est bati par un holandais et coute plus de 4000 escus. il est tres proprement trauiilé et belle charpenterie en une fois on Cie 8 a. 9 ais. et yl y en a 3 groupe de ciers comça, mais cela ne ua pas si vite qavec de leau, icy on a besoin de 3 heures pour finir un grand mast mais comme les ciers sont plus deliees, elles rendent aussi les ais plus unies, qui se vendent 2 a 3 delor chaqune aux holandois. cest une grande maison, dune longueur apropié pour cet affaire, et au milieu du toix, seleue le moulin au uent. qui gouverne tout. uoyez la figure. [Fig. 5.]

<quand il y a peu de uent elle ua lentement mais avec un grand uent elle scauroit encore faire jouer de plus grosses et plusieurs ciers. le maitre est un Marchand de Narue, il done au maitre cieur 100 ecus par an, et fait venir les troncs, de Mouscovie a quelque lieu de Novgorden par eau.>

[P. 14]

Todos se hallon enojados de el estado y dignidad que les auia dado el Rey. como son Los dos menores Embascad. El Segretario el Comiss. Cock. et Translatori aun con ello o al menos con nos otros. e noi altri fra noi stessi non siamo sodisfatti. ma io lo sono, et ringratio iddio par la buona inteligenza et la buon grazi en tododos(!), principalmente coll Amb. C.G. stesso che mi fa ogni hora cento (eueze) caretze. Sto benè idio sià lodato.

Le 5. Les 2 autres amb. furent chez C.G. au preche et a diner. apres midy sur les 3 heures On enuoya le Capiteine Próbsting /: le frere de celuy qui estoit nostre auant Courreur⁹⁸ a Mouscou et qui est de retour il y a plus d'un moi :/ deuant nous a Nouogord, avec la liste de nos geans de 201 hommes,⁹⁹ car le uoiuod la veut auoir 5 jours deuant nostre arriuée pour faire assembler non seulement la noblesse de Novogrod et a lautour, mais pour en faire uenir encor du cote et alentour du Plescow. pour nous faire honneur.¹⁰⁰ et on a conclu ausiourd'hui de partir Mardi qui uient sil plaît au bon Dieu. Mons. le Commissaire Cocq. a ete en conference avec l'amb. C.G. ce matin et n'en est pas sorti trop content, a cause quil n'a pas eu la permission d'ammener les charges de 30 cheuaux de marchandise /: hors d'autres cheuaux 6 ou 7. qui sont au deuant ausiourd'hui :/ Mons. lamb. C.G. Luy a demonsté comme quoy cella est contre les pactes conuenus entres les couronnes dernièrement, et contre le traite que nous y allons Confirmer; que de permettre quavec l'ambassade se glissent des gens qui

life, which he showed clearly through the voyage he made from Stockholm to Narva for more than a month.

The only thing we did for our diversion today was to go outside the city for a ride on horseback, the two counts⁹⁷ and some other cavaliers and myself. And in connection with this we had the interesting experience of seeing a windmill, made to saw deals with the help of the wind. This mill is situated on the River Narva, a quarter of a league outside the city. It was built by a Dutchman and cost more than 4,000 écus. It is very well worked and has beautiful carpentry, and in one turn they saw eight or nine deals, and there are three groups of saws like this. But this method is not as fast as with water. Here they need three hours to finish a big masting. But as the saws are thinner they also make the deals more even and they are sold for 2 or 3 guilders each to the Dutch. It is a big building, of a size suited to this matter, and in the middle of the roof towers the windmill, dominating everything. See the figure [Fig. 5]. When there is little wind it moves slowly, but with a strong wind it could operate thicker and more saws. The owner is a merchant from Narva, he gives the saw-master 100 écus annually and brings the timber from Muscovy to the neighbourhood of Novgorod by water.

[P. 14]

All are displeased with the position and rank which the King has given to them, among them the two deputy ambassadors, the secretary, Commissary von Kochen and the translators are not content in that respect, or at least with us. But I am, and I thank God for the good understanding and the grace which above all Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna himself has shown me, who each hour of the day gives me a hundred tokens of his favour. I am fine, thank God.

The 5th. The two other ambassadors were at Conrad Gyllenstierna's place for the sermon and for lunch. In the afternoon, around 3 o'clock, Captain Pröbsting /: the brother of the one who was our advance courier⁹⁸ to Moscow and who has been back for more than a month :/ was sent before us to Novgorod with the list of our people, containing 201 persons,⁹⁹ because the *voevoda* wants to have it five days before our arrival to assemble not only the nobility from Novgorod and its surroundings, but also to get people together from Pskov and its surroundings to pay us respect.¹⁰⁰ And today it was decided that we are to leave this coming Tuesday, God willing.

Mr Commissary von Kochen had a meeting with Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna this morning and came out from it not very pleased, because he had not received permission to bring along 30 horse-loads of merchandise /: apart from six or seven other horses which were sent ahead today :/. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna explained to him to what extent this was contrary to the pacts concluded between the two crowns recently, and contrary to the treaty we are to confirm. It would be bad enough to permit people who were trafficking to sneak in with the embassy, not to mention if even the people in the party did so and were the first to break what they were sent to confirm and establish.

traffiquent, il est dont d'autant plus malseant que les geans de la suite meme, le fascent, et qui soient les premiers a rompre, ce quil[s] sont enuoyée pour confirmer et establir. Lambas. C.G. a este prié aussi de uenir diner chez le Gouv. Gen. au chatteau pour demain mais il doute sil ueut y aller, ajant peur delivrognerie. Iay este uoir le Bourgraf Tunderfelt ce soir de la part de Moraht, et pour la mour de luy il ma fait assez dóneteté, majont offert un cheuall pour aller 3 ou 4 lieu dici avec son fils, uoir les machines quil y a fait faire, pour cier avec du Moulin a l'eau.¹⁰¹ Il dit que la meilleure methode daprendre lesclavon seroit de se metre en pension en Campagne au monasteres ou il y des moines Polonais qui parlent Polon. Russ. Esclavon, et Latin et il nya chez eux aucun etranger, tellement quil faut avec la pension et la viande aualer pour ainsi dire la language.¹⁰² «Le conte adam a este malade et couché toute la journée. et senti dun acez de fievre.»

[P. 15]

Le 6. iay passe la matinée a Ecrire a mes amis en Suede et premierement a Mons le Conte B. Oxenstierna.¹⁰³ Luy rendent compte de nostre uoyage etc. apres a mon pere et a ma mere. a Mons. Hassel.¹⁰⁴ a la Contesse M. Skytte¹⁰⁵ a Matfiewna. a Lithman. a alex Moraht le Colonell. a diné monseigneur fut au logis et n'alla pas chez le Gouverneur come il auoit este prie hier et cella pour deux raisons qui me sont connues, outre qu'il n'aime pas Sperling. 1. que Madam Funkij estoit a diné, qui n'auoit pas manqué de prier Mons l'ambass. de donner le pas a son. fils le Capiteine deuent nous autres. 2. pour ne pas estre obligé a prier le gouuerneur avec les autres 2 ambassadeurs a diner un de ces jours tous ensemble. comme ils y ont esté chez le gouverneur les 2 autres car alors on seroit venu au contestation du rang et le Gouv. l'auoit peut estre pretendé deuant les 2 autres ambassadeurs a la table de C. G. ce quil a euité par cecij en n'y allant pas. Mons Lamb. apres diné me communica la liste du rang de toute la suite, ien ay diré [?] 2 copies, une icy deuant dans ce liure¹⁰⁶ et l'autre ie l'ay envoyé au Conté B. Oxenstierna. apres i'ay fermé mon paquet et l'ay envoyé a Nyen a Moraht avec un Marchand. qui sappelle goumin, et qui sen est alle a 3 heur dici et sera demain au soir a Nyen.

Le 7. Mons Lamb. Enuoya un expres a uiborg avec une lettre que le greffier Canterberg¹⁰⁷ auoit oublié. et il en estoit fort emporté. Envoya aussi Le Marchal Fersen au Gouv. gen. Luy faire dire de sa part et de celle des 2 autres ambassadeurs quil sestoit fort mescontent de ce quil ne les auoit pas reçu comme tous les autres ambassadeurs deuant Luy. et le pria de les congédier avec autant d'honneur que qui que se fut auant luy. le Gouv. repondit par fersen quil en auoit eu defense par le Roy. Lambassadeur repondit au Fersen quil en auoit manti et quil scauoit par la boche du Roy, quon luy devoit rendre toutes les honneurs quon auoit fait aux autres deuant luy et encor dauantage. dit ausi quil l'auait mérité par les services quil auoit fait au Roy plus grandes que[!] les autres et

Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna has also been asked to come to the Governor-General's for dinner at the castle tomorrow, but he is hesitant about going, as he is afraid of there being a drinking-bout.

I have been to see Burgrave Tunderfelt tonight on behalf of Morath, and because of his love for him he showed me many marks of courtesy and offered me a horse to go 3 or 4 leagues from here with his son to look at the machines he had had made to saw timber with a watermill.¹⁰¹ He says that the best way of learning Church Slavonic would be to arrange to board and lodge in the countryside in a monastery, where there are Polish monks who speak Polish, Russian, Church Slavonic and Latin. And there are no foreigners there, so with the board and the viands one would have to so to speak swallow the language as well.¹⁰²

◁ Count Adam has been ill and in bed all day and has had an attack of fever. ▷

[P. 15]

The 6th. I spent the morning writing to my friends in Sweden, first of all to Count Bengt Oxenstierna,¹⁰³ giving him an account of our journey etc. Then to my father and my mother, to Mr Hassel,¹⁰⁴ to the Countess Maria Skytte¹⁰⁵ at Matveevna [?], to Lithman, to Alexander Morath, the colonel. At dinner my Lord stayed in his quarters and did not go to the governor as he had been asked yesterday, for two reasons known to me, apart from the fact that he does not like Sperling: (1) because Madam Funck attended the dinner and she would not omit to ask the ambassador to give her son, the captain, precedence over the rest of us; (2) so as not to be obliged to ask the governor and the other two ambassadors for dinner together one of these days. As the two others had been to the governor one would end up in a situation with competition over precedence and the governor would maybe insist on being placed before the other two ambassadors at Conrad Gyllenstierna's table, which he had avoided by not going.

After dinner the ambassador communicated the list of ranks of the whole party to me. I had two copies of it made, one at the beginning of this book¹⁰⁶ and the other I sent to Count Bengt Oxenstierna. Afterwards I closed the parcel and sent it to Nyen to Morath with a merchant whose name is Gumin and who left from here at 3 o'clock. He will be at Nyen tomorrow evening.

The 7th. The ambassador sent a courier to Viborg with a letter which the clerk Kanterberg¹⁰⁷ had forgotten, and he was very cross about it. He also sent the marshal Fersen to the governor-general to tell him, on his own behalf and on behalf of the other two ambassadors, that he was very displeased with the fact that he had not received them like all the other ambassadors before him. He also asked him to take leave of them with the honours that had been accorded to those before him. The governor answered through Fersen that he had had instructions by the King. The ambassador answered to Fersen that he was lying and that he knew from the King's own mouth that he ought to be given all the honours shown to those before him, and even more. He also said that he had merited this because of the services he had rendered the King, more considerable than the others, and

que sil netoit pas Senateur du Roy, quil n'en estoit pas bien long de deuenir. Nb et bien d'autres chose quil dit au Fersen en colere. Apres ça nous nous reivrimes et buvions jusque au soir et la plus part de nous etait soulé. fit dire a Clingstet qui luy anvoya demender son avis sur les cheuaux de carosse qui sont arrivé de Reual, que s'ils luy plaisoient et a Stakelberg, quil en seroit content aussi.

[P. 16]

Le 8. Mons. l'ambassadeur nous demanda pardon au cas quil nous eut fait quelque chose estant sol hier au soir. apres diné fut uoir Clingstedt.

Le 9 ie fus inuité a diné de Bourgraf Tunderfelt, ou j'allois apres auoir ouis le preche chez l'ambassad. Stackelb. fut adiné chez nous. a table chez tunderfelt nous raisonnames de bien de chose Mouscovites entre autre du gouvernement et comme les grans seigneurs de de la sont touiours pour l'ainé Iuan Alexejewitz,¹⁰⁸ acause que dans sa minorité /:qui est presque perpetuelle a cause de sa stupidité qui durera tant que sa vie:/ ils on[!] pu jouer leur rosle et faire agir le[u]r profit, et cette fourberie ils la couure sous le regime de la princess Sophie¹⁰⁹ qui est du coté de l'ainé son propre frere et quoy quelle soit spirituelle se laisse pourtant gouuerner et baisser par le Vasili Wasiliwitz Galitzin,¹¹⁰ cane[?] beau prince est un des plus grands seigneurs du royaume. et si ouuertement qve la petite canaille en sçait parler tant a Moscovie qu'ici. ce prince a un frere cousin Boritz Alexeiowitz Galitzin¹¹¹ qui quoy que prince est frere et le meilleur amy du monde avec Mons von horn¹¹² Envoyè Extraord. Du Roy de Danmark mon amy jadis a Copenhaguen. <Le Prince Cadet P. alexejewitz a eu 3 oncles maternels,¹¹³ qui ont été trop insuportables et a cause de ça ont este odieux et ont rendu odieux le prince avec qui ils ont tenu si bien que le Conseil¹¹⁴ a esté pour l'ainé, soit pour leur interest, soit pour autres raisons, neantmoins on croit que chez le Rousses quand le pere est mort, et quil y ait un fils qui soit mineur et un oncle, ou frere du defunet pere, qui soit majeur. et capable de regner, ils ne regardent pas tant le droit du fils a succeder au pere, que l'utilité du Royiaume, etant gouuerné par un peine en age a gouuerner seul. il ya neantmoins apparence que quand Iuan et Pietr auront des fils, quil y aura dispute et guerres ciuiles pour la Royeauté, l'un pretendent droit deuant l'autre. cela nous metra hors de suiet de les creindre.> Apres les uepres un courier du wojwod de Nouogrod fut mené au chatteau a l'audience che lee Gen. Gouverneur, ou il luy donna une letre pour le Roy /: auertissent le mariage¹¹⁵ du Iuan Alexeiowitz le prince ainé de Moscou :/ comme ie croj. il se plaignoit aussi du mauvais traitement et retardement dans les chemins icy en ingrie, et promi le contraire quand nous ariuerons, et dit quon nous attend avec grandissime impatience a Mouskou et a Nouogrod.

Le 10. i'ay esté chez le translateur Hafman¹¹⁶ luy rendre la uisite, apres diné

if he was not yet a royal senator he was not far from becoming one. He also said a lot of other things to Fersen in his wrath. After that we started drinking and drank right into the evening, and most of us were drunk. He sent word to Klingstedt, who had sent a message to him to ask his opinion about the coach horses that had arrived from Reval, that if he liked them and Stackelberg as well, he would accept them too.

[P. 16]

The 8th. The ambassador asked our forgiveness in case he had done anything wrong yesterday evening when he was drunk. In the afternoon he went to see Klingstedt.

The 9th. I was invited for dinner to Burgrave Tunderfelt's, where I went having listened to the sermon at the ambassador's. Stackelberg came to our lodgings for dinner. At the table at Tunderfelt's we discussed a number of Muscovite issues, among others the government and the fact that the distinguished gentlemen there still support the elder, Ivan Alekseevič,¹⁰⁸ because during his minority /: which is almost eternal due to his stupidity, which will last as long as his life /: they have been able to play their roles and feather their own nests, and this villainy they hide behind the administration of Princess Sofija,¹⁰⁹ who takes sides with the elder, her full brother. And despite the fact that she is said to be religious, she allows herself to be governed and kissed by Vasilij Vasil'evič Golícyn,¹¹⁰ for this beautiful prince is one of the most distinguished gentlemen in the country, and so openly that the populace talks about it in Muscovy as well as here. This prince has a cousin, Boris Alekseevič Golícyn,¹¹¹ who, regardless of the fact that he is a prince, is the brother and closest friend in the world of Mr von Horn,¹¹² envoy extraordinary of the King of Denmark, my friend from earlier times in Copenhagen. <The younger prince, Peter Alekseevič, had three uncles on his mother's side,¹¹³ who were absolutely insufferable, and because of this they were odious and made the prince, whom they sided with, odious as well, so that the council¹¹⁴ stood up for the elder, whether in their own interests or for other reasons. Anyhow it is believed that in Russia, when the father dies and there is a son under age and an uncle, that is to say a brother of the deceased father who is of age and capable of governing, they do not so much consider the right of the son to succeed his father as the good of the country, were it to be governed by someone who was barely of age to govern by himself. It is likely, however, that when Ivan and Peter have sons, there will be disputes and a civil war to gain power, with one asserting his right before the other. This will mean that we will have no reason to fear them> After the evening service a courier from the *voevoda* in Novgorod was brought to the castle for an audience with the governor-general, where he gave him a letter for the King /: communicating the marriage¹¹⁵ of Ivan Alekseevič, the elder prince in Moscow /: I believe that he also complained about the bad treatment and the delay on the roads here in Ingria and promised the opposite when we arrive. He said that they wait for us very impatiently in Moscow and Novgorod.

chez Le Commissaire Elfuendahl¹¹⁷ dont le frere est curé de la paroisse Tyssö¹¹⁸ an uermelande ou mon pere a ce petit Mousseberg. il me dit de plus quil ne pretendoit pas le pas deuent moy, ny deuent 2 ou 3 autres, quil sçauoit bien que j'estois nommé chez le Roy pour cette place que j'occupe, mais qu'apres estre faist Commissaire des frontieres quil ne pouuoit ceder a 20 autres gentilshomes extraordinaires.¹¹⁹ a souper l'ambassadeur me raconta comme quoy il auoit esté Dehors se promener au trauers du chateau et qu'en passant le Gouu. Genn. l'uy auoit dit quil auoit entendu que tout le monde parle dans la uille, que l'ambass. a dit quil a lieu destre mal content de sa reception, l'amb. dit qu'ouy, l'autre luy dit quil auoit ordres du Roy, de faire ce quil a fait, et le pria en suite de ne se rendre Noir aupres du Roy. l'amb. dit quil nauoit rien escrit de ça qva son frere.¹²⁰ et quil n'auoit rien escrit que la uerité. et que ce qui[l] estoit escrit estoit une chose faite qui ne se pouuoit changer. Func uint en suite, et au fort courte audience et sans beaucoup de compliments luy fit sçauoir quil estoit indifferent sil aret ou non. <l'ordre du Gen. Gouvern. des cheuaux du nombre de 470.> <a 4 heures apres diné on a distribué les cheuaux 3 a chaque gentilshomes, mais fort etiques pres de 500.> <receu letre de Urb. Hiärne¹²¹ D.m. de Stockh. du 12 feur. par reuall.>

[P. 17]

Le 11. hier Mons. L'amb. C. G. acheta 7 cheuaux grisatres du Colonell lieutenant Roor,¹²² et pour 420 escus tous 7. bons cheuaux bon marché. Ce matin a 11 heures nous fumes ches le Gouv. gen. prendre congé de luy, avec l'amb. C. G. et apres qvelques complimens assez frais de coté du Gouverneur il nous laissa sur les degres. sans nous conduire dauantage, ce que chocqua Mons L'ambassadeur. Apres les prieres et le diné nous sommes parti a 3 heures pour aller a jamo, ou nous ariuames a 6 heures, mais les autre 2 amb. uinrent bien plus tard a 7 ou 8 heures apeu pres. Mons Stackelb. Logea aupres du Nostre C. G. et y soupa, mais Clingstet au l'hotellerie tout proche, et nous autres dans des rök-pörten. Je fus aussi tost uoir le chateau,¹²³ qui est une mesure quarée mais irreguillere avec une tour a Chaque Coin a l'antique comme Iuangord et Capurie mais est un peu plus quassé acause du feu qui y prit il y a quelques années et qui a creué et bruslé les pieres dont les tours sons batis. Il y a au millieu de la Cour du C[h]ateau une uieille eglise a la Mouscovite qui ne sert a cette heure qua Cuire de la Biere, et autres choses sordides da reste la situation est belle, pleine Campagne uer le leuant, et de lautre costé la riuiera de jama,¹²⁴ ou descendent toutes les etes, en grand nombre de Rusque Laudior pour trafiquer avec leur marchandises qui uiennent hors de Mouscou. et la riuiera laue les murailles du chateau, qui séléue tres haut en l'air. Le uillage a lantour est au Colonell Moritz Welling,¹²⁵ il y a enver un $\frac{1}{4}$ de lieu de la une peche de saumon,¹²⁶ que Mons. Tunderfelt Bourgraf a Narve tient de luy en ferme, au titre de Loyer a 400 escus par an. [Fig. 6.] en partant de Narue je pris congé du Bourgraf, et Luy rencontra l'ambassad. en la rue et luy dit adieu lá, dont l'ambassad. se

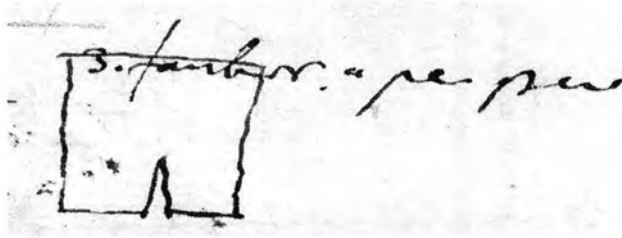


Fig. 6. 3. fambnar a peu pres — almost 3 fathoms

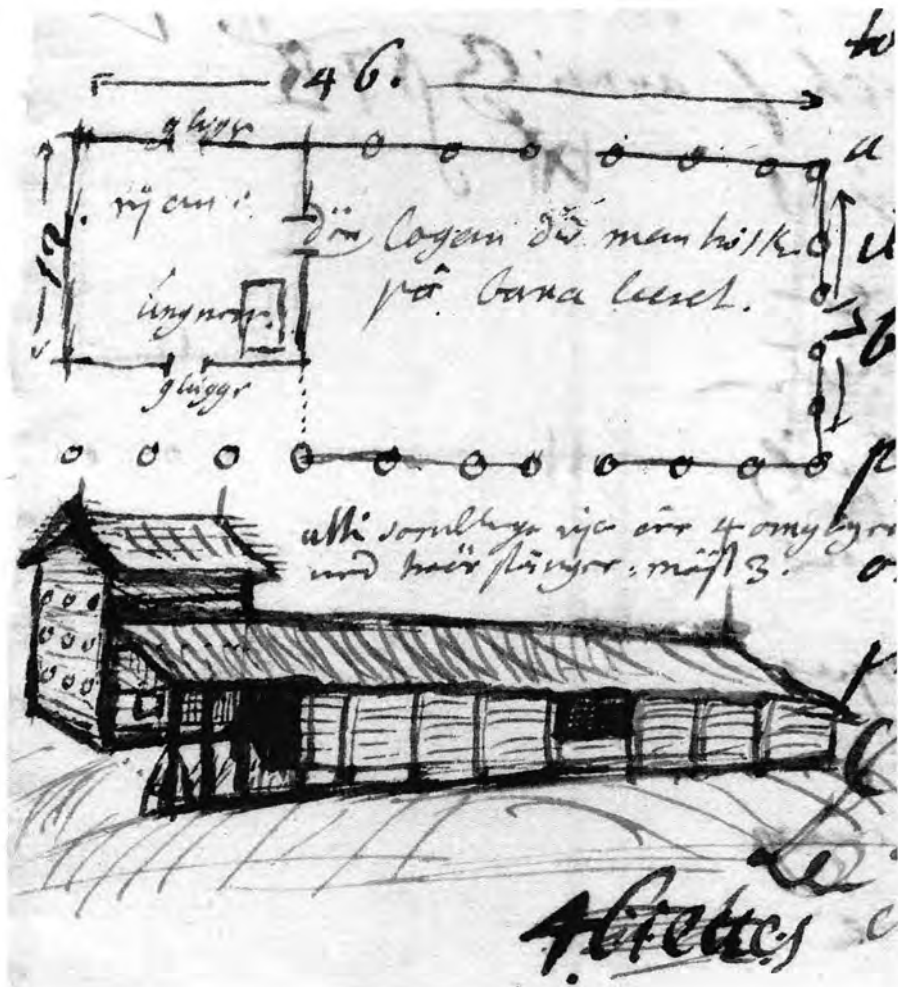


Fig. 7. uthi somliga ryer äro 4 omgångar med två stänger: mäst 3. gluggr, ryan, ungnen, gluggr, dörr, 46, 12, 17, logen där man tröskar på bara leeret — in some kilns there are four sets of transverse beams but mostly three, opening, the kiln, the oven, opening, door, 46, 12, 17, the barn, where they thresh on the bare earthen floor

The 10th. I paid a visit to the interpreter Hafman.¹¹⁶ In the afternoon I went to see Commissary Elfwendahl,¹¹⁷ whose brother is the vicar of Tösse parish¹¹⁸ in Värmland, where my father has his little Mosseberg. He told me further that he laid no claim to precedence over me, nor over two or three others, and that he knew full well that I had been appointed by the King to the place I was holding. But having been appointed Boundary Commissary, he could not give way to 20 other extraordinary gentlemen-in-waiting.¹¹⁹ At supper the ambassador told me that he had been out walking through the castle, and as he passed the governor-general, the latter had said to him that he had heard that everyone in the city was talking about the ambassador having said that he had reason to be very displeased with the way he was received. The ambassador said that that was right. The other said to him that he had had orders from the King to do what he had done and asked him after that not to blacken his character to the King. The ambassador said that he had not written about this,¹²⁰ except to his brother, and that he had written only the truth, and what he had written about was already done and could not be changed. Then Funck came, and during a very short audience and without many compliments the ambassador told him that he did not care whether he stayed or not. <The governor-general gave orders concerning horses, to a number of 470> <At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the horses were distributed, three to each gentleman, but very skinny, almost 500.> <I received a letter from Urban Hiärne,¹²¹ doctor of medicine from Stockholm, sent on 12 February via Reval.>

[P. 17]

The 11th. Yesterday Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna bought seven greyish horses from Lieutenant-Colonel Rohr,¹²² 420 écus for all seven fine horses, a bargain. This morning at 11 o'clock we, including Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna, went to the governor-general to say goodbye. And after a few rather chilly compliments from the governor, he left us on the steps, accompanying us no further, which shocked the ambassador. After prayers and after having eaten we left for Jama at 3 o'clock, and arrived there at 6 o'clock. But the other two ambassadors came much later, around 7 or 8. Mr Stackelberg stayed at the same place as Conrad Gyllenstierna and had supper there, but Klingstedt stayed at an inn close by and the rest of us in smoky huts. I immediately went to look at the castle,¹²³ which is a ramshackle structure, square but irregular, with one tower at each corner *à l'antique*, like Ivangorod and Koporje. But it is in a somewhat more ruinous state, because of the fire which occurred there some years ago and which cracked and burnt the stones from which the towers are built. In the middle of the castle courtyard there is an old church *à la Moscovite*, which nowadays is used only for brewing beer and for other sordid things. Otherwise the location is beautiful, nothing but countryside to the east and on the other side the River Jama,¹²⁴ down which a huge number of Russian boats pass each summer, carrying their goods from around Moscow. And the river washes the walls of the castle, which towers very high into the sky. The village close by belongs to Colonel Mauritz Vellink.¹²⁵ About $\frac{1}{4}$ league from there there is a salmon fishery,¹²⁶ which Mr

trouua outragé. Nous ne trouuames a jamo que 300 cheuaux, et pour cela nous eumes ordres de garder ceux que nous eumes de Narua, dont quelqves uns nous ont conduit jusques a Wruda.

«parti de Naruen a jamo 3 lieu.»

Le 12. apres les prieres et dejeuné nous partions dici à 9 heures et changames des cheuaux a Onstapel «3. lieu» ou il nous manqua plus de 30 cheuaux si bien que les presans et le bagage fut obligé de rester la jusques au 23. du matin alors il uint estant conduit par 30 cheuaux qu'on prit a Wruda et puisque je montois a cheual nous avec les Contes et quelques autres, nous arivames a l heure apres diné a Wruda «3. lieu» bien dun capitaine Uggelwi apres avoir en chemin veu et regardé au dedans. une Eglise qui sappelle Moloskowitz¹²⁷ la seule et l'unique eglise de pierre (dans) et la plus belle de toute l'ingrie, Mais non pas tout a fait acheuées située dans le Wrudskoi Pogost. on preche là finnois pour le paissans, et allemand pour les nobles icy nos voituriers sont plus part finnois, mais entre Narva et jama la plus part Moscovites, et il y a une tres grandes difference entre ces deux nations en vie et honesteté, les Russes vivent icy moralement bien et ne se soulent guere mais les finnois sont addonnées a toutes sortes de villainies et quand ils sont sols ne se soucient ni de foy ny de Loy. Mons. C. G. S. donna ordres ce matin au quartier maitre de ne le loger ensamble avec les autres ambassadeurs mais chacun apart, car qvand ils sont ensamble il y ua du sien. apres l'arriuée icy a 4 heures des ambassadeurs ils uinrent voir C. G. S. et le Marechal aussi. il leur dit qvil estoit necessaire de faire une reueue de nos geans car il s'etoit attaché a nous a ce quil dit des marchands¹²⁸ soutenus du tiers et du quart de la suite, qui en portant leurs marchandises, nous otent les cheuaux «de jamo a wruda 6 lieux.»

[P. 18]

a nous qui les deuons auoir les premiers. de ça ils tomberent tous daccord apres que C. G. S. leur eut remonstré que cestoit contre le traité Cardique et Plusique etc. comme il fit encor a Naruen. Apres auoir soupé et pris congé de C. G. S. il ariuait a 10. le Capiteine Probsting qui auoit esté envoye advertir nostre arivée il y a 5 jours il nous rapporta quon luy a respondu a Novogrod quon n'estoit pas encor en estat a nous receuoir sur les frontieres que Mardi prochain, et dirent de mesme quils nous auoint attendus a Morauena, qui est le confin le pluss proche de Narua, et concela ils ont esté nécessité de changé et de uenir de ce coté cy. et quils ne scauroint estre pret que Mardi, il apporta aussi une lettre du Wojwode, pour le Gouv. Gen. Sperling, mais Mons. lambassadeur fit

Le 13 appeller les 2 autres ambb. et le Marchall et ouvrit la letre du Wojwod et la fit translater par Monsieur Elfwendahl, le contenu m'est inconnu.¹²⁹ Mons. l'amb. donna aussi une rude reprimande au Marechall Fersen a cause des cheuaux dont il se metoit, en prenant les meilleurs pour luy et ses amis et am-

Tunderfelt, burgrave of Narva, has arranged to rent from him for 400 écus a year [Fig. 6].

On leaving Narva I said goodbye to the burgrave. He met the ambassador in the street and said goodbye to him there, which made the ambassador furious. In Jama we found only 300 horses, and because of this we were ordered to keep the ones we had from Narva, some of which followed us all the way to Vruda.

◁ We left Narva for Jama, 3 leagues. ▷

The 12th. After prayers and breakfast we left from here at 9 o'clock and changed horses at Onstopel', ◁ 3 leagues ▷ where we were more than 30 horses short, so that we had to leave the presents and the luggage there until the morning of the 23rd. Then it all came, carried by 30 horses provided at Vruda. And since I, and the counts and a few others, were riding, we arrived at 1 o'clock in the afternoon at Vruda ◁ 3 leagues ▷, the estate of a certain Captain Uggelwi. On the way we saw and looked inside a church, which is called Moloskovicy.¹²⁷ It is the one and only church built of stone and the most beautiful one in the whole of Ingria, not quite completed, however. It is situated in the Vrudskoj pogost*. There they preach in Finnish for the peasants and in German for the nobles. Here most of our coachmen are Finns, but between Narva and Jama most of them were Russians. There is a big difference between these two nations in terms of their way of life and honesty. The Russians here live morally well and seldom get drunk, but the Finns are addicted to all manner of wickedness, and when they are drunk they care neither about faith nor law. Mr Conrad Gyllenstierna this morning ordered the quartermaster not to lodge him together with the other ambassadors, but each one separately, because when they are together there are problems. After the arrival of the ambassadors at 4 o'clock they came to see Conrad Gyllenstierna, as did the marshal. He [Gyllenstierna] told them that it was necessary to carry out a review of our people, because, he claimed, a number of merchants¹²⁸ had attached themselves to us, backed by a third or a fourth of the party, and, since they are carrying their wares, they are depriving us of the horses ◁ from Jama to Vruda 6 leagues ▷

[P. 18]

we should have first of all. They all agreed to this after Conrad Gyllenstierna had demonstrated to them that it was against the treaties of Kardis, Pljussa etc., as he had done already at Narva. After they had had supper and said goodbye to Conrad Gyllenstierna, Captain Pröbsting, who was sent five days ago to announce our arrival, came at 10 o'clock. He reported that they had answered him in Novgorod that they were not yet in a position to receive us at the frontier, not until next Tuesday. They also said that they had expected us at Morovino, which is the frontier closest to Narva, and because of that they had had to change and come to this side, which meant that they would not be ready until Tuesday. He also brought a letter from the *voevoda* to Governor-General Sperling, but the ambassador

pecha ou garda ceux qui en prenoient pour la suite de C.G.S. luy defandent en suite de ny plus retourner, et quil auoit un quartier maistre pour cela d'ordonné. dit aussi au Cap. Func quil n'auoit qu'a se retourner de moins quil ne uoulusse se regler selon le rang, dont il demeura la. Ensuite les autres 2. ambb. furent a diné chez nous et chacun se retira chez soi et C.G.S. a escrive quelques letres en Suede¹³⁰ avec Probsting qui sen retourna a Naruen. il nous dit que le uieux Prontzishof¹³¹ l'ambassadeur en Suede est mort il y a 14 jours, 3: quelques jours apres Meisner.¹³² nous couchames icy la nuit avec les 3 ambassadeurs mais le Marechal, Cocq et les translateurs avec leurs bagages sont allé auant a Zaritz.

Le 14 apres auoir dejeuné a 9 heures nous allames de Wruda a Czaritz 5 lieuex, c'est un hof qui appartient a Clas Fleming,¹³³ ily a dan se uillage 21 paisans, dont un seul est Lutherien finnois, les autres tous sont de la religion Mouscovité. il y a encore quelques autres uill[a]ges, si bien que ce bien entier consista en 70 paisans, qvi donnent la cinquieme gerbe au mestre en tribut annuel, du reste ils sont fort pauvres. nous ariuames icy a 3 heures apres diné, et estans resolu de suivre la commodité des prestaves de Novograd, (nous) et de reste[r] icy 3 iours, pour estre receu le mardi prochain sur les frontieres, nous laissames aller les cheuaux, et Messieurs les 3 amb. resolurent ensemble décrire une letre au Pristaw a Novograd, pour les auertir que nous estions arivé icy pour estre receu Mardij selon leurs demande. on enuoyait donc Mons. Le Translateur Hafman a 7 heures du soir pour cettafaire avec la lettre et en suite nous soupames et allames coucher.

«jay rendu la uisite a Mess: Elfwendal, Hafman, et nous auons parlé de bien de choses tant touchans la petite jalousie quil y a entre C.G.S. et les autres quatre mess. et nous autres avec le Marchall et Func. que des choze Mouscovites et de la langue. iay ueu le Secretaire et le medecin.» Enuiron a 11. heures du soir apres qve M'lamb. C.G. fut couché mais pas encor endormi, Mons. Hafman reuient, entre chez C.G.S. etant demandé, et luy raccontè comme quoy il auoit

[P. 19]

rancontre dans le chemin a 2 lieux enuiron dicy un Courier Expres un Capiteine Mouscovite, venent des frontieres, il apporta une lettre pour Mons. le Commissaire Elfwendahl, M. Lamb. C.G.S. l'ouvrit et trouua la dedans comme quoy leur translateur Hyttner «Le Caracktere de ce Hyttner¹³⁴ est tell. ill est ambitieu, menteur traître, un home qui sest sauué de la suedes et s'est allé a Novogord au seruice du Czar et a Mouscou on luy a rendu l'honneur puis que dans Posolski Pricas il est noté de cette facon: былъ воръ, да стал довримъ челоувъ-комъ har uarit een skelm, men nu een ärlig Kerl blefuen.» auoit escrit a Elfwendahl, que malgré la letre precedante ou on nous priait d'attendre jusques au Mardi de uenir aux frontieres, que neantmoins estans pret a nous recevoir,

The 13th summoned the other two ambassadors and the marshal and opened the letter from the *voevoda* and had it translated by Mr Elfwendahl. The contents are unknown to me.¹²⁹ The ambassador also gave a harsh reprimand to the marshal Fersen because he had interfered with the horses, taking the best ones for himself and his friends and preventing or keeping an eye on those who fetched horses for Conrad Gyllenstierna's party. He then forbade him ever to do it again, and said that he had a quartermaster appointed for this. He also said to Captain Funck that, unless he was willing to accept the precedence given to him, all he had to do was go back. Then the other two ambassadors dined with us and each retired to his quarters. And Conrad Gyllenstierna wrote some letters to Sweden¹³⁰ and sent them with Pröbsting, who returned to Narva. He told us that the old Prončiščev,¹³¹ the ambassador to Sweden, died a fortnight ago, i.e. a few days after Meissner.¹³² We spent the night here with the three ambassadors, but the marshal, Kochen and the translators went ahead with their luggage to Zareč'e.

The 14th. Having had breakfast at 9 o'clock we went from Vruda to Zareč'e, 5 leagues. This is an estate belonging to Claes Fleming.¹³³ In the village there are 21 peasants, only one of whom is a Lutheran Finn, all the others being of the Muscovite religion. There are some other villages as well, so that this whole estate consists of 70 peasants, who give every fifth sheaf of corn to the owner in annual tax, but they are very poor. We arrived here at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and having decided, for the convenience of the pristavs* in Novgorod, to stay here for three days and be received at the frontier next Tuesday, we let the horses go, and the three ambassadors decided together to write a letter to the pristavs in Novgorod to announce that we have arrived here to be received on Tuesday, in accordance with their request. Accordingly, the translator Hafman was sent with the letter at 7 o'clock at night, and after that we had supper and went to bed.

◁I went to visit Mr Elfwendahl and Hafman, and we talked about a great many things, both regarding the little jealousy existing between Conrad Gyllenstierna and the four other gentlemen, and our own towards the marshal and Funck, as well as about Muscovite affairs and the language. I saw the secretary and the doctor.▷ At about 11 o'clock at night, when Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna had gone to bed but not yet fallen asleep, Mr Hafman came back, entered the room at Conrad Gyllenstierna's request, and told him how

[P. 19]

on the way, about 2 leagues from here, he had met an express courier, a Muscovite captain, coming from the frontier. He brought with him a letter intended for Commissary Elfwendahl. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna opened the envelope and found inside a letter in which their translator Hyttner ◁the character of this Hyttner¹³⁴ is as follows: he is ambitious, a liar and a traitor, a man who escaped from Sweden and made off to Novgorod to enter the Tsar's employ. In Moscow they have accorded him honour, because in the *Posol'skij prikaz* he is defined in this way: былъ воръ, да сталъ добрымъ челоувкомъ — Не

plutost quils n'auoint creu eux meme, il nous mande de la part des prestawes quils nous attendent desia aux frontieres non pas loing d'Orlina, et que si nous voulions nous pouvions uenir demain et estre receu d'eux, ils remettent pourtant a nostre discretion demander response, et une liste de nos geans et le nombre des cheuaux, et que nous uoulions envoyer nostre bagage au deuant pour faciliter la Cambiature, sur cela M. Lamb. C.G.S. remit la response au lendemain, et continua son repos jusques au

15 du matin, alors ill alla uoir Stakelb. ou Ms. Clingstet uint aussi de propre mouument, là ils consulterent entre eux et avec Elfwendal et Hafman, ou je fus presant de ce quil falloit faire. Ils tomberent d'accord avec le 1. chef C.G.S. quil ne falloit pas se faire dependans des volontées et des changemens des prestawes, mais se tenir a la premiere resolution, et que cetoit Contre l'autorité du Roy, de se laisser mener comme bon semble au Mouscovites, et puis qvils avai[e]nt desia condescendus a leur demande, ils auoient aussi pris leurs mesures pour cela¹³⁵ et ont resolu de rester icy jusques au Mardi matin. tant pour les causes susdites que pour le dimanche. et donnerent ordres a Elfwendahl d'ecrire aux prestaves les choses susdites, avec une protestation en forme contre leurs retardement, jusques a cette heure, ou les chemins commencent a deuenir mauuais. cette lettre fut rendu au Courier leur Capitaine qui sen alla a midy: apres diné uers le soir le dimanche on envoyat Hafman confirmer la meme chose, et on luy donna le memorial et la liste pour donner aux Pristaves qui sont desia aux frontieres. il san alla. on resolut de faire la reueu demains apres diner des marchandises qui sattachent a nous malgrè la volonté de M. l'amb. C.G.S. et nous auons conte plus de 24 toneaux de vin a vendre, les possesseurs sont Cavaillers et veulent pourtant faire les marchands contre le pactes de Cardis et Plus. Mons. l'amb. C.G.S. veut quils paient la doane a Mousckov, je ne scay ce qu'en ariuera. il n'y a personne dans la suite qui ayt plus de bagage et marchandise que Mr. Cocq. et Mons. Versen. hier Mons. Versen a prié Clingstet de prier C.G.S. destre de ses amis et de se remettre bien avec luy, et de luy dire l'omme qui l'auuoit aculé, deuant l'ambass. de ce quil a pri trop d'autorité, sur bien de choses. Mais M. l'amb. C.G.S. ne luy eu dit rien. M. l'amb. C.G.S. me le dit auant souper luy meme. et me fait la grace de me faire beaucoup de confidences des bien de chose de temps en temps. NB Batteries entres les quartier maitres.¹³⁶ «Lan. des Mouscovite est 7192 apres la Creat. du monde,¹³⁷ ils le marquent aynsi зрчв»

«NB. a 4 heure apres diné arriv. la posté apres nous, de Suede le 26 fevrier avec quelques lettres pour M. l'ambas. C.G.S. et Cli[ng]stet. Messieurs les Contes en ont receu de leurs frere le conte Charles¹³⁸ qui se plaint que C. Leijon{crona} luy aie reproche quil auoit decacheté la lettre que je luy escrivais et il dit quelle estoit mal cachettée et que ce netoit pas sa faute.»

was earlier a villain, but has now become an honest man» had written to Elfwendahl that, in spite of the preceding letter, in which we had been asked to wait until Tuesday to come to the frontier, they were ready to receive us earlier than they had thought themselves. He announced, on behalf of the pristavs, that they were already waiting for us at the frontier not far from Orlino, and that if we wanted, we could come tomorrow and be received by them. They left it, however, to our own discretion and asked for an answer from us, a list of our people and the number of horses needed. They also asked us to send our luggage ahead to facilitate the repacking. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna postponed the answer until the following day and continued his rest until

The 15th in the morning. Then he went to see Stackelberg, to whom Mr Klingstedt came as well on his own initiative. There they discussed among themselves and with Elfwendahl and Hafman—I was present too—what should be done. They agreed with their head Conrad Gyllenstierna that one should not make oneself dependent on the whims and changes of the pristavs, but stick to the first decision, and that it would be against the authority of the King to allow oneself to be directed as the Muscovites saw fit. And since they had already acceded to their request, they had also taken steps in that direction¹³⁵ and decided to stay here until Tuesday morning, both for the above-mentioned reasons and because of the Sunday. And they ordered Elfwendahl to write these things to the pristavs, with a formal protest against their delay up to this time, when the roads are beginning to get bad. This letter was handed over to the courier, their captain, who left at noon. After dinner towards the evening on Sunday Hafman was sent to confirm the same thing, and they gave him the memorandum and the list to give to the pristavs who were already at the frontier. He went off. It was decided to carry out the review of the goods attached to us, in spite of the wishes of Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna, tomorrow afternoon. We have counted more than 24 barrels of wine for sale. The owners are cavaliers but they want to devote themselves to trade all the same, contrary to the treaties of Kardis and Pljussa. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna wants them to pay customs duty in Moscow, I don't know what will come of it. No one in the party has as much luggage and goods as Mr von Kochen and Mr Fersen. Yesterday Fersen asked Klingstedt to ask Conrad Gyllenstierna to be friends with him and to restore their good relations. He also wanted to know the name of the person who had accused him in front of the ambassador of having assumed too much authority on many issues. But Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna told him nothing. The ambassador told me this himself before supper and is graceful enough to trust me with confidences regarding many things from time to time. NB. Fighting between the quartermasters. «The year of the Muscovites is 7192 after the creation of the world,¹³⁶ they write it like this: зрчв» «NB. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the post arrived after our departure [?], sent from Sweden on 26 February, with some letters for Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna and Klingstedt. The counts received mail from their brother Count Carl,¹³⁷ who

[P. 20]

Le 16 Mons. Stakelb. entendu Preché chez nous, et Mons. Coqu. Mons. Clingstedt uint aussi a diner, apres diné, on appellat toutes nos geans de la suite pour faire une reueue, et pour les ranger, Mons. lamb. C.G.S. recita luy meme la rang qui a esté fait par les 3 ambb.¹³⁹ et nous pria den estre contens, et ceux qui ne les vouloint pas estre nauroint qu'a sen retourner. On enuoya ensuite Hafman au frontiers, ou les pristawes nous attendent. Mons. Lieutenant tunderfelt fut commandé auec 24 soldas de Narven pour nous conduire et nous faire honneur aux frontieres, mais il n'y sen alla que le

Le 17 apres diné: la nuit passé le feu prit a la cuisine, et sans que personne ne sen fut donte[!], la sale ou l'antichambre del'apartement ou l'amb. C.G.S. etoit couche se ramplit tellement de la fumée qu'on ny peut durer, et peu san est fallu que la flame ne l'eut ampeché de sortir, on le sceut eteindre pourtant a moins de 2 heures de temps, les Contes et moy qui estions couchés tout attendant, n'en sceumes rien que ce matin. Il degèle a toute force, et des cheuaux qui nous ont attendu icy 3 jours il en est mort 2 ou 3 de faim. apres diné on anvoja le bagage au deuant, selon les listes que chaque amb. pour sa suite particulière auoit formé, selon lesquelles on doit regler les cheuaux en Mouscowie ça ua a pres de 600 environs.

Le 18. a 6 heures du matin nous partimes de Сари́чь et ariuames a 10 heures du matin a Орлина «4 lieues», le bien appartient a Christer Horn¹⁴⁰ le gouuer [!] de Riga, les maisons sont toutes brulée 20 uerst de Csaritz. [Fig. 7.]¹⁴¹ apres diné nous continuames nostre chemin uers le confin ou les frontieres de Mouscouie 7: uerst. et $\frac{1}{2}$ a peu pres, nous y ariuames a 1 heure et $\frac{3}{4}$ et precisement a 2 heures nous mimes piet a terre pour estre receus sur les limites, dans un bois assez epais, mais l'endroit ou les pristaves etoint, est (un peu) une colline un peu eleuée, ou il ny a point darbre, il y en a un deseiché a la droite sur le quel il ya grauée du coté des rousses une croix, et du coté de la Suede une couronne, la quelle ayant esté ruinée et effacée, on l'auoit quelqves jours auant nostre arriuée, fait grauer dans l'arbre pour y rester estant renouuellés.¹⁴² Nous fumes receus de cette façon:

[P. 21]

Les ambassadeurs etans pret de decendre leurs trainaux les pristawes /: Миронъ Грегорьевичъ Баиашофъ jadis colonell, de mediocre age¹⁴³ fort ciuil: fort sobre; le 2: Иакобъ Ивановичъ Гитнеръ, de la pomeranie, dont iay desia dit le caractere,¹⁴⁴ il etoit icy pristave et translateur, le 3me etoit un greffier nommé [...] ¹⁴⁵ /: s'approcherent uers les frontieres, et apres un petit momant, ils s'arresterent justement uis a uis de l'arbre, qui separe les deux royaumes, là ils attendirent Nos geans. Les gentils homes etoint rangés deuant les ambass: les moindres alloint toujours les premiers vers les pristavs, mais y

complains that C. Leijoncrona¹³⁸ had scolded him for having broken the seal of the letter that I wrote to him and he said that it had been badly sealed and that it was not his fault.›

[P. 20]

The 16th. Mr Stackelberg listened to the sermon at our place, as did Mr von Kochen. Mr Klingstedt came as well, for dinner. In the afternoon all the people in the party were summoned for the ambassadors to carry out a review and to rank them. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna himself informed people about the precedence they had been given by the three ambassadors¹³⁹ and asked us to be content with the placing. Those who were unwilling to comply could simply turn back. Afterwards Hafman was sent to the frontier where the pristavs were waiting for us. Lieutenant Tunderfelt, with 24 soldiers from Narva, was ordered to accompany us and to pay us respects at the frontiers, but he did not leave until

The 17th in the afternoon. Last night the kitchen caught fire, and without anyone being aware of it, the hall or the antechamber of the apartment where Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna was sleeping was filled with so much smoke that it was impossible to endure, and the flames were on the point of preventing him from getting out. But they succeeded in extinguishing the fire in less than two hours. The counts and myself, who were asleep quite close by, did not know anything until this morning. It is thawing rapidly, and of the horses that have waited for us here for three days, two or three died of hunger. In the afternoon the luggage was sent ahead according to the lists which each ambassador had compiled for his own party and according to which the number of horses in Muscovy was to be established. It amounted to almost 600.

The 18th. At 6 o'clock in the morning we left Zareč'e and arrived at 10 o'clock at Orlino <4 leagues>, the estate belongs to Krister Horn,¹⁴⁰ the governor of Riga. All the houses have been burnt 20 versts from Zareč'e [Fig. 7].¹⁴¹ After dinner we continued our journey towards the Muscovite frontiers, almost 7½ versts. We arrived at a quarter to 2 and at 2 o'clock exactly we dismounted to be received on the border in a rather dense forest. But the place where the pristavs were waiting for us is a small hill, where there are no trees. There is a dry one to the right, on which a cross has been carved on the side of the Russians and on the side of Sweden a crown. This had been damaged and effaced, so a few days before our arrival they had had a new crown carved in the tree to make it stay.¹⁴² We were received in the following way:

[P. 21]

When the ambassadors were ready to alight from their sleighs, the pristavs /: Miron Grigor'evič Bajašov, formerly a colonel, middle-aged,¹⁴³ very polite, very sober; the second Jakov Ivanovič Gjutner [Hyttner] from Pomerania, whose character I have already described,¹⁴⁴ he was pristav and translator here; the third was

etans arivés le Marchal Versen a la teste, on s'ouvrit et laissa passer les ambassadeurs, et ceux qui de nous autres auoit esté les premiers deuinent les derniers, en changeant et laissant toujours passer, ceux qui etoint les derniers, pour estre les plus proches des ambassadeurs. cela fait on s'y areta justement aux confins, entre les soldas suedois qui etoint rangés de nostre coté 12 a la droite et 12 ala gauche, et de leur coté des Moscovites 50 strilitzer enuiron quelques uingt de chaque coté, sur le coteaux Мирон Грегоровичъ commença ainsij: Theras Czariska <läste ur paperet> majestetz etc och så först den stoora tijttelen så närmaste Bojar och uoyvod i Novograd Knes Федоръ Семеновичъ Урусовъ¹⁴⁶ har sänt oss prestauer, att emothtaga, Kongl: Mayttz: /: den stoora tijttelen: /: stora legater, och föra dhem till Novograd. Lät och fråga effter dheras hälsa. dhetta translateradhe Hyttner som stod emellan de andra 2. Sedan suaradhe Hr. Con. G. S. med dh stora tijtteln alt uthan till, reent, uthan att stapla så Zarens, som Kongens att Kongl. Maytz. Stora legater betatakar[!] dhem, och beer dhem att the med flijt söka att hielpa dh fort repeterandes voyuodens tijttel och sijna nembl: ambassadeurernas alla tijttlar, huilket Hafman translateradhe, ehuru något orichtigt, dog, utan till, memoriter, där med toge dhe hwar andra i handh. och satte sig i slädarna och prestauerna reeste föruth, ok vi i ordning de förnämsta näst effter ambassadeurernas slädar.¹⁴⁷ och emedan strilitzerna skuto heela vägen då och då swarade wij dhem igen lustigt.

[P. 22]

sedan kommo wij straxt på ett stoort morass, och änteligen om afftonen kl. 4 till Часа <Часа 7 wirst> första byn i Ryslandh där uore redan strelitzerna rangradhe för oss i ordning på både sider om gatan, med dheras Captein och Lieutenant. Straxt vi wore ankombne frågade oss prestaven om vij wille emothtaga penningarna som Vojwoden hade sänt oss 200 rublar, och som wij intet kunde hafva nog der af i proportion emoth dät som Prontzishof fic 100 Rd om dagen och hade ey mer än 150 man, ty wille vij intet tage däm emoth, ey heller hade dhe ordres att gifva oss mera, än vojvoden effter Czarens ordres oss bestått, hwar på Ambassadeurerna resolverade änteligen att taga dhem emoth, men på räkning, att dog hafwa sig sin rätt före behålla i Moscou att mera begära. Sade sig ey heller kuna äta penningarna, uthan bode prestaverna ändteligen skaffa oxar ok maath till köps för peningar, huilket har warit nock swårt i dhenna uägen alt till nowogrod. Här räknade wi alt vårt folck och befän dem starcka 274 personer.¹⁴⁸

Le 19 Emoth tog ambass: de 200 rubler af prestav. på räkning. Klockan 11 reste vij här från om ett Closter så het[andes] Сверина¹⁴⁹ 8 uirst <8 uirst>, de löper under, een ström, Clostret af trä på gägge[!] sijdor äre stora skogar och morass, där äre man bara Munkar inne. där ifrån om Черемна¹⁵⁰ 12 wirst <12 wirst>, sedan om Горыньи 10 wirst <10> (liger) ett Hoff där 3 adels men bodde. och een adelig änka, ligger högt på een backa admirabel veue af strömen Oredes

a clerk by the name of [...] ¹⁴⁵:/ approached the frontier, and after a little while they stopped exactly level with the tree that separates the two realms. There they waited for our people. The gentlemen were arranged in front of the ambassadors: the less distinguished always went first towards the pristavs. But when they had come up to them, with Marshal Fersen at the head, they opened up and let the ambassadors pass, and those of us who had been the first became the last, changing places and all the time letting those who had been the last pass to get closest to the ambassadors. When this was done we stopped exactly at the border, between the Swedish soldiers, who on our side were arranged 12 to the right and 12 to the left. And on their side, among the Muscovites, were about 50 *strel'cy*,* some 20 on each side. On the hill Miron Grigor'evič started in this way: Their Tsarist Majesties etc. /: he read from the paper :/ and so first the full title, and then the closest boyar and *voevoda* in Novgorod, Prince Fedor Semenovič Urusov, ¹⁴⁶ have sent us pristavs to receive His Majesty the King's /: the full title :/ great legates and take them to Novgorod. He also asked about their health. This was translated by Hyttner who was standing between the other two. Then Mr Conrad Gyllenstierna answered with the full title, all by heart, immaculately, without getting stuck, giving both the Tsar's and the King's titles, that the great legates of His Majesty the King thank them and ask them diligently to help them on, repeating the titles of the *voevoda* and their own, i.e. all the titles of the ambassadors, all of which Hafman translated, not quite correctly, it is true, but by heart, *memoriter*. After that they shook each other's hands and got up into their sleighs, and the pristavs travelled in front, and we according to precedence, the most distinguished directly after the sleighs of the ambassadors. ¹⁴⁷ And when, for the entire journey, the *strel'cy* occasionally fired a salute, we answered them cheerfully.

[P. 22]

Then we soon reached a big morass, and finally, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at Čašča «Čašča 7 versts», the first village in Russia. There the *strel'cy* were already arranged in order on both sides of the street with their captain and lieutenant to welcome us. As soon as we arrived the pristav asked whether we wanted to receive the money that the *voevoda* had sent to us, 200 roubles. And since this was not enough for us, especially taking into account that Prončiščev received 100 riksdaler a day although he had no more than 150 people, we did not want to accept it. Nor were they allowed to give us more than the *voevoda* had put at our disposal according to the orders of the Tsar. Finally, however, the ambassadors decided to accept the money, but on account, reserving the right to ask for more in Moscow. They also said that it was not possible to eat the money, so the pristavs were asked to unconditionally provide us with oxen and food that we could buy for money, which has been very difficult all the way to Novgorod. Here we counted all our people and found that they amounted to 274 persons. ¹⁴⁸

The 19th. The ambassadors received the 200 roubles from the pristav on account. At 11 we left from here and travelled via a monastery by the name of

som löper nedan före ock är nauigabel för lodior, ok timmer som flyter neder i Luga strömmen, <som är 10 uirst här från.> ok sedan åth Narven och siön. <i dag sett några ättbackar på vänstra handen i skogen och 1 på högra handen somblige ok mz trä besatte, somblige kringuuxne, ock sombl. mz steenar runt om belagde. ock när man bönderna frågadhe hvad dhet betydde sade Dhe att thet wore heelige trän och backar som ingen röra diärfdes, mera besked fick man ey af dhem. ambas. C. G. S. har ock observerat samma backar.¹⁵¹> här öfr komme wij med stort omak, i dhet att snögluppet och rägnen som vi hadhe hafft heela dagen, hade frätt bort isjen och snöön, att vij moste spänna från hästarna och låta folket draga slädarne öfr opp i backen under garinni. lijtet bättre fram på wenstra handen ligger på ett högt berg ett jordbacka ett Погость Николскои. Skönest ueue man kan see.

[P. 23]

Kommo så till natten klockan 7 om afftonen till een stoor by som heter Тесовскои Иамъ 1 uirst öfr bäken ifrån Gårina <1. verst.>. i dhenna byn war een träkyrka,¹⁵² ock på södra sidan om henne een stor trind hygel eller rättare ättbacka som uar express med flijt giord til att begrafwa dheras döda.¹⁵³ detta ligger i Spasgoi Погость.

Le 20. effter frukost reste vi dädan klockan 11. ock om Кипина¹⁵⁴ 3 uirst <3 uirst> NB. några uirster här från är igenom skogen ock morass dh vägen som Gr. Pontus Dela Gardie¹⁵⁵ lät göra, ock broa ifrån Nowgorden /: när han dhet 6 år inne hadhe :/ till att göra hanndel ock vandel så mycket lättare och snarare, men som han sedermera ey blifvit entretenu, så kan man dh vägen ey mera ressa, ty ryssarna hafwa lagt honom öde, dhe kalla honom Pontuses broo: elliest är ock denne uägen om sommaren intet brukelig för morass och siöar skulld. Sedan om Поляна. 7. Vi <poliana 7 virst> Погость Софиа¹⁵⁶ af steen på dhet gambla ryska maner bygger mz 5 torn, nytt byget, Stor by brede wijd. Sedan om Велекзе /: al. Велагость 2 uirst <2 virst>. nock Мокриче 8 wirst till kl. 2 effter middagen <8 virst>. intet långt där från ligger een gårdh Lubina, sedan till вежискои. 12 wirst till natten klok. 7. där är ett skönt St. Nicolai Closter—Иколскои Манасстрись där äre 20 munkar och een Archimandrit heter Боголепъ.¹⁵⁷ af förnämt hus, dhe andre äre ignoranta och gement folk som för 8 rublar¹⁵⁸ kunna köpa sig dit inn, i alla sina dagar. heela denna byn hörer Under Clostret, ock äre ungefär 70 hus af hwilka 20 äre intet soldater¹⁵⁹ uthan betiänte af Clostret dhesse så wäll som soldaterna hafva sin månd såld eller kost af munkarna. föruthan archimandriten äre här allenast 2 präster een suart präst /: ut vocant :/ som allenast betienar Clostreth men dh huihtprästen må gå om i byn ok betiäna i Gjästebud, barnöhl etc.¹⁶⁰ straxt iag ankom wille iag med några Camerater besöka munkarna ock besee Klostret, men som iag min Compliment giort hadhe, blef mig sans compliment suarat hvem hadhe gifwit mig lof att gå dijth, sade att vij wore ey Christna,¹⁶¹ att kunna komma i sådant heligt

Zverin,¹⁴⁹ 8 versts <8 versts>, beneath it is a river, the monastery is made of wood. On both sides there are large forests and morasses. There are only monks there. From there we passed by Čeremna,¹⁵⁰ 12 versts <12 versts>, then by Goryni, 10 versts <10>. There there is a mansion where three noblemen are living and a noble widow. It is situated high up on a hill with an admirable view of the River Oredež, which flows below and is navigable for boats, and for timber, which floats down to the Luga River, <which is 10 versts from here> and then to Narva and the sea. <Today I saw a number of grave-mounds on the left-hand side in the wood and one on the right-hand side. Some were covered by trees, some were surrounded by trees and around others stones had been placed. And when we asked the peasants what this meant, they said that these were sacred trees and hills that no one dared to touch. That was the only information we could get out of them. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna had also observed these mounds.¹⁵¹> We crossed the river with great difficulty, because the sleet and the rain that we had had all day had eroded the ice and the snow, so we had to unharness the horses and have the people pull the sleighs across and on to the hill below Goryni. A little further ahead, on the left-hand side, on a high earthen hill, the Nikol'skoj pogost is situated. From there you have the most beautiful view imaginable.

[P. 23]

Towards evening, at 7 o'clock, we came to a large village by the name of Tesovskoj jam*, 1 verst across the stream from Goryni <1 verst>. In this village there was a wooden church,¹⁵² and to the south of the church a big round hill, or rather grave-mound, which had been made for the purpose of burying their dead.¹⁵³ This lies in Spasskoj pogost.

The 20th. We left after breakfast, at 11 o'clock, and passed through Kipino,¹⁵⁴ 3 versts <3 versts>. NB. A few versts from here, crossing through the wood and the morasses, is the road that Count Pontus De la Gardie¹⁵⁵ ordered to be built and bridged from Novgorod /: when he occupied it for six years :/ to make dealings easier and quicker. But as it has not been maintained lately, it cannot be used any longer, because the Russians have allowed it to fall into disrepair. They call it "Pontus's Bridge". Besides, this road cannot be used in the summer in any case, owing to morasses and flooding. Then through Poljany, 7 versts <Poljany 7 versts>, pogost Sofija¹⁵⁶ made of stone, built in the old Russian style with five towers, recently built. There is a large village close by. Then through Velekse [?] /: or Velegošči :/, 2 versts <2 versts>. Then to Mokricy, 8 versts, by 2 o'clock in the afternoon <8 versts>. Not far from there there is an estate called Ljubyni. Then to Vjažickoj [pogost], 12 versts, at 7 o'clock in the evening. There there is a beautiful monastery consecrated to St Nicholas, Никольской монастырь, where they have twenty monks and one archimandrite, called Bogolep.¹⁵⁷ He comes from a noble family, but the others are ignorant and of simple birth. They can buy their way inside for the rest of their lives for 8 roubles.¹⁵⁸ This whole village belongs to the monastery and consists of about 70 houses, 20 of which are not in-

rumm, och ehuru porten war öpen för oss fick dog een af drängarna deras een braf örefijl för dhett han oss intet hindrade att gå dher inn, dhe bodhe oss gå straxt uth dhett vi ock giorde Klostret är såledhes bygt ongefär som här indiqilerat [?] är. [Fig. 8.]

[P. 24]

Le 21. reste ifrån Вежиской klok 11. genom skog ock moras in till ongefär 4 uirst ifrån staden Novgord där tog een stoor slätt widh hwarest wi decouurerade staden som långt ifrån såg tämmeligen stor ok wacker uth, men iu närmare wi komme iu slättare såg dhett uth. rund om kring på alla sidor såge vi Closter här och tär liggande om staden (såsom) när wi kommo in emoth staden moste vi taga af uägen effter een brod sades wara sönder, ock togo af på vänster handen genom ängarna i snö ock watten till knäss på hästarna¹⁶² ingen wäg, mera än dh wi sielf giort hafva, ok kommo så till stranden på Wolckoua ström, emellan Colmowo¹⁶³ och antonj¹⁶⁴ Clöstren. ock mitt före Antoni Clostret begyntes rytteriet att wara rangerat emot oss på een sijda allenast een enkell rad på högra handen så att vi på vänstra handen hade [added:] *vij* strömmen. wi rede i ordning för ambassadeurnas slädar dhe förnämste närmaste slädarna ock de ringaste hofiunkrarna främbst effter Marskalken. och blefve vi 2 eller 3 gånger ia 4 eller 5 anhållna, att bijda effter je ne scay quoy, imedlertijdh vi hölle stilla rede ryssarna fram ok tillbaka om oss emellan staden ock vår prestaw att see hvad dhett led med suiten. vi kommo änteligen fram till hörnet på träwärket som först möter af staden där stod redan uoiuodens wagn för oss, sedan vi hadhe rest om **1.** om ett standar giort som een stoor skute flagga mz 2 uddar, dhett fyrkantiga där af war violett, men spitzarna hvijsa där under 106. man: <1> **2** standaret 4kantigt mz ett 4kantigt hviitt spiäll ock rundt om med 3 finger breda röda ränder. där under vore 145 man /: officerarna alt oräknade :/ <2>. **3** standar. ock fyrkantigt rött mitt uthi spiället ok blått omkring där war under 170 man <3>. [Fig. 9.] **4** ett guult standar med Flitzbogar 70 man. **5** blenningar af flitzar, byssor ock rätt få pistoler. 43 man. /: med guhl stand :/ **6.** här kom 6 små pijkfanor som sutto ytterst på ändarna af pikar. under ett violett standar giort mz hvita uddar ut supra mz ett ryttare mitt på det violetta. **7** straxt där hoss stod een gul standar mz 24 man mz kors mittuthi **8** dito guhl standar mz gröna ränder om kring 3 finger breda ut supra med 91 man under. **9** dito grönt innan och gult omkring 85. der uthi stod St. riddar Georg med draken **10.** dito standar mz gult mittuthi och grönt kring 144 man. där uthi stod een Pegasus — <här wore trumetare 5 st: och inga pukor>

[P. 25]

11 dito ett 4kantigt standar rött spiäll mitt uthi, ok Hwiitt kringom 120 man **12.** dito gult standar 120 där wore ett par små pukor, men inga trumetare. desse stode wed hornet af träturen af staden som på denne sijdan. stöter till slottet. här stodh ock wagnen som emoth oss sänd war Hwaruthi satt een gammal

habited by soldiers¹⁵⁹ but by people working for the monastery. They as well as the soldiers get their monthly salary or board from the monks. Apart from the archimandrite there are only two priests here, one black priest /: as they call them :/, who serves only the monastery, and one white, who is to go around in the village and serve in connection with weddings, christening feasts etc.¹⁶⁰ As soon as I arrived I, together with some companions, wanted to visit the monks and look at the monastery. But when I had paid my respects I was asked, without any respects, who had given me permission to enter. They said that we were not Christians¹⁶¹ and consequently were not allowed to enter such a sacred place, and although the gate was open for us to enter, one of their men, notwithstanding, was boxed heavily on the ear because he had not prevented us from entering. They told us to get out immediately, which we did. The monastery is built approximately as indicated [Fig. 8].

[P. 24]

The 21st. We left Vjažickoj [pogost] at 11 o'clock and went through woods and morasses until we were about 4 versts from the city of Novgorod. There a large plain began, from where we discovered the city, which from a distance looked quite large and beautiful, but the closer we got the more insignificant it looked. On all sides around the city we saw monasteries here and there. When we got close to the town we had to leave the road, as a bridge was said to be broken, and we turned to the left—across the meadows with snow and water reaching up to the horses' knees.¹⁶² There was no road, apart from the one we made ourselves. And finally we reached the bank of the Volchov River, in between the Kolm Monastery¹⁶³ and the Monastery of St Anthony.¹⁶⁴ And in front of the Monastery of St Anthony the cavalry was drawn up on one side to greet us, just a single line on the right-hand side, so that we had the river on our left. We were riding according to rank in front of the sleighs of the ambassadors, the most distinguished closest to the sleighs and the least significant hofjunkers at the front, after the marshal. Two or three times, yes even four or five, we were halted to wait for I don't know what. While we were standing still the Russians rode past us back and forth between the city and our pristav, to see how the party was doing. Finally we reached the corner of the wooden fortifications, which are what one first comes across of the city. There the *voevoda's* carriage was already waiting for us. Before that we had passed (1) one standard, made like a big ship's flag with two tails, the square part of it was violet, but the points were white, under it there were 106 men. <1> (2) A square standard with a square white field in the middle and with a red border the breadth of three fingers around it. Under it there were 145 men /: not counting the officers :/. <2> (3) Also a square standard with a red square in the middle and blue around. Under it there were 170 men <3.> [Fig. 9]. (4) a yellow standard with bows, 70 men. (5) mixed bows, rifles and rather few pistols, 43 men. /: with a yellow standard :/. (6) Here there came six small pike banners, fastened to the ends of pikes under a violet standard with white points, as above, with a horseman in the middle of the violet part. (7) Immediately after



Fig. 8. knopparna af tornen m3 bleck beslagne. — the knobs of the towers are covered with tin-plate



Fig. 9. NB. i detta violette hvar af wore 2 stycken, war uthi det 4kantige. månen, stjernor ock ett kors. såledhes, violett, hvitt, hvitt, rött — NB: In the violet part—there were two such standards—in the square, there were the moon, stars and a cross like this. violet, white, white, red

adelsman uthsänd af Voivoden att Complimentera oss hwilken wed ambass. ankombst ock för än dhe stego uth af slädarna /: 1 Stackelb. sedan Clingstet ok så C.G.S. /: stodh reda[n] på marcken¹⁶⁵ till vedh att tahla. emedan vj nu stijga af våra hästar till att sambla oss kring om ambassadeurerna, marchera dhe samma standaren några stycken som för giortienst om oss baak för dhe som i ordning stode, till att ännu göra dhet samma, och att opfylla dhet rum som ännu war tomt emellan oss ock staden. ok ställa sig i igen. men adelen som här på dhetta stället höllo till häst blefwo här om kring oss vid pass 150 man att be-see hwad som passerade: Complimenten skedde som för med dh stoora tijttlens läsande innan till i paperet af dh gamla adelsmannen, Тигон Ивановичъ Бестужиофъ — ock sedan vi wore beneuenterade och effter vår hälsa frågatt swarade amb. C.G.S. nu som för med Kongens stora tijttel ock dhe andra ambb. ock sijna alla tijtlars och gårdars opräknande, och med betackande, ock begärande om vijdare forthielp, hvilket Hafman translaterade men moste i i [!] ambass. tittlar taga upp papperet att se i : <sedan handtoges dhe.> <denne fick knut för det han skälde vår prestaw¹⁶⁶> efter detta taladhe dh andra som är (Cantzellisten) Сидор родионофъ med lilla tijttlens oprepande att woivoden /: m3 sijna tijttlar /: hade sänt honom m3 Zarens wagn att taga oss emoth. där på stege the i wagnen alla 6. C.G.S. ock Clingstett uppe i sätet baak uthi, Stakelb. och dh gamble fram uthi, Hyttner ok Hafman i Hwar sitt slaghet. ock

these there was a yellow standard with a cross in the middle, 24 men. (8) Ditto, a yellow standard with a green border the breadth of three fingers around it, as above, with 91 men under it. (9) Ditto, with a green centre and yellow around, 85. In the middle there was the knight St George with the dragon. (10) Ditto standard with yellow in the middle and green around, 144 men, in the centre there was a Pegasus—‹here there were five trumpeters and no kettledrums›

[P. 25]

(11) Ditto a square standard with a square red middle section and white around, 120 men. (12) Ditto a yellow standard, 120. There there were a couple of small kettledrums, but no trumpeters. They were placed at the corner of the wooden wall of the city, which on this side is adjacent to the castle. This is where the carriage had been sent to meet us. In it sat an old nobleman, sent by the *voevoda* to pay us his respects. When the ambassadors arrived and before they stepped out of their sleighs /: first Stackelberg, then Klingstedt and finally Conrad Gyllenstierna :/ he was already standing on the ground¹⁶⁵ about to speak. While we were dismounting from our horses to gather around the ambassadors, some of the above-mentioned standards, which had already done their duty, marched past us and placed themselves behind those who were in ranks, in order to do the same thing once more and to fill the space still empty between us and the city. But the nobles, approximately 150 men, halted their horses at this spot and stayed around us to watch what was happening: we were greeted by the old nobleman, Tichon Ivanovič Bestužev, who, as had happened before, read the full title from a piece of paper. And after we had been welcomed and asked about our health, Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna answered, now as before, giving the full title of the King and enumerating the titles and estates of the other ambassadors and himself, and proffering thanks and asking for further assistance. All this was translated by Hafman, but for the titles of the ambassadors he had to get out his notes and look. ‹then they shook each other's hands.› ‹This person was flogged because he insulted our pristav.¹⁶⁶› After this the second one, Sidor Rodionov, spoke, repeating the short title and saying that the *voevoda* /: with his titles :/ had sent him with the Tsar's carriage to receive us. After that all six of them got into the carriage: Conrad Gyllenstierna and Klingstedt in the back seat, Stackelberg and the old man at the front, Hyttner and Hafman at the footmen's places, and so we moved along, foot by foot. And although we were all very careful not to let anyone in between the carriage and ourselves, we could all the same not prevent the troop of noblemen, who were riding in confusion, from occasionally getting in between us and the carriage. Then we halted again until they all passed us at last and rode ahead into the city. Around the ambassadors' carriage rode twelve of our own lifeguards in their buff-coats, and the quartermaster Ahlfelt rode ahead of them with his sabre drawn. In this way we moved forward slowly until we reached the first bridge and the first fence, where the houses begin. There colonels stood facing one another,

körde så foot för fot, och ehuru wi alla mycket achtade oss att intet släppa någon emellan wagnen ock oss, kunde wi dog ey hindra att icke troppen af adelen som i confusion reed kom stundom emellan oss ock wagnen, då vi åter stadnade till dhess dhe omsijder redo aldeles om ok föruth in åth staden. rundt om ambb. uagn rede 12 våra egna drauanter i sijna kyllren, och quartermästaren ahlfelt för dem med sin bara sabel i handen. således fore wij så sachteligen fram in till dh första broon ock första stacketet, hvarest huusen begynas, thär stodo öfwerstar gent emoth hwar andra.

[P. 26]

rätt wähl klädde i stoora damask kiortlar, men ingen af officerarna så till foth som häst hade något geuär eller comendeure värier eller sablar i sina händer, uthan kiäppar sombliga, sombliga och så stridz hambrar fodrade med rött sammet,¹⁶⁷ elliest hadhe dhe gemene ryttare eländige skiutz märar. Hoos ofwansagde öfrstar stodh 24 skallmejeblåsare 12 hos hwar, hwilka ginge alla jämpt lijka som små Gässen hade sunget. hoos dem wore på båda sijdor om gatorna och broarna pikenerare som alla på hvar pijsk hade små fanor mz flagge uddar hwassa rödt ock hvitt ok sombliga gula och blå, ock emellan dhem här ock där stode strelitzer med sijna flintbyssor och halfwa månar,¹⁶⁸ ända alt till vårt quarter in emoth dh andra ändan på staden wed pass 1500 man, complimenten {sluthade} klok 2 efter middan, ok klok 4 kom wij fram i dhethuset som altijd warit destinerat till ambb. att dher logera, steenhus,¹⁶⁹ hwarest nu Hyttner boor sedan ginge hwar heem till sitt. ock på slätz tornen stode mycket förnämbt fruentimer tee incognito oss besåge, ock när vi efter qvinfållken sågo skälde ryttarna på oss, ock ropade Schiss.¹⁷⁰ som alt esom oftaste dagel. skeer, men när striletzerna som med oss gå dheth höra slå dhe dhem braft:

Nowgrod ligger admirabel[!]t på een stor slätt, ock för morass skuld, om där een god fästning wore impenibelt, men nu äre alle murer af timmer föruthan slottet som är allenast eno slät strikemur af tegel ey heler mycket höög.¹⁷¹ man ser runt om sig så långt man kan ögna, trögordar och kloster på slätten, som äre dhesse (St Antonij Closter som närmaste ligger,) деревен{и}tza, dereuenitza¹⁷² отинскаи,¹⁷³ Саминскаи,¹⁷⁴ Коваровскои,¹⁷⁵ Лятинскои,¹⁷⁶ Гутинскои¹⁷⁷ <hic archimandrit>, лися,¹⁷⁸ Островскои¹⁷⁹ Волоотово,¹⁸⁰ Керилловскои,¹⁸¹ Сититскои,¹⁸² Нередитскои,¹⁸³ Перекома,¹⁸⁴ Клобьскои,¹⁸⁵ Геревскои archimandrit,¹⁸⁶ Арькаскаи,¹⁸⁷ Благовешескои,¹⁸⁸ Черковскои,¹⁸⁹ Антоново, archimandrit,¹⁹⁰ Дуговскои, archimandrit,¹⁹¹ Колмово¹⁹² etc. <dheessa alla syns till staden. uthi de closter som ingen archimandrit är är een som kallas игуминь half så stor som archimandriten är>

[P. 27.]

L 23 efter predikan ock måltijden, ginge wi uth att se en procesion som skulle skee jfrån slättet, men blef ey af, elliest skedde wäll een lijten af gement folk som bære först een fana mz åsnan och Christi bild där på många kors ok bilder,

[P. 26]

rather well dressed in big damask kirtles. But none of the officers, neither on foot nor mounted, held rifles or commanders' rapiers or sabres in their hands, but some held sticks,¹⁶⁷ some battle-hammers covered with red velvet. The ordinary horsemen had wretched coach-mares. By the above-mentioned colonels there were 24 shawm-players, twelve by each, who walked and sounded like small geese. On both sides of the streets and the bridges there were pikemen, who all had little flags with sharp flag points on their pikes, the flags were in red and white, and some yellow and blue. And among them, here and there, there were *strel'cy* with their flintlocks and half-moons¹⁶⁸ all the way to our quarters almost at the other end of town, around 1,500 men. The greeting ceremony ended at two o'clock in the afternoon and at four o'clock we reached the house, which had always been intended for lodging ambassadors, a stone house,¹⁶⁹ where Hyttner now lives. Then each of us went to his quarters. And on the towers of the castle there were many noblewomen who were watching us incognito. And when we looked at the women the horsemen scolded us and shouted *šiš*,¹⁷⁰ which occurs almost daily, but when the *strel'cy* who accompanied us heard this, they beat them hard.

Novgorod is beautifully situated on a large plain, and because of the surrounding morasses it would be impregnable if only there were a good fortress there. But now all the walls are of timber, apart from that of the castle, which is nothing but a plain wall of bricks, not even particularly high.¹⁷¹ As far as one can see around one there are gardens and monasteries on the plain. The monasteries are as follows: Derevanica,¹⁷² Otenskij,¹⁷³ Sominskij[?],¹⁷⁴ Kovalevskij,¹⁷⁵ Ljatskij,¹⁷⁶ Chutyn'skij <here there is an archimandrite>,¹⁷⁷ Lisickij,¹⁷⁸ Ostrovskij,¹⁷⁹ Volotovo,¹⁸⁰ Kirillovskij,¹⁸¹ Siteckij,¹⁸² Neredickij,¹⁸³ Perekomskij,¹⁸⁴ Klop-skij,¹⁸⁵ Jurjevskij, archimandrite,¹⁸⁶ Arkažskij,¹⁸⁷ Blagoveščenskij,¹⁸⁸ Syrkovskij,¹⁸⁹ Antonovo, archimandrite,¹⁹⁰ Duchovskij, archimandrite,¹⁹¹ Kolmovo¹⁹² etc. <All of these can be seen from the city. In the monasteries where there is no archimandrite they have a person called an *igumen**, half as important as an archimandrite.>

[P. 27]

The 23rd. After the sermon and the meal we went out to watch a procession which was to set out from the castle, but it didn't take place. Instead there was a small one consisting of ordinary people who were carrying a banner in front with a picture of the donkey and of Christ, then many crosses and icons. And instead of palm leaves, as among the Catholics, they held osier twigs¹⁹³ and rang all their church bells the whole night through by way of chiming, that is pulling ropes tied to the clappers.¹⁹⁴ There are, however, a large number of people who do not take part, who are Old Believers,¹⁹⁵ as they call them. They cross themselves with two fingers, like the Catholic priests, and recognize communion wafers on which there is a cross like this ‡. But the new reformation has banned such practices and wants instead a cross like this † and that they cross themselves with three fingers

ok i stället för palmqvistar som hoos dhe Catholska. bore de vijdhe qvistar.¹⁹³ och ringde heela natten i alla klockor. med Kijmande, mz reep bundna i kläpparna.¹⁹⁴ dher äre dog en stor mykenhet af folk som ey gå med hvilka äre af dh gambla troon¹⁹⁵ ut vocant corsa sig mz tu finger som dhe catolska präster. ock som anamma oblaterna hwar på står ett sådant kors † men den nya reformation har förbiudit att sådant skee uthan villa † ett sådant, ock att man mz 3 hopbundna finger det göra, för denna lilla sak som för ett år sedan har begynt att bli så exagerat,¹⁹⁶ har många 100 blifvit brände lefvandes, ok som dhet intet hulpet, halshuggne, emedan ryssarna mera fruchta att see blodh. elliest är ock detta att dh nya meningen vill att dhe skola säya есус Христос гозподи нашъ поми-луй нас i stället för den gamla som säger есус христос сыне бже бомилуй нас.¹⁹⁷ för dhessa 3 ringa saker låtha dhe sig bränna ok döda,¹⁹⁸ men som man sedt att sådant intet hielper far man ey mera fort med slijkt, uthan sänder dhem i kloster på watn och bröd, ehuru att dhe fattige dog hafva mindre anfecktning, ty the hafva inga pengar som dhe kunna skrämas att gifva uth, men dhe rijka stå i fara när dhe dhem på deras Corsning igenkänna. som man sett har på Семон Гаврильофъ son иван Семонофсин Малинкой. för huem faren gifvit stora penngar att lösa honom lijfvet, ehuru hans fader här i Novogrod har mycket att säja såsom Zarens factor ock hembliga råd¹⁹⁹ ok för hvem Woywoden nog frucktar sig, ock kan förklaga honom ok skaffa ogunst när han vill. immédiatement apres diné M. C. G. S. m'apris q' uon mavoit acédé destre present aux Conferance. et apres je pris occasion de faire voir aux ambassadeurs la lettre qui mavoit été doné par le bourgeois de Nyen²⁰⁰ on pourut d'en faire parler au vojvode.

[P. 28]

Vers le soir on nous aduertit que Le Uoiuod nous deuoit enuoyer son Carosse pour receuoir notre Marckalk avec les presans que C. G. S. luy a destiné, nous l'attendimes jusques a 7 heures du soir, mons. l'amb. me preta un cheual, et nous y allames 12 ou 13 gentils homes avec le Ma[r]chal et le Commissaire Cocq. Le uoiuod demeure dans le chattau enceint de murails de pieres, dans une mechante maison de bois,²⁰¹ le degre asse large une antichambre obscure, par la quelle nous passames, et encor 2 autres chambres petites, garnis de 2 cotés des geans du vojvode, sa chambre a luy n'estoit pas meublée, que seulement une Aune de hau des bancs alantour de drap rouge, et en hau rien que le bois nus garni du coté de la table de baucoup de figures saintes, assez presieusement garnies d'argent deuant les quelles il yauoit une lampe qui bruloit c'estoit justement une escueile de tain plaine de cire ou il y avoit une petite bougie allumée. De lautre coté a gauche il auoit garni wäggen des pocalles d'argent doré alantique ily en auoit une grande quantité. il y avoit chez luy 5 ou 6 gens hors du Commun qui luy seruoient et luy meme estoit uestu de satin jeaune et la tete de reste nue mais seulement un petit bandeau de linge fin, noue derriere. <Pella sola Colla di Pesce tira il G. Duca di Moscovia ogni anno piu d. cinquenta mila

held together. Over this minor matter, which became so inflamed¹⁹⁶ a year ago, many hundreds have been burned alive and, when this did not help, decapitated, for the Russians are more afraid of seeing blood. Another thing is that the new direction wants them to say “Иисусъ Христосъ господи нашъ помилуй насъ” [Jesus Christ, our Lord, have mercy on us], unlike the old, which says “Иисусъ Христосъ сыне боже помилуй насъ” [Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on us].¹⁹⁷ Because of these three minor things they let themselves be burned and killed,¹⁹⁸ but as it has become apparent that such methods do not help they do not persist with them any more, but instead send them to monasteries on water and bread. However, the poor are subject to less harassment, as they have no money they can be intimidated into handing over, but it is dangerous for the rich, when they are identified by the way they cross themselves. This has been shown in the case of Semen Gavrilov’s son Ivan Semenovič the Younger [?], whose father paid large sums of money to save his life. And this happened although the father is very influential here in Novgorod, being the Tsar’s factor and secret adviser,¹⁹⁹ and the *voevoda* probably fears him, as he [Gavrilov] can denounce him and put him in an unfavourable position whenever he wants to. Right after the midday meal Mr Conrad Gyllenstierna told me that I had been granted permission to be present at the conference, and after that I took the opportunity to show the ambassadors the letter which I had been given by the citizen of Nyen.²⁰⁰ It would be possible to raise it with the *voevoda*.

[P. 28]

Towards the evening we were informed that the *voevoda* was to send his carriage to receive our marshal with the gifts that Conrad Gyllenstierna had intended for him. We waited for it until 7 o’clock in the evening. The ambassador lent me a horse, and we went, twelve or thirteen gentlemen with the marshal and Commissary von Kochen. The *voevoda* lives in the castle, surrounded by stone walls, in a wretched wooden house,²⁰¹ with rather broad steps, a dark antechamber through which we passed as well as through two other small rooms, with the people of the *voevoda* ranged on both sides. His own room had no furniture, except for a red cloth one ell above the benches around the room, and at the top nothing but the bare wood, adorned, on the side where the table was, with many holy pictures, ornamented rather preciously with silver. In front of them there was a burning lamp, it was nothing but a tin vessel filled with wax, in which a small candle was alight. On the other side, to the left, he had decorated the wall with cups à l’antique of gilt silver, there were quite a few of them. There were five or six of the attendants detailed to serve him and he himself was dressed in yellow satin and with his head bare apart from a small linen band, tied at the back. <For fish glue alone the grand duke of Muscovy has a yearly income²⁰² of more than fifty thousand écus. Fourteen écus make one Muscovite pound. For the caviar, which is transported to Genoa from Archangelsk,²⁰³ the grand duke of Muscovy receives an income of more than forty thousand écus.> The marshal made his speech. <1.> (1) He thanked him for the kindness he had always shown to us and

scudi di rendita.²⁰² 14 scudi fanno una libra di Moscovia. Dell Caiare che si trasporta a Genoa di archangelo²⁰³ laua il G. duca di Moskovia piu di quaranta mila scudi di (Dutio) rendita. > Le Marchal fit la Harangue. <1.> Luy **1.** remerciait des bontés qui a eu pour nous tousiours, et des presant quil nous fit des poisson. **2:** luy offrit une Kanne d'argent et un pocal al'antique doré de ...²⁰⁴ lod. de quoy il remercia et temoigna d'estre fort Content. <2.> on luy fut une remonstrance et proteste contre le procedure des nobles qui se mirent entre nous et le carosse des ambassad. a l'entree, et exagera cella beaucoup. en luy faisant scavoit l'honneur qu'on avoit fait au Pronzishef.²⁰⁵ Il repondit que ce netoit pa sa faute, que ce netoit pas une chose qui merita quon sen formalisait, et que Dans la presse et en fendent la foule cela se peut estre arivé.

[P. 29]

par accident et non pas studió. on demanda seulement que cela se put adnoter et couché au protocole ce quil promit assez nonchalamment, ne jugeant l'affaire d'assez grande importance. on demeura la. **3.** Pour la voiture on luy remontra que 500 Cheuaux ne sufisoient aucunement, 1. parce que Stackelberg etoit arivé apres que le gouverneur Sperling eut escrit au Wojvode, et beaucoup d'autres gens qu'on a voulu prendre avec pour honorer l'ambassade qui va a Moscou. 2. que les chemins se sont gaté depuis qu'au lieu dun cheual on a besoin de 3. 3. que Proncishef navoit pas eu seulement ceqvon luy auoit ordonné, mais autant qvil luy falloit, et qvil demandait et 4. que cetoit l'obligation du Woivode de nous doner ce que nous faut, sans cella nous ne scaurons partir. <ou que nous devions louer a nos depens. a cela il dit que non. et la 2. fois qvon luy reitera ça il riat. et nen dit rien.> nous demandames quand il faut partir. il dit demain. Car 500 cheuaux sont prest. et quil nen pouvoit nous en donner d'auantage. 1: puis quil n'a recus ordres que trop tard De Sperling. 2. et contre l'ordre du Zar au quel il auoit deja envoie la lettre du Sperling et que cestoit impossible de nous donner 650 cheuaux nous disions que sans cela nous ne pouuons partir et comcela nous laissames ce Point. **4.** on dit quon uoulut recevoir l'argent ordonné du Voivode a bon Compte tousiours, jusque a l'arrivé a Moscou et qv'allors nous esperons meilleur refection puisque Iuan afanasovitz Pronzishef eut 100 escus et navoit que 150 homes en listes mais non pas effectivement et nous sommes 250: q'on uoyait bien limpossibilité. qvon aymerait mieu avoir les viandes selon le traite de Cardis, et quon auoit doné Del'argent a Pronzishef par ce quil avoit absolument uoulu, et quil meprisa les viandes dont on avoit fait provision si bien que tantot il pris viandes une partie tantot argent et le reste se gata, nous demandames viandes, ou argent suffisant pour nous nourrir, et puis que cela ne se peut uider icy nous remetons au Moscou la resolution du Zar. et prenons a bon Compte tout ce que le wojvod a ordre de nous doner. il toppa a ça.

for his gifts of fish. (2) He handed over a silver pot and a gilt cup à l'antique ...²⁰⁴ loths, for which he thanked us and seemed to be very pleased. <2.> A remonstrance and a protest were lodged with him for the way the noblemen had behaved in placing themselves between us and the ambassadors' carriage during our entry into the city. We exaggerated quite a bit and told him about the honour shown to Prončiščev.²⁰⁵ He answered that it was not his fault, that it was not worth making a fuss about it, and that in the crush and as we tried to get through the crowd such things could happen

[P. 29]

quite accidentally and not on purpose. We demanded only that it should be commented upon and included in the protocol, which he promised rather carelessly, not judging the issue to be of sufficient importance. We left it at that. (3) Regarding transport we tried to demonstrate to him that 500 horses would be quite insufficient, (1) because Stackelberg had arrived only after Governor Sperling had written to the *voevoda*, and we had wanted to include many other people to honour the embassy on its way to Moscow; (2) because the roads had become so bad that instead of one horse we needed three; (3) because Prončiščev had received not only what had been assigned to him but what he needed and asked for; and (4) because it was the *voevoda*'s duty to give us what we needed, otherwise we would not be able to leave <or we would have to rent horses at our own expense, to which he said no. And the second time we repeated this, he laughed and said nothing.> We asked when we had to leave. He said tomorrow, because 500 horses were ready, and he could not give us any extra (1) because he had received the orders from Sperling too late and (2) because it would be contrary to the orders of the Tsar—to whom he had already sent Sperling's letter—and it was impossible to give us 650 horses. We said that without them we could not leave and with that we left this point. (4) We said that we were willing to receive the money allotted by the *voevoda* on account until we arrived in Moscow and that we hoped for better compensation then, as Ivan Afanas'evič Prončiščev had received 100 écus although he had no more than 150 people on his list, but not in reality, and there were 250 of us. We said that we were aware that it was impossible now for him to do otherwise. We said that we would prefer to have meat, according to the treaty of Kardis, and that we had given money to Prončiščev because he had very much wanted it, and because he despised the meat that we had supplied him with, to the effect that sometimes he would take part of the meat, sometimes money, and the rest would be spoilt. We asked for meat or for enough money to feed us, and as this could not be settled here, we leave the matter for the Tsar to resolve in Moscow and take what the *voevoda* was ordered to give us on account. He agreed to this.

[P. 30]

(5) We praised the pristavs and asked to be allowed to keep them for the whole journey <he agreed>. This request was made when we were already sitting at the

[P. 30]

5. on loua les pristaves et demanda les auoir tout le chemin <il dit que oui>. cete demande on la fit etant desia assis a la table le woivode au hau bou. le Marckal dans le banc apre le Comte Adam Leijonhu {alors} Gustaf Leijonhuffvud,²⁰⁶ et Moy: de lautre coté Le Commissaire Cocq., et Captain Founk. pour qui on 6. demanda 3 cheuaux et un pristave pour s'en retourner a Narue malcontent du rang quon luy avoit donné, cela luy fut accordé. 7. on luy parla du damage que quelques bourgeois de Nyen ont pris avec un petit vaisau areté et spolié par les rousse 1678, comme aussi de l'affront que le Golova a janiff auoit fait a M. Timerman²⁰⁷ a Nyen en luy refusans de fait d'entre aux frontieres avec ses marchandises ala foires qui s'y fait toutes les annes, et quon doit pourtant auoir par le traite Cardique etc. et on se plaignait de bien d'autres petites chosettes, de transfugi[ti]ves des voleurs et on luy dona en meme temps une lettre de Sperling ou il demande satisfaction pour 5 ou 6 paisans aux quels les rousSES ont pris des cheuaux etc. etc. a quoi il repondit que pour ce qui est du premier quil donneroit ordres d'en traiter avec le Commissaire Hysing²⁰⁸ selon nostre demande et quil faira toute justice imaginable mais que le Gouv. Gen. Sperling ne fait pas de maniere quil n'ecoute pas les honetes gens qui viennent chez luy et ne leur donne aucune justice quand ils se plaignent de quelque chose. Le Marchal de[!] defendrit, mais on demeura lá.

Entre cecy nous goutions un peu de la Collation quil nous donnoit qui etoit telle.

1. Kom på bordet ett hooprullat Moos af Cörsebär giort een aln bredt ock tiokt som lilla fingret, brunt, rullat på een stäck. smakade sarliget, men war fult mz sand

[P. 31]

2. Kom fram een 8 kantig såsom ost 1½ quarter hög ock så tiok wed lag ock full med garn[er]ing ock Zarens wapen mz fläckta örnar.²⁰⁹ etc. det war ett tiockt moos, giort af äpplen, hård något men gulachtig smakade wähl.²¹⁰
3. een silfr skåhl med Cörsebär i brännewijn.
4. en dito med insyltade hiortron som war dhet bästa.
5. en dito med rutna Dog insyltade och halfkokde päron skrumpna. etc.
6. ett dito med insyltade visna äpplen

Drycken bestod i, ondt spanskt vijn, bortskämbt franskt. elakt sijder eller äpelmust. wederwärdigt öhl, men rätt gott canel brännevijn.²¹¹

drack Zarens skåhl först. så Kongens, så ambassadeurernas, Mackalkens[!] ok grefwarnas så alt dhet gemena folket som med oss men uthan för oss i förcam-maren wore, blefwe beskenkta. vij stode up några gånger och wille gå bort, men han nödgade oss qwar. och hwar gång han sielf stod upp att tahla med sijna opwactare, moste vij göra dhet samma, och den dhet ey giorde blef straxt

table: the *voevoda* in the seat of honour, the marshal on the bench, after him Count Adam Leijonhufwud, and then Gustaf Leijonhufwud²⁰⁶ and myself. On the other side Commissary von Kochen and Captain Funck, for whom (6) we requested three horses and one pristav for him to return to Narva, as he was displeased with the precedence he had been allotted. This was granted. (7) We talked to him about the losses that some citizens of Nyen had sustained when their small vessel had been confiscated and destroyed by the Russians in 1678, as well as about the insult that Mr Timmerman of Nyen²⁰⁷ had suffered when the customs superintendent in Janiff had refused him permission to cross the border with his merchandise to visit the fair held there every year, and that he should have that right under the treaty of Kardis etc. And we complained about a number of other trifles like renegades and thieves crossing the border, and at the same time gave him a letter from Sperling, in which he demanded compensation for five or six peasants, from whom the Russians had taken their horses etc. etc. To this he answered that, as regards the first matter, he would order his people to sort it out with Commissary Hisingh²⁰⁸ in accordance with our request and that he would do everything imaginable to see to it that justice be done. However, according to him, Governor-General Sperling did not make any effort, he didn't listen to the honest people who came to him and didn't give them justice when they complained about something. The marshal defended him, but we left it at that. In the meantime we tasted a little of what he offered us, which was the following:

- 1) On the table was placed a roll of cherry paste, an ell in width and as thick as one's little finger, brown, rolled on a stick, it tasted wonderful but was full of sand.

[P. 31]

- 2) There appeared an eight-sided thing like cheese, one and a half quarters high and approximately as wide and covered with trimmings, and the coat of arms of the Tsar with spread eagles²⁰⁹ etc. It was a thick paste, made of apples, somewhat hard and yellowish, tasted good.²¹⁰
- 3) A silver bowl of cherries in aquavit.
- 4) A ditto of preserved cloudberry, which was the best.
- 5) A ditto of rotten, yet preserved and half-boiled pears, shrivelled etc.
- 6) A ditto of preserved overripe apples.

The drink consisted of bad Spanish wine, spoiled French, nasty cider or apple juice, appalling beer, but quite good cinnamon aquavit.²¹¹ First we drank a toast to the Tsar, then to the King, the ambassadors, the marshal and the counts, then to all the common people who were with us but stayed outside in the antechamber and were served there. We got up a few times and wanted to leave, but he made us stay. And each time he himself got to his feet to talk to his servants, he had to do the same. And whoever did not, was quickly reminded by the pristav

påmint af prestaven, ok måtte opp.²¹² Sedan toge vi afsked af honom och togo hans hand sedan han hade gifvit Marskalken 2 sablar. Ock kome hemm i huset klock 12. ok åte dog lijtet. om morgonen bitti kl. 9.

Den 24. gick iag till amb. C.G.S. och giorde honom een exact relation om alt hvad som i går skedde, han sände mig till Clingstett att befalla funken intet reesa till Naruen förr än i morgon att kunna forst skrifva Kongen till, ock med dhett samma betackade iag H. Clingstett för dhett att han genom C.G.S. har behagat resoluera att iag får wara med wed konferenzerna i Moscua han sade att altijt villia hielpa mig emedan han kunde ock något wed Canzeliet. sade att villia hielpa mig till att Koma i H. Bergenhielms²¹³ ställe emedan han är gamal, ock iag nu begynner att få kundskap om dhessa Ryska affaires. detta beviliat sade mig och C.G.S. i går middag.

[P. 32]

Öfwer middags måhltiden ankommo 2 Kongl Maytz bref ifrån Stockholm. dh nyaste af dh 4 Martii. ifrån H. Bergenhielm ock så. men iag fick intet. om aftonen seent kom ifrån Woiwoden några skänker till ambassadeuren C.G.S. nembl. een swart räf af 12 eller 14 rublars värde²¹⁴ ett opkaflat moos af lingon giort, detsamma som vij i går hoos Wojvoden såge, sedan ett moos af äpplen mz 8 uddar såsom dh ost moset vi i går såge, ock 4 eller 6 fath färsk fisk.

Le 25. wed middagz tijdh straxt effter vår middags måhltid klok. 3 ankommo ifrån wojwoden 8 eller 10 Karlar uthsände att lefwerera åth ambassadeuren 600 rublar <750 sade Kocq.>, uppå tractamentet, dhett dhe boro i 6 påsar afräknadhe, men Casseuren²¹⁵ tillbringadhe hela dagen att räkna dhett effter, emedan dhe wore i bara Copeker.²¹⁶

Le 26 om morgonen blef Elfwendahl sänd till Wojwodhen med Hyttner att remonstrera dhett vj Kunde ey ringare än i 3 wekor gå till Mouscow, och icke dhett mindre intet finge mera penngar föruth, item morradhes om skinnetz richtighet. Wojwoden swaradhe att han rådde där ey före Hwi hadhe dhe ey rest fortare, sadhe ock att i menniskliget minne har ey någon så stark ambassad commet tijth in i Rysslandh. ock war något okynnig af sig, stadnade dog där uthi wed Elfvendals frågande, att våra Prestaver skulle alt skaffa effter all möyelighet.

Klockan 2 efter middagen ankom wojwodens Carosse som emothtog ambassadd. och Miron Greg: allen förde dhett med 2 el. 3 ridande ryssar, genom streletz på både sijdor om gatan in i dh östra stadzporten, där höllo the med Carossen mitt i Porten så att bakhiulen stodo innan före, dhär stode ambb. up, ok satte sig i sijna slädar, som ginge effter wagnen. ock reste så fort. <Ifrån Nowogrod 26> Nu är redan heela marken nästan öfr all slätten baar, så att man beswärligste kan bruka slädar. iag med några hofiunkrar och Grefwarna wore

and had to rise.²¹² Then we said goodbye to him and took his hand after he had given two sabres to the marshal. We arrived home at 12 o'clock and had a little to eat all the same. Early in the morning at 9 o'clock of

The 24th I went to see Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna and gave him a detailed account of all that had happened yesterday. He sent me to Klingstedt to make him order Funck not to leave for Narva until tomorrow, to give him time to write to the King. And at the same time I thanked Mr Klingstedt for having persuaded Conrad Gyllenstierna to decide that I can take part in the conferences in Moscow. He said that he would always be ready to help me if he could, including with anything at the Chancellery. He said he wanted to help me to take Mr Bergenhielm's²¹³ place, as he is old, and I am now beginning to gain a certain understanding of these Russian affairs. Yesterday at noon Conrad Gyllenstierna told me that this will be granted.

[P. 32]

While we were having lunch two letters from the King and Council arrived from Stockholm, the most recent dated the 4th of March, and also from Mr Bergenhielm. But I did not receive any. Late in the evening a few gifts from the *voevoda* to Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna arrived, namely a black fox-skin to the value of 12 or 14 roubles,²¹⁴ cowberry paste rolled around a stick of the same kind as we saw yesterday at the *voevoda*'s. Then a paste made of apples with eight points like the cheese paste we saw yesterday, and four or six dishes of fresh fish.

The 25th. Around midday, shortly after we had had our lunch, at three o'clock, eight or ten men arrived from the *voevoda*. They had been sent to deliver 600 roubles <von Kochen said 750> of the subsistence allowance to the ambassador, carrying the money in six bags. But the treasurer²¹⁵ spent the whole day counting it, as it was in kopeks only.²¹⁶

The 26th. In the morning Elfwendahl was sent to the *voevoda* with Hyttner to remonstrate that it would take us at least three weeks to go to Moscow, and nonetheless we had not received more money in advance. There was also some grumbling about whether the fox-skin was genuine. The *voevoda* answered that it was not his fault that we had not travelled faster. He also added that in living memory no embassy as big as this had come to Russia, and he was somewhat impudent. As Elfwendahl persisted, they came to the conclusion that our pristavs would do all they could to provide everything needed.

At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the carriage of the *voevoda*, the one which had received the ambassadors, arrived and Miron Grigor'evič alone escorted them, with two or three Russians on horseback, through lines of *strel'cy* on both sides of the street, into the eastern town gate. There they halted with the carriage in the middle of the gate so that the rear wheels were inside. There the ambassadors got

till häst, ock Kommo äntel till Бруница klock halfgången 4 således, först, om ett stort hof på een hög backa, wäl bebyggt, dhet vi på wänstre handen lembnadhe, Heter Cunin 5 wirst ifrån Nowgorden <5 wirst> possessor är en Bojar Fedor Wasiliwitz Naschokin. dädan neder uppå floden Мста, 5 uirst <5 wirst>, hvarest dhe giort een höö broo med rijs under emedan ijsen war landlöös.

[P. 33]

Sedan om een by Kollina.²¹⁷ 5 wirst <5 w. >. där är een träkyrka, ock een lijten bäck löper mitt genom byn, med en stoor ny broo öfwer. ligger straxt på brädden af Msta dh wi dog körde på ifrån dhet vi körde neder på ijsen, men sombliga rede landwägen bredewijdh, några körde neder på ijsen men komo dog opp igen. Sedan öfwer een stoor bäck som flyter in uthi Msta, och heter Руска река 3. wirst <3 w. >, där war ock på bådhe landsijdorna broar giorde dog af timmer ock bräder, efter ijsen war landlöös men mitt på brukadhe vij ijsen. Straxt man kommer öfr, resser man genom byn Руска деревна. rätt på brynet af bäcken ruska lijgger den. Här emellan ock alt in till Бруница äre bägge strenderna af bäcken så bewäxte mz pijlar att man om sommaren dh liufvaste prospect hafwa kan. Een wirst här ifrån, ɔ: mitt emellan Руска och Бруница, har iag ock rätt på bädden af Msta observerat 2 små backar gröna, som wore rätt lijka att wara ätt backar, hvore när hoes hwar andra, dog mz een lijten åhs hoopabundna, ock har iag snart ingen högd mera kunnat observerat hella denna vägen undantagande dessa 2. och dhet stoor (sand)bärgen <Бруница Гопа²¹⁸> som ligger straxt här wed på högra handen framföruth, när till een by. 1. wirst ifrån Brunitz, (som heter) dog sunnan före, ock heter Крива Колено. ifrån berörde руска деревна är 2 uirst <2 w. >. till Бруница.²¹⁹ Klok. 3½. Som ock ligger rätt på stranden af Msta. heela landet emellan Novogord ok hijt är plant, föruthan åfwansagde kullar, något bewäxt med små boscage ock qvist här ok där med eekar. ifrån Novograd Hijt äre ock heela vägen mätt ock med milstäckar besatte effter nya räkningen som gör af 2 gamla virster 1 ny:²²⁰ på dhessa pålar står 2 rader ryska schrifvit såledhes: *рѣ. столпъ от Новьгородского рубежа*. dessa ord stå på pålen. här mittinni byn, och bemerkes dhetta: 114dhe pålen från Novogordhska gebietetz begynnelse, dhessa begynnes dher som Moscowska gebietet tager wijdh 114 nya wirster eller 228 gamla här från. äre altså ifrån brunitza tillbaka igen till Novogord 10 sådane stälpar, uppå hvilka alla dheras tahl och ordning schrifne stå, så att heela Novogordz Gebietz längd i dhenne vägen blir när man dem sammanlägger 124 stolpar eller nya virster. eller 248 gamla. dhessa nya påhlar äre först nu för 2 år sedan giorde ock på dhet tredie <20 wirst t. Nattlägrer. >. Här lågo wi stilla öfwer natten ock Commiss. von Kocq. kom efter ifrån Nowgrod så ock wår Prestaw <effter C.G.S: mem: war han på denna vägen och dessa 20 virster 3½ tijmar. på Msta recá. Körde han 5 wirst. ända längz>

out, seated themselves in their sleighs, which had been driven behind the carriage, and left. <From Novgorod on the 26th>.

Now the ground is already bare over almost the whole plain, which makes it very difficult to use sleighs. I myself and some of the hofjunkers and the counts were on horseback, and we eventually arrived at Bronnica at half past four, in this manner: First we passed a large estate on a high hill, well built, situated on our left, called Kunino, 5 versts from Novgorod <5 versts>. The owner is the boyar Fedor Vasil'evič Naščekin. Then down onto the River Msta, 5 versts <5 versts>, where they had made a bridge of hay with brushwood underneath, as the ice did not extend all the way to the bank.

[P. 33]

Then by a village called Cholyn'ja,²¹⁷ 5 versts <5 v.>. There they have a wooden church and a small stream flows right through the village, with a large new bridge across. The church lies right on the bank of the Msta on which we were driving from the moment we went down onto the ice. But some rode on horseback by land, by the side of the river. Some drove down onto the ice but came up again. Then across a large stream that flows into the Msta, called Russkaja reka, 3 versts <3 v.>. There, too, they had built bridges on both banks, but of logs and boards, as the ice had no connection with the land. But in the middle we used the ice. Right on the other side one passes through the village of Russkaja derevnja. It is situated right by the bank of the Russkaja stream. From here and all the way to Bronnica the banks of the stream are lined with so many willows that in the summer it must be as beautiful as can be. One verst from here, i.e. in between Russkaja and Bronnica, I noticed, right on the bank of the Msta, two small green hills—they seemed to be grave-mounds. They were close to each other but connected by a small ridge. And I have hardly noticed a single elevation all this way, apart from these two and the big mountain called Bronnickaja gora,²¹⁸ which is ahead a bit further to the right, not far from a village situated 1 verst from Bronnica, but to the south, called Krivoe Koleni. It is situated 2 versts from Russkaja derevnja, mentioned above <2 v.>. We came to Bronnica²¹⁹ at half past four. It is also situated right on the bank of the Msta. The whole country between here and Novgorod is flat—apart from the above-mentioned hills—with occasional small scrub and with oak trees here and there. From Novgorod and to here the whole road has been measured and marked with mileposts according to the new way of counting, which makes one new verst out of two old ones.²²⁰ On these posts two lines in Russian are written, thus: “*рѣѣ столпъ от новгородского рубежа*”. These words are written on the post in the middle of this village and have the following meaning: “the 114th post from the boundary of Novgorod province”. These begin where Moscow province ends, 114 new or 228 old versts from here. So from Bronnica back again to Novgorod there are ten such posts, on which their number and order are written, which means that the extension of the entire Novgorod province along this road when you add the posts together is 124 posts or new versts or 248 old ones. These new posts were made recently, only two

[P. 34]

Le 27. bröte opp effter frukosten klock 10. ock genom en stoor by Крива Колено 1 wirst <1.>. där wore också på giärdet 3 små runda gröna backar, sombli- ga mz något bo[s]cage bewexte sådanne som förr obserwerde, om dhessa också ättbackar äre ignotum, attamen uerisimile. sedan om een by Дезеня 2 wirst från bruniza <1.>, öfwer Онижя рекá. een bäck. 3. w. <3.> item öfwer een broo öfwer Помеделна рекá, bäck, 4 wirst <4.>. genom byн Красние Станки 6 wirst <6.>. här är wisitationsplats för allehanda marchandiser, som ingen annan wäg kunna komma uthan här genom, äfven så är ock visitations platz i Brunitza. hjt till war mäst slätt ock intet stort skogigt. Här tager een stoor skog wjdh ock nogh bakar bredewid wägen här och tär i skogen, intet så jämt landh som förr, så ock nog snö, ok tämmeliget före men på slätten bara marken. på denne skogen låg på wenstra handen på een högt sandbärg en by Новинка 12 wirst <12.>. ock sedan där om genom Подлетовіе by 1 w <1.>. öfwer een broo öfwer een bäck. Нїися ѿ: Njisja. där war een stoor tract med sand bärg rätt höga, af rödacktig jordh ock stracker sig långt, så att ock Заецовъ by ligger där på, 3 wirst <3.> hjt kom wi klok. 2 efft. midd. ock blefwe här öfr natten ock till <C.G.S: på dessa 30. uirst: 4. tijmar.>

Den 28 Långfredagen då wi efter predikan, ock hällen Gudztienst bröto opp. klock. 9. ock reste om wijna by 10 wirst <10.> sedan öfwer een lijten åå hwarest för oss war giord een flåth brygga hwarest vi med stor möda kommo öfr 5 wirst <5.>, åen heter Мошъна рекá, sedan genom een stoor skoog hwarest vi altijdh hadhe på wänstra handen dh åen wi reste öfr. på andra sijden om henne är een stor by på wänstra handen uhr wägen men synes, heter Холомъ 19 wirst <19>, här emellan ock Креся²²¹ äre 7 st heela ättbackar mz trän bewäxte een stor och dhe andra små. dhe 5 småaste äre straxt wid byн Крезтоцкон Иам. dit är från Холом 1 wirst <1.>. dijt kom wj klock. 2 eft. midd. som rede, men ambb. kom klock. 3. i dag har amb. C.G.S. rest i sin chaise mz hiuhl första gången, och hafwer man i dag begynt så småningom att skaffa sig wagnar och kärror effter man medh slädar föga mera göra kan. om dhesse ättbackar som här och där här i stor myckenheet finnes säga dhe gamla bönder att där inne ligga begrafne kämpar och krigzfolk som för några 100 år sedan hafwa fallit i strijdh, emoth tysker, pryssar och Lijfländare, som här slagitz hafwa, dhetta tyckes och likmätigt mz historien, finnes och flere wedh plescow och Derpt om hvilka man lijka mening hafwer <C.G.S. till Grietzitz. 35 werst. uthi 6. tijmer.>

[P. 35]

Le 29. Klock. 7 reed iag ifrån Крестиць, straxt uthan före porten af byн äre 2 sköna ättbackar runda, besynnerligen een som af rödacktig sand bestod, ock snart ingen swartmylla ock rundt om roten neder i kring stå 14 stycket stora furuträn. längre fram öfwer een broo öfwer een bäck Холова рекá. 10 wirst <10.>. sedan genom stoor skog ock öfwer een lijten siö Крествениць 2. wirst

years ago and on the third. <20 versts to our lodgings for the night.> Here we spent the night and Commissary von Kochen caught up with us from Novgorod, as did our pristav. <As far as Conrad Gyllenstierna can remember he travelled along this road and covered these 20 versts in three and a half hours. He drove for 5 versts along the River Msta.>

[P. 34]

The 27th. We left after breakfast at 10 o'clock and went through a large village, Krivoe Koleno, 1 verst <1>. There in the fields there were three small, round green hills, like the ones I noticed before, some of them covered with shrubbery. Whether these too are grave-mounds I do not know, but it seems likely. Then through a village called Dorožnaja[?], 2 versts from Bronnica <1>, across Niša reka, a stream, 3 versts <3>, likewise over a bridge crossing Ponedel'ka reka, a stream, 4 versts <4>, through the village of Krasnye Stanki, 6 versts <6>. This is an inspection post for all kinds of merchandise, which can be taken no other way than through here. In Bronnica too, there is an inspection post. Up to now the land has mostly been flat and not forested. Here a large forest begins and there are plenty of hills beside the road, here and there in the forest, not such flat country as before. There is also rather a lot of snow, good for sleighing, but on the plain the ground is bare. In this forest on the left-hand side, on top of a high hill of sand, there is a village called Novinka, 12 versts <12>. And then further on through the village of Podljutov'e, 1 verst <1>, over a bridge across a stream, Ниша, i.e. Niša. Here there was a large area with fairly high sand hills of reddish soil and they are quite extensive, so that the village of Zaecevo lies on top, 3 versts <3>. We arrived here at 2 o'clock in the afternoon and stayed overnight until <Conrad Gyllenstierna: he spent 4 hours covering these 30 versts.>

The 28th Good Friday, when, after the sermon and service, we left at 9 o'clock and passed through the village of Vina, 10 versts <10>. Then across a small stream, where a floating bridge had been made for us, on which we got across with considerable difficulty, 5 versts <5>. The name of the stream is Mošna reka. Then we continued through a large forest, where we had the stream we had just crossed on our left-hand side the whole time. On the opposite side is a large village, to the left, a bit out of the way, but visible, by the name of Cholom, 19 versts <19>. Between here and Krestcy²²¹ there are no less than seven intact grave-mounds covered with trees, one big and the others small. The five smallest ones are close to the village of Kresteckoj jam. To there from Cholom it is 1 verst <1>. Those of us who travelled on horseback arrived there at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, but the ambassadors arrived at 3. Today for the first time Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna has travelled in his wheeled carriage. And today people have gradually started to procure carriages and carts, as the time for sleighs is definitely over. Concerning the grave-mounds found here and there in great numbers, the old peasants say that they are the burial places of warriors and soldiers who were killed some hundreds of years ago in battles against Germans, Prussians

«2.». där stode och på siökanten (på) i höga backen 3 härliga lijka stoora ättbackar uthan trän på wenstra handen ock straxt på högra handen (på andra sid) när man kom öfver siön 3 stycken lijka som dhesse föra, elliest har iag heela denna morgonen räknat öfr 20 eller 30 små och stoora så heela som rijfna, men dhe bästa äre dhe 6. wid siön och dh 1. wed Kpestitz [sic!]. ifrån dhenne siö till ракина 3 wirst: så återigen öfr samma Холова [sic!] till Селоракина (3 wirst) samma byn allenast bäcken skillier dhem åth. sedan öfwer Ушивиць (река́) een siö. 3 w. från Rakina. dädan öfwer en annan stor bäck Холопка река́²²² 9. wirst /: NB, räknas 10, men är ey mer än 9 /: där är een färia, där dröjdes inn moth aftonen innan alla kommo öfwer, dädan 3 wirst till Иасолвица²²³ klok 11: här wedh löper een bäck heter Полубеть. «på dhesse 6. mijl har iag använt 4 tijnmars gemutligt rijdandhe. ifrån 7. till kl. 11. genom skönt land små siöar och många bäckar, wackra dahlar, och skön liungsmark mz timmerskogh» om afftonen begärte iag lof att reesa förüht. och fick. «C.G.S. jasolvitz 30. wirst, i 8 tijnmar. sades wäll wara 8 mijhl: ginge öfr 6. broar men öfr Colouca reca: mz floten.»

Le 30 reed iag uth ifrån Иасолбиць klock. 4. ½ om morgonen, och reeste om 30 ongefär ättbackar sombliga bewäxte med trä, somblige intet. sombliga stora sombliga små. heela wägen fram alt in till Мироники 13 wirst ifrån Иасолбиць där hoos låge 10 ättbackar i een hoop på een höög sand-backa släht på alla sijdor, och plögder, men kullarna bewäxte. dädan till Woldai by²²⁴ 7 wirstar. kom iag klock. 8 om morgonen «här mötte iag een ryss som i dag har warit 8 dagar på wägen ifrån Mouskow.» och när wi wore ankomne war redan gudstiensten ändat om påske dagen och folket åthe middag klok 10 ongefär, då hadhe iag dh Couriositeten ock åth een fulkomblig rysk måltijd, och drack allenast deras dryck. Sände så min ryska poike till Clostret att förnimma om man kunde komma inn, dhe lähte swara att dhett ey kundhe skee effter iag ingen prestaw eller strilitz mz mig hadhe, dher med iag moste nöya mig, gick så opp uthi klockestapeln ock ringde som dhe andra giorde /: ty Påskiehlgden må hwar och een stå fritt att ringa²²⁵ /: besåg ock några små processiones mz bilder som bores i dhett ena och andra husen, af gossar som sunge Christus er opstonden, såg ok een drucken munk eller 2: så och een drucken präst,²²⁶ som med silfr Korset så när hadhe fallit i lorten, men medh stoor möda blef införd i sitt hus af een poike, som honom in släpadhe. Emoth aftonen gick iag med Chronman och albanus till Clostret 3 wirst ini siön omflutet beläget, i een öfrmåttan lägenhet. Clostret heter Иверска Богородица²²⁷ uthi Свиата Озеро²²⁸ beläget alt kring flutet och några hållmar här ock tär, skönt fiske och skönaste lägenhet man kan see (dh) 3 wirst ifrån Byn Woldaj. där äre 200 munkar inne²²⁹ af hwilka några skall kunna latin, och är een tysk (war dher ock) heter Оче Габриель men war ey hemma nu. dhe äre alla hwitryssar ☩: halfwa Polacker kombne ifrån Kiof (vid) i Ukrainen.²³⁰ «i dag låg ambb. stilla heela dagen efter dhett är 1. dag påska C.G.S. d 30 låg han stilla i jasolbitz. archimandriten i Woldai sände bröd och quass,²³¹ och munken som kom drack nock wijn.»

and Livonians, who fought here. This seems to agree with history. There are also a number at Pskov and Dorpat, about which they have the same opinion. <Conrad Gyllenstierna to Krestcy, 35 versts, in 6 hours.>

[P. 35]

The 29th. At 7 o'clock I left from Krestcy on horseback. Just outside the village gate there are two beautiful round grave-mounds, particularly one, which consists of reddish sand and almost no mould. And around the base there are fourteen large pines. Further on I crossed a bridge over a stream, Cholova reka, 10 versts <10>, then through a large forest and across a small lake, Gverstjanicy, 2 versts <2>. There, on the shore of the lake, on a high hill on the left-hand side, there were three magnificent, equally large grave-mounds without trees, and immediately to the right, after we had crossed the lake, there were three like the previous ones. In all I have during the whole of this morning counted more than 20 or 30 small and large ones, whole and in ruins, but best of all are the six around the lake and the one at Krestcy. From this lake I went on to Rachino, 3 versts. Then again across the same Cholova to Selo Rachino, the same village but separated from the other part by the stream. Then across Uševicy, a lake, 3 versts from Rachino. From there across another large stream, Cholovka reka,²²² 9 versts /: NB, counted as 10, but is no more than 9 :/. There they have a ferry, where we were delayed until towards the evening before everyone had got across. From there 3 versts to Jaželbicy²²³ at 11 o'clock. Here there is a stream by the name of Polomet'. <To cover these 6 miles took me 4 hours of pleasant riding, from 7 until 11, through a beautiful landscape with small lakes and many streams, lovely valleys and beautiful heathland with timber forest.> In the evening I asked for permission to travel ahead, which was granted. <Conrad Gyllenstierna to Jaželbicy, 30 versts in 8 hours—was said to be a good 8 miles—crossed six bridges, but across Cholovka reka by raft.>

The 30th I left Jaželbicy at half past four in the morning and passed about 30 grave-mounds, some covered with trees, some not, some large, some small. So it went on all the way to Mironegi, 13 versts from Jaželbicy. There there were ten grave-mounds close together on top of a high sand hill, which was smooth on all sides and ploughed, but the mounds were covered with vegetation. From there at 8 o'clock in the morning I came to the village of Valdaj,²²⁴ 7 versts <here I met a Russian who today has been on his way from Moscow for eight days>. And when we arrived, the Easter Day service was already over and people were having dinner at about 10 o'clock. Then I experienced the curiosity of having a complete Russian meal. And I drank nothing but their drink. Then I sent my Russian boy to the monastery to find out whether they would let us in. They sent the answer that this could not be, as I had no *pristav* or *strelec* with me, and I had to content myself with this. Then I went up into the bell tower and rang the bells as the other people were doing /: because at Easter everyone is free to ring the bells²²⁵ :/. I also watched a few small processions in which icons were carried in



Fig. 10. le capuchon — the cowl

[P. 36]

Dhe äre alle höflige munkar ock seer man hoos dem stor åthskildnad ifrån dhe andra ryssar,²³² dhe hafwa een förnäm dog ung archimandrit heter Иосифа,²³³ ibland dhem äre och några doyens som aldrig omgå någon ey heller gå uth till dheras döda dagar, uthan lefwe i helighet ock eenslighet, dhem kalla dhe på Ryska Скимники. dhe äre som alla munkar i dhetta landet, af dhen ordre Басилиани,²³⁴ ock äre klädde i swarta långa råckar uthan ärmer såsom kiortlar fotsijda och i weck lagda aff ett tyg seer uth som groff pelemet ock hafwa ett maner af hufwud kläde af samma slag eller af Crepon som är lijkt een Carpus,²³⁵ i dhet att dhet hänger back på axlarna runt om som en Karpum, dog är frammom på flijkarna två stremler 3 twär finger breda och en $\frac{1}{2}$ aln länge som hänga lösa neder på sijdan framom axlarna, ock stundom bakom [Fig. 10]. dhe fägnadhe oss tämeligen wäll uthan för porten, och portien gick in till archimandriten att begära oss lof att gå inn, i medlertijd entretenarede oss een annan med ett ock annat höfl tahl, ock wijste oss dhe bilderna som uthan till öfr porten stode som är Maria, christus och joh baptisten²³⁶ sedan och på högra sidan om porten war een porta santa, som ey öppnas oftare än när någon stor procession skall skee, några gonger om året, och denne är älliast altijt tillsluten, och suarar gent emoth en träbro där uthifrån bygder in i siön 12 eller 14 aln. till hwilken man med båth om sommaren ligga kan. dhenne port är med bläck beslagen all öfr, ock med messingz stora roser mitt i hwar bläck quadrat,²³⁷ porten är porte {colhere}. rund öfr och öfr portarna som mitt på öppnades, stodh Mariae bild. som höll Christum på armen, och på både sijdor 4 heelige män som äre St. antonius. St. Theodorus. St. Jacobus. iuerska helige,²³⁸ och Philippus patriarcha Mouscouiticus.²³⁹ och öfr alt thetta ett tämeligen wäll giort hwalf. sedan wi detta besett, kom Portieren igen, ock sade att wi ey kunde nu komma inn, badh oss ey förtänka honom arkimandriten emedan han så är blamerat worden i Mouscou att han så familiert medh främmande omgåttz, men när prestawen kommer, eller wij från honom rett ord hafwa, skohla wi gärna slippa inn om wi ok wore 200. där medh böd portier[en] oss på dheras wårshus straxt wed porten uthom Clostret, och plägade oss mz suagt slemt öhl, gaf oss hvar sitt rött ägg

and out of the houses by boys, who were singing Christ is risen. I also saw a drunken monk or two as well as a drunken pope,²²⁶ who nearly fell into the mud with his silver crucifix but was taken into his house with great difficulty by a boy, who hauled him inside. Towards the evening, in the company of Cronman and Albanus, I went to the monastery, 3 versts into the lake, in the most wonderful location. The name of the monastery is the Iberian Mother of God,²²⁷ situated on the Holy Lake,²²⁸ surrounded by water and a few islets here and there. They have fine fishing and the most beautiful location imaginable, 3 versts from the village of Valdaj. There are 200 monks there,²²⁹ of whom some are said to know Latin. They also have a German monk, whose name is Father Gabriel; however, he was not at home now. They are all Byelorussians, i.e. half-Poles, who have come from Kiev in the Ukraine.²³⁰ <Today the ambassadors rested the whole day, as it is Easter Sunday. On the 30th Conrad Gyllenstierna stayed in Jaželbicy. The archimandrite of Valdaj sent bread and kvass,²³¹ and the monk who brought it drank a considerable amount of wine.>

[P. 36]

All the monks are well-mannered and they are very different from other Russians.²³² They have a noble but young archimandrite by the name of Iosif.²³³ Among them are some doyens who neither meet people nor leave their quarters to their dying day, but live in holiness and seclusion, they are called *schimniki* in Russian. They, like all the monks in this country, belong to the Basilian Order.²³⁴ They are dressed in long black cassocks without sleeves, like ankle-length folded kirtles, of a material that looks like coarse pelemet[?] and wear a kind of head-gear of the same material or of crépon, which resembles a cowl,²³⁵ as it hangs down around the shoulders, like a cowl, but on the front corners there are two strips three fingers broad and half an ell long which hang loosely down the sides in front of the shoulders, and sometimes behind [Fig. 10]. They showed us hospitality outside the gate and the porter went in to the archimandrite to ask permission for us to enter. In the meantime another entertained us by talking politely to us and showing us the icons found on the outside above the gate. They represent Mary, Christ and John the Baptist.²³⁶ Then he also showed us that to the right of the gate there was a *porta santa*, which is opened only when there is to be a big procession a few times a year, otherwise it is always closed. It corresponds on the outside to a wooden jetty built out into the lake, 12 or 14 ells, at which boats can land in summer. This gate is covered with tin-plate all over, and with big brass roses in the middle of each tin square.²³⁷ The gate is a *porte co{?}ere*, round at the top. And above the gate, which opened in the middle, there was an icon of Mary holding Christ on her arm and on both sides were four holy men, namely St Antonius, St Theodorus, St Jacobus, Iberian saints,²³⁸ and Philippus, a Moscow Patriarch,²³⁹ and above all this a rather well-made arch. When we had looked at all this the porter came back and informed us that we could not enter now. He asked us not to blame the archimandrite, as he has been much criticized in Moscow for having been very complaisant in his dealings with foreigners. But

mz dhesse orden Христось Васхреть ѿ: christus är vist opstånden då swarade wi på ryska visserligen är han opstånden,²⁴⁰ sedan gaf han oss 2 stoora runda brödlimpor,²⁴¹ dhem lembnade vi qvar till mårgondagen då han bad oss komma igen på dh 2 tijmen på dagen, mz hopp att komma in i Clostret.

[P. 37]

I Byn äre 2 Kyrker een för hwijtryssarna som ifrån Kiof kombne är dh andra för dhe infödde, ehuru och dhe förre äre infödde, dog af Kiofske extractiionen.²⁴² När wi om afftonen komme till baka ifrån Clostret ginge wi öfr ijsen, ok spatzerade sackta och på ½ stundh wore vi i Byn igen, och ginge om ett hus, där war wården för dörrn, ok war nog beskänkt, föll med sin son neder på sitt hufwud, ock nödgadhe oss in hoos sig, ok plägade oss mz 2 slagz öhl, och alla ögneblek föll ned på hufwudet för oss: dheras hustrur, druko oss alla een bågare öhl till,²⁴³ och till hwar person i synnerhet drucke dhe een bågare sielfwe först uth, ok fortröte om man ey giorde besked thesse hustrur {?} nadhe hafwa god willia, och besåge oss wäll och wij komme medh platz ifrån dheras wählplägingar klok 9: då vi höllo aftonmåhlthid, och ginge till sängz. Elliest hafwa munckarna sändt i dag till ambb. att beda att the ey måtte logera där i byn emedan dhen hörde dhem till, och dhe frucktade att vi helgedagarna skulle ohelga dheras helige orth,²⁴⁴ eller göra något öfver wäldh.

Le 31. annan dag Påska klockan 6 om morgonen åkte iag uth till Woldai Closter dhett att besee med Chronman ock M. albanus een Medici son ifrån Mouscov som här förr uarit. Ock som wi kommo an, ginge wi straxt inn i dhett huset uthan för Clostret som till främmandes reception destinerat hwarest wi i gård affton ock wore, dherest ock le Portie Оче Laurentz har sin Cammare, när wi kommo in stodh han i sin lilla Koya ock läste sin mårgon mässa, alt om Christi Upståndelse, ok när han hadhe läsit uth dhett som i een lijten bok där till giord (för) ock tryckter, författat war, giorde han ock förböner för Czararnas heela hus, ock för alla Christna, ock som han förnam oss wara tillstädhes talte han oss till mitt i bönen, ock badh oss hafva tåhlamodh, han skulle rätt nu entretenera oss: Kom ock straxt där på sedan han sijna lius för dhe heligas bilder stående hadhe uthsläckt, hwilket dog ej skedde förr än han oss alla så wäll som sig och sijna bilder, ock hwar och een i uårt föllie, med rökelsekaret encensera låthit hade, Kom så sielf in, ok klädde på sig sin munke mantil sedan han des båda änder dh öfre och nedre kyst hadhe satte så på sig sin capuchon, åfwan på een mössa som åfwen som capuchon wore orörlige för hwar man, undantagandes när sacramentet eller biblens nya testamente går forbij.²⁴⁵ Där med fördhe han oss till Clostret, och sadhe att han efter ottesången hadhe förmått oss låf af archimandriten att komma inn. <C.G.S. simna gora 23 w. 5 tijmar. Körde öfr 2 åhebroar hela wägen sandbackig, arckimandriten sände wij 6. flaskor wijn. Han sände igen miöd i flaske-fodret. och om afftonen ett stort bröd, een så mz fisk, een 8tting mölska²⁴⁶ een dito öhl. och een dito mz quahs.>

when the pristav arrives or when we get permission from him, we will be welcome to enter, even if there are 200 of us. Then the porter invited us to their tavern close to the gate, outside the monastery, and treated us to weak poor beer. He gave each of us a red egg bearing the words: “Христосъ воскресе”, i.e. Christ is risen. Then we answered in Russian: “He is indeed risen.”²⁴⁰ Then he gave us two large round loaves of bread,²⁴¹ which we left there until the following day, when he asked us to come back during the second hour of the day in the hope that we would get into the monastery then.

[P. 37]

In the village there are two churches, one for the Byelorussians who have come from Kiev and the other for the natives, although the former are also natives, though of Kievan extraction.²⁴² Returning from the monastery in the evening, we walked slowly across the ice and in half an hour we were back in the village again. We went past a house, where the host was standing in front of the door, very drunk, and he and his son bowed to the ground and insisted that we come in. He treated us to two kinds of beer and constantly bowed to the ground before us. Their wives drank a cup of beer to us all,²⁴³ and to each of us separately they emptied a cup themselves, and took offence if we did not do the job properly. These wives seemed very favourably disposed towards us [?] and regarded us well [?] and we got away with difficulty from their hospitality at 9 o'clock, when we had supper and went to bed. Apart from this, the monks today sent word to the ambassadors asking them not to reside there in the village, as it belonged to them and they were afraid that we might profane their sacred place²⁴⁴ during the holiday or commit some outrage.

The 31st. Easter Monday at 6 o'clock in the morning I went to the Valdaj Monastery to look at it with Cronman and Mr Albanus, the son of a physician from Moscow, who has been here before. And as we arrived we immediately entered the house outside the monastery which was intended for the reception of visitors, where we had been yesterday evening and where the porter Father Lorentz also has his small room. When we entered he was standing in his little nook reading his morning service, about the Resurrection of Christ. And when he had recited what was in a small book, written and printed for that purpose, he prayed for the whole house of the Tsars and for all Christians. And when he became aware that we were there, he spoke to us in the middle of his prayer and asked us to be patient, he would entertain us in a little while. He in fact came shortly after this, after he had put out his candles in front of the holy icons, although this was not done until he had censed us all as well as himself and his icons and each one of our party with his censer. Then he entered and put on his monk's habit, having kissed its two ends, the top and the bottom end. Then he put on his cowl on top of a cap, which, like the cowl, is untouchable to everyone, except when the Eucharist or the New Testament are being carried past.²⁴⁵ Then he took us to the monastery and said that he had obtained permission from the archimandrite for

[P. 38]

först förde han oss upp uthi Klocketornet, som war een 8kantig torn af tegelsteen ifrån nedan alt op till spetzen bygt,²⁴⁷ där äre 12 klockor inne små ock stoor, sköna klock. dh största hänger mittuthi, all fullskrifuen med ryska bokstäfer²⁴⁸ dhe andra hänga i dhe runda hualfda fönsterhålen runt om een och en. och i ett 4 st: Äfwen öfr dhesse är ett ljtet rum hvarest och uthi 8 hohl runt om tornet hänga små klockor, som wed hwar 4de dehl tijma effter hwar andra göra een lijten harmonicus spelning <Klocketornet>, men uthan på muren, ath Clostret är sägarens tafla, som i stället för siffror har ryska bokstäfwer 18 stycken, ock går Cirkelen omkring på hwilken Cifrona[!] står, och rätt öfwerst är een stiärna på muren orörlig, om [!] på Circelen wiser hvad klockan är ock räknar tjemarna ifrån sohlenes upgång där gångar dh 1: och så säger man när solen har warit så många tjemmer oppe etc: i stället att hos Italien[arna] begynnes tjemarna effter sohls nedergång. dog hålla Ryssar såsom Ital: alt till 24: på dheras sohl vjsare, och så mz ryska bokstäfer²⁴⁹ där är ock een tjemsten på gården af bly mz rysk ock ital. räkning på. När wi wore uppe i tornet ringde dhe till högmässan eller 2 predikan klock. 7. ongefär, ock när ringningen war all, kom een munk ur kyrkedören, ok klappade på ett bräde,²⁵⁰ då ginge wi neder, ok komme rätt iust till archimandritens dör, då han skulle gå uth. ock kommo för honom uth många Dränger ok betiente så ock några dhe förnämste munkar. När han såg oss, stadnade han, ock Mr. Albanus steg till och effter alles vårt diupe reverentz presenteradhe honom 2 flascor franskt vijn. bad honom hålla till goda af reesandhe personer, och att han wille unna oss att besee Clostret ok bevista gudztiensten hwilket han oss låfwade, frågadhe dog först om wi ingen Prestaw hadhe. Wi fölge näst honom och när han kom till trappan sade han oss att vi måtte stå i dören.²⁵¹ han gick inn mz alla munkarna och hadhe een swart staf i handen mz benscafft giort som ett T.²⁵² och dh näst honom gick et halft Γ. han satte sig i sine stoh[l] mitt fram för en pelare hvarest vi ey kunde see honom och mäste dehlen af dhe andra munckar satte sig framme hos honom uthi 2 8kantige bänkar af träwircke giorde fram före dhe 2 främste pelare een på hvardera sijden. men några af dhe andra stodhe här och där i kyrkan på golfvet oprätta, några blefwo ock hoos oss ståendes i dören att entretenera oss. Om Gudztiensten kan iag intet stort säija emedan iag henne intet förstodh, men dhett såg iag att alt gick mz ifuer till, ock till anseendet nästan på Catholiskt maner, med rökandhe, och mässekläder, och 3 personer wid altaret tiänande. och emelan hwar gång Prästen för altaret något sungit hadhe swarade een chor bakom altaret innom skranket, som ey syntes,²⁵³ och dhett giuth mz skön harmoni af 5 eller 6 stämmor. så swaradhe dhe hwar andra några gånger något af lijtanian, hör oss herre gudh. När Evangelium sungz up stod een annan präst op på een 8kantig pall 3 trapsteg hög, klädd mz rött kläde,²⁵⁴ som stod fast mitt på gålfwet, mitt för Chors dören, mitt under höga doomen

us to enter after matins. <Conrad Gyllenstierna to Zimnjaja Gora, 23 versts in 5 hours. He passed two bridges across rivers, sand hills all along the route. We sent six bottles of wine to the archimandrite. He sent mead in return in the bottle case, and in the evening a large loaf of bread, a tub of fish, one octave of mead,²⁴⁶ one ditto of beer and one ditto of kvass.>

[P. 38]

First he took us up into the bell tower, an octagonal tower built of bricks from the bottom all the way up to the top.²⁴⁷ In there there are twelve bells, small as well as large, beautiful bells. The biggest one hangs in the middle, covered with Russian letters.²⁴⁸ The others hang, one by one, in the round arched window openings around, and in one of them there are four bells. Above these there is also a small room where, in eight holes around the tower, small bells hang, which produce a harmonious chiming one after the other every quarter of an hour <The bell tower>, but on the outer wall towards the monastery there is a clock face, which instead of numerals has Russian letters, eighteen of them. And the numerals are in a circle, and at the top on the wall there is an unmoving star, which indicates the time on the circle. And the hours are counted from sunrise, from which the first hour is counted, and then it is indicated for how many hours the sun has been up etc. But the Italians count the hours from sunset. The Russians, however, like the Italians, count 24 hours on their sundials, though in Russian letters.²⁴⁹ In the courtyard there is also an hour-stone of lead, with the Russian and Italian ways of counting.

While we were up in the tower they rang for high mass or the second sermon about 7 o'clock. And when they had finished ringing a monk came out of the churchdoor and beat upon a board.²⁵⁰ Then we descended and came immediately to the archimandrite's door as he was on his way out. And before him many men and servants, as well as some of the most distinguished monks, came out. When he caught sight of us he stopped and Mr Albanus stepped forward and, after we had all done obeisance to him, presented him with two bottles of French wine. He asked him to accept this gift from travellers and asked whether he would allow us to look at the monastery and attend the service. He promised us this, but asked at first if we had no *pristav* with us. We followed him, and when he came to the steps he told us we must remain in the doorway.²⁵¹ He went inside with all the monks and held a black staff in his hand with a bone handle shaped like a T,²⁵² and the person who followed after him had one shaped like half a T (Г). He sat down in his chair in front of a pillar where we could not see him and most of the other monks sat down around him on two octagonal benches made of wood standing in front of the two front pillars, one on each side. But some of the others were standing here and there on the floor of the church. Some also remained with us in the doorway to entertain us.

Concerning the service I cannot say much as I did not understand it, but I did see that everything was performed with zeal and looked almost as if it were in the Catholic manner, with incense and vestments and three people serving by the

[P. 39]²⁵⁵

ock när han kom, gick för honom 2 lius, på höga liustakar ock ginge dhe mz process några gånger till arckimandritens stol ok läthe honom kyssa boken: som war Psaltaren och dh Nya thestamentet allenast,²⁵⁶ och dhess band medh kostelige juveler öfr besatt, dhett gamla thestamentet, hålla dhe ey nogh heligt att komma i sijna kyrkor, för dhe många historiske berättelser om ett och annat till fälle som dhe hålla för sompt oheligt wara, sompt okyskt etc:²⁵⁷ när Presten /: intet dhen som för altaret stodh :/ har så 2 gånger varit uppe på pallen ock sungit up något, sänge dhe i Choren, ok prästen för altaret predices, in till dhess att een lång procession kom fram genom een dörr på sijdan af chors skranket, mz lius och rökelse framföre, och een bar ett fath på hufvudet, mz pain benit. dh. andra bar ett aflång calk, mz hostien,²⁵⁸ som bars förbij arckimandriten och inn på altaret genom dh stora dören²⁵⁹ sedan dhe wore alle ingångne, slogen bägge Chors dörarna till, som för altijdh stode öpne, och då skedde een Consecration, som wi intet kunde see. äntel kom en präst ock satte ett lius mitt för skildnaden af bägge Chors dörarna, ock straxt där effter låthes dhe åther opp, effter förättad Consecration.

[P. 40]

Sedan kommo dhe ur Choret i procession, ock ginge ut uhr kyrkan lijtet om kring, ock kommo straxt in igen, ock den före berande präst bar helige brödh fatet på hufvudet och dh där näst bar dhen kalken, sedan distribueradhe arckimandriten sielf dhessa bröbijtar af pain benit åth alla munkar som tilstådes wore, hvilke alla i ordning kommo till hans stoehl alt anamadhe dhe med munnen. sedan gafs wälsignelsen, ock 2 kommo uth till alt folket som uthom, så vell som inom dören stode och med ett kors som han gaf dhem kyssa, men oss gick han förbij. men dh andra kom mz goupillon och eau benite, och (med) slog ossi ögonen mz een heel hoop wattn, hvilket man intet fick stryka bort mz ärmeklädet, uthan så elliest, med fingrarna fördehlas. Under warande Gudztienst, war een munk som esomofftaste lagadhe liusen, som för Marie bild stodhe. dhe andre föllo på sitt ansickte så wäll när biblen kom fram om dhem, som när pain benit, eller Calken bars framom. ock föruthan dhe många господи помили, sänge dhe ok een eller 2 harmoneuse psalmer, såsom hos oss mz continuation ochwersvijs, sine antiphonia som gick rätt wäll. <under Gudztienst>

Innemoth dhett blef alt (ock) sände arckim. till oss een munk ock lätt biuda oss till måhltijd, ock som wi oss betackadhe simpliciter, gick dh igen fram och sadhe suar, tog oss så med sig till dhe andra båda dörarna af kyrkan och viste oss där igenom hvad wi igenom dh störste intet hadhe kunnat sedt. Kommo så straxt tillbaka till stora dörren igen till dher processionen gick uth igen. då wi för dhem ett diupt reuerence gjorde och uäntadhe på gården till dhess archim. kom till baka mz några munckar uthur refectorio dit han dhem förde. Straxt

altar. And every time the priest had sung something before the altar a choir behind the altar—it could not be seen because of the screen²⁵³—responded and it resounded with the beautiful harmony of five or six parts. In this way they answered each other a few times, something from the litany and Hear us, Lord our God. When the Gospel was being sung another priest got onto an octagonal stool, three steps high and covered with red cloth,²⁵⁴ which was fixed in the middle of the floor, right in front of the door to the sanctuary underneath the high dome.

[P. 39]²⁵⁵

and when he arrived, two candles on high candlesticks were carried in front of him and they walked in procession a few times up to the archimandrite's chair and let him kiss the book—containing the Psalms and the New Testament only²⁵⁶—the cover was set all over with precious gems. They do not consider the Old Testament holy enough to be brought into their churches, because of all the many historical tales on one occurrence or the other, some of which they see as profane, some as unchaste etc.²⁵⁷ When the priest /: not the one who was standing in front of the altar :/ had twice been up on the stool and sung something, the choir sang, and the priest in front of the altar preached until a long procession emerged through a door on the side of the choir screen, with candles and incense carried at the front. And one was carrying on his head a paten of blessed bread, the other an oval chalice with the Host,²⁵⁸ which was carried past the archimandrite and in onto the altar through the large door.²⁵⁹ When they were all inside both the doors to the sanctuary, which had been open until now, were closed, and then a consecration took place, which we could not see. Finally a priest came and placed a candle in front of the partition between the two doors to the sanctuary and soon after this they were opened again, after the consecration had taken place.

[P. 40]

Then they came out of the sanctuary in procession and, having gone out of the church and around for a short distance, they soon came back in again. And the priest who was at the front was carrying the paten of consecrated bread on his head and the one following carried the chalice. Then the archimandrite himself distributed these pieces of consecrated bread to all the monks present, who one by one came up to his chair and received them in their mouths. Then the benediction was given. Two priests came to all the people who were standing outside as well as inside the door, one of them with a crucifix for them to kiss. Us he passed by, however. The second one came with a sprinkler and holy water and splashed a great deal of water into our eyes, which one was not allowed to wipe away with one's sleeve but had to spread around with one's fingers. Now and then during the service a monk quite often adjusted the candles in front of the icon of Mary. The others prostrated themselves when the Bible, or the sanctified bread or the chalice, was carried past them. And apart from the many Господи помилуй [Lord have mercy], they sang one or two harmonious hymns, the way

kom han igen ok mötte wi honom straxt. om [!] som han badh oss föllia sig inn i sine rum, gjorde vi så, och i dhet han gick in sungo någre unge personer någre ord för honom, ock ginge in effter honom, dog för oss. han badh oss straxt sätta oss wed bordhet, ock gick sielf (uth) inn i sin kammar litet, men sände en annan att entretenera oss. Kom så sielf, ock satte sig för änden, ock drack mig till med een skåhl starckt brännevijn, gaf oss insylt. ingefära, ock hwar sijna 2 ägg so och åth våra drängar hvar sitt, huar med han till mig sade surexit Jesus. i dhet han mig äggen gaf, och till dhe andra <hos archimandriten>

[P. 41]

på Ryska.²⁶⁰ Sedan wiste han oss många städte i Kopparstijck som sutto på väggen, sadhe sig hafwa warit i några af dhem begärde att iag skulle säga honom explication på dh sioslaget emellan Engeland och hålland,²⁶¹ dhet iag och giordhe. Sedan Excuserade han sig att han ey kunde hålla oss uppe, eller låtha tractera oss i hopa med dhem, ok sig uthi refectorio, emedan Ryssarna sade han äre så tyckemyckna,²⁶² men han för sin person som een half Pohl undte oss dhet gärna, wille icke dhessmindre dehla med oss hvad han hadhe, men uthi gästherberget utom porten af Clostret. ther med stod wi up, ock före än iag tog afsked af honom läht iag proponera honom, om iag icke måtto få wara där inne i Clostret några månar att lära språket²⁶³ när iag kommer igen. han sade sig willia scrifva där om Pathriarchen i Mouscou till, och wed min återkombst, veta mig svar, sadhe sig gärna willia men ey kunna uthan dhess uet-skap sådant göra. dhetta så well som alt sitt tahl med oss han på halft Pålska tahlade,²⁶⁴ som war swårt att förstå för gemene ryssar. Här med toge wi afsked ock fölgde vår munck pater Lorentz i gasthuset, ok åthe med honom middagz måhlet, Munken las till bords bara fadher vår. ock finge wi ifrån Archim: öfr 17 eller 18 rätter alt, men små fath, alt fisk, salt, kockat ok steekt, färsk ost, smör, gryngröht, cawiar, salt sill etc. nog många men ey synerl. Goda.²⁶⁵ och elackt qvass. dhesse rätter kommo mz tre ambassadeurer, och stort pråhl, och mz dhe ordh att archim. sände oss af sitt eget bordh. wi tackade och bugade och takade sedan gud. och stege från bordet och som wi wore i farstugun till att gå in igen att besee Clostret kom 2 teen krus, ett mz öhl och ett mz elacht miöd.²⁶⁶ dher af moste wi och dricka hvar sin teenbägare archimandritens skål. Sedan ginge vi in i Clostret igen. och ginge straxt up på träwallarna, och ginge dhem runt om kring, een lång wägg är ongefär 430 stoora steg lång, och här och där ett 4kantigt trätor, och i alla fyra hörnen af Klostret står ett torn, mz 2 a 3 stycken uthi, iblandh dhem war 2 eller 3 af Fredric i Danmark ock 1632 år-talet,²⁶⁷ af metall war dhe. på närre sijdan om kyrkan, innunder planckwärket hafwa dhe sijne fiske dammer, och uthan om wärket är somblige städhes 4 fambnar diupt. träturen är äfwen så giord som i Nowgrod, mz gångar äfwanpå runt om ok små huus wed hwar stäckelängdh, som mz sin fyrkantighet stärker träbygningen. att hon ey kan falla kull. mitt öfr porta sa[n]cta där wi ginge opp på wallen är en stiglucka af trä. där ginge vi neder igen. <bohlwerket>

we do, continuously and verse by verse, without antiphony, which went well.
 <During the service>

When it was close to the end the archimandrite sent a monk to us to invite us for a meal, and when we gave an unqualified yes in reply he went back and gave him our answer. Then he took us to the other two church doors and showed us what we had not been able to see through the main door. Then we again returned to the main door, through which the procession went out once more. We bowed deeply to them and waited in the courtyard until the archimandrite came back together with a few monks. He took them to the refectory and came back a little while later, and when he asked us to follow him to his rooms we did so. And as he was entering, some young people sang a few words to him and went in after him, but before us. He asked us straight away to sit down at the table, and he himself went into his chamber for a while but sent someone else to entertain us. Then he himself came and sat down at the head and drank my health in a cup of strong aquavit, offered us preserved ginger and two eggs each, and our boys had one each. As he gave me the eggs he said to me: "Surrexit Jesus", and to the others
 <In the archimandrite's rooms>

[P. 41]

in Russian.²⁶⁰ Then he showed us copperplate engravings on the wall representing many cities, in some of which he said he had been. He asked me to explain to him the naval battle between England and Holland,²⁶¹ which I did. Then he excused himself for not asking us to stay and for not treating us to a meal in the refectory with them and himself, but this was because the Russians, as he said, are so touchy.²⁶² But speaking for himself, being a half-Pole, he did not begrudge us it. All the same he wanted to share with us what he had, but at the inn intended for guests, outside the monastery gate. With that we made a move, but before I said goodbye to him I had a proposition put to him, to allow me to stay in the monastery for a few months upon my return in order to learn the language.²⁶³ He said that he would write to the Patriarch in Moscow about it and that he would know the answer when I came back. He said that he himself would be very pleased to agree, but that he could not do so without the Patriarch's knowledge. This, like everything else he said to us, was in half-Polish,²⁶⁴ which was difficult to understand for ordinary Russians. Then we said goodbye and followed our monk Father Lorentz to the inn and had our midday meal with him. The monk said only the Lord's Prayer as grace. From the archimandrite we received more than 17 or 18 dishes, but on small plates, only fish, salted, cooked and fried, green cheese, butter, grain porridge, caviar, salted herring etc., quite a lot of dishes, but not particularly tasty,²⁶⁵ and we were also given disgusting kvass. These dishes were brought by three representatives and with a great deal of fuss and with the words that the archimandrite sent them to us from his own table. We expressed our thanks and bowed and then thanked God and got up from the table. And as we were in the vestibule on our way back in to look at the monastery, two tin tankards were brought to us—one containing beer and the other bitter

[P. 42]

ginge sedan ock besågo refectorium, som är ett stort steenhus med pelare mitt på gålfwet, och bord runt om kring. för änden främbst sitter arckim. och så dhe andra effter änden ock emellan hvarie 2 teentalrich ligger ett 4kantigt tallrick af trä, hwar på sättes dryckes kärillet. sådane bord äre dher 12 eller 13 stycken, ok rund om sahlen mz andelige måhlningar, och på golfvet wid en pelare är en lijten catheder, hwarest dh står som läser öfr måhltijden ock främbst, twärt före wed gafueln står ett bord dhär främmande gäster äter. där är skranket, som skil-
lier mathsalen ifrån dh öfre dehlen som är een kyrka mz sitt fullkomblige Chor. alt wäll uthzirat mz bijlder, äfwen som S. jacobí Capell²⁶⁸ som står i nordöstra hörnet af bohlwäret, hvilka alle bilder äre giorde i Clostret, ty dhe hafva alle-
handa handwärcare hos sig som snälle äre. i dhetta huset äre infirmeriet, dijt ginge wi ok in ock hälsade där på een gamel munck tysken, som har warit jude, och är nu 86 år gamal seer intet mer, har och nästan glömbt sin tyska. han är hijtkomen ifrån Kiof dit han blifvit tagen i feyd som ryssen mz Pohlen haft.
〈refectorium St. jacobz Capell〉

Sedan besåge wi Kook ok Källare, ok bagare hus, ock ewad Magazineradhes allehanda, som alt wore hus af steen under refectorio, skönt hvälfda, men rök och oreenlighet hafwa taget öfrhanden. elliest har hwar munk sin egen Cammar, mz glas fönster, wackert nog, uthi trähusen.

dhe andra ämbetzmännernes arbete finge vi ey see emedan dhe wore nu borta och dheras wärkstäder tillslutna i helgden, och een dehl låge druckna. Men hoos dh munken som måhla bilderna war iag inne, är een ung Kerl tämmeligen snäll i rijtning aff på Krijtegrund. han har begynt een tafla af een Christ 3 aln. ongefär hög, och så släth att iag mente dhet uar hvitt pergament, dher på han redan mz bläck hadhe rijtat een Christ. rätt wähl, och bättre än iag någon rysk måhlning på dhetta sättet sitt hafwer, han sade sig hafva alt lärt här i Clostret²⁶⁹
〈Måhlaren〉. elliest fann iag hos honom Copparstycken, men inga

[P. 43]

andra böcker än scclawonska andelige 4 eller 5 stycken somblige tryckte på hwitryske i Kiof. somblige i (Musc) dhetta Clostret, förr än som tryckeriet blef här från fört till Mouscou för 10 eller 12 år sedan.²⁷⁰ somblige och i Mouscou.

Sedan klok 2 wed pass giorde dhe åther op kyrkan, då skedde af een händelse ock slumpe lyckan, att wi komme in i kyrkan alt fram till Choretz dörar, och är där i dhetta dhet förnembsta att achta, 1. är kyrkan innuthi afdehlt rätt som uthi dhe Graekiska, $\frac{1}{3}$ dehl till Choret, ock dett mz mur alldeles till täpt, eller mz snickarwärcen, detta går ifrån golfvet alt up innemoth hwalvet, och består mäst i alla kyrkor af bilder måhlade, men detta är så mycket kosteligare som här är peelare af snidwärc af trä alt förgylte, 2 rader. 1 öfr och 1 under, och emellan hvar 2 peelare står äfwantill 1 prophet, och i underraden en apostell så att i bägge raderna öfr. och dh. nedre äre 20 bilder målade och 42 pelare, och mitt före hwar dhera bilden af dhe öfrige hänger en silfr lampa på ett snöre i

mead.²⁶⁶ From these we had to drink one tin goblet each to the health of the archimandrite.

Then we returned into the monastery. We climbed straight up onto the wooden walls and went all around them. One longer wall is about 430 long paces in length, and has a square wooden tower here and there. And at all four corners of the monastery there is a tower with two or three cannons in each. Among them there were two or three from Frederik of Denmark, with the year 1632,²⁶⁷ made of metal. On the side to the north of the church, under the palisade, they have their fish ponds, and outside the palisade, in certain places, it is 4 fathoms deep. The wooden wall is like the one in Novgorod, with walkways all around on the top. There are small houses at each log's length, which with their square shape support the wooden structure so that it cannot collapse. Right above the *porta santa*, there is a wooden ladder by which we climbed onto the wall. There we also climbed down again. <The bulwark>

[P. 42]

Then we went to look at the refectory, a large stone building with pillars in the middle of the floor and tables all around. At the head at the front sits the archimandrite and then the others one after the other. And in between every second pewter plate there is a square wooden plate to put the drinking vessel on. There are twelve or thirteen such tables. Around the room there are religious paintings on the walls. And on the floor by a pillar there is a small lectern for the person who says grace. And opposite at the front, by the end wall, there is a table where guests eat. There too is the screen which separates the dining room from the upper part, which is a church with a complete sanctuary, everything beautifully decorated with icons, like the chapel of St Iakov²⁶⁸ situated in the north-eastern corner of the bulwark. All the icons are made in the monastery, because they have here all kinds of skilful craftsmen. In this same house is the infirmary. We went in there too and exchanged greetings with an old monk, a German, who was once a Jew. He is now 86 years old and cannot see any longer. He has almost forgotten his German. He came here from Kiev, where he was taken after a battle which the Russians fought with Poland. <The refectory. The Chapel of St Iakov>

Then we looked at the kitchen, the cellar, the bakery and different storehouses, all built in stone underneath the refectory, beautifully vaulted. But smoke and dirt have got the upper hand. Each monk has his own cell with glass windows, rather beautiful, in the wooden houses. The work of the other craftsmen we could not see, as they were not here and their workshops were closed during the holiday, and some of them lay drunk. But I visited the monk who paints the icons. He is a young fellow, rather good at drawing on chalkboard. He has started working on a picture of Christ, about 3 ells high, and so smooth that I took it for white parchment. On this he had already drawn a Christ in ink, rather well and better than I have ever seen in a Russian picture of this kind. He said he had learnt it all here in the monastery.²⁶⁹ <The painter> Furthermore, in his cell I found copper engravings, but no

taket som brinner, men för apostlarnas bilder i undre raden /: som ock i sin fulla längd till fotz stå dog icke lebens gros :/ ock 1½ aln wed pass., äre liusarmar fast giorde wijd paneluärket under deras fötter hwarest ock deras namn stå på Ryska skrefne,²⁷¹ men mitt på dhetta staketet mitt emellan apost. och Proph. mitt öfr Chors dören är 2 stora taflor. och öfr dhem åfwanpå alt wärket öfwerst, står Christi Crucifix mz Maria och Joh:²⁷² een på hvar sida Måhlade rätt wäll på trä ock sedan af brädet uthuggne. och där åfwanpå under hvalfuet är en stor 4kantig tafla hwarest Christi upståndelse afsatt är. och öfwerst på stacketet står 6. blompottor hwarutinnan stå blomster, men icke naturelle, bättre nedan under Proph. ock apostl. äre andra taflor af Christ. och Maria och andra helige alla rätt uäll mahladt på Krijtgrundh alt. och närmaste Chors dören på wenstra handen, när man är i Choret och ser uth genom dören, är ett stort Christi bild måhlat hans lijke i fijnheet, och Colori iag intet sedt har sådan stor douceur är där i. där hänger ock fram före dhet många uota på een ståhl trå. Men på högra sijdan om Chors dören är dhet uthropade Marie belähte, åfwen så wäll måhlat som det förr nembde Christi, som Dhe calla Иверска Богородица : gudz föderska ifrån Iuer. eller dh iuerska Maria,²⁷³ dhetta bilt har en blässyr, måhlat på kinbenet straxt wed munnen, för dhen orsak, att dhe säja att när een

[P. 44]

ogudelig menniska dhet i dhet Iuerska Klostret i Iuerska landet i Grekeland ey långt ifrån alexandria, hvarifrån detta Clostret sitt namn ock regler och instituter hafr hadhe af öfrmod mz een knif huggit, wore af dhet måhladhe belätet blod uthrunit för mirakel. Af dhetta bröst bildet, som är ongefär till naflen måhlat synes intet mera än ansigtet och händerna som omfatta Christum barnet, dhet öfrige af drapperiet är alt medh gull öfrdraget, som dhe säja, ok ehuru iag stod rätt när att taga där på kan iag intet säga om dhet är gull eller ey men i fållarna af draperiet äre lagde långa kädior af gull, all öfr satte med diamanter och ädla andra steenar, på bröstet ett stort bröst stycke åfwen som officerarna under gardet nästan, af gull och allt öfr fult mz diamanter och andra steenar och här och tär altöfwer stora smaragder, saptirer[!] rubiner, etc. men öfr högra ögat mitt i pannan, är ett stort smycke rundt, och i bland andra otalige diamanter een rosensten öfr måttan stor, som i {Monskenet}, wed ljetet lius skulle öfrmåttan skimbra, alle dhesse stenar äre på gamalt maner i gull satte, här och där genom brutet, och med åthskilliga färger amelerade, och estimeras den bild af dhem sielfva sex och 40 tusende rublar.²⁷⁴ framföre denna bild hänger en trå af metall, eller hwar af vet iag ey, all full hängder mz gullkors och silfr kors och andra votis, för {?} bekomen hälsa tijth satte. före dhenne bild är ett särdeles skåp giort mz skön architectur och af trä förgyllt, mz dören före alt förgylte, och där på insänkt gänga{?} hwilke straxt efter tienstens förrättande igenslås, dhen wi for 8 copek bruke wachturen att låsa up, men han {förbete} {dhem} wäll i dhet han fick huden full mz hugg igen af dh andre ryssen som intet ville att vi skulle koma så när. <Mariae bild> På både sijdor om dh stora Chors dören, är 1. Min-

[P. 43]

books other than religious ones in Church-Slavonic, four or five of them, some printed in Kiev in Byelorussian, some in this monastery before the printing works were moved from here to Moscow ten or twelve years ago,²⁷⁰ some also in Moscow.

Then, at about 2 o'clock, they opened the church again. Then by mere chance and accident we were fortunate enough to get into the church all the way up to the doors of the sanctuary. And here the most noteworthy points are as follows: (1) The church is divided inside like the Greek ones: one third for the sanctuary, which is completely screened off by a wall or by joinery work, from the floor all the way up to the vault, and in most churches the screen consists of painted icons. But this one is much more sumptuous, because here there are two rows of carved gilt wooden pillars, an upper and a lower row, and in between every second pillar there is at the top a prophet and in the bottom row an apostle, which means that in the two rows, the upper and the lower one, there are 20 painted icons and 42 pillars. And right in front of each icon on the upper row a burning silver lamp hangs on a wire from the ceiling. But in front of the icons of the apostles in the lower row /: they stand there in their full length, but not life-size—one and a half ells approximately :/ candle-holders are fastened to the panel-work under their feet, where their names are written in Russian.²⁷¹ But in the middle of this screen, in between the apostles and the prophets right above the door to the sanctuary there are two large paintings, and above these, on top of the joinery work, there is the Crucifix of Christ with Mary and John,²⁷² one on each side, painted rather well on wood and then cut out of the board. And above that, underneath the vault, there is a large square painting representing the Resurrection of Christ. And on top of the screen stand six flowerpots with flowers, though they are not real. Further down, underneath the prophets and the apostles, there are other pictures of Christ and Mary and other saints, all of them rather skilfully painted on a chalk ground. And close to the sanctuary door, on the left-hand side when seen from within the sanctuary looking out through the door, there is a large painted icon of Christ, the like of which in terms of delicacy and colours I have never seen, such is the tenderness of it. Many votive gifts hang in front of this icon on a steel wire. But to the right of the door to the sanctuary is the renowned icon of Mary, as skilfully painted as the previously mentioned Christ. It is called “Иверская Богородица”, the Iberian Mother of God or the Iberian Mary.²⁷³ This icon has a wound painted on the cheek, close to the mouth. The reason for this, they say, is that when an

[P. 44]

ungodly person in the Iberian Monastery in the Iberian land in Greece, not far from Alexandria—from which this monastery got its name and rules and institutes—out of presumption cut the icon with a knife, blood miraculously came out of the painted icon. Of this half-length portrait, which is painted approximately to the navel, nothing more than the face and the hands holding the Infant Christ

dre på hvar sijda²⁷⁵ hvar igenom wi kunde see någorlunda in i Choret, men finge ei gå inn. altaret stod från wäggen mitt i Coret och runtom kring bakom på wäggen quantitet af bilder och mitt bak på wäggen mitt för Chors dören Mariae bild. och på altaret allahanda slags pretieuse prydnad. dätta är inom Choret och dhess stacket, i kyrkan

[P. 45]

äre straxt nedan om staketet wed faste pelare munkarnas 8 kantiga bänkar. och archimandrit. fauteuil emoht pelaren. och här emoht een dör på hvar sijda af kyrkan. och nedre i kyrkan wid wäggen på wänstra handen när man i Choret står är een öfr måttan kostelig graf af St. jacob. hvars lekamen dhe säija skall wara heel liggandes som på en säng,²⁷⁶ men wi måste ey komma där till att röra där wed. där är ett bilthugget tack öfr som broar på 4 bilthuggne pelare förgulte seer helt Costeligt uth.

Mitt för Chor dören är dh 8kantige pulpet som Evangelium liger på. och mitt öfr dh är dh största domen eller Coupolla mz 8 fönster. och inuthi en balkon runt om, så ock kringom heela kyrkan, med pelare före, att man kan gå kringom. Så äre och om denne store domen 4 andra mindre. som göra kyrkan rätt lius, så att hon är een af dhe skönste i heela landet,²⁷⁷ men med regulementet i sången och Gudstiensten är inga i hela Ryssland som kvar där medh. <Kyrkan>

Uthan om denne uasen som består af Choret ok kyrkan mz sijna 3 dörar, är een stor och bred och lius, öfrtäkt mz sama taak Coridor, som löper runt om heela kirkkan mz bänkar runt om, hwarest man kan spatsera, och så genom dörarna som genom undre gallerwärk see in i kyrkan. dhenne Coridor är prudd på både sijdor om stora dören med afrijtningar af några Closter i Grekland, hafr ok äfwen som kyrkan 3 dörar som swara emoth de 3 på kyrkan är. <Corridor> och mitt bak för Clostretz mur som är af 3 halfue circler bygd som alla ryska kyrkor är på östra gaflen bygde ligga 6. st. archimandriter²⁷⁸ begrafne dheras steenar äre tälle sten mz ryska bohkstefver uthuggne, och där hoos i muren är een glasert af krukomakare ler giord tafla 3 quarter lång hvar på står fundatoris namn och åhrtalet. deth är funderat för ey mera än 32 år sedan af Nicola Patriarcen i Mouskof.²⁷⁹ <Fundator>

Munkarna sägs vara 250.²⁸⁰ och hafva 2000 familier af bönder sig till hörige. <reditus>

af dheras godz har iag i vår väg ey observerat mera än dhesse Rachino. jasolbitz. Woldai. Jedrovo.²⁸¹

NB. när ryssarna fasta: 7 uek för Påsk och 3 uek effter.²⁸² eft. P. och Paulo 5. Vek.²⁸³ för juhl. 6 wekor.²⁸⁴ {för} Mariae beb 2 uek.²⁸⁵ och sedan alla onsdagar och fredagar,²⁸⁶ hålla dhe sig alltid från sijna hustrur.

[P. 39]²⁸⁷

Le 1 Aprilis efter hållen predikan ock måhltidh reste wi tillijka med ambb. ock heela suiten ifrån Симниа Гора ock till natten till een by som hörer Clostret

are seen. The rest, the clothing, is covered with what they say is gold. But although I was standing close enough to touch it, I cannot tell whether it was gold or not. In the hems of the clothing, however, there are long chains of gold, all covered with diamonds and other precious stones. The breast is covered with a large breast piece—almost like the officers of the guards have—of gold and all covered with diamonds and other stones and with large emeralds, sapphires, rubies etc. scattered everywhere. But above the right eye in the middle of the forehead is a large round piece of jewellery, and among innumerable diamonds on it there is an extremely large rose-cut diamond, which in the moonlight[?], with some light on it, would sparkle extraordinarily. All these stones are set in gold in the old manner, latticed here and there and adorned with several colours. And this icon alone is valued at 46,000 roubles.²⁷⁴

In front of this icon there is a metal wire—of what it is made I do not know—hung all over with golden and silver crosses and other votive offerings fastened to it for recovery of health. For this icon a special cupboard of beautiful architecture has been made. It is of gilt wood, the door especially is gilded. The icon is set back into the cupboard, and the doors are closed immediately after the service. We got the guard to unlock it for 8 kopeks, but he probably regretted accepting the money, as he was beaten black and blue by the other Russian, who did not want us to get so close. <The icon of Mary> On both sides of the great door to the sanctuary there are two smaller ones, one on each side,²⁷⁵ through which we could get a glimpse of the sanctuary. We were not allowed to enter, however. The altar was standing away from the wall, in the middle of the sanctuary. On the walls around, behind, there were a number of icons and on the back wall in the middle, opposite the door to the sanctuary, was the icon of Mary, and on the altar were various precious ornaments. This is within the sanctuary and its screen. In the church

[P. 45]

just below the screen, by solid pillars, are the octagonal benches of the monks, and the archimandrite's chair against the pillar and opposite one door on each side of the church. And further down the church, by the wall to the left as seen from the sanctuary, stands an extremely richly decorated tomb of St Iakov, whose body is said to lie fresh and in one piece, as on a bed,²⁷⁶ but we were not allowed to go near and touch it. There is a sculptured roof above, resting on four sculpted gilt pillars; it looks quite sumptuous. Right opposite the door to the sanctuary stands the octagonal ambo on which the Gospel lies, and right above it is the biggest dome or cupola, with eight windows. And inside there is a balcony around it, as there is round the whole church, with pillars at the front, which makes it possible to walk around. And around this large dome there are four smaller ones, which make the church quite light, so that it is one of the most beautiful churches in the whole country.²⁷⁷ But concerning the rules for the singing and the service, nowhere in the whole of Russia do they keep the ones they have here. <The church>

till heter Иедрово 17 wirst, sedan wj med något beswär ock fara wore kombne öfr Иедрова[!]²⁸⁸ siön som ligger bredewidh <17>

<C.G.S. till iedro 17. w. 4½ tijma. ond wäg sand backott.>

Le 2. om morgonen bittida ankom den samma munken som tillförende 2 gånger war uthskickat till oss med skänker ock brachte nu allenast 1 får, ett stort bröd, och 3 höns ifrån Archimandriten, som lät betacka ambb. som intet hadhe logerat öfwer natten i Woldaij, dheras närmasta by. ock fick 1. Rdh i recompence han förde ock i går till amb. i Cimnaja[!] gora een så full mz färsk fisk, item miöd ock öhl, ock quass. ock fick 2 Rdh i recompence: Kom ock till ambb. till jasolbitz med slijke skänker ifrån Archimandriten, sedan iag war dhädan rester, hwar af man kan see hans beläwenheet, som förr än vij komme, när wi wore ännu i Simnaia gora, ock ännu 17 wirst effter oss wiste sin höfligheet emot oss.

Efter frukosten reste wi ifrån Иедрово klok. 8. och reste genom Беpecан 12 wirst: <12.> Sedan genom en annan by Кусенкино 13 wirst där war iag klock 12: redan. <13.> Sedan därifrån till Hattlägret[!] Готиловь dijt kom iag klok halfgången 2: 10 wirst. <10.> <C.G.S. de[n] 2. apr. sände archimandriten mig 1 stort bröd. 1 fåhr. 2 höns. och reste vij sedan till Kotielowa 35. w. i 7: tijmer. wägen passablement bon. allenast een åhbroom.>

[P. 46]

Le 3. Klock. 6 om morg red iag föruth: men ambb. blefwe till frucost. red så (genom) öfwer Холомно siön, och så genom byn Холомно, som ligger på stranden af insiön. 10 wirst i 1½ tijma, <10.> sedan Мстапека förbij 15 wirst, <15> sedan genom Боросдо 5 wirst, <5.> apres auoir premierement passé a pont flottant une peti[t]e riviere qui s'apelle Шлина. <Schlina. dhenne Schlina är Nauigabel höst ock wår mäst, att man kan komma henne genom alt till Nowgrod, och så till siös till Nye[n] och såledhes alt till Stockholm.²⁸⁹ Sedan man rätt wed byn änn een gång hade reste öfr Шлина på een flåttbro.> Sedan syntes på wenstra handen een by Долгова och een annan Бориска, sedan gent moth på högra handen een by Шискова. dessa alla förbij till jam. Вушч-нои Волочокъ tijt kom iag kloc 11. men ambb. effter klock. halfgången 5. dhet äre 5 wirst. <5> denna byn äre halfparten under Woldai Closter, dh delen ligger wästan om kyrkan, östan dehlen är Jamo, tijt kom ock dh förriga munken att afbedia att man ey skulle logera i Closter godzet, brachte ock några bröd, höns ock några läklar mz dryk. etc. NB: cattua nouella dell' inuidia di aleksii gentel. od el Corte. : G.L.²⁹⁰ <C.G.S. 35. wirst till visnoi Wolotschok. i 6. tijmer. körde fort och i ¾ tijma på mijlen. då wägen war god, men där hon uar elak 1¼ tijma. när iag kom fram gaf munken mig 1. stort bröd. 6. stora hwetebröd. och 3 höns. och körde denne dagen öfr 4 åhbroar. 2. rätta broar och 2 flåthbroar. dhesse flåthbroar wore så giorda att igenom ändarna på stäckarna ginge långa lärfstänger. och igenom dhe 4. opståndne i hwart hörne ginge ti-

Outside this [vasen?] consisting of the sanctuary and the church with its three doors, there is a large, broad and light corridor covered by the same roof. It runs around the whole church, with benches all along it. Here it is possible to walk and look into the church, through the doors as well as through lattice-work in the lower wall. On both sides of the large door, this corridor is decorated with drawings of monasteries in Greece. It has, like the church, three doors corresponding to the three church doors. <The corridor> And at the back [of the church], built in three semicircles like the eastern wing of all Russian churches, towards the wall of the monastery, six archimandrites²⁷⁸ are buried. Their tombstones are of steatite inscribed with Russian letters. And here, in the wall, is a glazed clay tablet, three quarters long and made by potters, on which is written the name of the founder and the year of the foundation, no more than 32 years ago, by Nikola [Nikon], the Patriarch of Moscow.²⁷⁹ <The founder>

It is said that the monks number 250²⁸⁰ and that they have 2,000 peasant families connected with them. <Reditus>

Of their estates I have on our way noted only the following: Rachino, Jažebicy, Valdaj and Edrovo.²⁸¹

N.B. When the Russians fast: For seven weeks before Easter and three weeks after;²⁸² after the Day of Peter and Paul for five weeks;²⁸³ before Christmas for six weeks;²⁸⁴ before the great Annunciation for two weeks²⁸⁵ and, finally, on Wednesdays and Fridays they always keep away from their wives.²⁸⁶

[P. 39]²⁸⁷

The 1st of April. After the sermon and a meal we, together with the ambassadors and the whole party, left Zimnjaja Gora and towards nightfall, after crossing Lake Edrovo²⁸⁸ with some considerable difficulty and danger, we arrived in a village close by that belongs to the monastery by the name of Jedrovo, 17 versts <17>. <Conrad Gyllenstierna to Jedrovo, 17 versts in four and a half hours. Bad road, sandy and hilly.>

The 2nd. Early in the morning the same monk came who had been sent to us twice before with gifts, and this time he brought only one sheep, one large loaf and three hens from the archimandrite, who sent his thanks to the ambassadors for not having spent the night in Valdaj, their closest village. He received 1 riksdaler in recompense. Yesterday, to Zimnjaja Gora, he also brought the ambassador a tub full of fresh fish, as well as mead, beer and kvass, and received 2 riksdalers in recompense. He had also brought similar gifts from the archimandrite to the ambassadors in Jažebicy after I had left. From this one can see the polished manners of the archimandrite, who even before we had arrived, while we were still in Zimnjaja Gora and even 17 versts further on, was so polite to us.

After breakfast we left Edrovo at 8 o'clock and travelled through Berezajka, 12 versts <12>. Then through another village, Kuženkino, 13 versts, where I arrived as early as 12 o'clock <13>. Then from there to our night quarters at Chotilovo, where I arrived at half past one, 10 versts. <10.> <Conrad Gyllenstierna: On

ocka tråtzar som fäste i landet, höllo fast flotan att hon ej kunde flyta vpp eller nedher. >

L 4. Ifrån Wuisnoi Wolotschok till ett Kloster St. Nicola Na stolpi.²⁹¹ där wore 6. munkar inne, ock een archimandrit. detta låg på stranden af een wacker lijten riuire som heter Тверца, 10 wirst. <10.> sedan genom een lijten Bojarisk by Холохолна 14½ wirst. <14½ werst:> men förr än man kom till byn 1½ wirst på Nowgrodske sijdan står dhen första stolpen på Now. sijden och därifrån räknas alt fort tillbaka till Nowograd, som man heela wägen obseruerat har. een deehl af denne by ligger på Tortschokske sijdan emedan mitt igenom byn flyter een bäck, som man dog kan rijda öfr uthan broo, ock heter Холохолонка рекá, dhenne är skild nedhan emellan Nouogrodske och Tortschokske Gebieten. ock står rätt på stranden een stolpe med stoor scrift om denna skildnaden såledhes lydandhes: кг: столбовъ ѿ торъжку по Новогороцко болшой. дороги. до Новогороцкого рубежа до речки. да холохолни. к.в. версть. ѿ нонотрет{ч}ео версть. <Skildnaden emellan Nowogrodz och Torцoks [!] Gebieten.

C.G S. dh 4 till widropusk. 35. w. i 7.½ tijma. ond wäg. > straxt hoos denne stolpe genom byn ½ wirst står dh 22 stolpen ifrån Tortschok och så minskas tahlet alt fort fram åth. in till dh 20: som så står: К: столпъ ѿм. торкесу 3 : dh 3. ifrån Холохолнии. <½ Jama 25>

[P. 47] [Fig. 11]

Därifrån Холохолна äre 10 wirster till Woldai Closter by Выдропускъ nys bygd på een hög skön backa, tillförende warit nedan före förr än han för 2 åhr sedan är afbränder, straxt nedan före är ett starkt fall af riuire Twersta, som man reeser öfr hijt till byn ifrån Clostret, öfr een broo. <W.> dhet är mera ett lijtet Closter af 4 munkar som sortera af samma Woldai archimandrit. innom enceinten är ingen kyrka, uthan hoon ligger lijtet längre bort ½ wirst. där ligger och een dehl af samma denne by. hijt kom iag middagz tijdh, ock war inne i Clostret ock blef skänckt mz bränneviñ, öhl och bröd. hijt Conduerade oss ock dh åfwantalde munk, som hella wägen mz oss warit alt ifrån Woldai. här uthi Widropusk är halfwäg till Mouskow ifrån Nowograd. och begynnes här dhet Mouskowske gebietet. dheras nya wirster som bestå af 2 gamla, äre 1000 fambnar som hwardera hålla 3 archiner, äre så mycket som 4 suenska alnar.²⁹² Här tog munken afskeed af oss, sedan han ambb. hade ännu ett bröd och een lijten läckell mz Kloster öhl förährat och fått 2 Rdh igen af amb. <hans nambn är Анфиногенъ Тимофеовсень диакенъ. на Иверска Богородица манастирь на Волдаи.> dog wore wi i Clostret änn een gång mz honom. besågo och Kyrkan ½ werst där från, men kommo ey inn. sadhe att Pathriarchen dhet ey tillåther,²⁹³ elliest wiste han wäll att wi och vore Christne etc. sade och att han på sitt raaband <som bestodh af 5 små och 1 skön alt fort Steen:> las stundom sine gospodi pomilui, och på dh stora fader wår, stundom och på dhe 5 å radh aue maria, och på dh stora Оче на{ч}ъ.

2 April the archimandrite sent me one large loaf, one sheep and two hens. And then we travelled to Chotilovo, 35 versts in 7 hours. The road was fairly good, only one river bridge.›

[P. 46]

The 3rd. At 6 o'clock in the morning I rode ahead, while the ambassadors stayed for breakfast. I rode across Lake Kolomno and then through the village of Kolomna, which is situated on the shore of the lake, 10 versts in 1½ hours. <10> Then I passed the River Msta, 15 versts <15>, then through Borozda, 5 versts <5>, having first crossed a small river by the name of Шлина [Šlina] on a floating bridge. <This Šlina is navigable mostly in autumn and spring, and then it is possible to travel on it to Novgorod and on to the sea at Nyen and thus all the way to Stockholm.²⁸⁹ Right at the village we crossed the Šlina once more on a floating bridge.› Then on the left-hand side I saw a village, Dolgovo, and another one, Boriskovo, then on the opposite side to the right a village called Šiškova. I passed all these and came to the *jam* Vyšnij Voločok, where I arrived at 11 o'clock, but the ambassadors did not arrive until after half past four, 5 versts. <5> Half of this village belongs to the Valday monastery—the part situated to the west of the church—the eastern part is a *jam*. Here, too, the same monk as before came to ask us not to lodge in the part of the village belonging to the monastery. He also brought some loaves of bread, hens and some bottles of drinks etc. NB: news was received from court about the jealousy of Aleksey's relatives.²⁹⁰ <Conrad Gyllenstierna travelled 35 versts to Vyšnij Voločok in 6 hours. He drove at a rate of one mile in three quarters of an hour when the road was good, but in one hour and a quarter when it was bad. When I arrived the monk gave me a large loaf, six large loaves of wheat bread and three hens. And this day I crossed four river bridges, two ordinary bridges and two floating bridges. These floating bridges were made in the following way: through the edges of the logs long [?]poles were run and through the four [?] in each corner ran thick hawsers, fixed to land, holding the raft and preventing it from floating up- or downstream.›

The 4th. From Vyšnij Voločok to a monastery, St Nicholas on the Pillar.²⁹¹ There were six monks and one archimandrite. It was situated on the bank of a beautiful little river by the name of Tverca, 10 versts. <10> Then through a small boyar village called Cholochol'nja, 14½ versts <14½ versts>. But before one reaches the village, 1½ versts to the Novgorodian side, is the first milepost on the Novgorodian side, and from there everything is counted all the way back to Novgorod, as we have noticed during the whole journey. Part of this village lies on the Toržok side, as right through the village there runs a brook that can be ridden across without a bridge; it is called the Cholocholenka reka. A bit further down it constitutes the dividing line between the Novgorodian and Toržok territories. And right on the bank there is a mile-post with an inscription in large letters referring to this boundary, with the following wording: “кг: столбовъ от Торжку по новгородской большой дорогѣ до новгородского рубежа

до речки до Холохольни кв. верстѣ от ново{?} верстѣ”. [There are 23 mile-posts from Toržok along the great Novgorodian road to the Novgorodian border, the stream Cholochoľ’nja, 22 versts, of the new[?] versts.] <The boundary between the Novgorod and Toržok territories. Conrad Gyllenstierna came to Vydropužsk on the 4th, 35 versts in 7½ hours, bad road. > Half a verst from this mile-post through the village is the twenty-second mile-post from Toržok, and then the number diminishes by and by to the twentieth, where it says: “к: столпѣ от Торжкы” [the 20th mile-post from Toržok] 3, i.e. the third from Cholochoľ’nja. <½ Jama [Jamskaja sloboda] 25.>

[P. 47] [Fig. 11]

From Cholochoľ’nja it is 10 versts to the village of Vydropužsk, belonging to the Valdaj monastery. The village was recently built on a beautiful high hill. Previously, before it burnt down two years ago, the village was situated below the hill. A bit further down there is a rapid waterfall on the River Tverca, which one has to cross to get to the village from the monastery, across a bridge. <W.> This is another small monastery with four monks, belonging under the same Valdaj archimandrite. Within the enclosure there is no church, it is situated somewhat further away, half a verst. Part of this same village is also situated there. I arrived here around noon and went inside the monastery where I was entertained to aquavit, beer and bread. We were accompanied here, too, by the above-mentioned monk, who has been with us the whole way from Valdaj. Here in Vydropužsk we are halfway between Novgorod and Moscow and this is where the Moscow territory begins. Their new versts, which equal two old ones, are 1,000 fathoms, each of which comprises 3 aršines, corresponding to 4 Swedish ells.²⁹² Here the monk said goodbye to us, having presented the ambassadors with yet another loaf of bread and a small bottle of monastery beer and having received 2 riksdaler in recompense from the ambassador. <His name is Анфиногенъ Тимофеевъ сынъ, дяконъ, Иверская Богородица монастырь на Валдае [Anfino-gen Timofeevič, deacon, the Iberian Monastery of the Mother of God at Valdaj]>. But we went to the monastery once more with him. We also looked at the church, situated half a verst from there, but were not let in. He said that the patriarch did not allow it.²⁹³ But he himself was well aware that we are Christians too. He also told us that he occasionally said his *gospodi pomiluj* [Lord have Mercy] on his rosary <consisting of five small stones and one large, but still very beautiful stone> and on the large Our Father, occasionally also on the five in a row Ave Maria, and on the large *Otče naš* [Our Father].

The 5th. We travelled from there at 9 o’clock, after I had left before breakfast for the second time, and went through Budovo,²⁹⁴ 13 versts <13>. Then through large forests and bogs, where there were extremely deep and troublesome pools, as far as Sel’co, a small farmstead, 20 versts <20>. From there there was flat land all the way to the town of Toržok, 2 versts. Here there are heights and hills all around, and below the town flows the River Tverca, between the town and the

Le 5. reste wi därifrån sedan iag nu andra gången för maten gått har klock. 9: och reste om Будова.²⁹⁴ 13 <13>. så genom stor skog och morass marck huar-est öfr måttan diupe och beswärlige pussar wore, alt till Селцо ett lijtet bondehus. 20 w: <20>. där finge wi slätten för oss alt till stadhen торжокъ 2 wirst. här äre på alla sijder högt land och backar, och nedan före staden löper тверца ström, emellan staden ock detta иамска hakerlverket som wi reste in uthi, intet Logerandes i stadhen, som ligger högt ock Lågt ock wänder sig slutandes sig till ååen, uthi osten rund om här ock tär äre Closter. så som 1 Троицкои.²⁹⁵ 2. Николскои.²⁹⁶ 3. Рожественскои (Богородица) Христова (берозоглибьскои)²⁹⁷ 4. Василевскои, манастир Девица:²⁹⁸ innanför kloster där äre 50 inne. på denne östre sijdan om staden. 5. Clostret är Бериско-глибскои: af 2 helige bröder.²⁹⁹ detta är af steen. och har sin egne stora anciente som ½ staden ligger högre än staden rätt sunnan före, dehss archimandrit är dh förnembste ecclesiasticus här å orthen och desbatterar alt. men dhet som swårt er sänder han till sinn Metropolijt i Nouograd qvi est le premier Metropolit de Moscou.³⁰⁰ dh 6. Clostret Нікицкои³⁰¹ dh 7 Василовскои³⁰² 8. Богословскои.³⁰³ 9. Семеновскои³⁰⁴ och dessuthom 80 stadskyrkor³⁰⁵ af huilka een {?}erne allena stor som 2 gånger Narven mz alla sijna hackelwerk, men sielfwa enceinten mz trämur är lijten, och bor ingen uti utan wojvoden och pricaset. <C.G.S. 35. w. i 7¼ tijmer till Torsok. om Budoua. 12. Prutna 18. w. synes på W handen till vägen Torsok 5. på 3. ställen vadade öfr diupe moras.> Prestawen Miron Gregorewitz sökte mz all flijt att persuadera ambb. att resa på dhenne Twerska ström till Twer att lijsa hästarna. men ambb. wille intet sig där till förstå. uthan sade att dhet swåraste багаage må så kunna gå, men att dhe dhet göra skulle wore både osundt, ock emoth kgl. respet att så låtha släpa sig mz små båthar genom landeth wore dhe i priwate ärenden kunde dhet wäll gå ann.

2 wirst när staden stod dh första stolpen af Torchockska Gebietet. och stod a där på och som på den förra straxt uthom staden står dh trettionde förste stolpe till Twer, ock så diminuendo alt intill as³⁰⁶ gör så 30 wirst nya härifrån till Twär.

[P. 48]

Wojwoden här i staden är een slätt adelsman heter Микаель Тимофеевиць Челицовъ, dhenne har ey efter Nouogrodske wojwodens bref kunnat skaffa oss skiutz. uthan wille änteligen obligera våra prestaver att obligera oss ex necessitate att reesa härifrån på båthar twerskan utföre neder i Wolge strömen, men ambb. wille ingalunda där till resoluera för sijna egna personer, uthan sadhe att dhe wille förklaga honom och så sielfue leya hestar och att entel. dheras swåraste baggage kunde där gå: och stodh rätt hårdt, Prestaven Miron Greg. sadhe att denne woiwod är intet bättre än mången af dh Nowogradskes tienare och moste fuller äntel. skaffa, eller wille han skrijfwa till Mouscou. refererde och öfwer aftonmåltijden om Zarens hus som dödh är, att han lembnat 8 döttrar samsyskon af Iuan alexejowitz som alle aldrig få gifta sig, af dhessa äre 2 älдра

Jamskaja *sloboda**, which we entered, as we were not lodging in the town proper, which is situated both high and low and which faces and slopes down to the river. All around here and there to the east there are monasteries, such as: (1) Troickij,²⁹⁵ (2) Nikol'skij,²⁹⁶ (3) Roždestvenskij Christov [?],²⁹⁷ (4) Vasil'evskij, a nunnery,²⁹⁸ where there are 50 nuns. The 5th monastery to the east of the town is Borisoglebskij, which took its name from two holy brothers.²⁹⁹ It is built of stone and has its own enclosure, as large as half the town. It is situated higher than the town, right to the south. Its archimandrite is the most distinguished church official there is in the city and he settles everything. But difficult matters he refers to his metropolitan in Novgorod, who is the first metropolitan after Moscow.³⁰⁰ The 6th monastery is Nikitskij,³⁰¹ the 7th Vasilievskij,³⁰² the 8th Bogoslovskij,³⁰³ the 9th Semenovskij³⁰⁴ and apart from that there are 80 town churches³⁰⁵ of which {?} only one. The town proper is twice the size of Narva with all its suburbs, but the enclosure, consisting of a palisade, is small, and no one lives inside except the *voevoda* and the *prikaz*.* <Conrad Gyllenstierna travelled 35 versts in 7¼ hours to Toržok: through Budovo, 12 versts, Prutnja, 18 versts—it can be seen from the road on the left-hand side—and Toržok, 5 versts. In three places they had to wade across deep morasses.> The pristav Miron Grigor'evič tried his very best to persuade the ambassadors to travel on the River Tverca to Tver', to spare the horses. The ambassadors, however, would not listen, but said that the heaviest luggage could be transported that way, but from their point of view it would be both unhealthy and contrary to the dignity of the King to allow themselves to be pulled through the country in small boats. It would have been conceivable had they been there on private business. Two versts from the town stood the first milepost of the Toržok territory, and on it was written an *a*, and as on the previous one just outside the town it says "the thirty-first milepost to Tver'" and so diminuen-do up to *as*,³⁰⁶ then 30 new versts are counted from here to Tver'.

[P. 48]

The *voevoda* in this town is an insignificant nobleman by the name of Michail Timofeevič Čeliščev. He has not succeeded in arranging for our transportation in accordance with the letter from the *voevoda* of Novgorod. This was why he tried to make our pristavs explain the necessity of our travelling from here on boats down the Tverca to the River Volga. But the ambassadors were not willing on any condition to agree to this as regards themselves personally, and said that they would lodge a complaint against him and hire horses themselves, and that it was all right to send their heaviest luggage by that means. The discussions were quite heated. And the pristav Miron Grigor'evič said that this *voevoda* was no better than many of the servants of the Novgorodian one and that he was simply obliged to procure horses, otherwise he [the pristav] would write to Moscow.

At supper he also told us about the family of the dead tsar, that he had left behind eight daughters, sisters of the whole blood of Ivan Alekseevič, who are not allowed ever to marry. Two of these are older than Sofija. Owing to her wisdom and intelligence God has granted her the love of everyone, because she alone was

än Sophia, hwilken för sin klokhet och förstånd af Gudh har haft den lyckan att så älskas af alla, dherför att hoon allena i detta senaste tumultet har ställt till rätta. elliest hadhe dhett aldrig blifuit wäll igen. hon har och heelt andra maner att lefwa än dhe förrige ryske Zarissor, hon går uth och låther sig baar see och ger audienz, åth fremmande, och tager emoth en passant många soupliwer, och stante pede där på straxt resolverar och till executions befaller, emedan hennes yngre styfbroder är ung och dh äldre är altför stupid. Iwan är och [m]yndigher [?] han är ey långt från 30 år redan. det är och ingen som mz något blir benådat, mz tienster eller annat etc. att han iu ey först tager afskedsaudientz hos henne.³⁰⁷ <Pricesan Sophia NB.>

Le 6. Klok 9: war iag efter befaldning att besse dhe båthar som wij skulle brukka.³⁰⁸ och fan dhett rätt goda 14 stycken af huilke (några) 8 redan betäckte, men de andra kunna täckas när man will, och synes mig detta een Comod reesa hälst nu i wåren emedan wattnet är högt, men om sommaren kan dhett ey gå an, effter där är här och tär, några steen fall, som nu äre nog diupare än om sommaren. Påskdagen brände här 30 hus op wed stranden af strömmen broon öfr strömen in till stadens murar flöt i wår bort. Trämuren är som i Nouograd, mz några 4kantige torn af trä och under dhett een lijten 4kantig dör, hwar igenom man moste gå inn i stadhen, dijt kan man med ingen wagn komma på Wattersijden men på nordre sijdan emoth det största hackelverket, hvarest tårgdas köpmännen äre, är en större port, och en broo öfr en graf af watten, som skillier slättet eller stadt[!] där ifrån och är giorder af Stadens mur något högre än hakelverket. så att dhett gör som een lijten wall. hvarpå träwirket bygt är <C. G. S. låge stilla och wille prestauerna äntel. föra oss där ifrån Wolga uthföre 120. wirster. till Schotza.>

[P. 49]

Le 7: klock. 10. ifrån Tortschoc, straxt uthom byn står dh 29 nya wirst stolpen ifrån Twer. och så diminuendo, continuerade resan, om een By Бубена 10. wirst <10>, sedan man 1 wirst ifrån staden hade rest om ett pogost³⁰⁹ på högre handen liggande heter Спасниц al: Спасовъ wackert steen huus och torn. sedan öfr bäcken Лоиевишь³¹⁰ och genom byn på dhess strand Мадина.³¹¹ 7. wirst <7>. på samma feltet ligger een by heter Свишь чова. 1/2 wirst. ifrån Мадина till Mala Miedna een staka gårdh 10 wirst <10>. där hålls halfparten af wägen ifrån Torchoc till Twer. dy där hoos står een stolpe som så står skrifet SI столпъ от твержку. к торжку. SI. där ifrån till Болша Миедна. som ligger på Tverske siden af Twertska strömmen som 6 mijl här ifrån faller inn i Wolga strömen. Här moste wi med största tids spillan flåtha oss öfwer strömen mz 5 färgor.³¹² iag kom hijt klok. 1. eft: midd: sedan iag hela denna wäg ifrån Tortschoc obserwerat öfr 12 eller 13. wackra broer mz garde foul, öfr många små och större bäckar, ibland andra een lång af een wirst. mz garde fou på bådhä sijdor. till dhetta nattlegret äre 3. wirster <3>. här är en mycket wacker trä

the one who put things right during the latest disturbances, otherwise things would never have gone right again. She also lives quite differently from the previous tsarinas. She goes out and allows herself to be seen in public and grants audiences to visitors and in passing accepts many petitions on which she reaches a decision on the spot and gives orders concerning their execution, as her younger half-brother is young and her older brother is too stupid. Ivan is of age, however, he is already close to thirty. No one is allotted anything, a position or the like, without first receiving an audience with her.³⁰⁷ <Princess Sofija, NB>

The 6th. At 9 o'clock I went to inspect the boats we were to use,³⁰⁸ as ordered, and found that there were fourteen of them and that they were in quite good condition. Eight of them were already covered and the others could be covered whenever we wanted. And it seems to me that this will be a comfortable journey, especially now in spring, as the water is high. But in the summer it would not be possible, as here and there there are some rocky rapids, which are much deeper now than in the summer. On Easter Day thirty houses on the river bank burnt down here. This spring the bridge across the river leading to the walls of the town was washed away. The palisade is of the same type as the one in Novgorod, with square towers built of wood and beneath them a small square door through which one has to enter the town. On the side facing the water there is no possibility of entering in a carriage, but on the northern side, facing the biggest suburb, where the merchants are on marketdays, there is a larger gate. There there is also a bridge across a moat, separating the castle or the town from there, and the gate is made of the townwall, somewhat higher than the enclosure to the suburb, forming like a small wall, on which the woodwork has been built. <Conrad Gyllenstierna stayed put and the pristavs were eager to take us from there and 120 versts down the Volga to Šoša.>

[P. 49]

The 7th. We left Toržok at 10 o'clock. Just outside the town stands the 29th new verst post from Tver' and then diminuendo. We continued our journey through a village called Buben'evo, 10 versts <10>, having, 1 verst from the town, passed by a monastery,³⁰⁹ situated on the right-hand side, by the name of Spasnic or Spasovo [?], a beautiful stone building and towers. Then across the Lojeviš [?] [Logovič?] stream³¹⁰ and through the village situated on its bank, Mar'ino,³¹¹ 7 versts <7>. On the same field lies the village of Sviščevo, 1/2 verst. From Mar'ino to Maloe Mednoe, a solitary estate, 10 versts <10>. It is situated halfway between Toržok and Tver', because there there stands a milepost on which the following is written: "СИ столпъ от Твержку к Торжку. СИ" [the 16th post from Tveržok towards Toržok. 16]. From there we went to Bol'šoe Mednoe, situated on the Tver' side of the Tverca River, which falls into the River Volga 6 miles from here. Here we had to raft ourselves across the stream on five rafts,³¹² wasting a lot of time. I arrived here at 1 o'clock in the afternoon after observing more than twelve or thirteen beautiful bridges with parapets leading across many small

kyrka 2 våningar hög så att dh öfre kyrkan brukas om sommaren, men dh undre om vinteren, är den Högsta träbygning 3 torn som man kan se. här war presten så familier att han låste upp kyrkan för mig och iag fick gå inn alt in till dhet helgaste, wiste mig intet allenast alla böckerna uthan kalken och patenet af teen, hvarpå war rund om brädden skrifvit ryska som han ey sielf läsa kunde, där hvore och 3 circlar på een sijda af kalken där på stod Maria, Christos och St. Joannes lärjungen³¹³ (korset †) gent emot på andra sijdan stodh korset †. han wijste mig alt så Nya testamentet som på altaret låg, mz silfr beslaget, och på beslaget Christi Crucifix. der hoos låg och ett lijtet Cors mz silfr förgylt beslaget. hwilket alt iag i min hand hadhe. och war dhet inni af trä, men förr än han mig dom wiste, tog han på sijna händer och armledher 2 muffar som där till express wore gjorde att han ey mz bara handen skulle röra boken,³¹⁴ där war på dhem en lijten tume och några silfr knappar små. sade mig ok at Cohret hvar altaret står, mitt på golfvet som ett lijtet bordh, mz ett Cors framföre kommer inga andra uthi än presterne. men i medlersta rumet alle manfolken, (och qvi) men quinfolken allenast när dhe gå till H. Nattwardh,³¹⁵ elliest bli dhe ståendes i dhet 3die rumet, hwarest och barnen hålles för än dhe äre döpte. sedan är een Corridor om alla ryska Kyrkor och 3 dörer. och mäst wärderlig stora dören i söder: <C.G.S: till Stora Miedna 30. w. i 6½ tijma. Spasniz manastir på högra handen 8. w. ett torp 1. w. een ähbro och stora Mariena 8 w. lilla Mariena 1. w. lilla Miedna 3 w. öfr många broar af bäckar och långa broar öfr morassen³¹⁶ från Torsok. 29 stolpar till Twähr. från Stora Miedna 14 stolpar till torskok.>

[P. 50]

denna byn hörer Clostret Troitzska Monaster till, som ligger 60 wirst hijt om Moscov ock synes till wägen. Wi Continuerade öfwersättiandet af vårt folk alt ifrån klock. 1. efter midd. alt in till bara natten. och sombliga kommo ey öfr för än dagen efter klok. 8 a. 9. NB: åfwansagde Closter heter Троица Зерие-ово Манастирь, och är det förnembsta Closter i Rysslandh, ligger 12 mijl ifrån Mouscow, hafwer öfr 23000 bönder under sig, äre munkarna där inne öfr 500³¹⁷ hafwa af hwar bonde 8 rublar årlige uthlagor, hafva 60 tienare eller upwachtare, i dhetta Clostret plägar alla åhr Zaren och heela Zariske familien komma i september månad i pelegrins färd.³¹⁸

Le 8 reste ifrån Miedna klok. 9 ock kom kl 12 till ett Nicholsko. Closter³¹⁹ mitt i wägen 25 w <25>. dädan äre 5 wirst <5> till staden Tweer klock. 1 <Twer>. men förr än man kom till staden ock sloboden som vi logerade uthi ligger öster om staden, moste wi med båther fahra öfr floden Wolga, som har sin opkombst 400. wirst här ifrån, i någon källa under ett trä,³²⁰ som tämmeligen bred sköljer stad-hens trämur på Nordresijdan ock skillier ifrån denne wår slobode och staden, 2 andre store sloboder som ända längs uth med strömen nordan före ligga, uthi huilka är och ett skönt stort steen kloster med steenmur om, hwarest är een archimandrit, ock heter detta Ottrotsch manastir:³²¹ detta är dhet största och

and larger streams all the way from Toržok. Among them was one the length of 1 verst with a parapet on both sides. It is 3 versts to this night's accommodation <3>. Here there is a very beautiful wooden church, two storeys high. The upper church is used during the summer, the lower part in winter. It is the highest wooden building to be seen, with three towers. Here the priest was kind enough to unlock the church for me and I was allowed to enter all the way into the most sacred place. He showed me not only all the books, but the chalice and the pewter paten as well, around the edge of which Russian letters were written which he could not read himself. On one side of the chalice there were three circles in which were Mary, Christ and St John, the disciple.³¹³ On the opposite side there was a cross like this †. He showed me the New Testament lying on the altar and mounted in silver, and in the middle of the silver was the cross of Christ. By the book [?] there also lay a small cross mounted in gilt silver. All this I could hold in my hand, and inside it [?] was made of wood. But before he showed them to me he put on two gloves, designed for this, on his hands and forearms, so as not to touch the book with his bare hands.³¹⁴ They had a small thumb and a few small buttons of silver. He also told me that the sanctuary, where the altar stands in the middle of the floor like a small table with a crucifix in front of it, is not open to anyone to enter but the priests. But into the middle part of the church all men are allowed, the women, however, only when they go to Holy Communion.³¹⁵ Otherwise they remain standing in the third part of the church, where the children are also kept until they have been baptized. There is also a corridor around all Russian churches, and three doors. The most important one is the great south door. <Conrad Gyllenstierna to Great Mednoe, 30 versts in 6½ hours. The Spasnic monastery on the right-hand side, 8 versts, a farmhouse 1 verst, a river bridge and Great Mar'ino, 8 versts, Little Mar'ino, 1 verst, Little Mednoe, 3 versts, across many bridges crossing streams and long bridges across bogs.³¹⁶ From Toržok there are 29 mile-posts to Tver', from Great Mednoe 14 mile-posts to Toržok.>

[P. 50]

This village belongs to the monastery Troickij monastyr', which is situated 60 versts this side of Moscow and can be seen from the road. We continued rafting our people across from 1 o'clock in the afternoon well into the night, and some did not get across until the following day at 8 or 9. NB. The above-mentioned monastery is called the Troice-Sergiev monastyr' and is the most eminent monastery in Russia. It is situated 12 miles from Moscow and has more than 23,000 peasants under it. There are more than 500 monks there.³¹⁷ Each peasant pays 8 roubles in yearly taxes. The monastery has 60 servants or attendants. Each year in the month of September the Tsar and his entire family come to this monastery on a pilgrimage.³¹⁸

The 8th. We left Mednoe at 9 o'clock and at 12 came to a monastery consecrated to St Nicholas³¹⁹ right by the road, 25 versts <25>. From there it is 5 versts <5> to the town of Tver', where we arrived at 1 <Tver'>. But before we reached the town

bästa Clostret, och dh förnembsta archimandriten och är beläget på een deyelig ort på een udd som på dh sijdan åth staden söderpå sköllies af wolga som löper emellan dhett och Tuer. och på andra sijdan nordost om faller Twertza in i wolga och gör ett hörn af landet, där ytterst på ligger Clostret af 10 munkar och skillies Klostret ifrån een Slobode af Twertza. Nedan för detta Clostret blir wolga märkeligen ökat och 1½ gång så bred som förr. elliest äre dessa Closter uti den andra slobode på denne södre sijdan om wolga såsom fedorowskoi,³²² ofonasaiskoi,³²³ Retschestwenskoi девица³²⁴ (alla 3) haua Egumin. och ingen archimandrit. i staden äre efterföljande kyrkor: Spasa preobrasienia. Roschestwa. Nicola. Blagoweschenia. etc: och Soborna tscherko, och Heter Преображене. Господне. som är dh wackraste af steen mz 5 torn därest boor Wladika,³²⁵ dhen högsta här i andelige saker, och är näst metropolijt. dässuthan är här och där ongefär 50 kyrkor så små som stoora och änn en steen kyrka uthom staden på denne sijdan om Tmaka, som heter Cimeon [!] stolpnik. och i sloboden som är wäster om staden och skillies ifrån staden med een lijten ström Tmaka, som sköllier muren på wästra sijdan är kyrkan Boris Gleeeph: och där straxt hoos Jwan Preotewitsch. Nijcola. och Troitza³²⁶ och Покровъ Девица Манастир [!]. Staden ligger högt dog på slätt landh och på 2 sijdor befluten in på träwäcket med Wolga på Nordre sijdan. och på wästra sijdan är en lijten ström Tmaka, som löper in i Wolga dog äre qwarner uthi och håller sitt wattn winter och sommar. Sielfua staden med sin enceinte dhen war 2 gånger så stor som Tortzoc men med sijna 4 sloboder runt om sig som greest bygda och sig långt uthsträcka, så widt begrepen att the dess längd mer än 2 wirst räkna. <2 девица (Closter) in alles. C.G.S: dh 8. till Twär 30. wirst. 4¾ tijmer. Nicolai na Maltze Manastir.³²⁷ 25. öfr wolga mz färä. till Twär 5. w. god wäg. ingen åhbro: och allenaste een morassbroo i hela wägen.>

[P. 51]

denne slabode hwarest wi bo, så wäll som jamgequeskeske slaboden³²⁸ baak om dhenne strecka sig in till staden, men een tårr graf skillier stads porten med een broo. här ifrån. sådan tårr graf är runt om staden, och porten består af ett 4kantigt steen torn mz trätaak 4kantigt hwast op åth, elliest äre ey store ansenlige hus, dog mycket bättre än i Torsock. qwinfolken äre här och på hufwudet bättre klädde, och deras mössor äre ey så breda och tunna som dhe Torsokske [Fig. 12]: klock. 3 kom amb efter. Emoth aftonen sände woiwoden Кузма Елизаровъ Квашиниъ lägelige skänker till ambb: nämbl 2 bröd, 1 pastet, 1 gås 1 kalkon, een anka, 1 kanna miöd, en kanna öhl 1 kanna kwass. och där wore 20 personer mz. som dog ey finge mera än 60 Copec i drikspengar. Upcom också i afton een stor strijdh emellan Pres[t]awerna våra, och Marskalcken, och några höfiunczare, som förmente att prestaven ohemult hadhe k[l]agat dhem an för een eller annan {oförsätlig} conduite, wid anländandet till staden sadhe och att Marchalken hadhe Marchandiser³²⁹ mz sig. det blef så stående, men dhe unge bursen finge till tahl. ambb. resoluerade att blifwa här

and the suburb where we were to stay—it is situated to the east of the town—we had to cross the Volga in boats. The river has its source 400 versts from here, in a spring under a tree.³²⁰ It is quite wide and washes the palisade of the town on the northern side and separates it from our suburb and the town. There are two other large suburbs as well, situated along the river on the far northern side, in which there is a beautiful large monastery built in stone and surrounded by a stone wall. It has an archimandrite and is called the Otroč monastery'.³²¹ This is the biggest and most beautiful monastery and it has the most influential archimandrite. It is situated in a beautiful spot on a tongue of land which towards the town to the south is washed by the Volga, running between the monastery and Tver'. And on the opposite side, to the north-east, the Tverca runs into the Volga and forms a corner of land, on the far point of which the monastery is situated with its ten monks. And the monastery is separated from a suburb by the Tverca. Further down from the monastery the Volga becomes strangely swollen and one and a half times as wide as before. The monasteries in the other suburb on this southern side of the Volga are as follows: the Feodorovskij,³²² the Afanas'evskij,³²³ and the Roždestvenskij monastery', a convent.³²⁴ All three of them have an *igumen* and none an archimandrite. In the town the following churches are found: Spasa Preobraženija [the Church of the Transfiguration of our Saviour], Roždestva [of the Birth of Christ], of St Nicholas, Blagoveščenija [of the Annunciation], etc. and the Sobornaja cerkov' [the cathedral] by the name of Preobraženie Gospodne [the Transfiguration of our Lord], the most beautiful one, of stone and with five towers. It has a *vladyka*,³²⁵ the most distinguished person here in spiritual matters, he comes after the metropolitan. Furthermore, there are about fifty churches here and there, both small and large, and outside the town there is another stone church, on this side of the Tmaka, by the name of Simeon Stolpnik [Simeon the Stylite]. And in the suburb to the west of the town, separated from the town by a small stream—the Tmaka—which washes the palisade on the west side, is the church of Boris and Gleb. Nearby are Ivan Predteča [Ivan the Forerunner], St Nicholas, Troica³²⁶ and the Pokrov [the Protection and Prayers of Virgin Mary] Convent. The town is situated high up but on flat land, and on two sides rivers run all the way up to the woodwork, namely the Volga on the northern side and on the western side the little stream Tmaka, which flows into the Volga. There are mills there, and it keeps its water in both winter and summer. The town proper with its enclosure is twice as big as Toržok, but if one includes its four surrounding suburbs, sparsely built but extensive, it becomes so large as to amount to more than 2 versts. <Two convents in all. Conrad Gyllenstierna came to Tver' on the 8th, 30 versts in 4¾ hours. The St Nicholas Monastery on the Malica,³²⁷ 25 versts. Across the Volga on ferry-boats. To Tver', 5 versts. Good road with no river bridges, only one morass bridge along the whole of the way.>

[P. 51]

This suburb in which we are lodging, like the Jamščik suburb³²⁸ behind it, extends into the town, but a dry moat separates the town gate from here, with a

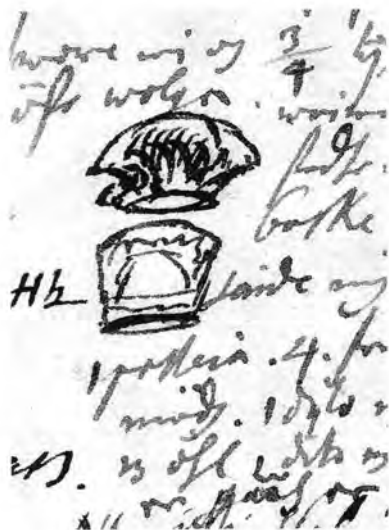


Fig. 12



Fig. 13

qwar öfr många dagar, emedan ännu halfwa baguageet är på andre sijdan om åhn Wolga och börer ey kunna komma öfr före middagen i morgon och har man i dag ey kunnat Continuerat öfrföringen för dhet Continuerlige stora rågnat skull. <munkarna i Nicola Closter på vägen gafe mig 1 stort bröd. och wården i Twär 1 stort hwetebrödh en flaska {isbitin}, och en stor koppar skåhl mz öhl: föruthan dhe förr nämbde $4\frac{3}{4}$ tijmer på vägen. wore wi och $\frac{3}{4}$ tijmer att föra oss öfr wolga. woiwodens hus fru stodhe uthe på en hög backe och såge till oss. sände mig. mz 14 personer 1 pasteia. 4. stora bröd. 1 kanna miödh, 1 dijto mz mölska, 1 dito mz öhl 1 dito mz. swag öhl.³³⁰ 1 kalkon en gåås en anka³³¹ <NB. uthi sloboden som wi reste genom förr än wi kommo öfr Wolga stodh een stolpe således лф. столпъ от Клину. 39 stolpen ifrån Klina.³³²>

Le 9. förledne Natz rågn har ökat Wolga 1. mans längd högt är blefwen rapidare, och itt hårt wästanwäder hindrar att idag alt bagaget icke kunnat komma öfwer, emedan på hwar pråm ey mera änn 3 lass kunde stå, och dhe under 2 tijmar ey kunde öfwer komma effter man pråmarna moste så högt vpdraga mz landtråss att man ey skall flyta staden förbij. här i staden och på sloboderna äre hos de något förneme borgare fönstren af marienglass, hwijta stugur³³³ under och i öfrwåningen, och mz allehanda trycke papper och Copparstijcker så moskovitiske mz ryska bokstäfwer andelige saker angående, som hålländske illuminerade stijcker alt öfr beklädde. här och där finnes framme öfr högsäte-wrån /: som altijd är i dhet hörnet som e diamitro suarar emot spijshörnet snett öfr stugun /: hafwa dhe ett crucifix mahlat på ett annat tråkors således giort [Fig. 13] så äre och alle kors gjorde som på kyrkorna stå, och såsom man nu detta kors anser så faller der af att man wänder sig i öster dy facen der af then

bridge across. This dry moat runs all the way around the town. The gate consists of a square stone tower with a wooden roof, also square in form and with a pointed apex. On the whole, there are no large noteworthy houses, although they are much better here than in Toržok. The women here are also better dressed in terms of headgear, as their caps are not as wide and thin as the ones in Toržok [Fig. 12]. At 3 o'clock the ambassador arrived. Towards the evening the *voevoda* Kuz'ma Elizarov Kvašnin sent timely gifts to the ambassadors, namely: two loaves of bread, one pie, one goose, one turkey, one duck, one tankard of mead, one tankard of beer and one tankard of kvass. Twenty people brought it, but they did not receive more than 60 kopeks as their tip. Tonight there was a big fight between our pristavs and the marshal and some hofjunkers, who claimed that the pristav had unjustifiably accused them of having conducted themselves improperly in connection with our arrival in town. They [the hofjunkers?] said that the marshal had brought merchandise with him.³²⁹ It went no further than that, but the young men were given something to think about. The ambassadors decided to stay here for several days, as half of our luggage is still on the opposite side of the River Volga and might not get across until noon tomorrow, as today it was impossible to continue ferrying it across owing to the continuous heavy rain. <On the way the monks of the St Nicholas Monastery gave me one large loaf of bread and the host in Tver' one large loaf of wheat bread, one bottle of [isbitin?] and one large copper bowl of beer. Apart from the previously mentioned 4¾ hours on the road it also took ¾ of an hour to get across the Volga. The wife of the *voevoda* was standing on a high hill and watched us. She sent fourteen people to me with one pie, four large loaves of bread, one tankard of mead, one ditto of kvass, one ditto of beer, one ditto of light beer,³³⁰ one turkey, one goose and one duck.³³¹ <NB. In the suburb we travelled through before getting across the Volga there was a mile-post saying: лф. столпъ от Клину—the 39th milepost from Klin.³³²

the 9th. The past nights rain has made the Volga swell by the height of a man and it has become more rapid. A strong westerly wind has prevented all the luggage from being taken across today, as each barge had room for no more than three loads and for two hours the barges could not get across, as they had to be pulled high enough ashore with a land hawser to prevent them floating past the town. Here in town and in the suburbs the houses of the more significant burghers have windows made of mica and "white rooms"³³³ on the lower and upper floors covered with various paper prints and copperplate engravings, both Muscovite with Russian letters concerning spiritual matters and illuminated Dutch engravings. Sometimes in the place where the seat of honour is /: which is always in the corner diametrically opposite the corner where the stove is, across the room :/ they have a crucifix painted on another wooden cross in this way [Fig. 13]. This is also the way all the crosses that are found on the churches are made. And looking at such a cross one is in fact facing east, because the face of it, turned towards the eyes of the onlooker, is always facing south, and when one looks at a cross the lower crossbar of which is slanting in the opposite direction like this ‡, this

wänder sig till läsarens ögon wender sig alltid i söder och när man ser ett Cors hwars nedersta twär slå sig sneder twärt om såledhes ‡ så är dhet ett tecken att dhet sees på ryggen, och att man uthan Compas weta kan att man wänder sitt ansichte i söder som det anseer. <stundom finnes och att architecten ey har detta så noga achtat uthan vänt dhet twärt om. som detta nedhanståendhe. ‡³³⁴> alla dhe bästa stugors ungnar äre mz kukkäril som hoos oss, men på een sijda allenast, och ugnen är giord som een baakungn, och pipan går op genom taket straxt fram(me) wedh hwalfwet. eller gapet af ungs mynningen <C.G.S. låge stilla i Twär, och åldermännen³³⁵ där sände hwetebrödh, rog brödh, och färsk fisk och ambb C.G.S. lät slå sig ådher.>

[P. 52]

dhet moste man alltid achta att hvar spijselen eller ugnen står där twärt emoth dhess hörn snett öfr in till dhen andre wrån af stugan, moste högsätet wara, och där står dhe helge beläten altijdh,³³⁶ för hwilke Ryssarna sig altjd först 3 gånger Corsa för än dhe någon inne hälsa, så att om spijsen stode till exempel framme i dh främpsta wrån på högra handen i stugun när man kommer inn, moste man straxt på vänstra handen om Dörrn som man kommer inn igenom, i wrån wenda sig till dhe heliges bilds ärende först.³³⁷ och är gemenl. dh $\frac{1}{4}$ dehlen af stugan som spijsen inntager, så well som dh andra $\frac{1}{4}$ dehlen som där iämppte är gent emot alt till wäggen, lijtet nedrigare ner den $\frac{1}{2}$ dehlen i hwars hörn eller wrå bilderna stå något högre 4 eller 5 twär fingrer högre, som en alcowe. och stänga dhe gemenligen de dehtar som igen är ifrån spijsen och fram till wäggen, af med ett sparlakan, som hänger på en spare hen hoes alla och i alla stugor så giord är, och där innan före håller dheras qvinfolk till. Straxt hoos Ugnen warest dheras barn och de gamla mäst hafwa sitt tillhåll uppe gå och een spare till andra wäggen, och där på och till wäggen ligga bräder, där ligga dhe och sofwa, så natt, som effter middagen på italienskt maner.³³⁸ så att allenast[t] $\frac{1}{4}$ dehl af alla stugur är frij up till taket, de andre $\frac{3}{4}$ dehlarna äre intagne 1. af Spijsen. 2 af qvinfolkens warelse förehängt mz sparlaker och dh 3. öfrtäkt mz bräder att ligga på. dog så att man kan där wäll gå räther under. och i den wrån som längst är ifrån spisen, där är 2 hyller öfr gemenligen: där till giord att sätta bilder på, och fram på hyllorna många små liusplater fastsatte och så bänckar och hyller runt om hela stugorna [Fig. 14]. Men i dhe gemena rökstugur, observeras ey så noga, där äre och många maskar som dhe kalla Toro kani.³³⁹ dhe där äre lefr bruna, hafwa små wingar men löpa mäst, man finner dhe[m] intet aldeles så stora som gräs hoper dhessa är i en oändelig myckenhet, så att dhe och Drijfwa folket uhr husen om sommaren. dhe fälla skinnnet af sig hwar månadh och då äre dhe helt hwijta, till dhess röoken gör dem suarta igen. och är underliget att i huita stugur³⁴⁰ fines dhe ey så, och ey heller annorstedes än i Ryssland, och något lijtet i finland. då dhe koma åth brödh. ätha dhe dhet alt opp mz små trinda håhl skära och sunder kläder, händer och att dhe små krypa inn i öronen på folket, dog sällan.

indicates that the cross is seen from behind and that one can determine—without using a compass—that the person who looks at it is facing the south. <It also occurs, however, that the architect has not paid attention, but turned it the other way around, like the one here below.³³⁴> All the stoves in the best houses are decorated with pots and pans, like ours, but only on one side. And the stove is made like a baking-oven and the flue goes up through the ceiling right by the vault or the mouth of the orifice. <Conrad Gyllenstierna remained in Tver' and the aldermen³³⁵ there sent wheat bread, rye bread and fresh fish and Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna had a vein opened.>

[P. 52]

One has to be aware that from the corner where the stove or the oven is, right opposite, diagonally across the room in the other corner, is the place for the seat of honour, and there the holy icons are always found.³³⁶ The Russians always cross themselves three times before these before they greet anyone in the room. This means that if, for instance, the stove stands in the nearest corner on the right-hand side of the room as one enters, one has to turn immediately to the corner [across the room] to the left of the door through which one enters and greet the holy icons first.³³⁷ In general the quarter of the room occupied by the stove, as well as the quarter next to it as far as the farther wall, is somewhat lower than the half in the corner or nook of which are the images. That part is somewhat higher—some four or five fingers' breadth higher—like an alcove. And as a rule they shut off the part running from the stove and up to the wall with a bed curtain, hanging from a rafter—this is done in most if not all houses. And inside there is the domain of their women. From the stove, above which their children and the old people mostly have their retreat, runs another rafter to the other opposite wall, and on it all the way to the wall are boards. There they lie down to sleep, at night as well as after lunch, like the Italians.³³⁸ This means that only one quarter of all houses are free up to the ceiling. The remaining three quarters are occupied: the first by the stove, the second by the space of the women, with bed curtains hung in front, and the third is covered with boards to lie on, although in such a fashion that it is quite possible to walk erect below them. And in the corner furthest from the stove there are generally two shelves on the wall designed to place the icons on. And on the edges of the shelves many small candle-plates have been fastened and, furthermore, there are benches and shelves all around the room [*Fig. 14*]. But the ordinary smoky huts are not kept very tidy and in them there are many insects called "tarakany",³³⁹ which are liver-brown, have small wings but mostly run. They are not quite as big as grasshoppers. These are found in enormous quantities, to the extent that they drive people out of their houses in the summer. They shed their skin each month and are then completely white, until the smoke turns them black again. And it is strange that they are not found in white cottages³⁴⁰ nor anywhere else but in Russia and to a small extent in Finland. When they find bread they eat it all, making small round holes. They also make holes in clothes and it happens, though rarely, that the small ones creep into people's ears.

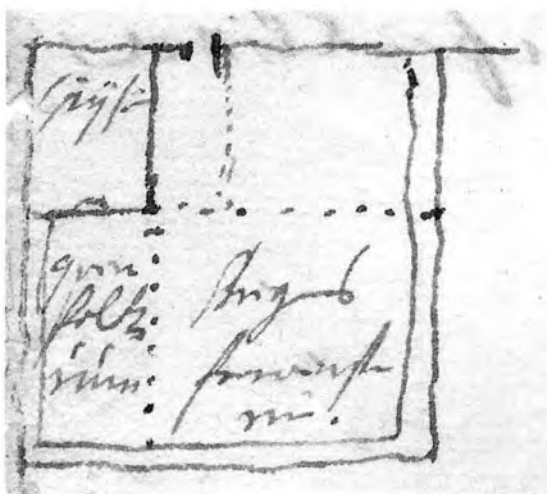


Fig. 14. spisen, qvinfolketz rum, stugans förnemsta rum — the stove, the womens' room, the foremost corner of the house

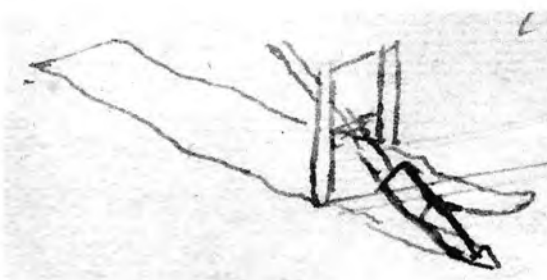


Fig. 15

Woiwoden har idag ey welat gifwa oss mera än 400 hestar, då wij dog ifrån Novgord hade 650.

Obs. gemenl. att i Rysslandh äre dhe godhe timmerhus och äre på trähus helt Courieuse så att man hoos oss skull intet understå sig att byga så höge trähus och kyrker, och så underlig i façon.

[P. 53]

een Courier uthsändes efter middagen att reconoisera om vägen, och några strömmar som faller i Wolga i vägen som wi reesa skulle och fant dhem swåra att komma öfr, emedan Wolga nu så högt stighit har ty resolwerdhe att gå mz strömen uthføre. Öhl måtte ingen wetandes sällia undantagandes Zaren,³⁴¹ som i alla orther har sijn egen krog. alla dhe som i Mouscov bor och bastuga³⁴² hafwa moste gifwa dh Zaren 1 Rdh för hwar om åhret. Woiwoden befunnit sig siuk och icke kunnat hålla sitt wattn sände och begärde Doctoren³⁴³ till sig. Största Disputen är kommen emellan Marskalken och prestawe Bajischef för dhet att han sjna wagnar före ambassad[örern]es wagn lät öfr föra, och ambb. såledhes moste först stå länge och wänta på dhenne sjdan, och sedan äntel taga hästarna af hofjunkrarna som emoth dhem kommo. och rijda op till Logementet, NB: och obearden[?] somblige gå, somblige rijda 2 och 2. op genom slo-

The *voevoda* did not give us more than 400 horses today, although we had 650 when we left Novgorod.

It is worth noting that in Russia the houses are generally built of timber. The Russians are quite extraordinary when it comes to building wooden houses. In our country we would never dream of building such tall wooden houses and churches and in such a strange fashion.

[P. 53]

After lunch a courier was sent to reconnoitre the road and a few streams that fall into the Volga along the road we are to take. And he came to the conclusion that it would be difficult to get across, as the Volga is so high now. For this reason it was decided that we should go down the river. No one is allowed to sell beer openly except the Tsar,³⁴¹ who has his own tavern in every town. Everyone who lives in Moscow and is the owner of a bath³⁴² has to pay the Tsar one riksdaler a year for each one. The *voevoda* has been ill, being unable to hold his water. He sent word for the doctor³⁴³ to come to him. There has been a major quarrel between the marshal and the pristav Baiščev, as the latter had his carriages taken across before the ambassadors' carriage, forcing the ambassadors to stand and wait for a long time on this side. Then finally they used the horses of the hofjunks who came to meet them and rode on horseback to their quarters. NB {?} some went on foot, some rode in twos up through the suburb. A courier from the Tsar has arrived with a letter, demanding that we be in Moscow by the 13th, which is impossible. The pristav Miron is said to have received gifts and the *voevoda* is said to have made a large profit by sending back so many of the 700 horses summoned for us; maybe they all will be, if we go by water.

The 10th. We stayed where we were, and the water in the Volga kept on rising.

The 11th was the Great Day of Intercession, when we had two sermons for the ambassadors and the third clergyman³⁴⁴ preached for the common people in another place. After the midday meal I went for a walk and happened to run into a Russian deacon who was standing on a grave in the cemetery. He had made a roof above and hung carpets around him and stood inside reading. And when I spoke to him he answered me kindly and gave me detailed information. He told me that a high-born man was buried there. He himself had been hired to read the whole Book of Psalms once every day for as long as six weeks over the corpse of the person lying underneath, for the benefit of his soul, which would thereby be saved from the torments of hell.³⁴⁵ I asked him how many hours it took him each day to complete the whole Book of Psalms. He said four hours, sometimes three, but he had to read it in full every day for as long as six weeks. And when he had finished he would receive 40 altyns³⁴⁶ for his trouble, which is 120 kopeks, i.e. 1 rouble and 20 kopeks, the same as 1 ducat.

Up to now nothing has been done for us to get more than 400 horses from the *voevoda*, regardless of the orders of the Tsar. He also wanted the people who

boden. Courier kommen ifrån Zaren som genom bref begärde att wi till dh 13 skulle komma till Mouskow, hwilket oss omögeliget är. Prestaven Miron säges hafwa fåt skänker, så wäll som woiwoden sielf giort sig stor profijt, af dhet att han af 700 hästar som för oss opbådade är har låthit så många gå tillbaka, och kanske alla om wi gå till wattn.

Le 10. låge ännu stilla, och wattnet ökadhes ännu något i Wolga.

Le 11. war stora böndagen då hadhe wi 2 predikningar för ambb. och dh 3die prästen³⁴⁴ predikadhe för folket på ett annat ställe. Efter middagen gick iag utte att spatsera, och fant af een händelse uppå een rysk Diaken, som stod på kyrkegården på een graf, hadhe giort där ett tak öfr sig och hängt mattor kringom sig, och stod där inne och lass. och när iag honom tilltahlte suarade han mig wänligen och gaf noga kunskap. och sadhe att här är begrafwen enn förnäm man, öfr hans lijk som här under liggr har iag blifwit legder till att alla dagar een gång i heela 6 wekers tijdh läsa uth heela psaltaren till hans siähls bästa, som där igenom blir frälsat ifrån helfwitzt pijna.³⁴⁵ iag frågadhe honom i huru många tijmer han kunde huar dag absoluera heela Psaltaren, han sadhe i 4 tijmar stundom också i 3. men moste alla dagar läsa honom uth uppå grafwen, så länge som 6 vecker wara, och när alt är bestält får han för sitt omak 40 altiner³⁴⁶ dhet är 120 copeker, 3: 1 rubl. och 20 copeker: det är så mycket som een dukat.

Här tills är ännu ingen anstalt giord att få mera än 400 hästar af woiwoden oachtat Zarens ordres, han wille och att af dhe 400 hästars husbönder, eller egare skulle tagas dhe folk som oss på wattnet skall fram föra dhe 10 mijl. hwilket vi intet kunnat Consentera. dog samblade i dag båthar nog så småningom <på andra sijdan om Wolg uthi sloboden [s]tår dh 39 stolpen ifrån Klina лѠ.столпъ отъ клина.³⁴⁷ här äre öfwer 50 smeder i dhenne slobode. alla gath-ebodar äre här också. i dhenne weckan har dhet dundrat förste gången som iag hört har 2 gånger. **dh 12.** ut ordo finge ambb. {ny} 300 Rubel och några Copeker som dhe altjdh finge några Copek öfr>

[P. 54]

Le 12. stort rägn, och starckt Dundrande efter middagen.

Le 13: om aftonen seent, kom Prestaw. Mir. Greg. ifrån Woivoden till oss mz begäran att, willia dröya öfr mårgondagen så kunde han skaffa oss så många hästar som wi behöfua hwilket ambb. och så straxt resolverade. i medlertijdh lastade wi inn i båthar våra saker till att ressa utföre till Tschasa, blefve dog stille liggandes **dh 14** och så i Twär. NB jeroslaw. uocatus altera Moscouia.³⁴⁸ liggr här ifrån Tuer 300 wirst. Wi blefue då stilla i Twär alt till tjisdagen, i medlertijd war iag och att besöka archim. uthi otrosko manastir som mig wäll plä-gadhe, hans nambn war Иωсефъ. hoos honom war een annan andelig man

were to transport us the 10 miles on water to be taken from among the masters or owners of the 400 horses, something we could not agree to. Today, however, enough boats have finally been produced. <Across the Volga in the suburb is the 39th mile-post from Klin: “лѠ. столпъ от Клина”.³⁴⁷ In this suburb there are more than 50 blacksmiths. All the stalls are also found here. This week there has for the first time been thunder, twice that I have heard. **The 12th** as agreed, the ambassadors received more money, 300 roubles and a few kopeks: they always received some extra kopeks.>

[P. 54]

The 12th. Heavy rain and loud thunder in the afternoon.

The 13th. Late in the evening the pristav Miron Grigor'evič came to us from the *voevoda* with a request that we stay here on the following day as well, which would make it possible for him to procure as many horses as we needed, which the ambassadors decided to agree to straightaway. In the meantime we took our things on board the boats to be transported down the river to Šoša. However, we remained in Tver' on **the 14th** as well. NB. Jaroslavl', called “the other Moscow”, is situated 300 versts from Tver'. So we stayed in Tver' until Tuesday. In the meantime I went to visit the archimandrite of the Otroč monastery,³⁴⁸ who looked after me well. His name was Iosif. At his dwelling was another churchman from the *vladyka*, i.e. the archbishop, who entertained me from the Bible and proved to be really learned. In passing I also saw in a church how they baptize their children. They hold them completely under water. Then, while saying prayers, they paint crosses of holy oil with a small brush on their face, their wrists, their chest, and also on their feet and in the hollow at the back of the head. Then, after a few prayers, they cut four small wisps of hair cross-wise from the head of the child: first at the back of its head, then from the fringe at the front, then on the right temple, then on the left. The hair is collected by a person and rolled into wax, and the priest takes it to keep it.³⁴⁹

The 15th. At 10 o'clock, after breakfast, we left Tver' in ten boats down the Volga. And on the way we passed many beautiful villages situated on the banks. They offer a most pleasant view to people travelling on the beautiful Volga, which now has very high water and becomes broader by and by downstream. And it is now causing more damage to fields and meadows, as it is higher this year than before. The biggest estates situated along the banks are as follows: firstly, 5 versts from Tver', Peremera, which belongs to the Metropolitan, after one has travelled by a small village called Konstantinovskoe, situated no more than 3 versts from Tver'.³⁵⁰ Near Peremera, on the right-hand side, by the river bank, are ten small mounds on a meadow, but surrounded on all sides by water. Down here, the Peremera stream flows into the Volga from the south, from the right bank into the Volga. 5 versts on from Peremera there was an estate, but rather like any peasant village, by the name of Vlas'evo. There we had our people

ifrån Wladiken ꝛ: archiepiscopo som mig mycket uthur biblen entretenerade, och var lärd nog. Jag såg och en passant i een Kyrka huru dhe sijna barn döpa i dheth dhe dem heele och håldne i uattn insettia, sedan med böns läsande stryka kors med boneollia och een lijten pentzel, bådhe i ansichtet, handlederna innan och uthan i bröstet, så wäll som på fötterna, och bak i halsgropen i nacken, sedan efter några böner, klippa 4 små testar af barnetz hufwud i kors wijs först i nacken, så framme i luggen, sedan på högra sijdan wed tinningen, så på dhwenstra hwilket een samblar ihopa och rullar i hopa i wax, och presten tager dheth till sig att göma.³⁴⁹

Le 15. reste wi klock. 10: effter äthen frukost ifrån Twer med 10 båthar utföre Wolga, och reste i vägen förbij många sköna byer som på stranden belägne, formera för dhe förbij reesande een agreabel uthsecht. på dh sköna Wolga som nu rätt höögt wattn har, och är rätt bred iu längre hon går uthför, och gör nu större skada på åkrar och ängar. idhet hon nu högre än förre åhren warit. dhe förnämste gårdar på stranden låge äre dhesse effterföllijande först 5. werst ifrån Twer Pieremera Metropoliska, sedan man hade rest om en lijten by Constantinowska som är ey mera än 3 wirst från Twer.³⁵⁰ wed Perimera ligger på högra handen wid älfwe stranden 10 st: ättbackar små på een äng men wattnet står på alla sjdor omkring. här nedan före kommer Perimera bäck. inn i Wolgan flytande ifrån söder in på högra brädden in i wolga. 5. wirst bättre fram ifrån Perimera låg een herregård, dog till seendes som en annan bondeby. heter Wlasieuska, där läte wi slå på Pukor och blåsa mz 4 trumpeter, dhessa 10 wirst. från Twer hade wi giort till klok war $\frac{3}{4}$ på 12. <NB. ifrån Moscou till dh yttersta staden wed Chitaiski tartaren, som heter Kusnietzk³⁵¹ äre 900 wirst. >

[P. 55]

sedan till semenowska på högre liggande 10 wirst: och gent öfr på wenstra handen ligger ett Closter, som heter Воршинъ: Worschin Manastir.³⁵² där är een Egumin: sedan om (Корозинъ) Олекъсеи 17. wirst från Twer. <andra sadhe 15 wirst från Twer. dheth iag hälst blir wedh> här fant iag och så straxt nedan om byn på högra stranden öfr 30 ättbackar, små, alla på ett musquetz skott i hopa liggandes Dädan till Eguminscka Dereuna Pogost: 25 wirst från Twer. jädan sadh dhe mig wara ännu 20 wirst till Nattlegret Tschotscha: bättre fram hade wi på högra handen en lagom by Trokowitz. där war och på högra stranden straxt under byn 5 eller 6 ättbackar. dog små. på een äng. wed alfuen 13 wirst ifrån Natllägrät. På wänstra handen en (mycket stort bojariskt dereuna) by Sudimero, gentöfr., sedan 2 wirst bättre fram en (wirst) på högra stranden är een lijten stadh, men snarare stor by Gorodinn. ligger något högre änn alla dhe förige byar. så ett sten Pogost eller kirka, mz en lijten trämur omkring.³⁵³ här ifrån äre 3 mijl till tschotscha. bättre fram är een mycket stort Bojariskt dereuna på wenstra handen. Jedijnomola 5 wirst ifrån nattlegret, och gentöfr på högra handen ligger en annan dito heter Mielka Slobodki. sedan steg

beat on the kettledrums and blow four trumpets. We covered these 10 versts from Tver' by a quarter to 12. <NB. From Moscow to the town furthest away, near the border of Chinese Tatar, called Kuzneckij ostrog,³⁵¹ it is 900 versts.>

[P. 55]

Then to Semenovskoe on the right bank, 10 versts. And right across, on the left-hand side, is a monastery called Оршинъ, Oršin monastyr',³⁵² where they have an *igumen*. Then through Aleksino, 17 versts from Tver'. <Others claimed it was 15 versts from Tver', which I agree with.> Here, too, just below the village on the right bank, I found more than 30 mounds, small ones, all situated within a distance of a musket-shot from each other. From there to the *pogost* of Igumenka derevnja, 25 versts from Tver'. I was told that from there it was still 20 versts to our lodging for the night, Šoša. Further on, on the right-hand side, we had a village of moderate size called Trokovič [?]. There as well, on the right bank below the village, there were five or six mounds, small ones, in a meadow by the river, 13 versts from our sleeping accommodation. On the left-hand side a village called Sudimirka. Across the river, 2 versts further on on the right bank, is a small town, or rather large village, called Gorodnja, situated somewhat higher than all the previous villages. Then a stone *pogost* or church surrounded by a small palisade.³⁵³ From here it is 3 miles to Šoša. Further on, on the left-hand side, is a very large boyar village called Edimonovskie Gorki, 5 versts from our accommodation for the night. And straight across, on the right-hand side, is another ditto, called Melkovskaja slobodka. There I got out of the *lodja** and got into a small boat to shoot wild ducks and cranes, of which I saw many here. Then I rowed slowly down the pleasant Volga all the way to our lodging for the night, selo Voskresenskoe, situated on a tongue of land created by the Šoša river, which falls into the Volga from the south on the right-hand side. We arrived there at 7 o'clock in the evening. It is a small lousy den, in which we were taken care of badly. <Some assert that we travelled 9 miles today, others 10. Some told us they had slept in a tavern. We did not get any supper. We did, however, get a bite of cold roast, bread and kvass while standing.> On the way, one of our boats ran aground, the one carrying all the most important luggage, including the presents. And as they could not get it afloat in the dark—the Volga is shallow in some places—and it got stuck five or six times, that boat did not arrive until early in the morning of **the 16th**.

On **the 17th** and **18th** we stayed where we were, as no *podvody** came from Tver', although they had been promised by the *voevoda*. For this reason we planned to send Elfwendahl to Moscow. But as we received horses—though not more than about 500—in the afternoon of **the 18th**, we let it be and decided to leave on the 19th. A large part of the heaviest luggage, however, was to be transported by water on the Volga, even closer and further towards another stream closer to Moscow. These last three days Mr Klingstedt has been ill and I have had a sore throat, so that I have been able to swallow only with difficulty.

iag där ur lådian. och satte mig i en ljtēn båth, att skiute änder och tranor som här många syntes, rodde så sachteligen uthføre dh behagelige Wolga alt till nat-
tlägrēt Selo Woscresenska på en udde formerad af *Шюца* peká, som ifrån
söder faller på högra handen in i Wolgan. tjt kom wi klok. 7 om aftonen. är ett
litet slemt näste, hwarest man illa logerad wart. <Sombliga räkna denne dagz
resa 9 mijl, sombliga 10. sombliga sadhe att dhe i een Krog legat. imedlertijd
war wij uthan aftonmåhlitjd, dog finge en bijt stående af kall stek och brödh.
och qwass.> under wägen strandadhe på grund een af våra båthar, som alt dhet
förnembste bagagiet war på, och presenterna medh, och som dhe i mörkret ey
kunde komma fint i dhet att Wolga på några ställen är grund, uthan strandade
5 eller 6. gånger, kunde den båthen ey komma fram för än om morgonen bittida
af **dh 16**.

17, 18 Stilla legat af ohrsak att inga Podwoder komne ifrån Twer effter wo-
jvodens lofven, så att vi ärnade sända Elfvendahl till Mouscow, men effter wi
effter middag **dh 18** finge hästar /: dog ey mera än 500 wed pass :/ läthe wi där-
wed blifwa och resoluerade att bryta up dh 19. dog så att een stoor dhel af dhet
swåraste bagaget skulle gå på wattnet wolga ännu närmre, och så wijdare
emoth en annan ström närmar Mouscow. dhesse 3 dagar har och H. Clingstett
warit siuk. iag har och haftt ondt i halsen att iag mz möda swälga kunde.

NB Tout ce qui est de plus segret, qui se passe a la Cour de Mouscovie le
Roya de Pologne le scait par le moien du monastere des filles Polonaises qui
sont a Mouscou,³⁵⁴ ou les prinesses de la cour se uont passer le temps fort sou-
uant, cest de là quil die les choses les plus segretes du royeame. abbay

[P. 56]

L.19 ifrån *Шюца* klok: 11: (om) och 8 wirst däriifrån <8.> låge några gårdar
i een hoop på högra handen, som äre Cobanowa een stoor by, Powliukowa,
Siornowa, som komma Michael Archengel präst hoes Zaren, till os³⁵⁵ — Wiso-
cow. 2 wirst längre fram <2.> liggr een stoor sköön by *Зело Завидова Царенс*
[!], där är een wacker steenkyrka som här rart är, förre än wi kommo op till byn
som på en hög backe ligger, reste wi öfr een lång bro öfr en lijten bäck här wore
bönderna i byn uthē för oss och sålde hwetebröd och ägg <här synes nu ingen
snö mera> härifrån äre 5 wirst <5> till Spassow Saulok, hwarest wi låge stilla
öfr **dh 20** som är sundagen. dhenna weckan är nog grönt blifuit på marken, och
löf nyss utspruckne groderumm öfr alt. och plöyes i åkrarna öfr alt. mz sådane
plogar som i lijflandh, hwilke har 2 näbbar i stället för bijlen, och een iärn sky-
ffil mitt imellan, hwilken lägger på dh eena eller andra näbben af plogen att
wälta fårorna alla inn uth åkren.³⁵⁶ [Fig. 15.]

dh 21 reste wi däriifrån klok. 9 om morg: och genom een stoor skoog, moras
och pussar 4 mijl alt in till een bäck jamoga där på stranden stod r. stolp. ot Kli-
na: r. wirst: och ehuru den är dh 3. nya stolpen. räknas dog äy mera än 5 gamble

NB. All the most secret things that occur at court in Moscow are known to the King of Poland through the convent for Polish girls living in Moscow.³⁵⁴ The princesses at court very often go there to pass the time. It is from there that the most secret things in the country are spread. Monastery.

[P. 56]

The 19th. We left Šošā at 11. Eight versts from there <8> were some farms in a group on the right-hand side, Kabanovo, a large village. Then to Pavljukovo and Šornovo, where the Tsar's priest from the Cathedral of Michael the Archangel came to us [?].³⁵⁵ Then to Vysokovo. Two versts further on <2> is a large, beautiful village belonging to the Tsar—selo Zavidovo. There they have a beautiful stone church, something which is rare here. Before we came up to the village, which is situated on a high hill, we travelled across a long bridge over a small brook. Here the peasants from the village were out to meet us, selling wheat bread and eggs. <No snow is seen here any more.> From here it is 5 versts to Spas-Zaulok <5>, where we remained on **the 20th**, which is the Sunday. This week the ground has become quite green and the trees have just come into leaf. There is frogspawn everywhere. The fields are being ploughed all around with ploughs of the type they have in Livonia with two coulter instead of the share and an iron shovel in between, which puts on one or the other of the coulters of the plough to turn the furrows in the field [?].³⁵⁶ [Fig. 15.]

The 21st. We left from there at 9 o'clock in the morning and went through a large forest, bogs and pools of water, 4 miles, up to a stream called Jamuga. There on the bank was r. stolp ot Klina [the third milepost from Klin], 3 versts. And although it is the third new milepost, the distance to Klin is no more than 5 old versts. We crossed this stream on a large long bridge, then by a beautiful road through a sandy heath and forest. And then, 3 versts from the bridge on the left-hand side, on the opposite side of the Jamuga stream, a boyar estate, selo Majdanovo, beautifully situated on high ground. From there the distance to Klin is 2 versts. This distance I rode in two hours <25 versts>. This Klin³⁵⁷ is defined as a small town, although there are no walls and no castle there. But in old times there used to be a fortlet or a small citadel east of the town, on top of a very high green hill between the monastery and the town. That is why it is called a town, although there are no more than 30 houses here. Here they have an insignificant *voevoda* whose name is Iakov Alekseevič Alfimov, who is a *dvorjanin** with the Tsar. He stood with his wife on the church balcony or in the corridor and talked to me on different subjects. And when we were about to leave he treated us to aquavit. Two priests who were present were the first to drink out of the wooden tankard, after the older one of them had blessed it with the sign of the cross. Below the town flows a small winding stream which is very beautiful. It is called the Sestra reka. There is also a flour-mill driven by water just below the village of Prasolovo, belonging to the monastery in the town. It is situated on the other side of the hill along the stream, opposite the town and the monastery. <These two

wirst till Klijna: öfr denna åh är en lång stor bro. sedan genom een wackrare moowäg och skog, och sedhan 3 werst ifrån broon på wänstra handen, på andra sijden om jamoga åh: een gårdh bojarisk. som heter zelomadinaowa [!]. liggr högt och wackert. dädan. 2 wirst till Klijna, och detta red iag i 2 tijmer <25: wirst>. dhetta Clijna³⁵⁷ kallas een lijten stadh, ehuru där inga murar eller slått är, allenast i forna tijder har öster om staden uppå een hög hög gröön backe som ligger emellan Clostret och staden warit (ett) een skantz. eller lijten fästning, dherföre kallas dhetta en stadh, ehuru här äy äre mera än 30 gårdar: här är een lijten wojwodh som heter jacow alexeiowsin alfimow och är Dwåränin* hos Zaren. denne stodh mz sitt fruentimmer på kyrke altanen, eller Coridoren, och talte med mig om ett och annat och när wi skulle gå bort skänck[t]e oss mz bränewijn, 2 präster som när wore druke först af tråkosan, sedan dh äldre af dhem m † hadhe henne welsignat. under staden löper een lijten wacker å en serpantant som heeter Sistra recá. Där är och een watt miöhl quarn, straxt under praselowa by som är Clostretz i staden tillhörighet, och liggr öfr åbacken på andra sijdan gent emoth stadhen och Clostret. <dässa 2 bäkar jamoga och Siestra peka[!] flyt i hoopa straxt här [i] staden. här mötte oss 2 parti folk. 1. ryssk. och 2. hållendsk köpman, som i går rest ifrån Moscou.> dhetta Clostret heter

[P. 57]

Uspenie Swetaia bogoroditza Manastir³⁵⁸ de äre 10 Munkar under een Egunin, och hafwa ved pass 30 bönder under sig. och ligger öfr måttan lustigt på een hög strandh af Siestra reká. straxt nedan för Clostret liggr een bojarisk gård Wolinski 1 wirst ued pass bättre neder på bäcke stranden, och gent öfr staden öfr een bro öfr samma siestra recá. är een gårdh eller by som dhe kalla Slobodskie. sönder under stadhen ½ wirst här ifrån. sunnan om staden ligger på een hög backa en skön by bojarisk heter Diemjanowa. 1. wirst här från. <mötte oss och på vägen dh Courier som Miron ifrån schotza sände till Moscou. och berättade att dhe oss wäntat har i tisdag. och om torsdag att in hempta oss iu för iu heller (rende dhe dh Keyserliga ambassadh. wenta och så)> Elliest refererade oss won Kocquen att dh holländska köpmannen som på vägen honom mötte sadhe honom att dhe wänta oss i Mosckov och att dh Danska Enuoyen³⁵⁹ gör all sin flijt att hindra fredzverket och att han intet will wijka hofuet som han gestar i för oss, oansedt att Zarerna wille hafft oss där. refererade och att ett förräderij här warit före emoth dh yngre Zaren af Jwan Michailowitz Miloslawskoi,³⁶⁰ som är soneson af Elian Danielowitz Moloslawskoi swärfader af Alexi Michaelowitz. den döde Zaren och dh aldre prinzens iwan petrovitz³⁶¹ (swärfader mor) fadher. och att een scrifware har reda[n] warit pijnter för samma ärende han sadhe och att man förmodar att wij ey skola bli länge ophållne.

dh 22. ifrån Klina till Borosda. 3. wirst. al: 4: öfr Siestra reká och een lång bro, På wänstra handen där om öfr bäcken ligger ett Pogost Moltschanowa Selo 1 wirst på sijdan: på wänstra handen om Borosda öfr bäcken ligger een dehl af

streams, the Jamuga and the Sestra reka, join near the town. Here we met two parties, one Russian and the other a Dutch merchant. They left Moscow yesterday.› The name of this monastery is

[P. 57]

Uspenie Svjataja bogorodica monastyr'.³⁵⁸ Here there are ten monks under one *igumen* and they have approximately 30 peasants under them. The monastery is situated very nicely on a high bank of the Sestra reka. Just below the monastery is a boyar estate called Volynskoe, about 1 verst further down on the bank of the river. And opposite the town across a bridge over the same Sestra reka is an estate or village called Slobodskie, south of the town half a verst from here. South of the town on top of a high hill is a beautiful boyar village called Dem'janovo, 1 verst from here. <On the way we met the courier sent by Miron to Moscow from Šoša. He reported that they expect us to arrive on Tuesday to escort us into Moscow on Thursday, the earlier the better. (They made the Emperor's ambassadors wait for us as well).› Apart from that, von Kochen told us that the Dutch merchant whom he had met on the way had informed him that we were expected in Moscow and that the Danish envoy³⁵⁹ is making every effort to prevent the peace negotiations. Moreover, he was not willing to give up the residence where he was staying for us, although the Tsars wanted us to stay there. He also told him about a conspiracy that had been instituted against the younger Tsar by Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij,³⁶⁰ grandson of Il'ja Danilovič Miloslavskij, father-in-law of Aleksej Michajlovič, the dead tsar, father of the older prince Ivan Petrovič,³⁶¹ and that a scribe had already been tortured with regard to the same matter. He said that it was presumed we would not be delayed for long.

The 22nd. From Klin to Borozda, 3 versts or 4, across the Sestra reka and a long bridge. On the left-hand side from there across the stream is a *pogost*, Molčanovo selo, 1 verst to the side. On the left-hand side of Borozda across the stream is part of Borozda village. These three belong to boyars. Then through Davydkovo, 2 versts, a boyar village, Seljatina, 2 versts, a boyar village, both of them are situated on the left-hand side. Then <for lunch> to Mošnicy, 8 versts. From there to Tallaawa [?], 13 versts. Then to Peški,³⁶² 2 versts, towards nightfall. I spent 4 hours riding to do these 6 miles. I arrived here at half past 1. At noon Miron found a letter from Moscow waiting for us at Mošnicy, with an order to keep us on our journey so we would not arrive in Nikol'skoe until Sunday, as they did not want to receive us this week. <In the middle of Klin there is a milepost: the 39th milepost from Moscow—лѣ. столпъ от Москвы.›

The 23rd. We remained where we were, and occasionally throughout the day noblemen travelled by on their way to Moscow to meet us. The ambassadors decided to send me ahead with the translator Hafman and with Stackelberg's steward to inspect the lodgings in the houses, have beer put in the cellars and have pro-

borosda by. dhesse 3 äre bojarska. sedam [!] om Dawitka. 2. w. boiarsk. Seliatina 2.w. bojarska som bägge på vänstra handen liggr sedan <till middagz måhltijdh> Mosnitza 8 wirst. Dädan till Tallaawa 13 w. Så till Pescheck³⁶² 2.w. till Natten. på dhessa 6 mijl har iag mz ridandhe till bracht 4 tijmar. och kom hijt klok. 2½: i middagz för oss i Mosnitza fant Miron bref ifrån Moscov med befaldning att hålla oss oppe på vägen och ey komma till Nicolke för än om söndag, emedan dhe oss denna weka ey willa intaga. <Mitt in i Klijna står een stolpe dh 39 ifrån Moscow. лѣ. столпъ от москвы.>

dh 23. låge ännu stilla och heela dagen då och då reste adelsmän förbij som till Moscov skulle emoth oss. ambb. resolverade att sända mig föruth med hafman translatoren och Stakelberg[s] hofmästare. till att bese lägenheterna i husen. låtha lägga öhlet i källrarna, och låtha köpa in till hushållet, hwilkhet Miron ey wille till låtha, för än han först schref där om till Posolski Pricaset dhett han och giorde ifrån Tschasnicowa dijt vi reste

dh 24 effter frukosten kl: 11: således först om Tierichowa 2 wirst ofsannicowa 3eló. 3. Radomlice 5: gent moth öfr bäcken på högra handen ligger Dawitcowa. dädan till Druskina 1. w. på vänstra handen är 2 byar Nicolske 3elo dh andra jalowa 3eló: dädan till Tschasnicowa 1 w. <Så kom och een prest till Miron, att hålla oss he[r] i mårgon, och dröya oss her wijd över onsdag. presten gick ok till Naruen>

[P. 58]

25. Passeradhe och repasseradhe emedan wi här stilla lågo många ryska adelsmän effter middagen bekom och Miron swar uppå sitt igår afgångne bref till Moscov om oss som skola i morgon få lof att reesa föruth om beställningers förrättande. Prestauerna läthe sig och förliuda att wij onsdagen skulle stilla stå i campagne under tält 3 eller 4 wirst hijtom Nicolske, hwarest wi skulle tracterade uarda.

26: klock. 6 om morgonen bröt iag upp effter ordres med ett schriffthl. memorial, och tog medh mig H. Stakelbergz hofmästare, emedan Hafman war siuk, H von Cocquen reste och mz ehuru opasslig, till att wedherqwicka sig. reste så först om effterföliande byar Matuskina 2 w. Rsiafk 5 bojariskt. Tscherkisowa 8 w tscheski Burtzowa tzarsk. 2. Nowa tzarsk: 1. så öfr Chimka recá 12 werst ifrån Moscov, där såg iag första gången — Slåztornet af Mouscov <Jwan Weliki³⁶³> klock: 10. om Micholski 7. w. från Mouskov: Syslawka ett nytt herrehof af Miloslafskoi³⁶⁴ på högra handen härom bakom hofwet i en lijten buske skog såge wi ett rött tält opslaget, och mena att på dhetta stället ambb. skohla campera till intagningen. Emellan Nicholski och Chimka recá mötte oss H von Koecenss suågrar H Cangiter,³⁶⁵ och Hr Knijper³⁶⁶ och plägade oss och både oss wara willkombne och reste så tillbaka mz oss. och komer wi genom dh

visions bought for the household. Miron was not willing to allow this until he had written to the *Posol'skij prikaz* about it, which he did from Čašnikovo, where we arrived on

The 24th after breakfast at 11 by the following route: First through Terechovo, 2 versts, Ovsjannikovo selo, 3, Radomlice [?], 5. Across the stream on the right-hand side is Davydkovo. From there to Družkino, 1 verst. On the left-hand side are two villages, Nikol'skoe selo and the other one L'jalovo selo. From there to Čašnikovo it is 1 verst. <Then a priest arrived and told Miron to keep us here tomorrow and to make us stay over the Wednesday. The priest went on to Narva.>

[P. 58]

The 25th. Many Russian noblemen passed by time and again while we were waiting here. In the afternoon Miron got an answer to the letter he sent to Moscow yesterday about us being permitted to go on ahead tomorrow to make arrangements. The pristavs also let it be known that on Wednesday we were to stop and camp in tents 3 or 4 versts this side of Nikol'skoe, where we would be treated to what we needed.

The 26th. At 6 o'clock in the morning I set off according to orders with a written memorandum and took with me Mr Stackelberg's steward, as Hafman was ill. Mr von Kochen came with us too, although he was indisposed, to invigorate himself. We travelled through the following villages: Matjuškino, 2 versts, Ržavki, a boyar village, 5 versts, Čerkizovo, 8 versts, Česskoe Burcovo, belonging to the Tsar, 2, Novoe, belonging to the Tsar, 1. Then across the Chimka reka 12 versts from Moscow. There, at 10 o'clock, I saw the tower of the castle in Moscow <Ivan Velikij³⁶³> for the first time. Then through Nikol'skoe, 7 versts from Moscow, to Syslavka [?], a new estate belonging to Miloslavskij.³⁶⁴ To the right, behind the estate in a small scrub, we saw a red tent and believe that this is the place where the ambassadors are to camp before entering the city. Between Nikol'skoe and the Chimka reka Mr von Kochen's brothers-in-law, Mr Kannengiesser³⁶⁵ and Mr Kniper,³⁶⁶ met us and entertained us and bid us welcome. And they travelled back with us. We arrived in Moscow at 12 o'clock through the Tver' suburb. Having passed through the suburb we entered the city through a small earthen wall.³⁶⁷ there was no wall of wood or stone. The first stone church we saw was on the right-hand side, quite large and beautiful; it is called Blagoveščenie,³⁶⁸ and has five towers covered with Dutch glazed tiles. Then we passed many small hovels, market stalls and one or two warehouses up to the first wall,

[P. 59]

which is white.³⁶⁹ It is but a plain wall with long holes *à l'antique*. The gate is square in form and of stone. It protrudes from the wall, which means one has to enter by the side, not by the front, which faces the street. But the front side faces the street and has an ornament showing St George. We went on, a stone's throw

Twerska sloboden in i Mouscou kl. 12: och när sloboden war all, kome wi genom een lijten mullwall³⁶⁷ in i stadhen och war dher ingen mur om huarken af trä aller steen. dh första steenkyrkan wi hade är på högra handen rätt {stor} och wacker, och heter blaga Wesienie³⁶⁸ täckt på sijna 5 toorn mz hålländske glasade taaktegel, kommo så genom många små kyffen förbij och gate bodhar, och ett eller 2 håre huus, inn till första muren

[P. 59]

som är hwijt³⁶⁹ bara een sträcke mur, mz långa håhl a l'antique giord, porten är een 4kant af steen som awenserar utom muren så att man på sijdan och ey i facen, som till gatan suarar, moste ingå, dog står facen gent moth gatan och står dher på riddar St Jöran. Så reste wij ett stenkast fram eller 2 och toge så på wenska handen in till dh swenska hofwet som kongen låthit bygga, till dhess wi våra punkter kunde för Knes Vasili Vasilivitz³⁷⁰ framdraga. i dhett wi ankommo kom och så Mons. Buckhof med dhett swåra bagaget, och wjnet, som ifrån Sckotja dh 8 på wolgan ifrån oss gick och har han dher med såledhes reest ifrån Schotza uthføre på Wolga 40 wirst till Duwna sedan dh Dawna och 2 andra riuierer emot Chimen 50 w. sedan landwägen till Ragatschef 7: Dmitrof 15: Moscow 60: i 18 dager. Klockan 2 kom H Cangister tillbaka ifrån Knes Wasili Vasilivitz som till gäst war hoos Daniel Hartman³⁷¹ Hamb. Köpman. därest wore och Boriz alexevitz galitzin³⁷² boutenant³⁷³ och von Horn, som effter von Kock och mig frågade och badhe att dom skulle få ueta när vi kommer (på sloboden) i stadhen <han sade klok. 1>. Sedan ginge wi till H Cangister ij stadhen att få oss math emedan wi i dag intet ändnu ättit hadhe. där blefwe wi wäll tracteradhe alt till klock 9 om aft. då iag lijtet tillförende sände till von Horn att förnimma om hans tillståndh. redhe så heem i swenska håfwet, som Kongen för våra ministrar låthit bygga, där såf iag öfr natten till klockan 4 om mårgonen af

dh 27. då red iag up till Knes Wasili Wasiliwitz före solens upgång och fant honom reda[n] i sitt Cappell i gudstiensten, men $\frac{1}{2}$ tijma där effter kom han uth. då iag föredrog honom mitt wärf, sedan iag honom tillbörl ifrån ambb: hälsat, <och i hand taget hadhe> och effter hans hälsa frågat, och som iag particuler puncter wille införa sadhe han att prestaven som han oss gifuit skulle oss all satisfaction giöra, hwar med iag moste låtha mig nöija.³⁷⁴ Prestauen sadhe att han ey wiste förr änn i går att han dhett skulle wara. red han så med mig ifrån Knes Wasil. W. hus till ambb. Hof,³⁷⁵ och när iag dhett besett och för ljtet funnit lofwadhe han att säga dhett till Knesen, iag redh med, och mötte Knesen inne-moth slotz muren, dher sadhe pres[t]auen honom att palaset war för lijtet. då swardhe Knesen, att wi skulle mera låtha honom söria, och låtha på honom alt bero, wi skulle få andra hus dher till, dher medh åkte han på slottet, och gaf oss lof att rijdha hwart wij wille, där med rede wi neder i tyska sloboden³⁷⁶ <dhe 3 Prestauers namb[n] 1. iwan iuanowitz werdrewski stolnik*. 2. hans Cousin Wasili Petrowitz Werdrowski.³⁷⁷ stolnik. 3 Diacen* Wasili Thimofeowitz Pos-

or two, and then, on the left-hand side, we entered the Swedish residence, which the King has had built. We were to wait there until we could present our business to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič.³⁷⁰ As we arrived, Mr Buckhof also came with the heavy luggage and the wine, which we saw leaving from Šoša along the Volga on the 8th. So he has travelled with it from Šoša down the Volga, 40 versts, to Divnoe[?], then along Davna and two other small rivers to the Chimka, 50 versts. Then by land to Rogačevo, 7, Dmitrov, 15, and Moscow, 60, all in eighteen days.

At 2 o'clock Mr Kannengiesser returned from Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič, who had been visiting Daniel Hartman,³⁷¹ a merchant from Hamburg. Others present there were Boris Alekseevič Golicyn,³⁷² Boutenant³⁷³ and von Horn, who asked about von Kochen and myself and said they wanted to know when we were to arrive in town. <He said at 1 o'clock.> Then we went to Mr Kannengiesser's home in the town to get some food, as we had not eaten anything all day. There we were regaled abundantly until 9 o'clock in the evening. Slightly earlier I had sent word to von Horn to ask about his health. Then I rode home to the Swedish residence, which has been built by the King for our ministers. There I slept the night until 4 o'clock in the morning of

the 27th. Then I rode up to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič before sunrise and found out that he was already in his chapel attending the service, but he came out after half an hour. I then informed him of my errand, having duly given him the compliments of the ambassadors <and shaken hands> and asked about his health. And as I wanted to bring certain matters to his attention, he said that the pristav, whom he had allotted to us, would arrange everything to our satisfaction. I had to rest content with that.³⁷⁴ The pristav said that only yesterday had he heard that he had been appointed pristav. He rode with me from Vasilij Vasil'evič's house to the ambassadors' residence.³⁷⁵ And after I had inspected it and found that it was too small, he promised to tell the prince. I rode with him and met the prince by the wall of the castle. There the pristav told him that the palace was too small. Then the prince answered that we should let him take care of it and leave it all to him. We would be given other houses as well. With these words he went to the castle, having permitted us to ride where we wanted. Then we rode down to the German suburb.³⁷⁶ <The names of the three pristavs are: (1) Ivan Ivanovič Verderevskij, *stol'nik** (2) his cousin Vasilij Petrovič Verderevskij,³⁷⁷ *stol'nik*, (3) the *d'jak** Vasilij Timofeevič Postnikov.³⁷⁸ The first mentioned was seven years ago pristav for the Polish envoys Czartoryski³⁷⁹ and Sapieha.³⁸⁰ The official in charge of the pristavs is Semen Nikolaevič [Nikulevič?], scribe at the *Posol'skij prikaz*.>

[P. 60]

Then I visited old Mr Kock³⁸¹ and had breakfast with him. Then to Mr Kniper to arrange for the beer, and then back to Commissary von Kochen, who was ill in Kannengiesser's house, where we had to promise to stay for lunch. First, however, we went to the ambassadors' residence, where we found the three pristavs before us, who promised that as many houses as we needed would be built for

nicow.³⁷⁸ dh första af dhessa har och för 7 år sedan warit prestav för dhe Pålska gesanterna Tschartarinski³⁷⁹ och Tsapega³⁸⁰ prestauernas handlegare Semen Nikulovitz scrifuare i posolski pricas. >

[P. 60]

besökte så dh gamla Kock,³⁸¹ och åthe hos honom frukost. Sedan till H. Knijper om öhlet att beställa, och så tillbaka till H. Commis. von Kocquen, som opasslig war i Kangisers hus, huarest wi moste lofua att blj till middagz måhl-tijdh, reste dog först till gesante hofwet hwarest vi för oss funne dhe 3 prestaw-erna, som lofwadhe oss så många hus som för nödh göras skulle, hwar medh wi redhe tillbaka till Kangisers åthe dher middag med Kniper och hans hustru och von Kocquens gamble swärfar,³⁸² och effter måhl-tijd emoth afftonen satte oss på våra hästar och rede uth till ambb: som stodhe i fält under tält 5 wirst ungefär ifrån staden på een platz som heter Tuschina derewna monasterska, men där war ey mera än 1 hus 8 Tält wore dher opslagna, att man dherifrån kunde see staden. Hijt fördes några förtäringz medhel ifrån tzararna,³⁸³ som aldrig tillförende brukelighet warit. hijt kommo ambb. klock. 11 för.m. sedan dhe om natten hadhe legat i tscherkisowa. hijt kom iag klock 5. och sadhe ambb. suar om mitt wärf och brachte några bref mz ifrån Naruen. Sedan ginge wij till bords och så till sängz i tälten: <åthe midd. kl. 3. af tzarens förningar. >

28 Klock. 7. op: och klädde oss granna till att bli intagna, i medhlertijdh sambladhe sig ifrån stadhen een oändelig mycke[n]het folk som runt om oss ginge att bese oss, emedan krigzfolket stälte sig alt ifrån Twersca sloboden och in till tälten 5. wirst 2 podiager blefwe sände att föra oss till dhe rätta prestafwer-na. dh första och förnämsta heter Nicito alexeiowitz³⁸⁴ podiage i Possolsci pricas, har tillföre[n]de warit envoie i Sweriget för 2 eller 3 åhr sedan, wij åthe frukost. och bröte. äntel op klok. 11. ifrån tälten och komme in i stadhen till hofwet klock. 8 om afftonen, sedan wij på vägen många gånger anhåldne, men synnerl. een gång öfr een tijma, till dhess alle rytterijer hadhe marcherat om oss på sijdan till att ställa sig före oss i stadhen³⁸⁵ på bådh. sijdor. på wenstra handen stodh footfolket och artilleriet fram för dem några och 60 fanor alt ifrån staden och mera än $\frac{1}{2}$ vägen men på högra handen stod rytteriet alt ifrån tälten till staden. Sedan prestawerna oss fåt i huset bode dhe att wi skulle hålla tillgodo i natt mz dhessa få logementer i morgon skulle bli bättre.

[P. 61]

Om intoghet dh 28.³⁸⁶ uide quae infra tolenta ad introductionem Impp. Legg: quia eadem fere Ceremoniae.

[P. 62]

dh 28 wore dhe 50 strilitzer som vi till wacht hadhe röda

us. With that information we rode back to the Kannengiessers and had dinner there with Kniper and his wife and von Kochen's elderly father-in-law.³⁸² And after the meal, towards the evening, we mounted our horses and rode out to the ambassadors, who were camping in tents about 5 versts from the city in a place called Tušino, a village belonging to a monastery. There was only one house there and eight tents had been put up, from which the city could be seen. Food and drink from the Tsars had been brought here,³⁸³ something that has never occurred before. The ambassadors had arrived here at 11 o'clock in the morning, having spent the night in Čerkizovo. I arrived at 5 o'clock. I reported to the ambassadors about my commission and brought some letters from Narva. Then we sat down for supper and then went to bed in the tents. <They had had lunch at 3 o'clock, using the food and drink from the Tsar.>

The 28th. We got up at 7 o'clock to dress for our entry. In the meantime an enormous number of people from the city assembled. They walked around us to look at us, while the soldiers placed themselves all the way from the Tver' suburb up to the tents, 5 versts. Two *pod'jačie* were sent to take us to the right pristavs. The first and foremost of them, Nikita Alekseevič,³⁸⁴ *pod'jačij* at the *Posol'skij prikaz*, was envoy to Sweden two or three years ago. We had breakfast and finally left the tents at 11 o'clock. We arrived at the residence in the city at 8 o'clock in the evening, having been delayed many times on the way, but especially on one occasion for over an hour, until the whole cavalry had marched past us on the side to place themselves before us in the city.³⁸⁵ People were placed on both sides: on the left-hand side were the foot-soldiers and the artillery. In front of them there were more than sixty standards, all the way from the city and more than halfway. On the right-hand side was the cavalry, all the way from the tents into the city. After the pristavs had arranged a roof over everyone's head, they asked us to put up with these limited lodgings this first night; tomorrow things would be better.

[P. 61]

Concerning the entry on the 28th,³⁸⁶ see what is said below about the entry of the envoys of the Emperor, as the ceremonial was approximately the same.

[P. 62]

On the 28th the 50 *strel'cy* we had as guards were dressed in red.

The 29th. The pristavs came to us twice. And the marshal was given accommodation in the stone house next door. But all the others were still without somewhere to stay and had to sleep here and there, some in cellars, some in the hayloft, some in the loft of the stone house. The pristavs promised better lodgings tomorrow, however. And each time the pristavs arrived the marshal was present and all the cavaliers by the door, but the pristavs wanted to talk only to the ambassadors. Today our *strel'cy* wore white and they were unwilling to allow anyone out for a walk unless they had something to buy, in which case each one had to be accom-

dh 29: wore prestawerna hoos oss 2 gånger, och Marskalken fick sitt rum i nästa steen huset, men dhe andra alla hadhe ännu intet wist, uthan moste ligga här och där sombliga i källerhwalfwen, sombliga på hööskullen sombliga på steenhusets winnen. Prestaw. lofwadhe dog i mårgon bättre. och alla gånger som prestawerna komme war Maschalken till städhes och alla Cauaillererna wed dören emedan som prestawerna wille altijdh tahla allena med ambb. idag wore våra strelitzer hwijta, släpte intet gärna någon uth att spatsera, med mindra man hadhe något att köpa, och då moste man och hafwa een eller 2 strelitzer med sig.³⁸⁷ <NB ala strelitzer hadhe fjna schleifer af silfr på b[r]östen idag kom och efftermiddagen ifrån tzarens källare allehanda slagz wijn och miödh och drycker, effter som i går afftons kom några mathwaror.³⁸⁸ blefwe och så idag till ambb. bordh kalladhe secret. Doct: et Elfvendal.>

dh 30 wore våra Strelitzer gröna, och prestawerna wore klock 9 hoos oss. och så mz schleifer af silfr på bröstet, fick translatorerna huus — men för caualiererna skola dhe bygga een ny trästuga på gården. reedh iag första gången uth, mz mijna både dränger och 2 strelitzer att köpa böcker för amb. G. S.³⁸⁹ besökte och von Kock: dher iag fant Hyttner för mig. Von Kock. badh mig säga till ambb att dhe ey skulle låtha prestawerna see skänkerna, mindre listan därpå för än samma morgon af audientzet af ohrsak. att dhe af sitt maner kunde blamera dhet aldra dyrbaraste. Hyttner badh och att ambb. wille tala för honom hoos prestaw. we[d]h Tsaren att han måtte få tahla i audientzet, emedan mz dh unga Meisner³⁹⁰ intet är bewänt som man af tahlet såg som han förde wed Carossen när ambb först toges emot wed tuerska sloboda: hwilket alt ambb. bijfölla. wj finge och weta af prestawerna att wi om fredag skulle till audientz.

Majus

dh 1. Klock 8 afmarcheradhe dhe fine 50 strelitzer som i går wore och wore liusgröna. och i dag opmarcherade 50 dito mörchgröna listorna förferdigadigade[!] uppå presenterna,³⁹¹ och uppå dhem som tzarens handh kyssa få. amb. C. G. S. fick mig 10 rubl: till att köpa sig böcker före.

dh 2 hadhe wi första audientzet publique gofwe öfr creditifvet och kyste tzarerna[s] handh: innan för 2 hwälfda salar wore tzarerna mz rådet inne i en annan hwälfd saalh mz een pelare mitt på golfuet. <strelitzerna hwijta. med fjne sleifer alla> sätte i 2 hööga alantique giordt mz fyra pelare af silfr stolar med taak öfr alt klart silfr, men dh yngres som på wänstre handen satt, war förgylt, dh äldres något högre, dog bodhe stode i högra hörnet framme. i sahlen, och på högra handen om dhem, rådhet: på

[P. 63]

en bänk wedh muren dh äldre satt mössan så i ögonen på att dhe ey syntes dh

panied by one or two *strel'cy*.³⁸⁷ <NB. All the *strel'cy* had fine silver braiding on their chests. Today in the afternoon we received all kinds of wine, mead and other drinks from the Tsar's cellar, as yesterday evening we had received some food-stuffs.³⁸⁸ Today the secretary, the doctor and Elfwendahl were summoned to the ambassadors' table.>

The 30th. This day our *strel'cy* wore green and the pristavs were in our quarters at 9 o'clock. They also had silver braiding on their chests. The translators received accommodation, but for the cavaliers they are to build a new wooden cottage in the courtyard. For the first time I rode out with my two servants and two *strel'cy* to buy books for Ambassador Gyllenstierna.³⁸⁹ I also visited von Kochen, where I found that Hyttner had arrived before me. Von Kochen asked me to tell the ambassadors not to let the pristavs see the gifts, and even less the list of them, until the morning the audience was to take place, because there was a risk, their being the way they were, that they might help themselves to the most valuable gifts. Hyttner requested that the ambassadors speak for him to the pristavs and ask them with the view to their asking the Tsar whether he might be allowed to interpret during the audience, as the young Meissner³⁹⁰ was not up to much, as had been shown from his performance by the carriage, when the ambassadors were first received at the Tver' suburb. The ambassadors agreed to this. We were also told by the pristav that we will have our audience on Friday.

May

The 1st. At 8 o'clock the fine *strel'cy* from yesterday marched off, they were wearing light green. And today 50 ditto, dark green ones, marched into position. The lists of the gifts³⁹¹ were worked out, and also of those who will be allowed to kiss the hand of the Tsar. Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna gave me 10 roubles to buy him books.

The 2nd. We had our first public audience, handed over our letter of credit and kissed the hands of the Tsars. The Tsars and the council were in a vaulted hall with a pillar in the middle of the floor. To get there we had passed through two vaulted halls. <The *strel'cy* were in white, all with fine braids.> The Tsars were sitting on two high silver chairs made *à l'antique* with four pillars and a roof above, all pure silver. But the chair of the younger one, who was sitting on the left-hand side, was gilded, and that of the older one was somewhat higher. Both chairs, however, were standing in the front right-hand corner of the hall, and to the right of them was the council on

[P. 63]

a bench along the wall. The older Tsar had his cap so far down over his eyes that they could not be seen. The younger one showed a happy face and was half smiling.³⁹² But when the gifts were brought in, especially the ones intended for the

yngre war glad och halfleendes,³⁹² men när skänkerna in droges besynnerl. dhet som ärnat war till tsarinnan³⁹³ dh äldres, eller till princess Sophia gjorde han en skeef munn. wij komme alle öfr 30 till handkyssandhet. oss blef suarat genom (en) Dumnoi diaken Emilian Ukräntzow,³⁹⁴ dog effter Knes wasili wasiliewitz anledning och befaldning som och förde oss wed armen till handhkys-sandhet. detta stodh ey i 2 tijmar på, så blefwe wij sedan trakterade mz maigr a la mouscovite,³⁹⁵ ou nous ne prenions point de gout: på bådhe sijdr om tza-rerna stodhe när in wedh thronen 2 på hwar sijdan, medh bredhe slagz suärdh, och pantzar, dhe uore 4 sty. Kneeser af dhe äldste och förnämbeste familier i landhet.³⁹⁶ [Fig. 16.]

dh 3 strelitzerna röda. war iag uthe och köpte böker för amb. C. G. S. de 4 euan-gel: 4 rubler. Soborna vuligenia³⁹⁷ 4. rubl: och en sclavonsk gramatica³⁹⁸ 1½ Rdh: blef och effter middagen uthsänder till att complimentera dh danska ex-traord. envoyen von Horn. och sedan dh Hollenske residenten.³⁹⁹ hadhe mz mig 3 lacqueyer 1 af hwar amb: desse envoyer betackade sig och sadhe sig skohla mz det första infinna sig hos ambb: natten emellan dh 3 och 4 brunne op (några och) 16 hus i sloboden och stod halfwa natten ett gräseliget ropandhe af peuplen som i orådth stälte gefwe ordet till hwar andra om hielp effter {landzen} {fredh} emedan inga klockor röres för brandh.⁴⁰⁰

dh 4 war iag ut att spatsera till häst i sloboden med några wänner.

dh 5 om mårgonen blef iag uthsänder att Complimentera dh danska H. Com-missarien boutenant på ambb wägnar. och var och straxt der efter hos von Horn, och sedan uth och köpte böcker för amb. C.G.S.; sedan effter middags måhltijden Klock. 3. kom von Horn med boutenant och öfrste le fort⁴⁰¹ att Complimentera ambb. och effter några complimenter och betackelser, satte sig ned mz ambb. att tahl[a] om indifferente saker. Kom och een uthskickat af dh Hollänske resident. att excusera att han ey ännu wore hijt komen att upwachta ambb. dhet han dog öfrmårgon ämnade göra. så för dhet att posten i medhlertijd kunde gee honom något nytt att oss referera, som för dhet att vi i morgon skohla till Conferenze på Possolski pricaset.

dh 6 kom prestaverna att hämpta oss op till Conferentzet, och proponeradhe (att) om (ambb.) wij icke behagadhe tahla latijn, i Conferentzet, emedan dhe een translator hadhe som kunde wäll latin, men intet annat språk föruthan ryskan. dher på swaradhe C. G. S. att wi dhet wäll kundhe, men dhet war ett nytt ting att man så skulle fruchta vårt språk hälst emedan dhe hadhe Hyttner som god swänska tahla kunde, hwar med dhe arge esc{en}dera.

[P. 64]

Wi kommo så inn emoth middagen opp klok 11 ½ i ett stoort rägn, blefue

Tsarina,³⁹³ the older Tsar or Princess Sofija, he made a wry face. All of us, more than 30, were allowed to kiss hands. We were answered by the *dumnyj d'jak* Emel'jan Ukrainev,³⁹⁴ but only with Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič's guidance and instructions. He was also the one who led us by the arm to the kissing of hands. All of this lasted for barely two hours, after which we were given a meagre meal *à la moscovite*,³⁹⁵ which we did not take pleasure in. On both sides of the Tsars there were princes standing. They belong to the oldest and most distinguished families in the country. They were standing close to the throne, two on each side, with broad two-handed swords and armour, there were four of them [Fig. 16].³⁹⁶

The 3rd. The *strel'cy* were in red. I went out to buy books for Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna: the Four Gospels, 4 roubles, the *Sobornoe uloženie*,³⁹⁷ 4 roubles, and a Church Slavonic grammar,³⁹⁸ 1 ½ riksdaler. In the afternoon I was sent to pay our respects to the Danish envoy extraordinary von Horn and then to the Dutch resident.³⁹⁹ I went with three lackeys, one from each ambassador. The above-mentioned envoys thanked us and said that they would pay a visit to the ambassadors as soon as possible. In the night between the 3rd and 4th, sixteen houses in the suburb burnt down. And people were shouting terribly half the night, because in an emergency they give orders to each other about how to help and restore peace and quiet [?], as no bells are rung when there is a fire.⁴⁰⁰

The 4th I went out on horseback in the suburb with some friends.

The 5th. In the morning I was sent to pay our respects to the Danish commissary, Mr Boutenant, on behalf of the ambassadors. Shortly afterwards I called on von Horn, and then went out to buy books for Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna. Then, at 3 o'clock, after lunch, von Horn with Boutenant and Colonel Le Fort⁴⁰¹ came to pay their respects to the ambassadors. And after a few compliments and thanks they sat down with the ambassadors to talk about matters of little consequence. There also arrived a person, sent by the Dutch resident, to ask forgiveness for the latter not yet having come here to pay his respects to the ambassadors, which, however, he intended to do the day after tomorrow. This was both because the mail arriving in the meantime could give him some news to tell us, and because of the fact that tomorrow we would be having a conference at the *Posol'skij prikaz*.

The 6th. The *pristavy* came to take us to the conference. They proposed that perhaps we would be willing to speak Latin during the conference, as they had a translator who, apart from Russian, knew Latin well, but no other foreign language. To that Conrad Gyllenstierna answered that we knew it all right, but this was something new that they were so afraid of our language, all the more so as they had Hyttner, who spoke good Swedish. With that they withdrew, annoyed.

med stor process som försth i audientzet hella suiten ridande för ambb. vagnar: alt till trappan af St. Michael archangel.⁴⁰² ginge så op före, och i stället för dh högra handen och sahlen där wi först wore, ginge wi nu ända fram och in i salen på vänstra handen, ett helt annat gemack och genom 2 salar in där tzarerna sutte äfven som i dh förste sahlen i all måtta, mz en pelare mitt på golwet, båjarerna på bänken wed väggen på högra handen om tzarerna, och tzarernas troner af silfr syntes wara dhe samma som förr. tzar peter satt högre än tzar ivan.⁴⁰³ wi betackade oss för tractamenterna. tzarerna frågade effter ambb. och hofjunkrarnas hälsa, och läth oss där medh ueta att wij måtte koma i Conferentzet, wij opräknadhe Conferentz herrarna in för tzarerna, hwar med wi ginge uth, och innan wi kome till dören vore Zararna af tronerna och ladhe af sig sijna skinnfodhers mössor⁴⁰⁴ med korset och demanterna på, dhe dhe mz sceptern (förr) i alla solenniteter hafwa pläga — vi ginge så alla uth genom 2 salar. och in genom 1. och så in i Conferentzetz saal⁴⁰⁵ medh alt ett tak. Så kom då strax Conferentz herarna räknade op deras nambn effter tzarernas tijtels och Kongens, säjande toges alla i handh, och satte sig såledhes <Conferentzherrarna äre dhesse. 1. dheres tzar. Mayttz rijksz store sigills, och rijksz stoore Legations af-fairers Oberegatel, närmaste Bojarin och Namiestnik Novogrodskoj: Knäs Was. Wasilivitz gholitzin.⁴⁰⁶ 2. närmaste Boyarin och Namiestnik. Susdalskoj Jwan wasilivitz Buturlijn.⁴⁰⁷ NB: ett öga. 3. OKolnitzej och Namiestnik Mozchaiskoj Semen Fedorowitz Tolotschanoff.⁴⁰⁸ 4. Dumnoj Diac jemilian ignatowitz Ukräntzoff. samt Diakerne. 5. wasili Babinin⁴⁰⁹ 6. Procofi Wozintsyn⁴¹⁰ 7. Iwan Wolkoff⁴¹¹ Hyttner och Meysner wore tillstådes, men Hyttner talte våra Prestawer woro och inne och några schrifware, så och Sawa gregorovitz.⁴¹² men protocollet blef hållet på dheras sijda af Cusman. Podiatz.⁴¹³ <[Fig. 17] bodhe så att dhe som ey betroddes att wara till stedes af Kongens folk, motte uthvijsas, thet och straxt skedde. iag blef effter befaldning inne och höll mitt protocoll för änden af bordett där stode och 2 våre translator Elwendahl och Hafman som och secreteraren törneros⁴¹⁴ och 2 cantzelister. Canteberg⁴¹⁵ och Salanus.⁴¹⁶ men de 2 cantzelisterna höll intet protocoll. uthan bara secreteraren och iag: där i finnes hwad som tahladhes.⁴¹⁷ <kaldes vi så uth med aftahl att komma i morgon igen. och kommo hem i huset Klock. efter. 2. ambb. åthe ingen afftonmålhtijd, finge och ett paquet bref i från Sueriget för 9 rubllar. port. sändt till praestaverna att dhe i morgon intet kunde koma op för andre saker dhet dhen lofuadt så laga. lofuade och (i morgon) att uppehålla posten in till morgons affton för vår skull. iag besökte von Kocq. som åth. i dag infallit i sin feber och är rätt svag.

[P. 65]

dh 7. schrefs med posten swar på dhe bref som komme i dag ifrån Sueriget, alt i från Kongen. ok blef intet Conferentz af. iag war och till gäst hoos von Horn, och redh uth medh honom i sloboden och besökte dh Engelska grefwen⁴¹⁸ som här är Gen. Maj. och har tient i Sueriget.

[P. 64]

We got to the Kremlin towards noon, between 11 and half past 11, in heavy rain. We were taken in big procession, as before when we went for our audience, with the whole retinue riding in front of the carriages of the ambassadors, and were taken up to the stairs of St Michael the Archangel.⁴⁰² We went up the stairs and, instead of turning to the right, to the hall where we had been the previous time, this time we went straight up and into the hall on the left-hand side, into quite a different apartment and through two halls into the one where the Tsars were sitting, as in the previous hall, quietly[?], with a pillar in the middle of the floor and with the boyars on the bench along the wall to the right of the Tsars. And the Tsars' thrones of silver seemed to be the same as before. Tsar Peter was sitting higher than Tsar Ivan.⁴⁰³ We expressed our gratitude for the treats. The Tsars asked about the state of health of the ambassadors and the hofjunkers and after that told us that we were admitted to the conference. We enumerated the conference delegates to the Tsars and then withdrew, and even before we reached the door, the Tsars were off their thrones and had taken off their fur-trimmed caps⁴⁰⁴ with the cross and the diamonds, which, together with the sceptre, they bear on all solemn occasions. Then we all went out, passing through two halls and entering another and then on to the conference hall,⁴⁰⁵ which had an undivided ceiling. Then all the delegates to the conference arrived, their names were enumerated after the titles of the Tsars and the King. Then everyone shook hands and sat down in this way: <The delegates to the conference are as follows: (1) Their Majesties the Tsars' Guardian of the Great Seal of the Tsar and of the Most Important Diplomatic Matters of the State, the Privy Boyar and *Namestnik* of Novgorod, Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn.⁴⁰⁶ (2) The Privy Boyar and *Namestnik* of Suzdal' Ivan Vasil'evič Buturlin.⁴⁰⁷ NB one eye. (3) The *Okol'ničij** and *Namestnik* of Možajsk, Semen Fedorovič Toločanov.⁴⁰⁸ (4) The *Dumnyj D'jak* Emel'jan Ignat'evič Ukrainev and the d'jaks (5) Vasilij Bobinin,⁴⁰⁹ (6) Prokofij Voznicyn,⁴¹⁰ (7) Ivan Volkov.⁴¹¹ Both Hyttner and Meissner were present, but Hyttner was the one who talked. Our pristavs were there too and a few scribes, as well as Savva Grigor'evič.⁴¹² But the one who kept the minutes on their side was the *pod'jačij* Kuz'ma.⁴¹³ [Fig. 17.] Those who were not trusted to take part among the King's people were asked to leave, which they did at once. I stayed in accordance with my orders and took my minutes at the end of the table. There, too, our two translators, Elfwendahl and Hafman, were standing, and likewise the secretary Törneros⁴¹⁴ and two clerks, Kanterberg⁴¹⁵ and Salanus.⁴¹⁶ But the two clerks did not take the minutes, only the secretary and myself. There what was discussed can be found.⁴¹⁷ We were dismissed, it being agreed that we should come back tomorrow. We arrived at our quarters after 2 o'clock. The ambassadors did not have any supper. We received a package of letters from Sweden at a postage rate of 9 roubles. A message was sent to the pristavs that we could not come to the Kremlin tomorrow because of other matters, which the pristavs promised to settle. They also promised to hold the post until tomorrow evening for our sake. I visited von Kochen who had a relapse of his high temperature and is rather weak.

dh 8 Kommo prestauerna till oss, sadhe oss 1. att brefuen wore fört sändhe. 2: att imorgon skulle lefwereras dhe några 100 rublar, som wij på wägen minder fått hafua. sadhe. 3. att tzaren har resoluerat att på hwar Rdhr: som wi bör hafua skulle räknas 55 cop: och hwadh som här tillh fattas { ? } så will dhe penningar wi här effter få så här som i reesan skohla äfwen blifwa räknadhe till 55 cop: sadhe 4: att vi om lördag skohla till Conferentzet igen. 5. att dhe Keyserl. legater komma om måndag: och. 6. att om ambb. wille see dheras intog, skulle tzaren låtha uthse rumm för dhem eller låtha bygga balconer. 7. att ambb. har fått lof att reesa uth att besee tzarens lusthus och godz näst om Mouscow och dhet när dhe wille, skulle och där till få tzarens wagn och hästar. i dag som är Christ Himmelsfärd, är dog alla bodar oppe och all handel och wandel drijfwes, men i morgon är St. Nicolas.⁴¹⁹ då dhe hålla en stor prasnic. eller plägehögtijdh. iag war och emoth afftonen hoos { Kuck }⁴²⁰ och iblandh annan ros sattes i hans trädgård några oculager.

dh 10 Klock 3 effter middagen komme wij till dh andra Secreta Conferentzet, med lijka process som tillförende skedt är och observeradhe iag att under heela Conferentzet <som med handtagande begyntes, sedan ambb. i dh andra dören blefue af 1 diacer /: Semen iwanowitz Romansow,⁴²¹ och Hyttner tolkadhe. Diacen i uthi Siberskii pricaset :/ emothtagne, med bojarernas tijtllars opräkande, som i Conferentzet, med oss wore :/> stodhe i ett gemack brede widh innan för ett bräde plank⁴²² båda tzararna, och såge igenom 2 eller 3 smala springer som war öfr måhladhe mz färger att dhet ey märkas skulle, hwadh som hoos oss passeradhe, hwarföre och wij som för ändan af bordet stodhe, blefwe warnadhe att rangera oss emoth bänken wed wäggen, att tzararna kunde see ambb. och Conferentz herrarna. Klock. 6 komme vi uth igen.⁴²³ i medhlertijdh blefue dh andra Cavallererna plägadhe i förmaket, medh miöd och andra dryker. ambb. wedh dhet dhe skulle gå uth offereradhe åth Gallitzin Kongens tapeter, dhem han och mz tacksamhet emothtogh ambb. både våra prestaver till middagz måltijd till mårgons.

[P. 66]

dh 12 war amb. Clingstedt, och Stakelberg hos dh danske Envoyen von Horn, och afladhe hoos honom förmiddagen klock 10 Cerialia, och Complementer.⁴²⁴ och när wi ginge nedh af trappen mötte oss dh 3die vår prestav, och på Galitzins uägnar låt oss ueta att han gärna hadhe önskat weta af dhenne uisiten före än hon skedde, på dhet att wij mz våra prestauer, och med strelitzer, och solenniter hadhe kunnat blifvit dhijt beledsagadhe. dhär medh åkte vij hem till middagz måhltijdh, och kl. 4. emoth afftonen kom samma prestav igen med några stallbetiente af tzarens stall. och strelitzer, och fölge oss nemebl. dh 2. andra ambb. till dh Hollendske residenten, huilken oss medh een godh och rar Collation, af smått Confect och allehanda slagz wijn undfägnadhe, så att wij alle mz halft rus komme tillbaka igen kl. 9 om aftonen.

[P. 65]

The 7th. The letters from Sweden that arrived today [!] were answered, the replies to be sent by post; they were all from the King. No conference took place. I went to visit von Horn and rode out with him in the *sloboda*. We visited the English count,⁴¹⁸ who is Major-General here and who has served in Sweden.

The 8th. The pristavs came to us and told us the following: (1) That the letters had been sent off. (2) That tomorrow the few hundred roubles which had not been paid in full during the journey would be delivered. (3) We were told that the Tsar has resolved that for each riksdaler that we ought to have, 55 kopeks will be counted, so, to what had been paid so far, additions would be made up to that sum. And all the money that is to be paid hereafter, both here and on the journey back, will be counted at 55 kopeks. (4) We were told that on Saturday we are to go to the conference again. (5) The imperial legates will arrive on Monday. (6) If the ambassadors wanted to watch their entry, the Tsar would choose a place for them or have balconies built. (7) The ambassadors have received permission to visit the country residence and estate of the Tsar outside Moscow, whenever they want. They would be given a carriage and horses by the Tsar to go there.

Today, which is the Day of the Ascension of Christ, all the stalls are open all the same, and all business is carried on as usual. But tomorrow is the day of St Nicholas,⁴¹⁹ a major *prazdnik* or festival day. Towards the evening I visited Kock⁴²⁰ and among the roses in his garden some grafts were established.

The 10th. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at the second secret conference with the same kind of procession as before. And I noticed that during the whole conference <which began with the shaking of hands when the ambassadors had been received at the second door by a *d'jak*, Semen Ivanovič Rumjancev,⁴²¹ who worked in the Siberian Chancellery—and Hyttner translated—and with the enumerating of the titles of the boyars who were with us at the conference> both the Tsars were standing in an adjacent hall behind a wooden screen⁴²² looking through two or three narrow openings, which were painted over so as not to be seen, at what was happening in our room. Because of this, those of us who were standing at the end of the table were told to place ourselves towards the bench along the wall, so that the Tsars would be able to see the ambassadors and the conference delegates. At 6 o'clock we came out again.⁴²³ In the meantime the other gentlemen were being treated in the antechamber to mead and other drinks. When the ambassadors were leaving they offered Golitsyn the wall hangings from the King, which he accepted with gratitude. The ambassadors invited our pristavs for dinner tomorrow.

[P. 66]

The 12th. At 10 o'clock in the morning the ambassadors Klingstedt and Stackelberg paid a courtesy call to the Danish envoy von Horn to express their compliments.⁴²⁴ And on our way down the steps we were met by our third pristav,

dh 13: komme ett stoort paquet bref till ambb. från Sueriget så och från Kongen.⁴²⁵ hwar på dhe och innan afftonen swar afskeckadhe.

dh 14: Klock 11: kom tzarens wagn till ambb. att hämpta oss med 15 hästar till dhett hus <som är. Strelitze pricas⁴²⁶ emelan dh yttersta hwita muren och in imoth iordhuallen> hwarest wij skulle besee dhe Keyserlige ambasadeurers intog, som waradhe ifrån Klock 12 in till klok 8. medh stoor pross. och myckenheet af folk, äfwen som wij blefwe intagne. <sombliga mena något mera folk af qualité till städhes warit hafwer i dag> dhe blefwe logeradhe i gesandte hofwet, därest som von Horn logerade. upkom och i morgons en stark strijdh emellan amb. C.G.S. och Marskalken, om ett och anat särt. för hofjunkarnas hästars skulldh och dhe beropadhe sig bägge på Kongens rättvijsa: dhe Keyserlige blefue intagne ifrån samma tält dhär wij stodhe, men dheras Suite war mycket ringa emoth uår, så att dhe ey öfr 5 eller 6 adhelsmän medh sig hadhe, men öfr 40 egna hästar, hafwa ey heller hwarken siuss, eller penningar af taren begärat eller welat emothtaga.⁴²⁷ <Komme näst öfr eens ty kan een relation mäst tiäna till bägges opplysning.>

[P. 67]

dh 15 näst för middagen sändhe dhe Keyserlige legater till ambb. att anmähla, genom sin secreterare, dheras ankombst, hwarpå iag och effter middagen k[l]ok 4 reedh till dhem mz några ambb. laquaeyer, att Complimentera dhem, tackades dhem för dheras anmählande, önskadhes dhem i dheras wärf lyckeligt uthslag, offereradhes dhem ambb. dienst etc. reeste dher medh uth mz von Horn och Boutenant till Boutenants lust hus 5 wirst från mouscou i en plaisirlig ort, genom een makalös skön biorckeskog heter Marian bousk.⁴²⁸ i dag begrofwes och dher drucknadhe och ihielslagne, och elliest morte non naturali mortui. et justificati, alla i een grop uthom stadhen, och dheras fäst hölls öfr dhem, effter dhe heela åhret öfr samblas ihopa, uthan till att begrafwas före än i dagh.⁴²⁹ <heter amsterdam⁴³⁰>

dh 16 war iag hoos dh Hollendske residenten, att förhöra om logementer i sloboden. för mig och H Clingstetz sonn.⁴³¹ <dh 1. amb. namn är Schirumski baron.⁴³² 2: Blumbergh Baron.⁴³³ tahla brafft pålska.>

dh 17: hadhe dhe Keyserlige ambb. dheras audientze förste gången,⁴³⁴ och emedan man om dheras intog intet rört hafuer ty är skäliget att, dhett nu [s]ker förrän man om dhess audientze sig något uthlåther. <intogetz beskrifuelse af hans Excel C.G.S. mig communicerat.>

dh 14 Maj. 1684.

1. låge dhe i Tält, 4 nya wirst ifrån Moscov. på samma ställe som wij låghe, men ey så många tält

who, on behalf of Golicyyn, told us that the latter would have liked to have been informed about this visit beforehand, so that we could have been taken there with our pristavs and with *strel'cy* in a solemn way. Then we returned home for lunch. And towards the evening, at 4 o'clock, the same pristav came back with some stable valets from the Tsar's stable and with *strel'cy* and took us, i.e. the two other ambassadors, to the Dutch resident, who treated us to a tasty and rare collection of small confectionaries and various wines, so that we all returned half drunk at 9 o'clock in the evening.

The 13th. A big parcel of letters to the ambassadors, including from the King,⁴²⁵ arrived from Sweden. They sent their answers before evening.

The 14th. At 11 o'clock the Tsar's carriage came to the ambassadors to take us with fifteen horses to the house <it is the *Streleckij prikaz*,⁴²⁶ situated in between the outer white wall and towards the earthen wall> where we were to watch the entry of the imperial ambassadors, which took place from 12 to 8 o'clock, with a big procession and a large number of people, the same way we had entered. <Some are of the opinion that higher-ranking people were present today.> They were put up in the residence for ambassadors, where von Horn has his lodgings. This morning there was a big quarrel between Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna and the marshal about different things, especially about the horses of the hofjunkers. Both invoked the justice of the King. The imperial embassy entered the town from the same tents as we had stayed in, but their party was very small in comparison with ours: they brought no more than five or six noblemen, but more than 40 horses of their own. They did not request or accept either transportation or money from the Tsar.⁴²⁷ <The entries were almost identical, so one account will do for both.>

[P. 67]

The 15th. Just before noon the imperial envoys sent word to the ambassadors through their secretary about their arrival, whereupon I rode to them at 4 o'clock in the afternoon together with some of the ambassadors' lackeys to pay our respects, thanking them for their notification, wishing them good luck in their mission and offering them the assistance of the ambassadors etc. After that I, together with von Horn and Boutenant, went out to Boutenant's summer-house, which is situated 5 versts from Moscow in a pleasant place, through an incomparably beautiful birch forest by the name of the Marian Busch.⁴²⁸ Today the burial took place here of people who have drowned and have been killed and executed and, on the whole, people who have died an unnatural death. All of them were buried in one grave outside the city. And their funeral feast was celebrated after they had been collected throughout the year, but not buried until today.⁴²⁹ <The name of the place is Amsterdam.⁴³⁰>

2. Ryska adhelen höllo till häst alt ifrån tälten på högra sijdhan om legaterna, halfwäges in till stadhen, men något längre ifrån hwar andra än när wij kommo inn.
3. När Legaterna wore på halfua wägen kombne höllo dhe någott stilla, och förbemälte adhel redhe alt huadh dhe kundhe att ställa sig på dhen rest-erandhe $\frac{1}{2}$ wägen i sin förra ordning igen.
4. och alt som då legaterna uore förbij troupperna till, så trouppadhe dhe af, och redhe baak om dh andra adhelen uthom stadhen, och komme att rijdha in i stadhen uthi effterfölliande ordning fram för Legaternas wagnar.

[P. 68]

Om sielfwa processen i stadhen

sedan ambb warit med wanl. Complimenter, och stora Tijttlarnas opräknandhe emothtagne och i tzarens wagn insatte, och dhe Cauallerer på tzarens hästar gik för dhem adelen i dhetta sätt.

Wedh häast Compagnie eller troupe reedh

1. Een stallmestare främst. så fördhes några wäll
2. uthstofferadhe hästar, medh sköna sadlar, och Chabraquer, bådhe Turkeske, Arabiske, och Tyske. öfr måttan skoona hästar, och deyelige.
3. wedh somblige troupper, /: ia mäst alla:/ redh een pijpare, och en pukslagare i bredh, /: i somblige ställen wore 2 par ia 3 par pukor i bredd :/ och så 6 troompetare i bredd /: somblig stådhe 2 redhe gorde 12 :/
4. där på fölgde 6. 8. 10. eller 12 två och två i bredd wäll klädde. och bepryde tienare af dh officerare som fölgde och trouppen Commenderadhe, somblige klädde i pantzar, somblige i andra Kostelige Klädher, medh rondscher /: runda sköldar alantique :/ bågar och schächter, pijkar, medh qwastar af tagel, ob{?} bandh af taift, så och med måhladhe draker och stoora ormar, som wed pijkarnas öfuerste spetz hängde. och flöge lijka som i uädret, till at i fält skräma andras hästar.
5. så fölgde åthr igen 6. trompetare ibredd, så 3 pukslagare i bredd, och åther 3 pukslagare i bredd, och så igen 6 pukslagare i bredd.
6. dher på fölgdhe standaren, giordhe af silke, medh 2 spetzar eller uddar, som een stor skeps flagga.
7. så sielfue ryttmestaren, <eller trouppens Commendeur> medh 6. 8. 10. 12. a 14. barhufda dränger kringom sig till foots. hållandhe myssorna i händerna, och gemeenl. 2 och 2 lijka kläddhe, i sammet, atlask rätt prächtigt.⁴³⁵

[P. 69]

8. Ryttmestarena för streltzi, tziltzi, Dworänerna, och Stolnikerna wore alle Stolniker, och dhem fölgdhe åfwan{bewih}ste troupper etc: 4 och 4 ibredd. Ryttmestarena för herrebetienterna, och dhe fleere troupperna wore elliest förnämbt folck. dhe fölgdes och 4 a 4 åth. i bredd.

The 16th. I went to the Dutch resident to find out about lodgings in the suburb for myself and for Mr Klingstedt's son.⁴³¹ <The first ambassador's name is Zierowsky, baron,⁴³² the second is Blumberg, baron.⁴³³ They speak good Polish.>

The 17th. The imperial ambassadors had their first audience,⁴³⁴ and as nothing has been said about their entry, it might be convenient to do so now, before I comment briefly on their audience. <The description of their entry as communicated to me by his Excellency Conrad Gyllenstierna.>

The 14th of May 1684.

(1) They spent the night in tents 4 new versts from Moscow, in the same place as we did, but not as many tents.

(2) The Russian noblemen were on horseback on the right-hand side of the envoys from the tents halfway into the city. However, they stood a little further apart than when we were entering.

(3) When the envoys had covered half the distance, they stopped for a while, and the afore-mentioned noblemen rode as fast as they could to place themselves along the remaining half in the same order as before.

(4) And as soon as the envoys had passed the troops, the latter went off and placed themselves after the other noblemen outside the city and they came riding into the city in front of the envoys' carriages in the following order.

[P. 68]

About the procession into the city

When the ambassadors had been received with the ordinary compliments and the enumeration of their full titles and placed in the carriage of the Tsar and the cavaliers on the Tsar's horses, the noblemen went in front of them as follows: In the horse company or troop rode

(1) A master of the stable in the front.

(2) Then some well adorned horses led by hand with beautiful saddles and horse-cloths, Turkish, Arabian and German. The horses were incredibly beautiful and exquisite.

(3) In most troops /: indeed, in almost all of them :/ rode a wind player and a kettledrummer in one rank /: in some places two, yes even three pairs of kettledrums rode abreast :/ and then six trumpeters in one rank /: some were on foot, two were on horseback, made twelve :/

(4) After that came six, eight, ten or twelve servants, beautifully dressed and ornamented, two abreast. They were servants to the officers following and commanding the troop, some of them dressed in armour, some in other costly attire, with rondaches /: round shields *à l'antique* :/ bows and cross-bow arrows, pikes with horsehair-whisks, { ? } taffeta ribbons as well as painted dragons and huge snakes, which were hanging from the upper points of the pikes and the wind makes them look as if they are flying, to frighten others' horses in the field.

(5) Then there followed six trumpeters in one rank, then three kettle-drum-

9. Effterst wedh hwar troupp fölgde tienarna dhess herrar effter, äfwen som härrarna 4 och 4 i bredd.

Rätta Processen

När tzararna först medh dheras tzariske gemåhler systrar, och fastrar, wore komne till tornet på dh innerste muren wedh slåttet, där dhe wille ansee processen. Komme prestawerna till oss och bodhe oss sättia oss i wagnen tzarens, och ginge 18 strelitzer medh $\frac{1}{2}$ månar, på hwar sijda om wagnen, så att strelitzerna som ginge wedh wagnen wore 36 alles där wi förr inga strelitzer wed tzarens wagnen gåendes haft hafwa. Tzararna mz sitt föllie stodhe på röda muren /: som förr så kaladher :/ wedh slåttet, på dh sijdan som är närmast till Twerska porten där från processen komma skulle.⁴³⁶

När wi kommo in moth sidsta steenmuhren, mötte oss een troupe till häst medh een standar, och in emoth samma steenmurs port stodhe tree brigadher på hwar sijda, hwar brigadh hadhe fäm fanor, dher stodhe och så tzariske artilleriet. På styckewagnarna stode 2 Constaplar, mz tzarernas wapen, mitt på bröstet stort som een sölfr tallrick, af drifwit {?} af bleck. Een Constapel stoodh på hwar sin sijda om hwart stycke. När wj reste uth, wore ey mera än 2 artilleri fanor på hwar sijda om gatan, men när wij reste till baka wore dhe 6 in alles. Uthom dhenne muhren mötte oss ännu 2 standarer förr än wij komme upp i strelitze pricaset att see. till effter tzarens förordning för oss. dhette pricas ligger emellan dh yttersta steen muhren och iordh wallen wed stora gatan som förer till Twerska sloboden. är ett trähus rätt högt, mz 3 gångar eller gallerier omkringh. prestauerna gofwe oss där drika öhl:

[P. 70]

Nijo regementer till foots, wore näst uthan för wallen stälte i raadh, tree man diupt, hwart regemente af sitt eget librée, och bestodh af 15 fanor, och 3 brigader, wäpnadhe mz mousqueter, Swinfiädrar, halfwa måhnar, och Copier⁴³⁷ o: pijkar.

Tolf regementer till foots wore emoth oss, och fleere troupper till häst, och så, som prestawerna oss sadhe,

Nijo Compagnier af herrernas hoffolk o: Bojarski Lijdi :/ sadhes wara inredhne een annan gata.

Tre Compagnier mötte oss, och effterfölliandhe troupper såghe wi marchera förbij pricaset.

1. Knes Wasilij Wasiliwitz Gallitzins hoffolk alla i pantzar, mz bågher, skechter och sablar.
2. Tzararnas stalldränger, wäll klädde, medh sköne inlagde Karabiner i händerna.
3. Dito med bogar och skäcktor.
4. Dito med rondacher. och Copier behängde mz måhladhe drakar.

mers in one rank and another three kettledrummers in one rank, then again six kettledrummers in one rank.

(6) After that came the banners, made of silk, with two points or tails, like a large ship's flag.

(7) Then came the cavalry captain himself <or the commander of the troop>, surrounded by six, eight, ten, twelve to fourteen bare-headed men on foot, holding their caps in their hands and generally dressed in the same way in pairs, in velvet and satin, most splendid.⁴³⁵

[P. 69]

(8) The cavalry captains of the *strel'cy*, *žil'cy*, *dvorjane* and *stol'niks* were all *stol'niks*, and they were accompanied by the above-mentioned troops etc. four abreast. The cavalry captains of the courtiers and of most of the troops were also high-ranking people; they, too, walked four abreast.

(9) Behind each troop the servants followed their masters, four abreast as their masters.

The actual procession

When the Tsars with their consorts, sisters and aunts had arrived at the tower of the inner wall by the castle, from where they were to watch the procession, the *pristavs* came to us and asked us to take our places in the Tsar's carriage. And 18 *strel'cy* with half-moons walked on each side of the carriage, so that the number of *strel'cy* walking beside the carriage was 36 in all. We had had no *strel'cy* walking beside the Tsar's carriage like this before. The Tsars with their retinue were standing on the "red wall" /: thus named as before :/ by the castle, on the side closest to the Tver' Gate, from where the procession was to come.⁴³⁶

When we were approaching the last stone wall, a troop on horseback met us with a banner, and close to the gate of the same stone wall there were three brigades on each side, each brigade with five banners. There, too, was the artillery of the Tsar. On the gun-carriages were two bombardiers with the coat of arms of the Tsars in the middle of their chests, large as a silver plate, in embossed tinplate[?]. One bombardier stood on either side of each cannon. When we were leaving there were no more than two artillery banners on each side of the street, but when we returned there were six in all. Outside this wall we met another two banners before we arrived at the *Strel'cy* Chancellery, from where we were to watch according to the decree of the Tsar. This chancellery is situated in between the outer stone wall and the earthen wall, by the big street leading to the Tver' Suburb. It is quite a high wooden building with three passages or galleries around. There the *pristavs* offered us beer to drink.

[P. 70]

Nine regiments on foot were placed in a row right outside the earthwork, three men deep. Each regiment had its own uniform and consisted of 15 banners and three brigades armed with muskets, swine-feathers, half-moons and *kop'es*,⁴³⁷

5. Tzararnas gemene hoffolck. mz sablar uthan pistoler.
6. dito äfwen så.
7. tziltzi, ringare än adhelsmän, med sablar sens pistoles.
8. 9. 10. 11. 12: äfwenså 13: war wår 2. prestaws broor som Commenderadhe stolnik verdrefskoj. ryttmestare.
14. dito äfwen så.
15. äfwen så. wår 2. prestaw Cousin werdrewskoj ryttmestare.
16. Tzararnas tziltzi, mz sablar. pistole bössr
17. 18. 19. 20. 21. Dito samma ledhes.
- 22: öfwerste Ritter een tysk Commendantt idelige och bara Capiteiner, ryttmestare, Leytnanter, Cornetter fendretter etc.
23. öfwerste Glijd: tyska Commendantt lijka föllie.
- 24: öfwerste Ridder med lijka föllie.

[P. 71]

25. Generalen dh Engelska Grefwen rehamn[!]⁴³⁸ Commendantt idelige öfwerstar, ret stor t[r]opp och så.
26. troppe war af idelige Dworäner:
27. 28: 29: 30. 31. 32: 33. alla Duoräni. aulici. nobiles.
- 34: Sträpsi. 35 dito 36. 37. 38: 39. dito Sträbski
40. Dito. ryttmestare war Knes jacob Borotinskoj
41. Tzararnas stolniker. ryttmestare war jefim. Konderow.
- 42: Dito ryttmester. Elia Michaelowitz demetriow.⁴³⁹
43. Dito ryttmest. Knäs Michaila Wolkonskoj⁴⁴⁰ wår förste prestavs måggh jov iwanowitz verdrefskoj.
- 44: Dito Stolnik, ryttmestare är jacob Stefanevitz Puski.⁴⁴¹ Brodher medh wojwodhen i Smolensko.⁴⁴²
45. Knes jwan wolkonski Dito dubbelt speel
46. dito, ryttm Knäs jwan Kolsow Masalskoj⁴⁴³
47. Komme Выбурны. ѿ: uthwaldhe stolniker, ѿ: dhe förnämste och bäste. dhess ryttmester war war[!] Knes Luka feodorowitz Dolgoruka⁴⁴⁴ fyrdubbelt speel, mz puk. och trompeter och hästar.
1. Sedan kommo 8 Tzararnas spalniker 2. och 2.
2. 4 Keyserlige Cavaillerer med några löshästar för sig.
3. Tzararnas 30 spalniker.
4. Tzararnas wagn mz 6 swarta hästar, mz stora silfr Käder hwar länk ½ aln lång och 3 finger bredh i från munnen på hästarna hängande alt till bröstet.⁴⁴⁵ där satt ambb. inne uthi., (där på fölgdhe dhe ambb. 6. wagner men 6 hästar före, och några baggage wagnar) sedan (48)
- 48 Tzararnas fågelfångiare 82: medh winger af tunt iärn. 2 och 2 i bredd i pantzar, med Copier mz draker behängde öfwerste på spettzen, så och mz boger och skächtor.
49. Cantzelli betiänte 4. och 4. i bredh öfr 150 personer.

i.e. pikes. Our pristavs told us that we had been received by twelve regiments on foot and by more troops on horseback as well. Nine companies consisting of the chamberlains of the noblemen, i.e. *bojarskie ljudi*, were said to have ridden in along another street. Three companies came towards us and we saw the following troops marching past the chancellery:

(1) The courtiers of Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn, all in armour, with bows, cross-bow arrows and sabres.

(2) The stablemen of the Tsars, well dressed, with beautiful inlaid carbines in their hands.

(3) *Ditto* with bows and cross-bow arrows.

(4) *Ditto* with rondaches and pikes with painted dragons hanging from them.

(5) The common courtiers of the Tsars with sabres and without pistols.

(6) *Ditto* as well.

(7) *Žil'cy*, lower in rank than noblemen, with sabres and without pistols.

(8. 9. 10. 11. 12) The same.

(13) Our second pristav's brother, the *stol'nik* Verderevskij, cavalry captain, was in command.

(14) *Ditto* as well.

(15) The same. Our second pristav's cousin, Verderevskij, cavalry captain.

(16) The *žil'cy* of the Tsars, with sabres, pistols.

(17, 18, 19, 20, 21) *Ditto*, likewise.

(22) Colonel Ritter, a German commander, and then incessantly nothing but captains, cavalry captains, lieutenants, cornets, fendrets [?] etc.

(23) Colonel Glijdh, German commander, similar escort.

(24) Colonel Ridder with similar escort.

[P. 71]

(25) The General and English Count Graham⁴³⁸ was the commander. Rows of colonels, rather large troop as well.

(26) The troop consisted of rows of *dvorjane*.

(27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33) All *dvorjane*, courtiers, noblemen.

(34) *Strjapčie**

(35) *Ditto*.

(36, 37, 38, 39) *Ditto strjapčie*.

(40) *Ditto*. Cavalry captain was Prince Iakov Borjatinskij.

(41) The *stol'niks* of the Tsars. Cavalry captain was Efim Kondyrev.

(42) *Ditto*. Cavalry captain was Il'ja Michajlovič Dmitriev.⁴³⁹

(43) *Ditto*. Cavalry captain was Prince Michail Volkonskij,⁴⁴⁰ the son-in-law of our first pristav Iov Ivanovič Verderevskij.

(44) *Ditto*. Cavalry captain was the *stol'nik* Iakov Stepanovič Puškin,⁴⁴¹ brother of the *voevoda* in Smolensk.⁴⁴²

(45) Prince Ivan Volkonskij. *Ditto*. Double complement of bandsmen [?].

(46) *Ditto*. Cavalry captain was Prince Ivan Kol'cov-Mosal'skij.⁴⁴³

(47) Here came the "выборные", i.e. selected *stol'niks*, i.e. the best and most

5. 2 små wagnar, hwar mz 6 hästar
6. 4 reesewagnar, hwar mz 6. hästar. ambb. egne wagner, egne hästar
7. 2 Kärror, hwar mz 2 hästar.

[P. 72]

föruth, mötte oss på platzen för Slottet 7. bagage wagnar, med 6. hästar för hwardhera. och 7. wagnar, medh wijn, och öhl, som wore medh 2 hästar, hwardhera, och hördhe dhe Keyserlige ambb. till.

Wij reste uth klok 12: och kommo igen klok. 8.

dheras audientze skedde dh 17:

klocka 11. förmiddagen wore dhe till redz att blj mottagne. Då kommo till dhem dheras Prestawer, som wore dhesse.

1. Pietr Pietrowitz Puskin. stolnik. sombliga mena Knees.
2. Roman Tschergeofsin Jefimhoff. Stolnic
3. Diac Semen Demitrow. uthi Pomesnej Pricaset.⁴⁴⁶ Dheras translator som dhem af Tzaren forordned är war Görgen Gross⁴⁴⁷ som ehuru tysk, dog är af Rysk religion blefuen genom Moroshofs tillskyndelse, som honom i krig tillfånga tagit, och sedan sin frues Kammerpjga till hustru gifwit.

Stallmestaren som för Tzarens wagn redh, för hwilken wore 6 suarta hästar, mz stoora silfwer kiädier af $\frac{1}{2}$ aln hwar länck, 3 finger bredh, medh gärningz wijs arbetadhe, och hängde af munnen på hästen till bröstet: Stallmestaren Heter Dorofeo Micholin. han hadhe medh sig ongefär 30 stallbetiente rijdandes klädde i rött klädhe med dhem fördes 8 st hästar af Tzarens bättre, mz wakra och sköna schabraquer, hwar på Cauaillererna och Scenteuren rida skulle. medh dheras Präst: där kommo och ongefär 15 tyska officerare till att conduera dhem, och där ey Dhe 80 Käyserlige Cauaillere rakte till där Paradhe sig dhe tyska officerarna par och par. dhe Keyserlige säga sig wara 96 personer starka, sed vix credo. under audientzet, som skedde i samma sahl som vårt första. tahlte dhe latin, dh 1 legaten först och sedan dh 2: 2. långa orationer. hwar öfr några sig förundradhe att och dh andre legaten talthe. dhem blef suarat af Knes Wasili Wasiliwitz genom Dumnoi Emilian Ukräntzoff som oss ochså swaradhe.

[P. 73]

dheras Presenter ginge främbst, och dhet som märkligt är och hålles för een stoor oförsigtighet af dhem, är att dhe sijna presenter dehladhe i 2 dehtar, för dh 1. och dh andra Tzaren. och hwadh dhe dh första gofwe war af större wärdhe, och större wicht än dh andre bestodh mästedhehl i effterfölliandhe stycken.

1. ett stort watt fath mz en wattkanna som en snäckia.
2. 3. 4. 2 st drifwna hwijta silfr faht.

distinguished. Their cavalry captain was Prince Luka Fedorovič Dolgorukij.⁴⁴⁴ Quadruple complement of kettledrums and trumpets and horses. (1) Then came eight of the spal'niks* of the Tsars, two by two. (2) Four imperial cavaliers with some loose horses in front of them. (3) Thirty spal'niks of the Tsars. (4) The carriage of the Tsars with six black horses with large silver chains. Each link hanging from the mouth to the breast of the horses was half an ell long and three fingers broad.⁴⁴⁵ In this carriage sat the ambassadors. (Then followed the six carriages of the ambassadors with six horses in front of them and a few carriages with their luggage.)

(48) Then came the falconers of the Tsars, 82 of them. They had wings of thin iron and proceeded two by two, in armour, carrying pikes with dragons hanging from the upper edge and bows and cross-bow arrows.

(49) Chancellery clerks four abreast, more than 150 people. (5) Two small carriages with six horses each. (6) Four travelcarriages with six horses each, the ambassadors' own carriages with their own horses. (7) Two carts, each one with two horses.

[P. 72]

Earlier, in the square in front of the castle, we saw seven luggage carts with six horses in front of each, and seven carts of wine and beer with two horses in front of each. They belonged to the imperial ambassadors.

We left our quarters at 12 and came back at 8 o'clock.

They had their audience on **the 17th**.

At 11 o'clock in the morning they were ready to be received. Then their pristavs, namely the following persons, came to them:

(1) Petr Petrovič Puškin, *stol'nik*, others say he is a *knjaz'**.

(2) Roman Sergeevič[?] Efimov, *stol'nik*.

(3) The *d'jak* Semen Dimitrov from the *Pomestnyj prikaz*.⁴⁴⁶

Their translator, allotted to them by the Tsar, was Jörgen Gross.⁴⁴⁷ Although he is German he has gone over to the Russian religion at the instigation of Morozov, who took him prisoner in a war and later gave him his wife's maid for a wife.

The name of the master of the stable riding in front of the Tsar's carriage was Dorofej Michulin. The carriage had in front of it six black horses with large silver chains, of which one link was half an ell long and three fingers broad, perfectly worked, the chains hanging from the mouth of the horse to the breast. The master of the stable was accompanied by approximately 30 stablemen on horseback, dressed in red cloth. They brought with them eight of the better horses with beautiful and lovely horse-cloths, on which the cavaliers with escorts were to ride, as well as their priest. About fifteen German officers also came to escort them, and when there were not enough imperial cavaliers the German officers placed themselves in pairs. The imperials say their party comprises 96 people in all, but I doubt it. During the audience, which took place in the same hall as our first one, they spoke Latin, first the first ambassador⁴⁴⁸ and then the second, two long ora-

5. 6: 2 st: Zijr gefässe. där man kunde ijsättia lius uthi mz saltkar. och öllie och ättike etc flaskor omkringh.
 7. 8. 2 st liuseskild{ar} högt opdrijfne mz bröstbilder mitt på.
 9. 10. 2 st credentzer.⁴⁴⁸ gjorde som wijndrufwor med 4 couppes på huardhera 3 under och 1 oppe på.
 11. 12: nogh Zijrgefässe något höga.
 13. een Klocka på 4 fötter fyrkantige.
- alt dhetta war alt hwitt silfr. och för dh 1. Tzaren.

För Peter alexewitz är effterfölliande.

1. ett fath med turckarnes gifwelse. dh fien[d]ers nedher liggandhe för Key-sarens fötter, som sielf sitter under een hög dög, med några förstar hoos sig.⁴⁴⁹
2. där oppe uthi står een {högh} wattkanna som een häst på sin piedestal: som kan spruta uattn. deth war något förgylth här och dhär.
3. ett faath drifwit hwitt. tuncht.
4. 2. st. liusestakar mz några pijper. mz diana och Merkurij bilder mitt uppå.
½ aln höge.
6. 7. 2 st. sköna chenay: eller brödh rör af silfr, som 2 indianer stodhe framföre, läggarna af iärn som wedhen skulle ligga på.
8. några eldh tyg såsom tång, slef och gaffel. af iärn, mz silfr skafft och {ringar} på skaften af silfr.
9. 10. 2 liusestakar mz andra ornamenten omkring.
11. 12. 2 Credentzer eller Zijrgefässen att sätta blomor uthi.
13. ett uhr 4kantigt som dhet förrige.

[P. 74]

föruthan dhesse gåfwe ambassadeurerna dheras egne skänker som wore

1. 2 blompotter, något stoora med grepar eller öron.
2. 2. liustackr mz store ppor.
3. 2: pendel uhr att hänga på wäggen.

När dhe nu i samma ordning som för war af slottet tillbaka kombne, blef dhem sändhe i Tzarens Caross m 6 hästar Кнес Иван Иванович Голицынъ большой⁴⁵⁰ att tractera dhem. och honom fölgde, något långt der äffter.

1. 15 waser förgylte, och Credentzer. att dricka uhr.
2. la nappe af gyllden slijke, burne af 2 personer.
3. 133 rätter åthskiligt slag, burne somblige af 1. 2. 3. 4. 6. personer hwardera.
4. 24 opwachtare wid bordet klädde i hvijta klädher.
5. 25 waser auec la boisson. argent doré.
6. 12. Kittlar, med soppor burne af 2 och 2 Karar.

tions. Some were astonished that the second ambassador talked too. They were answered by Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič through the *Dumnyj d'jak* Emel'jan Ukrainev, who was the one who answered us as well.

[P. 73]

Their gifts were brought in first, and what is strange and regarded as an indiscretion on their part is that the gifts were divided into two parts, one for the first and the other for the second Tsar. And what was given to the first Tsar was more valuable and more significant than what was given to the second. In broad outline they consisted of the following:

(1) A large water-basin with a ewer, shaped like a shell.

(2, 3 4) Two embossed white silver dishes.

(5, 6) Two ornamental vessels, in which candles could be placed, and with salt-cellar, bottles for oil and vinegar etc. around.

(7, 8) Two candle shields [?], highly embossed, with pictures in the middle of the breast.

(9, 10) Two credence-cups shaped like grapes, each consisting of four cups, three underneath and one on top.

(11, 12) some more ornamental vessels, quite high.

(13) A clock on four square feet.

All the above in white silver and intended for the first Tsar.

For Peter Alekseevič the following were brought:

(1) A dish with a picture of the surrender of the Turks, the enemies lying at the feet of the Emperor, who is himself sitting under a high baldachin surrounded by princes.⁴⁴⁹

(2) On top is a high ewer, shaped like a horse on its pedestal ready to spurt water, somewhat gilded here and there.

(3) An embossed dish, white, heavy.

(4, 5) Two candlesticks with some sticks bearing pictures of Diana and Mercury in the middle on top, half an ell high.

(6, 7) Two beautiful *chenets* or andirons made of silver, with two red Indians standing in front, the bars to place the firewood on made of iron.

(8) Some tools for the fireplace, such as tongs, shovel and fork made of iron with silver handles and rings on the handles in silver.

(9, 10) Two candlesticks with ornaments around.

(11, 12) Two credence-cups or ornamental vessels for flowers.

(13) A clock, square, like the previous one.

[P. 74]

Apart from the above the ambassadors brought their own gifts, namely the following:

(1) Two flower-pots, rather large, with handles or ears.

(2) Two candlesticks with big sticks.

7. 3. Kannor mz olia och ätticka.

8. 4 rustwagnar, med drycker, och bordssaker.

Stallmästaren gåfwo dhe straxt 20 ducater.

Kutzkarna 16. RR:

Somblige mente att dhesse skänker war bättre än våra sed fathen runda våra war $\frac{1}{2}$ gång åthminstånde så swåra, och par consequent behageligare, emedan för dh stoora fattigdom skuld som är i tresoren, som har i tumultet blifwi exhaurierat,⁴⁵¹ mena wi straxt smälta op alla skänker, och låta myntas.

[P. 75]

i dag som är **dh 17.** blefwe och wij uthfördhe med Tzarens Caross och hästar till att besee och förlusta oss uthi jsmaelow, 5 el. 6 wirst från stadhen, där är een makalös weue på alla sijder. där är och ett glasbruk straxt hos, och en stoor skön trågordh på gott maner anlagdr mz rijtningar och nog trä. 2 sköna kyrkor är där, af huilke man i dh eena kan gå af huset genom en löngångh. huset är af trä men medh sådan exacti[t]ude ophugget att iag dhess make ey sett: och oss i swerget omöyeliget wore att så bygga, och så stoort af trä. figuren uthan på är nästan såledhes⁴⁵² [Fig. 18]. rundt om är skön birörke skogen, som syns ett iordisk[t] paradys, och hela platsen mz kyrkorna och gården äre omfluthne mz va{tt}n. jsmalovska recá. där blefwe wi wäll tracterade mz Confect och wijn och andra drycker alt till sohlgången, Komme så i stadhen igen mz pukor och trompetter. ambb. gåfwe 5 rubler i drickzpengar.

dh 18 Kom åther Secreteraren af dhe Keyserlige och önskade att ambb. kunde komma i hopa till Conferentz mz hwar andra. wi lofuadhe dhem att komma till dhem i morgon sedan dhe hadhe haftt audienz, och första Conferenzet <dh Hollendske resident sadhe mig suar om Logementen i Sloboden.>

dh 19 Klok 3 reste dhe till sitt audientz. och kommo igen Klok 6. een hofiunker blef till dhem sändher att excusera legg. att dhe i affton så sendt, ey kunde komma till dhem. men att dhet skulle skee i morgon. iag skref och på ambb. befaldning dh Hollenska residenten till att komma till oss till måhltijdh i morgon.

dh 20. Kommo Een diac Procofei Wosnitzin,⁴⁵³ och een Podiatzch Gusman,⁴⁵⁴ som i dhe swenska saker brukas i Possol. Pricaz., mz 2 scrifware att, tillijka med ambb. Collationera Confirmations brefuet medh hwar andra. Kom och i medhertijdh dh Hollenska residenten Kl. $\frac{1}{2}$ 10: Så Collationeradhe H G. Stierna mz dhe ryska, med wår Secreterare, elfwendahl, och Hafman och een Cantzellist, men de andra 2. ambb. entreteneradhe dh Hollenska residenten, som kom redan i från een wisit som han hoos dhe Ceyserlige hadhe aflagt, och blef till Måltidh hos oss redh bort klok. 2. Kl. 3. wore wi och ambb. och afladhe

(3) Two pendulum clocks to hang on the wall.

When they had returned from the castle to their quarters in the same order as before, Prince Ivan Ivanovič Golícyn Bol' šoj⁴⁵⁰ was sent to them in the Tsar's carriage with six horses to regale them. And a considerable time after him the following arrived:

(1) Fifteen gilded vases and credence-cups to drink out of.

(2) A tablecloth of golden silk, carried by two people.

(3) 133 dishes of various kinds, carried by one, two, three, four or six people each.

(4) 24 waiters for the table dressed in white.

(5) 25 vases of drinks, gilded silver.

(6) Twelve pots of soup carried by men in pairs.

(7) Three jugs of oil and vinegar.

(8) Three carts with drinks and tableware.

The master of the stable was immediately given twenty ducats, the coachmen 16 riksdaler.

Some are of the opinion that these gifts were better than ours, but our round dishes were half as heavy again and consequently more welcome, since due to the great shortage in the treasury,⁴⁵¹ which was exhausted during the rebellion, they are believed to melt all the gifts down into coins right away.

[P. 75]

Today, which is **the 17th**, we were also taken by the carriage and horses of the Tsar to look at and divert ourselves in Izmajlovo, five or six versts from the city. There one has a gorgeous view on all sides. There are glassworks close by and a large beautiful garden well laid out with the help of plans with many trees. There are two beautiful churches, into one of which it is possible to walk through a secret passage from the house. The house is built of wood but shaped with such exactness that I have never seen the like. For us in Sweden it would be impossible to build in such a way and something that large in wood. The general plan is approximately like this.⁴⁵² [Fig. 18.] All around there is a beautiful birchwood reminiscent of a paradise on earth, and the whole place with the churches and the courtyard is surrounded by water, the Izmajlov River. There we were treated to sweets and wine and other drinks until sundown. We returned to the city with kettledrums and trumpets. The ambassadors gave a tip of 5 roubles.

The 18th. The secretary of the imperial embassy came once more and expressed the wish that the ambassadors of the two sides meet for a conference. We promised to go to them tomorrow after they had had their audience and first conference. <The Dutch resident answered me regarding lodgings in the suburb.>

The 19th. At 3 o'clock they left for their audience and came back at 6. A hofjun-ker was sent to them to excuse the ambassadors for not going to see them tonight

een solenn visijt hos dhe Kejslerlige Legater, hvilka oss mötte på nedhersta trappan. wedh middagztijdhen dhet första och starkast dunder mz rägn, som wij här i Moscou hört hafwa ambb skrefue till Sweriget⁴⁵⁵ iag skref och min fahr till.

[P. 76]

dh 22. Kommo dhe Keyserlige ambb. pour nous rendre la uisite, ok kommo Klockan 11: för middagen och wore ey öfwer $\frac{1}{2}$ tijma här. effter middagen kommo wij och till Conferentz, huarest wij öfrlewereradhe Conferentz schriffterna å bägge sijdor undher schrefna, och försegladhes.⁴⁵⁶ sedan ginge wij uhr Conferentz sahlen in för tzararna och lefwereradhe dhem Confirmations brefwet medh Kongens namn och sigill i een bok inbundet och på främbsta bladhet Kongens Conterfey och namn mz alla Sueriges landhs kapers wapen i mignature hvadh då passeradhe finnes i mitt protocoll.⁴⁵⁷ Tzararna sadhe sig een annan dag willia göra dhet som åtherstodh. med edh och Korskyssning.

23. Kommo dhe Keyserl. legater att besöka dh danske enuoyén v. Horn. ginge och i wisite hoos den Holländske residenten.

24. ankommo breef ifrån Sweriget. iag fick swar på det iag ifrån Saritz schref. Mon pere scref och C. G-S till.

25: alla dhesse 6 föregående dagar har rägnat och warit rätt kalt. jag war att besöka een armenian som gaf mig dhet Georgienniska alphabetet⁴⁵⁸ dhet iag straxt Communicerade med H. amb. C.G.S.

26. wore våra Prestawer hoos oss och förkunnadhe oss att Tzararna som i aftos kommo inn ifrån landhet wore sinnadhe om onsdag aflägga edhen, sadhe och att wij till princessan Sophias handh komma skulle, som aldrig tillförende skett är. Kalt, muhlit, rägn.

27: hadhe dhe Keyserlige Legaterna audientz effter middagen.

28. Middagz tijdh blefwe wij opförda på slottet, som förr, och inn uthi Conferentz Cammaren först, hwarest Gallitzin oss förkunnadhe att Tzararna wore reda att fulkombna edhen (och). Sedan ginge dhe från oss, och kom effter en $\frac{1}{4}$ delz

[P. 77]

stundh Ukräintzof och badh amb. komma inn. då ginge wij inn i dh sahlen hwar-est vårt första audientze war, och funno där Tzararna sittandes nu som förr på sine throner, och på wändstra handhen om dhem lïjdet stycke ifrån dhem, på een poulpett något höög dh h. Bibel, een präst ståendes på hwar sin sijdha



Fig. 16. Oxenstierna's audience with Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič in 1674, as recorded by Eric Palmquist.

as it was so late, but they would go tomorrow. On the ambassadors' orders I wrote to the Dutch resident and asked him to join us for dinner tomorrow.

The 20th. A *d'jak*, Prokofij Voznicyn⁴⁵³ and a *pod'jačij*, Kuz'ma,⁴⁵⁴ who is used for Swedish affairs at the *Posol'skij prikaz*, together with two scribes, came to collate the letter of confirmation together with the ambassadors. During that time, at half past nine, the Dutch resident arrived. So Mr Gyllenstierna, together with our secretary, Elfwendahl, Hafman and a clerk collated with the Russians, while the other two ambassadors entertained the Dutch resident, who came straight from a visit he had already paid to the imperials. He stayed to eat with us, and left on horseback at 2 o'clock. At 3 o'clock, we, together with the ambassadors, paid a solemn visit to the imperial ambassadors, who received us on the bottom step.

Around noon was the first and most violent thunder with rain that we have experienced here in Moscow. The ambassadors wrote to Sweden⁴⁵⁵ and I wrote to my father.

[P. 76]

The 22nd. The imperial ambassadors came to pay us a visit. They came at 11 in

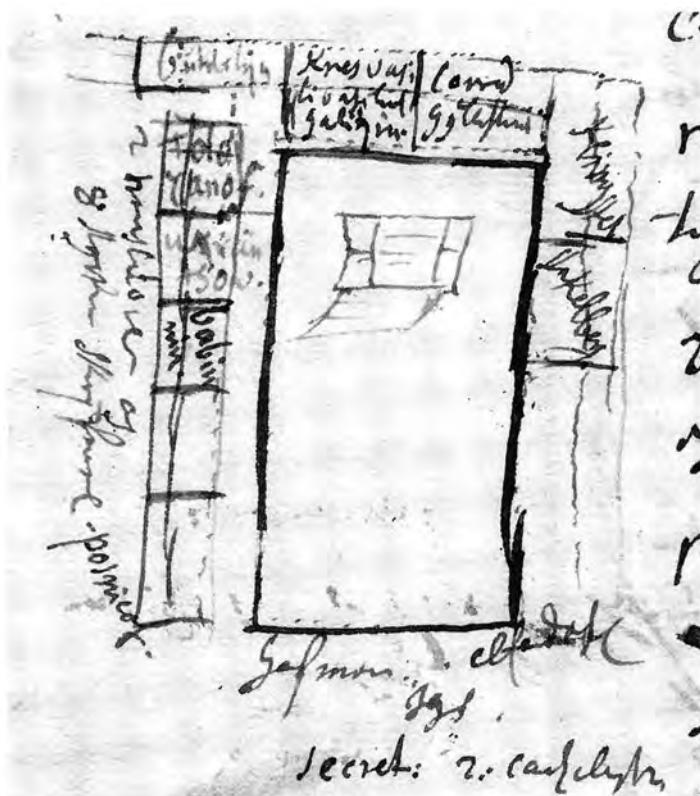


Fig. 17. Knes Vasil Vasilovitch Galitzin, Conrad Gyllenstierna, Klingstedt, Stakelberg, buhtlijn, Tolo anof[!], Ukräntsov, babinnin, posnicof, Hafman, elfedahl, JGS, secret, 2: canzelister, 2: translatorer och 8 stycken skrifware — Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn, Conrad Gyllenstierna, Klingstedt, Stackelberg, Buturlin, Toločanov, Ukrainev, Bobinin, Postnikov, Hafman, Elfwendahl, JGS [Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld], the secretary, 2 clerks, 2 translators and 8 scribes.

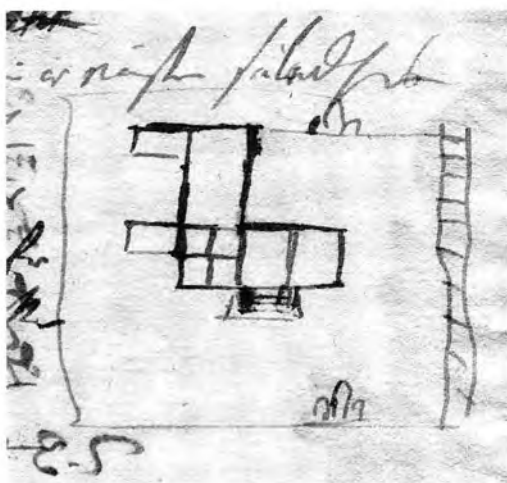


Fig. 18

the forenoon and stayed no more than half an hour. In the afternoon we had our conference, at which we delivered the conference papers, signed and sealed, from both sides.⁴⁵⁶ Then we left the conference hall and went before the Tsars and handed over the letter of confirmation to them with the King's name and seal, bound into a book. And on the first page there was the King's portrait and name and the coats of arms of all the Swedish provinces in miniature. And what took place then is described in my protocol.⁴⁵⁷ The Tsars said that they wanted to put off what remained, the oath and the kissing of the cross, until another day.

The 23rd. The imperial ambassadors came to visit the Danish envoy von Horn. They also went to visit the Dutch resident.

The 24th. We received letters from Sweden. I received an answer to the one I wrote at Zareč'e. My father had written to Conrad Gyllenstierna as well.

The 25th. For the whole of these last six days it has been rainy and quite cold. I went to visit an Armenian, who gave me the Georgian alphabet,⁴⁵⁸ which I communicated to Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna right away.

The 26th. Our pristavs came to us to let us know that the Tsars, who had returned from the countryside last night, were ready to swear the oath on Wednesday. They also told us that we would be admitted to the hand of Princess Sofija, which has never happened before. Cold, cloudy, rainy.

The 27th. The imperial ambassadors had their audience in the afternoon.

The 28th. At noon we were taken up to the castle as before and first into the conference hall, where Golicyyn told us that the Tsars were ready to swear the oath. Then they left us and a quarter of an

[P. 77]

hour later Ukrainev came and asked the ambassadors to enter. Then we entered the hall where our first audience took place and there found the Tsars sitting as before on their thrones. And not far from them, to their left, on an ambo, fairly high, was the holy Bible. A priest was standing on either side of it and two large, tall candlesticks with burning candles, and behind it a priest. And when all the compliments had been paid and the Tsars were to bring the matter to a close, the ambassadors only were asked to step forward. And they climbed three steps onto the carpet before the Tsars, to whom the peace treaty was brought, as well as the Bible on its ambo. And having repeated the oath, which was administered to them,⁴⁵⁹ both the Tsars kissed the cross on the binding of the Bible, inlaid with precious stones. Then all of this was taken away and placed in its previous place. The letter of confirmation and another letter of credit were handed over to Conrad Gyllenstierna from the Tsars' own hands, and we were then allowed to kiss their

om honom och 2 stora och höga liusestakar mz brinnandhe lius, och een präst Bak om. och enär alle Complimenter wore aflagde, och Tzararna skulle fullkombna wärket, blefue ambb. allena framkalladhe, och stege 3 steeg opp på tappeten framm för tzararna, för hvilka man baar fram fredz fördraget, och biblen med sin polpet och effter edhens stafwandhe hwilket bägge Tzarerna effter läste⁴⁵⁹ kysste dhe på Korset som på bandet af Biblen war giort och med edhla steenar insatt. dher medh blef alt dhetta bortfört och på sitt förrige rum satt. Confirmations brefuet medh ett annat Creditiw åth C. G. S. lefwererat af Tzararnas egna händher, och wi sedan till handhkyssandhet tillåthne, somblige behöllo bådhe hatt och handskar.⁴⁶⁰ wi blefwe sedan tracteradhe nu som förste gången wedh Tzarernas taffel magert emedan i Måndagz ingick fastan.⁴⁶¹ och waradhe dhetta gästebudh till klock. 7. och alla wore wäll beskänkte.⁴⁶² wåre rätter kommo såledhes först kom samme Stolnicken som för, och effter honom 16. dryckes käril af förgylt silfr. 25 fath med alahanda slag fisk. dhe 25 wore af 6 personer burit. sedan kommo 41 fath, och så 10 Kätlar med soppor af 2 och 2 Karlar burne, där effter kommo 30 andra rätter, sedhan (ett) een rätt heter ikra⁴⁶³ af 6. Karlar burne. sedan 17 fath. item en fisk skarf på een bår af 4 karar item fath 3. item een stor fisk af 2 Karlar. sedan 10 fath. 10: sedan een fisk. af 2 Karlar. Sedhan igen 20 stor. faath. sedan 4 wagnar m 4 hästar hwardera. sedhan 13 förgyllda silfrkanner. dito 10 silfr kanor burne af 2 Karar hwardera sidst komo 10 fath med lijmoner och annat. <[figures in a column:] Summa 199 fath. NB. sedan wij hadhe taget afskedh af Tzarerna blefwe allenast dhe 3 ambb. tillåthne till Princessan Sophias handh⁴⁶⁴ huar öfr dhe Keyserl: legg. skohla sig något {?}perat att wåra ambb. dhet welat göra, emedan dhe dhet refuserat hafwa>

[P. 78]

30 wore wj hoos dhe Keyserlige Legaterna och toge afskedh af dhem. iag redh sedan till von Horn som hadhe fått bref ifrån Danmark att effter 6 uekor reesa här ifrån, och sedan åth Pählen. NB. tzar Pet alexeiewitz födelse dag af 12 år.⁴⁶⁵ drak hans skåhl och b[r]jorskåhl mz Horn och Butenant.

31. Kommo dhe Keyserlige till oss igen att biuda oss farwähl wedh middagz tijdhen. effter middagen wore Clingst. och Stakelb. hoos dh Hollendske residenten och togo afskedh och toge een half timme som förre gången. dhe ärnadhe wäll om morgone reesa till von Horn men som han förtrödh att C. G. S. intet sielf hadhe warit hoos honom och nu intit hällr ärnadhe göra honom dh äran, läht han genom mig ambb. swara, att om C. G. S. hadhe Kongens ordres att så göra, understår han sig ey att emothtaga någon visit af ambb: men giordhe han dhet af egett råd och willie, kundhe dhe andra 2 amb. göra hwadh dhe wille antingen komma eller ey, men dhe motte wetta att dhe honom mycket större dienst giorde, om dhe blefwe borta, (i)thy han reedhan wedh hofwet här i Moscow hafft tilltahl hwarför han sådhan ofullkommen visit emothtaget hadhe, sadhe

hands. Some kept both hat and gloves on.⁴⁶⁰ We were then, this time like the first, given a Lenten meal from the table of the Tsars, as Monday was the beginning of the fast.⁴⁶¹ This feast went on until 7 o'clock and all were well fuddled.⁴⁶² Our dishes were brought in the following way: first arrived the same *stol'nik* as before, and after him sixteen drinking-vessels of gilded silver. Then 25 dishes with all kinds of fish, the 25 were brought by six people. Then came 41 dishes and then ten cauldrons of soup brought by men in twos. After that came 30 other dishes—we were told that one dish was called “*ikra*”⁴⁶³—brought by six men. Then 17 dishes. Item a fish [skarf?] on a litter by four men. Then three dishes. Item a big fish by two men. Then ten dishes, 10. Then one fish by two men. Then again twenty large dishes. Then four carts drawn by four horses each. Then thirteen gilded silver tankards, *ditto* ten silver tankards carried by men in pairs. At the end came ten dishes with lemons and other things. <[figures in a column:] all in all 199 dishes. NB. After we had said goodbye to the Tsars, the three ambassadors only were admitted to the hand of Princess Sofija,⁴⁶⁴ which rather surprized the imperial envoys, that our ambassadors were willing to do so, since they themselves had refused to.>

[P. 78]

The 30th. We went to the imperial envoys to say goodbye. I then rode to von Horn, who had received a letter from Denmark, in which he was told to leave in six weeks and go to Poland. NB. Today was the twelfth birthday⁴⁶⁵ of Tsar Peter Alekseevič. We drank to his health and I agreed with Horn and Boutenant to dispense with titles and we drank to it.

The 31st. At noon the imperials came to us again, this time to bid us farewell. In the afternoon Klingstedt and Stackelberg went to the Dutch resident and said goodbye to him; it took half an hour, as it had done the previous time. They had planned to go to von Horn in the morning, but as he was upset because Conrad Gyllenstierna had not paid him a visit himself and had no plans to honour him with a visit this time either, he sent an answer to the ambassadors through me, saying that if Conrad Gyllenstierna had had orders from the King to behave like that, he was not going to stoop to receiving a visit from the ambassadors. If, on the other hand, he had done it on his own responsibility and by his own volition, the other two ambassadors were free to choose as they liked, to come or not to come. But they should know that from his point of view it would be better if they stayed away, as he had already heard remarks from the court in Moscow expressing surprise at his accepting such an incomplete visit. He said that had it not been for the fact that von Horn and Conrad Gyllenstierna were public ministers, and not soldiers, he would have known full well what to do in the face of such audacity.⁴⁶⁶ The pristavs, too, came to us and delivered part of the subsistence allowance, 1,746 roubles, with an extra 7 roubles each day, which made 62 roubles a day after the increase in accordance with what had been promised during the conference. And the rate [?] was counted at 55 kopeks, with a promise to deliver in

att om C. G. S. och Horn ey wore ministres publiques, uthan soldater, wiste han wäll hwadh honom stodhe att göra för sådan sijwördnadh.⁴⁶⁶

Prestawerna wore ochså hos oss och lofwadhe till ambb. på dess tractament-er 1746 rubler medh 7 rubler till förökningen effter lofwen i Conferentzet, på hwar dagh, och 62 rubl till hwar dagz förtäring sedan tillökningen skedde. och rend{?} räknadh till 55 Copecque medh lofwen att i Novogradh låtha lefwerera dhen depense som därifrån till Gräntzen destinerat är åth oss. NB. Posnikof kom igen medh swar af Gallitzin att iag wedh fordran i Pricaset, skulle få frij skiutz ur landhet när iag wore till redz att reesa bort igen.⁴⁶⁷

Junjus

[P. 79]

dh 1. Klock. 8 om morgonen kommo presenter af K. V. V. gallitzin till dhe 3 ambb. till ärkännelse för dhe tapeterna Kongens, som ambb. honom gifwit hafwer. för hwilke han och uppenbart i Conferentzet tackadhe. och wore till hwar amb. 3 par wackra sablar, 3 porselijn skåhlar, een wallross tandh, och ett stycke sarbaf eller persianskt tygh med gull blomor och silke. och blef gifwit till Gallitzins räntemestare 20 Rk och till alt folket som dh bore 5 rubler att dhe-la sins emellan <dhe wore 11. Karlar>, hwarför dhe syntes storl. tacka. sadhes och att wij i dag skulle få våra presenter af Tzarens slått. Sedan Prepareradhe hela suiten sig till reesandet och fick emoth aftonen presenterna af Tzaren som blefue uthdelte af Podiatschen Cusman och wår Marskalk till 50 eller 60: rdrs wårde sablar till dhe förnämste hofiunkrarna. dhe 2 amb. finge tämmeligen wackert, men he. Stakelberg $\frac{1}{2}$ emoth H. Clingstet. hwilket honom öfrmåttan förtrödth.

dh 2 Emoth afftonen klock. 5 bröthe våra legater opp och blefue med Tzarens wagn och redhästar ledsagadhe till dh platz hwarest dhe först blefwe emoth-tagne när wij kommo, och marcheradhe alt effter wagnen ett Compagnie eller annat alt uthom stadhen till berörde platz hwarest och ett compaignie eller 2 oss opwachtade. där stege de uhr Tzarens wagn och effter att pres[t]aven Posnicow hadhe uthan någon Tzarens tijttell, önskatt Kongl. Ma[y]tt till Swerget etc. etc. ambb. lycka på reesan s[t]e de i sina wagnar och reste hwar till sitt. då toog iag och afskeedh af ambb. som alla lofwadhe att komma mig i hugh. <dh 2: feck iag till låns af C.G.S. 150 Rdr a 25 {?} st: och gaf honom en obl. till m. pere tog och emot 60 rubl. af H. Clingstet för hans son.>

dh 3 war iag ännu i gesantehofwet. och Grefwarna som effter blefwe reste af-tonen bort, så blef iag och dh natten i gesantehofwet.

dh 4 Flytte iag mjna saker till Mons johan jochomson⁴⁶⁸ och kom och sielf hijt till att logera för 5 Rubler om månaden för mig och min dräng. sammaledhes

Novgorod the money allotted to us to cover the expenses from there to the border. NB. Postnikov returned from Golicyn with the answer that, when I was ready to leave, I would be allowed free transport out of the country, provided that I turned to the *Posol'skij prikaz* with a request to that effect.⁴⁶⁷

June

[P. 79]

The 1st. At 8 o'clock in the morning gifts arrived for the three ambassadors from Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn, in acknowledgement of the tapestries from the King handed over by the ambassadors, for which he had also expressed thanks in public during the conference. Each ambassador received three beautiful pairs of sabres, three china bowls, one walrus tooth and a piece of sarbaf[?], a Persian material with golden flowers on silk. And Golicyn's treasurer received 20 riksdaler and, for all the people carrying, 5 roubles to share among themselves <there were eleven men in all>, for which they seemed very thankful. It was also said that today we were to receive the gifts from the castle. Then the whole party got ready for the journey. And towards the evening the gifts from the Tsar were distributed by the *pod'jačij* Kuz'ma and our marshal. The foremost courtiers received sabres to the value of 50 or 60 riksdaler. The two ambassadors received quite beautiful gifts, but Mr Stackelberg received half of what Mr Klingstedt did, which annoyed him immensely.

The 2nd. Towards the evening at 5 o'clock our envoys departed in the Tsar's carriage with saddle-horses and were taken to the place where they had first been received when we arrived. And one or two companies marched after the carriage out of the city to the place mentioned, where we were honoured by one or two companies. There they got out of the Tsar's carriage, and when the pristav Postnikov, without the Tsar's title, had wished the ambassadors of His Majesty the King of Sweden etc. etc. a safe journey, they got into their own carriages and each went about their business. Then I also said goodbye to the ambassadors, who promised to remember me. <On the 2nd 150 riksdaler in twenty-fives [?] were lent to me by Conrad Gyllenstierna and I gave him an obligation for my father to settle. I also received 60 roubles from Mr Klingstedt, intended for his son.>

The 3rd. I was still in the ambassadors' residence, and the counts, who had stayed on, left in the evening. So I stayed that night too in the ambassadors' residence.

The 4th. I moved my things to Mr Johan Jochomson's house⁴⁶⁸ and moved there myself to lodge for 5 roubles per month for myself and my boy. Klingstedt's son will have the same conditions for 5 roubles. This is in Marselis' house,⁴⁶⁹ where Commissary Boutenant had used our rooms without paying [?] before us. The Danish envoy went for a meal with the imperial envoys.

också för Clingstets sonn 5 rub. dhetta är i Marcelij⁴⁶⁹ hus, hwarest H. Comiss. Boutenant oss våre rumm för intet för ruth{ ? } hafr

War och dh danska Enuoyen till Måhltidh hoos dhe Keyserlige Legater.

[P. 80]

dh 5 Kom Enuoyen von Horn och besökte mig i mitt hus klock 5 om morgonen.

dh 6 bödh han mig uth på falkejacht,⁴⁷⁰ där hadhe wi een godh Collation af H. Boutenant.⁴⁷¹ och hans Käraste där wore medd Hartman,⁴⁷² och le Conte de Graham, och blefue wi mycket wåta aff ett starck slagrängn som waradhe heela dhenna natten. och heela dagen af

dh 7 alt till klo[k] 6. om afftonen då dhet klarnade opp. och dh oändelige hårde blåsten wände igen.

i Dag har Von Horn Tracterat dhe Keyserlige legater och öfr fylt dhem. och kom sielf klock 9. till Boutenant Dijtt iag och nolens volens moste gå och ala fin medh Genneral Majoren och Grefwen Greham dricka brors skåhl genom Horns tillskyndelse, som mig honom högt recommenderadhe. han sadhe mycket gott om min sahl. morbror Clas Ugglä⁴⁷³ dh han känt har i Cöpenhambs låger.

ce soir l'enuoyé me confia entierement ses inclinations. et me pria d'en user an amij, ce que ie luy ay iuré, et de chercher son avantage par tout en son absence, cet a dire en ce qui regarde sa personne privée, et considéré hors du publique. Il me dit aussi quil ne seroit pas a souhaitter pour la Swede que tzar Petr alexeewitz fut grand bien tost, car ajant este tiré comme par les cheueux contre ses inclinations a faire cette paix et confirmant le traite de Cardis et de Plus, il ne manqueroit pas den voir le desauantage, et chercheroit assurement de reprendre l'ingrie. il Dit aussi den auoir parlé avec Knes. W. Wasiliwitz. sur ce juset, qui luy a montre un androit dans le traite de Cardis et de Plus qui le pourroit sauuer, en cas que les Tzar changasse de volonté,⁴⁷⁴ et que sur les frontieres ou les difficile sont remises, il pourroit arriver du changement, sur tout si Tzar P. Al: vient a estre souurain, bien tost ou tard, cet alors que l'Enuoyé se croit pouvoir faire tout ce quil woudroit a Moscow. woila ce quil me Dit, mais il estoit en peu iwre.

dh 8 hadhe dhe Keyserlige Legater dheras afskedz audientz och moste reesa med oförättadhe saker tillbaka igen, och Knes W.W. sadhe att dhe äre där sielfwe ohrsak till, att dhe intet amplare fullmacht och instruction hafth. Emedhan Ryssarna hadhe några swårigheter med Pohlen som dhem hindradhe, wille dhessa ambb. afgöra dhem nu medh så wille dhe gå med dhe Keysserlige emoth turken men så länge dhet hänger och blöder kunna dhe ey. hwilket dhe Keyserlige hållit så resonabelt att dhe ey kunnat swarat ett ordh. uthan önskadhe hafwa wetat detta föruth.⁴⁷⁵

[P. 80]

The 5th. The envoy von Horn came to visit me in my house at 5 o'clock in the morning.

The 6th. He invited me to come hawking.⁴⁷⁰ There we had the chance to check Mr Boutenant⁴⁷¹ and his sweetheart. Hartman⁴⁷² and Count Graham were with us, too. We got very wet from heavy pelting rain, which went on all night and all day on

the 7th until 6 o'clock in the evening, when it cleared up and the extremely strong wind turned again.

Today von Horn has entertained the imperial envoys and overfilled them, and he himself went to Boutenant's place at 9 o'clock, where I had to go too, whether I wanted to or not. And in the end I had to dispense with titles with Major-General Count Graham on the initiative of Horn, who recommended him highly. He had many good things to say about my late uncle Claas Uggla,⁴⁷³ whom he knew from the time when Copenhagen was burning.

Tonight the envoy entrusted me completely with his inclinations and asked me to be his confidant, which I swore to do, and to look after his interests everywhere while he was away, that is as regards his private person, and in matters kept from the public. He also told me that it would hardly be in the interest of Sweden for Tsar Peter to come of age soon, as he had almost been dragged by the hair against his will to enter into this peace and to confirm the treaties of Kardis and Pljussa. He was bound to notice the disadvantages and would surely try to recapture Ingria. He also said that he had talked on this subject with Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič, who had shown him a passage in the treaty of Kardis and Pljussa which could save him, should the Tsars change their minds,⁴⁷⁴ and that regarding the border, on which the difficulties had been put aside, there could be changes, especially if Tsar Peter Alekseevič, sooner or later, becomes the sovereign. That is why the envoy believes he can do whatever he wants in Moscow. This is what he said to me, but he was a bit drunk.

The 8th. The imperial envoys had their farewell audience and had to return home empty-handed. Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič said that it was their own fault that they did not see to it that their authorization and instructions were more useful, as the Russians had certain difficulties with Poland preventing them. If the said ambassadors were prepared to solve those, too, right away, they [the Russians] would be willing to join the imperials against the Turks. But as long as the Polish question is not settled, they cannot, which the imperial envoys found so reasonable that they could not say a single word about it, but regretted that they had not known beforehand.⁴⁷⁵

[P. 81]

They were entertained by Prince Ivan Ivanovič Golycyn and gave him a beautiful

[P. 81]

dhe blefwe af Cnes iwan iwanowitz Golittzin tracteradhe och gåfwe honom en skön ståändhe klocka.

dhe hafwa låthet sig förliuda att effter några månadher komma igen med amplare instructioner, och medh fullmacht af Pohlen, dhen dhe i medhlertijd willa sööka att persvadera att afstå Ciow och Smolensko till ewige tijdher⁴⁷⁶ och så kunna dhe få hielp af Ryssarna emoth turkar men skeer intet dhet töra dhe så snart angripa Pohlen, som han dhemm. dhe Keyserlige hafwa i dag straxt effter tractamenterna sändht 7 stycken appelgrå hästar, medh fulle tygh där till, till Cnes W. Witz. Golittzin. man menar och att dheras Secreet[er]are⁴⁷⁷ som före i turquiet warit och tahlar wäll språket, lærer gå snart för Envoyé till Constantinopel.

I går sedan dhe Keyserl. legg. wore borta ifrån von Horn, och då han sielf wille rijda uth om afftonen, hindradhe honom några Strelitzer, dhem von Horns folk illa tracterat hafua och några hugg gifwit, hwarföre Cnes wasili wasiliwitz von Horn i dag beskickat hafwer.

dh 9 Skref iag C.G.S. till Nowogord till.

NB. Rogen blommar, smultron mogna, Kåhl sättes.

dh 20 Wore dhe Keyserliga Gesanter att taga afskedh af von Horn, och hadhe honom hoos sig till middagz måltijd <NB> dhe reste och effter middagen till dh Hollendske residenten att taga afskedh af honom, och moste så resa bort medh oförrättadhe saker, twert emoth hoppningen <dog mz hopp att nå något mz tijdhen>

Hr Blumberg gaf Knes W. Wasiliwitz een Caros och 7 hästar. och sitt öfr-blefne ungerska wijn:

J går war iag i ett stort samqwäm hos H Boutenant som lätt döpa een Calmuks flicka af 12 eller 14 år lät och wijga ett par tjänstefolck. där wore wi lustiga. iag passeradhe natten medh von Horn qui me Confia encor dauantage de ces amours, et ancor plus quil ne m'en confia dimanche passé a la Slobode chez Görtzen⁴⁷⁸ ou nous fumes inuite a dinér par Boutenant. <NB>

[P. 82]

dh 23 om aftonen reste dhe Keyserlige legater bort och iag war hoos dhem att taga afskedh: dhe druke våra legaters skåhl bägge två. dhe lemnadhe sin Catolske pater här för dhen lilla Catholske församlingen som här är.⁴⁷⁹

<Julij>

dh 8 Julij een stoor procession Casanska bogoroditza⁴⁸⁰ då iag såg förste gånge Patriarken:⁴⁸¹ som gick till foot öfr stoora slätz platzen med tzar iwan i procession:

standing clock. They have made it known that they plan to come back within a few months with better instructions and with authorization from Poland, which country they will in the meantime try to persuade to give up Kiev and Smolensk forever.⁴⁷⁶ Then they could get Russia's support against the Turks. But if that does not happen, they [the Russians?] are just as likely to attack Poland as vice versa. Soon after the hospitality the imperials sent seven dapple-grey horses with full harness to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn. It is also believed that their secretary,⁴⁷⁷ who has been in Turkey before and speaks good Turkish, will probably go to Constantinople as an envoy soon.

Yesterday, when the imperial ambassadors had left von Horn and when he wanted to take a ride himself in the evening, he was stopped by some *strel'cy*, who, as a result, were treated badly by von Horn's men and given a few blows. This caused Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič to send for von Horn today.

The 9th. I wrote to Conrad Gyllenstierna in Novgorod. NB. The rye is blooming, the wild strawberries are ripening, cabbages are being planted.

The 20th. The imperial ambassadors went to von Horn to say goodbye and he had dinner at their place. In the afternoon they went to the Dutch resident to say goodbye to him, and so they had to leave empty-handed, contrary to expectations <but in the hope that they would eventually reach an agreement>. Mr Blumberg gave a carriage and seven horses and his remaining Hungarian wine to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič. Yesterday I went to a big social gathering at Mr Boutenant's, who had a Kalmuk girl of 12 or 14 baptized; he also had a couple of servants married. We had a good time there. I spent the night with von Horn, who entrusted me with more confidences about his loves, more than he had entrusted me with last Sunday in the suburb at Görtzen's,⁴⁷⁸ where we had been invited for dinner by Boutenant. <NB:>

[P. 82]

The 23rd. The imperial ambassadors left in the evening and I was at their quarters to say goodbye. Both of them drank the health of our ambassadors. They left their Catholic pater here for the small Catholic congregation found here.⁴⁷⁹

<July>

The 8th of July. A big procession for the Mother of God of Kazan',⁴⁸⁰ when I saw the patriarch⁴⁸¹ for the first time. He walked across the large square in front of the palace in procession with Tsar Ivan.

The 10th. Towards the evening I went with Commissary Boutenant to look at Marselis' ironworks, a full 100 versts from Moscow, and returned to Moscow on the 16th. There they have good ore which they take from the Crimean steppes, about 100 versts from there, for the two blast-furnaces.⁴⁸² At these works mostly

dh 10 emoth afftonen reste iag m. H. Commiss: boutenant att besse Marsilij järnwärk 100 och några werst här ifrån Moscou: ock kom tillbaka till Mouscou igen dh 16. där är skön malm som tager i Crimske stepporna 100 werst wed pass därifrån dhe 2 masugnar.⁴⁸² wed dhesse wärk tahlas mäst swenska och fransöska af dhe många mästare som för någre och 20 år sedan är furtim för-schrefne uhr sweriget, och säga sig intet mehra hafwa här i lön än hoos oss, men att födan kostar här mindre. dhe hafwa träbälliar äfwen som i sweriget, men ey förr än för 20 år sedan då kom een hijt ur sweriget som heter jan werre⁴⁸³ föddr i westeråhs, som lårdhe dhem göra träbällier. dhetta järnet är ey aldeles så gott som swänst järn, men wedh olonitz⁴⁸⁴ wed finska gräntzen har H. Boutenant ett bruk som ger bättre järn än hoos oss så att han för 1 Rdr. mera får skepadt i amsterdam än dhet swänst järnet. i olonitz har man ment fått koppar, men manquerat och gräfua nu bara järn.

[P. 83]

dh 11. Julij hadhe von Horn dh Danske Extraord. Envoyé sitt audientz och lefwereradhe ett bref ifrån sin Kong praeparerandes sig till sin hädanreesa effter 2 åhrs tijdh han här med sitt och mångens nöye warit hafer. blef ochså i dag afrättat een Pålak, förnäm och lård man Negrebetskij,⁴⁸⁵ ock med honom een annan som beskylles hafwa correspondert med Påhlen. och håller man fast före att Schirofski dh Keyserlige legat skulle hafft där något medh att göra emedan han godh polsk är, och förmenas att han Negrebetskis bref som han med ambb. till Påhlen schrifwit hafwer skulle hafft till baka hijt till håfwet sändt att göra sig gröner, dog weet man ey wist;,⁴⁸⁶ somblige mena att Negrebetski oskyldig dött, och att Prinressan Sophia som honom döda låthit, har ångratt dhet, dog har Negrebetski för sin dödh skrifwit een stoor deduction, om dhenne saken som finnes i någens händer som gode tsar Peters är såsom C. B.A. G: Knes I.I.G. etc. hwarest man menar finnes saker peu auantageuse pour la princesse Sophie.⁴⁸⁷ On m'a aussi dit aujourd'hui que W.W. Gallitzin fait tout cequil peut pour faire Couronner la princesse Sophie. mais que les bo-jares particulièrement Ivan Michaelowitz Miloslafskoi,⁴⁸⁸ s'y opposèt fortement.

Cnes W.W. Golitzin fit un faut pas, et tomba dans une Caue de 4 a 5 bras de haut, ou il s'évanuit, se cassa la tete,⁴⁸⁹ et monta a cheval pourtant, et demeura 15 jours malade, du commencement on cru quil y aloit de la vie. Pandent sa maladie la Princesse Sophie l'a este voir elle mesme quelques fois, et en a pris autent de soin come sil eut este son cher epoux. Woyci ce que set que lamour qui jusques aux coeurs des prin[c]esse nay fait connetre des bassesses pour ce que nous aymons. <quelques uns Croyent que ce trou a este fait expres pour qvil tomba dedans, et dautre souhaitoit que ce commencement fut suivi dun succes de chute qui l'acheva tout a fait.>

Swedish and French are spoken by the many masters who were secretly produced from Sweden a good twenty years ago. And they say their wages here are no higher than at home, but food is cheaper. They have wooden bellows like in Sweden, but not until twenty years ago. Then a person came here from Sweden by the name of Jan Werre,⁴⁸³ born in Västerås, who taught them how to make wooden bellows. This iron is not as good as Swedish iron, but at Olonec,⁴⁸⁴ close to the Finnish border, Mr Boutenant has works which yield better iron than at home. He receives one riksdaler more for what he sends by ship to Amsterdam than is paid for Swedish iron. At Olonec they had hoped to extract copper as well, but they failed and now they dig only for iron.

[P. 83]

The 11th of July. Today von Horn, the Danish envoy extraordinary, had his audience. He then handed over a letter from his king in preparation for his departure, after the two years he has spent here deriving pleasure for both himself and many others. Today also a noble and learned Pole, Negrebeckij,⁴⁸⁵ was executed, and together with him another person, accused of having corresponded with Poland. And it is asserted that Zierowsky, the imperial ambassador, was involved in some way, as he takes sides with the Poles. And it is stated that he sent back to court a letter, written to Poland by Negrebeckij and sent with the imperial ambassadors, to ingratiate himself. One does not know for certain, however.⁴⁸⁶ Some are of the opinion that Negrebeckij died an innocent man and that Princess Sofija, who had him killed, regrets it. But before he died Negrebeckij wrote an extensive indictment on this matter, which is in the hands of one of the supporters of Tsar Peter, be it Prince Boris Alekseevič Golicyn or Prince Ivan Ivanovič Golicyn etc., and which—it is said—contains information that is not very favourable to Princess Sofija.⁴⁸⁷ I have also been told today that Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn is doing everything in his power to have Princess Sofija crowned, but that the boyars, especially Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij,⁴⁸⁸ are very much opposed to it.

Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn made a false step and fell into a hole, 4 to 5 ells deep, where he injured his head and passed out,⁴⁸⁹ but all the same got onto his horse, and then had to stay in bed for fifteen days. To begin with it was believed that he could die. During his illness Princess Sofija herself came to visit him several times and she was as concerned as if he were her dear husband. This is what love is like: even when it comes to the hearts of princesses, it does not acknowledge differences in rank concerning what we love [?]. <There are those who believe that this hole was dug on purpose for him to fall into, and that it was hoped that the initial fall would be followed by an earth slide which would finish him up altogether.>

NB. The 20th is the first day each year that the Tsars eat melons⁴⁹⁰ for the first time, and the farmers are obliged to supply them at whatever price.

NB. The 22nd Prince Ulrik⁴⁹¹ was born in Sweden.

NB. **le 20** est le premier jour toutes les années que les tzars mangent des melons⁴⁹⁰ pour la 1. fois. et les fermiers sont obligés de les leurs fournir a quel prix que ce soit.

NB. **le 22** Prince uldric⁴⁹¹ né en Suede.

Augusti

[P. 84]

1. commenca le Careme de St. Plulisse⁴⁹² de 14 jours: J'ay desia mangé des pommes meures <ankom dh Calmykske taboun⁴⁹³ med 5000 tatarske hästar, whilka detta året wore rätt dyra: dog i 3 dagar alla försälde.>

dh 5 je me fis razer la tete.

dh 6. est le premier jour delannée quon doit donner de pommes de natives meures aux Tzares et cela a quel prix que ce fut:⁴⁹⁴ Smultron, hallon, blåbär, och körsebär är nu snart alle och finnes intet stort meera. Man sällier nu 70, 80 ia 100 agurkor för 1 copeqve.⁴⁹⁵

i dag fick von Horn een dehl af sijna podvoder, och läth sin stallmäster gå föruth medh sijna 4 turkiska hästar, och annat bagage. Il y [a] qvelqves jours qvil est aussi arrivé dans cette ville d Moscow lenvoye extraord: du R. de Pologne le compte de Siri pour aller en Perse negotier contre le Turqve. il a une lettre pour les tzar, il ya desia 3 ou 4 jours quil est logé a une slobode hors dela ville. il est armenien ou greqve <veut pourtant passer pour Portugais.> <car il se dit comte de Portugal> mais parle bien toutes les langves. ital. Espagn. francais. latin. Polonais, Persan, Turque, armenien: etc. etc. Sa suite est de 12 personnes, dont il est le plus petit lui meme. <Soliman ☿: Salomon, Gostans (Constantinos) Sagorski⁴⁹⁶ Conte de Siri.>

7: Cocq aura ses podvody Mardy, on neluy en a vouleu doner que dix parce que /: a ce quon m'a dit :/ il nest pas trop aymé dans ce pays cy, soit quon ne veuille pas souffrir les geans a qui on a delobligation /: ut dicît von Horn :/ soit qvils ne lestime assez, puisqvautres fois on a dit de luy qvil est un goloppe⁴⁹⁷ du tzar, eleué dans ce pay cij et quil a servi icy des marchands, en fin je scay de bonne part quon ne le souffre pas volontierment icy, et tant quil nen viendra pas un autre resident icy ils ne le souffrent pas mais que pour un autre on le pouroit bien souffrir.

[P. 85]

dh 16 hadhe dh danske Envoyén sitt afskedz audientz 15 a 16 hästar stark. redh till häst som alla Envoyer pläga här göra sammaledhes <il fut receu a la porte de la Sale d'audiense par K.B.A.G: ce qui est tres rare, car les Kneses ne veu-

August

[P. 84]

The 1st was the beginning of the fast of the Assumption[?],⁴⁹² lasting for fourteen days. I have already eaten ripe apples. <The Kalmyk *tabun*⁴⁹³ arrived with 5,000 Tatar horses, which were rather expensive this year. All the same they were all sold within three days.>

The 5th. I had my hair cut.

The 6th is the first day of the year that the people have to furnish home-grown [?] ripe apples to the tsars, at whatever price.⁴⁹⁴ Wild strawberries, raspberries, bilberries and cherries will soon be over now and are hardly possible to find. They now sell 70, 80, yes up to 100 cucumbers for 1 kopek.⁴⁹⁵

Today von Horn received some of his carts and had his stableman travel ahead with his four Turkish horses and other luggage.

A few days ago there arrived in this city of Moscow an envoy extraordinary from the King of Poland, Count of Syria, who is to go to Persia to negotiate against the Turks. He brings a letter for the Tsars. He has lodged in a suburb outside the city for three or four days already. He is Armenian or Greek <but wants to be regarded as Portuguese> <because he calls himself a Portuguese Count>, but speaks all languages well, like Italian, Spanish, French, Latin, Polish, Persian, Turkish, Armenian etc. etc. His party consists of twelve people of whom he himself is the smallest. <Soliman i.e. Salomon, Gostans /: Constantinos /: Zgórsky,⁴⁹⁶ Count of Syria.>

The 7th. Von Kochen will have his *podvody* on Tuesday. They have been willing to give him only ten, because /: according to what I have heard :/ he is not very popular in this country, either because they cannot stand people to whom they have obligations, /: as von Horn alleges, :/ or because they do not respect him much, as earlier it was said of him that he was the Tsar's *cholop*,⁴⁹⁷ having won himself a position here, and that he used to serve merchants here. However that may be I have it from reliable sources that he is barely tolerated here, and as long as no other resident comes here they can hardly bear him, but another they might well tolerate.

[P. 85]

The 16th. The Danish envoy had his farewell audience with fifteen to sixteen horses. He went there on horseback as all envoys here generally do. <He was received at the door of the audience hall by Prince Boris Alekseevič Golitsyn, which is very rare, because the princes are unwilling to do so for ambassadors, and even less for envoys.> The Polish envoy on his way to Persia also had his first audience, but only towards the evening, because first the two *tsareviči*,* who have arrived from Astrachan', had their audience. They have come from Meletia, a region of

lent pas faire ça aux ambb: bien moins encore aux Envoyes› hadhe och dh Polniska Envoyen audientz förste gången, som åth Persien går. dog emoth afftonen ty först hadhe dhe 2 Tsarevitzarna audientz som komne äre ifrån astrakan, och äre ifrån Meletinien ien tract af landh i iberien, af huilken Grousinka gör een dehl. dhe äre af turkarna fördrefwne och koma och söka protection här, skrifwa sig tzarens Coloppe:⁴⁹⁸ dog meenar man att dhe torde gå af med een af Prines-sorna om dhe veeta rätt att skicka sig. dhe hafwa fått skänker af tsaren hwar sin sobel päls hwar sijne 2 sillfr Kredentzer, och 200 rubl i pengar.⁴⁹⁹ <de la part du Tsar — C. W. W. G. commenda au Tschercaski⁵⁰⁰ daller recevoir les 2 Tzarevitz il n'y uoulut pas aller de la il est venu aux paroles avec K. W. W. G. a qui il a dit 50 injures, l'appella traitre et vendeur de ses propres Tsars etc: et cella dans les appartements de la princesse Tschercasski fut disgratié mais quelque jours apres on les accomoda›.

17: reeste von Cocqve bårt åth sweriget iag följde honom till wäg z till Michol-ski. med honom schref iag effterfölliande till: Mina föräldrer, Gr Bengt,⁵⁰¹ Maja Skytte⁵⁰² M. Biörnk[l]ou. M. Hassel,⁵⁰³ jon Lithman. Isländaren.⁵⁰⁴ Conr. Gyllenstierna H Clingstett. Gust Hård⁵⁰⁵ joh. Gyllenstierna i frösåker. D urb Hiärne⁵⁰⁶ H. Bourgraf Tunderfelt H. Dan: B. Maschalk etc:

dh 18 Kom tzarens taffel till von Hoorn af 30 personer som bure dhem han gaf 10 ducater. antogz dh ryska stalldrängen för 80 copek om månadhen och gaf afskedh åth dh hwideryska Clingstets dräng som kom till Grefwen. <rysk dräng. fick afskedh›

dh 20 war iag med V. Horn hoos dh Polniska Enuoyen, och sedan hoos dhe Grusinska Knäserna,⁵⁰⁷ huars modher och eena syster skänkte oss af egen handh allehanda drycker, med största ödmukhet, och änkian kyste våra händer sedhan wij hennes kyst hade. där är 5 bröder och 3 systrar, dh eena system skulle blifwit tzarewona för Feedor alexeievitz⁵⁰⁸ men henne är gifft kastatt i ansigtet, doch är hon ännu een sköön menniskia.

21 feck bref af H Clingstet af Reuall af dh 17 junij dh Polniska hoos Von Hornn affladhe een visit och böd farwähl han är 22 personer stark.

25 om afftonen reste dh Polska Envoyen ifrån Moscou.

[P. 86]

dh 26 om natten hadhe iag med Von Hornn een långh discours om allehanda affaires så publiqwe som particulieres, i synnerheet de la mort de Negrebetskij. Hwilken genom Princessans ock Ivan Miloslafskois ordres blef pinad, och sedan halshuggen, ut suppra för dhen iwer han wijste i Troitz a i rebellions tijden, (emoth) uthi tzar Peters interest, och emot tzar Iwan och Prinissan och såsom

Iberia, of which Gruzija constitutes a part. They have been driven away by the Turks and come here to seek protection; they sign themselves as the *chology* of the Tsar.⁴⁹⁸ But it is believed that they will probably go off with one of the princesses, if they play their cards right. The Tsar has given them gifts consisting of one sable coat each, two silver credence-cups each and 200 roubles in cash.⁴⁹⁹ <On the Tsar's behalf Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn ordered Čerkasskij⁵⁰⁰ to go and receive the two *tsareviči*. He was not willing to go and had an argument with Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn on this matter, at whom he flung fifty insults, calling him a traitor and accusing him of selling out his own Tsars etc., and this in the quarters of the princess. Čerkasskij fell into disgrace, but within a few days they were reconciled>.

The 17th von Kochen left for Sweden. I accompanied him to Nikol'skoe. I sent letters with him to the following persons: my parents, Count Bengt Oxenstierna,⁵⁰¹ Maja Skytte,⁵⁰² Matthias Biörenclou, Mr Hassel,⁵⁰³ Jonas Lithman, the Icelander,⁵⁰⁴ Conrad Gyllenstierna, Mr Klingstedt, Gustaf Hård af Segerstad,⁵⁰⁵ Johan Gyllenstierna of Frösåker, Doctor Urban Hiärne,⁵⁰⁶ Mr Burgrave Tunderfelt, Mr Daniel B. Maschalk etc.

The 18th. The Tsar's banquet was brought to von Horn by thirty people. He gave them 10 ducats. The Russian stableman was taken into my employ for 80 kopeks a month and Klingstedt's Byelorussian boy was dismissed and then went to the count [i.e. Graham]. <A Russian servant was dismissed.>

The 20th. I went with von Horn to the Polish envoy and then to the Georgian princes,⁵⁰⁷ whose mother and one sister in all humility served us all kinds of drinks with their own hands, and the widow kissed our hands after we had kissed hers. There are five brothers and three sisters in all. One sister was meant to become the tsarevna of Fedor Alekseevič,⁵⁰⁸ but poison was thrown into her face. She is, all the same, still a beautiful person.

The 21st. I received a letter from Mr Klingstedt from Reval, dated 17 June. The Pole paid von Horn a visit to say goodbye. His party consists of twenty-two people in all.

The 25th. In the evening the Polish envoy left Moscow.

[P. 86]

The 26th. During the night I had a long conversation with von Horn on various matters, public as well as private. In particular we talked about the death of Negrbeckij, who was tortured by order of the Princess and Ivan Miloslavskij and then beheaded, as mentioned above, because of his involvement at Troica during the rebellion, in Tsar Peter's favour and against Tsar Ivan and the Princess. And at the same time as many hundreds of rebels, who were for the princess, have

många hundradhe rebeller hwilka dog för Prinessan stått, äre pardonerade, så äre efter handen då hundrade och då 100, och så fort några 1 000, caputeradhe som med tzar Peter warit, och ännu då och då kommer hon med efterslängar,⁵⁰⁹ effter dh blodgirige Miloslavskois inrådande, ehuru K. W. W. intet behag där i har. äfwen så är dhet gånget med Negrebetzski effter han godh tzar Peter warit, och låtet sig betaka i troitza för Confidant, af een stoor dehl, dog ey alt, dhet som före hadhes af tzar Peter interessenter, synnerl. och särdeles af Knes B. alexev Gallitzin Knes Iwan iwanowitz Gall. Grusinske printzarna etc. och Von Horn som medh råd och dåd dhem bisprang, och sielf med tzar Peters moder om een stark resolution talt och rådde att man med dh macten man då hade sedan mästa tumultet förbij war, skulle impatronera sig af dh andra partiet, sättia några personer i clostret mz wåld, och döda några, dog uthan blodh och violence ehurudhe sådan säkerhet ey skaffar tzar Peters person, men som Kirila tzarens moder ey war resolverat till sådant etrange wärk, förrän några dagar för seent, blef dhe intet af, dhet hon genom Von Horns demonstration sedan ofta begråtit hafwer. detta Complott emot Prinessan och tzar iwan har Negrebetzski een stor dehl

[P. 87]

bekänt om K. B. A. G. K. I. I. G. och v. Horn såsom dhe störste Capita, och dhet under pijnen continuerat, och nämnde dh med namn /: dhetta skede dh 8. eller 9 julij :/ uthi Miloslavskois /: som een fiende af von Horn :/ och K. W. W. närwaro. Men Knes W. W. idhet att han hörde om von Horn och sin Broor Boris Galitzin,⁵¹⁰ lätt han express ophöra med pijnan på dhet att dhet ey skulle alt komma fram, och så komma von Horn och sin bror i olycka,⁵¹¹ representeradhe prinessan dheras oskyldighet med hwadh färga han kundhe, men när iv. M. Miloslawskoi anhölt att Continuera: frågade honom K. W. W. om han wille att man skulle slå mz knuth K B:G. så meriterade du ochså /: sade han :/ att man dig pijnadhe effter man så offta hört att du stått effter tzar Peters lijf: etc. där med hörde dhe op och förde Negrebetzski till död dhen dog een uthförlig schriff skrift om alt dhet han wiste, dhen Miloslavskoi och copia af sändt har till Schirofski.⁵¹² wed denna händelse, wore Knes Bor G. K. I. I. G. och V. H. i stoor fahra, och ärnade retirera sig, torde ey besöka hwar andra uppenbarl: uthan hembl: Dock kom dhet ey uijdare emedan K. W. W. godhet hämmadhe pijnan så att ey mehra kom för een dagh. Nu töras dhe ey så besöka hwar andra som för dhesse 3 bröder, ehuru dheras brodherskapp har varit förseglat med en stark resolution att uthgiuta blodh och sättia tzar Peter på thron, då hadhe V. H. kunnat giort sin Kongs affaires som han hadhe veelat. han tyckes hafwa taget sijna skåhl Där af att tzar Peter före war Krönter, och tzar iwan war reeda{n} beredd att göra honom {homoginum}, så att han wore sielfff att Considerera som tzar Peters golopp och icke som brodher etc. dog har Gudh ey så welat hafwa dhet.

been pardoned, as time passed sometimes a hundred and sometimes another hundred and then a few thousand simultaneously of those who had been for Tsar Peter were beheaded. And even now she occasionally hits back⁵⁰⁹ on the advice of the bloodthirsty Miloslavskij, although Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič does not like it. The same thing happened to Negrebeckij, because he sided with Tsar Peter and regarded himself at Troica as a confidant of many, but not all, of the doings of Peter's supporters, especially and particularly Prince Boris Alekseevič Golycyn, Prince Ivan Ivanovič Golycyn, the Georgian princes etc. And von Horn was also there and gave them advice and assistance, and he himself talked to Tsar Peter's mother about a strong decision, advising them—in the position they were in then—now that the unrest was largely over, to take over power from the other party. This was to be done by placing some people in a monastery by force and by killing some, but without blood and violence, as this would not enhance Tsar Peter's personal safety. But as Natal'ja Kirillovna, the Tsar's mother, could not make up her mind concerning such drastic actions until a few days too late, nothing came of it, which she has since then often regretted in the presence of von Horn. Negrebeckij confessed to much of this conspiracy against the Princess and Tsar Ivan, and when tortured continued to reveal things and mentioned Prince Boris Alekseevič Golycyn, Prince Ivan Ivanovič Golycyn and von Horn by name and pointed them out as the main instigators /: this happened on 8 or 9 July :/. This happened in the presence of Miloslavskij /: who is an enemy of von Horn's :/ and Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn. But when Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič heard about von Horn and his brother Boris Golycyn,⁵¹⁰ he had the torture stopped straight away, so that everything would not be revealed and von Horn and his brother would not be ruined.⁵¹¹ He then pleaded their innocence to the Princess, one way or another. But when Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij demanded that the torture continue, Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič said to him that if he wanted Prince Boris Golycyn to be whipped with a knout, he himself—he said—deserved to be tortured as well, as it has so often been said that you have been seeking Tsar Peter's life etc. With that they stopped and took Negrebeckij away to be executed. But he had written a detailed report about everything he knew, a copy of which Miloslavskij had sent to Zierowsky.⁵¹² When this happened Prince Boris Golycyn, Prince Ivan Ivanovič Golycyn and von Horn were in great danger and decided to keep a low profile. They did not dare to visit each other openly, and did so only in secret. But it did not go any further than this, thanks to the fact that Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič was kind enough to stop the torture, so that no more came out. Now these three brothers do not dare to visit each other as before, as their brotherhood was sealed with a firm decision to shed blood and place Tsar Peter on the throne. If that had happened von Horn could easily have furthered his King's interests. It seems that the reason for his position was that Tsar Peter was crowned first and that Tsar Ivan was already prepared to give up the throne to him, so that he himself would be considered Tsar Peter's *cholop* rather than brother etc. But God did not want it that way.

dh 27 med en expresse skref effter Kock till Naruen till C. Gyll. H. Clingstett, om min resas ändring till Persien.⁵¹³ fick bref af ma mere stockh. dh 14 julij. et de Moraht Nyen dh 7 aug. <bref af Hyttner Novgorod dh 15 aug.> <receu la nouvelle de la naisence du prince uldrich en Svède qui fut ne le 22 juliet⁵¹⁴>

[P. 88]

28 hos H Hartman till måhltjdh.

29. antaget Von Horrens Mästare a rubel om månadhen och begynte med honom,⁵¹⁵ war och i dag tzar iwans dagh och Joh. baptists decollation,⁵¹⁶ som här firadhes med stor procession hwarest tzaren sielf medh tillstädes war, och ryssarna äta hela dagen intet, dhe som ifrige äre. lät och K. W. W. säga till Horn att komma i morgon till gäst.

30 War Knes W. Wasilivitz med sin son alexei Wasilivitz Knes Boris alex: iwan alexeievitz Puskin, och 3 Dumnoi Diac och några andra Diacer, och Stolnicker till middagz måhltjdh hoos Von Horn, där iag och war medh när K. W. W. war borta giorde mig Knes B. stor wänskap och drack Kungens Skåhl, med önskan till Continuation af gott förtroendhe, dhet Von Horn moste tålka åth mig och drack sielf ehuru intet gärna mz sådan önskan, sedan iag war bort gången drack han Printz ulriks skåhl och så.

Nu ändas dhet ryska året och begynes dhet 7193 året effter werldens skapelse⁵¹⁷ som dhe räkna. ⁵¹⁸

September

[P. 89]

Anno Mundi 7193

Den 1: är nyårsdagen här i landhet, och fijras med stor solennitet, såledhes, Alla förnähme herrar kläda sig prächtigt, och komma till hofwa, så och warda alla tyska officerare kalladhe om morgonen bittida hwilka sig inställa klock 8 eller 10 /: sedan dhe hos K: W:W: dh regerande herren sin opwaktning giort hafwa :/ uppå ett wist rum wed Soborna⁵¹⁹ inne i slottet, några Compagnier strelitzer stå in armis, och straxt nedan för Kulitzen eller balconen af tzarens apartementer⁵²⁰ are lagde turske tapeter öfr hela platzen alt in till kyrkan. där står straxt wed trappan af (St) kyrkan Blagoweschtschen⁵²¹ rett hus /: {manken} {ryames} :/ kallat af Maringlass rund om durchsichtigt, och 4 små Coupoller eller Domer och 1 större mitt på, och så af marieglass, rundt om inne uthi dhetta lilla rumet af 4 alnars ongefär i längden och 2½ i bredden äre hängde gardiner af grönt damask, och äre dörar rundt om 2 framför façaden, och 1 för hwar ända dhe alla tages bort,⁵²² och så komma bägge tzarana barhufda, och låtha bära mössan och dhe långa sceptrerna med dh stoora smaragden på änden: hwilka rätter kunna kallas långa käpper af silfr, och stijga sedan 3 trappsteeg op i detta

The 27th. I wrote letters and sent them with a courier after von Kochen to Narva, to Conrad Gyllenstierna and Mr Klingstedt about changing my journey to Persia.⁵¹³ I received a letter from my mother, dated Stockholm 14 July, and from Morath, dated Nyen 7 August. <I received a letter from Hyttner, dated Novgorod 15 August.> <I got the news of the birth of Prince Ulrik in Sweden. He was born on 22 July.⁵¹⁴>

[P. 88]

The 28th. I was invited to Mr Hartman for a meal.

The 29th. I engaged von Horn's teacher for one rouble a month and started working with him.⁵¹⁵ Today was also Tsar Ivan's name-day and the day commemorating the decapitation of John the Baptist,⁵¹⁶ which was celebrated here with a big procession, in which the Tsar himself took part. The Russians, those who are pious, do not eat anything all day. Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič sent word to von Horn that he would come and visit him tomorrow.

The 30th. Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič with his son Aleksej Vasil'evič, Prince Boris Alekseevič, Ivan Alekseevič Puškin and three *dumnye d'jaki* and a few other *d'jaki* and *stol'niki* came for dinner at von Horn's, which I also attended. When Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič had left, Prince Boris was amiable enough to drink to the health of the King, with a wish for continued good confidence, which von Horn had to translate for me, and he drank himself, although not very willingly, to this wish. After I had left Prince Boris drank to Prince Ulrik's health as well.

This is the end of the Russian year, and the 7193rd year since the creation of the world⁵¹⁷—as they count—is now beginning.⁵¹⁸

September

[P. 89]

Anno Mundi 7193

The 1st. This is New Year's Day in this country and it is celebrated very solemnly, as follows: All the noblemen dress up in beautiful finery and come to court. All the German officers are also summoned early in the morning, they appear at 8 or 10 o'clock /: having paid their respects to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič, the reigning master :/ in a certain room inside the castle by the *Soborna*.⁵¹⁹ Some *strel'cy* companies in arms are standing there, and right below the platform [?] of the Tsar's apartments⁵²⁰ Turkish carpets are unrolled across the whole square to the church. Close by the porch to the Cathedral of the Annunciation⁵²¹ there is something like a house, /: called [?] [?] :/ made of mica. It is transparent all around and has four small cupolas or domes and one larger one in the middle—these too are made of mica. All around, inside this small room, which is about four ells long and two and a half broad, are curtains of green damask, and there are doors all around, two on the front and one on each of the remaining sides. The

rummet, hwarest dhe (altijdh) mäst blijfwa ståendes på sijna fötter på 2 röda atlask tyende, som ligga på golwet på turkeske tapeter hwarest dhe förlijda gudz tiensten, som sker under bar himmel af Patriarken hwars lilla tabouret mz violett tyende står på een lijten thron af 3 steg hög rätt 4 kantijg på wänstra handen wed tzararnas och uända sig alla ifrån tzararnes rum, och i oster emoth Kyrkan. hwedh hwilkens Corridor står alla priedieu, eller bokestellen som bilderna och biblarna ligga uppå, dher är af dem 3 a 4 stycken, och när man en lång stund sungit och läsit, Epist. och Evangelium läsit och Patriarken sielf rökelsekaret omburit några gånger

[P. 90]

och gifvit encens så åth tzararna och Bojarerna som (alla) Metropoliterna Episcop och archiepiscopar som nu wore 16 tillstädhes med runda höga silfr myssor med steenar besätte, och een hwijt hermelins bourlät nederst wed brädden wed örorna och ansigtet rundt om, så och ensensert hela folket, och många gånger gifwit benediction, mz båda händerna tillijka, då och tzararna stege neder af sijn tron några gånger, och Patriarken sielf ur biblen något lijtet läsit, steg Patriarcken och tzarerna neder på platzen och då gaf han dhem welsignelse och nyårsönsknigen, med alla dhe andelige, sedan han lijtet tillförende hade doppat korset /: med hwilket han och offta welsignelsen utdehladhe :/ i wattnet, som han helga skulle kring heela riket hwilket stod på ett bord i en stor lithers förgylt kalk. sedan Patriarken tzarerna hade önskat nyttårs önskan satte dhe sig inn igen på sijna 2 tabouretter. då ginge alla bojarerna till och önskade samaledes och där med gaf dhem Patriarken 3 korsningar och så blef dhet alt. tzararna ginge op igen för trappen barhufda som förr, och Patriarken gick in i Soborna⁵²³ med process af bilderna och böckerna, hwars richesse intet stod att estimeras, och gick främbst altijdh een lyckta mz 5 små torn af Maringlass hel och hållen, sedan 2 runda gull plåtar durchsichtige med Cherubim i relief⁵²⁴ så 2 fahner, så ett christall stort Kors, och så bilderna, så Patriarken ledder af 2 Chanonicij så alla Metropol. Episcop. Archepisk. etc. egumeni och heela geistligheten. emedan dhetta på stodh ifrån klock 10 till 12. Musicerade på dheras sätt andelige stycken. <vnder dhenna Ceremonies begynelse och ända giordes ett gruweligt tintamar och querillan af alla dhe klockor i Iwan weliki hänga, men under sielfwa Ceremonin alt tyst. uthan Musiquen och texternas opsiungande, nästan på Catholskt maner. Tsarerna sände och och läte fråga effter alla tyska officerares hälsa. > Oss och boutenant blef platz gifuin inne i Corridoren af Kyrkan⁵²⁵ gent emoth tzararna

[P. 91]

som sände Procofei wosnitzin diacen att fråga effter Comiss. boutenants hälsa. fruentimret af tzariske familien stodh i fonstren af dh stoora audientz sahlen hwarest wij första gången vårt audientz hadhe. alla Bojarerna stodh på höger och wänstre handen om tzarens betäckte thron, dhen och straxt blef på stunden i sär

doors have been removed.⁵²² And then the two Tsars arrive, bare-headed. They have their caps and the long sceptres with the large emerald at the end, which could rightly be called long silver sticks, carried for them. And they mount three steps into this room, where they remain on their feet most of the time, on two red satin fabrics lying on the floor on top of Turkish carpets. There they attend the service which takes place in the open, with the patriarch officiating. His small tabouret with purple fabric is placed on a small throne, three steps high and rather square in shape, to the left of the Tsars' little room. And everyone turns away from the room where the Tsars are and turns to the church to the east. Close to its corridor are all the prie-dieux or ambos upon which lie the icons and the Bibles, of which there are three or four. And when they had sung and read for a long time, when the epistle and the Gospel had been read, the patriarch himself carried the censer around a few times

[P. 90]

and incensed the Tsars and the boyars as well as the metropolitans, the bishops and archbishops, of which there were 16 present. They were wearing their tall, round silver caps, set with precious stones and with white ermine trimming at the lower edge, by the ears and round the face. And he incensed all the people and gave the benediction several times, with both hands even, during which time the Tsars stepped down from their throne a few times and the patriarch himself read a little out of the Bible. All this being done, the patriarch and the Tsars stepped down onto the square, and then he gave them the blessing and wishes for the New Year, as did the whole clergy, having previously dipped the crucifix /: with which he often gave the benediction :/ in the water which was standing on a table in a large litre gilt chalice and which he was to sanctify around the realm. After the patriarch had given the Tsars wishes for the New Year, they went in again and sat down on their two tabourets. Then all the boyars stepped forward and wished them the same. And finally the patriarch gave them three signs of the cross and that was the end of it. The Tsars mounted the stairs again and went in, bare-headed as before, and the patriarch entered the *sobor*⁵²³ with a procession of the icons and the books, the value of which was not even possible to estimate. And at the front there was the whole time a lantern with five small towers, all of it made of mica, then two round transparent golden sheets with cherubim in relief,⁵²⁴ then two banners, then a large crucifix made of crystal, then the icons. Then came the patriarch, led by two *canonici*, then all the metropolitans, bishops and archbishops etc., abbots and all the clerics. While this went on from 10 until 12 o'clock there was their kind of music, consisting of religious pieces. <At the beginning of this ceremony and at the end there was an awful clanging and chiming from all the bells hanging in Ivan Velikij, but during the ceremony itself all was silent, apart from the music and the singing of the texts, almost in a Catholic manner. The Tsars sent word and asked about the health of all the German officers.> Boutenant and I and the others were given places inside the corridor of the church⁵²⁵ opposite the Tsars,

tagen stycke från stycke, och in bracht till förwaring. dhetta är dh andra gången som dhenna thron är brukatt emedan han (tils) i före åhret där till brukader första gången: ty tzar Theodor och dess fader hafwa alla setat under bar himmel.⁵²⁶

jag war och förste gången i Possolski pricaset, dhett nya,⁵²⁷ och är dher en skön och herlig all tapisserat sahl, hwars prospect öfr moscowska recá incomparabel är och dh skönste i hela Muskwa: dädan ginge wi med Grefwe Graham till måhltjdh hos V. Horn: och effter måhltjdh att besöka Knes Boris alexewitz som i går med wagnen föll och for något illa.

Knes W.W. reste Klok: 4 på landet, man menar till Troitza, och på Von Horns bön lätt försäkra honom att han skulle gifwa De la Rosiere⁵²⁸ öfwerste Peuletz charge som han lofvat hade, där han på sig kunde förlåtha.

Knes Boris gaf v. H: 2 par sijna skönste miödhundar.

dh 2. dh första frost om natten: och är Kölden begynter medh Septemb. Måhnadh. reeste tzar Peter uth ur Moscov att göra een tour i landhet, och Kanske åth Troitza och så.

dh 3. Knes Boris war sidste gången till Gäst hoos von Horn.

dh 8 schref iag ma mere till. A. Wessman: C. Gyll.st. Clingstett, Medd. Chronström,⁵²⁹ Hyttener. etc:

dh 9 om aftone[n] Klock 6. reste von Horn bort, conducerat af 8 eller 10 öfwerstar och öfwerst: Majorer etc. af Sloboden som med tårar önskadhe honom lycka: blefue dh natten 5 verst från mouscow hos Hr Boutenant i amsterdam.⁵³⁰ <förste gången hos Vinnius.⁵³¹ v. H. tillbaka till Moscou om natten och till oss igen.>

dh 10 reste öfwerstarna tillbaka om morgonen ifrån amsterdam. och wij Bout. Kniper och Marcilus⁵³² och jagh folgte 25 virst till Tschercisowa. däd wij dh

[P. 92]

dh 11 Skilldhes wij åth klock 9. med många tårar — här ifrån Tscherkisowa skref v. H. Cnes W.W. till. K.B.G. C.iw. iw. Emil. oucrainsef etc. och gick fort, wij ginge tillbaka med sorg,⁵³³ och när iag kom heem fant iag för mig ett bref af H. Ex. Gref B. oxenstierna om försäkran af pension af Kongl. Maytt. brefuet war daterat dh 20 Julij.⁵³⁴ Stockholm 3: 2 dagar för P: uldriks födelsedagh.

NB: dh 11: begynte Denis dh Ryska drängen sin tjenst. och dh föra fick sitt afskedh effter een månadz tjenst. denis moste hafue 1 rubl. om månade och fria stöfler. men håller sig sielf math och Klädher.⁵³⁵

NB: Mons. Norderman⁵³⁶ ma raconté que le talque ou le Maringlas dont on fait icy des fenetres. se trouue en tres grande quantite et grandeur en une isle⁵³⁷

[P. 91]

who sent the *d'jak* Prokofij Voznicyn to ask about the health of Commissary Boutenant. The womenfolk belonging to the family of the Tsars were standing in the windows of the large audience hall, where we had our audience the first time. All the boyars were standing to the right and to the left of the covered throne used by the Tsars, which was immediately dismantled piece by piece and carried inside for storage. This is the second time that this throne has been used, as it was used for the first time last year, whereas Tsar Fedor and his father sat out in the open.⁵²⁶

I was also at the *Posol'skij prikaz* for the first time, in the new building,⁵²⁷ in which there is a beautiful and magnificent hall all covered in tapestries, from where the view of the Moscow River is without equal and is the most beautiful in all of Moscow. From there we went with Count Graham to von Horn's house for dinner and after the meal we paid a visit to Prince Boris Alekseevič, who fell with his carriage yesterday and was knocked about somewhat.

Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič left for the countryside at 4 o'clock, it is believed to Troica, and in answer to von Horn's request, he assured him that he would give De la Rosière⁵²⁸ Colonel Peuletz's position as he had promised, and that he could rely on that.

Prince Boris gave two pairs of his most beautiful greyhounds to von Horn.

The 2nd. The first frosty night: the cold began with the month of September. Tsar Peter left Moscow for a tour of the country, and maybe to Troica too.

The 3rd. Prince Boris went to visit von Horn for the last time.

The 8th. I wrote to my mother, to A. Wessman, Conrad Gyllenstierna, Klingstedt, the doctors [?] Cronström,⁵²⁹ Hyttner, etc.

The 9th. Von Horn left the city at 6 o'clock at night, accompanied by eight or ten colonels and lieutenant-colonels etc. from the Foreign suburb, which with tears wished him good luck. That night we stayed 5 versts from Moscow at Mr Boutenant's place at Amsterdam.⁵³⁰ <I visited Vinius⁵³¹ for the first time. Von Horn went back to Moscow during the night and then came back to us again.>

The 10th. The colonels returned in the morning from Amsterdam, and Boutenant, Kniper, Marselis⁵³² and I myself accompanied von Horn 25 versts to Čerkizovo, from where on

[P. 92]

the 11th we parted with many tears at 9 o'clock. From Čerkizovo von Horn wrote to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič, Prince Boris Golicyn, Prince Ivan Ivanovič, Emel'jan Ukrainev etc. and left. We returned home much grieved.⁵³³ And when I came home, I found a letter waiting from His Excellency Count Bengt Oxen-

dans la mer du Nord, hors de Archangel quelque uintaine de virst éloigné du Continent et que la mine toutes les annés se remplit d'eau qui faut uider leste avant que dy pouvoir trauaille, ce qui donne beaucoup de peine, et le rancherit. il en a eu d'un archin de haut et $\frac{3}{4}$ large:

Aupredela riuere Daur,⁵³⁸ il se trouue tres fin argent, et meme meilleur que celuy de gosslar. un centner dore 5 lod, här ifrån är een månads resa in i China. A Solkamski ala riuere Koma⁵³⁹ ily a eu du Cuivre ily a 30 ans. Mais il n'ya pas moyen de les conseruer car les paysant qui y trauaillent corrompent les woywodes, pour en estre delivré, qui escrit ala Cour qvon n'y troue plus rien etc. et meme ceux qui trouent quelque noueuté courre risque destre tué par les paissans, de sorte quil est dangeureux de chercher des mines, ou quelques autres chose utile qui demeure começa caché.

Flus Naphta⁵⁴⁰ que iay donne a Kocq pour porter au grand Maitre est prise a la province de Chirwan{y}, a la uille de Bachu. un pordt de mer sur la riu de la Caspie prise au Mois de juillet 1683 a chamaquai,⁵⁴¹ les arabes la boient dans leurs maladies. <Bacan Kitaiski⁵⁴² du ford de la chine. NB. stekta fijkon lagda på bålder och swulnor mognar. och drager waret uht. >

[P. 93]

NB. dh 9. om aftonen reste tzar Iwan uhr Mosckov att gå pelegrinsreesa alordinaire alla åhr till Troitza:⁵⁴³ och gå dhe alla dagar 10 gambla virst till foths 5 för middagen och 5 efter i egen personer.

Le 11. Eu reponse du C.B. oxenst de la pension rojale.

dh 11. eller **12.** är elden kommen lös på landet i een by där tzar Peter stodh, på vägen åth Troitza och brände up een dehl af huset om aftonen, som Knes Boris stodh uthi. och ad andra aftonen brände samma husetz andra dhehl af, och ledhe många skadha på sijna saker i dh hastigheten, dh 3 aftonen kom och eldhen löös i dhet huus som tzar Peter sielf såf uthi, så att een man oförwägen lopp inn och baar uth tzaren, och salveradhe honom med platz. dhenna saak kommer många underlig före, som skulle dhet ey wara een pur hendelse.⁵⁴⁴

16. Escrit au Conte Benoit Oxenst. en luy remercient. Et ie l'ay enuoyé a Horn a Riga, a qui i'ecris aussi.

dh 26 sniö. och rätt kalt.

27. betalte åth verden 12 rubl. för mig och 12 för Clingstet på våre kostpenger.

28. Kom Tzar iwan 2 Tsarissor,⁵⁴⁵ och Princess. Sophia ifrån Deuotion i Troitza till Moscov klok 2. efftermiddagen och har under vägen många mz charges benådat.

stierna, with the message that I am guaranteed a scholarship from the King and Council. The letter was dated Stockholm, 20 July,⁵³⁴ i.e. two days prior to the day Prince Ulrik was born.

NB: On the 11th Denis, the Russian boy, started work and the previous one was dismissed after one month. Denis is to receive 1 rouble a month and free boots, but he keeps himself in food and clothes.⁵³⁵

NB: Mr Norderman⁵³⁶ has told me that the talc or mica from which they make the windows here is found in very large quantities and size on an island⁵³⁷ in the Nordic Sea off Archangelsk, some twenty versts from land. The mine fills with water every year, and they have to empty it in the summer before it is possible to work in it, which causes a lot of trouble and irritation [?]. The water was one aršine high and three quarters of an aršine wide [?].

Not far from the River Daur,⁵³⁸ there is very precious silver, even better than that found in Goslar. One centner of ore weighs [?] 5 loth [?]. From there it is one month's journey to China. At Solikamsk on the River Kama⁵³⁹ there was copper thirty years ago. But there is no way to recover it, because the peasants who work there bribe the voevodas to be exempted and the latter write to court saying that nothing more is to be found etc. And those who find some new vein even risk being killed by the peasants, which means that it is dangerous to look for mines or anything else which is useful, and consequently in this way it stays hidden.

Flus Naphta,⁵⁴⁰ which I gave to von Kochen to take to the Grand Master [probably the King], is taken from the province of Širvan at the town of Baku, a seaport on the shore of the Caspian Sea. It was taken in the month of July 1683 at Šemacha.⁵⁴¹ The Arabs drink it when they are ill. «Bakan Kitajskij»⁵⁴² is Chinese [?]. NB. Fried figs placed on top of boils and swellings ripen and draw out the pus. »

[P. 93]

NB. On the 9th in the evening Tsar Ivan left Moscow to go on his usual yearly pilgrimage to Troica.⁵⁴³ And each day they personally go ten old versts on foot, five before noon and five after.

The 11th. I received an answer from Count Bengt Oxenstierna regarding the scholarship from the King.

The 11th or 12th fire broke out in a village in the countryside where Tsar Peter was staying, on his way to Troica. And part of the house where Prince Boris was staying burnt down in the evening. On the following evening the remaining part of the house burnt down as well, and many people had their things damaged, as it all happened so quickly. During the third evening fire broke out in the house where Tsar Peter himself was sleeping causing a man to rush boldly into the room and carry the Tsar out, and in this way he only barely saved his life. This appears very strange to many, as if it did not happen by sheer accident.⁵⁴⁴

NB Hassenius⁵⁴⁶ sade mig att Tsaren ger 40000 rubler alla år åht Crimske Tartaren⁵⁴⁷ att han ingen incursion skall göra. Chineserna hafva för ohngefär ett år sedan taget igen een tract landh⁵⁴⁸ af ryssarna mera än een månadz reesa med Camehler, ifrån Dvina Ström: hwarest ryssarna i 50 år effter handen hafwa sig impatronerat den eena tracten effter dh andra, och dheras bästa sabel fänge varit sådan är nu att i winter skohla så många öfwerstar till Sibirske gräntzen, att slå Chineserna tillbaka igen.

Octobre

[P. 94]

dh 3. Hölt iag till dopet Hr Boutenantz son i Envoyens von Horns ställe. H. Hartman och H. Knijper wore och Comperes.

dh 5 Kom och tzar Peter in, med sin modher och systrar

dh 9 ankom dhe förste tijdender om K. Skattmester H Sten bielkes,⁵⁴⁹ och H Condrad Gyllenstiernas⁵⁵⁰ dödh, som säges döt 8 dagar effter sitt audientz hos Kongl. Maytt.

dhessa föregångne dager har tzar Peter varit i någon fara af allförmycket näseblods och rotte { ? } blödandhe, men är nu stillat igen.

dh 10 betahlte iag Joh: jochenson min wärldh för alt. för dhe 6 måner⁵⁵¹ wij hos honom varit, för Klingstet och mig 43 rublar: och iag lät reparera een Kammar hos Grefwe Graham för mig.

NB. **dh 16** gick iag till Grefwen att logera, och Klingstet mz de la Rosiere⁵⁵² till residenten Käller. iag behöll drängen Denis hoos mig för 6 rubl: om året medh mat hos grefwens ryska dränger.

dh 21 schref iag till Mon pere delargent: och om mässingssakerna item till H Clingstett om pengar för hans son.

dh 25 kome 3 ell 4 Köp[m]än från archangel. par poste.

dh 30 Kom continuation till Residenten Keller ifrån dh Hollendske residenten rümpf,⁵⁵³ om C. Gyllenstiernas död af een abcess au partis nobles: denowograd on a mandé a Knjper la mort de Stacke[l]berg⁵⁵⁴ de apoplexie, et de M. Clingstet,⁵⁵⁵ Dieu sçay ce qui len est:

dh 30 Om natten een ohörlig stor brand i Muscov. j dessa dager blef Dumnoi diak. Emilian Ukrainsof sänder till Hättman öfr Cos-saqverna i Oucrainen⁵⁵⁶ för något besynnerliget ärende.

The 16th. I wrote to Count Bengt Oxenstierna and thanked him. And I sent the letter to von Horn in Riga, with a letter to him as well.

The 26th. Snow and rather cold.

The 27th. I paid our landlord 12 roubles for myself and 12 for Klingstedt for our board.

The 28th. Tsar Ivan, two tsarinas⁵⁴⁵ and Princess Sofija returned to Moscow from devotions at Troica at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. They have endowed many with offices during the journey.

NB. Hassenius⁵⁴⁶ told me that the Tsar gives 40,000 roubles a year to the Crimean Tatars⁵⁴⁷ so that they will not carry out any raids. About a year ago the Chinese reconquered land⁵⁴⁸ from the Russians which is situated more than a month's journey on camels from the River Dvina. There the Russians, over 50 years, had little by little captured one area after another. And as their best soldiers have been away from there it has now been decided that this winter many colonels will be moved to the Siberian border to drive away the Chinese.

October

[P. 94]

The 3rd. I presented Mr Boutenant's son at the font instead of the envoy von Horn. Mr Hartman and Mr Kniper were godfathers too.

The 5th. Tsar Peter also arrived [from Troica], together with his mother and sisters.

The 9th. The first news of the deaths of the royal treasurer Mr Sten Bielke⁵⁴⁹ and of Mr Conrad Gyllenstierna⁵⁵⁰ arrived. The latter is said to have died eight days after his audience with His Majesty the King. During the last few days Tsar Peter has been in a somewhat critical condition because of excessive bleeding from the nose and from the [?], but now it has been staunched.

The 10th. I paid my landlord Johan Jochomson for everything during the six months⁵⁵¹ we have lived with him, 43 roubles altogether for Klingstedt and myself. And I had a chamber repaired for me at Count Graham's house.

NB. **The 16th.** I moved to the count's house, and Klingstedt, together with de la Rosiere,⁵⁵² moved to the house of the resident Keller. I kept the servant Denis with me for 6 roubles a year. He was to eat with the count's Russian servants.

The 21st. I wrote to my father about money and about the brass articles, *item* to Mr Klingstedt about money for his son.

November

[P. 95]

dh 4. Schref G B. Oxenst till öfwer Rijga.**dh 9:** Kom Savva Gregorewitz⁵⁵⁷ ifrån Pohlen till Moscou.**dh 12** om aftonen dog öfwerste Holst:⁵⁵⁸ föll första snö.**dh 14:** gick dh fastan in som warer till juhl.⁵⁵⁹**dh 20.** tämmeliget gott åhr före.

dh 24. reuint Emilian Ukrainsef del'oucraine du Haittman vers le soir apres 3 semeines environs de absence, a cheval avec 8 personnes. il apporta les letres au Possolscki pricas, ou la princesse Sophie fut avec luy et Kn W. W. et quelque autre chancelier toute la nuit presque a consulter la dessus.⁵⁶⁰

On a eu nouuelles ces jours passés que le Saporogsche Hettman⁵⁶¹ qui est au bord de la mer Euxinii, a accepte une Estandarde et une hache, que le Roy de Pologne luy a envoyè pour le recevoir en son obeissance. avec larmée quil a ches luy.

understående schrift är att läsas på dhet mindre metallcartow som ligger wed slättet st[r]axt wed dh rundel som Patriarken pläger gifwa benediction, i Moscow:⁵⁶² "Бжиею милостию и велениемъ блгочестиваго цря и великаго князя Ивана Ивасилевича Владимирского московского, нов'гроцкого казанского астраканского псковского смоленского тверскаго и всеа росіи самодержца лѣта зѣд года.

подпись на меншой пушкѣ которая лежитъ на рундуке на лономъ мѣсте"⁵⁶³

⟨NB: när H: Wolmar⁵⁶⁴ /: een Spurius uthur Danmark :/ kom till Moscow till att giffa sig mz een af prinessorna: sökte Gref. Ax: Oxenstierna⁵⁶⁵ att hindra dhet för många rationes status etc. schref så ett bref till dh förnämste minister, höfl. termer, dog indiff[e]re[n]te, om godh wenskapz continuation och correspondencers inrättandhe. i dhet andra läth han weta att H. Wolmar war en hoorunge och mere sådant, hwarigenom hela gifftemåhlet blef om intet. NB: Coyet:⁵⁶⁶⟩

December

[P. 96]

dh 11: bref ifrån Gref B: oxenstierna. ifrån Stockholm af dh 30 september 84:

dh 16 bref af H Clingstett och Ma mere de 400 dh sölfmt pension royale date Stockhol[m] dh 4 Novemb. et 11.

The 25th. Three or four merchants came from Archangelsk with the post carriage.

The 30th. Resident Keller received more news through the Dutch resident Rümpe⁵⁵³ about the death of Conrad Gyllenstierna from an abscess in the noble parts. From Novgorod Kniper received the news of Stackelberg's death⁵⁵⁴ from apoplexy and the same news came from Mr Klingstedt.⁵⁵⁵ God knows what is going on.

The 30th. During the night there was an immense fire in Moscow. During the last few days the *dumnyj d'jak* Ukrainev was sent to the hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks⁵⁵⁶ on some secret commission.

November

[P. 95]

The 4th. I wrote to Count Bengt Oxenstierna via Riga.

The 9th. Savva Grigor'evič⁵⁵⁷ arrived in Moscow from Poland.

The 12th. Colonel Holst⁵⁵⁸ died in the evening. The first snow-fall.

The 14th. The fast that lasts until Christmas began.⁵⁵⁹

The 20th. A rather good year has passed.

The 24th. After being away for about three weeks, Emel'jan Ukrainev, on horseback with eight people, came back from the hetman in the Ukraine towards the evening. He brought with him letters to the *Posol'skij prikaz*, where Princess Sofija was with him, together with Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič and some other chancellor. They spent almost the whole night discussing them.⁵⁶⁰

During the last few days it has become known that the Zaporozhian hetman,⁵⁶¹ who has his lands on the shores of the Black Sea, has accepted a banner and a hatchet sent by the King of Poland to secure the hetman's allegiance to him, together with that of the army under his command.

The text below can be read on the smaller metal cannon lying at the castle in Moscow next to the circus to which the patriarch gives his benediction:⁵⁶² "By the mercy of God and by order of the pious Tsar and Great Prince Ivan Vasil'evič, Autocrat of Vladimir, Moscow, Novgorod, Kazan', Astrachan', Pskov, Smolensk, Tver' and all Russia the year [?]" (text on the smaller cannon lying on the chest at the *lobnoe mesto*).⁵⁶³

⌋NB. When Mr Valdemar⁵⁶⁴ /: a bastard from Denmark :/ came to Moscow to marry one of the princesses, Count Axel Oxenstierna⁵⁶⁵ tried to prevent it for many reasons etc. So he wrote a letter to the most influential minister, in polite, yet casual

NB. Schref dog med posten förr än dhesse brefven ankommo, till H.E.G.B.O. om postwäsendetz, orichtighet och Winnius⁵⁶⁷ stridh mz riga posthus och till Hr Clingstett du peu de saccen avec son fils.

dh 17 bekom bref ifrån Commiss von Coquen af Stockholm dh 11 nov.

dh 18 Scref iag swar på dhe dh 16. ankombne bref, till Clingstett och ma mere que la pension du Roy etoit bien petite. jescrivois aussi au C.B.O: de la meme affaire. et j'envoyois ces lettres avec Karp Semenovitz un uoiturien qui s'an alloit en diligence a Narva. Mons Kniper les recomanda outre par un son amij. et Karp partit dicii Le 19 vendredi. NB: Mons le resident d'Hollande Keller escrivoit aussi au C.B.O: de Mon affaire. et a mon avantage.

dh 21 Klock 12 ungefär bleff Mad Kniper förlöst mz en dotter.

dh 22 gick Carps Semenoff med våra bref fort till Narfwen.⁵⁶⁸

dh 28 Guasconij⁵⁶⁹ een dotter födder.

29 bref ifrån mes parans. Gudm. Olafs: isl.⁵⁷⁰ och Moraht. War och hoos Knes W. Wasilivitz och upuachtadhe honom beklagade oss att ingen mästare kunde fås.⁵⁷¹ han sadhe sig skohla där om ordres ställa i Possolsci Pricaset. badh oss låta see oss offtare.

Blef och Almasofs vipisca⁵⁷² färdig som till Paris Brandenburg och Hollandh för Envoye innan 3 wekor gå skall.

Blef och min grefwe tillsagt att laga sig till Marche till Commendantskapet i Bielogorod på tatarska gränzhen att aflösa Gen. Maj. Byls.⁵⁷³

dh 30 Scref iag till Bourgraf tunderfelt i Narva och sände ett bref till G B O ifrån Hr Käller om dh Almasof som går åth frankrijket. item om dh Courier ifrån pohlen⁵⁷⁴ som i gåhr öfr gaf sitt breff åth tzaren och 2 compagnier Strelitzer in armis derwedh.

INI 1685

[P. 97]

dh 6 War iag med Commiss. Boutenant att bese helgandet af watnet⁵⁷⁵ som denna dag alla åhr plägar skee af Patriarchen, på Moscowsca recà, i tzarens och så många 1000 menniscors närwarelse, med läsande och siungande och bilders procession. och några regementer strelitzer runt om kringh platzen på ijsen: och 100 fanor näst om kring dh platzen som med rödt Kläde war afdehlt 1. een

terms, about the continuation of friendly relations and about starting a correspondence. In a second letter he made it known that Mr Valdemar was a bastard and more of the same kind, whereby the whole marriage came to naught. NB. Coyet.⁵⁶⁶

December

[P. 96]

The 11th. I received a letter from Count Bengt Oxenstierna in Stockholm, dated 30 September 1684.

The 16th. I received letters from Mr Klingstedt and from my mother about the granted royal scholarship, consisting of 400 daler in silver. The letters were dated Stockholm 4 and 11 November.

NB. But I had written letters and sent them by post before the above-mentioned letters arrived. The letters were to His Excellency Count Bengt Oxenstierna about the problems with the postal system and about Vinius's⁵⁶⁷ conflict with the Riga post office, and to Mr Klingstedt about a few small matters concerning his son.

The 17th. I received a letter from Commissary von Kochen, dated Stockholm 11 November.

The 18th. I wrote replies to the letters I received on the 16th, to Klingstedt and to my mother, saying that the royal scholarship was very small indeed. I also wrote to Count Bengt Oxenstierna on the same matter. I sent these letters with Karp Semenovič, a coachman who was to leave in a carriage for Narva. Mr Kniper recommended him as did a friend of his and Karp left from here on Friday **the 19th**. NB. The resident from Holland, Mr Keller, also wrote to Count Bengt Oxenstierna about this matter to my advantage.

The 21st. At around 12 o'clock Madam Kniper was delivered of a daughter.

The 22nd. Karp Semenov left with our letters for Narva.⁵⁶⁸

The 28th. The Guasconis⁵⁶⁹ had a daughter.

The 29th. I received letters from my parents, Gudmund Oláfsson, the Icelandic,⁵⁷⁰ and Morath. I also called on Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič and complained about the fact that no teacher had been found.⁵⁷¹ He said that he would give orders about it to the *Posol'skij prikaz*. He asked us to come to see him more often.

Almazov's instructions⁵⁷² were ready, the man who is going to Paris, Brandenburg and Holland as an envoy within three weeks.

My count was ordered to set off to become the commandant in Belgorod on the Tatarian border, to replace Major-General Byls.⁵⁷³

4drat. sedan där inneuthi een oval. och mittuthi een tribuna oppehållen af 4 stolpar, uthi hwilkens meddelpunct war hugget håhl i ijsen och trappewijs alt neder till wattnet, och står där uthi een Kittel, och stijger patriarchen neder och lägger ett Cors i wattnet, före och effter siunges och läses. Procession begynnes af Prästerna några 100: alla wäll klädde i mässehakar. Sedan komma Biscopar, archimandriter, och muncar. etc. Sedan hoffolket stolnicker, spalniker. och så tzar Iwan till fots ledder af 2⁵⁷⁶ /: ty tzar Petr. war der ey ./ och för och effter honom Boyarerna: Sedan 2 hwijta handhästar, med rijka giyllende täcken. och hwijta Paradis fågelfiedrer i pannan af hästarna. Sedan kommo tzarens släda mz 6 hwijta hästar. Slädan är giord som een annan Bojarsck allenast att baak i sätet är giort som een hög throon. alt förgylt. Sedan kommer alt Canaillet. Denna processen gick uth ur slottet genom dh porten⁵⁷⁷ som⁵⁷⁸ uth går åth Moscovska recà. och hela wägen med bräder och afsättningar små trappewijs belagt. (Processen) Ceremonien waradhe ohngefär 2 tijmer. Oss blef gifwit platz på dh nedersta och närmaste slotz muren till wattnet. i een warm och wäll mz Mattefilar belagd stuga. hwarest Knes W. Wasiliuitz sielf medh några andra förnäma wore inne. Såsom Ocolnitsche Videnicht andrewitz⁵⁷⁹ Knes W.W. tawarisch eller Camerat i Krigsakernas beställandhe. Där war och Spatharius.⁵⁸⁰ med hwilken iag länge Conferentze hadhe om hans Chineseska reesa. han soutenerade att Cambalu⁵⁸¹ och Peschen är ett: och är hufwud staden i China ey långt från Muren. och att Com.Balu intet annat är än Principis-locus: vel aula Caesaris. Men att Pechen är rätta propr: nomen: <Kataja.⁵⁸²>

Han Berömbde Kongen i Sverige dh han lijten sedt har då han envoye där war ifrån Rysslandh: berömbde och G. Magnus Del. G.⁵⁸³ och G.B. oxenstier-na. sade sig haffwa fått ett hederl: stycke penningar af Kongen. offererade mig Communication af ett Dictionari[um] som han giort har. latin: Graecae li[n]guae antiqvae et modernae. cum sclavonico.⁵⁸⁴ Sade att lingua Attica och dhess genius. Kommer nog öfreens medh dhen sclawonskans fundament in Grammaticis. <mecum consentit circa prononciationem lit.⁵⁸⁵ scilicet geminam esse pronunt: anglor. th: non fita ut russi volunt per ignorantiam.>

Sade och att in Crimea äre circiter 300 pagi Gothici.⁵⁸⁶ som bruka ett appart språk äre Christne, hafwa een Biscop dh dhe Gothisck biscop i deras språk ock-så kalla han residerar i Caffa. alias Theodosiopolis, ad Bosporum Cimmerium.⁵⁸⁷ loqvuntur lingua quam Gothicam appellant. <Gothi in Crimea. confirmavit Doct Witt Rigae.> <NB Doct Witt Rigae afin qvun home sante toujours { buvait } bien il faut avaler 5 ou 6 grain de Musqve,⁵⁸⁸ et pour boire a la Musqve afin que le vin soit toujours musqvé, on n'a qv'a metre le svere cassé, sur du Musqve sur un plat bien couvert: il en prend autant quil en fait et metez le svere apres dans le vins: NB>

[P. 98]

Klock. 2 komme wij af Slottet, och blef hoos Boutenant till måltidh. emoth af-tonen Kom tijth almasof⁵⁸⁹ Stolnik som till Francerijket går /: han er en doum-

The 30th. I wrote to Burgrave Tunderfelt in Narva and sent a letter from Mr Keller to Count Bengt Oxenstierna about Almazov who is to go to France. He likewise wrote about the courier from Poland,⁵⁷⁴ who yesterday handed over his letter to the Tsar with two companies of *strel'cy* in arms in attendance.

In Nomine Jesu 1685

[P. 97]

The 6th. I went with Commissary Boutenant to watch the blessing of the waters,⁵⁷⁵ which is done on this day each year by the patriarch on the Moscow River in the presence of the Tsar and several thousand people. There is reading and singing and a procession of icons and some *strel'cy* regiments around the place on the ice. And there are a hundred banners next to the place, partitioned off with red cloth. First there is a square, then inside of it an oval and in the middle a canopy supported by four posts, in the middle of which a hole had been cut in the ice in steps all the way down to the water. And in there a pot has been placed. And the patriarch steps down and places a cross in the water. Before and after there is singing and reading. The procession is started by a few hundred clergy, all of them well dressed in chasubles. Then come bishops, archimandrites, monks etc. Then the courtiers, *stol'niki* and *spal'niki* and then Tsar Ivan on foot led by two men⁵⁷⁶ /: Tsar Peter was not present :/ and in front of and after him the boyars. Then two white horses were led in with rich golden cloths and feathers of white birds of paradise on their foreheads. Then the sleigh of the tsar arrived with six white horses. The sleigh looks like an ordinary boyar sleigh, except that in the back seat there is a high gilded throne. Then come all the common people. This procession went out from the castle through the gate⁵⁷⁷ that⁵⁷⁸ leads to the Moscow River, and the road is covered all the way with planking and is made with small steps. The ceremony lasted for about two hours. We were given places in a warm cottage on the castle wall furthest down and closest to the water, the cottage furnished with blankets, where Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič himself was, together with some other noblemen, such as the *okol'ničij* Venedikt Andreevič,⁵⁷⁹ the *tovarišč* or comrade of Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič in the handling of matters of war. Spatharius⁵⁸⁰ was also there, and I had a long talk with him about his Chinese journey. He confirmed that Cambaluc⁵⁸¹ and Peking are the same, that the capital of China is situated not far from the wall and that Khan-Balik is nothing else but *Principis Locus* or *Aula Caesaris*, but that the correct proper name is Peking. <Kataj.⁵⁸²>

He praised the King of Sweden, whom he had seen as a child when he was envoy there from Russia. He also praised Count Magnus de la Gardie⁵⁸³ and Count Bengt Oxenstierna. He said he had received a fair amount of money from the King. He offered me a look at a dictionary that he had made, with Latin, Ancient and Modern Greek and Church Slavonic.⁵⁸⁴ He said that the Attic language

noi diach som är rijk: een af sijna döttrar har han gifvit åth een ung opraxin, broder till tzar Feodor alexiewitz änka.⁵⁹⁰ och hade dh andra lefwat hade hon blifvit Keyserinna :/ Han resonerade med mig om ett och annat och hwadh han skulle föra medh sig som behageliget skulle wara. och war rätt häfftig. sade sig medh 70 personer skohla effter 8 dager gå fort, och till resepeninger ey fått mera än 600 rubler. will reesa siöwägen ifrån Hamb. till Rouen, och därifrån Paris tillbaka till Hag, och sedan med skeppen till archangel till kommande julio.⁵⁹¹

denna aftonen emedan wi sotto i vår stillhet Kom Posten och blef Boutenant Bract ett stort paquet hwars port väll 10 rubl: kostade det war ifrån Copenha-gen ifrån Kongen ett bref till tzaren, huruledes Boutenant war benådigat med Commissarie titul. Hans son scref att han för sin Commissarie charche hade alla år att oppbär af Kongen i Dnmk 2000 Rder. dessa tijdender wore härlige för honom: dy gjorde wij oss glada med honom. i samma paquet hade iag och andra wanner bref af von Horrn,⁵⁹² som ochså till Knes W. Wasiliwitz på ryska ett bref schrifvit har om samma ärende och Commissar charge och några nya tijdender, af hwilket, /: som dett öpet war :/ Boutenant Copia togh och iag förseglade dhett igen. öfwerste på brefuet inne uthi: stodh язнейши княже милостивейший гдръ och nederste öfr nambnet униженни рабъ v⁵⁹³ uthan på brefet ey annat än Гдрю мойму князу Василию Василъвичу Голицину. униженнъ⁵⁹⁴

Det Kongl. Danska pergamentz brefvet war uthanschrifften screfwen med gull några rader. det andra swart och på Danscka således dhe störmäktige och høyborne, wores älskelige käre Bröder wänner och Naboe Ivan alexiewitz og Peter alex. etc. ochså tijtteln.⁵⁹⁵

dh 7 war grefue Graham⁵⁹⁶ till tzarernas och prinessans handh och tog afskedh att resa till Bielogorden så och Almasof som till Paris och Hollandh för Envoye gå skall, tog och afskedh, som item een Cossagisk öfwerste.

⟨**dh 8** Knes W. W: een dotter födder⟩

dh 9 talte iag mz Knes W. W. och aduerteradhe honom att iag effter hans be-faldning har sökt och funit een språkmästare Stackei⁵⁹⁷ polak possolski pricas perevotik han gaf mig handen uhr släden där iag mötte honom på gatan, och badh mig Komma till honom med translatoren, dhett iag och gjorde dh 10 bitt-ida om morgonen.

13 blef M. Bout: tillsagt att hafwa sitt audience, men när han kom inemoth slåt-tet, blef han med sin svite och Kongl bref tillbaka wister, hwaröfr han storl: wredgades och sadhe sig skohla skrifva kongen i Dnmk till att slijkt skulle Ryssarna sky wedh tillfälle.

and its *genius* agreed to a high degree with the fundamental features of the Church Slavonic grammar. <He agreed with me concerning the pronunciation of the letter *theta*,⁵⁸⁵ namely that there are two pronunciations: like the English *th*, not *fita* as the Russians pronounce it in their ignorance.>

He also said that in Crimea there are about 300 Gothic villages,⁵⁸⁶ where they use a strange language. They are Christian and have a bishop, whom they also call “Gothisck biscop” in their language. He resides in Kaffa, alias Theodosiopolis by the Cimmerian Bosphorus.⁵⁸⁷ They speak in a language they call Gothic. <That there are Goths in Crimea was confirmed by Doctor Witt from Riga.>

<NB. Doctor Witt from Riga states that for a healthy man to be able to drink a fair amount, he should swallow five or six grains of musk⁵⁸⁸ and to drink musk, for the wine always to be flavoured with musk, all one has to do is to put the crushed sugar on top of musk on a well covered plate: it will take up as much as it can and then one should put the sugar into the wine. NB.>

[P. 98]

At 2 o'clock we left the castle and went to Boutenant's for dinner. Towards the evening Almazov,⁵⁸⁹ the *stol'nik* who is to leave for France, arrived. /: He is a *dumnyj d'jak* and rich. He married one of his daughters to a young Apraksin, the brother of the widow of Tsar Fedor Alekseevič.⁵⁹⁰ And if the latter had lived, she would have been a tsarina :/

He discussed different matters with me, among them what he should take in terms of suitable gifts. And he was rather upset. He said that he was to leave in eight days with 70 people, and that he had not received more than 600 roubles in travelling funds. He plans to go by sea from Hamburg to Rouen and from Paris to Haag on the way back, and then by ship to Archangelsk to arrive there the coming July.⁵⁹¹

During that evening, while we were sitting there quietly, the mail arrived. And Boutenant received a large parcel, the postage of which must have cost 10 roubles. There was a letter to the Tsar from the King in Copenhagen announcing that Boutenant had been honoured with the title of commissary. His son wrote that he was to draw 2,000 riksdaler a year from the King of Denmark for his commission as commissary. This was wonderful news for him and we celebrated with him. In the same parcel I and other friends received a letter from von Horn.⁵⁹² There was also a letter from him in Russian to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič on the same matter and the commission as commissary and some other news. As it was open, Boutenant copied it and I sealed it again. Inside at the top it read: “Distinguished Prince, Gracious Sir” and at the bottom above the name: “Your humble servant” v.⁵⁹³ On the outside of the letter there was only “To my Master and Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golícyn, humbly”.⁵⁹⁴

On the royal Danish parchment letter, some lines of the address were written in gold, the rest was in black and in Danish read like this: “Our majestic and high-born beloved and dear brothers, friends and neighbours Ivan Alekseevič and Peter Alekseevič” etc. and then the title.⁵⁹⁵

[P. 99]

dh 14 bekom han sitt rätta audientze.

dh 15 begynte iag medh Stachej iwanowitz een polsk translator att studera dhets ryska språket ef[t]er boyarens befaldning. <NB. Stachej Iwanowitz> reeste och tzar iwan till att conse[c]rera nya jerusalem.⁵⁹⁸ om morgonen gaf iag öfr till K. W. W. een suplique om fritt framläppande af något mina genom Nowogradh Emilian oucraintzef tog emoth thet och lofwadhe resolution.

K. W. W. war i swenska hofwet och besåg dhe hästar som Hartman af Narwen hijt till köps fördt hafwer. Gick och almashof först till frankrijkhet men diaken⁵⁹⁹ efter honom.

dh 18. medh dh unge Menesius.⁶⁰⁰ blef och Nya jerusalem⁶⁰¹ inuigt.

dh 19 Scref Mon Pere allena till genom Tunderfelt i Narven. om {camperey} mässingz beslag och min swarta klädes jacka.

dh 22. ungefär kom tzar iwan ifrån Nya jerusalems kyrkas inwigande 40 werst härifrån.

dh 23. föll resolution och swar på dhets ifrån Kongen af dank genom boutenant lefwererade bref till tzarerna dh 14: om 20000 tunnor spannemåhl öfr archangel till Copenhagen att föra. emedan dher gott diup är ia intill 7 och 8 altiner.⁶⁰²

dh 26 feck iag itt tzariskt bref till woiwoden Knes Mixael jaklewiiu Chercassci⁶⁰³ Nowgradh att låtha passara[!] uthan tull till mitt huushåldh ett oxehöfd полубеременная бочка⁶⁰⁴ fransckt vijn dito 1. spanskt. ½ ankar franskt brännevijn. 3. små {tall} scorpor tynt brödh. 3 små faht smör även pudh socker,⁶⁰⁵ hwilket som dhets mera för Exempels skuld än mitt behof uthuärkat är, transporteradhe iag dhenna frijhet på H. Cnijper min synnerl. godhe wän, att fortfara dher medh som honom gott tyckes, emedan dhets mig ey nödigt. Iag gaf dherför till schrifwaren Cusma Nicitoff⁶⁰⁶ 2 ducater.

dh 27 gick brefuet fort till Nowgordh med posten.

dh 30 blef Knes W. W. gifwen efterfölliande tittel att brukas i alla affairer. blef och communicerad med alla Pricaserna, att nu här effter altijd så bruka och intet allenast till och med främmande, såsom dhets före warit hafwer. hwilken titttel hålles för hög här i landet och är K. W. W. dh andra som någonsin i Moscou sådan tittel beständigt haft hafwer. och är mig gifwin af Doctor von der Hölst⁶⁰⁷ dh 31. och är såledhes: царственния большие печати и Гдрьственных посолских дел. оберэгателью, ближнему боярину наместнику новогроцкому князю василю василѣвичю Голицину⁶⁰⁸ etc.

The 7th. Count Graham⁵⁹⁶ was admitted to the hand of the Tsars and the princess to say goodbye before his journey to Belgorod. Almazov, who is to go to Paris and Holland as an envoy, said goodbye too in the same way, as did a Cossack colonel.

◁ **The 8th.** A daughter was born to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič. ▷

The 9th. I spoke to Vasilij Vasil'evič and informed him that, in compliance with his orders, I had looked for and found a language teacher, Stachej,⁵⁹⁷ a Pole, translator at the *Posol'skij prikaz*. He gave me his hand from the sleigh in which I ran into him in the street and asked me to go to see him with the translator, which I did early in the morning of **the 10th**.

The 13th. Mr Boutenant was told to have his audience, but when he approached the castle he, with his suite and royal letter, was sent back, which made him awfully angry. He said he would write to the King of Denmark, so that the Russians would avoid repeating such behaviour.

[P. 99]

The 14th. He [Boutenant] finally received his audience.

The 15th. I started studying the Russian language with Stachej Ivanovič, a Polish translator, in accordance with the orders of the boyar. ◁NB. Stachej Ivanovič.▷

Tsar Ivan left to consecrate New Jerusalem.⁵⁹⁸ In the morning I handed over an appeal to Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič about letting through Novgorod some goods of mine. Emel'jan Ukrainev received it and promised a decision.

Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič was in the Swedish residence and looked at the horses that Hartman had brought here from Narva to sell. And Almazov went ahead for France, while the *d'jak*⁵⁹⁹ left after him.

The 18th. I spent time with the young Menesius.⁶⁰⁰ New Jerusalem was consecrated.⁶⁰¹

The 19th. I wrote only to my father through Tunderfelt at Narva about [?] brass mounting and my black cloth jacket.

The 22th or thereabouts Tsar Ivan returned from the consecration of the church in New Jerusalem, 40 versts from here.

The 23rd. There was a decision and an answer to the letter from the King of Denmark to the Tsars, handed over on the 14th by Boutenant, concerning the transport of 20,000 barrels of grain through Archangelsk to Copenhagen, as the depth there is sufficient, at 7 to 8 aršines [?]⁶⁰²

dh 30 blef ochså von Kocquen emothtagen på gräntzen effter 14 dagars wäntande.⁶⁰⁹ <dh 30 hölt Komswinkel⁶¹⁰ sitt adieus måltijdh. och Doctor Blomentrost⁶¹¹ föll ett hårdt fall hos honom neder i en ijs källar.>

Februarius

[P. 100]

dh 1. Hölt Her Commiss. Boutenant ett stort banquet för Cnes. W.W: Golitzin där war och Cnes Boris Cnes iwan iwanovitz, och 4 eller 6 ocolnitscher goster och några andra goda wenner iblandh dhem och iag. därest inter pocula more Russorum allehanda saker blefwe afhulpne, och mångas suppliqver läsne. Sedan åkte han bort med sin son Knes alexei wasiliwitz klock 7 ongefer men de andra Gallitzin 2: blefve ännu qwar. NB: Mad Kniper entre a l'eglise la 1. fois apres son accouchement.

<blef och anhållet för Gordon⁶¹² att få komma hjt: och blef hans uthskikadhe suart aff K.W.W. att han hwarken skulle komma till Moscou, ey heller uthuhr landet till Engelandh.>

dh 2 Hadhe Boutenant sitt andra audientz och tog emoth tsarens swar till K: i danmk fick 15 rätter af tsaren, dh förra gången intet mehra än 10 faht. von Horn 20.

dh 3 von Deldens bröllop mz westhofs dotter⁶¹³ dh 5te i ordningen.

dh 4 begrofs dh gambla Gert Classon. Cöpmännernas Procurator.

dh 5: i dag är ett år sedan iag reste ur Sueriget. velsign ware Gudz Godhet som mig hälsa och sundhet så mildel detta året förlänat så att iag i dag med goda wenner så lustig warit på öfwerste Morellens dotters bröllop som stodh efter middagen.

stodh och ett bröllop med Kretzman⁶¹⁴ een guldsmed af 60 år med en flicka af 17 a 18 år.

Wij wänta alla dagar förgäfwes Envoyé von Cocquen, som alt sedan dh 17 januarij, då han skulle blifwit emothtagen på gräntzen, har mest legat wedh gräntzen och wäntat. man kan af detta see. så wäll som af dhet som wedh hofwet då och då på hans jujet tahlas, att han här intet afhållen är, ia(g) Boutenant sade öfr bordet i dag i gästabodhet att dhet war resoluerat att intet lijda honom residerande här å orthen. ladhe dog det ther till att Moscoviterna äre variable.⁶¹⁵

[P. 102]

dh 16 blef von Kocken intagen i Moscow klock 2 eft⁶¹⁶ med en tzarisk släda och 18 ridjande stallknechtar hans suite af 30 personer. och öfr 100 podwoder

The 26th. I received a letter from the Tsars to the *voevoda* Michail Jakovlevič Čerkasskij⁶⁰³ in Novgorod to allow the passage duty-free to my household of one hogshead, *poluberemennaja bočka*⁶⁰⁴ of French wine, one likewise of Spanish, half an anker of French aquavit, three small casks[?] of rusks, thin unleavened bread, three small casks of butter, and one *pud* of sugar,⁶⁰⁵ which has been procured more for the sake of example than because of any real need on my part. I had this permission settled on Mr Kniper, my very good friend, for him to use as he wants, as I do not really need it. For this I gave the clerk Kuz'ma Nikitin⁶⁰⁶ 2 ducats.

The 27th. The letter for Novgorod was sent by the mail.

The 30th. Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič was awarded the title below for use in all affairs. It was also communicated to all the prikazes that from now on this title should be used not only in connection with foreigners, as it was before, but all the time. The title is highly regarded in this country and Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič is the second person in Moscow who has born such a title constantly. I got it from Doctor van der Hulst⁶⁰⁷ on **the 31st** and it reads like this: "Guardian of the Great Seal of the Tsar and of the Diplomatic Matters of the State, *Bližnij Boyar Namestnik* of Novgorod, Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn", etc.⁶⁰⁸

On the 30th, too, von Kochen was received at the border, having waited for fourteen days.⁶⁰⁹ <On the 30th Romswinkel⁶¹⁰ had his farewell meal and Doctor Blumentrost⁶¹¹ fell down into an ice-cellar at his place and hurt himself badly.>

February

[P. 100]

The 1st. Commissary Boutenant gave a big banquet for Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn. Also present were Prince Boris, Prince Ivan Ivanovič and four or six *okol'ničie*, *gosti* and some other good friends of his, among them myself. There, *inter pocula* according to Russian custom, many matters were taken care of and many appeals were read. Then he left around 7 o'clock with his son Prince Aleksej Vasil'evič. But the other two Golicyns stayed on. NB. Madam Kniper was allowed to church for the first time after her delivery.

<There was an appeal that Gordon⁶¹² be allowed to come here. But his messenger received the answer from Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič that he would neither be allowed to come to Moscow nor be let out of the country to England.>

The 2nd. Boutenant had his second audience and received the Tsar's answer to the King of Denmark. He received fifteen dishes from the Tsar. Last time he received no more than ten dishes, von Horn had received twenty.

The 3rd. Von Delden married Westhof's daughter,⁶¹³ the fifth in order.

blef med sin fru och barn logerat i dhe rum som dhe Keyserlige legaterna logerat. uthi dhett stora hofwet.

dh 17 fick iag bref af ma mere och lithman. daterade in Decemb:

dh 19 hadde von Kocque sitt första audienz en deuill een lijten wacker suite. hadde och 30 uarens stall knechtar.

dh 21. Klock. 8 hadde han Conferenze, uthi hwilket han nästan hela sin depeche afgjort.⁶¹⁷ ty honom alt effterlåthes hwadh han proponerar. Till middags måhltjdh war Knes W. W. hoos hartman och iag war effter middagen hos Von Kocquen och lass hans instruction, och hela hans Depecher. och som han inga hästar medhbracht, begärte han häst och släda af uaren till att reesa i morgon till Kyrkan dhett honom och bewilliadhes. war således

dh 22. i Kyrkan.⁶¹⁸ och sedan hoos Residenten Her Keler till middags måhltjdh, men hans hustru hos sin fader Hassenius.

dh 24 hade v. Kocq. sitt andra och sidsta conferentze med förnöyelse.

dh 28 reste Grefwen Graham bort till Biograd i tjänst effter ordres.

Martij

[P. 103]

dh 1 hade v. Kocquen sitt afskedz audientze, och hans lilla son Ioh: Hindrich 3 år gammal war ochså till uarens hand.

dh 4 fick enuoyen sijna sablar af uaren. <Brorskap med Envoè Kocquen och hans fru.⁶¹⁹>

dh 7 och 8 skref iag mijna bref: till G.B.O: till Gref: J G Stenbok,⁶²⁰ till Hr Klingstett, till ma mere: till Joh. lithman: och till Moraht. och till isländaren dh iag till G B O: recommenderadhe.

dh 8 hos Hassenius till måhltjdh brorskap med Mons Kniper.

dh 10 om aftonen reste Cocquen uth ur Moscou mz uarens släda och ordinaire stallknechtar till iamskesloboden⁶²¹ tog med sig Hr Clingstetz son att bli med lilliern⁶²² i nowograd att lära språket hos Hyttner. Lemnade här sijna 2 siuka söner, mz stoor sorg, hos H Cannegieter iag och Kniper convoyerade dhem till Cherckisowa, och kommo dh

The 4th. Old Gert Classon, procurator of the merchants, was buried.

The 5th. Today one year ago I left Sweden. Blessed be the mercy of God, who has this year graciously endowed me with health and prosperity, so that today, in the company of good friends, I had the joyful opportunity to attend the wedding of Colonel Morell's daughter in the afternoon. There was also a wedding between Kretzman,⁶¹⁴ a goldsmith 60 years of age, and a girl of seventeen or eighteen.

All the time we are waiting in vain for envoy von Kochen, who, since 17 January, when he was to be received at the border, has mostly been waiting by the border. From this, as well as from what is said now and then on his behalf at court, it becomes apparent that he is not liked here. Indeed, Boutenant even told me today, when we were at table during the banquet, that it had been decided not to accept him as a resident here. But he added that the Muscovites are changeable.⁶¹⁵

[P. 102]

The 16th. Von Kochen was brought into Moscow at 2 o'clock in the aft⁶¹⁶ in the Tsar's sleigh and with 18 stablemen on horseback. His party consisted of 30 people and he had more than a hundred carts. He was put up with his wife and children in the rooms where the imperial ambassadors had lodged in the large residence.

The 17th. I received a letter from my mother and from Lithman, dated in December.

The 19th. Von Kochen had his first audience, accompanied by a small fine retinue and also by 30 stablemen from the Tsar.

The 21st. At 8 o'clock he had a conference, during which almost all of his dispatches were decided on,⁶¹⁷ as the Russians agree to everything that he proposes. Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič went to Hartman for lunch and in the afternoon I went to von Kochen to read his instructions and all his dispatches. And as he had not brought any horses he required a horse and sleigh from the Tsar to go to church tomorrow, which was granted. Consequently, on

the 22nd he went to church⁶¹⁸ and then to the resident Mr van Keller's place for lunch. But his wife went to her father Hassenius for lunch.

The 24th. Von Kochen had his second and last conference and was very pleased.

The 28th. Count Graham left for duty in Belgorod in accordance with his orders.

dh 11 tillbaka igen. <NB: lilla sedelen af M: K:⁶²³>

dh 12 Gick iag uhr Grefwens hus, att logera hoos residenten Käller som mig sitt hus: och disk samt ett rum för min häst i sitt stall af vänskap offererat. {tio-hre}, Boutenant, Hartman mz sijna 3 döttrar hos oss till gäst. <NB: Kommo dhe första tijdender hijt om Kongen i Engelandz dödth, och att Duc de jorqve war declarerat i hans ställe.⁶²⁴>

dh 13 reste iag med winnius till Nya jerusalem 45 wirst här ifrån och kom dijd

dh 14 om morgonen bittida. Ginge straxt till archimandrite, som oss höfl receverade och gaf fritt tillträde i Kyrkan alla dagar och så ofta wi wille. Clostret kallas Voscresenski monastir, men Kyrkan Christi graf,⁶²⁵ och är i 30 år bygder af Patriarcen Nikon som för 4 år sedan är dödher och där begrafwen /: han blef afsatt af 2 andra Patriarcer alexandrinsce och constantinopel: där före att han något tahlit och schrifvit emot Tzaren alex: Mich: som honom i landzflycht sände i ett aflägsset Closter. men tsar Theodor lät honom komma igen att fulborda bygningen, men dh gambla man öfr 80 åhr blef så gladh af denne revocation att han dödde före än han kunde komma till klostret: på vägen, och ligger där begrafwen.⁶²⁶ Dhenna Kyrkan är bygd af tegel stån aldeles effter dhen modell som express förskrifven är ur jerusalem, effter dh Kyrka som St: Helena :/ Constant. II Moder har på golgata läthet bygga och är där inne innesluthet alla dhe platzer som Christus pro salute nostra har lijdit, med sijna particulier figurer och inscriptioner, består af 2 domer och een underjordisk Kyrka på samma rum hwarest christi cors uarit funit etc. ut historia dicit.. är således ett rart bygelse hwars lijke af figur och underlige architectur iag ey sedt. har ey heller någon wiss ordre darchitecture som plan och elevation viser dem iag där å orthen rijtat hafer och i hast här gent emoth fines pro memoria antecknat: <Patriarken 300, woldai 3000, där äre 3000⁶²⁷ böndr under, men Troitza closter har 30000:>

NB. alla bonde byar rundt om kring hafva namn af dhe byer som om ierusalem i Xsti tijdh legat hafr såsom Emaus, Bethlehem, etc. etc. Klostret är med trämur omgifwit och är nästan kring flutit af en lijten ström som heter istra. på een skön orth och prospect på alla sjder. har och een hel hoop metall stycken.

[P. 104]

Wij wore alla 3 dagarna hos archimandriten till måhltjdh och höllo i dhesse 4 dagar fullkomelig rysk fasta. i vårt föllie war een Strelitske Pricas Dumnoj. Feodor Leontewitz.⁶²⁸ een wacker och artig man och stoor faworit af tsaren: har och ingen öfr sig mera än K. W. W. där wore och andra Diacer. och een ofwerste. hvilka alla med mig blefue om afftonen af dh 16 då wj till Moscow Komme inbiudne af Dumnoj, som oss tracterade, och lätt oss kyssa sin fru.⁶²⁹

March

[P. 103]

The 1st. Von Kochen had his farewell audience, and his young son, Johan Hindrich, three years old, also went to the Tsar's hand.

The 4th. The envoy received his sabres from the Tsar. I dispensed with titles with Envoy von Kochen and his wife.⁶¹⁹

The 7th and 8th. I wrote my letters to Count Bengt Oxenstierna, to Count J. G. Stenbock,⁶²⁰ to Mr Klingstedt, to my mother, to Johan Lithman and to Morath, and to the Icclander, whom I recommended to Count Bengt Oxenstierna.

The 8th. At Hassenius's place for dinner. Dispensed with titles with Mr Kniper.

The 10th. In the evening von Kochen left Moscow in the Tsar's sleigh and with the usual stablemen for *Jamskaja sloboda*.⁶²¹ He took with him Mr Klingstedt's son, for him to stay with Lilliemarck⁶²² in Novgorod to study the language with Hyttner. With great sadness he left his two sick sons here with Mr Kannengiesser. Kniper and I accompanied them to Čerkizovo and on

the 11th we came back again. <NB. The small [?] from Mr Kniper [?].⁶²³>

The 12th. I left the count's house to lodge with the resident Keller, who out of friendship offered me his house, board and a place for my horse in his stable. Tiohre [?], Boutenant and Hartman with his three daughters came to visit us. <NB. We got the first news of the death of the King of England and that the Duke of York has been delegated for him.⁶²⁴>

The 13th. I went with Vinius to New Jerusalem 45 versts from here and arrived on

the 14th early in the morning. We went straight to the archimandrite, who greeted us politely and gave us free access to the church every day and as often as we wished. The monastery is called Voskresenskij monastyr', but the church is called the Grave of Christ,⁶²⁵ and was built over 30 years by Patriarch Nikon, who died four years ago and is buried there. /: He was dismissed by two other patriarchs, from Alexandria and Constantinople, as he had spoken and written against Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič, who exiled him to a remote monastery. But Tsar Fedor allowed him to return to finish the building. But the old man, who was fully 80 years old, was so happy to be allowed back that he died on the way, before he reached the monastery, and is buried there.⁶²⁶ This church is built of bricks, on the exact pattern of the church that Saint Helena, :/ mother of Constantine II, had built at Golgotha and a model of which was sent for this purpose from

dh 17: scref iag V. Kocquen till om staden Nimerow⁶³⁰ i Lithawen som för kort tid sedan är af Tart: och Turck: intagen och ibrand stucken, och alla inwånarna bort förde i fängelse, och att tsaren resolverat att sända förstärkning af guarnison i Kiow, emedan dhett ey där ifrån långt beläget är. **dh 16** reste och några unga köpmän öfr landh till Hamborg. och een Haartman till Narven. NB **dh 17:** betalte iag Denis 6 Rd in specie för 5 månars tjenst så att effter denna dag är iag honom intet skyldig.

j dessa dagar har warit wed hofvet hårdt anhållet af några goster att man uhr Moscow skulle drijfva alle främmande Köpmän som handla på archangel,⁶³¹ på dhett att dhessa Goster, skulle få så mycket större Handel allena: dh lilla Pancratoff⁶³² skall wara största ohrsaken: men weht dog ey om dhett går an. dog äre alla indianer af turkske religion Köpmän ansagde att packa sig bort, men armenianerna må wara här qwahr.

dh 27: första rägnen: och är nu nästan omögeliget att rijda war vägen är di-up.⁶³³ Kom provision af vinet ifrån Nowograd till Moscov till hr Cniper, effter dhett brefvet som iag uthwärckde af Tzaren dh 26 jan:⁶³⁴ och dh 3 febr: blef fort sändt till Nouograd:

Aprilis

[P. 105]

dh 9 (och 10): blefwe 2 menniskor brände lefwandes, för dh gamla korsningens skulld.⁶³⁵

dh 10 och så 2 stycken för samma saak:

dh 11 dessa 3 dagar äro dhe skönaste sommardagar man kan see. om aftonen seendt kom dh Courier som uthschickades för uth ifrån dhe (hijt) ifrån dhe Keyserlige legaterna som wore här i sommrar. han war då dheras stallmästare.⁶³⁶

dh 13 Kom Courien sielf, och bleef logerat i dhett nya gesante hofuet ubi Honnius steht. har 10 rubel om dagen att förtära. Drijfwer dog {tämelig} handel och wandel. Ces jours un poslanic Tartare de Perecop est uenu pour vouloir persuader les Moscovites de donner largent annuel auant les fou[r]nures, que le Crimeens nont pas uoulu receuoir dernièrement ce quavec beaucoup de peine on luy a accordè, mais point d'ambassadeur, cest largent et fou[r]nu[r]e pour lannée passé et pour celle qui court. il a uoulu empescher le traite avec les imperiaux et les Polonois. mais on ne l'a pas escouté.⁶³⁷

Jerusalem. And in it are included all the places where Christ has suffered for our salvation, with their particular figures and inscriptions. It consists of two domes and an underground church, in the same place where the cross of Christ had been found etc., as history relates. So it is really an exceptional construction, the like of which in terms of general outline and strange architecture I have never seen. It has no special architectural plan either, as can be seen from the sketch and elevation which I drew while I was there and which I have hastily jotted down opposite for memory's sake. <The patriarch 300, Valdaï 3,000, 3,000⁶²⁷ peasants are under it, but Trinity Monastery has 30,000:>

NB. All the peasant villages around take their names from the villages situated around Jerusalem in the time of Christ, like Emmaus, Bethlehem etc. etc. The monastery is enclosed by a wooden palisade and almost completely surrounded by a small stream, called the Istra, in a beautiful place and with a view in all directions. There are quite a number of metal cannon there.

[P. 104]

We were invited to dine with the archimandrite all three days and for all four days we kept a complete Russian fast. In our company was a *dumnyj d'jak* of the *Streleckij prikaz*, Fedor Leont'ev,⁶²⁸ a good-looking and polite gentleman and a great favourite of the Tsar. He has no one above him apart from Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič. There were other *d'jaki* there, too, and a colonel. All of them, together with myself, were invited in the evening of the 16th, when we returned to Moscow, to the home of the *dumnyj d'jak*, who entertained us royally and allowed us to kiss his wife.⁶²⁹

The 17th. I wrote to von Kochen about the town of Nemirov⁶³⁰ in Lithuania, which was recently captured and set on fire by the Tatars and the Turks. All the inhabitants were taken away and imprisoned. The Tsar has decided to send reinforcements from the garrison in Kiev, as it is situated nearby.

On **the 16th** some young merchants left by land for Hamburg and one Hartman for Narva. NB.

On **the 17th** I paid Denis six riksdaler in specie for five months' work, so that after this day I do not owe him anything. During the last few days some *gosti* have urged at court that all foreign merchants trading with Archangelsk⁶³¹ be driven out of Moscow, so that these *gosti* can do much more trade themselves. The young Pankrat'ev⁶³² is said to be the ringleader, but it is uncertain whether their demand will be accepted. But all the Indians of the Turkish religion have been told to clear out; the Armenians, however, are allowed to stay.

The 27th. The first rain. Now it is almost impossible to ride where the road is deep.⁶³³ The wine supplies arrived for Mr Kniper in Moscow from Novgorod as a result of the letter I had procured from the Tsar on 26 January⁶³⁴ and which was sent to Novgorod on 3 February.

Majus

dh 7: le courier des ambb: delampereur congedie des Tsars, ou il estoit a la main. <men blef quar att vänta efter een jesuit (herr)>

dh 13 ankom een jesuit ur pohlen med ett bref ifrån Påfven till Tzararna, men intet offentligen, dhet synes innehålla een bön om hielp emoht Turcken. och espresee om medhel där emoth. item om jesuiters och dhe Catolskes Kyrkas inrättandhe. dene är af qualitet, et bien tournè, l'autre jesuite⁶³⁸ s'en va a Kiow.

dh 16 war han med Courien mons Cours hoos Residenten och afladhe een visite. Wore och Hos residenten Spatharius, Emilian oucraintzoff: och streltzi Dumni Theodor Leontie{?}ht⁶³⁹ och hadhe tillförende fåt hos Conte de com{cirge} een godh tummel{?}, då brast åther uth med ukraintzhof: han frågadhe residenten genom Spatharius om han ännu wore så godh swensk som han altijdh warit, hwar till resid: swarade offentligen: ia: dh andra sadhe ia ryssarna äre mächtige: resid: swän[s]ka äre tappre männ etc. så kan man och här af see att dhe suänskes partij lijtet är, synnerl. weth man wäll att Spath: och Emilian oucraintzhoff äre goda Däner.

dhe Commissarier till gräntzen dh unge Prontschishof är och opbunden medh een diac och translator Meysner och gå åth Plescow att infinna sig wed Commissionen. Men här i Moscou tahlas tämmeligen högt att Ryssarna intet wella på wägen medh handeln mz Swäriget, som lijkwäll är i tractaten beslutit och å bäge sijdor beswurit.⁶⁴⁰

le 20 Escrit au C.B.O.

Junius

[P. 106]

Mitt uthi junio blef ett bref inkastat i Knes W.W. gemaker, hwarest honom blir hotat att blifwa sänder till Dolgoruka⁶⁴¹ som honom wäntar in altro mundo. etc: emedan han drar till sig tzarens medel: och blir alt för stor. bygger så stora palats⁶⁴² faar så mz 6 hästar etc. man har och hört som skulle dh yngre tzaren hafft händer express emot honom dog obliqué enär tzaren begärt 200 Rubl och blefwo honom afslagne etc. etc.

Her Winnius refererade migh att dh stoora klockan⁶⁴³ wäger 10000 pudh af koppar: uthan silfr och gull som där till kastat är. item att i Soborna⁶⁴⁴ hänger een lius krona af silfr 70 pudh. all förgyllt sade att där till 10000 ducater till förgylning opgångne äre.

Wedh Achemas iärnwärk⁶⁴⁵ kopes malmen af jordägande där grufworna är 25 pud för 2 cop:., åth arbetz folket 7 copeker, 1 altyn åth dhem som dhet framförer. 7 cop. åht hwar prestaw som äre 4 stycken sedan lius etc: detta alt före

April

[P. 105]

The 9th. Two people were burned alive for making the old sign of the cross.⁶³⁵

The 10th. Another two for the same reason.

The 11th. These last three days have been the most beautiful summer days imaginable. Late in the evening the courier arrived who was sent before by the imperial ambassadors who were here last summer. Then he was their stable-master.⁶³⁶

The 13th. The courier in person arrived and was lodged in the new ambassadors' quarters, where Honnius is staying. He receives an allowance of 10 roubles a day. However, he has a lot of things on the go. In the last few days a Tataric *poslannik* from Perekop has arrived to try to persuade the Muscovites to pay their annual sum of money before the delivery [?], as the Crimeans did not care to demand payment the last time. This request was granted after much hesitation [?]. But no ambassador was sent. It is the money and supplies [?] for last year and for the current year. He wanted to prevent the treaty with the imperials and the Poles, but no one listened to him.⁶³⁷

May

The 7th. The courier of the imperial ambassadors had his farewell audience with the Tsars, at which he went to their hand. <But he stayed to wait for a Jesuit.>

The 13th. A Jesuit from Poland arrived, bringing a letter from the Pope to the Tsars, but nothing public. It seems to contain an appeal for support against the Turks and for immediate funds for that purpose. Likewise it concerns permission for Jesuits to work in Russia and the founding of a church for the Catholics. He is a man with influence and good-looking. The other Jesuit⁶³⁸ is on his way to Kiev.

The 16th. He [the Jesuit from Poland] and the courier Mr Kurtz paid a visit to the resident [van Keller]. Spatharius, Emel'jan Ukrainev and the *dumnyj* at the *Streleckij prikaz* Fedor Leont'ev⁶³⁹ were there too and before that they had been well regaled at Count Comcirge's [?] place. Then there was a new quarrel with Ukrainev. He asked the resident through Spatharius whether he was still as good a Swede as he had always been, to which the resident answered publicly: yes. The other one said: The Russians are indeed powerful. The resident: The Swedes are brave men etc. From this, one can see that the Swedish party is small, in particular it is well known that Spatharius and Ukrainev are good Danes.

The frontier commissaries have left for the border. The young Prončiščev to-

än malmen är rosthatt, och i masugnen. een plåtslagare har åhrslöhn 240 Rr., dhe andra 1 altyn för hwar pud dhe smijda.

Såsom om regno Iberiae /: Grusinae, Georgiae etc. etc. ty så många åthskillige namn ha dhet :/ lijtet eller slätt intet in Cartis finnes, ey heller någon relation, undantagandes dess situ, som wed mare caspio finnes och längst Caucasi montis rätter ligger, warandes och a samma jugo montium skildt ifrån черкасск-иенъ. så är dhetta dh afdehlning som mig af een Georgisk förste⁶⁴⁶ gifwin är i Moscou dh 20 Febr. 1686.

Georgia: Iberia antiqua dicta: aliter: Grusinia russice ивер[с]ка земля, и грузинска: lingva Georgica vel iberica: Sacartueli hwars små kungar. kallas Sacartueli Känsipä.⁶⁴⁷ blifwer fördehlat i 3 provincier eller försten döhmen effter dhen dehlning som i förtijdhen een fadher som regerade under sijna söhner dhet dehlat, nembl. Tsar David.⁶⁴⁸ Ils sont tous chrestiens, etc. de la foy greque, n'ont pas des livres imprimés,⁶⁴⁹ etc. mais des MS. des peres dèglise greque. et de la bible etc. etc. des histoires du pays. leur vie ordinaire est plus ala persanne, ils mangent ala persanne et s'habillent presque com ça. et leurs maisons sont ausi presque tournés com ça: sont zelés et meme superstitieux dans la rigueur de la religion sont noir halé come les persans grands hommes bien fais des nes aqvilins tous les cheveux jusque aux oreilles coupés et la barbe coupe avec sis[eaus].⁶⁵⁰

1. Emereti dhen förnämbsta och största province, dhen och omkring, och under sig hafer smärre förstedömen och vassaller som här nedanför noterade äre. i Emereti äre dhesse städher. Kutai. hufwudhstaden, Eskender, Sawasopelli, Tsch-hari, Keguti. och flere mindre städher, dog äre många förstördhe och öde (i krig) genom krijget mz Turken. Dhenne province med alle sijne städer och andre 3 provincier parerar nu Turken, och dhess förste är Hans tributarius, och vassal. Dhe andre 3 provincier som under Emereti höra äre dhesse: 1. Mägreli, dhess capitale är Ruchi 2. Adichi, la ville capitale est зугдиди 3. Gurieli la capitale auzourgetti.

2. Kartueli är dhen andra province af Sakartueli hafwer under sig dhesse provincier som nedhan schrefne stå. dhess städher äre dhesse Täwli. la capitale, Gåri, etc. etc. och flere små af hvilke många äre ruineradhe. provincerna undher Kartueli äre dhesse 1. Satabago som nu också türken till hörer och har dhesse städer Agalthicha, Oltisij, Atskveri, Artasij NB. Satabago med alla sijna städher hörer Turken till, dhe andre provincier af Cartueli har Persianerna. 2. Laura. som be{?} 3. Sonkviti hafwa några städher.

3. Gaketti är dhen 3 och sidsta och har (medh) uthi sig dhessa städher Graemia, caput provinciae, Pazari, Karagatsch, Chekifi.⁶⁵¹

dh 9 Decemb änkan Emerchinski Zaren⁶⁵²

dh 14 war hon förste gången till Tzararnas handh.

gether with a *d'jak* and the translator Meissner are on their way to Pskov to present themselves at the commission. But here in Moscow people are talking quite openly about the fact that the Russians do not want to get on with their dealings with Sweden [?], although it has been decided in the treaty and sworn to by both sides.⁶⁴⁰

The 20th. I wrote to Count Bengt Oxenstierna.

June

[P. 106]

In the middle of June a letter was thrown into Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič's apartment, threatening him with being sent to Dolgorukij,⁶⁴¹ who waits for him in the other world etc., as he is misappropriating the Tsar's funds, and is growing too important. He builds such large palaces,⁶⁴² travels with six horses etc. But it is also being said that the younger Tsar has been involved against him, although indirectly, as the Tsar had requested 200 roubles and was denied them etc. etc.

Mr Vinius told me that the copper in the large bell⁶⁴³ weighs 10,000 puds, not counting the silver and gold that was cast with it. Likewise, that in *Uspenskij sobor*⁶⁴⁴ there hangs a chandelier made of silver that weighs 70 puds, all gilded. He said that 10,000 ducats had been spent on the gilding.

At Akkema's ironworks⁶⁴⁵ the ore is bought from the owners of the land where the mines are situated. It costs 2 kopeks for 25 puds. The workers are paid 7 kopeks and 1 altyn [3 kopeks] is paid to those who carry it on. Each pristav is paid 7 kopeks—there are four of them—on top of which there is the cost of candles etc. These are all costs before the ore has been melted and placed in the blast-furnace. A plater earns 240 riksdaler a year, the others 1 altyn for each pud that they smith.

There is little or virtually no information about the Iberian kingdom on maps /: or Gruzinian, Georgian etc. etc., because it has so many different names :/ nor are there any accounts of the country except that it is located on the Caspian Sea and along the Caucasian mountains, separated from the Čircassian land by the same mountain range. The following, however, is the information handed over to me by a Georgian prince⁶⁴⁶ in Moscow on 20 February 1686:

Georgia, of old Iberia, or Gruzinia, in Russian: Иверская земля and Грузинская земля. In the Georgian or Iberian language: Sakartvelo, the small kings of which are called Chelmcip.⁶⁴⁷ It is divided into three provinces or principalities according to the division made in ancient times by a reigning father among his sons, his name was David.⁶⁴⁸ They are all Christian etc., of the Greek faith. They do not have printed books⁶⁴⁹ etc., but they do have manuscripts of the Greek Church Fathers, of the Bible etc. etc. and of tales about their country. Their life in general resembles that of the Persians. Their food is like the Persian and they dress almost as they do. And their houses are also shaped almost like theirs. They

[P. 111]

Les Tatars de Astrachan sont a 30 a 40000 hommes ont toujours {leur} ostg{?} {?}gesten {?}, 10 a 12 personnes au chatau pour assurance quil ne tombent {?} le Tsar

Ceux de Cazan ne sont pas la $\frac{1}{2}$ tant

Ceux de Mouskov sont encore moins nombreux

Ceux de Cassimov constituent plus de la moitié de la ville et y ont leur Mosquée, et lexercice de leur religion.

Leur Slobode a Moskou⁶⁵³ a astrachan et a Cazan sont la grandeur de la Slobode alexandre a moskou.

Les Tatars qui se laissent baptizer reçoivent 2 a 3 paisans et demeurent dans leur oujesd par cij par la Dans Le Royaume et sont de Dvoraïnckoi spiska,⁶⁵⁴ ils [s]ont au service a cheval.

[P. 112]

47

2 Ducas au Maitre

3 ducas a Gustavus Scholl

1 ducas au ieune marchand chez Kangieter pour le galon du chapeau.

$\frac{1}{2}$ escus a la blanchiseuse

1 escus extra handpenningar

1 duc: et 48 {soel} pour la {läløvedhe} du Comte Graham

1 för reesa mz Cnes iw. iw. Galitzin

1 wäxlat handpenningar

skräddaren 4 ducat: och 2 del före

1 wäxlat till handpenningar

20 betalt till A. Boutenant

1. för mjn Kista ifrån Narwen till Knijper.

[— —]

N[B] j Padri grèqi si chiamano Gioannichio et Sophronio Licudi⁶⁵⁵ di Chefalonia

[P. 113]⁶⁵⁶

translatoren Lawretzski,⁶⁵⁷ och förundradhe sig Litowske Cantzleren för mig, att dhe wore afskedigadhe så hastigt, och nu blijfwa dhe åther qwarhåldne att tractera, nu har dhett åther anseende som skulle dhe något utthrätta, sombliga mehna, att dhe afskedade äre på dhett att Zaren ey må gifwa dhem mera Corm o. dhe 600 rubl. om wekan, emedan vägarna äre ondhe, och dhe synas ey kunna komma så snart fort, ty moste dhe lefwa på sin egen penning, så länge, och kunna dog wara ambb. och något utthrätta.⁶⁵⁸

are zealous and almost superstitious in their rigorous religious worship. They have a dark complexion like the Persians. Their men are tall and well-built with aquiline noses, their hair is cut by the ears and their beard is cut with scissors.⁶⁵⁰

1. Imeretia, the largest and most important province, which around and under it has smaller principalities and vassals, noted down below. In Imeretia are the following cities: the capital Kutaisi, Eskender, Sawassopelli, Tsch-hari, Keguti and many smaller towns. Many, however, have been destroyed and deserted due to the war with the Turks. This province with all its towns and three other principalities are now controlled by the Turks, and its ruler is liable to taxation and is their vassal. The other three principalities belonging under Imeretia are as follows; (1) Mingrelia, with its capital Ruchi [Rustavi]. (2) Ādichi, the capital is Sugdidi. (3) Gurieli [Guria], its capital is Ozurgety.

2. Kartalinia is the second province of Sakartvelo. It has under it the principalities following below. Its towns are as follows: Tbilisi, the capital, Gori etc. etc. and many small ones, of which many have been ruined. The principalities under Kartalinia are as follows: (1) Satabago, which now also belongs to the Turks. It has the following towns: Akhaltsikhe, Oltisij, Atskveri, Artasij. NB. Satabago with all its towns belongs to the Turks. The other principalities of Kartalinia are held by the Persians. (2) Lauraj, as [?]. (3) Sonkviti has a few towns.

3. Kachetia is the third and last and has the following towns: Graemia, the capital of the province, Pazari, Karagatsch, Chekifi.⁶⁵¹

The 9th December. The Imeretian widow⁶⁵² appealed to the Tsar [?].

The 14th. She went for the first time to the hands of the Tsars.

[P. 111]

The Astrachan' Tatars consist of 30,000 to 40,000 people. They [the Russians?] always [?] [?] [?] keep ten to twelve men in the castle to check that they [the Tatars?] do not attack the Tsar [?]. The Tatars of Kazan' are not even half that number. Those of Moscow are still fewer in number. The Tatars of Kasimov constitute more than half of the city and they have their own mosque there and practise their religion. Their suburbs in Moscow,⁶⁵³ Astrachan' and Kazan' are the size of the *Aleksandrova sloboda* in Moscow. Those Tatars who allow themselves to be christened receive two or three peasants and can stay in their *ujezd* [district] in different parts of the realm and are included in the *dvorjanskij spisok*⁶⁵⁴ and are required to serve on horseback.

[P. 112]

47

2 ducats to my teacher

3 ducats to Gustav Scholl

1 ducat to the young merchant at Kannengiesser's for the braid for my hat

½ ecu to the laundress

dh 25 wore dhe här i Sloboden i Mässen alla sammans.

NB. 1659 blefue slagne⁶⁵⁹ och totaliter ruineradhe. och till fånga tagne af dhe Chrimske Tatarer 40000 man på flacka fältet där dhe stode i wagnborg. där dhe dog hadhe kunnat haftt Platz nog att schermessa med hwarandra och wär[j]dt sig.

1660 blef Wasili Petrovitz Scheremetef⁶⁶⁰ slagen med all sin armée undr Canatop, och till fånga tagen. af tartarerna och {pohler} till 70000 man, för honom sielf blef i rançon gifuit 40000 rubler emedan han boyar war.

för romadonowski⁶⁶¹ som för 18 år sedan och blef af Tatarerna tagen bleff gifwit rançon 30000 rubl.

le reuenu du *цар* a peu pres 2300000 Rubl. per an. ving trois cent milles.

De Tsaris moschoviticis et Moschovia scripsere Hieronimus Horsey angl:⁶⁶² Aegidius Fletcher angl.⁶⁶³ Thomas Smith,⁶⁶⁴ antonius jenkinson,⁶⁶⁵ Petrus Petraeus,⁶⁶⁶ Paulus Oderborn,⁶⁶⁷ Neugebaverus,⁶⁶⁸ Herberstein,⁶⁶⁹ Jovius,⁶⁷⁰ Mesaren, Piaseckius,⁶⁷¹ Possevinus,⁶⁷² Strikovskius slavonicé⁶⁷³ etc. etc. Item legatus Caes. Maystis Mayerberg,⁶⁷⁴ Legatus Regis angliae Carlisle,⁶⁷⁵ Nestor petschiaricus slavonicé,⁶⁷⁶ innocentius Gisel Slavonice,⁶⁷⁷ et Stepenna Russicé.⁶⁷⁸

under Rijga wore ryssarna⁶⁷⁹

Царн sielf, Jlia Dan: Miloslawskoi,⁶⁸⁰ Boris iwan: Morosow,⁶⁸¹ Knes jacoŭ Kudenekovitz Tscherkascoi,⁶⁸² Knes alexei nicit: Trubetzkoi,⁶⁸³ affanasi Lavrent: naschokin,⁶⁸⁴ alexander Lesle,⁶⁸⁵ Fiedor mich: Rtischew,⁶⁸⁶ Knes petr alex: dolgorukoi,⁶⁸⁷ Knes iwan Semenow: prosorowski,⁶⁸⁸ Bogdan Mattfeev: Chiterow,⁶⁸⁹ Knes juria alex: dolgorukoi,⁶⁹⁰ Knes Semen Roman: po{?}arskoi⁶⁹¹ etc. etc. etc. auss Moskva 8000 Streltser. moskowitische als geworbene rejters заморски 6000. 13 landtregementer zu fuss undt dragoner surlepied estranger: Cossaquen, rysiske ädelleute 20000: edelleute aus weissrusslandt 8000 Tartarer undh Samoieder 12000: gorodowie flädermeisse 6000. goloppen 30000. Summa 118000. vor dorpt stode 6000 {Dvorianer} 2000 pohlen undt Lithaver. 4000 Tatarer. 6000 fussvölker: Summa 18000, ohne goloppen die noch woll ein mahl so viel waren. In ingermanlandh mehr als 16000 man.

1 ecu extra spending money
 1 ducat and 48 sous for the [?] at Count Graham's
 1 for a trip with Prince Ivan Ivanovič Golicyn
 1 has been changed as spending money
 for the tailor 4 ducats and 2 in advance
 1 changed as spending money
 20 paid to A. Boutenant
 1 for my chest from Narva for Kniper

[-- --]

NB. The Greek fathers are called Ioannikij and Sofronij Lichudy⁶⁵⁵ and are from Kefalonia.

[P. 113] ⁶⁵⁶

the translator Lavretskij,⁶⁵⁷ and the Lithuanian chancellor expressed his surprise to me at the fact that they had been dismissed so quickly, and again they are being kept here to be entertained, and it may seem once more as if they might achieve something. Some are of the opinion that they were dismissed so that the Tsar would not be obliged to give them more *korm** and the 600 roubles a week. For the roads are bad, and it looks as if they would not be able to leave so soon. This way they have to live at their own expense for the time being and can, all the same, function as ambassadors and get something done.⁶⁵⁸

The 25th. They were all here in the suburb in the mess-room.

NB. In 1659 40,000 men were defeated⁶⁵⁹ and completely devastated and taken prisoners by the Crimean Tatars on flat ground, where they were standing in a wagon stronghold. They would have had room enough to fight each other and defended themselves.

In 1660 Vasilij Petrovič Šeremetev⁶⁶⁰ was defeated with the whole of his army at Konotop and taken prisoner by the Tatars and the Poles with his [?] 70,000 men. For him 40,000 roubles were paid in ransom, as he was a boyar.

For Romodanovskij,⁶⁶¹ who also was taken by the Tatars eighteen years ago, a ransom of 30,000 roubles was paid.

The income of the Tsar is about 2,300,000 roubles a year.

The following people wrote about the Muscovite Tsars and Muscovia: Jerome Horsey, Englishman,⁶⁶² Giles Fletcher, Englishman,⁶⁶³ Thomas Smith,⁶⁶⁴ Anthony Jenkinson,⁶⁶⁵ Petrus Petrejus,⁶⁶⁶ Paul Oderborn,⁶⁶⁷ Neugebaverus,⁶⁶⁸ Herberstein,⁶⁶⁹ Jovius,⁶⁷⁰ Mesaren, Piaseckius,⁶⁷¹ Possevinus,⁶⁷² Strikovskius in

[P. 116]

NB. **dh 14 Septemb. 1686** donna Mons Le resident de hollande a K. W. W. une letre du Roy d'angleterre en faveur du Lieutenant General Patrick Gordon nostre amy ou le Roy demande des Tsars qvils ayent la bonte de donner démission et congé a son sujet Gordon dont il a affaire a cette heure. hors cette lettre de temps en temps il a donné des requeste pour son congé, mais n'a rien obtenu seulement s'est attiré la desgrace des seigneurs et des царс. De telle sorte qve le 23 Octobre il eut un oucas du conseil par K. W. W. de nestre pas delivré puisqvon scavoit bien quil estoit allé en engleterre expres pour avoir du Roy une telle letre la qvèle il y avoit achepté. trompé les цар. se renda indigné de leur graces, oublier leur faveur et qvil avoit plus estimé le Roy D'engleterre que les цар. que le Roy ne leurs fairoi pas la guere a cause de luy, quil navoit que s'en aller a Kiow ou il a servi autrefoi, mais en qvalité de Major tell quil estoit qvand il arriva de pologne a la Moscovie. et cella malgré les protestations de Gordon qvil estoit jujet du Roy et avoit ses biens en angleterre. pour les quell il doit savoir, et que le Roy estoit son Roy legitime, et il estoit né jujet du Roy, et ne s'en pouvoit duper⁶⁹²

[P. 117]

dh 22 Octob 1686. Declaré au Conseil qve K. W. W. G. ira en chef commander l'armée Moscovite {contre} Crim⁶⁹³ et Schein⁶⁹⁴ avec les Novgorodske item le fils⁶⁹⁵ de K. W. W. Г. un garcon de 20 ans, sans rime et sans raison comme tout le monde scavoit /: ridiculent /: est declaré Boyarin, ou Senateur et qvil gouverneroit la chancellerie des ambb: en l'absence du pere de qvelle irregularité tout Moskou creve de rire, et d'admiration.

Le 22 octobre Declaré au Conseil que les soussignés iront commender l'armée contre Crim⁶⁹⁶.

в'большом полку: боярин и оберегатель Кнзь Василей василѣвичъ Голицын. бояринъ же Кнзь костентин Осиповичъ Щербатой⁶⁹⁷ околничей венедиктъ андрѣвичъ Змеевъ⁶⁹⁸. Генералъ думной агѣй алеѣевичъ Шепелевъ⁶⁹⁹. думной дьякъ емялянь Игнатъевичъ украинцовъ. дьяки Перфилай оловениковъ⁷⁰⁰ михайло войновъ⁷⁰¹. Григорей Протопоповъ⁷⁰².

в'новгородском розрядѣ

боярин алеѣѣй Семеновичъ Шеинъ околничей Кнзь данило авонасевичъ борятинской⁷⁰³ дьяки Еремѣй полянской⁷⁰⁴. андрей Юдинъ⁷⁰⁵

в'резанском розрядѣ

боярин Кнзь володимер дмитрѣвич долгорукой⁷⁰⁶ околничей Петръ дмитрѣвичъ Скуратовъ⁷⁰⁷ дьяки. Левъ протопоповъ⁷⁰⁸ артомонъ Ивановъ⁷⁰⁹.

Church Slavonic⁶⁷³ etc. etc. Likewise the envoy of His Imperial Majesty, May-erberg,⁶⁷⁴ the envoy of the English King, Carlisle,⁶⁷⁵ the Cave-Nestor in Church Slavonic,⁶⁷⁶ Innocentius Gizeľ in Church Slavonic,⁶⁷⁷ and Stepenaja in Russian.⁶⁷⁸

at Riga were the Russians:⁶⁷⁹ The Tsar himself, Il'ja Danilovič Miloslavskij,⁶⁸⁰ Boris Ivanovič Morozov,⁶⁸¹ Prince Jakov Kudenetovič Čerkasskij,⁶⁸² Prince Aleksej Nikitič Trubeckoj,⁶⁸³ Afanasij Lavrent'evič Ordin-Naščekin,⁶⁸⁴ Alexander Leslie,⁶⁸⁵ Fedor Michajlovič Rtiščev,⁶⁸⁶ Prince Petr Alekseevič Dolgorukij,⁶⁸⁷ Prince Ivan Semenovič Prozorovskij,⁶⁸⁸ Bogdan Matveevič Chitrovo,⁶⁸⁹ Prince Jurij Alekseevič Dolgorukij,⁶⁹⁰ Prince Semen Romanovič Požarskij⁶⁹¹ etc. etc. etc. From Moscow came 8,000 *strel'cy*, enlisted foreign rejters—6,000. Thirteen regiments of foot soldiers and foreign dragoons on foot, Cossacks, Russian noblemen—20,000, noblemen from Byelorussia—8,000, Tatars and Samoyeds—12,000, *gorodovye flädermeisse*—6,000, *cholopy*—30,000, in sum: 118,000. At Dorpat there were 6,000 *dvorjane*, 2,000 Poles and Lithuanians, 4,000 Tatars, 6,000 foot soldiers, in sum: 18,000, apart from the *cholopy* who were probably twice as many. In Ingria there were more than 16,000 men.

[P. 116]

NB. **On the 14th of September 1686** the resident from Holland [van Keller] gave Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič a letter from the King of England in favour of Lieutenant General Patrick Gordon, our friend, in which the King asked the Tsars to be good enough to allow the release and leave of his subject Gordon, whose case he was busy dealing with at that time. Apart from this letter he [Gordon] has now and then delivered requests about his leave, but has not achieved anything other than incurring the displeasure of the boyars and the Tsars. So on **23 October** he received a ukase from the council through Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golitsyn stating that he should not be released, because it was well known that he had gone to England only for the purpose of receiving such a letter from the King, which he had paid for, and in doing so he had cheated the Tsars, which made him unworthy of their good graces, unmindful as he was of their favours. They said that he estimated the King of England more than the Tsars, that the King would not start a war on his behalf, that the only thing he had to do was to set out for Kiev, where he had served before, but now in the function of a major, which was the function he had had when he arrived in Muscovy from Poland. And this notwithstanding the protests of Gordon that he was the King's subject and had his property in England, which he needed to account for, and that the King was his legitimate king, and he was born a subject to the King and there was no way to change that.⁶⁹²

[P. 118]

1687 dh 26 Februarij reste iag uhr Moskwa sedan iag medh tårar taget afskedh af alla mijna weninnor och wänner som ey mindre lätthe sig till hiärtath gå mitt afresande effter 3 åhrs wenligt omgånge, och wore iblandh mijne bäste wänner af dhets tyske folket H: Von Kochen⁷¹⁰ kongl. Mayttz där på swenska håfwet residerande Commissarie för bygnings skuld af swenske handelshofwen och dh hustru min syster anna Von Kochen och hella dheras hus såsom dh gamble Petter Hassenius nedherste dotter och dess älste dot Barbara Hassenius Hr Thomas Kniper⁷¹¹ min förtrolige wens fru hwars godheet iag intet nog berömma fast mindre betahla kan, uthan lembnar dh högste att wedergälla dhem eller dheras barn, och iag sielff så länge iag lefr kamma i håg Sedan wore mijne wänner dh Holländske residenten Baron Van Keller,⁷¹² Domine Schonerwedd {reformert-er} Pastoren. Her Hendrick Boutenant⁷¹³ Commiss. Danois, Hr Daniel Hartman med sijne 3 döttrar, Hr. Hautman,⁷¹⁴ Her Möller,⁷¹⁵ Herr Westhoff,⁷¹⁶ H. Thomas Kellerman mz des Soh[n] Johan⁷¹⁷ H. Mynter, har och lembnat 3 fadder barn, 1 son hoos Swen Skraddare räth mz v. Kochen, 1 son tobias Meyser med Von Kochen, een son hos Leutenant Couper, med Boutenant men besynerl. een son Joh: Hendrick Kniper Hr Thomas Kniper, min synnerlige wäll{görares} och bäst wens son mz barbare Hassenius, där stodh och Hr Boutenandt mz. aff officerarna wore mijne bäste wänner Gen. Leuten. Patrick Gordon,⁷¹⁸ Gen. Major Gref Graham⁷¹⁹ min duhbroor öfwerste Pählman, Riddar: Hendrick Galitz, Rigman⁷²⁰ och gamla Von Hoffwen, och Gambla wiborg etc. etc. doch hade iag med officerarne ey stort omgånge föruthan en Mayor De L'auziere,⁷²¹ och Mayor de la Rosiere⁷²² 2 frantzoser elliest war min rang heela min tijdh öfwer alla öfwersteleutenanter näst öfwerstarna.⁷²³ NB. Petter Antonij Coyett⁷²⁴ är infödd suensk adelsman och i sitt hierta god swensk fast han mäst bo[r] i Moskwa för sitt glasbrukz skull, hans fru är Doctor von der Holtz⁷²⁵ /: min synnerlige wens :/ syster. Elliest är och min wän dh gamla doctor Blumentrost.⁷²⁶

[P. 119]

dhen Curieuse till effterrättelse, äre dhesse familier af dhe Ryske mig bäst bekandte wordne och synerlige wänner.

af Gallitziner Knes Boris alexieiewitz⁷²⁷ med dess bröder Knes Petr⁷²⁸ och Knes Ivan alexieiewitz⁷²⁹ Bojar, Spalnik, eller Cammarherar aff Dolgorukar Knes jacob,⁷³⁰ och dhesse bröder Knes Lukas,⁷³¹ Knes Boris, och Grigori Dolgoruki,⁷³² mig mera än gemene wänner, och dagelige gynnare, alle kammarherrar hoos *уап Петер* alex. af Opraxini Tzarinnans bröder: Pettr:⁷³³ Theodor: och andré Mathfeiewitz opraxin Spalniker eller kammarherrar af Ismailofi:⁷³⁴ André Petrovitz, alexej petrovitz och Ivan: alle Spalniker eller kammarherrar hos dh yngre Tsar Pettr: af Ertischewer: er allen Michail Theodorovitz⁷³⁵ Spalnik André Artemonovitz Mathfeiew,⁷³⁶ artemon Sergeiewitz dh Stoora favoriten, som ermordat blef af streltserna son Spalnik hos Tsar Peter.

[P. 117]

The 22nd of October 1686. It was declared in the council that Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn will be the commander-in-chief of the Muscovite army to go to the Crimea,⁶⁹³ and Šejn⁶⁹⁴ will command the troops from Novgorod. Likewise, the son⁶⁹⁵ of Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič, a boy of 20, has—without rhyme or reason, as was known to everybody, and to the ridicule of everyone—been appointed boyar or senator. He is to head the Foreign Office while his father is absent, at which irregularity all of Moscow is choking with laughter and consternation[?].

The 22nd of October. It was declared at the council that those mentioned below will command the army against the Crimea.⁶⁹⁶

In the great regiment:

The Boyar and Guardian [of the Great Seal] Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn, the Boyar Prince Konstantin Osipovič Ščerbatov,⁶⁹⁷ the *okol'ničij* Venedikt Andreevič Zmeev,⁶⁹⁸ the General and *dumnyj* boyar [?] Agej Alekseevič Šepelev,⁶⁹⁹ the *dumnyj d'jak* Emel'jan Ignat'evič Ukrainev, the *d'jaki* Perfilij Olovennikov,⁷⁰⁰ Michail Vojnov,⁷⁰¹ Grigorij Protopopov.⁷⁰²

In the Novgorodian unit:

The Boyar Aleksej Semenovič Šejn, the *okol'ničij* Prince Daniil Afanas'evič Borjatinskij,⁷⁰³ the *d'jaki* Eremej Poljanskij,⁷⁰⁴ Andrej Judin.⁷⁰⁵

In the Rjazan' unit:

The Boyar Prince Vladimir Dmitrievič Dolgorukij,⁷⁰⁶ the *okol'ničij* Petr Dmitrievič Skuratov,⁷⁰⁷ the *d'jaki* Lev Protopopov,⁷⁰⁸ Avtamon Ivanov.⁷⁰⁹

[P. 118]

The 26th of February 1687 I left Moscow after saying a tearful goodbye to all my women- and male-friends, who were no less heartbroken at my departure after three years of friendly dealings. And my best friends among the Germans were the following: Mr von Kochen,⁷¹⁰ His Majesty's commissary, residing in the Swedish embassy to arrange for the building of the Swedish trading houses and his wife, like a sister to me, Anna von Kochen with their whole house, such as the old Peter Hassenius's youngest daughter and his eldest daughter Barbara Hassenia, Mr Thomas Kniper,⁷¹¹ my close friend's wife, whose kindness towards me I have no way of praising enough, not to mention repaying, but I leave it to the Most High to reward them or their children. I myself will remember them as long as I live. My other friends consisted of the Dutch resident Baron van Keller,⁷¹² Mr Schonerwedde, a Reformist pastor, Mr Hendrick Boutenant,⁷¹³ Danish commissary, Mr Daniel Hartman with his three daughters, Mr Häutman,⁷¹⁴ Mr Möller,⁷¹⁵ Mr Westhoff,⁷¹⁶ Mr Thomas Kellerman with his son Johan,⁷¹⁷ hare-lipped [?]. I have also left three godchildren: one son with Sven the Tailor together with von Kochen, one son Tobias Meyser with von Kochen, one son with

Knes jacob Jbanovitz Laborow (Spalnik) {andher} halfbroder Godunow. dhesse Ryske familier⁷³⁷ dhe wore dhe förnembste och är inga af förschrefne som ey giordt mig gott och lemnatt mig tecken af sijn wenskap.

af främmande familier ryske naturaliserade bör medh skähl först räknas dh Grusinske eller Iberisk eller Imerettinske Tsaren Artschill Bagrationi,⁷³⁸ som utur sitt landh af Turken fördrefne mz 3 sijne Söhner och en dottr och fruun lefr i Moskva nu af Tsarens nåde och underhåld hans wenskap och nådh till mig kan iag ey nog uthsäga dh et är alle främmande i Moskva och i Sloboden kunnigt huru han mig elskat och estimerat, och Hwadh iag honom för dienst giort uthi det här till dagz ännu ey sedde Grusinske tryckerijet,⁷³⁹ som iag i holland för honom genom goda wenners tillhielp hos Hr Borgmestaren i Amsterdam H Wittzen⁷⁴⁰ giort har hwarföre han mig af en räck[e] af sijne egne werk⁷⁴¹ afskedhet förehrats, med en {anruffig} oration,

[P. 120]

dh Hr frantzöske Majoren Delauziere öfr tålkade på nahmligit sätt af grusinskan och Turk[isk]an på fransöskan, dh älste Tsarens son har genom (Tsari) Prinsessan Sophias tillskyndan tagit till hustru Iwan Michailovitz Miloslavskis dotter nederst,⁷⁴² des wed ey störe förnöyelse af dh Grusinske Tsaren om hwilkens landh på annat ställe här wjdhare är {omrört} och description insatt.

Så är och ännu een annan Grusinsk familie i Moskva dhe äre Stolniker, sunt Knes Pancrat, Knes Pater, Knesina etc. mz modher och systrar och {kalade} Kokonodguili,⁷⁴³ dhess syster war sköhn och skulle snart fått Tsar Theodor till herre, men missgynnare blåste henne giffit i ansichtet,⁷⁴⁴ som skämbde henne Sää och dh gamble Grotius⁷⁴⁵ Translatorn ey att förgäta så och Schärenberg, är såå alle Diaker i apoteket Andraeas Winnius, som mijna wänner warit.

Men här om nogh: jag reste då uhr Moskva **dh 26 Februarij** med dh Ryska Ambassaden som gick till Frankriket och Spagnien.⁷⁴⁶

[P. 121]

Och bestodh dhen af effterföllliandhe personer:

Knes Jacob Theodorovitz Dolgoruki en af mijne bäste wäner i Moskva, hwilken till behag effter hans begäran och min lofwen iag med honom till Rijga gick,⁷⁴⁷ som sedan effterfölllier. dhess tavarischt eller socius dh 2dra ambassadeuren, war Knes Jacob Jefimowitz Myschitzskož, dh förste blef gijfuit till mundtingspengar ungefär 1 700 rubl: dh andre 700. Diaken som effter wanliget sätt för Kantzellietz skull mz gik heter Kirilo Bortolomeewitz ur Strelitzki pricaset (dhen) han blef gifuit 260 rubl. Heela Sviten bestodh af onhegefär 120 personer, af hwilke dhe bäste och af Tsaren gifne wore dhesse effter föllliandhe, hwilka hwar och en af Tsarens räntekammare fått 50 rubl. Mundhingzpenningar. nembl. Knes Michail Semenovitz Wolkonskoi, Stolnik. Knes Andre Grigorevitz neswitzskoj. Stolnik, Knes Wasilej demitrovitz Misijskoj Stolnik, Theodor grigorievitz богданов bogdanow Stolnik, Pettr iwanowitz Naumow, en

Lieutenant Couper with Boutenant, but particularly one son Johan Hendrick Kniper, the son of my special benefactor and best friend Thomas Kniper and Barbara Hassenius, in that case Mr Boutenant was also godfather. Among the officers my best friends were the following: Lieutenant General Patrick Gordon,⁷¹⁸ Major General Count Graham,⁷¹⁹ my dear brother, Colonel Pählman, Ridder, Hendrick Galitz, Rigman,⁷²⁰ and old von Hofven and old Viborg etc. etc. I did not, however, spend much time with the officers, with the exception of a Major de Lauzière⁷²¹ and Major De la Rosière,⁷²² two Frenchmen. Besides, my rank the whole time was above all lieutenant-colonels and just below the colonels.⁷²³ <NB. Petter Antoni Coyel⁷²⁴ is a native-born Swedish nobleman and in his heart a good Swede, although he lives in Moscow most of the time due to his glass-works. His wife is the sister of Doctor van der Hulst⁷²⁵ /: my very good friend :/. Old Doctor Blumentrost⁷²⁶ is also a friend of mine who should be mentioned.>

[P. 119]

For those who are interested, among the Russians the following families have been among my acquaintances and special friends: Among the Golicyns: Prince Boris Alekseevič⁷²⁷ with his brothers Prince Petr⁷²⁸ and Prince Ivan Alekseevič,⁷²⁹ boyar, *spal'nik* or chamberlain. Among the Dolgorukijs: Prince Jakov⁷³⁰ and his brothers Prince Luka,⁷³¹ Prince Boris and Grigorij Dolgorukij.⁷³² These have been more than ordinary friends, rather daily benefactors, all of them chamberlains with Tsar Peter Alekseevič. Among the Apraksins: The Tsarina's brothers Petr,⁷³³ Fedor and Andrej Matveevič Apraksin, *spal'niki* or chamberlains. Among the Izmajlovs:⁷³⁴ Andrej Petrovič, Aleksej Petrovič and Ivan, all *spal'niki* or chamberlains with the younger Tsar, Peter. Among the Rtiščevs: only one, Michail Fedorovič,⁷³⁵ *spal'nik*. Andrej Artamonovič Matveev,⁷³⁶ *spal'nik* with Tsar Peter, the son of Artamon Sergeevič, the great favourite, who was killed by the *strel'cy*. Prince Jakov Ivanovič Laborov, the second half-brother of Godunov. These families among the Russians were the most important⁷³⁷ and there is no one among the above-mentioned persons who has not been good to me and shown me proofs of their friendship.

Among foreign families living in Russia I should in the first place mention the Georgian or Iberian or Imeretian Tsar Arčil Bagrationi,⁷³⁸ who was driven out of his country by the Turks together with his three sons, one daughter and his wife. He now lives in Moscow with the Tsar's grace and maintenance. I have no words to express the friendship and favour he has shown me. All the foreigners in Moscow and in the *sloboda* know how much he has loved and esteemed me and what a great favour I have done him regarding the Georgian printing press,⁷³⁹ not yet in place, which I had made for him in Holland at the place of the Burgermeister in Amsterdam, Mr Witsen,⁷⁴⁰ with the help of good friends. As thanks he gave me a number of his own works⁷⁴¹ when we were saying goodbye, with an oration

[P. 120]

which the French Major de Lauzière translated tolerably well from Georgian and

swåger ung Kar jacob dolgoruka, /: стряпчей :/, alexei Pawlowitz Simonow Striapsei, Knes grigori demitrovitz Myschitzkoi (striäptschei) schiletz жилецъ Samuel Cuprianovitz Kalitzki schiletz

Michael romanovitz Kuschnikov жилецъ

Andre Stepanovitz Зиминъ жилецъ

Knes Martian Semenovitz Mischitzkoi жилецъ

Afanasij Андреевичъ беклемишовъ жилецъ

Wasilei Ивановъ Tiutschow жилецъ

Ordningen af dignitet och äran hos Ryssarna är denne

Bojarin	wedh håfwet ä{?}	
Krawtskei	försklärare	dh högste uthan rådet sedan

Okolnitschei

Spalnik. eller kammarherre

Spalniki

Dumni dworänin

Stolnik

dumnie diaki

Striäptschej:

dworianin Moskovitskij

(schiletz жилецъ.)

жилецъ

dhesse går in i rådet mz mere{?} duman förd{?}, dhe andra sitta, men spalnikerna går ey inn i rådet, diakerna i sijne prikas och podiatscheirna dworänin gorodovye reitora.⁷⁴⁸

[P. 122]

En spalnik om dhet är något om honom, så blir han ey dumni dworänin, uthan okolnitschei, många Kneser hålla sig och för goda att blifwa ocolnitscher uthan bli ifrån Stolniker straxt Boyarer, /: ty emellen Stollniker och Spallniker är ingen annan åthskildnad än att af Stolniker blir uthletat effter faveur :/ den som närmastt må opwachta i gemaket af Tsaren, är således en Spalnik intet annat än en af dhe närmaste Stolniker, äfwen som vår ambass {hade} Knes jacob när han är Spalnik hos Tsar Peter. och är hans tittel nu så blischnij stolnik och namestnik simbirskij,⁷⁴⁹ så skrifwas alla, som af spalnikerna blifwa sände, antingen på ambassade eller woywodskap: etc. sed haec in parentesi. med dhetta förnehme föllie engagerades iag, och dhet så mycket häldre som iag i Moskwa ey åthniöt dh afhandling⁷⁵⁰ af våra ambb. att iag skulle med heder och frijskiuss af låtas hwilket mig nekade Knes Wasili Wasilivitz Galitzin, nu dh högste och närmaste⁷⁵¹ herre, som så tillsägende är Tsar i Ryssland, och dhet han mig så omildh war har några orsaker, 1. att han märkt genom stadig opwachtning hos Tsar Peters partie att iag dh yngre Tsaren mera {tillgodo}⁷⁵² 2: att iag /: som han menar :/ något strä[n]gt öfwersatt ett bref som af Kongl: Maytt till Sverige till Tsaren an kom och Translatorn Meisner ey kunde öfrsätta och mig blef pålagt att vertera, och som dhet något alfvarsampt war schrefwet, och med flijt öfr satt, och dh sig på Von Kochen beropar mente han iag arglistigt

Turkish into French. The Tsar's eldest son has, on the initiative of Princess Sofija, taken Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij's youngest daughter as his wife.⁷⁴² The Georgian Tsar, whose country is dealt with and described further elsewhere, is not very pleased with this.

There is another Georgian family in Moscow [that is counted among my friends]. They are *stol'niki* and consist of the following persons: Prince Pankrat, Prince Potap, the Princess etc. with their mother and sisters called Kokonodguili.⁷⁴³ Their sister was beautiful and was to marry Tsar Fedor, but enemies blew poison into her face⁷⁴⁴ which disfigured her. Not to forget the old Gross⁷⁴⁵ the translator, and Schärenberg. And then all the *d'jaks* in Andreas Vinus's Pharmacy Chancellery, who were my friends. But enough of this.

I left Moscow on **26 February** with the Russian embassy heading for France and Spain.⁷⁴⁶

[P. 121]

It consisted of the following persons:

Prince Jakov Fedorovič Dolgorukij, one of my best friends in Moscow, who took the initiative to ask permission for me—permission which I received—to travel with him to Riga⁷⁴⁷ with the people mentioned below. His *tovarišč* or companion, the second ambassador, was Prince Jakov Efimovič Myšeckij. The first received about 1,700 roubles maintenance money, the second 700. The name of the *d'jak*, who according to custom came along for the sake of the chancellery, was Kirill Bartolomeevič from the *Streleckij prikaz*, he received 260 roubles. The whole party consisted of approximately 120 people. Among them the most distinguished and those appointed by the Tsar are the following (they received 50 roubles each in maintenance money from the Tsar's bursary): Prince Michail Semenovič Volkonskij, *stol'nik*, Prince Andrej Grigor'evič Nesvickij[?], *stol'nik*, Prince Vasilij Dimitrievič Myšeckij, *stol'nik*, Fedor Grigor'evič Bogdanov, *stol'nik*, Petr Ivanovič Naumov, brother-in-law of Jakov Dolgorukij, a young man, *! strjapčij* *! Aleksej Pavlovič Simonov, strjapčij*, Prince Grigorij Dmitrievič Myšeckij, *žilec*, Samuil Kuprianovič Kalickij, *žilec*, Michail Romanovič Kušnikov, *žilec*, Andrej Stepanovič Zimin, *žilec*, Prince Martian Semenovič Myšeckij, *zilec*, Afanasij Andreevič Beklemišev, *žilec*, Vasilij Ivanovič Tjutčev, *žilec*.

The order of dignity and honour among the Russians is as follows:

bojarin—who is at court

kravčij—Lord Carver, the highest position outside the Council

then *okol'ničij*

spal'nik or chamberlain—*spal'niki*

dumnyj dvorjanin—*stol'nik*

dumnye d'jaki—*strjapčij: dvorjanin moskovskij*

žilec

The ones with the designation *dumnyj* in front are part of the Council, the others

där med om gånget⁷⁵³ och 3: som skulle iag hembligen ingijfwa Commissarien Von Kochen onda rådth, och gifwa honom mera modh, och dristighet, än han war wahn med. hwad mera som han ment härröra af mig.⁷⁵⁴

[P. 123]

4: Mitt familiare umgänge mz dhe Polske Stora legaterna, der iag och hadhe nambnet, att gått them tillhanda mz rådth i några saker.⁷⁵⁵ summa han var mig och Von Kochen ey godh, och sadhe till Kochen att han tillförende hade älskat dhe svenska {noch} nu har Kongen skält på Tsarerna i dhetta sidsta brefwet hwars lijke aldrig ännu hade warit till Tsarerna uthur Sweriget schrefwet ... etc. etc.⁷⁵⁶ Hwar af iag nog ser huru med dheras öfwersättiande måst tillgå etc.

Komme således mz ambassaden till Twär **dh 1 Martij**.

dh 4: till Woldaj Closter, hwarest mig emoth all förmodan och wanliget bruk 2: bilder blefwo förerade emedan iag och fritt mz ambassaden (gick) i alle rum gick och i Kyrkan dh iag tillförende med dhess rjka underbildh⁷⁵⁷ ey så besedt hadhe.

dh 7 i Nowogrod Hwares Wojwoden Peter Wasilivitz Cheremetow⁷⁵⁸ nog vijste sitt owett och fiendskap emoht Knes jacob i all ting, så att intet under är, om främmande så blifwa illa handterade. NB dhe will hafua tull af mig för en häst som iag sålde, men för exempel skuldh satte iag mig där emoht, och gick wäll igenom och oachtadt Tsarens bref, som för oss blef opläst, beropade iag mig uppå min adelige frijhet mz ambassaden så wäll inkommande som uthgående, och Knes jacob föll mig bij och lätt säga Schrifwaren att man skulle pryglä honom bort om han ey packade sig snart sijn koos. <NB här war iag med ambass: i doomkyrkan och iblandh annat besåg dhe Coppar dörarna, som är tagne i Corsun, och för Dören stå, giutne af Koppar höge figurer Christi lefwerne och apostlarnas etc. Mästarens nambn är: Riqvin me fecit, waitmuth, är guthen högt mz en tång och en hammare i händerna elliest grofft gothskt, disproportionerat arbete.⁷⁵⁹ där sis{?} wäll på många år ey warit någon främmande Ste Sophia så när⁷⁶⁰ som iag där ur men när metropoliten kom att göra Mässan gick iag så sach[t]eligen bort.> NB:

Dädan reste uij **dh 9 Marti** straxt effter midnatten, och Komme till pleskov **dh 11:** såledhes som effterföllier: uhr Novogrod På Sion Ilmen 30 wirst först. /: dhenne siön är 40 wirst lång och bredh skall hafwa 170 rivierer som löper in i honom och en allena Wolchow som löpr genom Novogrod uhr honom:/ sedan på floden шелоня 19 wirst, sedan på Mschaga och till jamet Mschaga 50, till natten. dhedan dh 10 till опоки 50 nedh шелоня река, sedan man hade hwi-jlat i шолца.

<Troitzte Kloster 23000 3000 bondegendomar tillijka mz возкресенст⁷⁶¹ som Nicon patriarken så wäll som detta bygt.>

sit[?], but the spal'niks are not members of the Council, the d'jaks belong to their chancelleries and the pod'jacie,

*dvorjane gorodovye
rejtora.*⁷⁴⁸

[P. 122]

A *spal'nik*, if he has any talents, becomes not a *dumnyj dvorjanin* but an *okol'ničij*. Many princes hold themselves in too high regard to become *okol'ničie*, but rise from stol'niks to boyars right away, /: as stol'niks and spal'niks differ only in that from among the stol'niks the person who is to attend close to the Tsar in his bedchamber is chosen, taking into account the favour he is in :/. In other words, a *spal'nik* is nothing but one of the closest of the stol'niks. So, for instance, the head of our embassy Prince Jakov, a *spal'nik* with Tsar Peter, now has the following titles: *Bližnij stol'nik* and *namestnik simbirskij*.⁷⁴⁹ These are the titles of every *spal'nik* who is sent either for an embassy or a governorship etc; but this was mentioned in passing.

I was included in this distinguished company, and this with so much more pleasure as in Moscow I had not been given the advantage of the agreement,⁷⁵⁰ made by our ambassadors, stating that I was to be sent off with honour and free transport, something that was refused by Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn, now the most powerful and closest master,⁷⁵¹ who is so to speak the Tsar of Russia. There are a number of reasons for his being so harsh towards me: (1) He has noticed from my frequent calls on Tsar Peter's party that I favour the younger Tsar.⁷⁵² (2) He is of the opinion that I translated a letter from His Majesty the King of Sweden to the Tsar—a letter which the translator Meissner could not translate, so I was obliged to—somewhat severely. And as the letter was somewhat serious in its tone and was translated like that and is about von Kochen, he was of the opinion that I had treated it maliciously.⁷⁵³ (3) He suspects that I secretly give bad advice to Commissary von Kochen, infusing him with more courage and boldness than he had shown before; this, he believed, came from me.⁷⁵⁴

[P. 123]

(4) My friendly dealings with the Polish Grand Envoys, it being said of me that I had helped them with advice on certain matters.⁷⁵⁵ To sum up, he was not favourably disposed towards myself and von Kochen. He said to von Kochen that earlier he had loved the Swedes, but now the King had insulted the Tsars in this last letter, the like of which had never been seen in a letter from Sweden to the Tsars etc. etc.⁷⁵⁶ From this I can certainly see how they used to translate etc.

Consequently, we arrived in Tver' with the embassy on **1 March**.

The 4th: To the Valdaj Monastery, where I was given two icons, contrary to all expectations and what was common. I was also able to walk around freely with

[P. 124]

dh 11 Martij till middagen till *путинова* 16, till jama *заропа* — 25, och i wägen 6 wirst ifrån *заропа*, är skildnaden emellan *Novgrodsce* och *pleskofske* gebietet. dedan till *Pleskov* — 35.

J *Pleskov* blefue wij still liggande in till dh ⁷⁶²Martij, emedan föret och winteren aldeles slog opp, och wore offta till gäst så hoos *wojwoden* *Pettr alexieiewitz Golovjn*,⁷⁶³ som diaken *Olimpi iakolievitz*, och öfwer strömmen *welika reka*, hos *swenske Commisarien* *David Stäfven*,⁷⁶⁴ så och hoos *Mos*: *Vagett*: *hwilke* oss alle wäll och höfl. *tracterat* hafwa.

dh 16 sände *Knesen* een *Lodia* till *Rijga*, mz hwem iag och min dräng för *tollmatsch* schickade, medh breef till *Gouverneuren*⁷⁶⁵ om låf att få hyra sig fritt hus hwarest dhe wille, och äy wara obligerade att logera på dhet ryska *gasthåfwet*, och att dhe rijger måtte göra åthskildnat emellan oss och andre abgesante etc. etc.

Medan wij här låge ankom ur *Moskow* *Wasile Timofeiewitz Posnikow*⁷⁶⁶ *Diak* i *Possolski Pricas*, för *envoyé* til *Brandenburg*, *Engeland*, *Hölland* och *Le grand duc de Toskane*, blefwe liggande öfwer *Påskehälgden*. Hwadh elliast *Pleskow* stadh wedh kommer, så är hon ey långt ifrån så stor som *Novgorod*, ehuru dhes *оуездъ* eller gebiet fast mindre är, dog äre här rikare och höfligare folk än i *Novgorod*.

Staden är omkring murat med fältstens muhr, och kan man spatzera heela Staden om på dh yttersta muren men dh innersta muren, som dh gamla staden i sig begriper är allt förfallen, och sträcker sig ey längre än längs *Welike reka* ifrån *Södern* till *Norden* och *Sluther Pskowska reka* /: hwar af staden sitt namn hafwer /: uthur stadens umgass, lemnas henne uthan stig löpande ifrån öster till väster. <NB *Boutenants* 10 släder som ginge öfr gräntzen till (*Rijga*) *Narua* med allehanda *marchandise* under *K J.D*: namn blefe aresteradhe wed grentzen hållne af dhe dher warande *целоvalniki* genom order af *Pleskousiske* borgreven, som allt wiste och böde *K.J.D.* 500 rubl om han {dhennes} besk{?} wille öfijfwa. dhetta har oss länge här oppehållit emedan *Knesen* ey will gifwa *A.B.* uth, ey heller sielf hafwa dh skammen etc. etc. Klagade sig allena för mig i geheim om dhen skam honom härigenom är af *A.B.* som honom försekrat om *NB*.>

[P. 125]

men dh yttersta {?} muren griper in ett stort stycke på ostra sijdan om *Pleskovska reka*, som flyter ifrån *Nordan* och faller i *welika reka* rätt under *Metropolitens* residens, och gör staden onhegefär dhenne figuren [*Fig. 19*] Stycken äre dher af mettall ohngefär 30 tämmeligen sköhne *Inundatio* af *Pskowska* gör stor skada om wåhren till *jamschikerna* som skiutza, måste borgarna giffa 600 rubl om åhret. Med juffer och lijn och hampa är största handeln, dhe handla och mest på *Narwa* som ligger härifrån 200 wirst men till *Rijga* räkna dhe 300 werst. <Staden är ongefär 7 Birst [!] omkring på twären at gå som {figuren}>

the embassy in all the buildings. This included the church too, which I had not looked at as thoroughly before with its rich miracle icon.⁷⁵⁷

The 7th to Novgorod, where the *voevoda* Petr Vasil'evič Šeremetev⁷⁵⁸ openly demonstrated his resentment and animosity towards Prince Jakov on every matter, so it is no wonder if foreigners are badly treated. NB. They want me to pay customs duty on a horse that I sold, but as a matter of principle I resisted and gave my arguments. And although the Tsar's letter was read out to us I referred to the fact that, as a nobleman travelling with an embassy, both coming in and going out, I had this right. And Prince Jakov supported me and sent word to the clerk that they would whip him away if he did not clear off right away. <NB. Here I was with the ambassadors in the cathedral and looked at, among other things, the copper doors taken at Chersonesos. And on the front of the door there are tall figures cast in copper, representing the life of Christ and the disciples etc. The name of the master is given: Riqvin me fecit. Waimuth is highly cast with tongs and a hammer in his hands, otherwise a coarse Gothic, disproportionate work.⁷⁵⁹ Probably no foreigner has set foot so close to St Sofija as I for many years.⁷⁶⁰ But when the metropolitan arrived to say Mass I departed gently.>

NB: We went from there on **the 9th of March** just after midnight and arrived in Pskov on **the 11th**, as described below:

From Novgorod at first 30 versts on Lake Il'men. /: this lake is 40 versts long and broad. They say that 170 streams flow into it and only one, the Volchov, running through Novgorod, runs out of it :/ Then on the River Šelon', 19 versts, then on the Mšaga and to the *jam* Mšaga, 50, towards nightfall. From there on **the 10th** to Opoki, 50, down the Šelon' River, after having rested in Šolca. <The Troica Monastery 23,000 3,000 farmsteads and the Voskresenskij⁷⁶¹ built by patriarch Nikon, as the previous one.>

[P. 124]

The 11th of March. At noon we arrived in Putinovo[?], 16, to the *jam* Zagora, 25, and along the road 6 versts from Zagora there is a milepost constituting the border between the Novgorod and Pskov provinces. From there to Pskov it is 35.

In Pskov we stayed put until the⁷⁶² March, as we were stopped by the conditions on the roads and the winter weather. We were often guests of the *voevoda* Petr Alekseevič Golovin,⁷⁶³ as well as of the *d'jak* Olimpij Jakovlevič, and, across the stream *Velikaja reka*, of the Swedish commissary David Steven⁷⁶⁴ and Mr Vagett. They all treated us well and politely.

The 16th. The prince sent a *lod'ja* to Riga, with which I also sent my servant as a *tolmač* [interpreter], with a letter to the governor⁷⁶⁵ concerning permission to rent accommodation freely, wherever they wanted to, instead of being obliged to lodge in the Russian guesthouse, and that the inhabitants of Riga should treat us differently from other envoys etc. etc. While we were still here, Vasilij Timofeevič Postnikov,⁷⁶⁶ *d'jak* at the *Posol'skij prikaz*, arrived from Moscow in his

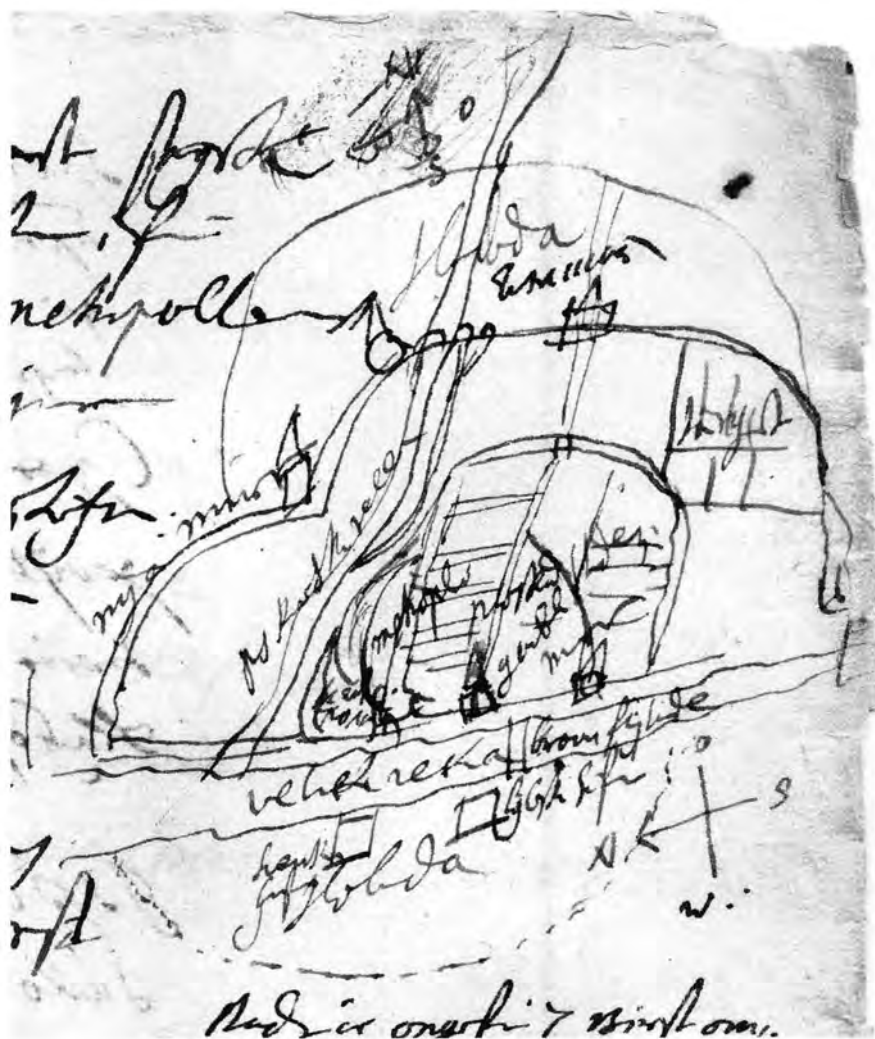


Fig. 19. Sloboda ямская, pskovska reka, velika reka, broon, tårget, gamla muren, metropoliten, nya muren [?], staden. — Jamskaja sloboda, Pskovskaja reka, Velikaja reka, the bridge, the square, the old wall, the metropolitan, the new wall [?], the town.

dh 25 Martij inföll Mariae bebodelse på långfredagen, hvilket hoos Ryssarna een stoor fäst är,⁷⁶⁷ oss appliceras gudztiensten till bägge genom afkortande af bägge af 2 eller flero åthskillige präster som dhet förtrott är. elliest är dhen största fäst som hoos dhem någonsin falla kan, enär dhet händer att Mariae bebådelse infaller på Påskedagen, såm nu effter 30 åhr lærer ske natten emellan dh 24 och 25. stark fråst och snöö, att welika reka som för en dag begynte att

function as envoy to Brandenburg, England, Holland and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. They remained here over Easter. As regards the city of Pskov, it is almost as large as Novgorod, although its *uezd* or district is smaller, although the people here are richer and more polite than in Novgorod.

The city is surrounded by a stone wall, and it is possible to walk around the whole city on the outer wall. But the inner wall, which encloses the old town, is completely dilapidated and runs no further than along the *Velikaja reka* from south to north. It excludes from the bounds of the city the *Pskovskaja reka*, /: from which the city takes its name :/ and leaves no room for a path running from east to west. <NB. The ten sleighs of Boutenant, which passed the frontier to Narva with all kinds of merchandise under the name of Prince Jakov Dolgorukij, were stopped and held at the border by the *celoval'niki* [guards] by order of the Burgrave of Pskov, who knew everything and offered Prince Jakov Dolgorukij 500 roubles if he [?] was prepared to give them up. This kept us here for a long time, as the prince did not want to leave Andrej Boutenant out, nor take the shame upon himself etc. etc. He only complained to me in secret about the shame Andrej Boutenant had hereby subjected him to by assuring him that everything was in order [?]. NB.>

[P. 125]

But the outer [?] wall bends inwards on the eastern side of the *Pskovskaja reka*, which runs from the north and falls into *Velikaja reka* right under the residence of the metropolitan. The town forms approximately this shape [Fig. 19]. There are about 30 metal cannon there, quite beautiful. The flooding of the *Pskovskaja* does a lot of harm in the spring. To the *jamščiks*, who are the ones who arrange transport, the townsmen have to pay 600 roubles a year. They trade mostly in juffer, flax and hemp, mostly with Narva, which is situated 200 versts from here. But to Riga it is 300 versts. <The town is about 7 versts across, as in the figure.>

The 25th of March the Day of the Annunciation occurred on Good Friday, something which is regarded as a great feast⁷⁶⁷ by the Russians, we are given a service for both days, in which both are shortened, by two or more priests who are entrusted with it. Otherwise, the greatest feast that can ever occur with them is when Annunciation Day happens to fall on Easter Day, which, they say, will happen in 30 years. During the night between the 24th and 25 th, there was sharp frost and snow, which made *Velikaja reka*, on which the ice had for a day begun to float, freeze solid again. <NB. More than 20 beautiful metal cannon are lying there, but some of them are sealed up and all of them lack gun-carriages. The walls are made of loose undressed stone and they are falling to pieces by themselves from frost and rain.>

The 31st of March. Our messenger returned from Riga with the favourable answer that the ambassadors can lodge elsewhere and in good houses. He also

flyta mz ijs, åther stodh stilla. <NB stycken af Mettall ligga där öfr 20 stycken sköne, dog någre för nagladhe, och alle uthan laveter. Muhrarna är af loos fältsteen, och faller sielf af fråst och regn sönder.>

dh 31 Martij kommer våre uthskickade från Rijga mz gott swar att få logera ambb på een annan orth och i godhe hus, brachte och swar på mitt intercessionsbref, ifrån Vice gouverneuren Erick Soop i höflige termes.

Om afftonen ginge wij till gäst hos Metropoliten i Pleskov Markell, som oss öfrmåttan höfl. tracterade, tahlte mäst latijn. och beklagade sig att dhe män som något mehra förstå än andra blijfwa illa uthropade här i landet, men idioter promenerade till dhe högsta chargeerna in ecclesiasticam: добрый члвекъ нѣтъ ничего разумнѣе

M. gaf mig sitt adresse, och badh mig schrijfwa honom till, schref mz sijn egen handt sin tittul på ryska och på Latijn, iag gaf honom och mitt namn, där med förärte han oss hwar sitt faht mz ägg och en säckertåpp mitt uthi och ett kors af cypress: och fölgde oss uth i förstugan. <K. J. Ф: Д. försäkrade mig att alla dagar går åth i цепенс hushåldh ongefär 500 ämbar brännwijn af dhet gemeena 700: 800: 900 in till 1000 höns, och spijsar intill 1000 2000 menniskor, ia mehra alla dager, och alt dhet som mzbringes för 8 dagar i pochodd,⁷⁶⁸ enär цепен straxt effter eller 3 måhltijder åther resa tillbaka eller på annat påchodd, blir alt bortgifwit (af) och förlorat. Item oeconomia besynnerligen, wedh detta näruarande tillståndet.>

brought an answer to my letter of intercession from the vice-governor Erik Soop, expressed in polite terms.

In the evening we went to visit the Metropolitan of Pskov, Markell, who treated us extremely politely. He mostly spoke Latin and complained about the fact that people who know a bit more than others are badly talked of in this country, while idiots walk comfortably to the highest positions in church affairs. *Добрый человекъ нетъ ничего разумнѣе* [There is nothing wiser than a good man].

Markell gave me his adress and asked me to write to him. He wrote his title in Russian and Latin in his own hand. I gave him my name too. He also gave us a dish with eggs and in the middle a sugar-loaf and a cypress cross, and he accompanied us as far as the entrance hall. <Prince Jakov Fedorovič Dolgorukij assured me that in the Tsar's household each day they got through about 500 pails of aquavit, the ordinary kind, 700, 800, 900, up to 1,000 hens, and in the region of 1,000 to 2,000 people, or even more, eat there every day. And all that is brought for a *pochod*⁷⁶⁸ of 8 days, even if, for instance, the Tsar shortly after or after only three meals decides to go back or to make another *pochod*, everything is given away and lost. Talk about economy, particularly under the present circumstances!>

Commentary

1. This title is found on the upper part of the page constituting page 1 of *Appendix 1*. The text referred to as *Appendix 1* in this edition comprises the first and second page of the original manuscript. The title, it seems, relates to the journey of the embassy, not the rest of the journey. The main instructions of the King and Council to the ambassadors are preserved in the original and the subsidiary instructions in a copy in the National Archives in Stockholm (*Muscovitica 111*). They are published in *Ekonomiska förbindelser mellan Sverige och Ryssland under 1600-talet*, Stockholm 1978, as No. 43 (pp. 237–46) and No. 44 (pp. 246–48) respectively.

2. Conrad Gyllenstierna, born 25 March 1638 at Viborg Castle, died 11 September 1684 in Stockholm (cf. p. 199 of the English translation of the diary). Governor of the provinces of Viborg and Nyslott 1667–74. In 1674 he was appointed governor of the province of Kalmar. The province was under unusual pressure due to the war with Denmark. In 1677 Gyllenstierna was dismissed with salary retained. In November 1680 he was appointed President of the Great Commission on the Administration of the Regency. He was the head of the Swedish embassy to Moscow in 1684. Concerning Gyllenstierna, see SBL, 17, 1969, 617–20.

3. An ancient Italian linear measure of varying length: in Florence and Pisa a *canna* constituted 2.92 metres, in Perugia 5.45, in Pesaro 5.22 and in Piacenza 5.63 metres (Bataglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, II, 1962, 636).

4. The stone church of Tövsala was built in the 14th century but has a vestry which belonged to an earlier wooden church built in the 13th century. The interior of the church is covered with murals. Different coats of arms are depicted in the arches of the arcades and there are a large number of funeral arms from the 17th century in the church. *Suomen kirkot*, I, 1959, 72, 96.

5. The clergyman's name was Petrus Bergius (1612–1691), who studied at the Åbo Academy and became a professor of languages there in 1652. From 1660 he worked as a clergyman and came to Tövsala in 1671 (Strandberg, I, 1832, 170).

6. The oldest sections of Åbo Castle, with two towers and four gates, were built in the 1280s. By and by, new sections were added (NE, 20, 1996, 321).

7. Lorentz Creutz the Younger (1646–1698). He was appointed governor of the Åbo and Björneborg provinces on 15 September 1682 and started to serve in that function during the summer of 1683. In the history of the town of Åbo he is regarded as the most energetic and efficient of the governors of the 17th century. See SBL, 9, 1931, 103–115.

8. The library was located in a house in the ring-wall surrounding the cathedral. It took up three rooms; in a fourth room was the German church. Bonsdorff 1894, 117–18.

9. Sparwenfeld is mistaken about the year of this devastating fire. It occurred on 29 May 1681. After the fire the cathedral needed to be almost completely rebuilt. Already in June of that year a subscription was raised for the restoration of the cathedral, and work began in 1682. By 1691 the cathedral was said to be beautiful again. Bonsdorff 1894, 82–84; Ranta 1977, 72, 75.

10. Simon Ruuth (1656–1701), vice president of the Åbo Court of Appeal (*Svenska män och kvinnor*, 6, 1949, 418). So apparently Sparwenfeld knew him already in Uppsala. Simon Ruuth did study in Uppsala when Sparwenfeld was there: for the year 1669 there is an entry: “Simon Bartholdi Ruuth Holmiensis Svecus Nobilis” (*Uppsala universitets matrikel*, I:4, 1904, 207).

11. This person is more often mentioned by the German form of his name, Lewenhaupt. In fact there were two brothers Lewenhaupt in the embassy, often referred to by Sparwenfeld as “the counts”. See note 97.

12. Concerning this important road (“Stora strandvägen”—the Great Coast Road), leading from Åbo to Viborg along the Gulf of Finland, see Salminen 1993.

13. The name of this estate was *Viborgs gård* (the Viborg estate), also called *Frillans* (according to the Finnish historian Christer Kuvaja). It was at this time owned by Mikael Eberhard von Jordan (d. 1716) (Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 48).

14. Skavistad, also called Billnäs, founded in 1640 and at this time owned by Karl Billsten the Younger. The works were situated by the mouth of the River Karis in the Pojo inlet. See Vilks 1994, 340–41.

15. In this area the following works were in operation at this time: Svartå (founded in 1616, in 1684 owned by Petter Thorwöste the Younger), Antskog (founded in 1630, owned by Johan Thorwöste), Skavistad or Billnäs (see the previous note), and Fiskars (founded in 1649, owned by Johan Thorwöste). Vilks 1994, 339–43, 346–47.

16. An ancestor of his, Major Johan Gyldenär, had in 1622 received exemption from land dues to the crown for 22 farms and his main estate Alberga (Ahlbäck 1958, 36; see also Rancken 1937, 26).

17. The town of Helsingfors (Helsinki), founded in 1550, was originally built along the shore above Helsingfors (the Helsing cataract) by the mouth of the River Vanda. The location, including the harbour, was poor. From early on there were plans to resite the town. In 1640 Helsingfors was moved down to Södmäns udde (point), then further south, to Estnäskatan. People started to move into the new town in 1644. Estnäset is connected with the mainland only by a narrow tongue of land in the west (so it in fact forms a peninsula); apart from that the whole area is surrounded by water. The new town thus ended up with an excellent harbour on the side facing the sea. Helsingfors received its new charter in 1651. The claim by Sparwenfeld that the town was moved after a fire is probably erroneous. There was a big fire, it is true, but it occurred in the new town: in the space of three hours on 5 August 1654, 42 houses and the Christina Church (built of stone) were destroyed in a devastating fire. Concerning the early history of Helsingfors, see Rancken 1926, 1937; *Helsingfors stads historia*, 1, 1950; Lönnqvist & Rönkkö 1988.

18. After the great fire of 1654 it was decided to build a new church, this time a more modest one of wood. It took a very long time, however, owing to a lack of financial resources, and parts of the church needed repairing before it was completed. It is believed that the church was not even finished when Helsingfors was destroyed by the Russians in 1713. Concerning what is known about this church, the Church of the Holy Spirit, see *Helsingfors stads historia*, 1, 1950, 319–20.

19. Baron *Axel* Rosenhane (not Gustav) (1637–1685), who was appointed governor of the provinces of Nyland and Tavastehus in 1678 (Ehrström 1890, 38; Rancken 1937, 49).

20. The town of Borgå developed around Borgbacken, where a fortress was constructed at the end of the 14th century (Edgren & Gardberg, I, 1996, 162–168). The “plain” Swedish stone church mentioned by Sparwenfeld is today’s cathedral (Borgå became a cathedral city in 1723), built in the 1450s. The Finnish church mentioned was destroyed during the fire in 1708, when the stone church also suffered greatly. A new Finnish church was built 1738–47 (Mäntylä 1994, 239). Concerning the stone church, see Edgren & Gardberg 1996, 218–233, Mäntylä 1994 *passim*.

21. Lorentz Creutz the Younger (see note 7) was born on the estate of Sarvlax. After the death of his father he inherited the estate in 1677. By the time of the visit of the embassy, Sarvlax included slightly more than 30 homesteads. The manor house and west wing were built in stone in 1672–83, which means they were brand new. (It is worth noting that stone castles/manors were not all that common in Finland during this period: only two of those built in the 17th century were of stone according to *Finlands historia*, 2, 1993, 254; see a photo of Sarvlax *ibidem* p.188.) From 1682 Lorentz Creutz had a charter for ironworks at Forsby in his home parish of Pernå. He also came to own ironworks in other parishes (Vilkuna 1994, 343–44, 350). On Creutz, see also Antell 1956 *passim*, Sirén 1980, 18–21.

22. Gustaf Johan Wrede (1645–95), baron, lieutenant-colonel with the Karelian cavalry regiment. He was married to the sister of Lorentz Creutz the Younger (see notes 7 and 21), Brita. They became the owners of the estate of Degerby after the death of Brita’s father (*Svenska män och kvinnor*, 8, 1955, 437; Antell 1956, 156).

23. Johan Creutz (1651–1726), brother of Lorentz (see notes 7 and 21). In 1680 he was appointed president of the jurisdictional district of Karelia. He later became a provincial governor. Abborfors in the parish of Pyttis was his main estate. SBL, 9, 1931, 115–20.

24. The small town of Veckelax received its charter in 1653. It was completely destroyed during the Great Northern War. In its place the town of Fredrikshamn was built. Nordenstreng 1909, 6 ff.

25. Possibly, his name was Nicolaus Nicolai Barck. He served as vicar in the rural parish of Veckelax from 1682 to 1708, according to Akiander 1868, 128.

26. *Knaper*, *knapadel*, from Old Swedish *knaper*, German *knappe* identical to *Knabe*—‘serving young nobleman’. In general *knapadel* signifies “lower gentry without or with limited means” (Östergren). Antell (p. 121) talks about “de bekanta Veckelaxknaparna” (the well-known Veckelax knaparna), who formed a social stratum above the peasant population, but were firmly established in the district. Elgenstierna says about the Huusgafvel family, that in olden times they were the most distinguished of the so-called “Vekkelaks-knaparne”, a group of families exempted from land dues to the crown in Vekkelaks county, Viborg province. Generally they lived as farmers, but in the 16th century they were expressly acknowledged as belonging to old noble families. They had their own coats of arms and, as late as 1655, equipped horsemen for the *adelsfanan*, a cavalry regiment set up by the nobility. They did not, however, seek to be introduced at the House of the Nobility. Apart from the Huusgafvel family, the Junker, Pilhierta, Brandstake and other families belonged to this group. Elgenstierna, III, 1927, 711.

27. In “Kort Memorial” (*Short Memorial*, see the Introduction p. 32), we can read under 26 February (the anonymous author was a member of Klingstedt’s party; they left Stockholm later): “NB. Pyderlax is an estate which earlier belonged to Mr Ambassador Conrad Gyllenstierna, but now, due to the “reduction”, it belongs to the Crown and is at present let out on a lease” (p. 7). So, as it seems, the Crown had not bought the estate from Gyllenstierna but it had been repossessed in connection with the “reduction” (cf. the Introduction, p. 23).

28. This and the following place-names were added underneath each other in the left-hand margin, resulting in the initial letters disappearing when the edge was torn.

29. There were two quartermasters in the embassy according to the list of participants: Ahlfelt and Utter (see *Appendix 1*).

30. The Viborg castle dates back to the 1290s and is situated on an island. The town of Viborg received its charter in 1403. Its exceedingly good harbour is mentioned in many sources. Lagus 1893, 34; Ruuth 1906, 19 ff.

31. A rich folklore has developed around this “Devil’s Cauldron”. In 1495 Viborg was surrounded by a superior Russian army. The situation seemed hopeless to the Swedish defenders, but during the second storming, on 30 November—the day of the Apostle Andrew—a huge cross (the cross of St Andrew) in the sky put the enemy to flight. Later tradition adds another component to this intervention from above: a bang. It was first mentioned in print by Olaus Magnus in his history from 1555. The bang, according to him, originated from a cave outside Viborg. The cave, emitting its horrible sound, is even shown on his map from 1539. From the end of the 16th century the bang was associated with Knut Posse, the military commander of Viborg during the siege of 1495. According to that version Posse made a decoction of toads, snakes, mercury, lye and lime in a cauldron (in Finnish called “helvetin kattila”) and thereby produced the bang. The terrible explosion made the enemy fall like dead for half an hour, during which time the comparatively few defenders could kill as many as they could lay their hands on, the surviving attackers took to their heels. The cauldron was then kept in St Andrew’s tower in the castle. In 1672 Elias Brenner made a drawing of the cauldron, which at that time was kept in the castle. In 1683 Engelbert Kämpfer (see note 392), saw the cauldron in an octagonal tower in the castle. It was kept in a hole in the thick wall. According to his description the pot was made of eight plates soldered together and “its diameter was the length of my arm and its depth equalled the half of my arm” (Lagus 1893, 213, cf. the concordant information given by Sparwenfeld). During the war Peter the Great is said to have removed the cauldron from Viborg. Lagus 1893, 195–222; Ruuth 1906, 109–13; Hipping 1909, 162–63. A more prosaic explanation of the bang is that the defenders lit barrels of tar and pitch, possibly resulting in a gunpowder explosion (NE, 19, 1996, 409).

32. Viborg suffered many devastating fires during the 16th and 17th centuries. As early as 1569, Johan III tried to make the inhabitants build houses of stone by exempting those who did from taxes for a period of time etc. A similar policy was continued after that. Lagus 1893, 97 *et passim*; Ruuth 1906, 146 *et passim*.

33. Sparwenfeld is probably referring to the cathedral, consecrated in 1494. The cathedral had been severely damaged in the fire of 1678 and the repairs were proceeding only slowly (Lagus 1893, 137–38).

34. Viborg often complained to the authorities that the trade of Kexholm, Narva and Nyen was being favoured at the expense of Viborg (Lagus 1893, 92). From shortly after

the Stolbova peace treaty in 1617 there was a great demand for tar, especially from Holland. This meant an enormous upswing for Viborg, which in the 1640s was Finland's most important commercial town. However, Viborg's new neighbour and rival Nyen, under its charter privileges of 1642 and later, was given exceptional advantages in the trade with Russia, with the result that Viborg eventually lost that trade. Due to overproduction and falling prices the government in 1648 conveyed its right to export all tar from Sweden and Finland north of Stockholm and the Neva respectively to a tar company founded for that purpose. Viborg tar had for a long time commanded higher prices on the international market than had tar from other places. Now that was no longer the case, and Viborg lost more ground in relation to its rivals. There was a long and rough fight for the trade between Viborg and Nyen. In June 1683 the government granted some relief from customs duty for Viborg and took away corresponding relief from Nyen, Narva and Reval, but the decline of the Viborg tar trade continued all the same. From 1672 and for a long time Viborg had a yearly quota of 3,000 lasts. Ruuth 1906, 332 ff.; Hipping 1909, 90 ff.; *Finlands historia*, 2, 1993, 238 ff. Together with tar, butter was the second most important export from Viborg (Ruuth 1906, 204).

35. According to a decree of 1679 the town of Viborg was to have three mayors and an eight-member municipal council. The most important among the mayors was the mayor of justice, the president of the judiciary council. Johan Lifman was appointed mayor of justice in 1678, but the appointment was withdrawn and given back—in all three times—in connection with agitation from the Schmidt party (cf. note 36). Lifman died in 1681. His widow, Kristina Sylvia Lifman, died in 1709. Lagus, 2:1, 1895, 66–67; Ruuth, I, 1906, 292 f., 304 ff.

36. Hans Schmidt was appointed mayor of justice of Viborg in 1678 and then again in 1680 and 1681–88. For the first few years he was in a perpetual state of feud with Johan Lifman and his party over the post of mayor of justice (Lagus 2:1, 1895, 27–28; Ruuth, I, 1906, 304 ff.). He died in 1688. See also note 35.

37. Carl Falkenberg af Trystorp (1644–1697), governor of the Viborg and Nyslott provinces from 1 December 1681, discharged from that post on 3 December 1686 (SBL, 15, 1956, 227–31).

38. From 1323 (the Peace of Nöteborg) to 1617 (the Peace of Stolbova) the River Systerbäck constituted part of the border between Finland (and hence of the Swedish kingdom) and Russia.

39. The Swedish authorities, partly in preparation for the “reduction”, i.e. the restoration to the Crown of estates given as donations and fiefs to distinguished civil servants and military men among the nobility, had started organizing surveys and mapping, among other places in Ingria. At least five surveyors are known to have worked in this area towards the end of the 17th century (Pauli 1995, 56). Possibly this is what Sparwenfeld is referring to as “the new survey”.

40. The Swedish authorities started building the fortlet of Nyenskans on a tongue of land between the Neva and its tributary the Ochta in the 1610s, probably at the place where the fortlet Landskrona (in Russian Венец) had been built in the year 1300 (*Erikskrönikan*, (ed. R. Pipping), 1921, 83 f.; HILJ 1950, 91, 330–31). The town of Nyen was built opposite the fortlet across the Ochta and received its charter in 1642. The town was intended to be a centre for the eastern trade and received extraordinary privileges to that end from 1638 onwards (cf. note 34). It also constituted the administrative centre of In-

gria. The Swedish government put much effort into trying to make the Russians abandon the trade route through Archangelsk and convince them that trade through the Baltic Sea would be much more profitable. To that end the government allowed Nyen, Narva and Reval special concessions to stimulate their trade with Russia (v. Bonsdorff 1891, 414). On Nyen and Nyenskans, see also Jangfeldt 1998, 29 ff.

41. According to paragraph 16 of the charter of Nyen of 20 September 1642, the inhabitants of the town were not bound to take upon themselves the transport and housing of travellers, provided that the town made arrangements for these facilities (v. Bonsdorff 1891, 386, 457). Evidently the town council was not discharging its obligations.

42. Probably identical with Antoni Timmerman, member of the municipal council 1683–87 (v. Bonsdorff 1891, 404).

43. The original population of Ingria consisted of Finno-Ugric tribes, among them the Ingrians (Sparwenfeld's "ingrikar"). The area was conquered by the Russians in the 12th century and the Russian Orthodox faith was adopted by the population. Ingria was a Swedish province for about 100 years after the Peace of Stolbova in 1617. The treaty gave no guarantees of freedom of religion for the population of the newly conquered areas. In practice, however, it seems that the population of the rural areas and the parish priests, at least periodically, were left to practise their faith in peace, while the nobility, monks and town-people, according to the treaty, were allowed to move to Russia within a stipulated time (*Sverges traktater med främmande magter jemte andra hit hörande handlingar* (ed. Rydberg & Hallendorff), 5:1, Stockholm 1890–1903, 249–50; Tarkiainen 1971, 137). The Swedish authorities tried with varying intensity, however, to convert the Finnish-speaking inhabitants to the Lutheran faith, and this was the case in Ingria especially. The Russian-speaking population was not left completely in peace, either. The authorities tried to arrange for the Lutheran faith to be preached in both Russian and Finnish and made efforts to introduce education in the new faith. A visible example of the great importance attached to this enterprise by the Swedish government is the Russian printing press, set up in Stockholm in 1628. Under the management of the Dutch printer Peter van Selow, that press produced in 1628 a Russian translation of Luther's Catechism, a few copies of which still exist (Tarkiainen 1969, 55 ff.; Sjöberg 1975, 1984; Đurovič 2000). Another product of that press is *Alfabetum Rutenorum* (without a date), a small primer containing explanations of the Russian letters and their pronunciation, Luther's Small Catechism, as well as prayers in Russian and Swedish; a few copies have been preserved to this day (Tarkiainen 1969, 47 ff., Sjöberg 1975, Đurovič 1982, 2000). One of the possible uses of this book was to teach Swedish clergymen Russian, to enable them to play a more active part in missionary work among the Russians in the border areas. Another visible example of the missionary ambitions of the Swedish government is the Finnish version of Luther's Catechism, printed by van Selow in the Cyrillic alphabet. This latter text, according to some reports, was not easily offered to the public (see Tengström 1833, 43). (Concerning Nicolaus Bergius's Russian-Swedish Catechism printed at Narva in 1701, see Nyholm 1996.) In spite of all the efforts, the success of the missionary drive was limited. In connection with the Swedish-Russian war of 1656–58, many of the original inhabitants of this territory emigrated to Russia, allegedly because they felt their religious freedom was threatened. They were replaced by Finns of the Lutheran faith, above all from the Karelian Isthmus (cf. Sparwenfeld's "rätte Lutherske finnar"). A number of the emigrants probably returned after the peace treaty of Kardis in 1661. It should be added that Russians also immigrated to this area after 1666, as a result of the great schism within the Russian Church (see below). The third category mentioned by Sparwenfeld is "Wettalaisar" (vatjalaiset), i.e. Votes. The Ingrians and Votes spoke

different dialects. The latter, according to some sources, had some knowledge of Russian, even if they did not use it among themselves. For a survey of the population and language situation of Ingria, see Lehto 1996, 13 ff.

44. Göran Sperling (1630–1691) was in 1683 appointed general of the infantry and governor of Ingria and the province of Kexholm. In 1687 he was appointed Governor-General of Ingria, Karelia and the province of Kexholm. He was an energetic person much appreciated by King Karl XI and was known to work assiduously to carry out the government's policy of making new conquests truly Swedish (*Svenska män och kvinnor*, 7, 1954, 151–52). In his diary Sparwenfeld calls Sperling alternately “Governor-General” (a title he was only awarded in 1687), “Governor” and “General”. Conrad Gyllenstierna, in his letters to the king (for example, the one written on 13 March 1684, *Muscovitica* 108), calls Sperling “Hr Generalen och Gouverneuren” (Mr General and Governor), in accordance with the titles he had at that time. Sparwenfeld, it seems, did not pay particular attention to his titles. See also note 67.

45. Johannes Gezelius the Younger (1647–1718) became Professor of Theology at Åbo Academy in 1679, Rector there in 1680 and Superintendent of Narva and Ingria in 1681. He was a very active superintendent and put a great deal of energy into the organization of the church, the development of schools and the conversion of the Russian-Orthodox part of the population of Ingria to the Lutheran faith. During his time in Narva he cooperated fruitfully with Göran Sperling (see note 44). For missionary purposes he published a special educational pamphlet. From the point of view of the Swedish authorities, however, the results were not entirely satisfactory (SBL 17, 1967–69, 104–06). The pamphlet was probably written as a result of the resolution of the King and Council of 4 May 1683. This resolution in fact announced a change of policy on the part of the Swedish authorities, to one of “segregation”. The idea was that the Russian-speaking population of Ingria would be left in peace with their faith. Efforts to bring about conversions would instead be concentrated on the Finnish-speaking members of the Russian Church, i.e. *ingrikot* and *vattjalaiset*, the Ingrians and Votes, who in fact could not possibly understand the faith they confessed. The Ingrians and Votes should therefore be segregated from the Russian-Orthodox Church and, one way or another, be affiliated to the Lutheran Church. The resolution text says that, owing to the ignorance and indolence of the Russian priesthood, the population was kept in blindness and even perversity against God and the authorities etc. The priests are said to openly show their hatred of the pure evangelical faith. The governor and superintendent were therefore urged to write decrees on the subject and see to it that they were put into effect. It is also proposed in the resolution that facilities for printing in Russian be procured once again, as the old printing press (cf. note 43) had gone astray. The press was needed to printing in the Russian alphabet some of the key religious texts. Because of the deplorable situation of the Ingrians and Votes, who kept to the Russian religion although they were unable to understand a word of the service—which, it was added, gave little cause for hope concerning their salvation—it was proposed that the governor and superintendent try to persuade them—without coercion—by getting them to come to the Lutheran churches during high festivals to listen to the sermon in a language they could understand. The resolution says further that Russian priests were not allowed to baptize children, the parents or godparents of whom did not know or were unwilling to learn the Russian language. It was also made clear that those who were willing to convert to the Lutheran faith had reason to hope for some alleviation of the burden of taxation. It transpires from the text of the resolution, which is very carefully worded, that the Swedish government was aware that the issue was a sensitive one. (For the full text of the resolution, see Akiander 1865, 39 ff. See also Öhländer 1900, 123 ff. and Isberg 1973, 91 f.) Sparwenfeld talks about instructions to the priest-

hood issued by the governor general and the superintendent, instructions that he has seen and read. The superintendent Gezelius issued an instruction to the priesthood along the lines of the above-mentioned resolution on 2 November 1683 (Öhlander 1900, 126; Isberg 1973, 93 f.). Furthermore, on 12 May 1684, i.e. when the Swedish embassy had long since passed through this region, Governor Sperling issued a manifesto addressed to the inhabitants of Ingria on this matter. On the same day Gezelius issued two instructions to the priesthood, in which he spells out in detail what they are expected to do in connection with the segregation policy (Öhlander 1900, 129 ff.; Isberg 1973, 95 ff.). Unless Sparwenfeld wrote this passage in his diary afterwards, which is in fact a possibility, he would not yet know about the last-mentioned communications. As for the results of these efforts, there is some information in the report made by Johannes Gezelius on the measures taken during his first five years in office, from 1681 until the middle of 1686. There, under point 6, he reports that the Ingrians and Votes of whole parishes, who earlier kept to the Russian priests, now adhered solidly to the Lutheran churches. Some of them, as they developed a growing understanding of religious texts in Finnish, were even admitted to Holy Communion. Around 1,000 children had been baptized into the Lutheran faith etc. He does not conceal, however, that the operation had required an enormous amount of work (Akiander 1865, 52). A figure given by Tengström (p. 54) is that 3,000 families had converted to the Lutheran Church.

The Russian Orthodox section of the population of Ingria, naturally, disapproved of the policy of the Swedish government and complained to the Russian side. The Russian government called for a change of policy. The Swedish government, which was busy trying to establish trade relations with Persia (through Russian territory), chose to reduce the pressure somewhat, which Sperling and Gezelius were very critical of (Tengström 1833, 29 ff., 55 ff., see also below).

46. Jakob Pontusson De la Gardie (1583–1652) was appointed supreme commander of the Russian war in December 1608 (on him, see *SBL*, 10, 1931, 634–57). Nöteborg was, after a long siege, conquered by the Swedes, led by Klas Slang, in 1612. Widekindi (1671, 433 f.) gives a general account of the circumstances surrounding the defeat of the Russians, but he does not mention any details about the actual surrender of the castle. Under the peace treaty of Stolbova in 1617, Nöteborg went to Sweden.

47. An *obs* (обжа) is a land measurement introduced at the end of the 15th century and used above all in the Great Novgorod area. It was consequently also used in Ingria, which earlier belonged to the Novgorod territory. It was used as a unit of property taxation. (*Аграрная история* ... 1974, 10–15.) One definition given of what constitutes an *obs* is as follows: “the amount of land that one farmer can plough with the help of one horse in one day”. During the land reform of 1638–39 it was decided that one *obs* would equal 30 “tunnland” (approximately 30 acres), according to a precise definition of the latter. The exact definition of an *obs* varied from region to region and from time to time. Thus, according to Sparwenfeld’s testimony, an *obs* at this time equalled approximately one *hake* (рак), a square measure used in the Baltic provinces. This measurement was originally introduced by the Germans in the 13th century and was still retained at this time in the Baltic area. Originally one *hake* was defined as “the amount of land (hakeland) that could be cultivated by one farmer with a pair of oxen”. Another definition, possibly used by Swedish authorities during the 17th century, was that one *hake* equalled fifteen tons of soil. During the 16th to the 18th centuries more than one farmer generally occupied one *hake*. It seems that the inhabitants of Ingria traditionally used the term *obs*, while the Swedish authorities preferred the term *hake*. *Re* this, see *NFB*, 10, 1909, column 1064, 20, 1914, column 425; Гиппинг 1909, 16 ff.; Günther-Hielscher et al. 1995, 197 (obža). See also Pauli 1995, 59.

48. The vicar at this time was probably Jakob Lang, who according to v. Bonsdorff (1891, 440) served in that function from 1683 to 1688.

49. Concerning the stipends of the priesthood, cf. Öhlander 1900, 64.

50. Simon Grundel-Helmfelt (1617–77), Governor-General of Narva and Ingria 1659–64 and of Narva, Ingria and the province of Kexholm 1668–73. He was the head of the commission negotiating with the Russians at Pljussa, negotiations which led to the signing of the peace treaty on 12 October 1666. See *SBL*, 17, 1967–69, 356–58.

51. Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath (d. 1687) belonged to the same regiment as Sparwenfeld's father from 1661, when he became lieutenant-colonel of the Uppland cavalry. In 1669 he was appointed colonel and commandant of Nyenskans. On 29 February 1680 Morath was granted permission to resign on grounds of old age and ill health. The person who took his place seems to have been Anders Fraser (see the following note). There is, however, some confusion as to when Morath resigned in practice (v. Bonsdorff 1891, 376; Гиппинг 1909, 155–56; Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath (sic!) 1999, 18, in manuscript). In 1683 he had given a valuable manuscript containing Old Swedish laws to Sparwenfeld, whom he probably knew to be very interested in that field. The book is inscribed: "On 8 August in the year 1683 this book, intended for me, arrived from Nyen, sent and given to me by the commandant Mr Alexander Morath Pereswetoff" (UB). The manuscript is now kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm (Walde 1918, 96, note 1). In other words, Morath could be regarded as an old friend of the family (Jacobowsky 1932, 22, 48 *et passim*). See also Elgenstierna, V, 1930, 675 f.

52. Anders Fraser, a major in Rembert v. Funcken's regiment. According to v. Bonsdorff (1891, 376) he was commandant of Nyenskans at the beginning of 1689. He was dismissed in April of that year for grave dereliction of duty. Sparwenfeld refers to him as the commandant of Nyenskans as early as 1684. He probably took over at least some functions from Morath after 1680 (see the previous note). However, Fraser was never the established commandant of Nyenskans, being appointed only temporarily. Regarding this, see Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, 17–18 (in manuscript). See also Elgenstierna, II, 1926, 818.

53. The fort was built on a point in between the Rivers Neva and Ohta (in Swedish: Svartbäcken or Svärta å). Owing to the depth of the rivers, ships could moor along their banks. The main rampart of the fortress had four bastions surrounded by a moat. In 1656, during the Russian-Swedish war, the fort proved to be insufficiently fortified. Plans were drawn up to strengthen its defensive capacity. Among the people busy preparing new plans and designs was the very competent fortifications officer Erik Dahlbergh (concerning him, see *SBL*, 9, 1931, 615–30). In March 1675 King Karl XI approved one of his plans. Five hundred people were ordered to take part in the fortification of Nyenskans, but because of a lack of materials and money the full number of people did not take part. The work made only slow progress and had to contend with a constant lack of resources. All the forts on the Swedish side of the Swedish-Russian border were in a poor state. In 1680 Erik Dahlbergh was appointed "Generalquarttermästare". In the second half of 1681 he was sent to inspect some of the forts and to provide the authorities with proposals for improvements. In his report "Detailed relation of the present state of the forts in Karelia and Ingria" he includes some of the points mentioned by Sparwenfeld. He writes that, because the fortress was built so far out on the tongue of land, the points of two of the bastions especially were so close to the water that they were damaged not only during the spring floods, but also as soon as there was a strong wind from the wrong direction.

He also criticizes the placing of the town Nyen across from the fortress. He says that the town is in fact an excellent place from which to attack the fortress. He proposes that the town be moved slightly and better fortified, and that the houses be built in stone. He would not, however, recommend abandoning the fort and the town, as the location in general is excellent and the enemy would be only too happy to take it over. Dahlbergh's report was submitted to the king on 18 December 1681, after which the king promised that 600 men would be sent to Nyenskans the following summer. A few months later, however, the king informed Dahlbergh that, owing to a lack of funds, not more than 300 men could be sent (v. Bonsdorff 1891, 369–373). In 1682 Dahlbergh made a new design for the fortification of the town, a design which formed the basis for the works over the following years. See also Zernack 1958, 151 ff., and Jangfeldt 1998, 29ff. According to Hipping (1909, 108), for a number of years all men fit for work in Ingria and Karelia had to work without payment for one month a year on the fortification of Nyenskans. It was the duty of the inhabitants of the town of Nyen to provide food for the workers.

54. There was a devastating fire in Nyen on 30 May 1681, in which only a quarter of the town was saved. On 29 May of the same year there was also a big fire in Åbo (cf. note 9). In Viborg there was a major fire on 11 June 1682, when 100 of the best houses were said to have burnt down (Ruuth 1906, 287).

55. According to old maps and other documents there were two churches in the town of Nyen, one Swedish (also used by the Finnish congregation) and one German. They were situated on either side of the Lilla Svartbäcken (Malaja Ochta), which divided the town into two halves. Sparwenfeld asserts that they were both built of wood, whereas Jangfeldt says that the Swedish-Finnish one was a stone building. (The fire must have had something to do with this.) There was also a Russian chapel, situated outside the town proper, across the Neva (Гиппинг 1909, 175; Jangfeldt 1998, 35).

56. The “uerk” under construction was probably a “hakelverk”, i. e. a *sloboda*, suburb.

57. The fact that in this type of house (курная изба—smoky hut) there were no chimneys to let the smoke out was commented on by other foreigners as well, among them the Dutch traveller Goeteeris: “... never, or very seldom, are there chimneys, which makes the smoke drift out across the room at the level of the orifice of the oven. (...) In these cottages the ovens are built in a corner, right on the floor. This means that when they light a fire it is difficult to stay inside because of the smoke, because the whole room, from the orifice of the oven up to the roof, is filled with impenetrable smoke, and to avoid it one has to sit or lie on the floor. The walls are as blackened and sooty as our Dutch chimney flues. (...) As a rule they light a fire in the mornings before getting up and in the evenings before they go to bed.” (Goeteeris 1619, 38–39, translated from Hildebrand's Swedish translation, 1917, 53–54.)

58. The Dutch traveller Goeteeris also comments on this: “For lighting, instead of candles, they use long, dry spills, which they split very thinly from pine wood and dry on the oven. These are called *lučiny* and one end is put in between two oven stones with the burning end pointing slightly downwards so that the flame will not go out as easily. As soon as one has burnt out they light a new one. Such is the practice almost everywhere in the countryside.” (Goeteeris 1619, 41, translated from Hildebrand's Swedish translation, 1917, 57.)

59. Concerning the length of a verst (верста), see note 220.

60. The rich merchant brothers from Narva are mentioned in many Russian documents. Jurgen Tunderfelt (1638–88) made a career within the city magistracy. He became burgrave of Narva from 1676 and president of commerce there from 1677 (Elgenstierna, VIII, 1934, 387). The brother Sparwenfeld met in Nyen must have been Konrad Tunder. See also Шаскольский 1966, 10, note 11; *Русско-шведские экономические отношения* ..., 1960, No 100, 165, 167; *Экономические связи* ..., 1978, *passim* etc.

61. Refers to the peace treaty of Kardis, 1661.

62. Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath was married to Barbara Möller (Elgenstierna, V, 1930, 676; Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath 1999, *passim*, in manuscript).

63. Possibly Joakim Cronman (d. 1703), colonel with the garrison regiment of Narva 1679, colonel with the Savolaks and Nyslott provincial regiment 1683, commandant at Neumünde fortlet (Elgenstierna, II, 1926, 100).

64. Johan Gustaf Schulman of Nova Bura. The son who assisted Sparwenfeld was possibly Henrik Johan Schulman (d. 1701) (Elgenstierna, VII, 1932, 59).

65. The fortified castle of Capurien (Koporje) was captured by the Swedes in 1581, taken by the Russians in 1590 and recaptured by the Swedes in 1612. The peace treaty of Stolbova in 1617 confirmed Swedish control of the castle. In 1683 orders were given to demolish the castle, but they were not carried out (*NFB*, 14, 1911, 970–71).

66. See note 103.

67. The governor(-general) mentioned here and in the following is Göran Sperling. Cf. note 44.

68. His name is Hyttner, cf. notes 134, 144.

69. Robert Douglas (1611–62), born in Scotland, experienced soldier and efficient administrator. In 1658 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of Estonia and Livonia. He returned to Sweden after the peace treaty at Kardis. *SBL*, 11, 1945, 372–78. I have not been able to confirm the information given by Sparwenfeld about the defection of Hyttner and the whole chancellery.

70. “Le Bourgraf”, i.e. Jurgen Tunderfelt, cf. note 60.

71. The first sawmill at Narva was built in 1650 for the processing of Russian timber. It was burnt by the Swedes during the war of 1656–58. At the end of the century some new sawmills were erected at Narva, also by private landowners (*История Эстонской ССР* 1961, 418). Adam Olearius has a short text about this waterfall and a drawing of the fall and a water-mill (p. 115 in the edition of 1663: *Vermehrte Moscovitische und Persianische Reisebeschreibung* ..., printed in Schleszig). See also Afanasij Cholmogorskij in his *Opisanie* ... (1700), Dmitriev 1958, 342. The Dutch traveller Goeteeris mentions mills in this place as early as 1619: “In the afternoon the ambassadors took a walk to a place called the Fall, a good half hour’s way outside of Narva. It was a very rapid cataract, close to which a few water mills are situated; during the night one hears the rush of the water clearly in the city.” (Goeteeris 1619, translated from Hildebrand’s Swedish translation, 1917, 26, 31).

72. The son Tunderfelt mentioned could be Georg (1668–1748) (Elgenstierna, VIII, 1934, 387–88), but more probably it refers to Tunderfelt's stepson, Gustaf Johan de Rodes, knighted Tunderfelt. He was born in Moscow in 1656, the son of the then Swedish agent in Moscow Johan de Rodes. He became second lieutenant with the garrison regiment of Narva in 1681 and captain there in June 1683. In that year he went to Hungary to serve the emperor (but perhaps did not stay long). Probably it is this Tunderfelt who went with the embassy to Moscow (see *Appendix 1*, No. 7 among the hofjunkers). He died in 1710. Elgenstierna, VIII, 1934, 388.

73. The person referred to is the Commissary Christopher von Kochen (1637–1711). He had different functions in Moscow from 1664. From 1678 onwards he was the Swedish Commercial Agent in that city. His main task was to attend to the interests of the Swedish merchants in Russia. He was given the title of Commissary in 1680. Von Kochen was also active within the Swedish intelligence. He stayed on in Moscow until 1690 (Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 229; *SBL*, 21, 1975–77, 439). Zernack (1958) has made extensive use of von Kochen's reports to Swedish authorities. See also C. von Kochen, "Москва в 1687–1688 гг. (Письма Христофора фон-Кохен, шведского посланника при русском дворе)". *Русская старина*, 1878, No. 9, 121–29). Cf. also the list of participants (*Appendix 1*).

74. Otto Stackelberg (d. 1689) was appointed provincial councillor (*lantråd*) of Livonia in 1673. His wife (in his third marriage) was Christina Grothusen (Elgenstierna, VII, 1932, 460–61).

75. See note 45.

76. The book referred to is probably Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*, Paris 1680. Sparwenfeld, according to a note in his copy, bought this book in Copenhagen on 2 March 1682 (Walde 1918, 95). Gezelius, a professor of theology at Åbo Academy (cf. note 45), was very interested in Oriental languages—especially biblical philology—and exegetics. In that respect he followed the tradition of his wellknown father.

77. Gyllenstierna's letter is dated Narva, 29 February (*Muscovitica 108*).

78. "Cl. Fl." probably refers to Klas (Hermansson) Fleming (1649–85). Fleming, with his enormous capacity for work and his organizational skills, held a number of influential posts in the economic administration of the country. At this time he held, among other functions, the presidency of the Crown Lands Judiciary Board (*Kammarkollegium*), of the Board of Commerce (*Kommerskollegium*) and of the Board of Reduction (*Reduktionskollegiet*). *SBL*, 16, 1964–66, 157–61.

79. Hans von Fersen (1625–1683) was appointed governor of Ingria and Kexholm Province on 6 May 1682. He energetically set to work on improving the fortifications, also paying attention to the living conditions of the men. He died suddenly in the spring of 1683 (*SBL*, 15, 1956, 663).

80. Martin Schultz (1617–1682) was appointed governor of Narva and Kexholm Province in 1681. He died on 16 March 1682 (*Svenska män och kvinnor*, 6, 1949, 582). The influence of both governors (Hans von Fersen and Martin Schultz) must have been limited, as they were both to serve for unusually short periods of time.

81. The person referred to is Hermann von Fersen, the marshal of the embassy (cf. the list of participants, *Appendix I*). He was born around 1630 and reached the rank of lieutenant colonel in 1675. He was taken captive at Narva in August 1704 and died in Moscow in 1709. Elgenstierna, II, 1926, 682; *SBL*, 15, 1956, 646.

82. The town and fortress of Ivangorod, situated on the eastern shore of the River Narova, opposite the town and fortress of Narva, was founded by the Russians in 1492. It was called “die russische Narwa” by the Germans. The Swedes made several attempts to capture Ivangorod. It was in Swedish hands 1581–90 and was taken in 1612. In the peace treaty of Stolbova 1617, Ivangorod and the rest of Ingria were declared Swedish territory. The town retained its privileges as an independent town and had its own jurisdiction. As the inhabitants were almost exclusively Russians of the Orthodox faith, this was, for many reasons, regarded as inconvenient by the Swedish authorities. As a consequence the Swedish government ordered the inhabitants of Ivangorod to move across the river into Narva (by 1 January 1648). Ivangorod was to be a “hakelverk” (a suburb) of Narva and the land was to be used by its previous owners for growing vegetables. This obviously very unpopular order took a long time to put into effect. The fortress of Ivangorod was said to be badly laid out and impossible to defend. As a consequence the fortress of Narva was generally preferred. *NFB*, 12, 1910, columns 1115–17. On the Ivangorod fortress and its history, see Косточкин 1952, Мильчик 1987. This diary text on Ivangorod and Narva was published by Birgegård in the volume *Крепость Ивангород. Новые открытия*, ред. М. И. Мильчик, СПб 1997, 183–86.

83. The Church of the Assumption (Успенская церковь), probably built 1507–9. See Мильчик & Петров (*Крепость Ивангород*, 1997, 124–163).

84. Cf. p. 49 of the English translation.

85. Narva Castle (*Hermannsborghen* during the Swedish period) dates back to the 1300–1500 centuries. Pontus De la Gardie conquered Narva in 1581, and it became officially Swedish in the peace treaty of Teusina in 1595. On Narva and Narva Castle, see Karling 1936, Pauli 1995, 106–16.

86. Erik Dahlbergh (cf. note 53) made extensive plans to strengthen the fortress of Narva, which was one of the sites he inspected during his journey in the second half of 1681. The work proceeded slowly because of limited resources. The construction work cost the population of the area dearly in terms of both high taxes and the obligation to provide labour (*История Эстонской ССР*, I, 1961, 413; Zernack 1958, 151 ff.).

87. See the list of participants, where De la Fariole is number fourteen among the hofjunktors (*Appendix I*).

88. Probably Johan Cronman (1662–1737). He was born in Ingria and became a lieutenant with the garrison regiment of Narva in December 1683 (Elgenstierna, II, 1926, 102). Cf. note 63, which concerns his father. See the list of participants, where Cronman is number two among the hofjunktors (*Appendix I*).

89. See the list of participants, where Funck is number four among the hofjunktors (*Appendix I*).

90. See note 72.

91. Jonas Klingstedt (1629–91). He was appointed Head of the Government Offices (*kansliråd*, cf. the list of participants, *Appendix 1*) in 1674. For many years Klingstedt took part in negotiations with the Russians, both before and after the embassy of 1684 (*SBL*, 21, 1975–77, 340). The reason why Klingstedt arrived later was that Gyllenstierna and himself could not leave Stockholm with their parties simultaneously, as together they needed more transport than could be provided. Gyllenstierna had left Stockholm on 5 February, Klingstedt left on 8 (the *Short Memorial*, p. 4).

92. Cf. *Appendix 1*: “Hr: Wulfwensköld” (number three among the hofjunkers). Possibly either Peter Johan Wolffensköld, who became a lieutenant with the Åbo provincial regiment in 1685, or his brother Bengt (1664–97). Elgenstierna, VIII, 1934, 839.

93. Öhlander (1900, 95, note 3) mentions a Herrman Herbers, who was a city councillor at Narva in 1643. Could he be the “Herberst” mentioned by Sparwenfeld, or maybe rather a son of his? At the beginning of the eighties there was a Herman Herbers who was factor of commerce in Pskov (Zernack 1958, 109).

94. Possibly Otto Felthusen, whose name appears in customs books from Narva 1677 and 1696 (*Экономические связи ...*, 1978, 238, 261).

95. Axel Gyllenkrok (1664–1730). He grew up in Åbo. In 1683 he was a common soldier in the Royal Household Cavalry in Stockholm and studied drawing and mathematics at the Fortifications Office. He made a military career and took part in the war. He was a prisoner of war in Russia 1709–1722 and collaborated closely during that time with Adam Ludvig Lewenhaupt. *SBL*, 17, 1967–69, 577–79. Cf. also *Appendix 1* (number nine among the hofjunkers).

96. Peter Hansson Törnrose (Törneros) (d. 1690). He studied at Åbo and Uppsala and became secretary in the government general of Livonia from 1662. Törneros was used many times as a secretary to different legations to Russia, for instance at Pljussa in 1666. Elgenstierna, VIII, 1934, 409. Cf. also *Appendix 1*.

97. The people referred to are the Lewenhaupt brothers, Adam Ludwig and Gustaf Fredrik (cf. *Appendix 1*). Adam Ludwig Lewenhaupt (1659–1719), a student at Lund in 1671, at Uppsala in 1675, and at Rostock in 1680, and defended a dissertation there in 1682. He then made a military career (he reached the rank of general of the infantry) and played a significant role in the Great Northern War. He was very successful in different positions of leadership during the early years of the war, but in the summer of 1709, in Perevolotjna, he capitulated and gave himself up as a prisoner with the whole army. He died a prisoner of war in Moscow in 1719. (Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 610; *SBL*, 22, 1977–79, 618–21; Englund 1988) Gustaf Fredrik Lewenhaupt, a student at Lund in 1671, at Uppsala in 1675, and at Rostock in 1680, and also defended a dissertation there in 1682 (cf. his brother!). After military service abroad he returned to Sweden in 1698 and stayed there during the war. He reached the rank of lieutenant general and died in 1723. (Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 611; *SBL*, 22, 1977–79, 602–03.)

98. The name of the “auant Courreur” who had been sent to Moscow to inform the tsars of the forthcoming Swedish embassy is Gerhard Pröbsting (his name is found in documents at RGADA in Moscow, fund 96, under the years 1683 and 1684). He arrived in Moscow on 5 January 1684. On 14 January he delivered the letter of 3 November from the Swedish king to the tsars in which they were informed about the great delegation and asked to see to it that the delegates were received at the border in accordance with their

merits and conducted to the capital. The courier was discharged on 16 January with a letter in which the tsars expressed their satisfaction with the planned mission and assured the king that the delegates were most welcome (Бантыш-Каменский, 4, 1902, 200). The name of the brother, who was sent to the *voevoda* of Novgorod, was Gideon Präbsting (*Muscovitica* 109, p. 3).

99. Göran Sperling's list of the members of the embassy is probably the one kept at RGADA (fund 96, 1684: 3(1)). He states there that the embassy consists of three chief delegates and 200 persons in all. For the journey to Moscow he wants 500 horses (20 horses were brought along by the delegation).

100. Cf. Olearius: "Word was sent by courier to the voevoda of Novgorod so that he might know where to meet us and so that we need not wait too long at the border. For it is the custom in Russia (...) that when foreign ambassadors reach the frontiers they must declare their business and wait until the ruler of the country is notified by courier of their arrival and sends the governor (*namestnik*) of the province instructions for receiving and entertaining them" (quoted from Baron's edition 1967, 40).

101. Cf. p. 49 of the English translation.

102. Probably, judging from the description of the ideal place to study the language, what Tunderfelt had in mind was the Iberian monastery on Lake Valdaj. Cf. p. 107.

103. Bengt Oxenstierna (1623–1702), count, diplomat. He became head of the chancellery in 1680, and chancellor of Åbo Academy in 1681 (*SBL*, 28, 1992–94, 528–532). Sparwenfeld made his acquaintance in 1678 in Nijmegen, Holland, where Bengt Oxenstierna took part in the peace negotiations as a Swedish delegate. Oxenstierna was a constant protector of Sparwenfeld. Twenty letters from Sparwenfeld to Oxenstierna have survived (Jacobowsky 1932, 6, 35), of these, three letters from Russia are published in *Appendix 2*.

104. Jonas Hassel (d. 1692), deputy judge at the Swedish Court of Appeal (*Svea hovrätt*) in Stockholm in 1680 (Jacobowsky 1932, 60, note 2). In his *Nomina* (see note 710) Sparwenfeld mentions him first among "Particuler wenner i Stockholm" (Special friends in Stockholm).

105. Maria Skytte (d. 1703), the widow of Count Gustaf Adam Banér (Elgenstierna, VII, 1932, 320). *Re* manuscripts Sparwenfeld probably received from her, see Jacobowsky 1932, 60, note 3. The manuscripts presumably originated from her well-known father, the Baron of Duderhof etc. Bengt Skytte (1614–1683). He was a very talented and learned man with deep philological interests. In the 1650s he started a major linguistic project with one of its aims to establish "die Uhrsprache", a project in which he had good use of his knowledge of languages. Concerning him, see *Svenska män och kvinnor*, 7, 1954, 93–94.

106. What is referred to is our "list of participants" (*Appendix 1*).

107. Johan Kanterberg (d. 1698), a student at Åbo 1665 and in Uppsala 1671, copying clerk to the Livonian expedition 1678, assistant clerk there in 1679 (Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 98). Kanterberg (cf. *Appendix 1*) was one of the three persons working in the chancellery of the embassy.

108. Ivan Alekseevič (1666–96), son of Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič from his first marriage (with Marija Miloslavskaja). After the *strel'cy* uprising in May 1682 Ivan was crowned the first tsar and Peter Alekseevič (1672–1725), the only son from the second marriage (with Natal'ja Naryškina), was crowned the second. In practice, power was in the hands of Sofija (see the following note) and her cultivated favourite V. V. Golitsyn (see note 110). The struggle between the Miloslavskij clan and the Naryškin clan was still very fierce. (For the general political setting, see the Introduction, pp. 23 ff.). Ivan was of poor health: he suffered from epilepsy, had poor eyesight and a speech impediment and was possibly also mentally deficient. According to some evidence, he was not interested in becoming tsar. (Concerning Ivan's health, see Hughes 1990, 91 ff.)

109. Sofija Alekseevna (1657–1704), the sixth of Aleksej Michajlovič's children with Marija Miloslavskaja. She was a very active actor within the Miloslavskij clan. The role of this strong and intelligent woman in the Russian history of the 1680s has been much discussed (see, for example, among more recent works, O'Brien 1952, Hughes 1990, Лавров 1999). At this time, with two young tsars on the throne, power was in fact in her hands and she shared it with her favourite V. V. Golitsyn (see the following note). Sparwenfeld writes concerning Sofija "quoy quelle soit spirituelle", which probably refers to the known fact that she was very interested in theological questions. Two of her teachers, Simeon Polockij (d. 1680) and his adherent Sil'vestr Medvedev, were among the leading figures in the theological debate in Moscow in the second half of the 17th century. They both belonged to the so-called "Latin" camp, consisting of churchmen originating from and/or influenced by religious currents among the Orthodox of Poland-Lithuania. (See Hughes 1990, 33 ff., 103.) We shall not enter into the discussion about whether or not Sofija and Golitsyn were lovers. Sparwenfeld, at all events, seems to have been informed that they were.

110. Vasilij Vasil'evič Golitsyn (1643–1714), head of the Foreign Office (*Posol'skij prikaz*). He was well educated, spoke German and Latin and had liberal views. He was known to seek the company of foreigners and wanted to open Russia to influences from the West. Hughes 1984, 1990, 48, 98 ff.

111. Boris Alekseevič Golitsyn (1654–1714), the cousin of Vasilij Vasil'evič and very close to Peter. He became a boyar in 1690 (Crummey 1983, 210).

112. Hildebrand von Horn (1655–86), diplomat from Holstein in Danish service. Sparwenfeld probably became acquainted with him during his stay in Copenhagen, on his return from his first European journey in 1682 (Jacobowsky 1932, 47). Von Horn was known to be very close to many of the influential Russians at court, especially to Boris Alekseevič Golitsyn (see the previous note). This was von Horn's third stay in Moscow. The first time (1676–78) he worked as a secretary with the Danish envoy Gabel. He was also in Moscow from May to December 1681, during the Russian-Polish negotiations. During his last period in the Russian capital, from October 1682 to September 1684, he was so fluent in Russian that he could negotiate without a translator and write his communications to *Posol'skij prikaz* in Russian without assistance. Zernack 1958, 121.

113. The three uncles mentioned on Peter's mother's side were Ivan Kirillovič, Afanasij Kirillovič and Lev Kirillovič Naryškin. There were five brothers in all (also two younger ones: Martem'jan and Fedor), three of whom became boyars. Ivan Kirillovič (1658–82), the younger brother of Natal'ja Naryškina, was regarded as the main enemy by the *strel'cy* during the uprising 1682. He had been exiled from Moscow (together with his brother Afanasij) for allegedly plotting against Tsar Fedor Alekseevič. He was in Moscow on the

day of the tsar's burial. There were rumours that he was behind the tsar's untimely death (on 27 April). Ivan Kirillovič was made a boyar on 7 May 1682—on the day when Peter was proclaimed tsar—at the early age of twenty-four. This appointment evoked much indignation. (It is probable that Artamon Matveev, Natalja Naryškina's godfather and a very influential person, was behind it as he hoped to make Ivan Kirillovič the head of the Naryškin clan.) There were also rumours that Ivan Kirillovič had been seen trying on the tsar's crown (the Cap of Monomach, see note 404), that he was planning to poison Prince Ivan etc. After the outbreak of the revolt on 15 May he succeeded in hiding for two days, but when the *strel'cy* returned on 17 May and again demanded that he give himself up, promising that the lives of the rest of the family would be spared if he did, he handed himself over to the mob and was killed after gruesome torture. Afanasij Naryškin, with two second cousins, was killed at the very beginning of the rebellion (as was Artamon Matveev). The rest of the family, including the father and a sister, had been hiding in the Kremlin and were spared. Lev Kirillovič and Martem'jan Kirillovič were both exiled in connection with the revolt. It is generally believed that the head of the Miloslavskij clan, Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij, was instrumental in the spreading of rumours and the stirring up of hatred that led to these sombre events. O'Brien 1952; Hughes 1990, 59 f.; Lavrent'ev (in manuscript).

114. Le Conseil, i.e. the *duma*, the members of which held the highest military and civilian posts in the country (Günther-Hielscher et al. 1995, 64–65; Crummey 1983).

115. On 9 January 1684 Ivan Alekseevič married twenty-year-old Praskov'ja Fedorovna Saltykova, a marriage said to have been arranged by Sofija (Hughes 1990, 96). Von Horn reports to the Danish king about the preparations for this marriage. In the account dated 19 June 1683, a certain Saltykova, said to be a confidante of Sofija, is reported to have told him that Sofija was trying to arrange for Ivan to get married (*Aarsberetninger fra det kongelige Geheime Archiv*, 6:III, 1879, 149). On 24 December he reports that the bride-to-be has been chosen, at the same time hinting at the tragic fate of a young woman who had no say with regard to her own destiny: "Nach dem fest wird desz ältern zarn heyraht mit einer damen von 18 jahren, namensz Solticova, für sich gehen. Diese dame ist eine der schönsten diesesz gantzen landesz; /: allein man glaubet /:, dasz sie vielleicht /: für /: dem /: beylager /: ausz /: herzeleyt sterben werde, weilm sie offentlich /: sich /: verlauten lassen /:, dasz sie /: lieber sterben /: alsz /: dieses herrn gemahl werden wolte :/." (*Aarsberetninger* ..., 172). On 16 January 1684 he reports, however, that the marriage has taken place. The members of the Swedish embassy were already informed about Tsar Ivan's marriage. In Gyllenstierna's letter to the king of 29 February (*Muscovitica* 108), he writes that Captain Pröbsting, who has returned from Moscow, has reported that Tsar Ivan became betrothed and married within a very short time. Cf. note 98.

116. Erik Hoffman (Hafman) worked at the chancellery for translations in Stockholm as an interpreter, at least from 1680 (Attman & Carlgren 1958, 25). His name is also found in a document from the archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Moscow (Бантыш-Каменский, 4, 1902, 197). See also *Appendix 1*.

117. Bengt Elfwendahl worked as an interpreter at the chancellery for translations in Stockholm. In this embassy he also served the function of boundary commissary. He continued to perform that role: under the year 1685 he is mentioned in a Russian document ("Бенат Ельфендалъ") as one of the boundary commissaries taking part in the renewal of the boundary marks (Бантыш-Каменский 1902, 202). Bengt Elfwendahl was appointed Mayor of Narva in 1691 (Arne 1917, 193). See also *Appendix 1*.

118. Tösse (Tössö) parish in the county of Älvsborg, Dalsland. The parish belongs to the diocese of Karlstad (in the province of Värmland). The brother of Commissary Elfwendahl must have been Laurentius Jonae Elfvedalius, who was vicar of Tösse 1668–1716. Before that (1665–67) he was the vicar of the Swedish congregation in Narva (Edestam 1973, 95–96).

119. See the list of participants, *Appendix 1*, where Sparwenfeld added Elfwendahl's name among the royal hofjunkers.

120. Here Conrad Gyllenstierna was not telling the truth. In fact he had written to the king and to Claes Fleming about this already on 28 February (see p. 11).

121. Urban Hiärne (1641–1724), born in Ingria, went to school in Nyen, studied at Uppsala 1661–66. Hiärne was an unusually versatile and talented man: physician, chemist and geologist. He was on the staff of the Board of Mining (*Bergskollegium*) from 1675, from 1683 as a permanent assessor. From 1684 he worked as the first personal physician to the king. Head of the *Laboratorium chymicum* from October 1683. *SBL*, 19, 1971–73, 141 ff.

122. Joakim Georg Fredrik von Rohr. He became a lieutenant-colonel with the Ingrian *Adelsfaneregementet* in 1681. He was buried in May 1687 in Narva. According to the list of participants (*Appendix 1*) one of his sons was a member of the embassy. In all probability this was Georg Johan von Rohr (d. 1710), who became a lieutenant with the same regiment as his father in 1679. Elgenstierna, VI, 1931, 382.

123. The fortress of Jama (Jam, Jamo, Jamburg) was founded by the Novgorodians in 1384, according to the chronicle (HIIJ, 1950, *passim*; Selin 1996, 22). The Jama fortress was captured by the Swedes in 1612 and belonged to Sweden 1617–1703. *NFB*, 12, 1910, 1230.

124. Olearius also calls the river the Jama (ed. Baron, 1967, 41), clearly what is now the Luga. See also Kilburger (1769, 339): “die jamische Bache oder Luga”.

125. Mauritz Vellink, diplomat, army officer, born at Jama in 1651. From 1678–80 head of the Karelian Infantry Regiment. From 1683 he was placed for some time at the Lüneburgian courts. He played a very active part in Swedish history, in both war and peace, up to his death in 1727. *Svenska män och kvinnor*, 8, 1955, 253.

126. Olearius (ed. Baron, 1967, 41), too, mentions the abundance of fish, especially salmon, in the Jama River.

127. Concerning the village of Moloskovicy and its church, see Selin 1996, 21.

128. The Austrian traveller Herberstein provides the following information: “But when legates and ambassadors go to Moscow, then all merchants from all places who have been taken under their countenance and protection are accustomed to enter freely into Moscow, and can pass without paying custom” (*Notes upon Russia*, I, 1851, 111).

129. In the *Short Memorial* (under 13 March, pp. 10–11) the contents of this letter are said to be that the Russians would not receive the legates until the 18th, having been notified of their arrival too late. The main problem was that they could not provide the necessary number of horses on time.

130. A letter to the king from the three ambassadors, dated Vruda 13 March, can be found at the National Archives in Stockholm (*Muscovitica* 108). The translation into Swedish of the letter from the Novgorodian *voevoda* to Göran Sperling is appended.

131. Ivan Afanas'evič Prončiščev, lord-in-waiting (*bližnij okol'ničij*), diplomat, expert on Sweden. For two decades Prončiščev played an important role in the negotiations with Sweden. He was one of the two Russian chief negotiators at Kardis in 1661 and went to Sweden as an envoy several times. He was the head of the Russian delegation that arrived in Stockholm in August 1683 to procure the Swedish king's confirmation of the peace treaties of Kardis and Pljussa (the year given in the Russian Biographical Dictionary is 1681). Among the Swedish hosts were Bengt Oxenstierna and Jonas Klingstedt. The solemn confirmation took place in Stockholm Cathedral on 30 October (Бантыш-Каменский, 4, 1902, 200; Zernack 1958, 127–29). So the Swedish delegation now on its way was to seek reciprocal confirmation by the tsars. Prončiščev is referred to by Sparwenfeld as “le uieux”, as his son, Petr Ivanovič Prončiščev (d. 1700), *stol'nik*, was number two in the Russian delegation of 1683 (РБС 1910, 68; there, however, the year of the delegation is erroneously given as 1685; earlier, under I. A. Prončiščev, the name of the son is given as Michail). This report that I. A. Prončiščev died in 1684 is new. In the Russian Biographical Dictionary (1910, 66–67) he is said to have died in 1687, but no information is given about his activities after 1682. According to Crummey (1983, 194) he died in 1686/87. On the other hand, it is hard not to give credence to the report of his death given by Sparwenfeld, as I. A. Prončiščev was a very well-known figure among Swedish diplomats, not least among the heads of this delegation.

132. The “Meisner” who had recently died was probably the interpreter Meissner who took part on the Russian side in the Swedish delegation to Moscow in 1676. Cf. Zernack, 1958, 110, note 410. He is called Timofej Mejsser (“Тимофей Мейссер”) and Timofej Mejser (“Тимофей Мейсер”) in Bantyš-Kamenskij (4, 1902, 198 and 263 respectively).

133. Concerning Fleming, see note 78. Fleming owned a number of estates in Estonia and Livonia. However, he lost many of them during the reduction.

134. This Jakob Hyttner will appear now and then in the diary. He was working as a translator in Novgorod. See notes 68 and 144.

135. According to the *Short Memorial* (under 15 March, p.12) the farmer-coachmen had been sent home for a couple of days due to the delay. The embassy was thus not responsible for their subsistence.

136. According to the list of participants (*Appendix 1*) the names of the fighting quartermasters were Ahlfelt and Utter. Elgenstierna (VIII, 1934, 587) gives the following information about Utter: Peter Utter (1638–94), student at Uppsala in 1651, second lieutenant with the Östgöta infantry regiment in 1658, regiment quartermaster there in 1660, captain with the infantry regiment of the province of Åbo in 1669, later major.

137. The Russian tradition, changed only by Peter the Great in the year 1700, of numbering the years “from the creation of the world” (от сотворения мира) has its origins in the Byzantine calendar. The new year starts on 1 September (from the 14th-early 15th century, before that the new year began on 1 March). To arrive at the year according to our calendar, from 1 January to 1 September the number 5508 is subtracted, from 1 September to 31 December the number 5509 (Günther-Hielscher et al., 1995, 156). Olearius

gives an account of this: "On September 1st the Russians solemnly celebrated their New Year. They reckon their years from the creation of the world, and are of the opinion, as are some ancient Hebrew and Greek writers (and some German writers as well), that the world was created in the autumn. (...) Just as they adopted their religion from the Greeks, so the Russians emulate them in reckoning years." (Baron's edition of Olearius, 1967, 67.)

138. The brothers Adam Ludwig and Gustaf Fredrik Lewenhaupt received a letter from their brother "Charles", i.e. Carl Julius Lewenhaupt (1664–1726), student at Lund in 1671, at Uppsala in 1675 and at Rostock in 1680 (he did not, however, defend a dissertation, cf. the biography of his brothers, note 97). He had reached the rank of second lieutenant in the Royal Swedish Household Cavalry in 1683 (Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 611). It is somewhat unclear whose letter was unsealed unintentionally, as the name is extremely difficult to decipher. Possibly the addressee could be the young Christoffer Leijoncrona (b. around 1662, d. 1710), diplomat and poet, with whom Sparwenfeld exchanged letters later. Concerning him, see *SBL*, 22, 1977–79, 461–62.

139. In the Russian state archives in Moscow (РГАДА, фонд 96, 1684 г. 3(1)) there is a list of the members of the delegation, written "i Saritz 5½ mil från ryska gränsen" (at Zareč'e 5½ miles from the Russian border), dated 16 March. The list seems to have been compiled by, or on the orders of, Hermann von Fersen.

140. Krister Horn (1622–92) made his career as a military man and a civil servant. He was the Governor of Riga 1654–January 1656, the Governor-General of Ingria and Kexholm 1657–59 and the Governor-General of Livonia 1674–86. In 1657, during the Swedish-Russian war, he gave orders to burn down all the wooden houses around Narva so as not to give a besieging enemy any advantages. (*SBL*, 19, 1971–73, 369–372.) This might be what Sparwenfeld is referring to when he talks about the burnt-down houses. In Swedish his estate was called "Örlinna" (Elgenstierna, III, 1927, 687).

141. Olearius, too, took note on the kilns in this area: "In the matter of the harvest, the Russians have this advantage over the Livonians; they usually can bring their grain into the barns and houses dry, whereas the Livonians are forced to dry their grain by the heat of fire. In every country estate there is a specially built house called a *riga* [Swedish *ria*, UB], in which the unthreshed grain is placed over the beams. Then a fire is set in a stove something like a bake-oven, and the grain is dried by the rising heat." (ed. Baron, 1967, 121.)

142. In the *Short Memorial* (under 18 March, p.12) we learn that the name of the place where the embassy is to cross the border is "Beresowa gorka, eller aspehögen [!]" (Berezova Gorka = Birchtree Hill, Aspehögen = Aspen Hill)". There we also find additional (and partly diverging) details about how the border is marked. The anonymous author says that marking the border between Russia and Ingria there are two aspen trees, one on each side of the road. The one on the right-hand side, towards Russia, was still standing, but quite dry. It had a cross carved in its bark. The aspen on the left-hand side, towards Ingria, had fallen, but in its place there was a large pine tree, marked with a crown, and close by there was a large stone with the same marks. The anonymous author of the *Short Memorial* is mistaken about the Russian name of the place: it was called Osinova Gorka (Aspen Hill) rather than Berezova Gorka. (For a detailed description of the position and marking of the border in this area from March 1618 (i.e. the border still valid after the peace of Stolbova), see *Sverges traktater...*, 5:1, 1890–1903, 270–283 and *Polnoe sobranie zakonov ...*, sobr. 1, t. 1, 194–203, in particular p. 199.) It had evidently

been noted that the boundary marks were in a bad state. As one of the results of the approaching Moscow negotiations it was agreed—on 22 May 1684—that the two sides were to renew their boundary marks in April of the following year (Бантыш-Каменский, 4, 1902, 201). See also note 117.

143. In the ambassadors' report dated 25 March, his name is given as "Miron Gregoriewitz Baischof" (*Muscovitica* 108).

144. So, here we meet Jakob Hyttner again (cf. note 68, 134). His Russian name, according to Sparwenfeld, was Jakov Ivanovič Gitner (Gjutner). Schleussing (ed. Lapteva, 1970, 107) calls him Bjuttner. Like Sparwenfeld, he mentions that Hyttner comes from Pomerania. He adds that he earlier had the rank of captain (Schleussing was in Novgorod for a few days in March–April 1684). Scheidegger (1993, 299, note 14) quotes an official report from 1673 in which Swedish diplomats mention the Russian translator Hyttner. He was evidently still in Novgorod in November 1688, when he is mentioned as a translator (*Экономические связи ...*, 1978, 165, No 113: "Илья Гитнер"). According to Patrick Gordon, Hyttner was buried on 2 March 1693 (vol. IV, chapter 1 in Gordon's diary, vol. II, p. 399 in Posselt's edition of 1851, although there the year is erroneously given as 1692).

145. Here space has been left for the name to be added later. In the *Short Memorial* (under 18 March, p.13) it is noted that the undersecretary ("Podeatzen", i.e. подъячей) was "Antip Fedorof". At the beginning of the eighties there was a market scribe (площадной подъячей) in Novgorod by the name of Ignat Fedorov who wrote documents connected with the trade with Sweden, could he be the one (*Экономические связи ...* 1978, 150–51)?

146. The post of governor (*voevoda*) of Novgorod at this time was held by Prince Fedor Semenovič Urusov. According to Crummey (p. 50), he had no military experience nor any experience in administration when he took up this post. He became a boyar in 1680 and was buried in April 1694 (Crummey, 1983, 202).

147. The ceremonies and complications surrounding the crossing of the border are a vast subject, with many intricate and amusing ingredients. Many foreign travellers to Russia have reported on this. See, for example, Olearius (ed. Baron, 1967, 45 ff., 87 f.). Regarding the full title of the Russian tsars, see Olearius (57 f.). On the whole, it must be said that during this crossing of the border Swedes and Russians alike followed to the letter the protocol described by Kotošichin (1980, 73).

148. So far at least one man has been lost on the way, though: in the *Short Memorial* (under 18 March, p. 14) it is reported that the hofjunker Mr Farioll left the delegation that day and returned home. Evidently he could not live with the precedence he had been allotted. Cf. note 87.

149. The Zverin Monastery (Зверинский /Звериный-Троицкий монастырь), situated on the Zverinka (Зверинский (sic!), III, 1897, 66 f., No. 1609).

150. On the village of Čeremna and the monastery, see Selin 1996, 18.

151. Лапшин 1990, 14, No. 32. This group of grave-mounds (Шупоголово-1) has not been preserved.

152. The wooden church must have been the one consecrated to St Clement (Климентовский Тесовский погост-место, see Selin 1996, 14).

153. Лапшин 1990, 13, No. 21. Selin (1996, 14) puts forward the hypothesis that this grave-mound might have functioned as a burial place from the time of the first fortress, in the 13th century or earlier.

154. According to Selin (1996, 12), there are only oral sources claiming that the Ivan-gorod road passed through the village of Kipino. Perhaps Sparwenfeld's account can provide at least one written source.

155. Pontus De la Gardie, (1520–85), played a major role in the introduction of Swedish rule in the Baltic provinces, carrying through the policy of Johan III. He had an unusual military talent, not least for the art of siege. In all, he conquered Estonia, the province of Kexholm and the western part of Ingria. His reputation as a terrible enemy, impossible to defeat, had assumed almost supernatural proportions. People in these areas prayed to God to save them from this evil and to this day a living folklore about him survives in Karelia and Ingria. He was believed to have a pact with the devil. There were places in this area called "Pontusbryggör" and "Pontusvallar" (bridges, walls of Pontus, cf. Sparwenfeld). *SBL* 10, 1931, 610–28. The claim by Sparwenfeld that Pontus De la Gardie was in control of Novgorod for six years is somewhat puzzling. In all probability he is mixing up Pontus De la Gardie with his son, Jakob Pontusson De la Gardie (see note 46). The latter captured Novgorod in July 1611. Jakob De la Gardie resided in Novgorod as a governor for six years during the Swedish occupation, which ended with the signing of the peace treaty of Stolbova in February 1617.

156. Several travellers mention this Pogost Sofij (Sofijskij) (Radiščev says "Sofija"), with its five towers—one big one in the middle. It seems probable that this church is identical with the Church of John the Forerunner (Церковь Иван Предтеча), referred to by Selin (1996, 10). Sparwenfeld's statement about it being "nytt bygget" (recently built, or possibly, restored) does not quite fit in with Selin's account.

157. The Monastery of St Nicholas in Vjažišči (Николаевский Вяжицкий/ Вяжицкий монастырь, Зверинский, II, 1892, 223–25, No. 979). The monastery had an archimandrite from 1651. From 1683 to 1697 that position was held by Bogolep Sablin (Строев 1877, col. 65).

158. A person who wanted to enter a monastery had to make a certain contribution (вклад для пострижения) in money or in kind in order to be regarded as a full member of the community (Ключевский 1993, 8 f.). See also Hughes 1990, 115.

159. The monasteries were also of military importance, since garrisons—from the 16th century mostly consisting of *strel'cy*—were stationed around them. Whole villages grew up around many monasteries, where—apart from soldiers—craftsmen and the peasants who worked the land lived.

160. The popes were either "black" or "white". The black popes were priest-monks (иеромонахи) connected to the monasteries, while the white popes worked in the parishes and were allowed to marry.

161. Many foreign travellers (and also Kotošichin) commented on the Russians' view that they, possibly together with the Greeks, were the only true Christians. See, for ex-

ample, Petrejus (1615, book 6, p. 26): “All Muscovites, spiritual as well as worldly, regard themselves and think that they alone are real Christians and pride themselves on being the only ones who worship and venerate the Almighty living God in the correct way, and they call us as well as others in the world heathens, heretics and non-Christians (...)” (UB). This view has its origin in the conviction—emerging after the fall of Constantinople in 1453—that Russia was now the only remaining defender of the true faith. Moscow was looked upon as “the Third Rome” (after Rome and Constantinople), and there would never be a fourth (see Uspenskij 1996). Concerning the Swedish view of the Russian religion, see Tarkiainen 1974.

162. Cf. what Olearius writes about Novgorod: “From a distance, owing to the many monasteries, churches, and cupolas, the city makes a fine appearance; but like most cities all over Russia the houses, as well as the city walls and fortifications, are built of spruce timbers or logs. The city lies on a plain by the Volkhov, (...) On the surrounding plains there is much good pasture land” (ed. Baron, 1967, 89). Cf. also Eric Palmquist’s words on the map of Novgorod: “NB. Entire surrounding fields are so low-lying that in the springtime they are mostly flooded and look almost like a lake for a few weeks; when the water disappears, the land, now extremely fertile, is used as arable and pasture land etc.” (UB).

163. Успенский-Колмовский монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 390, No. 1318).

164. The Monastery of St Anthony (Антониев-Римлянина-Рождество-Богородицы монастырь; Зверинский, II, 1892, 55–57, No. 617). The monastery had an archimandrite from 1651 (Строев 1877, col. 58). Olearius pays particular attention to this monastery by telling the legend surrounding the building of it (ed. Baron, 1967, 93 f.).

165. Such points in the protocol at which the representatives of the Russian tsar and a West European ruler were to get off their horses or out of their sleighs often gave rise to lengthy disputes concerning who was to dismount first. Most honour accrued to the ruler whose representative was the last to step onto the ground. Here, generously, the man representing the *voevoda* evidently chose not to make it an issue. He would probably not have stood a chance of winning such a battle, being the representative not of the tsar himself, but of the tsar’s representative. For more difficult situations where trickery had to be used, see Scheidegger 1993, 187 f.

166. It is not clear to whom this refers.

167. The weapon Sparwenfeld refers to as “sticks” is the *bulava* (Брокгауз & Ефрон, 8, 1891, 883). See the illustrations in the Russian Herberstein (1988, 115).

168. He is referring to halberds (алебарды, бердыши), used by the *strel'cy*. For an illustration, see Palmquist 1674 (1898), Volchovskoj 1997.

169. See Eric Palmquist’s map of Novgorod from 1674: “f. The quarters of foreign ambassadors, recently built of stone” (UB). This house was situated on the Merchant Side (Торговая сторона). According to Janin (1980, 97–98), the previous ambassadors’ quarters were destroyed in a fire on 19 June 1663 and a new house was evidently erected on the site of the old one. So in this respect Palmquist was right. However, Janin also shows in his article that Palmquist, in producing his map, often (at least regarding the fortification of the city) copied a project outline from 1631, instead of giving an “eyewitness report”.

170. So the embassy was faced with this word “šiš” (шиш) almost daily. The word can mean anything from an obscene gesture with the thumb thrust between the forefinger and the middle finger (кукиш), through ‘vagrant’ (бродяга), to ‘the devil, an unclean power’ (нечистый, сатана; нечистая сила) (Даль). The word sometimes formed the beginning of a “recommendation” which, in full, went: “Шиш на Кукуй, погане!” (Clear off to Kukuj, heathens!), Kukuj being a more informal name for the Foreign Suburb, *Nemeckaja sloboda*, in Moscow, named after a brook running through the area (see Kovrigina 1998, 26). So the reactions of people in the street towards visiting foreigners were often hostile. In this case it was probably regarded as particularly offensive that the foreigners openly showed an interest in the Russian women. So not even the horsemen, who formed part of the “reception committee”, refrained from showing their animosity. The message to the Swedes was clear and distinct: Go to hell, or at least keep away from us and our women! This particular scene also indicates that the *strel'cy* were ordered to stop such undesirable expressions of resentment towards foreign guests. The Dutch traveller Witsen reports similar incidents (1996, 78, 153). See also Scheidegger 1993, 70–71.

171. Concerning the different stages in the building and repair of the fortification system of Novgorod, see Kuz'mina & Filippova 1997.

172. Воскресенский-Деревяницкий-Коневский монастырь (Зверинский, I, 1890, 121, No. 134).

173. Отенский-Покровский-Трехсвятительский/Николаевский монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 256, No. 1031).

174. It is not clear which monastery Sparwenfeld has in mind; the name must be distorted. There was a *Sopinskij monastyr'* in the Novgorod area, but it was situated in the Boroviči district, not close to the city itself.

175. Ковалев-Спасский монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 184, No. 875).

176. Николаевский монастырь на Лятке (Ляцкий, i.e. on the River Ljatka) (Зверинский, III, 1897, 109 f., No. 1813). Sparwenfeld gives the monastery's name as “Лятинской”, probably understanding it to mean ‘Latin’.

177. Хутынский Варлаамиев Спасопреображенский Новгородский монастырь (Амвросий, 6:2, 1815, 608–646; Зверинский, II, 1892, 401 f., No. 1349). The monastery had an archimandrite from 1608. The person in office at this time was Evfimij (Строев 1877, cols. 50–51).

178. Лисицкий, Лисичий or Лисий-Рождество-Богородицкий монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 197–98, No. 908).

179. Николаевский-Островский-Вишерский монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 231–32, No. 995).

180. Успенский-Волотов монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 386–87, No. 1312).

181. Кириллов монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 165, No. 866).

182. Андреевский-Ситецкий монастырь (Зверинский, I, 1890, 74–75, No. 14).

183. Спасо-Нередицкий or Спас на Городищи монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 327–28, No. 1163).

184. Перекомский or Перекопский-Николаевский-Розважский монастырь (Зверинский, I, 1890, 290, No. 588).

185. Клопский-Троицкий-Михайловский на Веряже монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 182–83, No. 872).

186. Юрьев монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 415–18, No. 1363). The monastery had an archimandrite from the end of the 13th century (Строев 1877, col. 44).

187. Аркадиевский or Аркаж-Богородицкий-Успенский монастырь (Зверинский, I, 1890, 76–78, No. 17).

188. Благовещенский монастырь (Зверинский, I, 1890, 83–84, No. 32).

189. Сырков-Владимирский-Сретенский-Богородицкий монастырь (Зверинский, II, 1892, 349, No. 1213).

190. Cf. note 170.

191. Духов монастырь (Зверинский, I, 1890, 137–38, No. 179). The monastery had an archimandrite (Строев 1877, col. 89).

192. Cf. note 163.

193. It was Palm Sunday (Вербное воскресенье). The palm is replaced by the osier (верба) in the Russian religious tradition.

194. In the Russian religious tradition church bells are not rung by setting the clock in motion, but by tapping the clapper against the side of the bell (the Swedish verb is *kimma* ‘chime’). Cf. Olearius: “During a service they (the bells, UB) give forth such varied chimes and tones that a person unaccustomed to it listens in wonder. One person can operate three or four bells. For this purpose they tie the rope not to the bells but to the tongues, and the rope ends one to the hand, the other to the elbow, bringing them in action by turns. In ringing them, they keep to a particular rhythm. They consider the bell indispensable to their worship, and believe that without it the service would not be well received.” (Ed. Baron 1967, 263.) See also Tanner 1891, 59.

195. *Re* this serious schism in the Russian Orthodox Church, see the Introduction pp. 24–25. One of the subjects on which the two sides had different opinions was the sign of the cross. The Old Believers retained the old Byzantine and old Russian tradition of the two-fingered sign, whereas Nikon stated that three fingers should be used. The Byzantine church had changed to the three-fingered sign of the cross as early as the 13th century. In February and April 1656 a ban was imposed on making the sign of the cross with two fingers. Concerning the new way of making the sign of the cross, see *Materialy* ... (ed. Subbotin, 2, 1878, 215–16). Nicolaus Bergius has a good illustration of it in his dissertation of 1704 on the Russian religion (p. 270). It was also decided that the old eight-pointed cross was to be replaced by a cross with four points (cf. Sparwenfeld’s drawing). Regarding the new four-pointed cross on the sacramental bread (просфора) instead of the old eight-pointed one, see *Materialy* ... (ed. Subbotin, 2, 1878, 205, 217).

196. The synod of 1681–82 decided to take stricter action against the insubordinates: in April 1682 Avvakum and three fellow-believers were put to death at the stake in the Pustozersk monastery (cf. Sparwenfeld's words: "som för ett år sedan har begynt att bli så exagerat", the information about when this happened being somewhat approximate). In 1684 a series of regulations established more stringent measures for the seizure and punishment of "heretics". Anyone who did not attend church services was to be questioned and those who were suspected of heresy were to be tortured until it could be established whether they were innocent or guilty. Those who admitted guilt and refused to recant were to be burned at the stake. At the same time the surrounding population in areas with many Old Believers were warned by various punishments not to help the insubordinates. New decrees to the same end were issued over the following three years. O'Brien 1952, 54; Hughes 1990, 121 ff.

197. The quotations and the Swedish text in between are written by an experienced hand, probably one of the interpreters of the embassy, Elfwendahl or Hafman. According to *Materialy* ..., the prayer was to be read as follows: "Господи Иисусе Христе Боже наш, помилуй нас" (ed. Subbotin, 2, 1878, 216–17). Here, too, Jesus's name (Иисус) is written with two initial *i*'s instead of one, another of the revisions not accepted by the Old Believers.

198. Sparwenfeld observed the visible manifestations of a conflict with complex root causes. Concerning this, see for example Kapterev 1909–12 (1996).

199. Semen Gavrilov (d. 1696), a wealthy merchant (*gost'*) from Novgorod, was a very influential person—both economically and politically—in his home town and in the whole of Russia. His services rendered him many privileges from the tsar. Gavrilov played a very important role in Russia's trade with foreign countries, not least with Sweden. He also sent agents to Sweden to persuade qualified workers to move to Russia to teach their skills to Russians. His son Ivan (b. 1665) worked alongside his father. The father was given the title of *gost'* in 1658, the son in 1685. In 1682–84 Ivan Semenovič Gavrilov was found to sympathize with the Old Believers. On 14 November 1682 the regent, Sofija, had issued a decree to Kornilij, Metropolitan of Novgorod, ordering him to find all Old Believers in the city and its neighbourhood and take them to court. The *voevoda* of Novgorod was ordered to provide troops to carry out the decree. It was in this major sweep that Ivan Semenov was exposed as a "heretic". About 60 people in the Novgorod area were arrested with their leader Ivan Dement'ev. Of these, more than 20 were executed. Ivan Gavrilov was made to confess and repent under torture. He stood trial but was released after his father had stood surety for him. In 1685 he was given the chance to prove his reliability in religious matters when he was sent in secret to Ingria and Karelia to gather information about the conditions under which the Russian Orthodox population there were living. The report he produced after his mission resulted in a letter to the Swedish king Karl XI from the two tsars, in which they protested against violations of the religious rights of the Russian population in the border areas. *РБС*, 1914, 22–24; Isberg 1973, 104; Румянцева 1986, 192–94 *et passim*; Варенцов 1989, 81–82; Michels 1999, 199–200.

200. Refers to Mr Timmerman of Nyen (cf. p. 47 of the original, note 42 and 207).

201. Cf. the commentary given by Palmquist on his map of Novgorod: "g. The stone quarters of the *voevoda* and the metropolitan" (1674 (1898), UB). According to Kuz'mina & Filippova (1997, 14), the *voevoda*'s residence, situated in the south-west corner of the Kremlin, was damaged in a fire in 1686 and was rebuilt in 1692–96.

202. Concerning fish glue (Hausblase), see Kilburger 1769, 263. On p. 87 of the original Sparwenfeld gives a recipe (not reproduced in this edition, see note 518) for making fish glue.

203. Concerning the caviar, cf. Olearius: “Ikra is salted on the Volga, chiefly at Astrachan. Some of it is dried in the sun. They fill hundreds of barrels with it and then send it to other countries, especially to Italy, where it is considered a delicacy and is called *caviaro*” (quoted from Baron’s edition, 1967, 156). Kilburger (1769, 252–53) also mentions the figure of 40,000 as the approximate yearly income of the tsar, but in Reichsthaler.

204. Here space has been left for a later addition. Evidently Sparwenfeld planned to give the weight of the gift in loths, a loth (лот) being about half an ounce (12.79 gram).

205. In the following, the reception in Sweden of I. A. Prončiščev and his Russian delegation of 1683 is constantly referred to (cf. note 131).

206. We know them as “the counts”. Sparwenfeld here uses the Swedish form of their name.

207. The “Golova” who caused Mr Timmerman trouble must have been a customs superintendent (таможенный голова), responsible for customs at the market at Janiff. Cf. notes 42 and 200 and p. 47 of the English translation of the diary. A complaint lodged by Timmerman is included in the enumeration of appeals brought by the embassy to be presented to Russian authorities; a complaint about the confiscation of a vessel is also included (*Muscovitica* 109, published in *Ekonomiska förbindelser ...* 1978, No. 49, 260–61).

208. Nils Hisingh (1647–1699)(Николай Гизинг) became factor of commerce at the Swedish trading post (*handelsgården*) in Novgorod in 1678 (*SBL*, 19, 1971–73, 92). Concerning his Russian exercise book and other materials written by him and preserved at the Royal Library in Stockholm, see Janson 1975. Concerning complaints lodged by Hisingh himself, see *Ekonomiska förbindelser ...* 1978, No. 49, 252, 262. See also *Russko-švedskie ekonomičeskie otnošenija ...*, 1960, Nos. 263, 264 and *Ekonomičeskie svjazi ...*, 1978, 156, 200.

209. The coat of arms of the Russian tsar, the double-headed eagle, was taken over from Byzantium in connection with the marriage in 1472 of Ivan III and Princess Sofia (Zoë), the niece of the last Byzantine emperor (Zernack 1958, 23). See also Brokgauz & Efron, IX, 1893, 411–13 (государственный орел).

210. What Sparwenfeld is describing is a Russian sweet made from berries and wild honey. It was dried in the sun to form a kind of jelly or pastil (пастила). Smith & Christian 1984, 10.

211. The Czech Jesuit Jiří David (see note 638) gives the following account of the drinks found in Russia: “Spanish, Dutch and French wines are imported in large amounts, so they are often used even in families with limited means. Spanish wine, which is called ‘Romance’ here, is sold at almost the same price as in our Germany. White wine, no matter from where it has been imported, is called ‘Rhine wine’. There are different kinds of it and because of its quality it is more expensive. The red is called ‘Church wine’, as the Russians have long used it for communion; it is cheaper in comparison. The customs

duty on it is small or nothing, but for the white, on the other hand, it is necessary to pay quite a lot of duty.” (David, ed. Myl'nikov, 1968, 4, 140, UB.) See also Smith & Christian 1984, 88–89.

212. It seems that the Russians won this round of the battle of diplomatic semiotics. The toast issue used to give rise to long disputes in Russian-Swedish relations: would the first toast be drunk to the Tsar or the King? The issue of who was to sit and who was to stand was also a matter of continual controversy. That the *voevoda* made the Swedes get to their feet as soon as he chose to stand up of course marked his superiority as the representative of the Tsar. If the Swedish ambassadors had been present, the contest might have been a closer one. Witsen, in his journal, gives a priceless sample of all the things that could give rise to lengthy diplomatic disputes. See also Scheidegger 1993, 189, 192.

213. Johan Bergenhielm (1629–1704) was an able government official. From 1674 he worked as a privy councillor (*hovråd*). On 22 April 1684 he was promoted to Head of the Government Offices (*kansliråd*) and secretary of state in the Foreign Office. Jacobowsky (p. 57) concludes from these lines in the diary that Sparwenfeld obtained a position in the mission chancellery. But as Johan Bergenhielm did not take part in the mission, this does not make sense. Sparwenfeld did in fact take the minutes during the negotiations (as did the mission secretary Törneros, see Sparwenfeld's report below), although his minutes are not among the documents of the embassy. What the discussion was all about was rather that Klingstedt, who had been the Head of the Government Offices since 1674 (cf. note 91) and who was to be succeeded in that function by Bergenhielm (see above), planned to have Sparwenfeld take over after the latter in his new function, as it was anticipated that he would not remain in that post for long. Bergenhielm's area of responsibility was evidently Russian affairs. Bergenhielm, however, was also to be used later in Sweden's dealings with Russia, as he was the head of the embassy sent there in 1699. *SBL*, 3, 1922, 459–462.

214. Cf. Herberstein: “Fox skins, and especially black ones, which they usually make into caps, are valued very highly, for sometimes ten of them are sold for fifteen gold pieces” (ed. Major, I, 1851, 115). The worth in money of black fox-skin cannot easily be compared, since Herberstein was in Russia in the early 16th century. See also Kilburger 1769, 256.

215. The name of the treasurer is mentioned in the list of participants (*Appendix 1*): “Cas-seuren Mons: upmark”. He also appears at RGADA in Moscow (фонд 96, 1684 г.), where we learn his full name: Georg Upmarck.

216. Roubles as such did not exist at this time. About the Russian currency in the 17th century, see Olearius and Baron's notes (pp. 177–78). See also Kotošichin (ed. Pennington, 1980, 110–11); David (ed. Myl'nikov, 1968, 3, 95); Kilburger 1769, 314.

217. The winter road between Novgorod and Moscow passed through the villages of Cholyn'ja and Bronnica. The wooden church mentioned by Sparwenfeld is the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul (Церковь Петра и Павла), the stream mentioned is in all probability Cholynka. Секретарь & Филиппова 1991, 187–88.

218. There are many legends surrounding this mountain, or rather hill, Бронницкая гора (*gora* ‘mountain’). Nowadays scholars are of the opinion that the hill is a natural formation (it seems that Sparwenfeld is of the same opinion). V.N. Tatiščev maintained in the 18th century that in pagan times there had been a temple on top of the hill and that

this was in fact the site of the town Holmgård, mentioned in old Scandinavian sources. A. N. Radiščev repeats this version in his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*. As late as the beginning of this century local legend had it that it was to this mountain, to the temple, that Gostomysl, the founder of Novgorod, and the first Novgorodians came. There seems to have been some kind of fortress on top of the hill at the beginning of the 17th century. In the Swedish-Russian war at that time a battle was fought here. Around the mountain there were numerous mounds (cf. Sparwenfeld), and many archeological finds were made up to the beginning of last century. By then, however, the last mounds had been destroyed by people in need of sand. Present-day archeologists examining the hill have not made any finds. Секретарь & Филиппова 1991, 173–74.

219. Bronnica on the River Msta is situated 25 kilometres to the east of Novgorod. Since olden times it had been important as a ferry station across the Msta. Up to the second half of the 18th century the income from the fares went to the Antoniev monastery in Novgorod. As Bronnica was situated along the very important road between Novgorod and Moscow, Ivan III made it a post-station (ям) as early as the second half of the 15th century. Секретарь & Филиппова 1991, 172, 174.

220. The length of a *versta* (верста ‘verst’) varied over time. Most frequently it fluctuated between 500 and 1000 sazhen (roughly fathoms). The verst measuring 500 sazhen (Черепнин: 1.0668 km, Günther-Hielscher: 1.080 km) was called *putevaja versta* (путевая верста, from путь ‘way, route’) the verst measuring 1000 sazhen (Черепнин: 2.1336 km, Günther-Hielscher: 2.160 km) was called *meževaja* (межевая верста, from межа ‘boundary’). As these terms imply, the *putevaja versta* was used when measuring distances, the *meževaja* when measuring land. According to Günther-Hielscher et al. (1995, 375) the verst measuring 500 sazhen was fixed towards the end of the 18th century. According to Čerepnin (1944, 59), in the 17th century efforts were made to arrive at a uniform system, but even the state had difficulty living up to these ambitions. There were manuals to help the inexperienced. According to Čerepnin “в быту” (in everyday life) people used the *putevaja versta*. It seems that what Sparwenfeld is referring to as “*nya wirster*” is the *meževaja versta*. Regarding the *versta*, see also Witsen 1996, 248–49, note 273.

221. Today’s Krestcy (Крестцы). Radiščev, in his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, calls the village Kresty. Sparwenfeld talks about the post-station Kresteckoj jam and about Krestec (in different spellings).

222. Sparwenfeld has not written the bottom line of the letter в, thus ending up with the letter п. The name of the river is Cholovka (Холовка).

223. Quite recently (during the 1998 excavations) a birch-bark letter was found in Novgorod containing the earliest written instance of the name Jaželbicy. It dates back to the first half of the 12th century (all this according to A. A. Zaliznjak). The letter will have the number 876.

224. The village of Valdaj on Lake Valdaj grew up around the Iberian monastery in the middle of the 17th century.

225. This custom of allowing everyone to ring the bells at Easter was also mentioned by Witsen (1996, 153). It was evidently still alive at the beginning of the 20th century (see Lichačev 1991, 68).

226. Many foreign travellers have commented on the immoderate drinking habits of the clergy and monks. Petrejus, for instance, tells us that during the different periods of fasting, the priests, monks and nuns drank "(...) sigh alla druckna och fulla som andra Swijn, bådhe aff Miödh, Öl och Brännevijn, så at the på samma högtijder kunna hwarken gå eller stå, gapa eller gala" (they drank themselves completely drunk like swine, on mead, beer and vodka, so that during these festivals they could neither walk nor stand, neither shout nor crow) (Petrejus 1615, book 6, p. 9, UB). On this whole subject, see further Scheidegger 1993, 153 ff.

227. This monastery, the Iberian Monastery of the Mother of God (Иверский-Богородицкий Святоозерский монастырь, abbreviated Иверская Богородица) was founded by Patriarch Nikon in 1653 on the pattern of the Iberian Monastery on the Holy Mountain of Athos. In 1656 Nikon had a copy of the famous icon "the Iberian Mother of God" transferred to the new monastery (in fact a copy made from a copy brought to Moscow from Athos, cf. note 273). Зверинский, II, 1892, 143–45, No. 819; Силин 1912, 20; Харлампович 1914, 272.

228. In connection with the building of the monastery, Lake Valdaj was called the Holy Lake (Свято(е) озеро). See also the adjective Святоозерский in the full name of the monastery (the previous note).

229. We have information about the monastic population of the Iberian Monastery in 1689: according to Charlampovič (1914, 273–74), that year there were 178 monks in all. Witsen (1996, 72), who had been there in January 1665, gave the number that year as 200.

230. As a result of the personal union in 1385 between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories were to belong to Lithuania. After 1569, when a real union was formed, the previous equality between the two parties was in practice changed to the detriment of Lithuania, and the Polish influence became stronger. Poland-Lithuania was a multi-national state with many religions, but with the Roman Catholic faith holding a dominant position. From the middle of the 15th century Kiev became the religious centre of Lithuania and a West-Russian language became the official language, the so-called *prosta mova* (Ruthenian). Lithuania was mainly Roman Catholic, but with many Orthodox believers among the Ukrainians and Byelorussians. To defend their faith from pressure from the Catholics above all, the Orthodox population of these areas formed so-called brotherhoods (братства), which opened schools, organized book printing etc. (Медынский 1954; Attius Sohlman 1994, 61 ff.). The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, owing to the strong influence of the Catholic Church of Poland and Lithuania, developed an identity of its own, different from the Russian Orthodox Church centred in Moscow. The Ukrainian Church, more open to influences from the West, was affected by the Renaissance, was familiar with Western theological debate etc. The Kievan Metropolitan Petro Mohyla's academy became of the utmost importance in this respect. It was created in 1633 at the Cave Monastery, earlier the religious and cultural centre of *Kievskaja Rus'* and eventually the centre of the Orthodox opposition to Catholicism. There the Latin language and Latin culture were taught, in addition to the more traditional subjects of the Orthodox Church. (Winter 1942, *passim*; Успенский 1987, 259 ff.; Gustavsson 1992, 175–76; and Cutting 1992, 189–90 in Gustavsson & Svanberg (eds.)) In 1654, after the Cossack hetman Chmel'nickij's uprising to secure Ukrainian autonomy, the hetmanate turned to Moscow for support against the Poles. Even before that there had been a movement of monks from the south and west into Muscovy. Thus, for example, in and outside Moscow there were monasteries with

an almost completely “Ruthenian” monastic population, i.e. people originating from the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories. After 1654 this movement of the black priesthood, especially, from the south and west to the north increased. Nikon was favourably disposed towards the immigrants as they were better educated than the Great Russians, and he hoped through them to raise the general level of education in the monasteries. Many individuals among them also had special skills. So, when Patriarch Nikon, previously the Metropolitan of Novgorod, decided to build a monastery in the beautiful surroundings of Lake Valdaj, he wanted to inhabit the monastery with monks from the south-west. He decided to increase the monastic population in Iverskij by bringing in monks from a monastery in Western Russia (Оршанский Кутейнский Богоявленский монастырь), a monastery with very strict rules. The monastic population there needed to move for security reasons, as they were in an area where warfare between Poland and Russia made life insecure and they complained about pressure from both Jesuits and Uniates. They sat out on their journey under the leadership of their abbot Ioil'. The latter never saw his new home, as he died on the way, but between 30 and 70 monks from the Kutein Monastery were transferred to Iverskij at the beginning of 1655. There was also a wish to move monks from Kiev to the monastery (and from certain other places), and a few probably did move. There were tensions when the abbot from the Kutein Monastery, Dionisij, was made the leader of the original Great Russian monks. The latter found it difficult to learn to read and sing in the new manner and some of them ran away from the monastery. In fact there were two factions there, one Great Russian and one “foreign”. Most of the leading positions were held by the newcomers as they were superior in quantity and education. Харлампович 1914, 262–275.

231. Cf. what is said in the *Short Memorial* (17–18): “On Easter Sunday we stayed in Jaželbicy and started the day by drinking kvass. After the sermon before the meal, our pristav Miron presented our legates with a dish of painted eggs and a bottle of mead and said, as is prescribed in Russia on that day, that as sure as he gave them these eggs Christ was risen from the dead. After lunch came a deacon or chaplain from the monastery’ (“Monastiret”) or monastery Iverskoj, which was situated 4 miles further on, with some “Isbidin”, which is a kind of drink, and a big coarse loaf of monastery rye bread, sent to the Ambassador from the most distinguished in the monastery, called an archimandrite. He used the same words as the pristav had done previously, namely Christos Voskrese (‘Christos wosskrees’), or Christ is risen” (UB).

232. See note 230.

233. Iosif Nozdrevskij, previously abbot of the Bujnickij monastery’, was the archimandrite of the Iberian Monastery 1682–92 (Харлампович 1914, 270).

234. From St Basil the Great (d. 379), Bishop of Caesarea, one of the Fathers of the Church. His two monastic rules formed the basis for Byzantine monastic life (*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 5, 1973, col. 337 ff.). The information given here by Sparwenfeld is not quite correct. He says that all the monks in the country belong to the Basilian monastic order. The Basilians (Базилиане) were not a monastic order (there were no orders in the Russian Orthodox church), but Uniates, who lived in accordance with the monastic rules of Basil the Great. (See Winter 1942, 95–96.) The Uniate Church (also called the Greek-Catholic Church), formed by the Council of Brest-Litovsk in 1596, acknowledges the supremacy of the Pope, but has retained the Orthodox liturgy and Church Slavonic as the language of worship. The Uniate Church, for centuries the dominant faith of a large part of the population of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian territories (“Ruthenians”), was at various times during its complicated history forced un-

derground. (Winter 1942, 62 ff.) The “imported” monks at the Iberian Monastery, however, were not Uniates but Orthodox, which was why they felt threatened in an environment dominated by Roman Catholics and Uniates (cf. note 230). Cf. Olearius: “Here and there, in and outside of the cities, the Russians have many monasteries, some for monks, others for nuns, most of them operated according to the rule of Basil the Great” (ed. Baron, 1967, 268).

235. See Olearius (1967, ed. Baron, 266): “The ordinary daily dress of (...) the monks, consists of a long black robe, over which they wear a black cloak. On their heads they wear black hoods, three ells in breadth, in the middle of which is a stiff, round disk, like a large plate. The (headdress) hangs down behind the head.”

236. This group of figures, so central to the Russian Orthodox tradition: Christ, the Holy Virgin and John the Baptist, is called the Deesis (Деисус ‘intercession’) (*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1, 1968, col. 494 ff.)

237. Cf. the *Short Memorial* (p. 22): “(...) and the entrance to the monastery proper was a separately built room, with big gates on the inside and the outside. The outer gate, which was covered with tin-plate and brass, is called the “porta Sancta”. Through there the Russians walk when they take their saints out and in during processions” (UB).

238. These three (or the last two) saints are defined as “iuerska helige” (Iberian saints), i.e. they had one connection or another with the Iberian Monastery (in Valdaj, or even at Athos?). It is not clear who St Antonius and St Theodorus were. However, regarding St Antonius, cf. the *Short Memorial* (p. 22): “Above there (the outer gate, UB), relics of St Antonius, consisting of a few fingers from his hand, are said to be kept, this is what we were told, but we were not allowed inside.” “St Jacobus”, i.e. Iakov Borovickij, however, had an obvious connection with the Valdaj monastery. See further, notes 251 and 276.

239. St Philip (Филипп II) (1507–69), Metropolitan of Moscow. He was removed from office and ordered to be killed by Ivan the Terrible. In 1652 Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič had his relics taken to Moscow, where he was proclaimed a saint, to make good this violation by his predecessor. Some of his relics were brought to the Iberian Monastery in February 1654. Силин 1912, 7, 10, 35; *Словарь книжников*, 2, 1989, 466–470. See also the detailed account given by Olearius (ed. Baron, 1967, 258–59).

240. Concerning the Easter eggs and greetings, see Olearius: “On (...) Holy Easter Day, there was great rejoicing among the Russians, partly because of the Resurrection of Christ, partly because it was the end of their long fast. That day, and for fourteen days thereafter, practically everyone—notables and commoners, young and old—carries colored eggs. In every street a multitude of egg vendors sit, hawking boiled eggs decorated in various colors. When they meet on the street, they greet each other with kisses on the mouth. One says, ‘Khristos voskrese’, that is ‘Christ has risen’; and the other answers, ‘Voistinu voskrese’, which means ‘Indeed He has risen’. And no one, neither man nor woman, neither magnate nor commoner, refuses to another a kiss and greeting and an egg.” (Ed. Baron, 1967, 100.) Witsen, reporting on this custom, also explains the meaning of the Easter eggs (1996, 152), and later provides supplementary information on this matter which he received from the Metropolitan of Gaza (155). He also reports with enthusiasm that not a single woman, not even high-born ladies, refused to exchange kisses. Women from the common people often blew them kisses while shouting the Easter greeting from a distance (1996, 152).

241. This bread, *kulič*, a sweet, high wheat bread, is traditionally eaten at Easter in Russia.

242. Cf. note 230. Paul of Aleppo says in his travel account that on the shore of Lake Valdaj there were two villages, inhabited by Polish subjects—Russian Cossacks—who were there to help the monks, “as they were of the same origin” (Харлампович 1914, 267). Cf. the *Short Memorial* (18–19): “A quarter of a mile from Jaželbicy, we came to a village called Valdaj, which belonged to the Iberian Monastery. There lived people of different origin like Russians, Poles, Byelorussians, Karelians and others, among whom there were beautiful women walking in the streets. And as during the Easter holidays the Russians have the custom of giving each other coloured eggs while pronouncing the words *Christos Voskrese* (‘Christoss Wosskres’), Christ is risen, and the other answers *Voistinu Voskrese* (‘Woistena Wosskrees’), He is truly risen, and then offer each other their mouths to kiss, some of our people bought such eggs there and practised the above, which was not unpleasant.” (UB.)

243. Cf. the observation documented by Olearius: “Before we left he brought his wife and one of her relatives to meet us; (...) Each lady had to sip a cup of vodka in honor of each of the ambassadors, then hand it over and bow to him. The Russians consider it the greatest honor they can pay a guest to show him in this manner that he has been agreeable and welcome. Where friendship and intimacy are very great, the guest is permitted to kiss the wife on the mouth, (...)” (Ed. Baron, 1967, 42.) See also Tanner 1891, 101 and Schleussing. ed. Lapteva, 1970, 115. One passage in Sparwenfeld’s text is somewhat unclear: “ok fortröte om man ey giorde besked” (roughly “and took offence if we did not do the job properly”). The two women emptied a cup of beer to each of the guests and took offence if they did not meet their expectations. What could those expectations be? It is hard to believe that the guests did not readily respond to their toasts and drink the beer. Did they just sip and not drink “do dna” (to the bottom), or were there too many toasts? Or could it be that they did not understand that they were expected to kiss their hosts’ wives on the mouth, as they were showing such hospitality? It seems, however, that the guests were reluctant and did not respond spontaneously in the way expected of them, even if they do seem to have come to grips with the situation after a while. As Sparwenfeld felt that the women were very favourably disposed to them, it might well have been that they were paid the greatest honour possible: to be allowed to kiss the wife on the mouth. Many foreigners expressed consternation at all the kissing in Russia and had difficulty knowing where to draw the line. Scheidegger 1994, 117 f.

244. This report that the Swedish embassy was asked to stay away from the town of Valdaj—and hence the monastery—during the Easter festival, as they might “profane their sacred place”, is a continuation of what Sparwenfeld and his companions had experienced at the Monastery of St Nicholas in Vjažišči (p. 27). In the eyes of the Russians the Swedes were *pogane* (heathens, unclean). Muscovy was the only state where the true faith still survived (cf. note 161). It was particularly important not to defile the sacred places during the periods of fasting, and above all during the most important festival of the Orthodox Church. Individuals who moved unexpectedly, though, could evidently bypass these strict rules. Scheidegger 1994, 58, 63 ff.

245. What Sparwenfeld has in mind when he says that the cap and the cowl are untouchable to everyone except when the Eucharist and the New Testament are being carried past, might be that during the Eucharist and the reading of the New Testament the headgear was removed. On this cap (and on one traveller’s opinion about Russian priests) see Olearius: “In the investiture ceremony he [the new priest, UB] is dressed in a priestly

cloak not much different from a secular one. The hair is shorn from the top of his head, and a little cloth cap, which they call a *skuf'ia*, is put on. It is like our skullcap, and lies against the skin; the surrounding hair hangs down to the shoulders like a woman's. They never take off this hat during the day, except to have their hair cut. It is a sacred article and enjoys great respect. If anyone strikes a priest and comes down on the cap or makes it fall to the ground, he is severely punished and must pay a *beschest'e*. Nevertheless, priests frequently are beaten, for generally they are more drunken and good-for-nothing than others. Since the sacred cap must be spared, it is first removed; the priest is given a good drubbing and the hat is (then) neatly restored to its place. After such occurrences, nothing is to be wondered at." (Ed. Baron, 1967, 266–67.) Cf. also Schleussing: "And if it becomes necessary to give a pope a good beating, when there are reasons to do so, then the first thing they have to do is to pull the cap off his head. I myself saw how Russians pulled it off the top of the pope's head, if the priest had behaved irresponsibly, gave him a good thrashing, and then carefully pulled his headgear on again." (UB, ed. Lapteva, 1970, 117).

246. Sparwenfeld uses the word "mölska". According to *SAOB* the Swedish *mjölska* with variants refers to a sweet mead- or beer-like drink made of honey, mead or beer mixed with water and other ingredients, such as wine, malt, barley, old cheese etc. What Sparwenfeld has in mind is probably the Russian mead. Regarding the mutual gifts, cf. the *Short Memorial* (19–20): "In between this village of Valdaj and the Iverskoj monastery is a lake, about half a quarter of a mile across. From the village the Ambassadors sent the archimandrite a bottle case with wine. Then the Counts Adam and Gustaf Lewenhaupt, a few hofjunkers and myself went along to look at the monastery, which is nicely situated on an islet with wooden walls, towers and cannons ..." See also later in the *Short Memorial* (p. 25): "In the evening the above-mentioned deacon came from the archimandrite and the monastery after us to Zimnjaja Gora, half a mile, with a small keg of mead, kvass, fresh living fish and a large coarse loaf of monastery bread, to give to the legates in return for the wine ..."

247. The bell tower burnt in 1825 and during its reconstruction additions were made (Силин 1912, 41).

248. The large bell, weighing 1,000 puds, was cast for the consecration of the church on 16 December 1656. Patriarch Nikon performed the consecration. A picture of the patriarch was on the bell. Силин 1912, 17. Cf. the *Short Memorial* (p. 22): "There was a big beautiful bell tower with 20 bells outside the church. The biggest among them had a width around of 5 fathoms" (UB).

249. Concerning different ways of measuring time, see Adolph Lyseck, who was fascinated by all the clocks he saw in Artamon Matveev's house: "But most interesting of all were the different clocks, with different ways of counting time. Thus one showed the hours of an astronomical day, beginning from the middle of the day (a type which is used in Germany too). On others the hours from sunset were indicated, according to the Bohemian and Italian way of counting. Others showed the time from sunrise, according to the Babylonian way of counting. Still others—in the Jewish way, others, finally, started the day from midnight, as established by the Latin church" (Фалькович 1913, 95; UB). See also the Czech Jesuit Jiří David's account: "They count the hours from sunrise to sunset and again from sunset to sunrise, which means that one hour after sunrise is called 'the first', the one following 'the second' etc. In all, there are as many hours of the day as the sun is above the horizon, and as many of the night as it is concealed. But all the hours of the night and of the day taken together always constitute our twenty-four hours."

(Ed. Myl'nikov, 1968, 4, 144; UB.) See also Witsen (1996, 57), who points out that the Russians have few clocks, but that, on the ones they do have, it is the clock-face that moves, while the hand, pointing upwards, remains stationary.

250. Sparwenfeld here talks about a *bilo*—sounding board, which was used to announce the beginning of the sermon.

251. The church, Sobornyj Uspenskij chram, was built May 1655–September 1656. The whole of the interior was destroyed in a fire in 1705. The famous icon and the relics of St Iakov Borovickij, however, were saved. Силин 1912, 15, 21. See note 276.

252. Olearius describes this staff (*posoch*) in this way: “When they (the higher clergy, UB) walk in the streets, they carry staffs, called *posokhi*, which are bent near the top almost in a right angle” (ed. Baron, 1967, 166).

253. The sanctuary (Sparwenfeld calls it “Chor”—choir or chancel—in accordance with his Lutheran background, in Russian this is the “altar”—алтарь) is in Orthodox churches separated from the nave by an iconostasis, referred to by Sparwenfeld as “skranket”—the screen. The communion table, the so-called “throne” (престол) is placed in the middle of the sanctuary.

254. The “pall” (stool, i.e. ambo) for the holy books is called *naloj* (*analoj*) (*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, I, 1966, 126 ff.).

255. Page 39, lower page.

256. The book is known as a “Služebnoe Evangelic” (from služba—service).

257. What is said about the Russians not revering the Old Testament has no foundation, unless Sparwenfeld is referring to the Apocrypha. Cf., however, Olearius, who might be Sparwenfeld’s source on this matter: “They have the Holy Bible—the Old Testament, with 70 Greek commentaries, and the New Testament, translated and published in the Slavonic and Russian languages. Strangely, though, they never allow the whole Bible into their churches, holding that there are many loathsome and unchaste things in the Old Testament, which would defile their holy church. Thus they admit only the New Testament and some writings of the prophets. They do, however, permit the possession and reading of the entire Bible at home.” (Ed. Bond, 1967, 233–34.) As pointed out by Bond (234, note 5), the English traveller Giles Fletcher had another explanation for this: the Russians were of the opinion that after the birth of Christ the Books of Moses, especially the last four, were superseded and without force. In fact, this might all be a misinterpretation of the so-called *služebnoe evangelie*.

258. What Sparwenfeld calls the Host is in fact the “pain benit” he mentions above, in the Russian Orthodox church known as *prosfora*. In the chalice there was of course wine.

259. Three doors lead from the nave into the sanctuary, through the iconostasis: The door in the middle, in front of the throne, is called “the Royal Door” (Царские двери/врата). Успенский 1998.

260. Cf. the *Short Memorial* (23–24), where the anonymous author tells how he and his companions were also invited into the archimandrite’s rooms: “Finally, the archimandrite treated us to mead, aquavit and monastery drink (‘Klosterdricka’), consisting

of kvass, and eggs, and he distributed the eggs among us himself. And he said in Russian Christos Voskrese ('Gristoss Woss Krees') and sometimes in Latin "Surrexit Christus". He probably knew a few words of Latin and German, but not much, because if someone tried to speak Latin with him, he answered only in Russian" (UB). In passing it may be mentioned that Witsen, too, comments on the fact that the brethren in the monastery understood some Latin but, for lack of practice, had forgotten most of it (1996, 198).

261. The naval battle in question could be the one involving the so-called "Invincible Armada", sent by Philip II of Spain (at that time including the Spanish Netherlands) against England in 1588, following which England's long domination at sea was established. Possibly the battle was represented on one of the copperplate engravings.

262. The "touchy" Russians would not allow foreigners to eat with the monks because the former were unclean (*pogane*). This rule was stricter than usual during Easter (cf. note 244). Scheidegger 1994, 74. However, when Witsen and his party visited the monastery in June 1665, they were invited for a meal inside the monastery by the *igumen*. On the other hand, they were only the second group of foreigners to visit the monastery, and it was not Easter (1996, 198).

263. Cf. note 102.

264. The language he spoke was the so-called *prosta mova* (Успенский 1987, 261 ff.).

265. Paul of Aleppo in his journal praises the excellent food at the Iberian Monastery. Many of the cooks had previously worked in the kitchens of rich Polish families, who were famous for their culinary ambitions. This was at least the case in the 1650s, when Paul of Aleppo was in Valdaj with his father. The same opinion is expressed by Witsen in 1665 (1996, 198). The reputation of the monastery for having good cooks and bakers seems to have been justified later as well, according to Charlampovič (1914, 267).

266. Foreigners evidently did not appreciate the Russian mead. Cf. what Olearius writes about the mead they were offered (not at Valdaj, though): "By way of welcome, the ambassadors were offered several cups of very strong vodka, two kinds of bad-tasting mead, and some pieces of gingerbread. They gave me some to try, too, saying [in Latin]: 'Add a pinch of sulphur, and you'd have a drink fit for Hades'" (Ed. Baron, 1967, 46.)

267. The King of Denmark in 1632 was not Frederik, but Christian IV. Frederik (III) was king in 1648–70. Silin (1912, 21) mentions ten bronze cannon from the Iberian Monastery which remained in the Troickaja Aleksandro-Nevskaja Lavra after 1712–30, when the Valdaj monastery belonged to the *lavra*. Concerning the wooden wall and the cannon, see also Witsen (1996, 196).

268. Concerning this chapel (Церковь во имя Святого праведного Иакова Боровичского), see Silin 1912, 39–40. Cf. notes 238, 251 and 276.

269. The monastery had a school for icon-painting. The first masters came in all probability from West Russia. According to Charlampovič (1914, 297), a certain Isaija probably lived there in 1684. He was known to have studied painting there earlier.

270. Printing works and masters to handle them were moved to the Iberian Monastery from the Kutein Monastery at the end of 1655 or the beginning of 1656. A large number

of books and manuscripts were also taken there by the newcomers. In addition, Nikon himself donated parts of his private library to the monastery. From 1658 the printing works started publishing books (concerning which books, see Charlampovič 1914, 438–39; *Slovar' knižnikov*, (XVII v.), 2, 1993, 402, Nikon). Iverskij also provided books for other monasteries and private individuals. Furthermore, books were sent there from Novgorod for binding. At the end of 1665, on Patriarch Nikon's orders, the printing works was sent to the New Jerusalem Monastery, also founded by him (see note 625 for further details). Sparwenfeld, it appears, gives different information as regards the year, and also the place: the New Jerusalem Monastery is situated some 80 kilometres from Moscow. In 1684–85, efforts were made to bring the printing works back to Iverskij, but without success (Харлампович 1914, 439). Regarding this, see also Silin 1912, 16; Белоненко 1988; *Slovar' knižnikov*, (XVII v.), 2, 1993, 402–3 (Nikon).

271. Concerning the iconostasis and its picture programme, see *Reallexikon* ..., III, 1978, 347 f.

272. Cf. note 236.

273. The very famous original of this icon, the Iberian Mother of God (Иверская Божия Мать), was made by the monk Iamvlich Romanov at the Iberian Monastery on the Holy Mountain of Athos (Sparwenfeld says "in the Iberian land in Greece"). An exact copy of the icon was brought to Moscow from Athos on 13 October 1648 and was received by the tsar and the patriarch. A special chapel was built for the icon at the Gate of the Resurrection (Воскресенские ворота). A copy was in turn made from the Moscow copy, and to honour this second copy a wooden church was built for it by Patriarch Nikon on this island in Lake Valdaj (the beginning of the Iberian Monastery). In this way, Nikon wanted to show his support for the struggling Georgian church (the Georgian province of Iberia, now known as Kartli, is on the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains). Nikon provided the icon with excessive ornamentation. According to an apocryphal writing that was very popular in the Middle Ages, Iberia was the land of the Virgin Mary. There are three different versions of a legend that tells how this icon, one of the most famous in the Orthodox world, ended up at Athos. The first one claims that the icon originated from Trapezunt and that a young man, having inherited it from his father and fearing that his greedy relatives would try to take it away from him, released it into the sea. The icon travelled by sea to the Holy Mountain. According to the second version, the icon originates in the town of Fazis. It left Fazis on its own initiative before the town sank into the sea owing to the sins of its inhabitants. The third version turned out to be the most wide spread and long-lived. According to this version, the icon belonged to a widow, who released it into the sea, fearing that it would be destroyed by the Emperor and Iconoclast Theophilus (829–42). This version, which was known from earlier Georgian and Greek sources, spread in Old Russian literature at a comparatively late date, only after Patriarch Nikon had founded the Iberian Monastery in 1653 and placed a copy of the icon there in 1656 (in connection with the consecration of the cathedral). The Russian Church Slavonic translation of it was printed in *The Imagined Paradise* (*Рай мысленный*) in 1658, one of the books produced by the printing works at the Valdaj monastery (and containing, among other things, texts by Nikon himself). Силин 1912, 25–27; *Словарь книжников*, 2, 1989, 362–65; Белоненко 1994, 94 f.

274. A contemporary description of this icon has been preserved (*Русская историческая библиотека*, 5, No. 87, 1878, pp. 226–233). The information given there is that the setting was valued at 44,000 roubles. Patriarch Nikon himself, in *Рай мыслен-*

ный (see the previous note), gives the figure of 44,000 roubles (Silin 1912, 26–27). See also Silin's own description (27–29). Witsen (1996, 196) puts its value at 100,000 Reichstaler (50,000 roubles).

275. See note 259.

276. Cf. notes 238 and 251. The relics of Iakov Borovickij were welcomed to the Iberian Monastery in their new silver shrine by Nikon during a solemn ceremony on 26 February 1654 (Силин 1912, 10). Cf. the *Short Memorial* (20–22): “In it there was also a dead body lying complete and fresh—according to legend it had not been embalmed—belonging, they said, to a holy man by the name of Jacobus. Other saints had asked God not to let his body decay. He had arrived in a village called (omitted) not far from the monastery 30 years ago, floating on the water in a coffin. The farmers had pushed it away from land onto the water a number of times, as in Russia no one dares to pick up or make it known if he finds a dead body, unless he can produce the assassin or explain how he died. Otherwise that person himself will be regarded as guilty. But it kept returning, and in the end a voice was heard, telling them to take him out of the water, as he was a holy man by the name of Jacobus, who brought happiness and blessing to them and to the country. So finally they did so after receiving instructions from the monastery and took him to that same monastery in a big procession. We saw this through the church door, which was opened, and through lattice-work running around the church, as we were not allowed inside.” (UB.) This version corresponds very well with the legend related by Silin (31–33). See also Bulgakov, I, 1913, 423.

277. Cf. the description of the general features of the church given by Silin (1912, 22).

278. They were probably Dionisij I, Dionisij II (d. 1658), Iosif (d. 1660), Filofej (d. 1669), Feodosij (d. 1672) and Evmenij (d. 1681) (Силин 1912, 57). According to Silin (p. 38), Ioil' was also buried there (cf. note 230).

279. The monastery was founded in 1653 by Patriarch Nikon (here called “Nikola” by Sparwenfeld, cf. note 227).

280. Concerning the size of the monastic population, cf. note 229.

281. Cf. Silin 1912, 62–63.

282. Lent, in Russian Великий Пост (the Great Fast), lasted for 40 days (or rather 36) (Булгаков, I, 1913, 550 ff.). The fast ended with the resurrection of Christ on Easter Day. What Sparwenfeld writes about the time is incorrect. See also Olearius (ed. Baron 1967, 270).

283. Known as “Peter’s Fast” (Петров Пост). The beginning of this fast is linked to Easter, and it can last from one to six weeks (Булгаков, I, 1913, 190 f.). Sparwenfeld is mistaken here: The fast continues until the festival of Peter and Paul; it does not begin after that day.

284. The Christmas Fast (Рождественский Пост), or “Philip’s Fast” (Филиппов Пост or Филипповки), as it begins on the day of the Apostle Philip, 14 November. It lasts until Christmas (Булгаков, I, 1913, 454 f.).

285. The Fast of the Assumption of the Virgin (Успенский Пост) (Булгаков, I, 1913,

293). This fast begins on 1 August and lasts until 14 August inclusive. Sparwenfeld is again mistaken. This fast is connected with the *Assumption* of the Virgin, not the *Annunciation*.

286. One-day fasts were observed on Wednesdays, in memory of the day when Christ was betrayed, and Fridays, in memory of the day when Christ died on the cross (Булгаков, I, 1913, 717). Cf. Olearius's remark: "In the course of a fast, especially the great fast when they eat neither meat nor fish and also for a period of eight days prior to the taking of communion, no one, priest or layman, may copulate with his wife, on pain of heavy fines. (Although this rule may be widely violated) I believe that neither the men nor their wives give one another away, so very little money is taken in." (Ed. Baron, 1967, 271.)

287. Page 39, upper part of page (cf. note 255).

288. As can be seen from the original text, Sparwenfeld quite often mixes the Russian and Latin alphabets, for example when writing place names. He is evidently very busy studying the Russian language.

289. Cf. the *Short Memorial* (p. 25): "NB: Close to the village of Vyšnij Voločok ('Wysnowolotzko') we crossed a river called the Šlina. It goes all the way to Novgorod. And the pristav told us that in springtime, when the water is high, it is possible to go from Vyšnij Voločok by boat down to Novgorod /: which, however, is quite a long way around :/ and then across Lake Ladoga and on to Nyenskans." (UB.)

290. The text in Italian was added later in small handwriting. The news evidently concerned the intrigues at court among the relatives of the late Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič.

291. Столпенская Николаевская Вышневолоцкая пустынь (Амвросий, 6:1, 1815, 329 f.).

292. As mentioned above (note 220), what Sparwenfeld calls "dheras nya wirster" (their new versts) seem to be the *meževaja versta*, consisting of 1,000 sazhen (fathoms). One sazhen (сажень) equals 2.13 metres. One *aršin* (аршин) is a third of a sazhen, i.e. roughly 0.72 metres (Günther-Hielscher et al. 1995, 18, 304). One Swedish *aln* (ell) equals 0.59 metres (NE, I, 1989, 242).

293. At this time the Patriarch was Ioakim (1621–90), who was the head of the Russian Church from 1672 until his death. He was an active opponent of foreign influence. In passing it may be mentioned that from 1657 to 1664, at the instigation of the then Patriarch Nikon, he had been a monk at the Valdaj monastery. *Словарь книжников*, (XVII в.), 2, 1993, 53–57.

294. Olearius writes that the farmers in this village drove them away with the help of bees (!) (ed. Baron 1967, 54).

295. The Monastery of the Holy Trinity (Троицкий монастырь, 3 versts from Toržok; Зверинский, II, 1892, 363, No. 1254).

296. The Monastery of St Nicholas (Пустынский-Николаевский монастырь; Зверинский, I, 1890, 216, No. 401).

297. The Monastery of the Birth of Christ (Рождественский монастырь; Зверинский, II, 1892, 293, No. 1118).

298. The Monastery of St Basil of Caesarea (Васильевский-Кесарийский монастырь, a punnery; Зверинский, II, 1892, 87, No. 689).

299. The Monastery of Sts Boris and Gleb (Борисоглебский-Новоторжский монастырь; Зверинский, II, 1892, 79–80, No. 673). This monastery was consecrated to Saints Boris and Gleb, the sons of Prince Vladimir of Kiev, who, after the death of their father in 1015, were killed by their brother Svjatopolk, who was afraid to lose his power. Boris and Gleb were the first saints consecrated by the Russian Orthodox Church. Голубинский 1903, 43 ff.; Булгаков, I, 1913, 278 f.

300. The archimandrite of the monastery at this time was probably Tarasij (1682–95) (Строев 1877, col. 454). The Metropolitan of Novgorod he turned to for advice was number two in the Russian church hierarchy, after the Patriarch in Moscow.

301. Никитский монастырь; Зверинский, III, 1897, 97, No. 1763.

302. Cf. note 298.

303. Богословский монастырь; Зверинский, III, 1897, 28, No. 1431.

304. Симеоновский на Дорогощи; Зверинский, III, 1897, 157, No. 2018.

305. Concerning some of the 80 churches mentioned by Sparwenfeld, see Ilidor (ieromonach) 1860; Žiznevskij 1888; Dimitrij (archiepiskop) 1903; Selin (in manuscript). Witsen has three fine drawings from Toržok, from 1665 (published in the Russian translation of 1996).

306. The Cyrillic letters *a* and *as* signify the Arabic numerals 1 and 31.

307. Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič died in 1676. His first wife, Marija Miloslavskaja, had died back in 1669. She had given birth to thirteen children: five sons and eight daughters. Four of the sons were still alive when she died, but two of them died within half a year of their mother's death. The sons left were Fedor (ten years of age in 1669, he died a tsar in 1682; see Introduction p. 23) and Ivan, then three, and born in 1666. The information given by the pristav Miron Grigor'evič concerning Ivan's age was thus not correct; he was only 18 years old at this time. Sparwenfeld says that two sisters were older than Sofija in 1684. She was the sixth child and the fourth daughter born to Marija Miloslavskaja. The daughters alive in 1684 were: Evdokija (1650–1712), Marfa (1652–1707), Sofija (1657–1704), Ekaterina (1658–1718), Marija (1660–1723) and Feodosija (1662–1713). The third daughter, Anna (born in 1655) had evidently died (see Hughes 1990, 23). In February 1671 the Tsar remarried Natal'ja Naryškina. She gave birth to three children: Peter, born in 1672, and two daughters, one of whom, Natal'ja (1673–1716), survived to adulthood. On 15 May 1682 the *strel'cy* uprising began. Sofija's role in that uprising has been the subject of much interest from scholars. Evidently Sparwenfeld had been informed that it was she who put an end to the unrest. She had indeed acted very competently in restoring calm after the explosions of violence on the first days of the uprising. Whatever the real facts, the results of the revolt served Sofija's interests well. She had not liked it when Peter had been elected Tsar, as she had aspirations of her own. On 23 May it was decided that Ivan and Peter were to rule together as Tsars. The question of

when Sofija took Natalja Naryškina's place as regent has been discussed by many scholars. Lavrov (1999, 72 ff.) gives a survey of the discussion to date and argues convincingly that Sofija became the *de facto* regent only after the execution on 17 September of the princes Chovanskij, probably in October 1682, and that she became the *de jure* regent only in 1686, when her name appears in the tsar's title. In reality, however, she was to perform the function of regent for seven years. See also note 360.

The fate of the sisters and daughters of the Tsar of Russia was indeed deplorable. As they were allowed neither to marry beneath them, nor to marry someone who was not of the right, Russian Orthodox faith, they in fact had no way out. They were virtually hidden away from the outside world and were allowed to appear in public only on major holidays and other solemn occasions. Cf. Kotošichin: "the sisters and daughters of the tsars, the *tsarevny*, have their own separate chambers and live like hermits, seeing little of people and being little seen, but are always at prayer and fasting, with their faces bathed in tears, since they do not enjoy the pleasure which God Almighty gives to mankind to join in wedlock and bear fruit. For it is forbidden that they be given in marriage to the princes and boyars of the sovereign, for the princes and the boyars are his bondsmen, and in petitions they sign themselves as his bondsmen, and it would be an eternal disgrace to give a lady to a slave. And it is forbidden that they be married to the sons of kings and princes of other states since they are not of the same faith and must not change their faith or submit it to abuse, and also they do not know the language and politics of other states and this would cause them shame." (Ed. Pennington, 1980, 29–30, quoted from Hughes 1990, 16.) See also the comment made by the Czech Jesuit Jiří David (Ed. Myl'nikov 1968, 93). On the seclusion of Russian women in general and the *tsarevny* in particular, see Hughes 1990, 17 ff. Sofija, though, did not fit into this pattern, especially as far as the last sentence of Kotošichin's account is concerned. She was highly intelligent and strong-willed and received a very good education. Sparwenfeld's information here confirms that she had indeed taken power into her own hands. See also note 109.

308. These boats were evidently intended for the luggage. As regards the mode of transport to be used for the people in their party, the ambassadors gave up in the end (see below in the text).

309. Sparwenfeld uses the word *pogost*, which here should evidently be understood as 'monastery' (see "Spasniz manastir" further on in the original text, p. 59 in the edition). The word usually means 'parish' or 'church in the countryside with surroundings, cemetery and various buildings'. Sometimes it can also mean 'village'.

310. In the *Short Memorial* (p. 28), the stream is referred to as "Elfwen Logowitz". Cf. note 312.

311. In the *Short Memorial* (p. 28), this village is called "Byen Margina". Cf. the following note.

312. Cf. the *Short Memorial* (27–28): "On the 7th from Jamskaja sloboda at Toržok ["Thorsow"] across a bridge and the River Logovic [?] ["Elfwen Logowitz"] by the village of Mar'ino, which was situated about 15 versts from Toržok, and then across the River Tverca ["Twertza Elf"] again on rafts, the river being rather wide there and with a strong current, to Mednoe ["Mädna"], 30 versts, 60 kilometers. NB: The River Tverca was flowing about a musket shot from Mednoe." (UB.)

313. It was probably John the Baptist, not the disciple John, together with Christ and the Virgin Mary (Deesis). Cf. note 236.

314. The special mittens described by Sparwenfeld (he uses the word *muffar* ‘muffs’) are called *naručī* (наручи).

315. Re the communion of women, see Мансветов 1882, 142–43.

316. The long bridges across bogs were causeways of logs (in Swedish *kavelbro*). Goet-eeris gives the following description of such a bridge: “On the morning of 19 October, after about two and a half miles, we arrived at a very troublesome causeway, almost beyond description, indeed it could not have been worse had it led to hell itself. It was lain across morasses and running water and made from round logs. There are plenty of bridges like this in the country and we had to cross a number of them during our journey. They can be as much as 14 miles long, although with interruptions in places the length of a bow shot or less, where the ground rises a little. As the logs are often broken due to age and sometimes as many as five or more are rotten to the core, making the adjacent logs roll loose back and forth, it is utterly troublesome for people, not to mention horses and luggage, to get across ...” (Translated by UB from Hildebrand’s Swedish translation, 1917, 35–36.)

317. The Sergiev Monastery of the Holy Trinity (Троице-Сергиев монастырь). The monastery is situated north-east of Moscow along the Jaroslavl road (now Sergiev Posad). It was founded by St Sergij of Radonež at the end of the 1330s. (Амвросий, 2, 1810, 55 ff.; Булгаков, II, 1913, 1490–1495.) Sparwenfeld gives the figure of 500 monks in the monastery, whereas David, who also was in Moscow in the 1680s, says there were 200 (ed. Myl’nikov, 1968, 1, 127).

318. See note 543.

319. The Monastery of St Nicholas on the Malica (Николаевский-Малицкий/Мал-ский монастырь; Зверинский, II, 1892, 229–30, No. 988. It took its name from the Malica stream, on the banks of which it was built, and is situated 6 versts from Tver’.

320. Cf. the information given in the *Short Memorial* on the source of the River Volga (28–29): “NB: The River Volga springs from a marsh in a forest close to a small village called Ostaskovo (“Ostascha”), situated in between Pskov and Tver’. Having passed Tver’ it flows on to the Caspian Sea.” (UB.) See also Herberstein (1988, 144).

321. The Squire Monastery (Отрочь-Успенский-Пречистый монастырь; Зверинский, II, 1892, 257–58, No. 1032). Bulgakov (II, 1913, 1545) states that this monastery was first mentioned in the chronicles under the years 1205 and 1206. According to him, it took its name from the young men who were kept in the citadel by the grand prince to watch out for attacks from the Novgorodians. The author of the *Short Memorial* gives a somewhat different version. Concerning the monastery, situated opposite the suburb where the Swedes had their quarters, he writes the following (pp. 29–30): “On the opposite side of the river there is a large new monastery /: behind which the Tverca runs into the Volga :/ and close by a large suburb, part of which belongs to the town and part of which to the Otroč Monastery or the Youth Monastery (‘Ynglingz kloster’). It is said to bear that name because of a prince, who used to reign there earlier, who had taken a woman from a young man as his bride—the youth had been in love with her—having first founded this monastery for the youth. The young man had remained there in peace and quiet in the very room he had built himself.” This version coincides broadly speaking with the one put forward by Zverinskij: the monastery was founded in 1265 by the squire Grigorij, after he had been forced to give up his fiancée Ksenija to Prince

Jaroslav Jaroslavovič. The person who held the office of archimandrite in 1681–86 was Iosif (Строев 1877, col. 452).

322. The Feodor Monastery (Феодоровский Тверский монастырь), which was incorporated into the Iverskij Monastery in 1655 (Амвросий, 6:2, 1815, 842 ff.).

323. The Afanas'ev Monastery (Тверский Афанасьевский монастырь), a convent (Амвросий, 6:1, 1815, 363).

324. The Monastery of the Birth of Christ (Христорождественский/Рождественский монастырь, a convent; Зверинский, II, 1892, 400–01, No. 1346). The *igumenja* at this time was Agafija (in office 1681–86). Строев 1877, col. 465, No. 11.

325. The Russian *vладыка* corresponds to 'bishop' (Günther-Hielscher *et al.* 1995, 379).

326. The Church of the Holy Trinity (Троицкая церковь) was built in 1564 (Брокгауз & Ефрон, col. 64, 1901, 723).

327. Cf. note 319.

328. The name of this suburb was probably *Jamščickaja* (*Jamščičaja*) *sloboda* 'the Suburb of the Coachmen'.

329. Concerning some of the underhand dealing allegedly engaged in by the marshal Hermann von Fersen, see p. 69 in the English translation of the text.

330. Sparwenfeld writes "svag öhl" (weak beer), probably referring to *braga*, a mixture of flour, water and malt, from which an intoxicant was prepared (СРЯ XI–XVII).

331. This seems to be the account of the gifts of the *voevoda* (see above) as if given by Gyllenstierna himself.

332. Concerning Sparwenfeld's "Klina" for Klin, see note 347.

333. The expression "hwijta stugur" (white cottages, white rooms) should be interpreted as 'not black' in the sense of 'not a smoky hut', i.e. a cottage or room with some kind of flue, which meant that the smoke did not turn the room black (Богоявленский 1980, 199).

334. The Russian cross is characterized by a foot-rest slanting from left to right. The person praying always, as in the rest of Christendom, faced the east, from where Christ was to return to the earth. Sparwenfeld's discourse on this subject is somewhat difficult to follow. *Reallexikon* ..., 5, 1995, coll. 15, 28–29 (Kreuz).

335. What Sparwenfeld calls "åldermännén" are probably the *starosty* (sing. срапостра).

336. The corner with the icons is in Russian called "the beautiful corner" or "the foremost corner" (красный угол or передний угол).

337. Many travellers have commented on this. There is a detailed description in Herberstein: "In all houses and dwellings they have the images of saints, either painted or cast, placed in some honourable position: and when any one goes to see another, as he enters

the house, he immediately takes his hat off and looks round to see where the image is, and when he sees it he signs himself three times with the cross, and bowing his head says, "O Lord, have mercy." He then salutes the host with these words, "God give health" (quoted from Major's translation, vol. I, 1851, 107).

338. David also comments on the Russian "siesta": "It is an established custom among them to take a nap and have a rest after lunch. Generally the servants do so, too. The historians say that people became suspicious that Tsar Dmitrij (whom they regard a self-imposed tsar) was not the true tsar, because he did not sleep after lunch." (ed. Myl'nikov, 1968, 4, 141; UB.) The reference here is to the first "False Dmitrij", who was in power in 1605–6; Thus, abstaining from the "siesta" could be quite revealing. See also Olearius (ed. Baron, 1967, 161). Apart from the physical need, the Russians had yet another reason for sleeping in the middle of the day: this was the time when the female "middle-of-the-day demon" (полудница) was out looking for booty (Зеленин 1916, 202 ff.).

339. The mysterious "worms" referred to were cockroaches (тараканы). The Dutch traveller Witsen also comments on the number of cockroaches in smoky huts (1996, 64). See also Tanner.

340. Cf. note 333.

341. A state monopoly on the sale of alcohol was introduced in 1652. The proceeds of this trade made up a very important share of the yearly state revenue. There were many reasons, both fiscal and social, for banning the private operation of taverns. However, as might be expected, these decrees were not always obeyed. See Olearius (ed. Baron, 1967, 144–45, 198–99). For more details about the "drink-shop reform" of 1652 in theory and practice, see Smith & Christian 1984, 154 ff.

342. The state had a monopoly on the operation of baths as well as on the sale of alcohol. The English traveller Fletcher gives the figure of one and a half thousand roubles in revenue every year in Moscow alone. Public baths run by the towns are mentioned in sources from the 16th century on (Рабинович 1978, 129–30). Concerning public baths, see also Olearius (ed. Baron, 1967, 161).

343. Doctor Wallin filled the function of royal physician to the legation (*Appendix 1*).

344. Three clergymen of the legation are mentioned in the list of participants: Anders Forsman, Laurentius Hallenius and Mathias Hedeström (*Appendix 1*).

345. Known as the *sorokoust* or *soročiny*, a requiem read for forty days after a person's death. Cf. Olearius's account: "In the cemetery, over the burial place or grave, those who have the means arrange small shelters, usually hung with mats, in which a person may stand. Here, for six weeks, in the morning and afternoon, a priest, chaplain, or monk must read some Psalms of David and several chapters of the New Testament, for the welfare of the soul of the deceased. Though the Russians, like the Greeks, do not believe in purgatory (as Herberstein, Possevino, and Guagnino correctly write), nevertheless they do believe in the existence of two special places (...) The pious reach a cheerful and charming place, where they live in bliss in the company of good angels; the godless a gloomy, frightful valley, where horrible, evil spirits dwell.

They contend that a soul that has left the body and is on its way to the latter place may be brought into the true path to bliss and to life with the good angels by the zealous

prayers and intercession of his former confessor, priest, monk or anyone else” (ed. Baron, 1967, 276–77). See also Bulgakov, II, 1993, 1294–95.

346. One *altyn* equalled 3 kopeks.

347. The name of the town is Klin, not Klina (see Sparwenfeld’s “ifrån Klina”). He evidently interprets the genitive form after the preposition *ot*, found on many milestones, as the nominative. Cf., however, p. 61 of the text. There Sparwenfeld cites “от Клину” from a milestone, with the alternative genitive form ending in—*u*. Another preposition governing the genitive which constantly occurs on milestones is *do* ‘to’.

348. Jaroslavl’ was probably called “the other Moscow” because it was second in wealth and importance after Moscow. For instance, the administration was moved there for a few months during the Time of Troubles (in 1612), when the city consequently functioned as the capital.

349. Concerning baptism and the ensuing anointing with myrrh in the Russian Orthodox Church, see Bulgakov, II, 1913, 999 ff. According to the ceremonial, the forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands and feet of the newly baptized person were to be smeared with oil. Cf. Sparwenfeld’s account with the detailed account given by Olearius (ed. Bond, 240): “The priest takes a scissors, cuts some hairs crosswise off the baby’s head, and lays them in a book. (...) He then puts a little salt in the baby’s mouth, anoints his forehead, chest, hands, and back, crosswise, with sanctified oil; dresses him in a clean white shirt, and says, ‘Now you are pure and white, and cleansed of original sin.’” Herberstein before him had written about the hairs cut from the child’s head: “The priest also cuts off some hairs from the child’s head, and mixes them with wax, and lays them up in a certain spot in the church” (quoted from Major’s edition, vol. I, 1851, 73). That the Russian Orthodox Church, unlike the Catholic and Protestant Churches, retained baptism by immersion, not infusion, was the main reason for the opinion of the Russian Orthodox believers that westerners were “unclean” (*pogane*). The eastern church has never in principle accepted the baptisms of the other confessions (Scheidegger 1993, 58 f.).

350. Sparwenfeld discovered that the villages should have been mentioned in the opposite order: he added the number 1 above “Constantinowska” and the number 2 above “Pieremera”.

351. Kuzneckij ostrog in Siberia.

352. The Monastery of the Ascension on the Orša (Вознесенский-Оршин/Воршин монастырь) 18 versts to the east of Tver’, on the left bank of the Volga, at its confluence with the River Orša. Зверинский, II, 1892, 101, No. 731.

353. Cf. note 309.

354. Probably the Monastery of the Ascension of Christ (Вознесенский монастырь) in the Kremlin; Зверинский, II, 1892, 95, No. 722. The Czech Jesuit Jiří David, who was in Moscow 1686–90, writes concerning this monastery that almost 300 nuns were living there and that the tsarist princesses were buried there (ed. Myl’nikov, 1968, 3, 92). Concerning David, see note 638.

355. The meaning here is somewhat obscure, but the arriving priest must have been connected with Archangel’skij Sobor in the Kremlin. Probably it is with reference to him that

the anonymous author of the *Short Memorial* (p. 32) writes: “here in Klin the Russian priest’s ceremony with the female greyhound took place” (UB). Possibly the Swedish embassy brought a greyhound with them, and as dogs were regarded as unclean, it needed to be purified by a priest (Scheidegger 1993, 60–63). It has, however, been claimed that this did not apply to greyhounds, although *female* greyhounds might still have constituted a problem.

356. What Sparwenfeld is describing is probably a plough called a *socha* (Даль).

357. Klin is first mentioned in the chronicles in 1234. See also note 347.

358. Possibly the Monastery of the Ascension of the Holy Virgin (Успенский монастырь) with a locally very revered icon of the Mother of God. Зверинский, II, 1892, 388, No. 1316; Булгаков, II, 1913, 1546.

359. That is, Hildebrand von Horn (see note 112).

360. Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij was not the grandson but possibly the cousin of Il’ja Danilovič Miloslavskij, the father of Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič’s first wife. He became an *okol’ničij* in 1660 and a boyar in 1676 (Crummey 1983, 193). In 1671, two years after the death of Marija Miloslavskaja and after the tsar’s new marriage, he was sent away from Moscow to become a governor at Astrachan’. When the tsar died on 8 February 1676, Ivan Miloslavskij hurried back to Moscow, hoping to replace Artamon Matveev (the leader of the Naryškin clan) as head minister. He tried to make the new tsar, Fedor Alekseevič, sentence Matveev to death, but the tsar refused. Instead Matveev was exiled to Pustozersk. When Tsar Fedor died in 1682 Peter was chosen as tsar and his mother, Natal’ja Naryškina, was appointed regent. Matveev set off back to Moscow and reached the city on 11 May. Ivan Miloslavskij played a crucial role in initiating the *strel’cy* uprising by spreading rumours that Fedor had not died of natural causes, but had in fact been killed. The uprising erupted on 15 May and Matveev was one of its first victims. A few days later it was decided that Peter was to share the throne with his elder half-brother Ivan (see also note 307). Although Ivan Miloslavskij belonged to the “right” clan from Sofija’s point of view, she kept him at arm’s length, and after the *strel’cy* uprising he was deprived of his headship of several chancelleries. Possibly she was afraid that, known as he was to be absolutely ruthless for power, he would challenge her favourite V. V. Golycyn. Ivan Miloslavskij died in 1685. The conspiracy mentioned here is reported on in some detail by Hildebrand von Horn in his account to the Danish king dated 14 or 17 April: It happened the week before the letter was written, at midnight between Friday and Saturday. A person of some importance, one of the most distinguished earlier scribes of the treasury, succeeded in getting all the way into the antechamber of the apartment of Tsar Peter and his mother, by saying that he was the brother of Natal’ja Naryškina. At the door he was stopped by one of Naryškina’s maids, who asked him who he was and what he wanted. He said he was a Naryškin and that he wanted to talk to the Tsar and the Tsarina. The maid became suspicious, all the more so as she saw a knife under his coat, and started to scream. The guard came running and caught the intruder. On the following day he was tortured in the presence of the *duma* (“all the boyars”). He then said that he had been sent by Ivan Miloslavskij to kill Peter Alekseevič and his mother. However, he had no intention of doing so, but had only wanted to warn them. This confession was made in the presence of Miloslavskij, who was very upset and said that the charges against him were false. Boris Alekseevič Golycyn, who was the only one who said anything, stated that he needed to prove that he was innocent. Here Vasilij Vasil’evič intervened, and gave his cousin a lecture, although he was a sworn enemy of Ivan Miloslav-

skij. (See the account of this dramatic event in *Aarsberetninger* ..., 1879, 182–83.) In his following account, dated 30 April 1684, von Horn reports regarding this incident that the whole issue had been stifled, the intruder was said to have been out of his mind and had been sent to a distant monastery (*Aarsberetninger* ..., 1879, 184). It is interesting to compare this account with what seems to be the official version, kept at RGADA (Ф 210, *Разрядный приказ*) and reported by Lavrov (1999, 86–87). There it emerges that this incident took place during the night of 11–12 April. The name of the scribe at the treasury (*pod'jačij* at the *Prikaz bol'soj kazny*) was T. Nazar'ev. He was said to have held an icon of St Nicholas the Wonderworker in his hand and to have wanted to visit Natal'ja Kirillovna to ask her to see to it that the tsars sent Ivan Miloslavskij and Fedor Šaklovityj away from Moscow into exile. He was also said to have proposed a solution whereby M. A. Čerkasskij would seize power in this difficult situation with the support of the *strel'cy* (for more details, see Lavrov). There are thus two versions of the same event, with both concurring and diverging elements.

361. Sparwenfeld mistakenly calls the first tsar Ivan *Petrovič*, instead of the correct Ivan *Alekseevič*.

362. Sparwenfeld calls the village Pešek, which is the genitive form of the actual name Peški. The names of villages and towns were very often—not least on the many mileposts eagerly read by Sparwenfeld—preceded by prepositions governing the genitive case, such as от “from”, and до “to”. Cf. note 347.

363. “Ivan the Great” (Иван Великий) is the name of the bell tower of the Kremlin (not, as Sparwenfeld puts it, the tower of the castle), built in the early 16th century and extended in the year 1600 (Забелин 1884, 60). Tanner (1891, 58) has a fine description of it.

364. According to the *Short Memorial* (33–34), the owner of the estate was the infamous Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij (cf. note 360): “The 27th from Čerkizovo to the estate of Ivan Michajlovič Miloslavskij, situated close to the monastery (...) NB: We were taken to the above-mentioned old estate to spend the night in ten to twelve tents of the Tsar, put up for us in the field 4 versts from Moscow.” (UB.) Sparwenfeld mentions that Miloslavskij's estate was new, while the anonymous author of the memorial calls it “old”. Sparwenfeld was evidently right in his guess that this was the place where the Swedish embassy was to camp.

365. According to Demkin (2, 1994, 73), four members of the Dutch “Kanengiesser” (Kanengiesser) family were working as merchants in Moscow during the second half of the 17th century: two brothers and two sons of one of the brothers. Korb, in his diary (the 1968 edition in German, p. 207), defines the members of the merchant family of Kanengiesser as non-Catholic. Our Dutchman was probably married to von Kochen's sister.

366. Tomas Kniper (from 1700 Knipercrona) (1650–1715). He took over after von Kochen and became factor of commerce (*kommersefaktor*) and commissary in Moscow in 1689. He later became the Swedish resident. He was a prisoner of war in Russia from 1700 to 1708. Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 199 f.; Zernack 1958, 143–44.

367. They now entered the “Earthen City” (Земляной город), surrounded by a wall made of earth (cf. the name still existing Земляной вал). The wall was built in 1633–40 by Tsar Michail Fedorovič (Забелин 1884, 164). Jiří David (see note 638) writes about the Earthen City: “Almost the only inhabitants there are *strel'cy*, and it has its own division of suburbs. This town bends around the two previous towns from the north (i.e.

Kitaj-gorod and the White City, UB). It is very large, surrounded by a wall and a moat.” (Ed. Myl'nikov, 1968, 4, 138; UB.) See also Olearius (ed. Baron, 1967, 115–16) and Tanner (1891, 66–67).

368. The church referred to is probably the Church of the Annunciation (Благовещение на сених) (Забелин 1895–1901, 44).

369. They now entered the “White City” (Белый город), surrounded by a white wall. St George (Святой Георгий) is the patron saint of Moscow. To begin with, St George was on the coat of arms of the Moscow princes. It was in the 18th century that he became the patron saint of the city itself. David (cf. note 638) writes the following about the White City: “The White City is also surrounded by its own wall, and here most of the merchants and people of different trades have their houses, but there are no special stalls here” (ed. Myl'nikov, 1968, 4, 138, UB). Olearius (ed. Bond, 1967, 115) gives more detailed and partly different information. See also Tanner 1891, 65.

370. Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn, as the head of the *Posol'skij prikaz*, was the official responsible for foreign embassies.

371. Daniel Hartman was a Dutch merchant who was the director (together with his compatriot Adolf Gutman) of the Dutch-Hamburg trading company in Moscow (Belov 1966, 67, 71).

372. Boris Alekseevič Golicyn, the cousin of Vasilij Vasil'evič. Cf. note 111.

373. Hendrick Boutenant (knighted von Rosenbusch), the Danish commercial agent. In Russia he was referred to under the name of Andrej (Андрей И. Бутенант фон Розенбюш) (for example in documents in RGADA, fund 138). On his activities in Russia, see for example Amburger 1957. Boutenant wrote a report on the *strel'cy* uprising, a report considered to be very reliable. He experienced the uprising at close quarters, and in fact only just escaped being killed by the *strel'cy*. His report (*Eigentlicher Bericht ...*) was published in Hamburg the same year as the uprising, 1682; also published in *Ustrijalov*, 1, 1858, 330–346: *Warhaftige Relation ...*; see also the English translation by J. Keep (*Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 23, 1981).

374. Sparwenfeld's wording gives the impression that he could speak to Vasilij Vasil'evič directly, which is quite possible, as the latter was known to have a command of several foreign languages, a rare thing in Russia at that time. He was said to know Latin, Greek and German. The French diplomatic agent de la Neuville, who spent five months in Moscow in 1689 waiting for an audience he was never granted, writes in his account, that he spoke Latin with Vasilij Vasil'evič, whom he evidently admired immensely. He says about Golicyn that his Latin was good and that he was very fond of talking to foreigners (de la Neuville 1699, 16, 55; 1891, 9, 431, 441).

375. This ambassadors' residence (“ambb. hof” or, further down, “gesante hofwet”) is commented on by David (ed. Myl'nikov, 1968, 3, 94). He says there is a special house in Moscow intended for ambassadors. It is of stone, spacious and has room for several families. Everyone who comes to Moscow as an ambassador or envoy goes there. Resident diplomats can also live there if they have no house of their own. In 1689 three “ministers” were living there, according to David, one of them was von Kochen. Tanner gives a detailed account from 1678 (1891, 48–49). Concerning “our” ambassadors it seems that von Horn had been made to leave room for them after all (cf. p. 141 of the English translation).

376. What Sparwenfeld calls “tyska sloboden”—‘the German suburb’ (Немецкая слобода)—was the suburb built for foreigners in 1650–52 beyond the River Jauza (Ковригина 1998, 25 ff.). The Russian adjective *nemeckij*, which now means ‘German’, was at that time also used to denote foreigners (Europeans) generally, especially people from northern Europe. The etymology of the word is that it originates from the adjective *nemoj* ‘dumb, speechless’.

377. Vasilij Petrovič Verderevskij became a *dumnyj dvorjanin* in 1691 and died in 1694/5 or later (Crummey 1983, 211).

378. Vasilij Timofeevič Postnikov (d. 1710), *d’jak* at the *Posol’skij prikaz*. He was very influential in international affairs and widely used as a diplomat during Golitsyn’s time as head of the Foreign Office. ПБС, 1905, 630–33.

379. Michał Jerzy Czaratoryski (1621–92) went with a delegation to Moscow in 1678. On 3 August an agreement was signed extending for 15 years the Truce of Andrusovo from 1667 (Wielka Encyklopedia powszechna PWN, 2, 1963, 702). For an informed account, see Tanner, who was a member of the delegation.

380. Kazimierz Sapieha was the Lithuanian representative in the delegation of 1678.

381. It is not clear who this is. Could it be the merchant Jacob Kock, mentioned by Kovrigina (1998, 180)?

382. Tomas Kniper was married to Barbara Hassenia in 1679. She was the daughter of Peter Hassenius, patrician and merchant from Reval, in his marriage with Gertrud Kellerman (Elgenstierna, IV, 1928, 200). According to Bantyš-Kamenskij (1, 1894 188), Peter Hassenius was a Dutchman (see also Demkin, 2, 1996, 70, No. 133). Christopher von Kochen was married to his second daughter, Anna (see below).

383. The *Short Memorial* (34–35) contains a list of the food and drink sent from the tsars: “One young heifer, 100 loaves of rye bread, the same amount of wheat bread, 5 sheep, 5 geese, 20 hens, 2 turkeys, 2 black grouse, 5 ducks, 3 live pigs, 5 sides of bacon, 200 eggs, 1 pound of butter, 2 buckets of vinegar of 8 quarts each, red onions, garlic, cabbage and horseradish, tallow candles, and firewood. Drinks: 10 buckets of strong beer of 8 quarts each, 30 buckets of weaker beer, half a bucket of Spanish wine, 2 buckets of boyar aquavit, 1 bucket of French wine, 1 bucket of raspberry mead, 3 buckets of other mead, 5 buckets of refreshing mead (“Läsk miödh”), 3 buckets of kvass mead, 10 buckets of unboiled mead.” (UB.)

384. Nikita Alekseev, under-secretary (подъячий) at the *Posol’skij prikaz*, was a courier to Sweden in 1682. He notified the Swedish king of the death of Tsar Fedor Alekseevič and the accession to the throne of Ivan and Peter Alekseevič (Zernack 1958, 119; Bantyš-Kamenskij, 4, 1902).

385. This manoeuvre has been commented on by many travellers: by moving people who have done their duty in receiving a foreign embassy on ahead to use them once more, the size of the guard of honour was made to look more impressive (Scheidegger 1993, 196 f.).

386. The author of the *Short Memorial* gives an account of the entry into Moscow (35–39). See also Zernack (1958, 132), who gives the date as 29 April. The same date is given

by von Horn in his account to the Danish king (*Aarsberetninger* ..., 1879, 183 f.). Schleussing (1970, 123) also describes the entry of Gyllenstierna's embassy.

387. According to Olearius, the embassy he was part of was guarded by *strel'cy* and no one could get in or out until they had had their first audience (ed. Baron, 1967, 58–59). Concerning this, see also Witsen (1996, 89).

388. In the *Short Memorial* (39–40) an account of the provisions is given. According to Olearius, a double ration was provided on the day of the ambassadors' arrival and on days when they had an audience with the tsar (ed. Baron, 1967, 58).

389. Probably Conrad Gyllenstierna was not buying books for his private library, but had been commissioned by the King and Council to obtain books of interest.

390. "The young Meissner" was probably the son of the Timotheus Meissner who had recently died. Evidently he was carrying on his father's profession as an interpreter at the *Posol'skij prikaz* (cf. note 132). The Danish envoy von Horn clearly did not trust him as an interpreter (Форстен 1904, 69), which seems to tally with the information given here. At the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris there is a 17th century manuscript originating from Sparwenfeld's collection, which, according to a note in the book, earlier belonged to the young Meissner: "Сия книга Ефима Тимофеева сына Мейснера". The book was bound in Moscow in 1687. (Черепнин 1962, 224.)

391. Specifications of the gifts to the tsars, the tsarinas etc. from the Swedish king and from the ambassadors are found at RGADA in Moscow (фонд 96: опись 1, 1684, No. 3). Evidently the first version of the list gave rise to some concern from the Russian side. In *Muscovitica 110* at the National Archives in Stockholm, the following is reported (87–88): "The 2nd ditto [i.e. May], rather early in the morning, the translator Meissner was sent to the legates of his Majesty the King by Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič, who wanted to know if the gifts mentioned in the specification handed over the previous day under the title *His Majesty the King's presents for the Tsarina* were intended for Princess Sofija or for the newly wedded Tsarina. Mr Conrad Gyllenstierna gave the said translator the answer that, as, when his legates were leaving, His Majesty the King had not known that His Majesty Tsar Ivan Alekseevič had married a young consort and Tsarina, he had ordered them to follow the advice they could be given at Their Tsarist Majesties' court regarding to whom the named presents should be delivered. In other words, this decision was left to the discretion of Their Tsarist Majesties, which the legates asked the translator to tell Mr Golicyn, together with kind regards, and if a change in the specification was desirable, it would be made." (UB.) It seems, as could be expected, that Golicyn's advice regarding to whom the presents intended for "the Tsarina" were to be given was: to Sofija. A very detailed description of the gifts is given by the anonymous author of the *Short Memorial* under 2 May, in connection with the audience (41–49). In the procession on the way to the Kremlin different hofjunkers went before the gifts for different persons. Mr Cronman, number two in rank among the hofjunkers, accompanied the gifts intended for Sofija in the procession. Her gifts included writing materials, such as a writing case in fragrant wood, an inkpot, penknives and paper. But she also received more traditional women's gifts, such as a work-box and silk stockings of different colours, embroidered with gold and other materials. Sparwenfeld accompanied the presents from the Swedish king to the tsars, i.e. the most important gifts.

392. The audience took place in what was then called the Great Palace (Большая полата), now known as the Palace of Facets (Грановитая палата), built in 1491 (Забе-

лин 1872, 48). Many foreigners have given detailed accounts of the ceremonial surrounding the audiences. See Olearius (ed. Bond, 1967, 62–64), Mayerberg (Barsov's Russian translation, 1882, 13–15) and others. Of particular interest to us is the account given by the German physician Engelbert Kämpfer (cf. note 31), later to be known as a prominent Japanologist. In July 1683, in connection with the reception of a Swedish delegation on its way to Persia and led by Fabritius, whom Kämpfer served as secretary, he gave the following account: "Both [tsars] sat somewhat towards the right of the room, both on an elevated silver bishop's throne covered in red cloth. Above each hung a picture. Over their robes they wore cloaks of flowered yellow and white silver fabric and in their hands instead of a sceptre they held a long gold staff, bent at the end like a bishop's crozier and set with precious stones (...) Ivan sat motionless with downcast eyes which were, in addition, almost hidden by a cap pulled down over them." Both tsars rose to ask about the health of the Swedish king: "The hand of the elder Tsar had to be raised to his cap by his young attendant and the cap was thus touched. At the same time a babbling noise issued from his lips." The impression given by the younger tsar was quite the opposite: "The younger, his face held upright and open, made such an impression with his wonderful beauty and pleasant gestures, as the crimson of his royal blood kept rushing to his face, (...) The younger was a nimble fellow and so eager to ask questions and to stand up that he had to be restrained by his attendant until the elder Tsar was ready and they could speak simultaneously." (Quoted from Hughes 1990, 92–93.) Concerning Ivan's health, see note 108. There is a copy of a detailed account of our audience in the Palmskiöld collection at Uppsala University Library, written by someone in the delegation. There it emerges that the audience hall was adorned with Turkish carpets and that the upper part of the vault was covered with mural paintings. The Swedes were allowed three to four steps closer to the tsars than was usual, which was regarded as a great honour. "The throne of the older Tsar was of white silver and rather high, and the upper part was somewhat pointed. The one of the younger Tsar was gilded and slightly lower. They were dressed in cloaks of golden cloth with wide collars around their necks, covered with pearls and precious stones, and on their heads they wore a crown, fastened on a sable cap and in the right hand each one held a sceptre. The older Tsar did not seem as healthy and alert as the younger one, who had a beautiful face." (*Pmsk* 48, 10, UB.) After a description of the *ryndy* (see note 396) and the placing of the *duma*, the tsars are commented on again: "Then Their Majesties the Tsars got to their feet and asked about the health of His Majesty the King, but so quietly that it was barely audible. But they did not lift the crowns from their heads, which they were not able to do and do not do, but sat down again right away." (*Pmsk* 48, 11, UB.) It is interesting to note that the thrones of the tsars were placed not in the centre, but to the right. This fact, namely that the place of honour in the Russian tradition is the corner, not the centre, has been commented on by Mayerberg (Barsov's translation, 1882, 18). Cf. the "beautiful corner", where the icons were placed (note 336).

393. It is not immediately clear to whom the word "tsarinnan" refers (that the presents were for someone other than Sofija is clear from Sparwenfeld's text), as there were three wives of tsars in Moscow at this time. Theoretically it could refer to Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič's widow and the second tsar's mother, the previous regent Natal'ja Naryškina, or to the widow of Tsar Fedor Alekseevič, Marfa Matveevna, or, finally, to the wife of "the older Tsar", Ivan Alekseevič, i.e. Praskov'ja Fedorovna Saltykova. Taking into account the question asked by Golicyn regarding the presents for the tsarina (see note 391), where there seemed to be two alternatives, it is probable that the gifts were intended for Ivan's wife, Praskov'ja Fedorovna. It seems clear, however, that the Swedes had some difficulty handling the four tsarinas (three wives of tsars and one *de facto* ruling female tsar) correctly according to protocol and in a consistent way. That consistency was a problem seems obvious if another piece of information is taken into account: when toasts

were being drunk in the evening in the ambassadors' residence, with the *stol'nik* Fedor Alekseevič Golovin acting as host, Natal'ja Naryškina is mentioned first among the Russian women (and as number 4 overall) (the Swedish queen mother Hedvig Eleonora is likewise mentioned before the acting queen Ulrika Eleonora). Fedor Alekseevič's widow and Ivan's wife are mentioned in sixth place. Sofija is not mentioned at all and must have been included in the eighth toast, for the aunts and sisters of the tsars (the *Short Memorial*, 53–54). Partly the same information is given in the account in *Pmsk 48* (p. 27), where both Natal'ja Naryškina and Fedor Alekseevič's widow are mentioned as number four and Ivan's wife alone as number six. The first persons to whom toasts were drunk were the Swedish king, the two tsars and the Swedish queen mother. If Natal'ja Naryškina, the mother of Tsar Peter, comes immediately after the tsars in rank, it is strange that Cronman, number two among the hofjunkers, carried the gifts intended for Sofija. In the *Short Memorial* it is clearly mentioned (p. 43): "4. His Majesty the King's presents for Princess Sophia, before which Mr Cronman went". In the account in *Pmsk 48* (p. 5) it is written that Cronman went before the presents of the tsarina ("Tzarinnan"), without mention of a name. Is the information in the *Short Memorial* incorrect, that the presents before which Cronman went were intended for Sofija (cf. also note 391)? It seems probable that this information is correct, as it is in accordance with Golicy'n's advice to the Swedish delegates (see note 391). Or could it be that the host, Golovin, was opposed to Golicy'n's efforts to launch Sofija? It seems evident, at any rate, that Sofija's place in the hierarchy caused some considerable diplomatic headaches.

394. Emel'jan Ignat'evič Ukrainev, experienced diplomat and official, was appointed *dumnyj d'jak* at the *Posol'skij prikaz* in 1681. He took part in many delegations abroad, including to Sweden. He was much trusted by V.V. Golicy'n, and although the function of head of the Foreign Office was held by the latter, Ukrainev was in fact responsible for its day-to-day management. After the fall of Golicy'n he joined his opponents and was the head of the *Posol'skij prikaz* for about a decade. He died in 1708 in Hungary. Crummev 1983, *passim*.

395. The day of the first audience, 2 May, was a Friday, the day of the week, apart from Wednesday, when Russian Orthodox believers fast (cf. note 286). For more details concerning the meal, see the *Short Memorial*, 54–55.

396. These ceremonial guards, dressed in white and with axes at the ready, known as *ryndy*, were not in fact chosen from among the most distinguished families. Kotošichin gives a detailed description of them and says that they were chosen from among the *deti bojarskie* (1980, ed. Pennington, 75; 1908, ed. Adde, 68). See also Palmquist's illustration of an audience (Fig. 16). If Palmquist's illustration of Oxenstierna's audience from 1674 is compared with Sparwenfeld's account, two points may be noted. The council (*duma*) was sitting to the left of the tsar in Palmquist's picture, while Sparwenfeld says that it was sitting to the right. In fact, the author of the report in *Pmsk 48* points out that this time, unlike in 1674, the *duma* sat to the right (*Pmsk 48*, 11). In Palmquist's picture, there is to the right of the tsar a table with the famous water jug, handbasin and towel, said to be used by the tsar to wash his hands after the kissing of his hand by foreign ambassadors of the wrong, and especially the Catholic, faith. As early a writer as Herberstein mentions these objects and their stated use, and after him many travellers watched out for them. They had evoked strong reactions from foreign envoys, who saw them as a gross insult. Sparwenfeld does not mention the jug with its accessories, nor do the authors of other reports of Gyllenstierna's embassy, which seems to indicate that it was not there. In fact, it has been stated that the jug disappeared in the 1680s. Juzefovič (1988, 198 ff.) is of the opinion that there had never been a jug, that it was all a myth, possibly

created for political ends in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Concerning this question and its relationship to the question of clean/unclean, see Scheidegger 1993, 72 f. An amusing detail may be mentioned in this connection. Kotošichin, reporting on how an audience with the tsar takes place (meant for Swedish readers), writes that to the right of the tsar “на окне поставлен на блюде стоянец” (in the window stands a pedestal on a dish, ed. Pennington p. 75). Anne Pennington in her glossary translates the word *stojanec* as “pedestal (for tsar’s orb)”. Olof Barckhusen, who translated Kotošichin’s work shortly after it was finished, translates this sentence thus: “upå ett Fönster står een giutkanna (:a:) uthi ett faat eller becken” and in the margin, preceded by (:a:) he provides an explanation for his Swedish readers (Adde’s edition p. 68): “Denne Kannan är till den ändan dijt satt som kunnigt är at så snart *Legaterne* taga afträde, de der hafwa warit framme och kyst Tzarens handh; Så giutes deruhr på hans händer, på det han blifwer skärat och reemat igen *iuxta illos*.” (This jug, as is well known, has been put there so that, when the legates have been dismissed after coming forward to the Tsar and kissing his hand, water can be poured onto his hands, for him to be cleansed and purified again, according to what they say.) So Barckhusen’s spontaneous interpretation of this object standing to the right of the tsar was that it was the famous jug! In passing, it may be mentioned that it was Sparwenfeld who donated Kotošichin’s work to Uppsala University Library.

397. What is mentioned here is the law code of 1649 (Соборное уложение), which was, of course, of interest to the Swedish government. Sparwenfeld, who received a copy of this book for himself as well (*Slav 23* at the Uppsala University Library), later studied the legal terminology of the code with the help of a Russian prisoner of war (Birgegård 1987).

398. The Slavonic grammar bought by Sparwenfeld for Conrad Gyllenstierna must have been Meletij Smotrickij’s Church Slavonic grammar, the Moscow edition of 1648. This grammar was the only one available in Moscow at this time and it was to become Sparwenfeld’s “Bible” in his studies of the Church Slavonic language. Birgegård 1985, 56–58.

399. The Dutch resident, Baron Johann van Keller, was to become the Nestor of the *Nemeckaja sloboda* in Moscow. He came to Moscow in 1676 and lived there for 21 years without interruption. Already at this time he seems to have been very influential. He was referred to by some as “a good Swede”, meaning that he was regarded as standing on the Swedish side in foreign policy. Concerning him, see Belov 1966, 58–83.

400. This is not correct. Bells *were* used during fires (see, for example, David, 1968:4, 139), and there was a special way of ringing them to summon people together to fight a fire (пожарный звон). Different groups of citizens had different tasks in that connection.

401. The Swiss Francois Jacques Le Fort, who was to become one of Peter’s favourites. According to a letter to Sparwenfeld from Keller, Le Fort was not appointed colonel until 1687 (KVA, *Berg. brevsaml.*, IX:563). At this time (from 1683), he had the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Sparwenfeld mentions Le Fort in *Nomina* among his acquaintances in the Foreign suburb: “The great favourite (Francois le Fort) of Tsar Peter’s, who later was the first envoy from the Tsar to Holland and Paris, like Dolgorukij before them” (UB).

402. He is referring to the Cathedral of the Archangel (Архангельский собор) in the Kremlin. Envoys from Christian governments had to enter the Great Palace through the

staircase to the Blagoveščenskij sobor; perhaps Sparwenfeld is confusing the cathedrals (Забелин 1872, 253).

403. Concerning which tsar had the higher throne, Sparwenfeld says the opposite in his account of the first public audience (p.149 in the English translation).

404. The cap worn by the Russian tsar on solemn occasions was the famous “Monomach’s cap” (шапка Мономаха). The original cap (worn by Tsar Ivan Alekscevič as the first tsar) was possibly a gift to Ivan Kalita from the Tatar khan Uzbek in the 14th century. The cap worn by the second tsar, Peter, was one of second rank. The name of the cap, documented from the beginning of the 16th century, originates from the tradition that the Byzantine emperor Konstantin Monomach gave it to the Grand Prince of Kiev Vladimir Monomach (12th century). Concerning this and other regalia, see Uspenskij 1996, 88 ff. The cap worn on this occasion, however, was probably not the original one.

405. Probably the “Otvetnaja polata” or “Posol’skaja polata” (Забелин 1872, 243).

406. Vasilij Vasil’evič Golicyn became a boyar in 1676 (Crummey 1983, 199). After the *strel’cy* uprising in May 1682 he was appointed head of the *Posol’skij prikaz*. During the actual regency of Sofija he was the most powerful person in the country after her. He was governor-general of Novgorod (“Namiestnik Novogrodskoj”) and privy boyar (“närmas-te Bojarin”—ближний боярин). In 1682, as the fourth person ever in Russia (after A. L. Ordin-Naščokin, A. S. Matveev and V. S. Volynskij), he was given the title “Царствен-ная большая печати и государственных великих посольских дел оберега-тель”, (the Guardian of the Great Seal of the Tsar and of the Most Important Diplomatic Matters of the State).

407. Ivan Vasil’evič Buturlin (d. 1697), who had the nickname “Krivoj”—‘the One-Eyed’ (cf. Sparwenfeld). He was appointed *okol’ničij* in 1676 and a boyar in 1677 (Crummey 1983, 198). He worked actively, with the Swedes among others, to form a union against the Turks. Buturlin was not appointed privy boyar and Governor-General of Suzdal’ until 1686 (according to *RBS*). This text, however, has been added in the margin. It could have been added later.

408. Semen Fedorovič Toločanov (d. 1708 or later), was appointed *okol’ničij* in 1683 (Crummey 1983, 203).

409. Vasilij Ivanovič Bobinin (d. after 1686), *d’jak* at the *Posol’skij prikaz*, had taken part in at least three embassies to Sweden. In the embassy of 1683 he was number three after the father and son Prončiščev (cf. note 131). Бантыш-Каменский, 4, 1902 *passim*.

410. Prokofij Bogdanovič Voznicyn (d. 1702). He joined the *Posol’skij prikaz* in 1667 as a *pod’jačij* and was promoted to *d’jak* in 1681. He took part in many delegations and became very influential. He became a member of the *duma* in 1690. Веселовский 1975, 101; Crummey 1983, 210.

411. Ivan Michajlovič Volkov, from January 1684 *d’jak* at the *Posol’skij prikaz*. Веселовский 1975, 105.

412. Savva Grigor’evič Sandyrev. He was later connected to the *Konjušennyj prikaz* (Богоявленский 1946, 80). It is not clear which official function he had at this time. Cf. note 557.

413. According to Belokurov (1906, 128, 132) there was a *pod'jačij* by the name of Kuz'ma Nikitič Nefimov at the *Posol'skij prikaz* at this time (see also *Ekonomičeskie svjazi ...*, 1978, 171). He is probably identical to the Kuz'ma Nikitin who, according to Veselovskij (1975, 370), was employed in 1674 as a clerk (*pod'jačij*) at the *Posol'skij prikaz*. He is probably also the same person as Konrat Nikitin who, according to Zernack (1958, 124), was sent to Stockholm in April 1683 to report that a Russian embassy was to be sent to Sweden to finalize the treaty of Kardis. He is also mentioned by Lavrov ("Кондрат Никитин"; 1999, 76).

414. Cf. note 96.

415. Cf. note 107.

416. See *Appendix I*.

417. I have not been able to find Sparwenfeld's minutes.

418. Cf. note 438.

419. Concerning the day of St Nicholas, the patron saint of sailors, on 9 May, see Bulgakov, I, 1913, 177–78. See also Uspenskij 1982.

420. Cf. note 381.

421. Semen Ivanovič Rumjancev is identical with the *d'jak* Semen Rumjancev who was Russian envoy to France in 1668 (Бакланова) (*Международные связи ...* 1966, 306). According to Sparwenfeld he was working at the Siberian Chancellery at this time.

422. The conference room (see note 405) had a secret "peep-hole" for the tsars ("тайник" or "тайное окошко") (Забелин 1872, 243).

423. A Russian account of these negotiations has been published in *Russko-švedskie ekonomičeskie otnošenija* 1960, No. 260, 443–45. The original account is kept at RGADA (фонд Сношения России со Швецией, кн. 116, ff. 421 v.–439 v.).

424. Von Horn reports to the Danish king about this courtesy visit by the Swedish ambassadors on 12 May (*Aarsberetninger ...*, 1897, 184). Evidently Conrad Gyllenstierna had excused himself, saying that he "einer zimlich harten unpäszlichkeit wegen" not could go to see him. It could be suspected that Gyllenstierna's indisposition was more of a political nature: von Horn's presence and activities in Moscow were looked upon with extreme irritation by the Swedish embassy. Gyllenstierna, however, also refrained from a visit to the Dutch resident van Keller in the evening (see below). Sparwenfeld does not comment on the absence of Gyllenstierna, but indirectly points out that he was absent in the evening as well. Sparwenfeld's position was possibly somewhat awkward, as he spent much of his free time with von Horn. Concerning subsequent developments, see note 466.

425. The letter from the king is dated 8 April and deals with an incident occurring between the courier Pröbsting (see note 98) and his pristav, for the information of the ambassadors, in case the incident should come up during the negotiations. The letter, kept in the original in *Muscovitica III* at the National Archives in Stockholm, has been published in *Ekonomiska förbindelser mellan Sverige och Ryssland ...*, 1978, 249.

426. The *Strel'cy* Chancellery (Стрелецкий приказ), which was responsible for administrative matters relating to the *strel'cy* (Kotošichin, ed. Pennington, 1985, 102 ff.).

427. The imperial embassy had evidently chosen a different tactic to the Swedish one.

428. Mar'ina rošča (Марьино роща) is now the name of a district with three parallel streets and seventeen crossroads in the northern part of Moscow (Сытин 1958, 747–48). In the 17th century this area belonged to the Čerkasskij family. It was covered with dense forests with a couple of villages. One of them is mentioned in 1678 as “слобода Марьино”. Sytin mentions that there was a small German cemetery there in the 17th century. According to him, the name *Mar'ina rošča* first appears in 1742. Sparwenfeld calls the place “Marian bousk”. Boutenant, in his *Warhaftige Relation ...* (Устрялов 1858, 338), calls it “Marien busch” in German (Busch—‘shrubby area’, corresponding to *rošča*). Witsen (1996, 151) mentions Mar'ina rošča (this is the name used in the Russian translation; Witsen wrote Marienbos in Dutch (II, 1966, 194, 229)). He says it is owned by Prince Jakov Čerkasskij and that it is used as an amusement park by the Germans in Moscow. There are arbours there, and tables and benches made of clay. Under 11 May (1665) Witsen writes that at this time of year, especially on 10 May, almost all the Germans go to Mar'ina rošča to enjoy themselves (p. 188 in the Russian translation). Sytin is mistaken regarding the first appearance of the name in Russian. Bogojavlenskij (who refers to Smirnov) talks about *Mar'ina* or *Knjažaja rošča* in 1646 (История Москвы, I, 1952, 461). Sil'vestr Medvedev, too, mentions Mar'ina rošča in his impressive account of the *strel'cy* uprising *Sozercanie kratkoe ...* (1894, 144), written in the 1680s.

429. In many cultures, people who died an “unnatural death” were seen as a threat to the living. In the Russian tradition there were two categories of dead: those who died a natural death and those who died early, in an “unnatural” way, either by accident, or by murder or suicide (the latter were called “založnye pokojniki”—*založnyj*, an adjective from *zalog* “pledge” and *pokojnik* “deceased”). According to old popular belief, these people completed their lives—i.e. they lived the lives that had been allotted to them from birth—beyond the grave. They also retained their bodies until they died a second time, their natural death, having completed their legitimate lives. They generally settled down close to people, near the places where they had died. People were afraid of them, as they created all sorts of problems and dangers for the living. They were not to be buried in the usual way, because the earth (“мать сыра земля”) would not accept them. Their bodies kept reappearing and never mouldered, a sign of “the anger of the earth” (“гнев земли”). Another sign of the earth's opposition was failure of the crops. So the bodies were not buried, but thrown in some far-away place, like a ravine, and covered with branches to protect them from animals. After the spring frost and before the blooming of the cereals, a special funeral feast was arranged, to take the place of a regular burial.

After Russia's conversion to Christianity, the church began to oppose these rites. The church wanted a normal burial, as often did the relatives. Maksim Grek, for example, protested against these customs in the 16th century. As a compromise, what were referred to as “убогие дома”—deplorable houses—started to be used. On the outskirts of town a huge hole was dug and into it were thrown the bodies of people who had been murdered, died from the plague, the homeless, infidels (i.e. non-Christians) etc. (Sparwenfeld also mentions people who had drowned or been executed). The hole was covered with bast fabric. Sometimes some kind of construction was built over it. On the seventh Thursday after Easter (семик), three days before Whit Sunday, a church procession was organized to this place, sometimes—in Moscow—led by the patriarch himself. A requiem was celebrated, both collectively and for individuals mentioned by name. This, ac-

cording to Zelenin, was the only Old Russian pagan institution that survived to the end of the 18th century. According to Dal', the custom was alive in the north as late as the 19th century (see under *убогий*). Foreign visitors naturally commented on it. Cf. what is noted in the *Short Memorial* under 15 May (70–72): “The Russians had another big festival, which they celebrate every year on 15 May and which they call ‘Sedma’. On that day they bury all the dead collected during the whole year. It is done in the following way: in four places outside the city, one in each corner, a big hole is dug, which is called *mironosec* (i.e. bringer of peace, UB). On top of it a house is built. Into this hole they throw everyone found killed on streets and roads, people who have killed themselves, and, they maintain, also some high-born people who do not regard themselves as worthy of being buried in the cemetery, they, too, are placed there. The dead lie on top of each other, as they are found, without a coffin and grave-clothes. And when this day comes, those who know that they have relatives there go there to weep and mourn. The popes or priests are there with their burning wax candles, censers, icons and crosses, dressed in full vestments to pray for their souls, make the sign of the cross and incense them and then bury them in the following manner. If the *mironosec* or the holes are full of the dead, they throw the house down on top of them and immediately dig another hole close by. If the hole is not full they fill it up with soil or something else and there they howl and cry. And they console themselves to such an extent with beer, food and aquavit that it happens quite often that people get killed in their drunkenness, as happened this year: in one place twelve Russians were killed during a commotion and were thrown straightaway into the new hole.” (UB.)

Concerning the place Sparwenfeld is referring to, Sytin (1958, 747–48) states that an *ubogij dom*—a morgue and a cemetery—was moved from Božedomka and established in Mar'jino in 1746, and in 1750 an ordinary cemetery took its place. For quite some time, though, people, continued to assemble on the *semik* to spend time with their dead. Other travellers, for instance Margeret, Fletcher and Paul of Aleppo, also describe this rite. Zelenin 1917.

430. According to Sytin (1959) the names *Astradamskij prospekt* (1-j and 2-j) and *Astradamskij tupik* (1-j and 2-j) in the Timirjazovskij district of Moscow have the following story. In this area there used to be a village called Ostroganovo (for Astradamovo). It took its name from a model farm founded by Peter the Great at the beginning of the 18th century, a farm like one he had seen in Amsterdam during his European journey in 1697. He called the place Astradam. But evidently, if Sparwenfeld's information is correct, this was not the beginning of the connection between this area and the Dutch capital.

431. The reason why Sparwenfeld and Ambassador Klingstedt's son started looking for lodgings in the Foreign Suburb was that they were to stay in Moscow and study the language (see further below).

432. Johann Christian Zierowsky. According to O'Brien (1952, 92) the German Emperor's commission arrived in Moscow on 24 May, probably a misprint for 14. The main goal of the imperial embassy was to persuade Russia to join the Holy League against Turkey.

433. Baron Sebastian von Blumberg. Judging from O'Brien (1952, 92 ff.), it seems that it was von Blumberg who played first fiddle. Schleussing (ed. Lapteva, 1970, 123) has the same information.

434. According to O'Brien (1952, 92) the first audience took place on 27 May (cf. note 433).

435. When major embassies were received in Moscow, they were met with all the pomp and splendour possible, to mark the importance and power of the Russian state and to set the agenda for the forthcoming negotiations. The clothes worn by people taking part in processions like these were generally borrowed from the tsar's wardrobe and then returned (Scheidegger 1993, 193 f., 204).

436. The tsars (at least from Aleksej Michajlovič on) could secretly watch the entry of foreign embassies from Voskresenskie vorota, where special rooms were built for this purpose (Лаврентьев 1997). They could get to the "observation point" directly from the castle, by an inner route, and were not seen from the outside. It was, however, known that they were watching (cf. the peephole, p. 74). The entry route for foreign embassies led through the Tver Gate of the White City, along Tver Street to the Voskresenskie vorota, through them into Red Square and then to Iljinka Street, where the residence of visiting diplomats (Посольский двор) was situated. According to Lavrent'ev (p. 156), the tsar's family did not join the tsar in watching these entries, although information to that effect is given by the Dutch traveller van Klenk. However, it is documented that Sofija was present on at least one such occasion (Лаврентьев 1997, 155). Sparwenfeld's (or rather Gyllenstierna's) information seems to provide further evidence that family members were also present. Could it be that, if they were, it was not acknowledged in the official records? Concerning Sparwenfeld's reference to "dheras tzariske gemåhler", he probably had in mind Praskovja Fedorovna Saltykova, Tsar Ivan Alekseevič's wife, and the widows of the two previous tsars, Aleksej Michajlovič and Fedor Alekseevič. When reading Sparwenfeld's account here (originating from Conrad Gyllenstierna), one gets the impression that the tsars could be seen by the public.

437. The Russian name for 'pike' is *kop'e* (копье).

438. Count David William von Graham lived and worked in Russia as a military man for many years. He had earlier served in Sweden. He was introduced to Sparwenfeld by von Horn and was to belong to his Moscow circle of friends.

439. Possibly the father of Ivan Il'ič Dmitriev-Mamonov (b. 1680) (PBC 1905, 461).

440. Michail Andreevič Volkonskij became an *okol'ničij* in 1693 and died in 1709 (Crummey 1983, 212).

441. Jakov Stepanovič Puškin was evidently degraded later that year from his rank of *stol'nik* to *gorodovoj dvorjanin* in Novgorod. In 1686, however, he was appointed *okol'ničij* (PBC 1910, 326).

442. Matvej Stepanovič Puškin, Jakov's brother, became *okol'ničij* in 1674 and boyar in 1682 (Crummey 1983, 198). In 1684 he was *voevoda* of Smolensk together with Boris Buturlin (PBC 1910, 318–19).

443. Ivan Kol'cov-Mosal'skij. According to *Nomina* (see below), Sparwenfeld was to count three brothers Mosal'skij among his friends: "Knesi Massalskie 3 st: brödher".

444. Luka Fedorovič Dolgorukov (Dolgorukij), *stol'nik* and *voevoda* in Kiev (PBC, 1905, under his son Vasilij Lukič Dolgorukov).

445. Olearius, too, comments on these silver chains: "... two pristavs ... rode up on beautifully groomed white horses. In place of bridles, the horses wore silver chains with links over two inches wide, yet not thicker than a knife's edge, and so large in compass that a man could put his hand through them. These chains produced a loud, strange ringing when the horses moved" (ed. Baron, 1967, 57).

446. The Estates Chancellery (Поместный приказ) (Kotošichin, ed. Pennington, 1980, 107 ff.).

447. The life story of this "Görgen Gross" has recently been reconstructed by the Moscow historian A.V. Lavrent'ev ("Леонтий Гросс ...", 1997). It is something out of the ordinary. Georg Gottfried Gross was the son of the mayor of Regensburg. After completing his studies, he set out on a journey to Livonia to get acquainted with "the north". In May 1656 the war between Sweden and Russia broke out. Gross was, by his own account, forced by the Swedes to take part in the defence of the fortified town of Kokenhusen. The town was captured by the Russians in August 1656 and Gross was taken prisoner. He came to spend eleven years in the service of the powerful and competent Boris Ivanovič Morozov, the friend, teacher and brother-in-law of Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič (Morozov was married to Anna Il'jinična Miloslavskaja, the sister of the tsar's first wife). Gross worked as a foreman in Lyskovo, one of the largest villages among Morozov's extensive estates. In 1659 he was converted to the Russian Orthodox faith under the name of Leontij. In the same year he married a local woman of humble extraction (according to Sparwenfeld, a maid of Morozov's wife), the daughter of a certain Trofim Čubarov. Gross gained his freedom in 1667, after the death of Morozov's widow. In April 1668 Gross was employed at the *Posol'skij prikaz* as a translator from German, Latin and, later, Dutch. He seems to have progressed rapidly in his career, moving straight into the position of translator, without the usual intermediate step of interpreter. He worked at the Foreign Office for about 25 years. In 1675 Gross was admitted into the Moscow nobility (московский дворянский список). He had a special connection with the Dutch resident van Keller, to whom, it seems, he sold confidential information (see, however, Sparwenfeld's conflicting characterization of him in a letter to Bengt Oxenstierna, note 753). Concerning his work on different translations, see Lavrent'ev's and Matveeva's article in *Slovar' knižnikov*, (XVII v.), 1, 1992, 241–44. Gross's handwriting is found in several manuscripts brought to Sweden by Sparwenfeld. (Regarding these manuscripts, see Birgegård 1985, 23, note 37.) It is a fact that Sparwenfeld and Gross were in contact during Sparwenfeld's stay in the city. There is a letter from Gross to Sparwenfeld, preserved at Linköping. It has no date, but seems to have been written in 1684 in answer to a request from Sparwenfeld for access to a Latin-Slavonic dictionary at the *Posol'skij prikaz*. The answer on that occasion was, in principle, negative. It seems, however, that Sparwenfeld's acquaintance with Gross proved extremely valuable in many ways, not least because—through him—he gained access to manuscripts produced at the *Posol'skij prikaz*.

448. Viskovatov (1878, 447–48) has published von Blumenberg's Latin oration in a Russian translation.

449. Cf. the *Short Memorial*, which also gives an account of the gifts (p. 73): "7. A large oval silver dish, on which the emperor, extremely beautifully worked, sat on his throne with fettered Turks lying at his feet" (UB). A well-chosen motif indeed, given the purpose of the embassy!

450. Ivan Ivanovič Golicyyn Bol'šoj (senior) became a boyar in 1685 and died in June 1686 (Crummey 1983, 207). See also note 729.

451. The rebellion referred to is, of course, the *strel'cy* uprising. To try to restore calm after the outbreak of violence in the middle of May 1682, the authorities decided to pay considerable sums of money to the *strel'cy*, to “compensate” them for their grievances.

452. Izmajlovo was the tsar's country residence and at the same time served as a kind of model farm. It was often shown to foreign guests. Work there was started by Aleksej Michajlovič in 1663 and a large number of branches of cultivation were developed: corn, gardening, bee-keeping, silkworm farming etc. There were zoological and herb gardens, experimental windmills and glassworks at Izmajlovo. On a single day up to 700 harvesters could be working there. The houses were built in 1665–69. Concerning the beautiful wooden house mentioned by Sparwenfeld, see Zabelin (1872, Материалы, 43 ff). David, too, gives an account of Izmajlovo. He writes concerning the glassworks that Germans produced glass for the tsar's court there (ed. МЫЛЬНИКОВ 1968, 3, 93). Concerning these “Germans”, see note 566.

453. Cf. note 410.

454. Cf. note 413.

455. The letter arrived in Stockholm on 28 June (RA, *Muscovitica* 108).

456. For the text of the treaty, see Полное собрание законов ..., t. 2, 1830, No. 1076, 619–22; Русско-шведские экономические отношения ..., No. 261 (445–46), No. 262 (447) 443–47; Экономические связи ..., 1978, No. 102, 156–57. An account and the text of the agreement are given in the *Short Memorial* (76–93). The anonymous author points out that the younger tsar (i.e. Peter) stood behind his peephole and listened, as before.

457. Sparwenfeld's protocol has as yet not been found.

458. It is unclear why this Georgian alphabet was of interest to Conrad Gyllenstierna or the Swedish authorities. For further discussions of Georgian matters and alphabets, see below.

459. Two accounts of the ceremony are found in *Pmsk* 48, one (anonymous) on pp. 29–39, the other, by Conrad Gyllenstierna (“I, Conrad Gyllenstierna,” etc.) on pp. 43–46.

460. That some of the Swedes kept both hat and gloves on was clearly a demonstration of some significance. See also the account, based on official documents, given in Ustrjalov (1, 1858, 121–22), which, however, makes no mention of the above.

461. As for which fast was beginning, see the *Short Memorial* (p. 95): “The 26th the Russians began a new fast, which they call *Petrov post* or *Persmässofastlagen*, and which they always count from Trinity Sunday to the Day of Peter and Paul” (UB). Cf. also note 283.

462. According to *Pmsk* 48, the toasts were proposed in the same order as after the first audience on 2 May (see note 393), with one interesting addition. In ninth place, after the toasts to the aunts and sisters of the tsars, came: “In Specie Princessinans Sophias skåål” (p. 42) (in particular a toast to Princess Sofija). Another difference is that Fedor Alekseevič's widow is not mentioned at all, either as number four or in sixth place.

463. The Russian *ikra* means 'caviar'. Cf. note 203.

464. Princess Sofija received the Swedish ambassadors in another room, the Golden Chamber. See Lermontova (1912, 441–45), who quotes from official documents, and, after her, Hughes 1990, 189–90. See also Ustrjalov (1, 1858, 122–24). A report on the same occasion is given by the anonymous author of the *Short Memorial* (100–102): "then we went out and were escorted through another hall opposite this one, across a courtyard to the sister of the Tsars, or rather the full sister of Tsar Ivan, and the half-sister of Tsar Peter Alekseevič. On both sides along the way well-dressed *strel'cy* were placed. Her apartment was in the same castle as that of the Tsars, but not upstairs. So the legates and Mr Elfwendahl went into her apartment, but nobody else from the whole party, all of us stayed outside her apartment in the courtyard. We were told that the above-mentioned Princess sat on a beautifully adorned chair, with her brownish hair hanging down, on her head a chaplet as virgins in this country generally have, with precious stones. She was dressed in a Russian cloak embroidered with precious stones. Two old women sat behind her and they held her under her arms, one on each side. Four female dwarfs were standing in front of her, two on each side. In there Golicyn and several other gentlemen paid her their respects." Ukrainev told the legates to come closer and make their speech, which they did, saying that they had been ordered, "if they were graciously allowed to enjoy the bright eyes of the princess", to pass on greetings from his Majesty the King, his mother and wife etc. Then she got up and asked about the health of their majesties and the health of the ambassadors. After that Ukrainev told the ambassadors that owing to the great love and friendship that had now been established between the two countries His Majesty's great ambassadors were admitted to the kissing of the hand (the legates only were allowed, not Mr Elfwendahl). "Then she got to her feet again and asked the ambassadors to greet their Majesties, which she did repeating the short title, speaking very freely and beautifully." (It should be mentioned here, that according to a short account of this event in *Pmsk* 48 (pp. 46–47), Conrad Gyllenstierna passed on greetings to Sofija from the Swedish queen mother and from the acting queen, but not from the king.)

Some information as to the thinking behind this controversial step on the part of the Swedish ambassadors is found in their letter to the king of 27 May. There we read: "We have noticed a particular intimacy, happiness and relief, which the Russians have displayed on account of the friendship between Your Royal Majesty and Their Majesties the Tsars which has now been restored and confirmed. And bearing in mind the young daughter of the Tsar, Sofija, who is said to be an intelligent and sensible lady, and who is now handling the whole regency in the Tsars' name together with Prince Vasilij Vasil'evič Golicyn—however unusual something like this has been in this country in the past—we have taken the opportunity to explore with our pristavs whether it would be possible for us to be honoured—although this has not been usual before—with the opportunity to see and greet her once before our departure. But, so as not to be seen to prefer her to the other Tsarinas, we mentioned them all. To that we have received the answer that, as far as the Tsarinas are concerned, it would not be possible, but to the Tsar's daughter Sofija we would be admitted tomorrow after the audience with the Tsars, it being pointed out that greeting her would be as if we greeted all of them, on condition, however, that no one else from our whole party, only the three of us, would be allowed in." (*Muscovitica* 108.)

That foreign ambassadors were admitted to the hand of Sofija evoked reactions not only among foreign diplomats. Golicyn was heavily criticized for having allowed it, by, among others, the patriarch. Golicyn defended himself saying that the fact that it had never been done before was no argument and referred to Queen Elizabeth of England and Queen Kristina of Sweden (reported by von Horn: *Aarsberetninger* ... 1879, 185; Фортен 1904, 83).

465. Peter was born on 30 May 1672.

466. Cf. von Horn's own account of this to the Danish king, dated 10 June 1684: "Die Schwedische groszgesandten sindt für acht tagen von hier aufgebrochen, nachdehm sie bey der princessin Sophia stehende undt ohnbedeckt audiens genommen. Zwey tage für ihrer abreyse schickte der herr Klingenstedt undt Stackelbergk zu mir undt lieszen mir wiszen, dasz sie bey mir kommen wolten abscheit zunehmen, ohne desz ambassadeurs Guldenstierns zu gedencken. Ich liesze ihnen wieder sagen, dasz ich ihnen für jhre gütigkeit höchstens obligiret wehre, allein mich dennoch nicht genugk verwundern könnte, warumb der herr ambassadeur Guldenstiern mir nicht jo so wohl alsz sie die visite geben wolte; ich könnte versichern, dasz ich diesesz bey dem ersten besuch schon beobachtet, weiln aber der herr Guldenstiern sich mit einer zimlichen schweren unpäzlichkeit damahlen entschuldiget, nicht geurgiret hätte, jetzundt aber sehende, dasz solchesz expres undt wieder allen in der gantzen weldt hergebrachten gebräuchen von mehr erwehntem herrn Guldenstiern geschehen wehre, undt man der ersten visite wegen zu hofe schon zimlich viel geredet, möchte man nicht übel deuten, dasz ich von ihnen keine andre visite alsz in debita forma undt von allen dreyen herrn ambassadeurs zugleich annehmen könnte oder wolte, zumahlen ich ein wiedriegesz für jhr majten meinem allergnädigsten konige nicht zu verantworten wüste. Der herr Klingenstedt liesz mir hierauf wieder wiszen, dasz er sich dieser antwort ohnfehlbar von mir wehre vermuthen gewesen undt mir gar nicht verdencken könnte, dasz ich mir nichtsz neüesz wolte machen laszen; er hette indeszen nebst den herrn Stackelbergk den ambassadeur Guldenstiern so viel müglich hierüber zugeredet, (...) ich möchte indeszen von ihrer beyden bereitwilligen gemühte versichert sein." (*Aarsberetninger* ... 1879, 188.) Cf. note 425.

467. Cf. p. 235 of the English translation.

468. In *Ekonomičeskie svjazi* ... (1978) there are two references (pp. 236, 247) to a person who could have been Sparwenfeld's host in Moscow: "Jochim Jochimson von Stockholm". He was a merchant, and evidently had a house in the *Nemeckaja sloboda* in Moscow.

469. The Dutch merchant Peter Marselis, who owned ironworks in Russia. See further note 482.

470. Sparwenfeld later, in a private glossary, shows that he has studied the hawking terminology in Russian: "охота: роспис охоты птичей и ловления, и слов охотнических, како говорить сущи при охотѣ: соколъ лѣтитъ, добыл утя и проч. или вырвал. выжлецовъ напустили в'островъ, скалят и гоняют, порскают а я я, изъ острова вылезъ заяцъ. охотники кричат бреги поля, травят, как затравят закричат охо охо" (Birgegård 1975, 202).

471. This was probably not the Danish commissary, but his young son, Hendrick Boutenant the Younger, who left Moscow shortly after for his peregrination and wrote a few letters to Sparwenfeld from there (Jacobowsky 1932, 65–66).

472. See note 371.

473. Sparwenfeld's uncle on his mother's side, Claas Johansson Ugglå, born around 1614, killed in a naval battle in 1676. He became an admiral in 1670, a commissioner of the Admiralty in 1674, and a baron in 1676. He was an experienced tactician in naval warfare and exerted considerable influence on King Karl XI. The fire in Copenhagen,

mentioned by Sparwenfeld, at the time of which Count Graham was in contact with his uncle, must have been in 1659, when Admiral Uggla led a naval force against the Danes during the siege of Copenhagen, a siege that lasted from 1658 to 1660 but was to no avail for the Swedes. Jacobowsky 1932, *passim*. *Svenska män och kvinnor*, 8, 1955, 82–83.

474. Von Horn reports on this to the Danish king in April 1684: “ertslich dasz mit Schweden geschloszene oder vielmehr noch zuschlieszende friede nicht andersz alsz proforma wehre, undt man selben dergestaldt clausuliren wolte, dasz man keinen augenblick länger daran gebunden sein dürffte, alsz man esz selber alhier verlangete;” (*Aarsberetninger* ... 1879, 180).

475. The errand of this Austrian plenipotentiary delegation had been to persuade Russia to join the Holy League (consisting of Austria, Poland, Venice and Rome) against the Turks. Russia’s task would have been to wage war against the Turkish sultan’s “right-hand man”, the Crimean khan. Russia, however, was not willing to join until a treaty of eternal peace had been signed with Poland, a precondition for that being that an agreement could be reached under which Poland would hand Smolensk and the part of the Ukraine situated on the left bank of the Dniepr (including Kiev) to Russia. Соловьев 1962, 372–73; *Очерки истории СССР, XVII в.*, 1955, 531–34.

476. See the previous note.

477. The identity of this secretary is unknown to me.

478. This Görtzen is possibly identical to Александр Захарьевич Горцын (Ковригина 1998, 30), a Dutch merchant and innkeeper in the Foreign Suburb during the last decade of the century.

479. According to an agreement, made in talks with Carl Maurizio Vota—a highly placed Jesuit who arrived incognito in Moscow in June to try to get a step further in asserting the rights of the foreign Catholic congregation in Moscow—two Jesuits were to reside in Moscow to take care of the congregation. This first priest was Johannes Schmidt from Prussia, who, according to David, also spoke Czech. Цветаев 1885, 29–32; Hughes 1990, 125–26.

480. This very famous icon, the Mother of God from Kazan’ (Казанская икона Божией матери), has a fascinating history and performed many miracles. In 1595 a special feast in honour of the icon was introduced on 8 July (Bulgakov I, 1913, 253–54, 419–21).

481. Cf. note 293.

482. Foreigners were instrumental in establishing an iron industry in Russia, the first of them being the Dutch merchant Andreas Vinus (Андрей Денисович Винус) in the 1630s. Qualified workers were brought in from abroad and were given higher salaries than the Russians. This importing of specialist knowledge began in 1634, when Vinus sought permission to send for masters from abroad (Kozlovskij 1911, 6). Russian farmers were recruited by force to provide labour. Vinus recruited the Hamburg merchant Peter Marselis (Петр Гаврилович Марселис, of Dutch origin) and the Dutch merchant Tileman Akkema (Филимон Филимонович Акема) as his partners. Eventually, after serious differences of opinion, they took over from him. These two together rebuilt and expanded the ironworks in Tula and built four works in the Kašira region. The

iron from Tula was processed at the Kašira works. During the years 1662–64, 119 people worked at the Tula and Kašira plants and, of these, 56 were foreigners. In time the two remaining partners split up, and from 1667 Marselis took care of the Tula enterprise. For a period of time he had his relative Tomas Kellerman as his associate. Peter Marselis died in 1672. He had four sons, Peter, Leonhard, Gabriel and Peter the Younger. The oldest son took over the enterprise from his father but died as early as 1675. Before he died he bequeathed the factories to his minor son Christian and appointed the Hamburger Hendrick Boutenant as his guardian. This same Boutenant was appointed commissary by the Danish king in 1679 (see note 373). So, Sparwenfeld, who was already well acquainted with Commissary Boutenant, travelled to the Tula works with a person who was well informed. In 1684 the young Christian Marselis was sent to Copenhagen to study. The iron-works were very important, as arms, agricultural implements and building materials were produced there. As early a writer as Olearius commented on the developing iron industry and the men behind it (ed. Baron, 124–25). In passing, it may be mentioned that Olearius (pp. 122–23) pointed out that Peter Marselis was also the person who introduced cultivated roses in Russia! (On the iron industry in Russia, see Kilburger 1769, 324–27; Amburger 1957; Гамель 1826, 23–25; *Очерки истории СССР*, XVII в., 1955, 88 ff.; Демкин, 2, 1994, 3 ff.)

483. So, according to Sparwenfeld's testimony, the Swedes and Walloons played an important role in bringing a specialist knowledge of mining to Russia. Jan Werre from the city of Västerås evidently made an important contribution in this context. As was mentioned earlier (note 199), one of the people busy arranging the importation of specialist knowledge from Sweden was the Novgorod merchant Semen Gavrilov.

484. Previously, Semen Gavrilov (see note 199) had been involved in ore extraction in this area, but in 1669 Peter Marselis turned to the tsar and asked for privileges to extract copper and other minerals in the Olonec region for himself and his son Leonhard (cf. note 482). He was granted them and took over the places in this region previously managed by Gavrilov. Christian Marselis's name is mentioned in this connection from 1676, and from 1683 Hendrick Boutenant's name also figures. The local population looked upon the enterprise with disapproval, since they were forced to leave their ordinary occupations to work in the mines. The extraction of copper was unsuccessful, and eventually these efforts were abandoned and the managers of the enterprise concentrated on iron. Christian Marselis died in 1690. (*Крепостная мануфактура в России*, т. 3, ч 2, Олонецкие медные и железные заводы, 1931, XV–XXI; *Очерки истории СССР*, 1955, 92; Демкин, 2, 1994, 9 f.)

485. Pavel Negrebeckij, born in Galicia and of the Russian Orthodox faith. He was of noble birth and had the reputation of being a learned man. He worked as a scribe in Warsaw in the late 1660s and early 1670s. At the same time he acted as a spy for the Russians, as he passed information to the Russian resident Vasilij Michajlovič Tjapkin about developments of interest in the *sejm* and within the administration. After a number of years he was concerned that his activities were about to be exposed and asked for an opportunity to work in Russia. Tjapkin used his influence to help him. In September 1677 Negrebeckij was accepted for work in Russia. He belonged to the circle around Simeon Polockij and Sil'vestr Medvedev. His name appears in the sources in 1680–82 in connection with his polemics with Jan Belobockij, a Lutheran Calvinist, concerning a position as a teacher in the academy-to-be (probably Medvedev's school, see Hughes 1990, 162) which the latter applied for. Cvetaev has published a long letter from Negrebeckij to Tsar Fedor Alekseevič on the "heresy" of Belobockij (*Памятники ...*, 1888, 196–215). After some time Medvedev took Negrebeckij's place in these polemics. The article on Negre-

beckij in the Russian biographical dictionary ends thus: "No further information on the life and activities of Negrebeckij is found; probably he lost his influence following the fall of his protector Sil'vestr Medvedev" (РБС, 1914, UB).

Sparwenfeld's diary would seem to give the sad answer to the question how his life ended. Von Horn, too, writes about the execution of Negrebeckij, in a letter to Reventlov dated 21 July: There he states that Zierowsky wanted to return to Moscow in the capacity of resident. For this reason he had stopped on the way, fifty leagues from Moscow, to seek permission from the tsars. A secretary had been sent to him from court to find out why he had changed his travel plans. Von Horn continues: "Il y a cinq ou six jours qv'on fit couper la teste a un certain gentilhomme de la cour nommé Negrebezki, a cause, diton, qv'il avoit escrit quelques lettres au roy de Pologne touchant le gouvernement d'apresent. Il y a d'assez braves gens qvi taschent d'entretenir tousjours une bonne intelligence entre les deux zars, mais ils sont les plus faibles, et les brouillons l'emportent sur eux." (*Aarsberetninger* ..., 1879, 190.) In von Horn's report nothing is mentioned about Zierowsky having indulged in foul play. Another traveller as well, the German physician Laurent Rinhuber, on a mission in Moscow for the prince-elect of Saxony, writes about the execution of Negrebeckij, which he seems to have witnessed by chance. I quote from his travel account: "den 26 Jul. sahe ich aufm grossen Markt einen Cheuailier Pan Negrebizky, so mit denen so ihn begleiteten zu exostuliren schiene, Er war ein Moscowischer Dworanin oder hof Junkker von guter conduite und en consideration, bald hieb ihm der henkker den Kopff herunter, ohne viel complemente machen, und ezliche Kerlen waren da mit einem seidenen rothen tuch, so von denen Seinen kam, und wikkelten selbes ein 5 oder 6 mahl ümb den Körper herum und lieffen damit fort, als wenn ihnen der Kopf brennete, niemand wusste was diss vor ein process. Negrebizky aber hatte gerühmet wie Er mit dem frauenzimmer d'Estat courtoisiret, und in seinem briefe nach Pohlen vorgeben, das Er wol gar die Z. S. nachm polnischen hof mit sich hinzuführen gedächte, und seine eigenhändige Schrift war zu Kiow aufgefangen, und nachm Moscouschen hofe bracht worden." (Quoted from Rinhuber 1883, 245–45.)

Many details are concordant in the three accounts, but not all: Sparwenfeld gives the date as 11 July, von Horn somewhere around the 15th, while Rinhuber says the 26th. Rinhuber reports that Negrebeckij is "ein Moscowischer Dworanin oder hof Junkker", which could also be interpreted as meaning that he was a nobleman living in Moscow or a nobleman who has been included in the Moskovskij dvorjanskij spisok; whatever the case may be, the title "Pan" reveals him to be Polish (*pan* 'Mr' in Polish). In von Horn's report, too, it emerges that he is a man of noble descent ("un certain gentilhomme"), but not that he is a Pole. All three accounts talk about Negrebeckij having written letters to Poland, while Sparwenfeld alone has heard that Zierowsky might have engaged in double-dealing. The haste and secrecy with which the execution was carried out, according to Rinhuber's eyewitness report, shows that, far from the authorities using it as a lesson to others, something fishy was going on. Rinhuber's claim that Negrebeckij was courting Princess Sofija and possibly boasting about taking her with him to Poland gives quite a different angle on the problem. In Rinhuber's account, too, there is the mention of an intercepted document. We find more information about Zierowsky's role in a later letter from von Horn to Reventlov (written 29 July). He writes: "Le sieur Schirofski n'a pas voulu revenir a Moscaw aprez la nouvelle, qvi receut de l'exequution d'un Polonois, qvi estoit fort de ses confidens" (*Aarsberetninger* ... 1879, 190). We will return to this.

486. At this stage, Sparwenfeld probably interpreted the information given to him as follows: Negrebeckij wrote a letter to Poland, which the Habsburg ambassador Zierowsky was to take with him to pass on when the imperial embassy left Moscow at the end of June. But Zierowsky instead handed over the letter to the Russian administration, to put

himself in a favourable light. Compare this with von Horn's information that Negrebeckij was a confidant of Zierowsky, and that after Negrebeckij's execution, Zierowsky changed his plans of becoming Habsburg's resident in Moscow.

487. The extremely interesting question about this critical report and whether it is still in existence is the subject of a separate article to be published shortly.

488. Cf. note 360. Miloslavskij's opposition to the coronation of Sofija may possibly have been due to the fact that he had ambitions of his own in that respect.

489. Golicy'n's accident is mentioned by von Horn too, who writes about it to Reventlov on 29 July. He says that the tsars had returned to Moscow from their summer residence "last Friday" for the sole purpose of giving him his farewell audience, and that he would have left by now "si le grand chancelier knias Wassili Wassiliewitsch Golicin n'eut eu le malheur la veille de mon audience de tomber dans une voute de cinq ou six brasses de hauteur, environ a minuit, en sortant de chez la princesse. Il estoit assez heureux d'estre svivis du dumni Ukraienzoff, puisqve sans cela personne n'aurois sceu ce qv'il fut devenu. On le porta au logis demi mort et tout couvert de sang. Cepandant sa blessure n'est point trop dangereuse pour un Moscovite, et l'on croit qv'il ne gardera le lit qve cinq ou six jours tout au plus. Aussi tot qvi pourra aller au chateau, je serai expedie. Il a eu le bonheur pendant sa maladie de voir des NB personnes de fort grande condition quelqve foix deux ou trois heures auprez de son lit, et peut-estre qve de semblables visites ne contribueront pas peu a sa reconvalence." (*Aarsberetninger* ... 1879, 190.) So von Horn too, though without mentioning her name, comments on the frequent visits of Sofija to Golicy'n's bedside. The accounts, however, differ somewhat concerning Golicy'n's condition immediately after the accident, whether he was capable of mounting his horse or not. And von Horn does not speculate on the possibility that the accident was in fact an attempt on Golicy'n's life. As it happens, we are fortunate enough to have the testimony of the consequences of this accident as given by a physician who treated Golicy'n! The above-mentioned (note 485) Laurent Rinhuber, who according to his own report had worked as "zarlicher Hof-Medicus" in Moscow in 1675–76, was called to Golicy'n's bedside. We can read his own words: "Diese tage kam der grosse Herr Golizin in lebensgefahr, massen Er aufm Schloss Kremlie in der obern Gallerie durch ein vor einem treppenbau verfertigtes loch ein sechs Elen hoch hinunter fiel, und davon eine gefahrliche hauptwunde bekam, darzu waren ihm die Schuldern und Rückrad gar sehr zerscheitert und geschwollen, das er sich drey tage nur auf leinenen tüchern musste wenden und heben lassen, Er lag also in grosser hitze und bangigkeit ohne rast noch ruhe, lies mich zum conseil und cur requiriren, ich rieth Ihm also bald nicht so wol zum brauch derer innerlichen als aüserlichen remedien, und das Er nur zur application derer Clisteren bequemen möchte, im wiedrigen fall ich Ihm mit einem prognostico mortis zuregaliren gemeinet." Golicy'n evidently felt the need for a second opinion and therefore turned to Doctor Blumentrost (more about him later). Luckily, without knowing it, the latter confirmed the treatment proposed by his colleague, and Golicy'n obeyed his doctors' orders and resorted to enemas, with good results. Thus, two weeks later, on 2 August, he went back to work. (Rinhuber 1887, 243–44.) Rinhuber does not hint at any suspicion that this was anything but an accident. So perhaps what could have cost Vasilij Vasil'jevič his life was due to the trivial neglect of building workers! According to Sparwenfeld, von Horn's farewell audience did not take place until 16 August (see below), a date confirmed in *Aarsberetninger* (p. 190), where his farewell speech is published.

490. Many foreign travellers have commented on the efforts made to grow melons in Russia and the very impressive results achieved (for example Herberstein (Russian ed.

1988, 130), Olearius (ed. Baron, 121–22), Margeret (ed. Limonov 1986, 230) and Lyseck (ed. Fal'kovič, 1913, 17). The importance of gardening was appreciated very early in the history of Moscow. There were special suburbs for growing fruit and vegetables (Садовая слобода, Огородная слобода). In the 16th century a regulation came into force stating that on a certain date each year the inhabitants of these suburbs were to deliver the first sample of different fruits and vegetables to the sovereign, the so-called *nov'*. The responsibility for this lay on the foreman of the suburb, a skilful gardener, who was paid in cloth according to what was delivered (Забелин 1856, 11–13). According to Zabelin (p. 12), melons were to be delivered during the first days of August, whereas Sparwenfeld gives the date as 20 July.

491. King Karl XI married Ulrika Eleonora, the daughter of King Frederick III of Denmark, in 1680. Seven children were born, of whom only three reached full age. Prince Ulrik lived 1684–85.

492. Cf. note 285.

493. A *tabun* is a herd of horses. The French traveller Margeret writes about this: “A large income is generated by the horses brought by the Tatars—called ‘Nogaj Tatars’—to be sold in Russia. To begin with, the Tsar confiscates a tenth of the horses, and apart from that he receives five per cent on each horse sold from the seller or the buyer, depending on the agreement. (...) I saw that in one go they brought about 40,000. They appear two or three times a year and bring a larger or smaller number, so it is impossible to define with certainty the income the Tsar makes from this.” (Ed. Limonov 1986, 246, UB.) Kotošichin, too, gives information about this (ed. Pennington, 1980, 105; ed. Adde, 1908, 97). See also Margeret’s very interesting passage about the horses he saw in Russia (ed. Limonov, 1986, 255–56).

494. See note 490.

495. The Dutch Swedish traveller Kilburger gives the following information about cucumber prices: “10 Gurken vor der Mitte des Junii 1 Copecken, im August 130 für 1 Copecken” (1769, 334).

496. Rinhuber, too, talks about this man, evidently an old acquaintance of his. He calls him “Salamon Constantinus Zgursky, Comes Syriensis Legatus” and says that that is the way he writes his name himself. So it seems that he calls himself a Syrian rather than a Portugese count (Sparwenfeld gives his Syrian ‘identity’ as well). Rinhuber 1887, 246–47. See also note 721.

497. The Russian *cholop* means ‘slave, serf’ and was used for example in petitions (челобитные) to the tsar from civil servants, boyars included, to mark acceptance of the absolute power of the tsar and unconditional obedience to him. See Olearius’s reflections on this: “They are all serfs and slaves. It is their custom and manner to be servile and to make a show of their slavish disposition. They bow to the ground to notables, and even throw themselves at their feet. They give thanks for beatings and punishments. All subjects, whether of high or low condition, call themselves and must count themselves the Tsar’s *kholopi*, that is slaves and serfs. Just as the magnates and nobles have their own slaves, serfs, and peasants, the princes and the magnates are obliged to acknowledge their slavery and their insignificance in relation to the Tsar.” (Ed. Baron, 147.) On this, see also David, ed. Myl'nikov, 1968:3, 94 and Scheidegger 1993, 200 ff. It is not quite clear how Sparwenfeld’s text should be interpreted, especially the section about von Kochen hav-

ing been the tsar's *cholop*, but my guess is as follows: von Kochen had worked his way up in Moscow in different functions from 1664 on (cf. note 73), and had therefore, to some extent, been dependent on the benevolence of the tsar. For many years he had been the Swedish Commercial Agent, i.e. he had helped the merchants. And suddenly, this time, he came as a much more important representative of the Swedish king to discuss matters of greater weight.

498. The Georgian prince Arčil Bagrationi (1647–1713) regarded himself as the sovereign of Imeretia and Kachetia. He was crowned the sovereign of Imeretia at the age of 14 in a Georgian Orthodox ceremony. This was frowned on by the Turkish sultan, and he had to renounce his throne. The Turks made the Persians summon Arčil to Isfahan, where he agreed to become a Muslim. As a reward he received the Kachetian throne. After heavy pressure from the Turks and Persians, Prince Arčil sought asylum in Russia in 1682, accompanied by a party of 162 people. The Russian tsars did not want to receive him in the capital, as they did not regard him as the true sovereign of Kachetia. That status they accorded to a person who in Russia was known under the name of Nikolaj Davidovič (Bagrationi) (in Georgian history he is known as Iraklij I), who had spent a number of years as a refugee in Moscow, but who finally left the capital in 1674 and eventually became a Muslim. Nikolaj Davidovič became the sovereign of another principality of present-day Georgia, Kartli, 1688–1703. The tsars had wanted Arčil to settle in Terki, close to the Georgian border, but Arčil stayed temporarily at Astrachan', hoping to finally receive permission to come to Moscow. In 1684 he sent his two eldest sons, the ten-year-old Aleksander and the eight-year-old Mamuka, to Moscow with a party of 69 people. They left Astrachan' by ship on 28 April, on 4 June they were in Simbirk and then they continued in horse-carriages towards Moscow. They had been waiting since 6 August to be taken into the capital. V. V. Golycyn was in charge of the young princes. Arčil Bagrationi himself came to Moscow in 1685 and on this first occasion stayed until 1688. Then he returned to Georgia with his sons and succeeded in regaining his throne three times: in 1690, 1695 and 1698. From 1699 he settled in Moscow for good. Татишвили 1950, 80 *et passim*; Пайчадзе 1982; Ватейшвили (in manuscript) 19, 24 ff. *et passim*.

499. Rinhuber also reports on the audience of the two young princes (he calls them "Reguli"): "... Ein par schöne wolgemachte herren." Concerning the gifts from the tsars he reports 1,000 roubles, lots of clothes, wine, mead and aquavit (1887, 246).

500. Michail Alegukovič Čerkasskij, who died in 1713 at the earliest. He became a boyar in 1677. Čerkasskij risked his own life to save the life of A. A. Matveev during the *strel'cy* uprising (ПБС). Korb writes about him in his diary: "würdevoll durch Alter und Wesen, verdient sich durch untadelige Rechtschaffenheit des Lebens und den Schmuck seiner grauen Haare die allgemeine Liebe" (ed. Korb, 1968, 208). Čerkasskij was very influential at court and even Vasilij Vasil'evič Golycyn had to take his position into account, as is confirmed by Sparwenfeld's example. Von Horn writes about the incident in a letter from 19 August (*Arsberetninger* ... 1879, 191). It should be added that this was evidently not the first quarrel between the two. Von Horn reports to the Danish king about a quarrel between Vasilij Vasil'evič and Čerkasskij, in which both parties drew their knives and were very difficult to separate. Čerkasskij was told not to show his face at court for eight days! (*Aarsberetninger* ... 1879, 157, the report dated 1 October 1683.)

501. Cf. note 103.

502. Cf. note 105.

503. Cf. note 104.

504. Concerning the identity of the “Icelander”, see note 570.

505. Gustaf Hård af Segerstad, chamberlain and master of the horse (Jacobowsky 1932, *passim*).

506. Cf. note 121.

507. Concerning their identity, see note 743.

508. The Georgian princess was evidently about to become the *tsaritsa* (in this case the wife of a tsar; the word can also signify a “female tsar”), rather than the *tsarevna* (the daughter or sister of a tsar). Concerning her identity, see note 744.

509. Sparwenfeld’s statement (originating from von Horn) that Princess Sofija, for a long time after the events connected with the *strel’cy* uprising, continued to take revenge on the Naryškin party by executing its supporters one after another, is confirmed (at least in part) by the anonymous author of *Diariusz*. The tsars had decided to return to Moscow from their voluntary exile at Troica. “Sofija and Tsar Ivan were very favourably disposed to the *strel’cy*. Then the duma decided to send them to different towns; so some prikazy, i.e. regiments, were sent to Velikie Luki, some to Astrachan’, some to Kiev, and some to Smolensk; they were sent away and orders were issued on how to execute the different rebels.” It is further stated that one-and-a-half thousand people were executed in this way (*Diariusz* ..., 1901, 393; UB). Schleussing (ed. Lapteva, 1970, 111) provides similar information: “At last, when it had been quiet for a long time, the rebellious *strel’cy* were stealthily sent away in different directions and in this way scattered. The worst instigators were, some of them, hanged, some of them decapitated, and in this way they got the punishment they deserved.” (UB.) It is—admittedly—not clear from any of these sources which party’s supporters were executed.

510. Boris Alekseevič Golicyn was, as mentioned before (note 111), the *cousin* of Vasilij Vasil’evič Golicyn, not his *brother*. In Russian, however, the distinction between the two is not important: *rodnoj brat* ‘brother’, *dvojurodnyj brat* ‘cousin’. Both categories are often referred to simply as ‘brother’.

511. So when would the planning of this coup have taken place? It is said to have been at Troica during the rebellion, and von Horn was also there. The only period that would fit into this description would be September–October of 1682, that is a few months after the outbreak of the rebellion. As a consequence of the bloody events at the Kremlin in May 1682 and the uncertainty of the situation, the tsars left Moscow in August and finally settled down at Troica for a number of weeks. If trying to decide when exactly von Horn arrived there, it seems, from his letter to the Danish king dated 23 October 1682 (*Aarsberetninger* ..., 1879, .), that it must have been at the very end of September or the beginning of October. He reports in the letter that he lives not far from the monastery in the military camp. According to him, the army surrounding the tsars consisted of 150,000 men. In this report he gives a very detailed and, as it seems, reliable account of the revolt and its causes. He does not mention anything about any planned conspiracies from either clan. In his next letter, dated 7 November, he reports from Moscow that the tsars are back. According to reliable sources the tsars arrived at the Trinity Monastery on 19 September and stayed there until the 27 October; they were back in Moscow on 3 November. Concerning their military support at Troica, which originally consisted of no more than 3,000

troops, military servitors from neighbouring towns were ordered to come there immediately to defend the tsars. The number 150,000 men, however, sounds very high (see, for example, Lavrov 1999, 62 ff.; *Diariusz* gives the number 100,000: (1901, 391–92). For a detailed account, see Hughes 1990, 80, 86 *et passim*. So, this must have been the time and the place where the described plans were being discussed. It could be seen as both noteworthy and risky for a foreign diplomat to be so directly involved in the planning of a political coup. Von Horn's close friendship with Boris Alekseevič Golitsyn was, of course, an important factor here, although it seems that their friendship was at least "formalized" later (see, for example, von Horn's letters to the Danish king dated 20 February and 16 July 1683). It was, no doubt, in the interest of the Danes, to see Peter's side win the struggle. The possibility that von Horn exaggerated his own role in these events when talking to Sparwenfeld should also be taken into consideration. It is, however, not probable that the Danish king had assented to these activities, at least nothing is said about them in von Horn's reports, which, of course, is hardly to be expected.

512. This information seems to indicate that a trap was set by Ivan Miloslavskij. Was he the one who sent a copy of Negrebeckij's report to the imperial ambassador Zierowsky and asked him to turn it over to the authorities to "expose" Negrebeckij's treason? Cf. note 485. A separate article on this whole complex issue is being prepared and will appear shortly.

513. This seems to indicate that there were plans to send Sparwenfeld to Persia.

514. Cf. note 491. Sparwenfeld's remark about the birth of Prince Ulrik under 22 July must have been written later.

515. I have no knowledge of who was von Horn's language teacher in Moscow. At all events, Sparwenfeld's collaboration with him appears to have been of short duration (see below).

516. 29 August was the day of John the Baptist, celebrated in commemoration of the day of his death. This was a day of strict fasting. Some people even avoided eating anything round in shape (which could be reminiscent of John's severed head on a platter), like cabbage, potatoes or apples (Булгаков, I, 1913, 332–33).

517. See note 137.

518. The rest of the page contains recipes of different kinds having no connection to the diary text. Three of the recipes have been given by von Horn, it is true, but all of them will rather be included in a possible future article about different recipes, preserved by Sparwenfeld.

519. "Soborna" refers to *Sobornaja ploščad'* (Cathedral Square) in the middle of the Kremlin, the square surrounded by all the churches.

520. The so-called "tsar's platform" (царская площадка).

521. "Blagowesetschen" refers to *Blagoveščenskij sobor* (the Cathedral of the Annunciation).

522. Zabelin (1872, 327) describes this so-called *mesto* (place) of the tsar in detail; his description coincides largely with Sparwenfeld's. Schleussing, too, mentions this glass-

house:"and there a large stage had been erected, on which crystal rooms, looking incredibly beautiful, had been built, and in them the two tsars were sitting" (UB). (Schleussing, ed. Lapteva, 1970, 118.)

523. "Soborna" in Sparwenfeld's text here refers to *Uspenskij sobor*.

524. This fan-shaped metal object carried in processions (рипида) is also described by Witsen (1996, 149).

525. According to Zabelin (1872, 328), foreigners were generally placed in the porch of the Cathedral of the Archangel Michael, from where they had an excellent view. Zabelin describes the celebration of the Russian New Year in great detail (1872, 326–29). Many foreign travellers were impressed by the celebration of the Russian New Year: see, for example, Olearius (ed. Baron, pp. 67–68).

526. It has not been possible to confirm Sparwenfeld's information that the small glass building was used the second year.

527. The new building of the *Posol'skij prikaz* was commented on by others as well. Palmquist (1674) has two drawings of the exterior.

528. Sparwenfeld evidently got to know de la Rosiere quite well with time: he received a few letters from him (Linköping, B 127). He also received an Arab manuscript containing the Koran from him: in the manuscript, which was kept at Åbo, it says: "Ex liberalitate Nobilissimi De la Rosiere, amici mei intimi factus est hic liber Arab. Sparwenfeldii. Moscuae 4 Junii 85." (Porthan 1771, 193.)

529. Probably the brothers Daniel (1655–1719) and Isaac (1661–1751) Cronström. Sparwenfeld could have made their acquaintance in Uppsala or, later, in Paris. (*SBL*, 9, 1931, 376–382 and 382–388.) See also Jacobowsky 1932 *passim*.

530. Cf. note 430.

531. Andreas Vinius (Андрей Андреевич Виниус) (1641–1717) was employed as a translator from Dutch at the *Posol'skij prikaz* in 1664. He was the son of the Dutch merchant Andreas Vinius, who established the first ironworks in Russia (cf. note 482). Andreas Vinius became a *d'jak* in 1675 and in the same year became responsible for the Russian postal services (after Leonhard Marselis), which were placed under the *Posol'skij prikaz*; he held this position until 1701. From the end of 1677 he was also a *d'jak* at the Pharmacy Chancellery. Kozlovskij 1911; Amburger 1957, *passim*; Демкин, 1, 1994, 30 f.

532. Probably refers to Peter Marselis "the Younger" (d. 1696), the second son called Peter of the late Peter Marselis (Демкин, 1, 1994, 31). Cf. note 482.

533. This was in fact a farewell for life, as von Horn died as early as 1686. Nine letters from von Horn to Sparwenfeld are available (see Jacobowsky 1932, 66). Five of them have been printed by Gjørwell (1759–60, 25–39). The letters seem to be written by an emotional person, very anxious to receive tokens of friendship. Although none of Sparwenfeld's letters to him have been found, it seems, from what is said in von Horn's letters, that he is a bit disappointed that Sparwenfeld, for long periods of time, does not write and that, when he does, he does not "speak with his heart". It also emerges that

Sparwenfeld has said that von Horn is “eloquent”. Two of the letters are in verse, with Sparwenfeld going under the name of Tirçis. The two friends were probably different in temperament. The last letter was sent on 14 May 1686 from Greece, where von Horn was taking part in military operations. He died of fever on 8 October the same year.

Sparwenfeld has included von Horn in his *Nomina* (see note 710) under Copenhagen and speaks about him there “with his heart”: “Hildebrand von Horn, both in Copenhagen and Moscow, Danish envoy extraordinary under the three-fold government in Moscow of Tsar Ivan, Tsar Peter and their sister Sofija Alekseevna, with whom, for a period of four years, I have lived in the sweetest and most edifying friendship imaginable like David and Jonathan” (quoted from Jacobowsky 1932, 374, UB).

534. This was evidently the answer to the letter of the delegates dated 27 May 1684 (the letter is preserved in *Muscovitica* 108 and was published by Forsten, 1899, 52): “We are of the firm opinion, as far as the conditions in this place and state are concerned, that it could be of real benefit to Your Majesty the King if some people from Your Majesty the King’s own nation would put an effort into learning the Russian language and the right way to handle this nation, particularly those who are at the helm and have power. As the hofjunker Sparwenfeld, who has become proficient through his studies and peregrination, wants to stay in this country to inform himself and become capable concerning the above-mentioned matters, and as I myself, Jonas Klingstedt, have for the same purpose resolved to leave one of my sons here with him, we cannot refrain from humbly interceding on their behalf, as their means are not such as to suffice for their subsistence and maintenance. We therefore turn to Your Majesty the King and humbly ask for a yearly scholarship for their subsistence. And we would not make so bold as to turn to Your Majesty the King with this request, if we were not convinced that this could be of real benefit to Your Majesty the King, as we have seen to what extent it has been useful to the King of Denmark that his previous minister at this court, the Resident Giö, and Mr Horn, who is here now, have gone in for this language and acquainted themselves with this state, so that this Horn has full access to all the important people at this court and lives in great familiarity with Golicyn, which makes it possible for him to achieve much.” It is further noted that, in connection with the last conference with Prince Vasilij Vasil’evič Golicyn and his colleagues, when the renewed sincere friendship between the two countries was discussed, the ambassadors took the opportunity to mention this idea, which was very favourably received. Klingstedt’s son was even called into the room and was able to shake hands with Golicyn and the others. They were all for it and promised to inform the tsars.

535. Evidently Sparwenfeld kept to the standard rate when paying his servant (but was generous with boots). David has a favourable opinion of Russian servants, but considers them rather expensive. Foreigners pay 1 rouble a month for a servant if they provide their own food. If food is included, they are paid six to eight roubles a year (David, ed. Myl’nikov, 4, 1968, 140).

536. Refers to the Dutch merchant Kunraad Norderman (Кондратий Филиппович Нордерман). He was to suffer a sad fate. He was burnt at the stake in October 1689 together with the “heretic” Quirin Kuhlmann (Ковригина 1998, 180–81).

537. Cf. David’s account in his *Status* (see note 638): “Another curiosity is a kind of glass, which foreigners everywhere call Moscow glass, but which the Russians call ‘sljuda’. It is extracted from a cliff close to the Soloveckij monastery’. This monastery is situated on an island in the Northern Sea. Half of the production is given to the Tsar, and the monastery lives from the other half. Only the monks work in the production.

Earlier it was very cheap, but now it has become much more expensive, because foreigners have begun to export it in large quantities.” (Ed. Myl’nikov, 4, 1968, 140, UB.) Cf. also in Korb’s journal: “Es gibt Pech, das in gewaltiger Menge in der Provinz Karelien sowie am Ufer der Dwina gegen das Nordmeer hin aus dem Fels geschlagen wird. Es führt die Bezeichnung Slude, lässt sich als Glas verwenden und wird gewöhnlich bei Laternen unter dem Namen ‘russisches Glas’ oder ‘Marienglas’ gebraucht.” (Ed. Korb, 1968, 183.)

538. The river mentioned must be the Amur, situated in the province of Dauria (*Grosses Universal Lexicon*, VII, 1734, 282).

539. That is, Sol’ Kamskaja (salt from the Kama (river)), Solikamsk. The town is situated in the Perm region on a tributary of the Kama. The salinity of the brine in the area was very high and the town was important for its salt-works, as the name implies (Smith & Christian 1984, 51–56). Not only salt was, however, extracted there, but also minerals of different kinds. In the 1630s deposits of copper were found in the Solikamsk area. With the help of foreign masters, the government built the first copper smelting plant using modern techniques there. Qualified workers were sent to the area from Moscow and other towns, and less qualified ones were hired locally. As it was very difficult to find workers for the plant, in some places the government allowed the producers to make the inhabitants do day-work at the plant. At the end of the 1640s the plant was closed down owing to the copper ore being exhausted (if this was in fact the case, see Sparwenfeld!) and after a fire had destroyed the plant buildings. However, one of the masters and his two sons continued the work. In 1660 it was said that there was no longer any copper left. (*Очерки истории СССР*, 1955, 87.)

540. “Flus Naphta” probably refers to a kind of liquid petroleum, issuing from the ground in the Baku area (*EB*, 11 ed., 19, 1911, 167). The Khanate of Širvan (Shirvan) comprised the province of Baku and surrounding areas.

541. The city of Šemacha (Shemakha) was the capital of the Shirvan province (*EB*, 11 ed., 24, 1911, 834).

542. See Sparwenfeld’s *Lexicon Slavonicum*, Main Dictionary, entry I:211: Баканъ: шаръ червленобледый—Lubrisceta, lacca sinica, seu color sinicus. *Slav 41* (margin): баканъ—sminke rödt som carmin (rouge like carmine).

543. These pilgrimages of the tsar (or earlier: grand prince) and his family to the Troice-Sergiev Monastyr’ began shortly after the building of the monastery in the 14th century and continued until the beginning of the 18th century. The tsars went there at least once every year. The most important occasion for a pilgrimage was 25 September, the day of St Sergij. According to Zabelin, the tsar would normally leave Moscow around 20 September to arrive at the monastery four days later at the earliest. He would be absent from Moscow for eight to ten days, returning around 30 September. These dates do not seem to fit exactly for our period. For a detailed description of this yearly pilgrimage, see Zabelin 1847. See also Bulgakov, I, 1913, 381 ff. Whether in fact the tsar and his party covered so many versts on foot each day as Sparwenfeld maintains is open to question. Cf. Olearius (ed. Baron, 260): “The Grand Prince and his foremost magnates make pilgrimages to this monastery twice a year (...) When they are half a league from the monastery, the Grand Prince dismounts and goes the rest of the way with his suite on foot. He stays to pray several days (...)”

544. Cf. Schleussing's account (he was in Russia from March 1684 and left in 1686 at the latest): "During my stay in Russia, the life of the younger Tsar was saved twice: when, as often happened, he stayed to enjoy himself in the countryside, once his stable was set on fire and another time a fire was lit under his room and bedroom, so that his personal servant only just succeeded in leading him out of there in nothing but his nightshirt, and the young gentleman was extremely upset ..." (ed. Lapteva, 1970, 1, 111, UB).

545. The two "Tsarissor" (tsarinas) must have been the widow of Tsar Fedor Alekseevič and the wife of Tsar Ivan. The third tsarina, Aleksej Michajlovič's widow Natal'ja Naryškina, always accompanied her son Peter (see below).

546. Concerning Peter Hassenius, see note 382.

547. The Russians had signed a peace treaty with the Crimean khan in January of 1681, providing for a twenty-year truce. In August 1682 this had been reaffirmed at Bach-čisaraj. Under the treaty, the Russians were to continue to pay a yearly tribute to the khan, while the latter gave guarantees that he and the Turks would refrain from raiding Russian land and taking prisoners: "and from the year 1091 (1681) forward, tribute is to be sent us with no decrease compared to past years (...) and the sultan on his part also will not be in any war with you and will order all his subjects to cause no damage to you (...)" (quoted from O'Brien 1952, 86, note 3). There was even a special chancellery in Moscow to deal with relations with the Tatars, especially to ransom prisoners taken by the Tatars during raids. It was called the "Prisoner Chancellery" (Полоняничий приказ). Funds for the prisoners were raised from the population in certain districts through a state tax (полоняничные деньги 'ransom money') (O'Brien 1952, 66–67).

548. Von Horn reports to the Danish King in April 1684 about news he has heard about the Chinese recapturing land (*Aarsberetninger* ..., 1879, 180). He had gone more into detail in a letter to Gabel dated 25 March (*Aarsberetninger* ..., 1879, 181). Reinforcements and ammunition are to be sent. See also O'Brien 1952, 109 ff.

549. Sten Bielke the Younger, born in 1624, died on 8 September 1684 in Stockholm. He was appointed Treasurer of the Realm in September 1672. In 1682 the name of the function was altered to "H.K.M:ts skattmästare" (Treasurer of the King and Council), which was in reality a slight degradation (*SBL*, 4, 1924, 233–41).

550. Conrad Gyllenstierna died on 11 September 1684 (*SBL*, 17, 1969, 617).

551. The number of months said to have been spent in Johan Jochomson's house seems rather high. See under 4 June (p. 177)!

552. Cf. note 528.

553. K. Rumpf was the Dutch resident in Stockholm (Ватейшвили, 237, in manuscript).

554. According to Elgenstierna (VII, 1932, 460–61), Otto Stackelberg died on 27 September 1689. Could it be that the year should be 1684?

555. When reading Sparwenfeld's text ("denowograd on a mandé a Knjper la mort de Stacke[I]lberg de apoplexie, et de M. Clingstet, Dieu sçay ce qui len est :") one gets the

impression that Klingstedt, too, had died. As this was not the case (he wrote letters to Sparwenfeld later; he died in 1691) it should probably be understood that the same news had come from Mr Klingstedt.

556. The hetman mentioned here is Ivan Samojlovič, hetman of the Zaporozhian Host of both sides of the Dnjepr. The Zaporozhian Cossaks had a history of being particularly jealous of their ancient “freedoms” and had switched their loyalties between the Turks, the Poles and the Russians, depending on the circumstances. Samojlovič was pro-Moscow and headed a strong anti-Polish lobby. He was very much against forming a pact with the “papists” against the Turks. Ukrainev had for years been involved in the Turkish question and the plan, initiated by the Polish, to collaborate against the Turks (Hughes 1990, 183, 185–86). There were two important issues on the present agenda: the pact with the Poles against the Turks and the Tatars, and the election of a metropolitan of Kiev (Соловьев 1880, кн. 3, т. 14, ст. 991).

557. On Golycyn’s orders, Savva Grigor’evič Sandyrev spent time in Poland and Lithuania from the summer and throughout the autumn to find out how the war against Turkey was progressing (O’Brien 1952, 95 f. Cf. note 412).

558. Colonel Holst is mentioned in Patrick Gordon’s diary (ed. Posselt, II, 1851, 51), under 20 December 1684, when he is said to have marched out of Kiev. If Sparwenfeld’s information is correct, there must have been more than one Colonel Holst. Palmquist mentions two military men by that name: Jacob and Peter Holst “from Riga”. More people by the same name with military rank figure in Russian history in later periods.

559. Cf. note 284.

560. Solov’ev (кн. 3, т. 14, ст. 991–96) gives an interesting, very detailed account of the discussions between Ukrainev and Samojlovič, and of the letter sent by the hetman to the tsars, in which he states his reasons for being absolutely against joining the Holy League and starting a war against the Tatars.

561. The news about the Zaporozhian Cossacks was probably brought to Moscow by the Savva Sandyrev mentioned above (see note 557). Russia felt constantly uncertain about the loyalty of the Cossacks, especially as the Poles, as long as there was no treaty settling once and for all their border disputes with Russia (cf. note 475), engaged in continual intrigues with the Cossacks to regain their loyalty and their lands. Among the Cossacks there were strong nationalistic feelings and a desire to create an independent Ukraine. Once again the loyalty of the Cossacks seemed to be in doubt. In September Sandyrev had reported that 12,000 Cossacks from the Zaporozhian and trans-Dnjepr regions had gone to the Polish king to lend him their support. There were reports that 40,000 more were planning to follow suit. Golycyn sent a formal protest saying that the Truce of Andrusovo had been violated. The Poles answered that the Cossacks had volunteered to help the Christians against the Turks and that they should be praised, not reproached (O’Brien 1952, 96 and *passim*). The information given by Sparwenfeld fits into this general pattern. Evidently there were differences of opinion among the Zaporozhian Cossacks on this issue. Samojlovič, in his discussions with Ukrainev and in his letter to the tsars (see the previous note), says that the Poles are not to be trusted and that they are trying in various ways to entice people onto their side. Under the Truce of Andrusovo of 1667, the Zaporozhian Cossacks were to be governed by both Russia and Poland (*Очерки истории СССР*, 1955, 517).

562. The Russian text is in Sparwenfeld's handwriting. He seems to write with great ease. This section could well have been added later.

563. This "place of the skull" (лобное место) has a special story. As a consequence of the view that Moscow, after the fall of Constantinople, was the last resort of true Christianity—"the Third Rome" and "the New Jerusalem"—the ceremony of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem on a donkey was introduced. During the reign of Ivan the Terrible (and possibly even earlier), this ceremony was performed on Palm Sunday, with Metropolitan Makarij playing the role of Christ and the tsar leading the donkey by the bridle. In that connection the *lobnoe mesto* emerged, a symbolic representation of Golgotha. Possibly the first *lobnoe mesto*—in fact a platform—was built in wood during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, and a second, stone platform was constructed under Boris Godunov (Успенский 1996, I, 98). Witsen has a detailed and very fine description of this event and mentions the platform and the cannon (Russian edition, 1996, 144–46). Tanner, too, deals with this place (1891, 60–61). Olearius describes another ceremony (1 October, *Pokrov*, The Intercession of the Holy Virgin), connected with this place, in which the tsar and the patriarch took part. There he mentions the cannon: "On the right side of the square in front of the Kremlin is a fenced-off area like a circular stage, on which stand two very large metal guns, one of them an ell in diameter" (ed. Baron, 1967, 72–73). As pointed out by Baron, *lobnoe mesto* was not the place where executions were carried out, but a place for making important declarations. Executions were carried out in the adjacent Red Square, then called *Lobnaja ploščad'*. Mayerberg has an illustration showing these cannon.

564. The son of the Danish king Christian IV, Count Valdemar Christian, was to marry the daughter of Tsar Michail Fedorovič, Irina Michajlovna, to forestall a possible dynastic crisis: only one male heir, the future Aleksej Michajlovič, was left after the death of another son. The marriage, however, never took place, as Prince Valdemar refused to convert to Orthodoxy. The prince was kept in the Kremlin in virtual detention for almost one and a half years and was released only after Michail Fedorovič's death in 1645. There was even a religious disputation in which the prince and his supporters were permitted to bring counter-arguments, but with no chance of winning the dispute (Цветаев, Протестантство ..., 1890, 650 ff.). I do not know whether the possible efforts of Axel Oxenstierna to prevent the marriage are known to historians. If such efforts did in fact take place, they are unlikely to have had any influence on the outcome of the story. That this marriage was not in the interest of the Swedes was quite clear to the Russians. Far more important, surely, was the fact that the husband-to-be of Irina Michajlovna refused to convert. Zabelin 1902, 457 ff.; Lebedeva 1958, 118 f.; Zen'kovskij 1970, 103; Hughes 1990, 18.

565. Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654) had a central position within Swedish domestic and foreign policy for more than three decades. For twenty years, as a chancellor, he worked side by side with Gustav II Adolf to make Sweden a leading European power (SBL, 28, 1992–94, 504–524).

566. Refers to Petter Antoni Coyet, a Swede with Dutch ancestors, a merchant and the owner of glassworks in Russia. He was later employed as a translator at the *Posol'skij prikaz* and worked as a teacher at Glück's gymnasium. Jacobowsky 1930, 156; 1932, 63 *et passim*; Ковригина 1998, *passim*.

567. See note 531. This conflict occurred between Andreas Vinus and the postmistress Margarita Gizi (Гизи/Гизе) and her son-in-law Stacius Stein (Стациус Штейн/

Стейн). Vinius accuses Stein of having written the titles of the tsars incorrectly four times in a letter he wrote to Vinius in German: twice he is said to have written “шар’ш”, twice “шор’ш” and only twice the correct “царше маэстет” (Zarische Majestät). Stein is also said to have deliberately addressed Vinius as “почтовым деректором”, which would correspond to the Russian “прикащик” (executive). In addition, there was disagreement concerning postal matters. РГАДА, фонд 96, опись 1, 1684 г., №. 5; опись 2, №. 185.

568. Cf. the text under the 18th.

569. Guasconi is mentioned by Sparwenfeld in *Nomina*. “An Italian merchant, important, Guasconi.” This man, Francesco Guasconi (Франц (Франческо) Карпович Гваскони) (d. around 1712), a merchant from Florence, was one of the more prominent members of the Catholic congregation in Moscow. Together with Sparwenfeld’s host, Count Graham—also a prominent Catholic—he was working hard to secure permission for the Moscow Catholics to have a chapel and a priest. Cf. note 479. Цветаев 1885, 26 *et passim*; Ковригина 1998, 71, 299. Kovrigina mentions two daughters of Francesco Guasconi in her work.

570. Finally the name of “the Iclander” is revealed: Gudmund Oláfsson. According to Sparwenfeld’s information in a letter, Oláfsson was working for a number of years at the College of Antiquities in Stockholm (Antikvitetskollegium) with Icelandic manuscripts. He also compiled an Icelandic-Latin dictionary in 18 volumes. On the whole Sparwenfeld seems to have a very high opinion with regard to his works. During a number of summers, among them when Sparwenfeld was in Russia, Oláfsson sat working at Sparwenfeld’s family estate Åbylund, as he married a woman related to Sparwenfeld’s mother. Jacobowsky 1932, 304–05.

571. Evidently things did not work out with von Horn’s language teacher (cf. note 515).

572. The word “vipisca” (выписка ‘extract’) here means ‘written instruction’.

573. Sparwenfeld’s “min grefwe”—my count—refers to his host Graham. He was evidently sent to take care of the complicated situation concerning the Belgorod Tatars. Major-general Byls, being replaced by Graham, probably belonged to the originally Dutch family Byls, which emigrated to Hamburg, and from there, in the second generation, emigrated to Russia. See Amburger 1957, 69, 185 and Zabelin 1902, 374 f. (“Бильс”). He is mentioned by Gordon (who calls him “Bilts”, ed. Posselt, II, 1851, 159).

574. I have no knowledge of this courier from Poland.

575. This festival, Epiphany (Богоявление) with the blessing of the waters, is celebrated in the Orthodox world in commemoration of the baptism of Christ by John the Baptist in the Jordan, on which occasion the Holy Trinity revealed itself. On that day the waters in lakes, rivers, ponds, springs etc. all over Russia were blessed. The most magnificent celebration was, of course, the one held at court, the Epiphany blessing of the waters of the Moscow River. Many foreign travellers have described this event. See, for example, the very detailed account of David (ed. Myl’nikov, 1968, 4, 145–46). He describes the ceremony of the year 1687 or 1688. It seems that the small transparent building used by the tsars on New Year’s Day (cf. Sparwenfeld’s description, p. 191 in the English translation) was used on this occasion as well, this time by Tsar Peter alone, as Tsar Ivan was ill. Witsen in his journal gives a wonderful, very detailed description of

how the festival was celebrated in 1665 in Gorodnja on the Volga (1996, 79 ff.). See also Bulgakov, I, 1913, 23–25; Zabelin 1872, 335–41, Volchovskoj 1998, 88–90.

576. According to Zabelin (1915, 395) the robe the tsar was wearing on this occasion was so heavy that, to be able to manage, he had to be supported by courtiers. For a detailed description of the clothes, see Zabelin 1872, 338. Notwithstanding the weight of the robe, the courtiers served the function of demonstrating the power and dignity of the tsar (Scheidegger 1993, 185).

577. According to Zabelin (1915, 411), the porch at the Church of the Černigov Wonder-Workers (Церковь черниговских чудотворцев) was used for this procession.

578. Here there is a hole in the paper.

579. Venedikt Andreevič Zmeev (d. 1696/97). He became an *okol'ničij* in 1682 (Crummey 1983, 201).

580. The learned Vlach Nicolaus Milescu-Spatharius (Николай Гаврилович Милеску Спафарий) was born around 1635 in Moldavia and died in Moscow in 1708. From 1671 on he worked as a translator at the *Posol'skij prikaz*. He is said to have known many languages, among them Latin, Greek, Turkish, Italian and, eventually, Russian. Before moving to Russia he had been an envoy to Sweden (see, however, below). He says that he saw the Swedish king as a child (King Karl XI was born in 1655). Spatharius undertook a journey to China in 1675–78, commissioned by Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič. He wrote accounts of his travels. Sparwenfeld had his “Описание Китая” (A Description of China) copied in 1685, and this copy is now kept at the National Library in Paris under the catalogue number *Slave 35* (Martynov 1858, 105 f.; Черепнин 1962, 225). A.I. Jacimirskij and A.A. and N.F. Katanov published this work in Kazan' in 1910 under the original title *Описание первой части вселенной именуемой Азии, в ней же состоит Китайское государство с прочими его городами и провинциями*. According to Skačkov (1966, 161, note 36), at that time 36 copies of this work had been found by scholars. Sparwenfeld wrote about Spatharius's *Opisanie* to Leibniz in a letter dated 15 January 1699 (Hannover, *Lbr*: 877). He was not impressed by it and wrote that most of it was a simple translation of descriptions by other travellers to China, mainly Jesuits (Ursul also mentions the Jesuits in this connection). (See also Arne 1944, 94–96.) In passing it should be mentioned that Sparwenfeld knew the person who was Spatharius's interpreter during his Chinese journey, namely the Jesuit priest Ferdinand Verbiest of Paris. From him he got the two Chinese maps of the world which he donated to Uppsala University Library in 1702 (Jacobowsky 1932, 142). Ursul's work on Spatharius (1980) contains an extensive bibliography. That author says (p. 56) that Spatharius took part in the negotiations with the Swedish embassy in Moscow. If that is so, Sparwenfeld had met him before, which seems probable from the way he writes about him.

581. The Mongol Khan-Balik—'the City of the Khan'. Cambaluc was the name—with various modifications—by which the royal city of the great khan in China became known to Europe during the Middle Ages, the city we know today as Peking (Beijing). EB, vol. V, 1910, 81.

582. Sparwenfeld here gives the Russian name for China (“Kataja” for Kitaj). Or does he have in mind Cathay, the name for northern China used by Marco Polo and others, in contrast to Mangi (Manzi) for southern China (Брокгауз & Ефрон, XV, 1895, 173)?

583. Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622–86), count, civil servant. After the death of Karl X Gustaf in 1660 de la Gardie became a member of the regency. In the same year he was appointed chancellor (*SBL*, 10, 1931, 657–80).

584. The Latin-Greek-Slavonic dictionary was also mentioned by Sparwenfeld in a note (in *H* 285, p. 207, at Uppsala University Library), where he says that it constituted a thick folio and that he borrowed it from Spatharius. It had evidently been finished in 1673 (see Kudrjavcev 1963, 193). According to information in a letter from H. W. Ludolf to G. Pastriccio dated 9 February 1705, Spatharius's dictionary was in press in Moscow at that time (the letter has been published in *Россия и Италия*, 4, 1927, 297). There seems to be no trace of this dictionary (Михайловский 1896, 1897; Birgegård 1971, 163–65, 1985, 76). Another subject which, according to the above-mentioned letter to Leibniz (see note 580), was discussed during this meeting was the 1619 edition of Meletij Smotrickij's Church Slavonic grammar (Birgegård 1985, 56).

Spatharius later (on 30 January according to a note in the book) gave Sparwenfeld a printed liturgical book in his mother tongue (Jacobowsky 1932, 64).

585. The pronunciation of the Greek letter *theta* (in Russian фита) was evidently a question Sparwenfeld felt very strongly about. See Birgegård 1992, 50–51.

586. The Crimean Goths were mentioned as “gothi” already by Procopius (6th century). Crimea became part of the Ostrogothic realm in southern Russia in the 3rd century AD. According to West European travellers their language resembled German. An Austrian diplomat, Busbecq (he was a Fleming), visited Crimea in 1562. He wrote down a number of the words they used. According to him, the population at that time was approximately 800. There were still Goths in the Crimea in the 18th century, but around 1800 their language was evidently extinct. A bishopric by the name of Gothia existed until 1786 in this region (*NE*). Cf. Sparwenfeld's note at the end of his journal (p. 136, see the Introduction p. 6): “Spatharius, who has been there, told me that in the Crimea there are 300 Christian villages obeying under a Gothic bishop in Theodosiopolis or Kaffa. Their language is quite different from the language of the Tatars and they call it *lingua Gothica*. And if there was peace, this journey would be quickly made, as a person knowing Russian and Polish can get anywhere there, but as the Crimeans now are at war with Russia, it is not possible.” (*UB*.) In the final instruction this part of the journey is mentioned under No. 13 in a much shortened version (Jacobowsky 1932, 362). (On Spatharius and the Crimean Goths, see also Arne 1944, 96.) For a survey of Slavonic and Byzantine sources and a discussion of onomastic problems connected with this area, see Superanskaya 1992.

587. The Cimmerian Bosphorus was the name of what are now called the Caffa or Kertj straits.

588. Musk, the secretion of a gland in front of the sexual organ of the male musk-deer, is used by these animals as a scent signal. The substance, the most expensive of all animal products, has been used for centuries in medicine and the perfume industry. The secretion is dried into small grains and can be dissolved in pure alcohol. *NE*, 13, 555. See also Kilburger 263 f.

589. According to Crummey (1983, 208), Semen Erofeevič Almazov became a member of the *duma* on 30 March 1687. It is somewhat puzzling that Sparwenfeld already calls him a *dumnyj d'jak* in January 1685.

590. The first wife of Tsar Fedor Alekseevič, Agaf'ja Semenovna Grušetskaja, died while giving birth. The tsar's second choice fell on the 14-year-old Marfa Matveevna Apraksina, the god-daughter of Artamon Matveev, and he married her in February 1682. Tsar Fedor died two and a half months after the wedding (Hughes 1990, 47). The young tsarina's brother, the husband of Almazov's daughter according to Sparwenfeld, was Fedor Matveevič Apraksin (1661–1728), future general-admiral of the Russian fleet.

591. According to Bantyš-Kamenskij, Almazov, together with the *d'jak* Semen Dmitrievič Ippolitov, left Moscow for Paris on 17 January 1685 (concerning the date of departure, see below). They had two commissions: to inform the French authorities about there being two tsars on the Russian throne and to ask whether the French king was willing to join forces with Vienna and Poland against the Turks. They arrived in Paris on 7 May and left on 1 June with a *no* to their question. They were back in Moscow by 29 October (Бантыш-Каменский, 4, 1902, 83).

592. This must have been the letter dated Copenhagen 16 November 1684, now kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm (*Ep. S 45*).

593. Here there is a hole in the paper.

594. The Russian text should read: яснѣйший княже милостивѣйший гдрь (...) униженный рабъ (...) Гдрю моему князю Василию Васильевичу Голицыну (...) униженнѣ. It is uncertain who made the mistakes, von Horn in the original or Sparwenfeld when he copied it.

595. See Kotošichin (ed. Pennington, 1980, 50; ed. Adde, 1908, 41) regarding the titles, paper etc. used by the tsar in letters to the Danish king.

596. Cf. note 573.

597. Stachej Ivanovič Gadzalovskij (Gadzjalovskij), a nobleman from Vilna, who worked as a translator (переводчик) at the *Posol'skij prikaz*. He was employed as translator from Latin and Polish from 1667. Two of his major translations should be mentioned here: Haljatovsky's *Алкоранъ Магометовъ* (the Muslim Koran), produced in 1683, and *О конской езде* (On horse-riding) in four volumes, from a Polish original in 1685 (*Словарь книжников*, XVII в., ч. 1, 1992, 191). A copy of the first-mentioned work, a polemical pamphlet against Islam, was brought to Sweden by Sparwenfeld (in *Codex AD 10*, now at Västerås, see Dahl 1949 102–08). From Gadzalovskij Sparwenfeld also received Epifanij Slavineckij's Latin-Slavonic dictionary (MS *Slav 11*, Uppsala University Library), the most extensive among the sources used by Sparwenfeld in his dictionary project. Concerning traces of Gadzalovskij among Sparwenfeld's Slavonic manuscripts, see Birgegård 1985 *passim*.

598. Tsar Ivan was not to consecrate the cathedral at New Jerusalem himself, but he was to be present at the ceremonies. The Patriarch, as head of the Russian Orthodox Church, was responsible for the consecration. Among the volumes from the Sparwenfeld collection which were donated to the City Library of Västerås, there is one (*Codex AD 10*) which contains a copy of a description of the cathedral of the New Jerusalem monastery, dated 18 March 1685. The description concludes with an account of Tsar Ivan's visit, beginning on 15 January 1685, in connection with the consecration. He was accompanied by his aunt Tatjana Michajlovna (Dahl 1949, 140–44).

599. Almazov thus left earlier than Semen Dmitrievič Ippolitov (cf. note 591).

600. There was a Colonel Paul Menesius (Menzies) (d.1694), who was married to the widow of Peter Marselis, Margarethe Böcker v. Delden, since 1676. Tsar Peter's mother, Natal'ja Naryškina, had entrusted the upbringing of her son to him until 1682, then Menesius was summoned to Smolensk, but with permission to come to Moscow occasionally (Amburger 1957, 165). Concerning him, see also David (ed. Myl'nikov 1968, 1, 131), Hughes 1990, 181, Kovrigina 1998 *passim*. De la Neuville says he is a Scotsman and attributes the title major-general to him. He also says that he knows every European language (de la Neuville 1891, 9, 428–29). Korb, in his journal from an embassy of 1698, mentions four sons of the late General Menesius, two of whom were adults with military ranks at that time (ed. Korb, 1968 *passim*). Probably one of them was the young Menesius mentioned by Sparwenfeld. There was a Magnus Meneses, a major of Scottish origin, who ended up a prisoner of war in Sweden after the battle of Narva (Almqvist 1942, 90).

601. According to Bulgakov (II, 1913, 1482), the cathedral was consecrated by Patriarch Ioakim, with both Tsars present. The description of the cathedral and the consecration found at the City Library of Västerås (see note 598) makes no mention of Peter.

602. Sparwenfeld, by mistake, gives the depth of the Copenhagen port in altyns (a monetary unit) instead of the linear measure aršines (approximately 0.71 metres). Or should it be sažen (2.134 m)?

603. Prince Michail Jakovlevič Čerkasskij (d. 1712) served as *voevoda* of Novgorod in 1685. He had been promoted to boyar in 1682 (Crummey 1983, 203). In passing it may be mentioned that, while in Novgorod, he was instructed to make a special effort to fight the Old Believers, including tracking down those who had fled across the Swedish border (PBC 1905, 219–20).

604. Sparwenfeld uses the old Swedish cubic measure “oxehöfd” (literally ‘ox-head’), used primarily for wine and having counterparts in other countries. 1 *oxhuvud* generally corresponded to approximately 236 litres, but there could be considerable variations (NE, 14, 1994, 548). He gives the volume of French and Spanish wine in both Swedish and Russian. The Russian полубеременная бочка (from бремя, беремья ‘burden, load, weight’) is a half-size беременная бочка. The weight seems to have been somewhere in the region of 500 pounds in the case of a *beremennaja bocka*, according to a quotation in *SRJa XI–XVII*, 1, 1975, 305).

605. One pud (пуд) equals 16.38 kg.

606. Cf. note 413.

607. Arnold van der Hulst (Захарий Яковлевич фан дер Гульст), Dutchman, court physician (d. 1694). He is known in Russia from 1679. Van der Hulst was for many years the leader of the Dutch congregation in the *Nemeckaja sloboda*. He was one of the first foreigners to join the company of the young Tsar Peter. Kovrigina 291 *et passim*.

608. The title read in Russian: Царственные большая печати и государственных великих посольских дел оберегатель. Golitsyn had first been awarded the title (for use in diplomatic documents) in October 1682 (cf. note 406). According to *Polnoe sobranie zakonov* (ПСЗ, т. II (1676–1688 гг.) 1830, 687, No. 1134), referred to by Lav-

rov, the decree mentioned by Sparwenfeld—instructing Golitsyn to use this title in all documents, not only external ones—was not promulgated until 15 September 1685. Could it be that it took some months for the decree to become official? Concerning Sparwenfeld's statement that Golitsyn was the second person to have been honoured in such a way, it should be added that Ordin-Naščekin and Matveev at least, and possibly also Volynskij (cf. note 406), had borne this title before Golitsyn. But it is possible that some of his predecessors had the right to this title only for external use, as Sparwenfeld uses the word “beständigst”, i.e. ‘constantly’, in this connection.

609. Von Kochen was on his way to Moscow to prepare the ground for the negotiations about the frontiers, to begin later that year. He had left Stockholm in December 1684 (Zernack 1958, 140).

610. Two Dutch merchants by that surname, probably brothers, are mentioned by Demkin (2, 1994, 76, Nos. 404, 405: Маттеус Иванов Ромзвинкель, Николай Иванов Ромзвинкель). According to Amburger (1957, 134, note 594), Nicolaus Romswinkel was a merchant at Archangelsk, born in 1660. Perhaps the older of the two, Matteus, is the one mentioned here?

611. Laurens Blumentrost (1619–1705). Blumentrost came to Moscow from his country of origin, Germany, in 1667, invited on the initiative of his stepson, the Lutheran pastor in the *Nemeckaja sloboda* Johann Gottfried Gregori. Blumentrost made a brilliant career as a court physician. Three of his sons also served as doctors in Russia. The Blumentrost family were also important in the Lutheran congregation in Moscow, supporting it in various ways. *PBC* 1908, 101–02; Kovrigina 1998, *passim*. Cf. also note 489.

612. Patrick Gordon (1635–99), a Scotsman, general in the Russian army and the author of a well-known diary, translated into German (from English) and edited by M. A. Obolenski and M. C. Posselt: *Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon*, 1–3, Moskau–St. Petersburg, 1849–52. There is also a Russian translation of this diary (1892). Sparwenfeld mentions him in *Nomina*. Gordon was stationed in Kiev at this time. Foreigners could enter Russian service either for a given term or for life. In the latter case they could leave for various purposes only with the tsar's permission. Gordon had, however, enlisted for a limited term (Brückner 1878, 14–15, 19, 36, 50–51). He was not happy with his relative isolation in Kiev and tried to be transferred to Moscow, but without result. He also tried, eventually more and more persistently, to get the permission to leave his Russian service. According to his diary (ed. Posselt, II, 1851, 54) Gordon had written to V. V. Golitsyn on 8 January with the request to be disbanded, and if that was not possible, to be allowed to go to his native country at least for some time. Even if it became known in Moscow already at the beginning of February that the answer was negative, from the diary it seems that Gordon received an official answer to his petition only on 5 March (see the diary p. 67); he would not be let out of the country and not even from Kiev. On that same day he wrote to a number of people in Moscow to ask for their support in this matter, among them to Sparwenfeld “unter der Adresse des Obristen von Mengden”. See also note 692.

613. It is not easy to establish who these persons are. My guess is as follows. Westhof, the father of the bride, could be Paul Westhof (Павел Яковлевич Вестов), the father of a better-known son, Paul (Павел Павлович Вестов). Pavel Jakovlevič had at least two daughters, mentioned by Kovrigina, one of them married three times, the other twice, but neither of them to a van Delden. This might be another daughter. Demkin (2, 1994, 95) gives the names of a number of members of the van Delden family among Moscow merchants of foreign origin. Concerning the bridegroom, the situation is even more

complicated. There was an influential chief interpreter in Moscow, Johann Böcker van Delden, but, if alive at this time, he must have been very old. On the other hand, he could well be marrying for the fifth time, i.e. if that is how the text is to be understood. The Swedish “dh 5te i ordningen” could refer to the daughters (Westhof’s daughter number five) or to van Delden’s marriage. Johann Böcker van Delden was perhaps rather the father or another relative of the bridegroom who was marrying the fifth of Westhof’s daughters. According to Demkin (2, 1994, 78, No. 505) there was a certain “Давыд Иванов Фанделден”, possibly the son of the above-mentioned interpreter. See Amburger 1957; Kovrigina 1998. A Colonel Wilhelm von Delden ended up a prisoner of war in Sweden after Narva (Almquist 1942, 90), as, incidentally, did a certain Arnold Westhoff (*ibidem*). To make the confusion complete: Palmquist (1674) mentions three members of the families in question among foreign military men in Russia: Michael Westhoff, Samuel Wästhoff (said to have been born in Russia) and Willhelm von Deldon (sic!).

614. In Russia he was known as Захар Ефимович Кречман (Крохман) (Ковригина 1998, 47, 83).

615. On the lower part of page 100 and the whole of page 101 there are a number of recipes for drinks in German, some but not all for medicinal use.

616. Impossible to read as the edge is torn.

617. Von Kochen brought with him a letter from the Swedish king dated 19 November 1684. In the letter it was proposed that the two sides send commissaries to certain places to make adjustments to the frontier. The Swedes planned to send four people. The Russian side promised to send commissaries in April. Six representatives (among them Petr Ivanovič Prončiščev, cf. note 131) were sent from Moscow on 9 May (see the diary entry for 16 May). They were to remove old boundary marks and erect new ones. Four commissaries were sent from Sweden, among them our old acquaintances Jonas Klingstedt and Bengt Elfwendahl. For almost three months, the Swedish and Russian commissaries negotiated about a meeting; rafts had even been built on the River Narova for them to meet on. A major obstacle in the discussions was that they could not reach an agreement on which side was to speak first. So finally they left and returned to their respective countries, without a result. (Бантыш-Каменский, 4, 1902, 201–202; Zernack 1958, 140–41.) Apart from the question of the sending of frontier commissaries, von Kochen was also to take responsibility during his stay in Moscow for building a Swedish trading house and for promoting better trade relations between the two countries (Фортен 1899, 63).

618. According to David, the Lutheran Protestants had two churches in Moscow, one a large stone building with a surrounding churchyard in which all foreigners were buried (probably refers to all “Germans”, i.e. West Europeans), and the other a smaller one of wood (David, ed. Myl’nikov, 1968, 1, 126). See also Schleussing (1970, ed. Lapteva, 113).

619. The last sentence was added later. It is unclear to which date it relates.

620. Probably Johan Gabriel Stenbock (1640–1705), royal councillor and marshal of the realm (*Svenska män och kvinnor*, 7, 1954, 202).

621. “iamske sloboden”—“the post-driver suburb”. There were four suburbs with this name around Moscow. The one in question must have been the *Tverskaja Iamskaja slo-*

boda, along the road to Tver'. In passing it may be mentioned that our acquaintance the German traveller Schleussing left Moscow with von Kochen's party (1970, ed. Lapteva, 126).

622. Enok Lilliemarck (b. 1660) had, like Sparwenfeld, studied at Uppsala. He was also a member of the 1684 embassy to Moscow (mentioned as number 12 among the hofjunkers, see *Appendix 1*). Like Sparwenfeld he spent the following years in Russia studying the language, but he stayed in Novgorod. In 1690 he was employed at the Royal Chancellery and in 1692 was appointed translator to the Swedish governor at Narva. In 1701–3 he worked as a personal translator to King Karl XII (Sjöberg 1966). Concerning his later career and his dealings with the Russian prisoners of war, see Almquist 1942, 49–50. Regarding traces of him in an Uppsala manuscript, see Birgegård 1971, *passim*.

623. This note is impossible to interpret. Who is “M: K:”? Probably Mr Kniper, with whom he accompanied von Kochen. Or Mr Kochen?

624. Refers to King Charles II (1630–85). His successor on the throne was his brother James II (1633–1701), Duke of York.

625. The name of the monastery is the New Jerusalem Monastery of the Resurrection on the Istra (Воскресенский-Истринский Новый Иерусалим монастырь), situated around 80 kilometres from Moscow. The cathedral was founded in 1656 by Patriarch Nikon on the pattern of the Cathedral of the Resurrection of Christ in Jerusalem. The Cathedral of the Resurrection at New Jerusalem consists of a group of churches, with the Cathedral of the Grave of Christ as by far the dominant one. (Зверинский, II, 1892, 105–08, No. 742; Булгаков, II, 1913, 1482.)

626. The building of the cathedral at New Jerusalem was interrupted during the exile of Patriarch Nikon to the Feropontov Monastery in 1666, following disagreements with Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič. The patriarchs who were instrumental in this connection were Makarij from Alexandria and Paisij from Antioch (not the patriarch from Constantinople, as Sparwenfeld says). When Tsar Fedor came to power he decided that the building work should continue and allowed Nikon to return from exile. Nikon, however, did not reach the monastery, but died on the way. He was buried in the monastery on 28 August 1681. The cathedral was not finished until 1685 (cf. note 601). Леонид 1876. Witsen, who visited the monastery in secret for a few days at the beginning of May 1665, gives an extremely interesting account of his stay there, and in particular of his meetings with Patriarch Nikon (1996, 176 ff.).

627. Changed from 4,000.

628. Probably Fedor Ivanovič Leont'ev. He became a *dumnyj dvorjanin* (state councillor) in 1670 and an *okol'ničij* in 1682. He died on 24 November 1685 (Crummey 1983, 196).

629. Cf. note 243.

630. Details about what happened at Nemirov—a story with unexpected ingredients, it seems—are found in Patrick Gordon's diary. On 6 February he found out that Turks, Tatars and the Cossack hetman Sulimka had reached Nemirov. There were 6,000 Tatars, 1,000 janissaries, about 1,000 Cossacks, and sixteen cannon. The inhabitants at once turned the town over to the invaders and the hetman, Andreas Mohyla, only just escaped into the castle with a number of his own Cossacks and townspeople. The invaders lodged

in houses in the town, while Mohyla sent a message to the Poles asking for help (vol. II, 1851, 60–61). On 18 February it was reported that there were 20,000 invaders in all, but that the two parties, those of Sulimka and Mohyla, were not fighting, but eating and drinking together. The Poles said they were preparing to come to Mohyla's rescue, but there was doubt as to whether they would really come; it was suspected that they would prefer to march towards Kiev to fight the Russians (Gordon, p. 63). On 27 February it was reported that the invaders, on hearing that the Poles planned to interfere, had burnt the town, let the townspeople leave and marched away (Gordon, p. 66). Finally, on 7 March, the whole story was told by some merchants who had happened to be in Nemirov when the invaders arrived. According to their testimony, it was the townspeople who, tired of the oppression of Mohyla's Cossacks, had sent Sulimka to the Tatars to ask them to bring troops, saying that they would be let in. As they tried, time and again, to capture the castle in which Mohyla was ensconced, the Turks forced the townspeople to the front and threatened them with no mercy if they did not capture the castle. However, they were beaten off with great losses. After three weeks the invaders gave up and left the town, letting its inhabitants go free (Gordon, pp. 67–68). So Sparwenfeld's claim that the inhabitants were imprisoned is not corroborated by Gordon's account (pp. 67–68).

631. Foreign traders in Russia had long enjoyed favourable opportunities and large profits at the expense of Russian producers and consumers. Although some of their privileges had gradually been removed, Russia was still a very lucrative country for foreign merchants (O'Brien 1952, 67).

632. The person referred to is probably Ivan Danilovič Pankrat'ev, a *gost'*, the son of the *gost'* Danila Grigor'evič Pankrat'ev (*Очерки истории СССР*, 1955, *passim*).

633. The deplorable state of the Russian roads is a recurrent theme among travellers. See, for example, the testimony of Georg Adam Schleussing: "The streets are not paved with stone, but just covered with logs, like wooden lanes. When there is even a light shower of rain, on account of people going to and fro on horseback the wood often crumbles away and such a stream of mud shoots up that it is difficult to pass even on horseback, especially in winter. And sometimes in really bad weather you can end up head over heels in the mud." (Quoted from Hughes 1990, 115.)

634. See p. 211 in the English translation.

635. Cf. Schleussing's deeply moving account of the execution of an Old Believer: "And all those who did not agree were executed with an axe, and this still takes place. During my stay in Moscow not a single morning passed without someone being executed at the place of the skull. One of the ones I saw was an old man, who placed his grey head on the block so willingly, as if it could not be otherwise. The Tsarevna (i.e. Sofija, UB) sent word to him that all he had to do to be reprieved was to publicly renounce his aberrations. 'I need no mercy from the Tsarevna, all I need is the mercy of God Almighty.' Then he wanted to cross himself for the last time in the name of the Holy Trinity with three fingers, and even managed to do so a few times, although it cost him his head." (Schleussing 1970, ed., Lapteva, 117–18, UB.) Concerning the assertion that the executions were carried out at the place of the skull, see note 563. Schleussing also confuses the signs of the cross: the Old Believers made the sign of the cross with two fingers (cf. note 195). Subbotin 1878.

636. The person referred to is Jan Ignatius Kurtz. He had crossed the border at the end of March and (according to Cvetaev 1885, 43) had his audience on 21 April.

637. For the background, see note 547. Now a Tatar *poslannik* ('emissary') had arrived from Perekop—the fortified town guarding the entrance to the Crimean isthmus—to negotiate about the yearly tribute. It seems that the Tatars wanted payment for the previous year and, in advance, for the current year, probably both the tribute for not raiding the border areas and ransom money. The probable prelude to this state of affairs is related in General Gordon's diary in the entry for 13 March 1685 (ed. Posselt, II, 1851, 69), where it is said that it had been decided in the *duma* that the annual tribute to the Tatars, which was generally paid in the place where the release of the prisoners took place (Perevoločna?), would be frozen and that no Tatar residents would be allowed to stay in Moscow, nor would any Russian residents be sent to the Crimea. This was "aus Ursache, damit keinem von beiden Theilen fernerhin Beleidigungen möchten zugefügt werden; oder vielmehr damit man in Moskau von dergleichen Spionen möchte befreit bleiben". As this was contrary to the peace treaty, the Tatars were very displeased, and therefore they had refused to accept the annual tribute at Perevoločna and were determined to lodge an appeal in Moscow. So this was what brought the Tatar emissary to Moscow. Now he wanted to procure the annual tribute they had refused to accept before and also ensure the payment of the tribute for the current year. Was the direct reason for the disturbance of their relations the raids of Nemirov (see p. 217)? Cf. also Gordon's entry for 12 June, in which he writes that several Russian regiments had been sent to the Crimean border to impress the imperials. "Dieses geschah bloss, um dem römisch-kaiserlichen Gesandten zu Gefallen zu seyn, oder ihn zu amüsiren, da er glauben sollte, dass selbige den Tataren recht etwas zu schaffen machen würden, zu denen man doch einige Wochen vorher ihren Abgesandten mit dem Jahrgelde für zwei Jahre abgefertigt hatte, mit der Versicherung, dass man weder mit ihnen noch mit den Türken zu brechen gesonnen sei." (Quoted from Gordon, ed. Posselt, II, 1851, 93.) So when dealing with the Tatars, the Russians, of course, had to take the probable reactions of the imperials and the Poles into consideration.

638. The Jesuit arriving from Poland was the German Albert de Boy (Gordon) (Альберт Дебюа). According to Myl'nikov (David 1968, I, 123) he came from Olomouc in Moravia. The authorities did not, given the circumstances, want Polish Jesuits to work in Russia. He was taken into Moscow on 12 May. He died at the beginning of 1686 (Цветаев 1885, 43) (Myl'nikov gives 1685 as the year of his death). The "other Jesuit" was the Prussian father Johannes Schmidt (cf. note 479). He had arrived in Moscow in 1684 and was replaced in 1686 (Hughes 1990, 125–26). The man who replaced him was the Czech Jesuit Jiří David (1647–1713), mentioned earlier. He arrived in August 1686 and stayed until 1689, when the patriarch managed to expel all the Jesuits from Russia. David has written an interesting account of Russia, *Status modernus magnae Russiae seu Moscoviae* (1690), edited with an introduction and explanatory index by A. V. Florovsky (London–Paris–Hague, 1965). (See also part of this work in a Russian translation, ed. Myl'nikov 1968.) David, who was very interested in the Russian language, published a primer *Exemplar Characteris Moscovitico-Ruthenici Duplicis Biblici & Usualis* ..., Nissae 1690, comprising 20 pages, one of the first attempts in Western Europe to describe the Russian language. In the introduction to his grammatical compendium, he mentions that he had been recommended by the Swede Mr Sparwenfeld ("Juvenis Praeclarissimus, et suae gentis spes maxima, plurimarum linguarum peritissimus"), for the sake of practice, to translate Meletij Smotrickij's Church Slavonic grammar (cf. note 398) into Latin. But instead of doing that he wrote this primer. David and Sparwenfeld were thus clearly acquainted. (See Florovsky 1941, Unbegaun 1958, Birgegård 1985, 75–76.) Myl'nikov mentions in his introduction to David (1968, I, 123–24) that the latter worked with the Bollandists, a learned society of Jesuits created in Antwerp by G. Bolland (1596–1665). David helped to collect *vitae* of Russian saints for their

Acta Sanctorum. He adds that Sparwenfeld, too, was busy with the same task and that the two were in fairly close contact. Jacobowsky also mentions this work of Sparwenfeld and his contacts with the Bollandists in Antwerp.

639. Cf. note 628.

640. Cf. note 617.

641. Refers to Prince Jurij Alekseevič Dolgorukij, the then director of the *Streleckij prikaz*, who was one of the people lynched during the *strel'cy* uprising in May 1682.

642. V. V. Golitsyn's life style was bound to evoke strong reactions in Moscow at that time. An open Westernizer who liked the company of foreigners, he appreciated the luxuries of life. He built himself a magnificent palace in the centre of Moscow which was furnished with different novelties in the Western fashion. He was known by foreign visitors to appreciate "gifts" both in money and in kind. From von Horn's reports, for instance, it is evident that the possibility of influencing him by material means was often tried by Danes, Swedes and Dutchmen alike. A reconstruction of his palace had been started in 1684 or 1685, which, of course, meant huge extra expenditure. Golitsyn also had other houses. After his exile, in March 1691, his palace was taken over by Sparwenfeld's Georgian friends Alexander and Mamuka Bagrationi, the sons of Prince Arčil (cf. note 498). Bogojavlenskij 1980, 221 ff.; Hughes 1990.

643. This "large bell" or "Tsar of Bells" ("Царь-колокол") is the second *car'-kolokol*. It was cast by order of Tsar Aleksey Michajlovič in 1654 to replace the first bell, cast during the reign of Boris Godunov. The bell referred to here lay in the casting pit for fourteen years before it was hoisted in 1674 into the *Ivan Velikij* bell-tower (cf. note 363). It fell down and was shattered in 1701. At the beginning of the 1730s it was recast and it can now be admired in the Kremlin. (Мыльников (Давид) 1968, 97:2.) Lapteva gives somewhat differing information about the bell (Schleussinger, 1970, 1, 124, note 11). See also Witsen, who gives the weight of the copper in the bell as 10,800 puds. He also provides some further details (1996, 108 f.). Paul of Aleppo gives a beautiful account of the casting of this bell (Фалькович 1913, 88–92). I cannot help wondering whether Andrej Tarkovskij had read it before he made the bell-casting scene in his film *Andrej Rublev*.

644. "Soborna"—*Sobornaja cerkov'*, i.e. *Uspenskij sobor* in the Kremlin.

645. Cf. note 482. The Akkema family was in control of the Porotov and Ugod works (Поротовский и Угодский заводы) and the Vyšegorod district. Concerning the terms, see Demkin, 2, 1994, 7 f.

646. This Georgian prince is, in all probability, Arčil Bagrationi, who lived in Moscow with his family as a political refugee. Cf. note 498.

647. According to prof. J. L. Vateishvili "Хелмцип".

648. Refers to David II the Builder (1089–1125).

649. Books in the Georgian alphabet had in fact been printed in Rome in 1629. See A. S. Chikobava & J. L. Vateishvili, *First printed books in Georgian* (with parallel texts of articles in Georgian, Russian and English and with the first printed books in facsimile), "Khelovneba" Publishers, Tbilisi 1983.

650. The last line is impossible to read as the edge is torn.

651. Impossible to read owing to the torn edge.

652. A direct translation reads “The widow the Imeretian Tsar” or, possibly, “The Imeretian widow the Tsar” (the intended gender of the adjective “Emerchinski” used by Sparwenfeld is difficult to define; it does look like a masculine form). What happened on that day is, therefore, not clear. Does it mean that the widow of the Imeretian Tsar did something or other? But the late husband of the widow would hardly be called a *tsar*, rather a *prince* (concerning her identity, see note 743). Perhaps the Imeretian widow *appealed* to the Tsar for a meeting, and that was granted on 14 June?

653. There was a Tatar Suburb (Татарская слобода) in Moscow (Bogojavlenskij 1980, 124).

654. Sparwenfeld uses the Russian *dvorjanskij spisok*, gen. *dvorjanskogo spiska* (a list of noblemen). Does he have in mind the expression *дворянин по московскому списку* (a nobleman in accordance with the Moscow list)? In other words, is he maintaining that a Tatar who converts to Christianity is automatically made a nobleman? Witsen in his journal writes that Tatar *princes* who convert become Russian courtiers (1996, 125).

655. The brothers Ioannikij and Sofronij Lichudy from Kefalonia arrived in Moscow in March 1685, invited by the patriarch to counterbalance the strong influence from the south-west by scholars oriented in the Polish-Latin tradition with its possible Catholic leanings. Their most important spokesman and, consequently, the main opponent of the Lichudy brothers at this time was Sil'vestr Medvedev. Sparwenfeld was acquainted with the Greek brothers, according to a note in a manuscript preserved in Uppsala (Birgegård 1985, 47). About the Lichudy brothers, see *Slovar' knižnikov* (XVII в., 2:3, 1993, 301–305).

656. This is the continuation of a text with no beginning.

657. Johann Georg Korb mentions this translator in his diary (ed. Korb 1968, 54). He was a Pole, his name was Simon Laurezky, he had belonged to the Dominican Order but had become a Russian Orthodox, and he translated from Latin.

658. This refers to the Polish embassy which arrived in Moscow in February 1686 to try to reach a final agreement with the Russians. It was led by Krzysztof Grzymułtowski and Marcjjan Oginski, the latter the Chancellor of Lithuania, and was accompanied by over 1,000 men and 1,500 horses. Finally, on 26 April, both sides agreed to a Treaty of Eternal Peace (Устрялов, I, 1858, 152–3; O'Brien 1952, 96 ff.; Hughes 1990, 192–93). The month following “the 25th” in our text must be *March*. Fortunately we have an additional source available, namely a letter from Sparwenfeld to Bengt Oxenstierna dated 1 May 1686 (see *Appendix:2:1*). In it, we learn more details about the situation surrounding these crucial negotiations: “When the Polish legates, who arrived here on 9 February last—the names and orations of whom at the first audience I sent to my father long ago for him to communicate to you—had endeavoured diligently and with great zest, for as long as almost three months, in as many as nine conferences, to conclude an eternal peace with the Tsars on fair terms, as well as to get them to join an eternal defensive alliance against the Turks and the Tatars (offensive, however, when considered opportune or necessary by the allies), they proposed advantageous terms to them. To begin with, their

Tsarist Majesties showed very little inclination in that direction, as could be seen from their tough and sometimes even ridiculous propositions—which it is not possible to describe in detail—indeed, it got to the point that the Polish legates, after their public farewell audience with the Tsars, which took place on 20 March, prepared to leave altogether, as they had even been given the Tsar's letter to the King of Poland. However, they were delayed for a few days before they could get away. In the meantime, a courier from the Crimea arrived with a letter from the Khan, in which he asked for eternal friendship and to that end offered not to claim the yearly tribute, which for ages had been paid each year by the Tsars. But as he acted very rudely and proudly and refused to bare his head, his hat was thrown on-to the floor and stamped on, and the letter was pulled with force from his bosom. Shortly afterwards the negotiations with the Polish legates began again, but this time in their apartments, in private, with the help of a translator who walked between the two commissions, and not in public at the castle as on the nine previous occasions. And this time the Russians seemed to take the matter more seriously, influenced by letters of intercession handed over from the ambassadors here of both the King of France, the Elector of Brandenburg and the Venetian Republic. All the same, the matter was discussed endlessly for another three weeks, which made the legates beg for God's sake to be dismissed, as they saw clearly that they could achieve nothing. [...] But finally the Russians started to tone down their far-reaching and numerous pretensions, and shortly after the Easter festival they were ready to conclude. It took but a few days to finalize—although there were enough disputes about new terms from both sides—so that the legates were quickly and unexpectedly summoned to their farewell audience on 26 April, when they immediately exchanged the treaties, which were sworn to by both commissions. After that the Tsars themselves swore to the agreement by kissing the cross, and the oath for the King of Poland was taken by his ambassadors. After that they were quickly dismissed with the treaty and the letter.”

Further on in the letter it is stated that the Poles said that they had agreed to cede such a large amount of land in the hope of gaining Walachia and Podolia and in the interests of Christendom. They also hoped to get back later what they had lost. They admitted, however, that the tsars had got the better deal with this alliance, that is to say, if they really attacked the Crimea. In his next letter to Bengt Oxenstierna, dated 8 September 1686 (*Appendix 2:2*), Sparwenfeld says that he is appending the eleven remaining items of the Russian-Polish peace treaty in his own translation into Swedish from Polish, including the oaths and the rewards for the negotiators. The first eighteen items had been sent earlier by von Kochen. It emerges that Sparwenfeld himself had copied the peace treaty from Grzymultowski's own attested Polish copy, which seems to indicate that Sparwenfeld was in the Polish ambassador's confidence. That he enjoyed good relations with the Lithuanian ambassador as well is indicated by the fact that he received a printed book as a gift from Oginski on 20 April 1686 (UUB, *Slav.* 34:3).

659. See Solov'ev (кн. 3, т. 11, ст. 46–47) concerning the battle at Konotop. What Sparwenfeld describes in his text, though, seems to be the battle of Čudnovo (see the following note).

660. Should be Vasilij *Borisovič* Šeremetev. He lost an entire army at Čudnovo (not Konotop this time, see the previous note) in October 1660 and spent the following 20 years in the Crimea as a prisoner of war. He died in 1682. (Solov'ev, кн. 3, т. 11, ст. 85–88; Crummey, 48, 190.)

661. Grigorij Grigor'evič Romodanovskij, according to Solov'ev (кн. 3, т. 13, ст. 841), was sent back to Moscow after the second unsuccessful campaign to Čigirin (in 1679) (there is no information about him having been taken prisoner). He was lynched by the

strel'cy (who referred to Čigirin) during the uprising in May 1682 (Hughes 1990, 64). According to the account given by Boutenant in his *Warhaftige Relation ...* (Устрялов 1858, 336), the *strel'cy* also referred to his more than 20 years of imprisonment in Tartary. Tanner (1891, 128–29) gives a somewhat different account of Romodanovskij's performance at Čigirin.

662. Jerome Horsey, *The most solemne and magnificent coronation of Pheodor Ivanovičh, Emperour of Russia & c. the tenth of June, in the yeere 1584. seene and observed by Master Jerom Horsey, gentleman and servant to her Majesty, (...)* (Adelung, I, 1846, 352 ff.; Hakluyt III, 1903, 336 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 25–27, 29).

663. Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Commonwealth (...)*, 1591; Fletcher, *Of the Rus Commonwealth*, ed. Schmidt, facsimile 1966. Also in L. E. Berry, R. O. Crummey (ed.): *Rude and barbarous kingdom. Russia in the accounts of sixteenth-century English voyagers*, Madison, Milwaukee, London 1968, 85–246. This book painted a very unfavourable picture, especially of the ruling class in Russia. The English merchants trading with Russia, fearing that the book might harm their trade, made Queen Elizabeth of England ban and even destroy the book. The Russians also banned the book until 1848, when it was finally published in a Russian translation. Adelung, I, 1846, 377 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 29.

664. Thomas Smith, *Voiage and Entertainment in Russia. With the tragicall ends of two Emperours and one Empreſse ...*, London 1605. Adelung, II, 1846, 157 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 28.

665. Anthony Jenkinson, *A voyage to Russia in 1552*. In L. E. Berry, R. O. Crummey (ed.): *Rude and barbarous kingdom. Russia in the accounts of sixteenth-century English voyagers*, Madison, Milwaukee, London 1968, 46–58. Adelung, I, 1846, 214 ff.; Hakluyt II, 1903, 413 ff., 449ff; Зайончковский 1976, 40.

666. Petrus Petrejus, *Een wiss och sanfärdigh Berättelse, om några Förändringar, som j thesse framledne åhr, uthi Storfurstendömet Muskow skedde äre, Allom trognom rätrådighom menniskiom, som bygge och boo under Sweriges Rijkets Crono, til rättelse och underwijsning, Skrifwin af Peder Pedersson Ubsaliensi, Stockholm 1608; Regni Muschowitici sciographia. Thet är: Een wiss och egenteligh beskrifning om Rydzland, med thes många och stora furstendömers, provinciers, befestningars, städers, siögars och elfwers tilstånd, rum och lägenheet: (...) Vthi sex böker korteligen författat, beskrifwin och sammandragin, af Petro Petrei, Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1615; Petrus de Erlesunda, *Historien und Bericht von dem Grossfürstenthumb Muschkow*, Lipsiae 1620. Adelung, II, 1846, 238 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 57. See Källemark 1969; Tar-kiainen 1973; Petrejus (Attius Sohlman red., 1997).*

667. Paul Oderborn, *Johannis Basilidis magni Moschoviae ducis vita tribus libris conscripta. Authore Paolo Oderbornio, Witebergae 1585*. Adelung, I, 1846, 359 ff.

668. S. Neugebauer, *Moscovia. Hoc est de origine, situ, regionibus, moribus, religione ac Republicae Moscoviae Commentarius*, Gedani 1612. Adelung, II, 1846, 294 f.

669. Siegmund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*, Vindobonae 1549; Herberstein, *Notes upon Russia, Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*, I–II, 1851–52; Herberstein, *Description of Moscow and Muscovy, 1557*, ed. B. Picard, London 1969; Герберштейн 1988. Adelung, I, 1846, 160 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 25.

670. Paulus Jovius, *Pauli Jovii Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basili magni Principis Moscoviae ad Clementem VII ...* Roma 1525. Adelung, I, 1846, 187 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 26.

671. Paul Piasecki, *Chronica gestorum in Evropa Singularium*, Cracoviae 1645. Adelung, II, 1846, 294.

672. Antonio Possevino, *Antonii Possevini ex Societate Jesu Moscouia, s. de rebus Moscoviticis et acta in conuentu legatorum regis Poloniae et magni Ducis Moscouiae anno 1581*, Vilna 1586. Adelung, I, 1846, 321 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 28.

673. Sparwenfeld was the owner of the Russian-Church Slavonic translation of Strykowski's chronicle and donated it to Uppsala University library (*Slav* 26–28). See Birgegård 1985, 92, note 33.

674. A. von Mayerberg, *Iter in Moschoviam Augustini liberi Baroni de Mayerberg et Horat. Guil. Caluucci ab August. Rom. Imper. Leopoldo ad Czarem et Magn. Ducem Alexium Michail A. 1661 Ablegatorum* (without place and year of publication). Adelung, II, 1846, 332 ff.; Зайончковский 1976, 68–69.

675. Cf. the introduction p. 18. Зайончковский 1976, 72.

676. The so-called Nestor's Chronicle (*Повесть временных лет*), which was compiled at the beginning of the 12th century by its more or less mythical author, Nestor, who was said to have been a monk of the Cave Monastery in Kiev (Kievo-Peščerskaja lavra). That is why Sparwenfeld calls him "petschiaricus".

677. Sparwenfeld was the owner of Innokentij Gizel's *Synopsis*, printed in Kiev 1678 (now in the City Library of Västerås).

678. A 16th century compilation of texts from different chronicles, legends of saints etc. last published in *Книга степенная царского родословия*, СПб 1908–13. A copy, given to Sparwenfeld by Andrej Artamonovič Matveev in April 1686, is preserved at Västerås (Codex Ad 11). See also Davidsson 1968.

679. This account of individuals and troops taking part in warfare at Riga and Dorpat and in Ingria refers to the Swedish-Russian war of 1656–1658. Riga was besieged by the Russians from August to October 1656, but was never captured. The Swedish commanders were Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (see note 583) and Simon Grundel-Helmfelt (see note 50). Sparwenfeld's figure of 118,000 men on the Russian side seems very high; de la Gardie gives the figure 24,000 (*SBL*, 10, 1931, 665). Cf., however, Witsen, who takes part in an eighth anniversary thanksgiving service at Riga on 15th October 1664; he gives the number of besieging Russians as 180,000 (1996, 29). Dorpat, however, fell into Russian hands on 12 October 1656, after a siege lasting for ten weeks. It was returned under the peace treaty of Kardis. Livonia suffered extensive destruction during this war. (*Очерки истории СССР*, 1955, 502.)

680. Il'ja Danilovič Miloslavskij was the father of Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič's first wife (cf. note 360). He died in 1688 (Crummey, 188).

681. Boris Ivanovič Morozov, an old acquaintance of ours (cf. note 447), died in 1661 (Crummey, 184).

682. Jakov Kudenetovič Čerkasskij, died in 1666 (Crummey, 186).

683. Aleksej Nikitič Trubeckoj, died in 1662/63 (Crummey, 186).

684. Afanasij Lavrent'evič Ordin-Naščokin, a very powerful man who had often given the Swedes a hard time (see Zernack 1958 *passim*). He died in 1680 (Crummey, 193).

685. Alexander Leslie, a Scottish colonel who had earlier been in Swedish service. See Amburger, *passim*.

686. Fedor Michajlovič Rtiščev. Concerning him, see also Birgegård 1985, 20–21 *et passim*. He died in 1673 (Crummey, 192).

687. Petr Alekseevič Dolgorukij, died in 1669 (Crummey, 190).

688. Ivan Semenovič Prozorovskij, died in 1670 (Crummey, 192).

689. Bogdan Matveevič Chitrovo. He died in 1680 (Crummey 188).

690. Jurij Alekseevič Dolgorukij, who was lynched by the mob during the *strel'cy* uprising in May 1682 (Crummey).

691. Semen Romanovič Požarskij, died in 1659 (Crummey, 187).

692. It is striking to what extent Golicyyn and the *duma* were opposed to letting Gordon leave Russia. He was, of course, unusually well informed about military matters and hence a “security risk”, but the main reason was probably that his military capacity was needed. Gordon had continued to write petitions requesting permission to leave the country. Such petitions were written in May and June 1685 (published by Posselt, II, 1851, 83–88 and 91–92). Finally, at the beginning of 1686, Gordon received permission to go to England and Scotland for a visit to settle his affairs, but he had to leave his wife and children in Kiev. He left Moscow on 29 January and arrived in England on 12 April. After patiently following the movements of the British king—James II (James VII of Scotland)—to get an opportunity to raise his case with him, he managed on some occasions to talk to him for half an hour or so. The king enquired about Russia and particularly about the state of military affairs there, and promised (on 14 May) to write a letter to the tsars about the disbandment of his subject Gordon. On 14 July, while Gordon was in Scotland attending to family matters, he received a copy of the letter written by King James to the Russian tsars, the letter dated 29 May. In it the king requests the tsars to allow Gordon to return home, as he is needed in his own country etc. (the letter is published by Posselt, 150–51).

Gordon's diary reports the following chain of events thereafter: Gordon was back in Moscow on 31 August 1686. On 14 September the above-mentioned letter from the British king was handed over to the tsars (i.e. Golicyyn) by the Dutch resident, who, in turn, had received it from the Dutch resident in London. After translation etc. the letter was presented to the tsars on 26 September and evidently evoked very strong reactions. People who claimed to be Gordon's friends said that his prospects did not look good, that he must write a petition and ask for forgiveness, that he would be exiled to some remote area with his family etc. On 23 October (erroneously given as November by Posselt, who jumps from September to November) Gordon went to Izmajlovo, where the older tsar, Sofija and Golicyyn were staying. Golicyyn was furious, Gordon would be degraded to second lieutenant etc. Gordon had to kiss the rod. On the same day he wrote a petition, prom-

ising to stay in Russia and serve the tsars. He was told the petition was not sufficiently remorseful, so he asked guidance on how to write it. On 25 October Gordon received an outline of a petition from Ukraincev, which he finally signed, having made a few changes. This petition was presented in the *duma* the same day, and no one said a word. On 11 December Gordon was informed that he had been forgiven and that he would keep his position and military rank. And, with this, the good general had to give up hope of ever seeing his native country again. (Gordon, ed. Posselt, II, 1851, 157 ff.) Witsen (1996, 165 f.) gives another example of a foreign officer who wants to leave Russia.

693. The Crimean expeditions of 1687 and 1689 came to be instrumental in Golitsyn's fall from power. On the pros and cons of his appointment as field-marshal and commander, see Hughes 1990, 197 ff. Sparwenfeld, in his letter to Bengt Oxenstierna dated 8 September 1686 (*Appendix 2:2*), provides some inside information about the chain of events preceding the appointment of Vasilij Vasil'evič as commander in chief of the Crimean campaign. He begins by noting that things are moving forward very slowly: "and there is great disagreement in the council, as none of the important gentlemen or families want to take the field, never mind serve as commander, as they all blame this war on Vasilij Vasil'evič, who concluded this peace (i.e. with Poland, UB) practically alone and was so highly rewarded for it. Consequently they wish that he who spoke the loudest in peacetime should also command the army himself in this situation. One excuses himself as being the last of his family, another as being unable to leave his Sovereign and Tsar etc. etc. And so, as yet, it is unknown what will happen and no decision has been made. They assure us, however, that the march will take place during the coming spring." Sparwenfeld's information is in accordance with what is reported by de la Neuville (1699, 63 ff.; Russian ed. 1891, 138), namely that people were unhappy with the treaty with Poland, and when Golitsyn tried to suggest different candidates as commander in chief, their answer was in principle: You who think you know best, do it yourself!

694. Aleksej Semenovič Šejn became a boyar in April 1682. He died in 1700 (Crummey, 203).

695. According to Crummey (p. 208), the son of Vasilij Vasil'evič, Aleksej Vasil'evič Golitsyn, was appointed a boyar on 22 October 1686. Sparwenfeld's date might be somewhat approximate. The young man was thus to replace his father as head of the *Posol'skij prikaz* while he was away. See further Lavrov 1999, 92 f.

696. Sparwenfeld's list of the leading people in the first Crimean expedition seems to be very accurate (cf. Lavrov 1999, 141).

697. Konstantin Osipovič Ščerbatov, became a boyar in June 1682 and died in 1697 (Crummey, 196).

698. Cf. note 579.

699. Agej Alekseevič Šepelev, died in 1687/88 (Crummey, 208).

700. Perfilij Fedorovič Olovennikov, died in 1694/95 or later (Crummey, 212).

701. Michail Alekseevič Vojnov (Богоявленский 1946, 73).

702. Grigorij Michajlovič Protoporov (Богоявленский 1946, 289).

703. Daniil Afanas'evič Borjatinskij, was appointed *okol'ničij* in December 1678 and died in 1696 (Crummey 201).

704. Eremej Leont'evič Poljanskij (Богоявленский 1946, 286).

705. Andrej Judin (Богоявленский 1946, 313).

706. Vladimir Dmitrievič Dolgorukij, became a boyar in 1676 and died in 1701 (Crummey, 198). Hughes 1990, 197.

707. Petr Dmitrievič Skuratov, became an *okol'ničij* in 1670, died in 1686/87 (Crummey, 196).

708. Lev Borisovič Protopopov (Богоявленский 1946, 289).

709. Avtamon Ivanovič Ivanov, died in 1709 (Богоявленский 1946, 256; Crummey, 209).

710. Sparwenfeld in 1720–23 compiled a list of his acquaintances in different countries and cities, *Nomina Illustrium virorum Quibuscum Familiariter et in Continua uixi amicitia in aetate virili ...* (now at the Royal Library in Stockholm under the catalogue number *Ep. S 45*). Jacobowsky has published the list as an appendix. There we can find many of Sparwenfeld's Moscow friends ("J Moskow"). Concerning von Kochen, see *Nomina*, Jacobowsky 1932, 376.

711. Cf. *Nomina*, Jacobowsky p. 376.

712. Cf. *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 376): "The Dutch Resident Baron Keller, with whom I lodged and ate with two horses and two servants almost the whole time" (UB).

713. Cf. *Nomina*, Jacobowsky p. 376.

714. Probably identical to "Häuptman" in *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 376).

715. Probably the merchant and iron manufacturer Werner Müller (Moller) (Amburger 1957, 128 f., 212; Демкин, 2, 1994, 74, no 347; Ковригина 1998, 212).

716. Cf. note 613.

717. Thomas Kellermann was born in Russia and followed in his father's footsteps. He received his charter as *gost'* in 1672 (Amburger 1957, *passim*). His son Ivan also became a merchant (Демкин, 2, 1994, 96, no 69).

718. Cf. *Nomina*, Jacobowsky p. 376.

719. Cf. *Nomina*, Jacobowsky p. 376.

720. Korb, in his journal (ed. Korb, 1968, 205), mentions two Generals Riman, who were brothers, and one Captain Rickmann.

721. Balthazar de Lauzière, French orientalist who gave Sparwenfeld a large number of precious manuscripts. On 29 August 1686, for instance, he gave him a Persian manu-

script, “Boustan”, now at Uppsala University Library. In that manuscript we read in Sparwenfeld’s handwriting: “gentilhomme francois a la Cour du Roy des Iberiens Archille Bagrationi” (*Orient. mss, Sp. 19*). Other gifts were a Turkish-Persian dictionary with French *marginalia*, compiled by Arčil Bagrationi and given by him to de Lauzière (UUB, *Orient. mss, Sp. 25*), a Turkish-Georgian dictionary, and so on. Who is this man who evidently also had a lot to do with Arčil Bagrationi? Vatejšvili (pp. 43 ff., in manuscript) has found four documents at RGADA in Moscow (from the fond Сношения России с Грузией) which help shed light on his biography. In a letter to the tsars, de Lauzière writes concerning his earlier life that, having earned the rank of major in France, he had gone to Persia with the Polish envoy Zgórsky (cf. note 496), and that he is now in the service of the Imeretian tsar. From the questioning at the *Posol’skij prikaz*, related by Vatejšvili (p. 44), it emerges that after eleven years of serving the French king de Lauzière left to get to know other countries and languages. He went to England, Holland and Sweden. In Poland he made contacts with Solomon Zgórsky and went with him through Muscovy to Persia. He stayed in that country for two years and then came to Astrachan’ with the same Polish envoy. There he joined the Imeretian tsar and came with him to Moscow. And now he hoped to obtain permission to serve the Russian tsars. He also reports that, apart from French, he speaks and writes Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Persian. In other words, he was a person who would have got on well with Sparwenfeld. He received the “labour permit” he was asking for. Van Keller tells Sparwenfeld in a letter from September 1687 (KVA, *Berg. brevsaml., IX:536*) that de Lauzière has been promoted to lieutenant-colonel. There is also a letter from de Lauzière himself to Sparwenfeld from the end of the same month (Linköping, *Br. 33:17*; Jacobowsky 1932, 63–64). Vatejšvili (pp. 50–51, in manuscript) publishes this letter in Russian translation. Jacobowsky has evidently completely failed to grasp the irony with which de Lauzière describes his own and others’ participation in the disastrous first Crimean campaign, with V.V. Golicyn as generalissimo.

722. Cf. note 528.

723. Among the friends “among Germans in the *sloboda* outside Moscow” referred to in *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 376), the following too are mentioned: “A rich merchant: Kluck, (...) and many secretaries, translators and scribes from the big chancellery” (UB).

724. Cf. note 566.

725. Cf. note 607.

726. Cf. note 611.

727. *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 375) refers to: “Prince Boris Alekseevič Golicyn, Tsar Peter’s tutor, with three brothers”. Boris Alekseevič gave Sparwenfeld four books, now kept at Västerås (Gawrys, 2, 1960, Nos. 7, 10, 14, 15).

728. Petr Alekseevič Golicyn gave Sparwenfeld a book, now at Västerås (Gawrys, 2, 1960, No. 9).

729. Could this Ivan Alekseevič in fact be Ivan Ivanovič (Иван Иванович Голицын большой), with whom Sparwenfeld evidently spent time? Ivan Ivanovič is mentioned in many places in the diary and also gave Sparwenfeld the Russian-Church Slavonic translation of Strykowski’s chronicle (UUB *Slav* 26–28, cf. note 673). He became a

boyar in April 1685 and was sent to Kazan' as *voevoda* the following year. He evidently belonged to Peter's camp (see Lavrov 1999, 90). According to Crummey (p. 207) he died in June 1686. Cf. note 450.

730. Cf. *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 375): "Prince Jakov Fedorovič Dolgorukij with his three brothers". Jakov Fedorovič Dolgorukij (1634–1720) became a boyar in 1697 (Crummey 213). Jakov Fedorovič was taken prisoner at Narva in 1700 and spent many years as a prisoner of war in Sweden. He managed to flee and get back to Russia in 1711 (Almquist 1942 *passim*). Dolgorukij gave Sparwenfeld the printed *Uloženie* from 1649, with additional older handwritten laws bound in the same volume (UUB *Slav* 23).

731. Concerning his brother Luka, see note 444.

732. A certain G.F. Dolgorukij (probably Grigorij Fedorovič) is mentioned in *Meždu-narodnye svyazi* ...

733. Cf. *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 375): "The Apraksins with three brothers". Petr Matveevič Apraksin became *okol'ničij* in June 1689, and was still alive in 1713 (Crummey, 210). They were the brothers of the second wife of Tsar Fedor Alekseevič, Marfa Matveevna Apraksina (cf. note 590).

734. Cf. *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 375): "The Izmailovs, three brothers". Andrej Petrovič, Aleksej Petrovič and Ivan Petrovič Izmajlov.

735. Michail Fedorovič Rtiščev, possibly the son of the well-known Fedor Michajlovič Rtiščev. Cf. note 686.

736. Andrej Artamonovič Matveev (1666–1728), the son of Artamon Sergeevič Matveev, who was killed during the *strel'cy* uprising (cf. note 113). Sparwenfeld mentions him in *Nomina* as well (Jacobowsky p. 375), giving details of his later career: "Andrej Artamonovič, at that time Tsar Peter's chamberlain and later ambassador at The Hague for a long time". Sparwenfeld received a number of books from Matveev: one on military drill, translated from Dutch and printed in Moscow in 1647: *Учение и хитрость ратнаго строения пехотных людей*, now in Uppsala University Library; *Codex AD 11* at Västerås, a volume containing various handwritten texts; and a printed book in Russian, also kept at Västerås (Gawrys, 2, 1960, No. 8). Andrej Artamonovič wrote a historically important account of the *strel'cy* uprising when, as mentioned, his father became one of the victims (published by N. Sacharov in *Zapiski russkich ljudej*, St Petersburg 1841). Andrej Artamonovič was well educated and spoke Latin. Брокгауз/Ефрон, XVIII, 1896, 778.

737. It should be noted from the above that Sparwenfeld's friends and acquaintances evidently belonged to Peter's camp. More Russian acquaintances are mentioned in *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 375–76): "The Princes Masal'skij, three brothers, Chamberlain Klišov (...) As well as my dear friend the Russian Resident Chilkov, who died of dropsy at Visingsborg Castle. General Vejde, General Buturlin, General Golovin, General Trubeckoj." The last five ended up in Sweden as prisoners of war, and Sparwenfeld had a lot to do with them in his role as Master of Ceremonies at the Swedish court. Andrej Jakovlevič Chilkov died on Visingsö in November 1716 (Almquist 1942, 52 ff.). The others were Adam Adamovič Vejde (1667–1720), Ivan Ivanovič Buturlin (1661–1738), Avtamon Michajlovič Golovin (1667–1720) and Ivan Jur'evič Trubeckoj (1667–1750) (Almquist 1942, 68). It is debatable how much he saw of them in Moscow. Concerning the role of

Chilkov and other prisoners in Sparwenfeld's dictionary project, see Birgegård 1985. Another Russian acquaintance of Sparwenfeld's gave him a 16th century manuscript, now kept at the Public Library in St Petersburg. The donor, the *stol'nik* Prince Jurij Fedorovič Ščerbatov (Crummey 1982, 212), is presented by Sparwenfeld as his "very honoured comrade and benefactor". According to Sparwenfeld's note in the manuscript, the gift was received on 20 March 1686 (Черепнин 1962, 224).

738. Arčil Bagrationi with his wife Ketevan, his sons Alexander, Mamuka and David, and his daughter Daredžan. Cf. *Nomina* (Jacobowsky p. 376): "Tsar Arčil Bagrationi, earlier ruler of Gruzia, Imeretia, Kachetia and Sakartvelo, with his son and all his court, who have all shown me unusual favour. Tsarevich Alexander died of stone as a prisoner at Umeå (should be Piteå, UB)." Tsarevich Alexander, Arčil's eldest son, ended up a prisoner of war in Sweden after Narva in 1700. After huge efforts by his father to have him exchanged, after a decade in Sweden, he finally set out on his journey home, only to die on the way in the town of Piteå in northern Sweden (in February 1711). Almquist 1942, 69–73; Tatišvili 1950, 185 ff. Cf. note 498.

739. The support which Sparwenfeld gave to the exiled Georgian prince Arčil Bagrationi in the latter's efforts to establish a Georgian printing press is a subject in itself and can be treated only briefly here. Sparwenfeld mentions the Burgermeister Nicolaas Witsen of Amsterdam as instrumental in this task, the same Witsen whose Russian travel account has been quoted many times above. He was, it seems, an important intermediary. (Pajčadze 1982, 25). When it came to the actual work, however, the Hungarian Nicolas Kis (Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós), one of the most eminent makers of typefaces of his time, was more important. He had spent a few years in Amsterdam, where he had been apprenticed to Joan Blaeu, the famous cartographer and bookprinter. Kis stayed in Amsterdam until 1689, when he returned to Hungary. Sparwenfeld had corresponded with him about the setting up of a Georgian printing press. Two letters from Kis to Sparwenfeld on this matter have been preserved (Linköping, *Br.* 33:15, 16 from November 1686 and January 1687, published by Björkbom 1935, 97 ff.). The Georgian printing press in Amsterdam did in fact come about. (Pajčadze 1982, 32): It seems that the type was ready in 1687, but Arčil did not have the means to pay for it until 1703. Another person also figured in this connection, namely Henrik Keyser the Younger, who worked in Stockholm for a decade or two and who was said to have had Georgian type samples. Björkbom believes that these were in fact identical to the type cast by Kis. Sparwenfeld, however, in a letter provides information that seems to overturn this supposition. This, however, is not the place to try to get to the bottom of this complicated matter. A number of Georgian historians, among them Tatišvili (1950), Gogoladze (1964), Pajčadze (1982) Vatejšvili (1988 and one work in manuscript) and others, have discussed this question in different works. In that connection, Sparwenfeld's role has been discussed, especially by Vatejšvili. This whole area will be commented on elsewhere.

740. Nicolaas Witsen (1641–1717) was very interested in Russia and its neighbours. Like Sparwenfeld, he travelled to Russia as a member of an embassy, and he wrote a very interesting journal about his experiences (often referred to in the present work), published fairly recently in the Netherlands (*Moscovische Reyse, 1664–1665*. 's-Gravenhage 1966–67) and in a Russian translation in 1996. He became famous for his major work *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, which appeared in two editions during his lifetime, in 1692 and 1705. In the latter work he writes about Georgia and about Arčil and Alexander Bagrationi. He also compiled a well-known map of Tartary (Siberia), of which Sparwenfeld owned a copy.

741. So Bagrationi gave Sparwenfeld a number of his own works as thanks for the favour shown him. One of these gifts is mentioned in a later note in a book: “De mon temps la famille des Bagrationi regnoit en jmeretti partie de Gurgestan, et le Tsar Artschil, qvi en fut chassi, et porsvit et par les Turcs et par les Persans a este de ma connoissance a Moskow, il me donna le Calat, en partant dela et ie luy en fait faire une imprimerie grusinienne a Amsterdam chez Kiss. Il fut por se retablir dans ses etas mais ne reussit pas ainsy il est revenu a Moskow ou il vit acetie heure sous le regne de Tsar Peter Alexejewitsch 1700.” Later he added: “Son fils unique Alexandre Artschilovitz fit prison ... l’an 1701 depuis le mois de maij, jusquez a 1708, alors il mourut a Umeå dela gravelle.” (Quoted from Jacobowsky, p. 69.) At this time Alexander was, unfortunately, the only son (“fils unique”) of Tsar Arčil, his two younger sons having died. Concerning the gifts, perhaps some of them also ended up with Sparwenfeld via de Lauzière? Cf. note 721.

742. Alexander Bagrationi, the eldest son of “Tsar” Arčil, married Feodosija Ivanovna Miloslavskaja on 14 November 1686. It was undoubtedly a marriage of convenience. The young groom was not even 18. Von Kochen reports about this to Bergenhielm on 19 November 1686 (*Muscovitica* 115, 88–89).

743. The members of the family mentioned are as follows: “Knes Pancrat”: His Russian name was Pankrat Chochonovič Davidov (in Georgian Davitišvili), d. 1724. He was the son of Chochona Romanovič Davidov (Davitišvili), the brother of Nikolaj Davidovič’s (cf. note 498) tutor Lazar’ Davitišvili. Chochona Davitišvili together with his brother Elizbar (Il’ja) left for Russia in 1666. Chochona was the father of nine sons, most of whom were born in Georgia, and at least one daughter. (Татишвили 1950, 172–73; Пайчадзе 1982, 20.) In passing it could be mentioned that Alexander Bagrationi’s second wife, Glikerija Il’inišna, was the daughter of Elizbar Davitišvili (Татишвили 1950, 177). “Knes Pater”: Prince Potap (Paata) Chochonovič Davidov (Davitišvili), d. 1718, the brother of Pankrat. His wife was Sof’ja Borisovna Davidova, née L’vova (d. 1733). “The Imeretian widow”, was the widow of the abovementioned Chochona Davitišvili (see p. 223 in the English translation and note 652) and the mother of these two brothers, and they, in turn, could be identical to the two Georgian princes mentioned earlier, for example in connection with the conspiracy planned at Troica (cf. p. 189 in the English translation; there are, however, seven more brothers to choose among). Татишвили 1950, 173.

744. The beautiful sister, who was intended to marry Tsar Fedor Alekseevič, was the sister of the two brothers mentioned above. One sister, Evdokija Chochonovna, was to be married to Prince Kozlovskij (Татишвили 1950, 173). Was she the sister in question? There seem to have been other sisters, however. Cf. Sparwenfeld’s account on p. 187.

745. “Grotius” probably refers to Gross (see note 447).

746. This embassy to King Louis XIV of France was one of the embassies sent in 1687 as a consequence of the treaty of Eternal Peace with Poland, signed on 26 April 1686. The Treaty contained a clause saying that the signatories should seek the aid of “other Christian monarchs” against the Turks. Dolgorukij’s and Myšeckij’s embassy to Spain and France was to be a failure, souring Franco-Russian relations for decades. Hughes 1990, 192, 196 ff.

747. According to Sparwenfeld’s letter to Bengt Oxenstierna dated 8 September 1686 (see *Appendix 2:2*), the embassy to France and Spain was being planned at that time, and certain Princes Dolgorukij—“my best friends in this place”—were being mentioned as

heads of the delegation. Sparwenfeld gives the impression that he has been requested rather urgently by his friends to accompany them on this journey, but that he is hesitating, as he hopes to be offered a position in Sweden in the spring, allowing him to go back home.

748. Thus, according to Sparwenfeld, the table of ranks in Muscovy was as follows

bojarin—boyar

kravčij—royal carver

okol'ničij—lord-in-waiting

spaľ'nik—chamberlain (gentleman of the bedchamber)

stol'nik—table attendant

dumnyj dvorjanin—state councillor

strjapčij—crown agent

dvorjanin moskovskij—Moscow servitor (service gentry of Moscow)

dumnyj d'jak—state secretary

žilec—court attendant

dvorjanin gorodovoj—town service gentry

rejtär—young soldier trained by foreign officers. The *rejtary* formed cavalry regiments in wartime.

Olearius gives a fairly detailed, but not always correct account of this system (ed. Baron, 218–20), Kotošichin gives a lot of details, but the clearest account is given by Ključevskij 1918. Regarding a similar account of the table of ranks, found among Sparwenfeld's posthumous papers and written by a different hand, see Birgegård 1987, 244–45.

749. So he also had the title “the Tsars representative in Simbirsk”.

750. Cf. p. 177 in the English translation.

751. “dh högste och närmaste herre”. The word “närmaste” ‘closest’, is a calque from the Russian ближний ‘close’, meaning close to the tsar, to begin with in a physical sense as his personal attendant, but eventually meaning higher in rank, closer to the tsar and his decisions.

752. So Sparwenfeld was considered by Vasilij Vasil'evič to have sided with Peter's party, which seems probable, given that the leader of Peter's party, Boris Alekseevič Golitsyn, is mentioned first among Sparwenfeld's Russian friends (cf. p. 231 in the English translation). He was introduced to that party by his friend Hildebrand von Horn. Later in life, when von Horn's prophecy that Peter, if he came to power, would immediately try to reconquer Ingria from the Swedes, had come true, Sparwenfeld wrote a few lines about Peter. This was in connection with the donation to the Uppsala University Library of the *Lexicon Slavonicum*, in a letter dated 17 February 1722 to the librarian Eric Benzeliuss the Younger: he observes that it has proved impossible to get the dictionary printed “and they might not be so absolutely indispensable, especially now, when they negotiate with the Tsar through soldiers in German, and through scholars in Latin, and through civil servants and people at court in French, Italian and Dutch, which can be used everywhere among people of importance, that is, while this master is alive. But as soon as he closes his eyes for good I am absolutely convinced that everything will go back to the old ways in Russia, something which the whole nation is inclined to, wishes and yearns for. Then we will be rid of all the bragging and fear, because, surely, no one will cultivate his maxims and projects, but rather live in peace and quiet, and in trade and other dealings. It seems that the succession to the throne is not very firmly established, so when all is

said and done, there is nothing to say that we could not recover in relation to the one coming after him, if we have enough people and means.” (Linköping, *Br.33:164*, UB.) This letter was written the year after the peace treaty of Nystad, which confirmed that Sweden had lost her Baltic dominion and was no longer a great power. One senses a clear nostalgia for Old Muscovy in Sparwenfeld’s words.

753. The letter mentioned was brought to Moscow in August 1686. In it, the Swedish king discussed the reasons why the meeting of the border commissaries had proved a failure. Von Kochen says in a report to the king that Golitsyn was of the opinion that the tsars had never received “so einen harten brieff”—as von Kochen puts it—from the Swedish king before. Golitsyn said to von Kochen that the Swedes alone were to blame for the breakdown of the negotiations, as they had insisted on speaking first, which von Kochen said Golitsyn had agreed to beforehand but then claimed he had no recollection of. (Фортун 1899, 64.) Sparwenfeld provides us with further details on this in letters to Bengt Oxenstierna. In his letter dated 1 May 1686 (*Appendix 2:1*), Sparwenfeld talks about this letter from the Swedish king: “Talking of this (the need for boundary commissions to finalize the outstanding questions in the Russian-Polish peace treaty, UB), I recollect the mess made by the Tsars during the previous commission. The letter about that, although firm and well composed, was rather badly translated here in the *prikaz*, as the young Meissner, who is used to translate Swedish documents, not only does not understand the language, but also—when it comes to this last-mentioned matter—is totally biased, as a result of which the matter is not only hampered, but could be understood quite differently than intended, and far from the real meaning.” Sparwenfeld therefore suggests that, when letters are sent from Stockholm to the Russian court, copies in Latin should be appended to the Swedish originals. This was not only because the language would then be better translated by people who, apart from knowing the foreign language also knew the Slavonic language best, but also because the subject matter would be kept more secret than with the present arrangements, which meant that the letter had to pass through the hands of people who could be made to reveal the contents for a glass of wine or a few riksdaler from the Danish commissary or his people. This, however, would not be the case with the people Sparwenfeld had in mind, particularly not Georg Gross, who, according to Sparwenfeld, was so conscientious in such matters that he was totally inaccessible. Von Kochen is said to be of the same opinion. With Sparwenfeld’s following letter to Bengt Oxenstierna, dated 8 September 1686 (*Appendix 2:2*), he encloses his own translation of the said letter from the Swedish king to the tsars (his translation is missing): “At the request of Prince Vasilij Vasil’evič Golitsyn, I had to translate the letter into the Slavonic language, as they have no translator here capable of translating from the Swedish language. And since, in connection with the answering (of the letter) and the request for a decision, some chilly words were uttered between Mr von Kochen and Prince Vasilij Vasil’evič—Prince V. V. was particularly displeased with the harsh wording of the letter and the complaints about the Tsar’s commissaries—he threatened to expel von Kochen from Moscow, although he later asked forgiveness.” Sparwenfeld asks Bengt Oxenstierna to judge whether his translation is satisfactory. He says that by now he has become fairly familiar with the temperament of the Russians and says that he can decide when it is advisable to speak harshly or softly to them. With the help of Mr Eosander (i.e. Eosander Göthe), who can compare Sparwenfeld’s translation with the original, Oxenstierna will be able to tell whether he has expressed the intentions of His Majesty the King and at the same time he will be informed of Sparwenfeld’s “little talent”.

The harsh letter (there were two of them) from the Swedish king, mentioned by Sparwenfeld, must be one of the ones preserved in the original at RGADA in Moscow (фонд 96, опись 2, Nos. 186, 187), the first dated 5 February, the second 21 March 1686. The first letter provides more details: Its tone is undoubtedly rather irritated. The letter deals

with what happened during the unsuccessful negotiations between the Swedish and Russian border commissaries the previous year. First of all, the Russian commissaries arrived five weeks after the appointed time, notwithstanding the fact that they travelled by land, while the Swedes “had to make an uncertain and adventurous journey by sea”. Overall, the Russian commissaries displayed a “sluggishness” which was, no doubt, “deliberate”, and this gave the Swedes reason to believe that they had no serious intentions of achieving anything. When the powers of attorney were finally exchanged, the Swedes discovered that the tsarist commissaries had, inexcusably, abridged the king’s titles by leaving out three duchies. There followed long discussions about how the Russians should make amends for this fault. It was also discovered that the Russians had brought with them two persons who had not been mentioned beforehand and who lacked authorization. As a result, the negotiations began eight weeks after the appointed time, and continued the way they had started ...

754. Von Kochen, evidently, was quite obstinate towards Golitsyn, for instance in the discussions about the above-mentioned letter (see the previous note). In his indignation over the tone of the letter, Golitsyn demanded that von Kochen go home to Sweden. Von Kochen answered that he would do so only if his King commanded it in the letter, otherwise he would stay. All the same they parted friends. *Форстен* 1899, 64.

755. Cf. note 658.

756. In September 1686 Golitsyn sent a *pristav* to von Kochen ordering him to interrupt the building of the Swedish trading post and go home. On 7 January von Kochen went to Golitsyn to discuss this question and that of his own stay in Moscow. Before he even started, Golitsyn interrupted him to say that he should go on with the building. He also explained that if he himself had changed his view of the Swedes lately it was because of the harsh tone in the letter from the Swedish king to the tsars. This according to a report by von Kochen to the king (*форстен* 1899, 65). Cf. also note 753.

757. See p. 111 f. in the English translation.

758. Petr Vasil’evič Šeremetev bol’ šoj, became a boyar in December 1656 and died in 1690 (Crummey 50, 192). Von Kochen reports in a letter that he was replaced as *voevoda* in December 1687 (von Kochen, ed. Viskovatov, 1878, 124).

759. This very famous door, variously called the *Korsun’ (Chersonesos) Door*, the *Sigtuna Door*, the *Magdeburg Door* and the *Płock Door* (Корсунские, Сигтунские, Магдебургские, Плоцкие врата), has struck travellers for centuries. It was made in 1153 in Magdeburg, intended for the cathedral in Płock. A late legend connects the door with Chersonesos. The door was brought to Novgorod in the early 1450s. Поппе 1976, 191–200; Trifonova 1997; Kovalenko 1997.

760. Nicolaas Witsen reports in his journal that foreigners were not allowed into the part of Novgorod surrounded by the stone walls, i.e. into the “Sofija Side” (Софийская сторона) (Witsen 1996, 67).

761. What is referred to is probably the New Jerusalem Monastery of the Resurrection. See note 625.

762. The date is missing.

763. Petr Alekseevič Golovin, became *okol'ničij* in February 1693, died in 1694 (Crummey 212).

764. The Swedish factor of commerce in Pskov Daniel Steven and his grievances were mentioned in the negotiations between the Swedish embassy and the *voevoda* of Novgorod on the delegation's way to Moscow in March 1684 (*Ekonomiska förbindelser...*, 1978, 257–58).

765. The name of the Governor General of Livonia was Jacob Johan Hastfer (1647–1695). He took office in January of the same year (concerning him, see SBL, 18, 1969–71, 344–46). According to Viskovatov, three brothers of Jakov Dolgorukij also contacted the Governor General to ask for support. The three brothers wrote that the embassy would probably pass through Riga, Reval and Narva. They asked the Swedish authorities to take good care of their brother and his party. They did so by referring to the friendship that had been shown to Sparwenfeld and other Swedish subjects living in Moscow (von Kochen, ed. Viskovatov, 1878, 127, note).

766. The embassy to Brandenburg, Holland, England and Florence had the same purpose as Dolgorukij's: to seek help, military and/or financial, against the Turks. Vasilij Timofeevič Postnikov, like his colleague, achieved nothing substantial on this journey. Hughes 1990, 195–5.

767. According to Grotefend (1941, 148), the Day of the Annunciation really did occur on Good Friday in 1687. Concerning the Annunciation and how it is celebrated in the Russian Orthodox Church (including when it coincides with Easter), see Bulgakov, I, 1913, 126–129.

768. The “*pochodd*, *páčodd*” talked about refers to the Russian *pochod* ‘Progress’, which is the word used when the tsar leaves Moscow with his party to visit, for example, a monastery in the country.

Some Linguistic Observations

In his diary, Sparwenfeld frequently gives Russian geographical and personal names, titles of Russian officials, names of institutions etc. in Cyrillic characters or in Latin transcript. It is quite interesting to follow the first steps of a language learner in his efforts to get to grips with a foreign phonological system and a foreign alphabet. This is not the place for an in-depth discussion in this area, but it is interesting to observe the gradual development of Sparwenfeld's own understanding of the connection between what he hears and how it is written.

It may be mentioned that Sparwenfeld gradually came to profoundly dislike the printing of Russian texts in Latin transcription. This was often discussed in connection with his fruitless efforts to find a printer for his *Lexicon Slavonicum*. Many advised him to print his dictionary in Latin letters, to avoid the difficulties involved in finding a person who could print in the Cyrillic alphabet. Sparwenfeld comments on this in a letter to Leibniz, in which he says that he does not want that solution, as only the Cyrillic letters correctly represent the sounds of the Russian language, and in different editions of Russian texts in Latin characters there are as many different systems of transcription as there are editions, with the result that the same language hardly resembles itself. In his journal, though, he writes down different words now in Cyrillic, now in Latin letters, and sometimes he even mixes the two alphabets within one and the same word, a common mistake among students trying to master a new alphabet.

The way foreigners spelt Russian words has long been regarded as of no interest to scholars, as the former simply did not know the language well enough to be able to spell it correctly. But during the last half century or so, researchers working in the field of historical linguistics have started to use foreigners' texts as a valuable source of evidence of how different sounds were pronounced in centuries long past. So we will devote some attention to the question whether the way Sparwenfeld writes different words has something to tell us about Russian pronunciation in the 17th century.

It should, however, be mentioned from the outset that spelling was much more diverse and far less regulated in the 17th century than it is today. So much greater diversity was normal and acceptable.

Another question of interest might be whether, from our observations of how Sparwenfeld spelt Russian words, it is possible to conclude who his informants could have been. Probably they were first of all the interpreters with the embassy, Hafman and Elfwendahl, but also local people with whom Sparwenfeld came into contact. The first part of the embassy's journey to Moscow went through north-west Russia, an area where there was *o-kanje* (i.e. unstressed *o* was pronounced *o*) rather than *a-kanje* (see below).

A phonetic feature found in the dialects of central Russia as early as the 17th century is what is termed *a-kanje*, meaning that unstressed *a* and unstressed *o* are pronounced in the same way (as an open *a* [ʌ] in front of a stressed syllable and as a vague *ö*-sound [ə] after a stressed syllable). This pronunciation was not uncommonly also reflected in texts written by Russians, even if scribes familiar with the correct spelling tried to avoid it. There are quite a few spellings in Sparwenfeld's text which can be explained by a pronunciation with *a-kanje*: *garinni* for the place name *Goryni* (but also *Gårina*); отинскаи, Саминскаи, Арькаскаи (for -ои); Свиата Озеро (for Свято(е) Озеро), although, to be consistent he should also have written the word Озеро with an *a* at the end; ракина, *Rakina* (for Рахино/*Rachino*), but also *Rachino*. A spelling reflecting *a-kanje* is used in a large number of village names in -ovo: Будова, *Budoua* (Будово/*Budovo*); *Cobanowa*, *Povliukowa*, Завидова (for -ovo/ово), and many others. The name of one of the more prominent individuals featuring in Sparwenfeld's journal, the Russian foreign minister Golicyn (Голицын), is spelt in the following ways: *Galitzin*, *Gallitzin*, *Golittzin*, *Golitzin*, Голицынъ and *gholitzin*. A central word in the Russian language already at that time, namely *tavarisch*, *tavarischt* (for *tovarišč*), also reflected a pronunciation with *a-kanje* in Sparwenfeld's spelling. There are numerous other examples. There are also cases of a hypercorrect spelling, when Sparwenfeld, aware that what is written *o* is sometimes pronounced *a*, spells words with an *o* which should rightly be spelt with an *a*: *ofonasaiskoi* (for *Afanas'evskoj*).

The vowel in the Russian language which is most difficult for foreigners to pronounce is, no doubt, the back *i* (ы). Sparwenfeld writes about this difficult sound to Leibniz and says precisely that: it is the most difficult sound for foreigners to pronounce, and if it is not pronounced correctly, words which differ only with regard to back or front *i* (i.e. hard or soft consonant before /i/) can easily be misunderstood. Sparwenfeld makes many mistakes in this respect in his journal. See, for example, once more, *garinni*, *Gårina* (for *Goryni*); *Kollina* (for *Cholyn'ja*); Вушнои Волочокъ, *visnoi Wolotschok* (for Вышний Волочѣк/*Vyšnij Volocek*); *manastir* (for *monastyr'*); *Wladika* (for *Vladyka*); *Wisocow* (for *Vysokovo*); *vipisca* (for *vypiska*); Черковскои (Сырковской) and many others.

Another difficulty for a Swede was to perceive whether a consonant was voiced or unvoiced, and to figure out how assimilation within this category influenced surrounding consonants. Sparwenfeld had obvious difficulty catching the voiced sibilant (з), for example: Сверина (for Зверин); Сими́на Гора, *Cimnaja gora*, *Simnaia gora* (for Зимняя гора/*Zimnjaja gora*) but Зериеово Манастирь (for Сергеев монастырь); Зело, *zelo* (for Село/*selo*), but also *Selo*; *Tscherkisowa* (for *Čerkizovo*); *Gusman*, *Cusman*, *Cusma* (for Куз'ма); *Morosow* (for *Morozov*); *prosorowski* (for *Prozorovskij*) and others.

Sparwenfeld seems to have a general idea of assimilation concerning voiced and unvoiced consonants and also about voiced consonants being pronounced unvoiced at the end of words, but he often draws the wrong conclusions about

the direction of the assimilation. See, for example: *Spasgoi* (for *Spaskoj*); *Клобьскои* (for *Клопской*) (in these two examples the non-aspiration of Russian plosives probably plays a role, too); *Крезтоцкои* (for *Крестецкой*); *Sträpsi*, *Sträbski*, *Striapsei*, *Striaptšej* (for *Strjapčej*); *Dawitcowa* (*Davidkovo*); *Miloslafskoi*, *Miloslavskoi* (for *Miloslavskoj*) etc. See also at the end of words: *Гаврильофъ* (*Гаврилов*), *Tolotschanoff* (for *Toločanov*), *Ukräntzoff*, *Ukrainsof*, *Ukrainsef*, *oucraintzef*, *oucraintzoff* (for *Ukrainev*), but also *Ukräntsov*; *Kiof* (for *Kiev*); *Gleeeph*, but *Берисо-глибскои* (for *Gleb/Глеб*).

Some sounds in the Russian language were particularly difficult to catch and to find a suitable representation for in spontaneous writing. One of these was the voiced fricative *ž* (ж), which has no equivalent in Swedish. *Иасолвица*, *Иасолбиць*, *jasolvitz*, *jasolbitz* (*Яжелбицы/Jaželbicy*); *Tortschok*, *Torçok* [!], *Torsok*, *Torchock*, *Tortschoc*, *Torchoc*, *Tortschok*, *Tortzoc*, *Torsock* (for *Toržok*/Торжок); *Retschestwenskoï* and *Roschestwa* (for *Rožestv-*); *vuligenia* (*Уложение*, with a prothetic *v*); *schiletz*, *tziltzi* (*žilec*, *žil'cy*) and others.

Another sound which caused trouble with regard to orthographic representation was the double unvoiced *šč* (щ): *Часа* (for *Чаща*); the Russian ambassador to Sweden, Pronciščev, had a name that was difficult to spell: *Prontzishef*, *Proncishef*, *Pronzishef*, *Благовешеской*, *Blagoweschenia*, *blaga Wesenie*, *Blagoweschtschen* (for *благовещен-/blagovešč-en-*); *jamgequeskeske* (*jamščik-*) and others.

The Russian *c* (ц), a simple combination of *t* and *s*, also gave rise to many variants: *Мокриче* (for *Мокрице*); *tscherko* (for *cerkov'*). It is tempting to suggest that the spellings *Мокриче* (*Mokriče*) and *tscherko* (черко) should be interpreted as representations of what is termed *co-kanje*, denoting confusion of *ц* and *ч*. This phenomenon was common in the Russian north-west. It is, however, difficult to draw any firm conclusions, as Sparwenfeld, when using Cyrillics, may well have confused the letters representing these two sounds. Taking this into account, the last example, *tscherko*, is the most interesting, and might in fact document a pronunciation with *ч* instead of *ц* (as might, in principle, the first too).

As expected, Sparwenfeld had difficulty perceiving the difference between hard and soft consonants. He writes *деревна* (for *деревня*), *Холохолна* (for *Холохолня*), but *Sträpsi*, *Sträbski*, *Striapsei*, *Striaptšej* (for *Strja-*, soft *r* plus *a*).

Particularly interesting is Sparwenfeld's orthographical representation of the Russian *ch* (х): *Тигон* (for *Тихон*); *Гутинской* (*Хутынской*); *Дуговской* (*Духовской*); *Готиловь*, *Kotielowa* (*Хотилово/Chotilovo*); *Kollina* (*Холынья*); *ракина*, *Rakina*, *Rachino* (*Рахино/Rachino*); *скимники* (*схимники*); *Холохолна* (*Холохольня*); *Coloppe*, *golopp* (*cholop*); *Христось* *Васхреть* (*Христос* *воскресе*). Sparwenfeld thus writes the Russian *x* either as *г*, as *к* or as *х*. The writing of *k*, especially for a soft *x*, is understandable. Perhaps conclusions can be drawn regarding the pronunciation of the Russian *g*, a question that is being discussed among historical linguists. It is well known that

in Russian Church Slavonic *g* was pronounced as a fricative. However, it has been discussed which pronunciation was used in everyday speech in central Russia (*g* pronounced as a fricative sound is a well-known feature of the southern Russian dialects). Sparwenfeld's many instances of writing *g* for the *ch* he hears seem to speak in favour of a fricative pronunciation of *g*. Another two spellings should be drawn into the discussion here: Зериеово (Сепреев); Геревской (Юревской). The zero representation of the Russian *g* in the first example and the spelling with *g* in the second seem to support such an interpretation. However, we shall not go into this in greater detail in this context.

For further discussion concerning the way Sparwenfeld transcribed Russian, see Birgegård 1990, 1992, 1995.

Appendix 1

(RA: *Tidöarkivet* Vol. E501:)

[P. 1]

Vpsatz vppå Konigl: May:tz Stora Legation til Muscou Giordh uthi Narwen dh
6 Martij. Åhr 1684.

Första Legaten Conrad E: Gyldenstierna Praesident uthi Kongl: May:tz Stora
Rix Commission landzhöfding öfwer Calmar lähn
Andra legaten Hr: Jonas Klingstedt Königl: May:tz Cantzli Rodh.
Tredie Legaten H: Otto Stackel Bergh Königl: May:tz landt Rodh uthi liflandh.

1 Konigl: May:tz legations Marskalk öfwerste Hr: Herman Von Versen
drengar 10

Königl: May:tz Cammerherrar

- 2 Gref Adam leuwenhaupt 2
- 3 Gref Gösta fridrich leuenhaupt 2
- 4 Königl: May:tz secreterare och Comisarius 6
- 5 Hr: Von Kock och Hr: Törneros 2
- 6 Konigl: legations Doctaren Wallin 2

Königl: hofiunkrarna

- 1 H: Sparfwenfelt 2
- 2 Hr: Cronman 2
- 3 Hr: Wulfwensköld 1
- 4 Funk 1
- 5 H: Canterhielm 1
- 6 H: Vitinghof 1 *H. Elefwendal* 2 [added by Sparwenfeld]
- 7 H: Tunderfelt 1
- 8 Brenner 1
- 9 H: GyllenKrok 1
- 10 H: Wrangel 1
- 11 H: Horrn 1
- 12 H: Lilliemark 1
- 13 H: Brom 1
- 14 Mons: de la fariole 1

23 herrar

40 drängar

- 15 H: Zedlitz 1
- 16 H: Frank 1
- 17 H: Bröms
- 18 Öfwerstleutnants Son Roohr 1
- 19 H: Rigman 1
- 20 H: Strahlborn 1
- 21 H: Frans dahl 1

[Henceforth by Sparwenfeld's hand:]

Kongl: Maytz Translatorer

- 1 H Elfwendahl, Commissaire des Frontieres transporteras eftr 4 drängar
- 2 H Hafman sin fullmacht straxt efter dhe ordinarie hoftholkarna

3 Legationsprester

- 1 H. anders forman 1
- 2 Mag. Laurentius Hallenius 1
- 3 H Mathias Hedeström 1

Mons.

- 1 hofmestären Carl Knutzon 1
- 1 Casseuren Mons. upmark 1

3 Leg. Cantzellister

- 1 Mons. Cantherberg 1
- 2 Mons. Salanus 1
- 3 Mons. Törneroo

upuachtare

- 1 Petter lang 1
- 2 Mons. Steuen 2
- 3 Mons. Colberg 1
- 4 Mons. Hysing 1
- 5 Mons. Bärger 1
- 6 Mons. Horleman
- 7 Mons. Cramelins
- feltscher Mest. Christian 1
- feltcher mester ulber 1
- 2 tålkar

[P. 2]

- 4 Trompettare 4
- 1 pukslagare 1
- 1 Quartermester ahlfelt 1
- 1 Quartermester utter 1
- 3 eenspennare
- 1 Munsänk
- 1 Tafeltäckare
- 12 drabanter
- 9 köksbetiente af huilka 3 är mästar
- 6 Twätterskor, alla 3. ambassadörernas ihopa

dh första Legatens H Gylenstiernas närmaste huus

- 1 Hofmästare. Carl Westerwik
- 1 Stallmestare Leutn. Jöns Holm
- 1 Säckerbagaren alter
- 1 Cammartienare Jacob Ley
- 1 Handschrifware Dryander
- 1 Lijfknecht
- 1 Wagnmester Corpral Torsten Skötzfelt
- 5 adelige pagier som äre 1. Rosenstierna. 2. Rosensträhle. 3. Giärfelt.
- 4. Stiernhof. 5. Clöfwerskiöld.
- 10 Laquayer, 1 Tålk, 4 Kutzar

27 personer

dh 2 Legatens folk

- 2 dhess söhner
- hofmestare Strilif
- 1 handschrifware hvidman
- 1 Lijfknecht pettr lang
- Cammartienare Cerling
- Bagaren
- 3 pagier 1. Schultz. 2. Hätsko. 10. strålman
- 8 Laquaier
- 1 Kutz

19 personer

dh 3. Legatens her Stackelbergz folck

- 1 Stallmestare Gackstetter
- 1 Boekhållare
- 1 handschrifware Ernest dunkamb
- 1 Cammartienare
- 1 Lijfkneckt
- 2 pagier
- 4 Laquayer
- 1 Kutzk
- 1 Stalldräng

13

Summa 221. med alla i hopa dränger och herrar föruth Legathernas egna personer.

Appendix 2: 1–3

(RA: *Oxenstiernska saml.* Skrivelser t. kanslipres. Bengt Oxenstierna, Ser. 2:14)

2:1

Mon Excellence
Monseigneur Le Conte
Benoit Oxenstierna
senateur et grand chancelier
Du Roy a
Stockholm

Monseigneur

Såsom på een lång tidh intet synnerliget har förefallet, som wärdigt wara kunde E. G. Excellenz Curiositet, har iag ey underståt mig E. H. G. E. Med min ringe schrifwelse beswära, ehuru iag wäll för nöden haft, E. H. G. E. Mine ringa interets i diupste ödmiukheet at recommendera. Will fördhenskuld dhenne gång-en förmoda dhesse ringa rader E. H. G. E. Så mycket mindre lähra misshaga, som iag förmodar dhes medbringande, ey lära wara E. H. G. E. Obehageliget, så wäll för sielfwa werketz, som dhes nyheets skuld, hwars beskaffenheet i största korthet sigh således hafwer. Sedan dhe Polska legaterna, som hijt ankommo dh 9 Februarij sidst ledne, /: hwars namn och oration, wed första audientzet, iag till min fadher längesedan öfwersendt, till dhen ända att E. G. E. Communiera :/ nu snart uthi heela 3 månaders tijdh, medh största flijt och ijfwer, uthi heela 9 conferentzer, hade drijfwit uppå, att med billige conditioner slutha med Tsararna een ewig fred, så ock att bringa dhem uthi een ewig allience Defensive emoth Turken och Tartaren, men offensive så länge som de allieradhe gott och nödigt pröfwa, Dhem och auantageuse conditioner föreslaget; Har Dheras Tsariske Maytt i begynnelsen lijten eller föga inclination haft, som man af dhes hårda, och ibland andra till een dehl ridicules propositioner aftaga kunnat /: hwilket uthförligen att beskrjfwä, sig ey så göra låter :/ ja dhet är så vida kommet, att Dhe Polska legaterna sig efter sitt publique afskedh ifrån Tsararna som skedde dh 20 Martij, aldeles på resan begijfwä ärnade, emedan dhem och Tsarens bref till Kongen i Pohlen med gifwit war. Dog blefwe dhe några dagar oppehåldne, förr änn dhe kundhe blifwa expedierade; in till dhes een Courier uhr Crim ankom med bref ifrån chan, anhållandes om besständig wänskap, hwarföre han ock offererat att ey mehra wehla begära dhen åhrlige skatt, som förr af Tsararna gifwen är alla åhr i långan tijdh; men som han för dhet öfwrige,

sig ohöfwlig och stält anställte och sit hufwud icke blotta wille, blef honom hans myssa på golfwet kastader ock under fötterna trampader, och honom brefwet uthur barmen, med wäldh uthrijfwit. Där efter begyntes straxt på nytt igen att tractera med dhe Polska legaterna, doch uthi deras apartemens privatim genom een translator, som emellan commissionerna gick ock icke publice mehra på slottet som dhe förra 9 gånger ock syntes wäll ryssarna med mehra alfwar saken antaga, så wäll beweeckte genom Kongen i Frankerijketz, som Kuhrförstens af Brandebärg, och republ. Wenedigz intercessions bref, som här genom ambassadeurerna lefwererade äre, dog drogz saken ännu 3 wekors tijdh på lång benken, så att Legaterna för gudz skull bode, att blifwa dimitteradhe emedan dhe wäll sågo, att intet kunna uthrätta, sände också ifrån sig tillbaka till Pohlen och Litowen 3. a 400 man som wed första Campagnen nödige wore. På dhet sidsta begynte ryssarna att relaxera sijna wijde och många pretentioner, och skrede så till afhandling straxt efter Påskehälgden, dhen ock i några dagars tijdh, /: ehuru nog disputerades å bägge sijdor, om några nya termes :/ blef förfärdigad, så att i största hast och på een gång, uthom förmodan, Legaterna blefwe opfordradhe till afskedz audientz dhen 26 aprilis, då dhe och straxt uthwäxladh emohit hwarandra tractaterna, som och där af bägge sijders Commission straxt blefve beswurne. Där efter straxt och af sielfe Tsararne korskyssningen, och i Kongl. Mayttz af Pohlen namn af ambassadeurerna edhen skedde. Hwaruppå dhe straxt fingo sitt afsked med tractaten och Brefwet; Dock äre kossakerna, och alle dhe gemehne som under honom äre, med dhenne freden wäll tillfredz, ock önska ey häldre än med dhet första göra infall i Krijm. Särdeles skola dhe Dohnske Tschirkasserna som wed Assow och där omkring boo, där med helt förnögdä wara, emedan dhe tämmeligen frijtt strööfwa kunna i swarta siöhn, och i een sommar wäll 3 ressor nå Constantinopel. Dhet hop, som Polakarna hafwa att eröfra och bekomma Walachien och Podolien, så ock Christenhetens bästa /: som dhe säga :/ skall hafwa bewekt dhem att cedera een så stoor och widt begrippen landz orth, förmodandes på een annan tijda, igen bekomma sijn skada, ärkänna och betyga doch, att Tsararna af denne allience dhen största nytta hafwa kunna, så frampt dhe med alfware angripa Crim, hwarom doh något twiflas, ehuru dhe sig der till med edh förplichtat, hwilket tämmeliget underliget synes. Efter 3 wekors tijdh förmenas dhe Ryska legaterna affärdigade blifwa, som Confirmation af dhenne afhandling taga och gifwa skohla för(?) Kongen. Dhe öfrige små difficulteter skohla med gräntze commissioner afgöras, hwilka uthan twifwel lära ey mindre twärheeter gifwa, än dhe som på wår sijdha skee skulle. Och såsom iag nu där om ett ord nämbner, ärindrar iag mig föregångne Commissions oreda på Tsararnas sijda hwilket bref, ehuru kraftigt och wäll Componerat, dock icke så förståndeligen är blefwet öfwersatt här i pricaset, emedan dh unga Meisner, som ved swänska handlingarnas öfwersättiande brukas, icke allenast språket ey förstår uthan också, i dhetta sidste ärendet, heelt ock hållet partisk är, hwarigenom wärket icke allenast hindras, uthan och kunde fast anorledhes, och widt ifrån meningen förstås. Ty är min ringe och oförgripelige meening, att E. H. G. E. Där så behagades altijdh med dhe swänska originaler

som ifrån Stockholm afgå till dhetta Hofwet, låte och fölia een Copia i Latijn, och dhet ey allenast för dh ohrsakens skuldh, att språket då bättre blefwe öfwersatt, och af sådanne personer, som iag af egen erfarenheet weet ey allenast dhe främmande, men och dhet slavonska språket bäst, och i grund förstå, uthan och att på dhet sättet blefve materien mehra hemlig hållen, änn på dhetta sättet, då dh måste passera igenom dheras händer, som genom ett glas vijn eller några Rdhr kunna, af dh Danska Commissarien och dhess Creatur, blifva brachte att revelera hwad som passerar, hvilket genom dhe andra mig bekante personer ingalunda skeer, hälst af Georg Gross, som uthi sådanne saker så conscientieux är, att han aldeles inaccessible är. Dhetta iag en passant, som een sak dh iag bådhe weth och förstår icke kunnat förtijga. Är och af von Kochen högt approberat worden. Längre förfristar iag mig ey E. H. G. E: uppehålla, uthan recommenderar Huld. E. H. G. E. Min ringe person et mes petis enteres, i djupste ödmukheet till Dhet bästa. Befallandes her med Edh: H. Grefl. Excellence med dh Höge familie, och alt kärt, under dh. Högstes beskydd och beskärm, och efter bön om dhenna hastigheetz schrijwande milde förlåthelse förblifwer

Monseigneur

De vostre Excellence

Moskow dh 1 Maj 1686

Le Tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

Sparwenfeld

Monsieur Le Resident assure vostre Excellence de ses tres humbles respects, nous ne manquons pas un jour de songer a V. Excellence, et de luy souhaiter toute sorte de contentement, et cela du fond de nos ames.

2:2

Monseigneur

Till Edhers H: Grefwl: Excellence war mit sidste med Her von Kochens Expresse, härifrån dh 22 junij; Sdermehra är här intet synnerliget förelupet, Dock såsom nu een Expresse härifrån till Narwa afgår, betjänar iag migh billigt med honom, E. H. G. E. Med några radher att opwachta, hälst emedan sådane lägenheeter rare, och dess uthan postlönnen här i landet mehra än i andra landh swår faller, i synnerheet för dhe personer, som af publico, till slijkt intet förskåt hawa. Öfwersändersåledes denne gången, dhe manqverandhe 11. Punkter af fredsfördraget emellan Pohlen och Rysslandh dhem iag af polskan efter ämbne, tillijka medh eedherna E. H. G. E. Till tienst öfwersatt; och som Herr Eosander, uthan twifwel har öfwersatt det öfwrige, såsom dhet af von Kochen öfwersändt, kan dhessa 11 punkter där till läggas, och på sin behörige orth, dådan dhe i Possolski pricaset, uthslutne wore, åther restitueras, emellan dh 18 och 30 punkter-

na, aldeles såsom iag dhett funnit, uthi min polska afskrift, dhen iag med flijt afcopierat af Herr Grimultovskis egne vidimeradhe tractat. Wedh ändan af bijfogade afskrift, finner E. H. G. Exll. een lijten opsatz, af dhe förähringar, som Tsarske Mattz har behagat gifwa till dhes Conferentzherrar, som freden slutit hafwa. Dhen andra här medhföljandhe schrift är ett translat af dhet sidstia Kongl. Mayttz bref till Tsar: Maytt: angående dhess Commissariers ofogh på gräntzen, Hwilket bref iagh efter begäran aff Knes Wassili Wassiliwitsch Galitzin har most öfwersättia i schlawonska språket emedan dhe här ingen capabel translator hafwa uthi dhedh swenska språketz translaterande; och såsom emellan Herr von Kochen, och Knes Was. Wasiliwitsch, är wedh swarets och resolutions affordrande, någre kallsinnige ord falne, i synnerheet war knes W. W. Otåhlig öfwer briefwet skarpe termer, och klagemåhl öfr dhe Tzarske Commissarierne, så att Han hootadhe von Kochen med uthdrijfwande uhr Moskow, ehuru han sedan badh om förlåthelse; altså har iag nödigt pröfwat, mitt translat E. H. G. E. Mogne omdöme underkasta, hælst emedan iag nu tämmeligen wäll känner Ryssarnas humeur, och wäll observerat, när man med dhem skarpt eller lindrigt tillwärka gå bör, hælst i närwarande dheras tillståndh, där wij för dheras guasconader intet hafwa att fruchta. Mons. Eosander lærer E. H. G. E. Weta att berätta, om iag Kongl Mttz intention och meening rätt som sig bort, exprimerat hafwer, hælst enär han mitt lilla arbete, med originalet må iämföra, iag hoppas dhet wara ostraffeliget, och wäll förswarliget. Så behagade och E. H. G. E. dher af låtha sig informera, om min lilla talent, sådan som dhen nu och är, uthi dhetta språket. Hwadh elliest execution wedkommer af dh slutne fred med Pohlen och uthlåfwadhe ruptur emoht Crim, så är här ännu een öfwermåttan lijten anstalt giorder, movent qvidem, sed nihil promovent, och är een stoor oeenigheet i rådet, i dhet att ingen af dhe stoore herrar, och slächer will gå till fältet, mindre låtha sigh bruka för feltherre, i dhetta krijget skiutandes alle skulden uppå Knes Was: Wass: som dhenna freden fast allena sluthet, och derföre så högeligen recompenserad blefwen, ty wella dhe ändteligen att han och, som i fredz tijdhen dhen högsta rösten haft, nu och så sielf må comendera armeen; dh eena excuserar sigh med att han är dh eendesta af sin familie, dh andra att han ifrån sin Herre och Tsar ey skillias kan etc. etc: och är så alt till Dato ingen wissheet, och intet sluht i saken kommen. Dochk wella dhe försäkra oss, att tillkommande währ marchen gälla skall, ia och några regementer med första slädebahn opbryta medh dhe tyska och främmandhe officerare, som här i tjenst äre, och dageligen ruptur önska i dheras armodh. Dheras gages äre af ringa wärde, och få dhem dog ey riktigt uht, uthi skattkammaren är knapt så mycket förrådth, att dhet Tsariske huushåldet kan hållas wedh macht, emedan så många tsariske personer, och prinessor äre, som alla regera. Och förelöper sådan handel weedh hofwet, att man sig må där öfwer förundra, ia när inge medhel finnas, bårge dhe juueller af främmandhe, och Ryske Köpmän på een lång termin at betahla, och låtha så sedan hembligen sällia samma juweler för slätt priis, summa hvar och een af dhe Tsariske personerna Kraf sar till sig, på alle handa sätt, lijka som befunne dhe att dheras tijdh intet länge wara lærer. I medhlertijdh lijdh dhe betiänte nödh,

och äre med K. W.W. på dhet högste miss nögd, och profetera honom Kort regerande. Tartarerna husera tämmeligen skarpt uthi dhe nästa byar och städer på Ryska gräntzen, Dog inbilla sig Ryssarna, att dhe Taterska Mursar, som nu ankomma till Moskow, willa tractera med Tsarerna, och gijfwa sig med heela Crim i dheras protection och macht. Dock schrijfwes uhr Ukrainen. Att dh Saporogiske Hättman öfver Kassakerna, skall hafwa gifvit Tatarerna passage in i Pohlen, och att Tatarerna imedhlertijdh som Ryssarna molientur, et comuntur, göra sitt bästa på alt sätt. Dhen Tatarske envoyé som här aresterat sitter, har weedh dhe tijdningarna om offens eröfwrande, i några dagar hwarkän ätit eller drucket af sorg. I dhessa dagar är afgånget ordres till een engelsk öfwerste lieutenant, att han skall underwijsa alla strelitzke öfwerstar, officerare, och gemene dhen tyska drillkonst, och exercitier, hwilket dhe Ryske öfwerstar intet undergå wela, ey heller lätha lära sigh, så mycket achtas här öfwerhetenes ordres. Tsarerna hafwa för kort tijdh sedan anmohdat General Staterna om penningers försträckande, hwarpå ännu intet swar följt, troor och lijten apparence der till wara. I dhessa dagar är ankommet ett bref ifrån Keysaren, till Tsarske Maytt, om twenne jesuiters här å orthen förblifwande, och dh Catholiske religions frie exercice, brefwet förer i latijn medhföljande schrift och Tsariske tittul. Den twist emellan Ryssarna och Chineserna om Daur, är stillat, och frijdigat. Till Frankerijket förmenas här ifrån skohla, medh dhet första affgå een stoor ambasadhe, och äre så halft där till deputeradhe dh förstar af Dolgoruka, mijna bäste wänner här å orthen, och förmehnas dhe skohla ifrån Frankerijket, gå till Spagnien, till hwilken reesa dhe mig ofta med sig anmodat, och tämmelige commoditeter tillsagt, men som iag länge nog fluthit, i olycka, och uthan etablissement, hoppas iag Nästkommande währ, genom E. H. G. E. Förböhn, och mitt och dhe mijnas. foothfall för Kongl. Maytt nå dh nåden af ett lijtet stycke brödh, hälst emedan iag ey ringare flijt och ijfwer användt att göra mig sådan Kongl nådh wärdig, än andra, som nu hoos dhe sijna i sitt fädhernesslandh, eller i andra landh doch i Kongl. Mayttz dienst, i ära och förnöyelse lefwa. I medhlertijdh bönfaller till E. H. Grefl: Excellence iag i diupste ödmiukheet, om min befordringz och lyckas befrämjande om recommendation i Königl. Maytt nådige minne, och om Edhers H. Grefl: Excellens godhetz continuation emoh

Edhers Hög-Grefwelige Excellentz
Allerödmiukaste tienare

Sparwenfeld

Här är i dhessa dagar opkommen een stoor oenigheet, emellan Her Von Kochen och Kongens i Danmark Commissarie Den danska praetenderar öfwerstället, och will ey benöya sig med een likheet i publique processer, uthan föregifwer offen skamlöst, att här i landet, hafwa altijdh dhe danska ministres haft öfwerhanden öfwer dhe swänska, wore önskeliget att man något praejudicatum con-

trarium funne där uthinnan elliest må man wäll bekänna, att alla ryssar så wäll som främmande här å orthen äre mehra partés för dh Danska än för dh swenska, dy han bättre medel har, att tiäna sig in med alla, i dhethan een märkeligare pension har, hwarigenom giöra sig hos K. Was: Was: angenähm.

Moskow dh 8. Sept: 1686.

2:3

Monseigneur

Ehuru sedan mitt sidsta af dh 8 hujus, intet synnerliget förefallit, Har iag dogh ey kunnat dhenne lägenheeten, med en expresse förbijgå låhta Edher: H. G. Excellence att upwachta.

Såsom dhetta Hofwets skatt, genom slöserij och slemm oeconomie är tämeligen förminskatt, att man ey weht, huru och på hwad sätt, till sådant tillstundande Krijgz uthförande fournera. Ty märkerman att dhe förnämsta, som till freden medh Pohlen på sådant sätt bewilliat, sig högeligen ångra, och önskadhe gärna på någott sätt undgå rupturen medh Crim, Hafwa ey håller ännu kunnat blifwa eense om Commende, hwilken som skall commendera en chef, hwar och een skiuter från sig. Och såsom nu dhe främmandhe officerare /: som sig nu här befinna öfwer 60 öfwerstar, och så många ringare officerare /: förr afmarchen. /: som skall ske /: som man menar först i währ måste hafwa sin fulla åhrsgage, som dhem för fyra åhr sedan tillsagd är wedh fälttogh att opbära, /: där dhe nu alt sedan 1668 ey mehra än 5 månadhers såld bekommit /: altså har man här, i dhessa dagar låthet afgå ordres till dhe ukrainske och Cossakiske gräntzestäder, att medh största flijt låtha mynta Koppar mynt i stället för silfwer, så att een copec Koppar, skall gå lijka högt som wore dh af silwer slagen, äfwen som för een tijdh sedan under Tsar alexey Michaelowitsch skedt är, då till hans rubbel af Koppar, knapt 8 öre kopparmynt behöfdes i wicht, hwarigenom många 1000 blefwe mineradhe. Och som man förnimmer, och befructar, att sådant här i orthen torde föröhrsaka opproor, under dhe gemeena, som dh förra skadan ännu ey öfwerwunnit, som dhe toge af dhethastige afslaget af dhe Coppar Copeker, altså hafwa dhe här resolverat, att samma nu opfundne mynt, ey skall hafwa sin gång i Moskow, uthan allenast i dhe ukrainniske och kassakiske gräntze städher, alt in till Tule, som är 120 verst här ifrån, och lära såledhes officerare och militie betiänte efter all aparence här uthur skatten bekomma sijna fäm månars såld i silfwer, till uthrustningz medell, men all sin andra betahlning motta taga i coppar så länge dhe i fält äre, och kanske längre. Hwad dheras gage är, föllier på innelyckte lista. Dhe Donska Cassaqverna hafwa haft rencontre med dhe Crimske Tatarerna under assow, och skohla ruinerat een stoor hoop, äre och 2 Turkar hijt fångne brachte af dhe förnämbeste. Uppå dhen yngre Tsarens Tsar Peters sijda, är här een stoor consternation, emedhan hans modher lig-

ger reent för döden och tordhe uthan all twifwell hennes afgång märkeligen styrka dhen äldres faction, som däss uthan ännu förmedhels princessornas dhes systrars regering dh starkaste är. Så har man och nu een rund tijdh varit i hoppet, som skulle Tsar Iwan alexieievitsch Tsarinna varit welsignat med lijfsfrucht, och wäntade alla stunder effecten, och een lycklig förlossning, men nu seer man att dhet hoppet är alt uthet, och har sådan opinion fallet underlig för många emedan man nogsampt weet, att dh äldre Tsaren till slijkt wärk oförmögen.

Dhetta hwad i hast E. H. G. Excellence att förståndiga med ödmiuk hälsning ifrån Residenten min gamla wärd som E. H. G. E. Godheet aldrig förgäter att prijsa. Förtror Edh: H: G. Excellence med alt kärt under Dhen Högstes beskydd och förblifwer

Monseigneur

Edh: H. Greff: Excellenz

Allerödmiukeste tienare

J G Sparwenfeld

Moskow dh 18 sept: 1686.

Uthur Persien har man nyligen haft kunskap att såsom Pesten graserar uthi Schamachey, så har Kongen i Persien intet wehlat affärdiga dhe främmande Ministres, som där äre, såsom Envoyen ifrån Pohlen, och Ryssland, så är och Fabritius intet så snart wäntandes, som man hadhe trott, hwilket Honom icke lærer wara obehageligt, emedan han såledhes, så wäll som dhe andra Envoyés, lærer kunna sambla sig något i pungen, som man förmodar.

Man håller här för wist, att innan 2 eller 3 dagar lærer skee een publication, och generalt utrop till alla militie betiänte, att dhe sig skohla hålla färdige till marche emohit Crim, och imedlertijdh laga sig färdige med proviant och andra requisiter, då lära och blifwa nambngifwne, dhe af senaten som till commende, af Militien på dheras sätt finnas tiänlige, att dhe sig och färdige hålla. Han dher med blifwer, skall framdehles notifieeras här i landhet hållas dhe för dhe bäste generaler, som af dhe förnämste släch[t]er äre, ehuru dhe aldrig een dödh meniska sedt, som i fält slagen är, Dock lærer general marchen ey gälla förr än i währ.

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Index of Personal Names

In the diary, individuals are not always mentioned by name, but rather referred to by their title or function. The names within square brackets are not found in the diary text but reflect my own conclusions. A title or function is given in round brackets after the name if the individual concerned is often referred to in that way.

- Ahlfelt 71, 81
Akkema 221
Albanus 99, 101, 103
Aleksseev, Nikita 147
Aleksiej Michajlovič (Tsar) 117, 141, 195
Alfimov, Iakov Aleksseevič 139
Almazov, Semen Erofeevič 203, 205, 207, 209
Anfinogen Timofeevič 119
Apraksin, Andrej Matveevič 231
Apraksin, Fedor Matveevič 207, 231
Apraksin, Petr Matveevič 126, 231
Apraksina, Marfa, Matveevna (Tsarina) 207
[Bagrationi, Aleksander] 185, 187, 231, 233
Bagrationi, Arčil 221, 231, 233
[Bagrationi, Daredžan] 231
[Bagrationi, David] 231
[Bagrationi, Ketevan] 231
[Bagrationi, Mamuka] 185, 187, 231
Baišče, Miron Grigor'evič (pristav) 69, 71, 73, 75, 79, 81, 87, 89, 91, 95, 121, 123, 129, 133, 135, 141, 143
Beklemiše, Afanasij Andreevič 233
Bergenhielm, Johan 91
Bestužev, Tichon Ivanovič 81
Bielke, Sten 199
Biörenclou, Matthias 187
Blumberg, Sebastian von (imperial ambassador) 159, 171, 173, 175, 181
Blumentrost, Laurens 211, 231
Bobinin, Vasilij Ivanovič 153
Bogdanov, Fedor Grigor'evič 233
Bogolep 77
Borjatinskij, Daniil Afanas'evič 229
Borjatinskij, Iakov 163
Boutenant, Hendrick Junior 179, 207
Boutenant, Hendrick (von Rosenbusch) Senior 145, 151, 157, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 193, 195, 199, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 215, 225, 229, 231, 239
Boy, Albert de 219
Brandstake 41
Bremert 47
Buckhof 145
Buturlin, Ivan Vasil'evič 153
Byls 203
Carlisle 227
Čeliščev, Michail Timofeevič 121
Čerkasskij, Jakov Kudenetovič 227
Čerkasskij, Michail Alegukovič 187
Čerkasskij, Michail Jakovlevič 211
Charles II (King of England) 215
Chitrovo, Bogdan Matveevič 227
Classon, Gert 213
Comcirge[?] 219
Couper 231
Coyet, Petter Antoni 201, 231
Creutz, Johan 41
Creutz, Lorentz the Younger
Cronman, Joakim 47
Cronman, Johan 47, 53, 99, 101
Cronström, [Daniel and Isaac] 195
Czartoryski, Michał Jerzy 145
David IV (the Builder) 221
Davidov (Davitišvili), Pankrat Chochonovič 187, 189, 233
Davidov (Davitišvili), Potap (Paata) Chochonovič 187, 189, 233
[Davidova (Davitišvili), Evdokija Chochonovna] 187, 233
[Davidova (Davitišvili), Sof'ja Borisovna] 233
De la Fariole 53
De la Gardie, Jakob Pontusson 43
De la Gardie, Magnus Gabriel 205
De la Gardie, Pontus 77
De la Rosière 195, 199, 231
De Lauzière, Balthazar 231

- Delden, von 211
 Denis 197, 199, 217
 Dimitrov, Semen 165
 Dmitriev, Il'ja Michajlovič 163
 Dolgorukij, Boris Fedorovič 231
 Dolgorukij, Grigorij Fedorovič 231
 Dolgorukij, Jakov Fedorovič 231, 233, 235, 237, 239, 241
 Dolgorukij, Jurij Alekseevič 221, 227
 Dolgorukij, Luka Fedorovič 165
 Dolgorukij, Petr Alekseevič 227
 Dolgorukij, Vladimir Dmitrievič 229
 Douglas, Robert 49
 Efimov, Roman Sergeevič[?] 165
 [Elfvedalius, Laurentius Jonae] 65
 Elfwendahl, Bengt 65, 69, 71, 91, 137, 149, 153, 171
 Falkenberg, Carl 41
 Fedor Alekseevič (Tsar) 187, 195, 207, 215, 233
 [Fedorov] 75
 [Felthusen, Otto] 55
 Fersen, Hans von 51
 Fersen, Hermann von (marshal) 51, 53, 59, 61, 67, 69, 71, 75, 79, 85, 89, 91, 129, 133, 147, 157, 177
 Fleming, Claes (Hermansson) 51, 69
 Fletcher, Giles 225
 Fraser, Anders 47
 Funck (captain) 53, 55, 59, 65, 69, 89, 91
 Funck (colonel) 53, 55
 Funck (madam) 59
 Gabriel, Father 99
 Gadzalovskij, Stachej Ivanovič 209
 Galitz, Hendrick 231
 Gavrilov, Ivan Semenovič 85
 Gavrilov, Semen 85
 Gezelius, Johannes the Younger 43, 51
 Gizel', Innocentius 227
 Glijdh 163
 Godunov 231
 Golicyn, Aleksej Vasil'evič 191, 211, 229
 Golicyn, Boris Alekseevič (Prince) 61, 145, 183, 185, 189, 191, 195, 231
 Golicyn, Ivan Ivanovič 169, 179, 183, 189, 195, 225, 231
 Golicyn, Petr Alekseevič 231
 Golicyn, Vasilij Vasil'evič 61, 145, 151, 153, 163, 167, 177, 179, 181, 183, 187, 189, 191, 195, 201, 203, 205, 207, 209, 211, 213, 217, 221, 227, 229, 235
 Golovin, Petr Alekseevič 237
 Gordon, Patrick 211, 227, 231
 Graham, David William von (count) 155, 163, 179, 187, 195, 199, 209, 213, 225, 231
 Gross, Georg Gottfried (Leontij Gross) 165, 233
 [Grothusen, Christina] 51
 Grundel-Helmfelt, Simon 43
 Grzymułtowski, Krzysztof (Polish envoy) 235
 Guasconi, Francesco 203
 Gumin 59
 Gyldenär, Arvid 39
 Gyllenkrok, Axel 55
 Gyllenstierna, Conrad (first ambassador) 35, 37, 39, 41, 47, 49, 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 75, 77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87, 89, 91, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 115, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 133, 135, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 151, 153, 155, 157, 159, 165, 167, 169, 171, 173, 175, 181, 187, 191, 195, 199, 201
 Gyllenstierna, Johan 187
 Görtzen 181
 Hafman, Erik 65, 69, 71, 73, 75, 81, 141, 143, 153, 171
 Hartman, Daniel 145, 179, 191, 199, 209, 213, 215, 217, 229
 Hassel, Jonas 59, 97
 Hassenia, Barbara 147, 203, 211
 Hassenius, Peter 147, 199, 213, 215
 Hauptman[?] 229
 Helmfelt, see Grundel-Helmfelt
 Herbers 55
 Herberstein, Siegmund von 225
 Hisingh, Nils 89
 Hiärne, Urban 65, 97
 Hofven, von 231
 Holst 201
 Honnius 219
 Horn, Hildebrand von (Danish envoy) 61, 141, 145, 151, 155, 157, 173, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 195, 199, 207, 211
 Horn, Krister 73
 Horsey, Jerome 225
 Hulst, Arnold van der 211, 231
 Huusgafvel 41
 Hyttner, Jakob (Jakov Ivanovič Gjutner) 49, 69, 73, 75, 81, 83, 91, 149, 151, 153, 155, 191, 195, 215

- Hård af Segerstad, Gustaf 187
 Ioakim (patriarch) 107, 119, 181, 193
 Iosif (archimandrite at Otroč monastyr', Tver') 135
 Iosif (archimandrite at Iverskij monastyr', Valdaj) 99, 101, 103, 105, 107, 109, 117
 Ippolitov, Semen Dmitrievič 209
 Ivan Alekseevič (the older Tsar) 61, 123, 141, 149, 151, 153, 155, 161, 167, 173, 193, 209
 Ivan Vasil'evič (Tsar) 201
 Ivanov, Avtamon Ivanovič 229
 Izmajlov, Aleksej Petrovič 231
 Izmajlov, Andrej Petrovič 231
 Izmajlov, Ivan Petrovič 231
 James II (King of England) 215, 227
 Jenkinson, Anthony 225
 Jochomson, Johan 177, 199
 Jordan, Mikael Eberhard von 37
 Jovius, Paulus 225
 Judin, Andrej 229
 Kalickij, Samuil Kuprianovič 233
 Kannengiesser 143, 145, 147, 215, 223
 Kanterberg, Johan 153
 Karl XI (King of Sweden) 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 71, 75, 81, 89, 91, 121, 145, 153, 155, 157, 173, 175, 177, 189, 191, 197, 199, 205, 235
 Karp Semenovič 203
 Keller, Johann van (Dutch resident) 151, 157, 159, 169, 171, 173, 175, 181, 199, 201, 203, 205, 213, 215, 219, 227, 229
 Kellerman, Johan 229
 Kellerman, Thomas 229
 Kirill Bartolomeevič 233
 Klingstedt, Jonas (second ambassador) 35, 53, 55, 61, 65, 71, 73, 81, 91, 137, 155, 159, 175, 177, 187, 191, 195, 201, 203, 215
 Klingstedt (the son) 159, 177, 199, 215
 Kniper, Johan Hendrick 231
 Kniper, Thomas 143, 145, 147, 195, 199, 201, 203, 211, 215, 217, 225, 229, 231
 Kochen, Anna von 229
 Kochen, Christopher von 49, 55, 57, 69, 71, 73, 85, 89, 91, 95, 141, 143, 145, 147, 149, 153, 185, 187, 191, 197, 203, 211, 213, 215, 217, 229, 235
 Kochen Johan Hindrich von 215
 Kochen, von (the wife, born Hassenia) 213
 Kock 145
 Kol'cov-Mosal'skij, Ivan 163
 Kondyrev, Efim 163
 Kretzman, Zacharias[?] 213
 [Kristian V] (King of Denmark) 207, 209
 Kurtz, Jan Ignatius 219
 Kušnikov, Michail Romanovič 233
 Kvašnín, Kuz'ma Elizarov (*voevoda* in Tver') 129, 133, 135, 137
 Laborov, Jakov Ivanovič 231
 Lavretskij, Simon 225
 Le Fort, François Jacques 151
 Leijoncrona, Christoffer 73
 Leijonhufwud, see Lewenhaupt
 Leont'ev, Fedor Ivanovič 217
 Leslie, Alexander 227
 Lewenhaupt, Adam Ludwig (count) 37, 57, 59
 Lewenhaupt, Carl Julius 71
 Lewenhaupt, Gustaf Fredrik (count) 57
 Lichudy, Ioannikij and Sofronij 225
 Lifman, Kristina Sylvia 41
 Lilliemarck, Enok 215
 Lithman, Johan 59, 213, 215
 Lorentz, Father 101
 Markell 241
 Marselis, Christian 177
 Marselis, [Peter the Younger] 195
 Maschalk, Dan. B. 187
 Matveev, Andrej Artamonovič 231
 Matveev, Artamon Sergeevič 231
 Mayerberg, Augustin von 227
 Meissner, Efim Timofeevič 69, 149, 153, 221, 235
 Meissner, Timotheus 69
 Menesius 209
 Meyser, Tobias 229
 Michulin, Dorofej 165
 Miloslavskaja, Feodosija Ivanovna 233
 Miloslavskij, Il'ja Danilovič 141,
 Miloslavskij, Ivan Michajlovič 141, 143, 183, 187, 189, 233
 Moraht, see Pereswetoff-Moraht
 Morell 213
 Morozov, Boris Ivanovič 165, 227
 Müller, Werner 229
 Myšeckij, Grigorij Dmitrievič 233
 Myšeckij, Jakov Efimovič 233
 Myšeckij, Martian Semenovič 233
 Myšeckij, Vasilij Dmitrievič 233
 [Möller, Barbara] 47
 [Naryškin, Afanasij Kirillovič] 61

- [Naryškin, Ivan Kirillovič] 61
 [Naryškin, Lev Kirillovič] 61
 Naryškina, Natal'ja Kirillovna (Tsarina) 189, 199
 Naščekin, Fedor Vasil'evič 93
 Naumov, Petr Ivanovič 233
 Negrebeckij, Pavel 183, 189
 Nesvickij[?], Andrej Grigor'evič 233
 Neugebauer, S. 225
 Nikitin, Kuz'ma 153, 171, 177
 Nikon (patriarch) 115, 215
 Norderman, Kunraad 197
 Oderborn, Paul 225
 Oginski, Marcjan (Lithuanian chancellor) 225, 235
 Oláfsson, Gudmund (the Iclander) 187, 203, 215
 Olearius, Adam 49
 Olimpij Jakovlevič 237
 Olovennikov, Perfilij Fedorovič 229
 Ordin-Naščekin, Afanasij Lavrent'evič 227
 Oxenstierna, Axel 201
 Oxenstierna, Bengt 49, 59, 187, 195, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 215, 221
 Pankrat'ev, Ivan Danilovič 217
 Pereswetoff-Morajt, Alexander 59
 Peter Alekseevič (the younger Tsar) 61, 141, 149, 151, 153, 155, 161, 167, 173, 175, 179, 193, 207, 209, 221, 227, 231, 235
 Petrejus, Petrus 225
 Peuletz 195
 Piasecki, Paul 225
 Pilhierta 41
 Poljanskij, Eremej Leont'evič 229
 Possevino, Antonio 225
 Postnikov, Vasilij Timofeevič 145, 177, 237
 Požarskij, Semen Romanovič 227
 Prončiščev, Ivan Afanas'evič 69, 75, 87, 219
 Prončiščev, Petr Ivanovič 219
 Protopopov, Grigorij Michajlovič 229
 Protopopov, Lev Borisovič 229
 Prozorovskij, Ivan Semenovič 227
 Pröbsting, Gerhard 57,
 Pröbsting, Gideon 57, 67, 69
 Puškin, Iakov Stepanovič 163
 Puškin, Ivan Alekseevič 191
 Puškin, Petr Petrovič 165
 Pählman 231
 Ridder 163, 231
 Rigman 231
 Ritter 163
 Rodionov, Sidor 81
 Rohr, Joakim Georg Fredrik von 65
 Romodanovskij, Grigorij Grigor'evič 225
 Romswinkel 211
 Rosenhane, Axel 39
 Rtiščev, Fedor Michajlovič 227
 Rtiščev, Michail Fedorovič 231
 Rumjancev, Semen Ivanovič 155
 Rümpf, K. 201
 Ruuth, Simon 37
 Salanus 153
 Saltykova, Praskov'ja Fedorovna (Tsarina) 151,
 [Samojlovič, Ivan] (Hetman) 201
 Sandyrev, Savva Grigor'evič 153, 201
 Sapieha, Kazimierz 145
 Ščerbatov, Konstantin Osipovič 229
 Schmidt, Hans 41
 [Schmidt, Johannes] 181, 219
 Scholl, Gustav 223
 Schonerwedd 229
 [Schulman, Henrik Johan] 47
 Schulman, Johan Gustaf 47
 Schultz, Martin 51
 Schwartz 14
 Schärenberg 233
 Šejn, Aleksej Semenovič 227, 229
 Semen Nikolaevič[?] 145
 Šepelev, Agej Alekseevič 229
 Šeremetev, Petr Vasil'evič 237
 Šeremetev, Vasilij Borisovič 225
 Simonov, Aleksej Pavlovič 233
 Skuratov, Petr Dmitrievič 229
 Skytte, Maria 59, 97
 Smith, Thomas 225
 Sofija Alekseevna (Tsarevna, Princess) 61, 77, 121, 123, 151, 173, 175, 183, 187, 199, 201, 233
 Soop, Erik 241
 Sparwenfeld, Johan Gabrielsson (the father) 59, 171, 173, 187, 203
 Spatharius, Nicolaus Milescu- 205, 219
 Sperling, Göran (governor-general) 43, 49, 51, 53, 59, 61, 65, 67, 87, 89
 Stackelberg, Otto (third ambassador) 35, 51, 55, 61, 65, 71, 73, 81, 87, 141, 143, 155, 175, 177, 201
 Stenbock, Johan Gabriel 215
 Steven, Daniel 237

- Strykowski 227
 Swartz 55
 Sven the Tailor 229
 Timmerman, Antoni 43, 47, 89
 Tjutčev, Vasilij Ivanovič 233
 Toločanov, Semen Fedorovič 153
 Trubeckoj, Aleksej Nikitič 227
 Tunder, Jahn 47
 Tunder, Konrad 47
 [Tunderfelt, Gustaf Johan de Rodes] 49, 53, 59, 61, 73
 Tunderfelt, Jurgen 47, 55, 59, 61, 67, 187, 205, 209
 Törneros, Peter Hansson (secretary) 55, 153
 Uggelwi 67
 Uggla, Christina (Sparwenfeld's mother) 59, 97, 187, 191, 195, 203, 213, 215
 Uggla, Claas Johansson 179
 Ukrainev, Emel'jan Ignat'evič 151, 153, 167, 173, 195, 201, 209, 219, 229
 Ulrik (Prince) 183, 191, 197
 [Upmarck, Georg] (treasurer) 91
 Urusov, Fedor Semenovič (*voevoda* in Novgorod) 49, 57, 61, 67, 69, 75, 79, 81, 85, 87, 89, 91, 121
 [Utter, Peter] 71
 Vagett 237
 Valdemar Christian (Danish prince) 201
 Vellink, Mauritz 65
 Verderevskij 163
 Verderevskij, Ivan (Iov) Ivanovič 145, 163
 Verderevskij, Vasilij Petrovič 145, 163
 Werre, Jan 183
 Wessman, A. 195
 Westhof 211, 229
 Viborg 231
 Vinus, Andreas 195, 203, 215, 221, 233
 Wirinhof, Ivan 43
 Witsen, Nicolaas 231
 Witt 207
 Vojnov, Michail Alekseevič 229
 Wolffensköld 53
 Volkonskij, Ivan 163
 Volkonskij, Michail Andreevič 163
 Volkonskij, Michail Semenovič 233
 Volkov, Ivan Michajlovič 153
 Voznicyn, Prokofij Bogdanovič 153, 171
 Wrede, Gustaf Johan 39
 Zgórsky, Salomon Constantinos 185
 Zierowsky, Johann Christian (imperial ambassador) 157, 159, 165, 169, 171, 173, 175, 179, 181, 183, 189, 213, 219
 Zimin, Andrej Stepanovič 233
 Zmeev, Venedikt Andreevič 205, 229
 Öhman 41

Index of Geographical Names

- Abborfors 41
Alberga 39
Aleksino 137
Alexandria 111, 215
Amsterdam 183, 231
Amsterdam 157, 195
Antaši 47
Archangelsk 85, 197, 201, 217, 209, 217
Astrachan' 185, 201, 223
Baku 197
Begunicy 45
Belgorod 203, 209, 213
Berežajka 115
Bethlehem 217
Björnå 37
Borgå (province) 39, 41
Borgå (town) 39
Boriskovo 117
Borozda 117, 141
Bosphorus 207
Bothnian Sea 45
Brandenburg 203, 239
Bronnica 93, 95
Bronnickaja gora 93
Brändö 37
Buben'ëvo 123
Budovo 119, 121
Bura (Nova Bura) 47
Čašnikovo 143
Caspian Sea 197
Caucasus
Čeremna 77
Čerkizovo 143, 195
Česskoe Burcovo 143
Chersonesos 237
Chimka 143, 145
China 197, 205
Cholocholenka 117
Cholochol'nja 117, 119
Cholom 95
Cholova 97
Cholovka 97
Cholyn'ja 93
Chotilovo 115, 117
Cimmerian Bosphorus 207
Čirkovicy 47
Constantinople 181, 215
Copenhagen 61, 179, 207, 209
Crimea 181, 199, 207, 219, 225, 229
Daur 197
Davna 145
Davydkovo 141
Delet 37
Dem'janovo 141
Denmark 61, 109, 175, 201, 207, 209, 211
Divnoe[?] 145
Dmitrov 145
Dolgo 117
Dorožnaja[?] 95
Dorpat 97, 227
Družkino 143
Duderhof 45
Dvina 199
Eckerö 35
Edimonovskie Gorki 137
Edrovo (estate) 115
Edrovo (lake) 115
Emkarby 37
Emmaus 217
England 107, 211, 215, 227, 239
Esbo 39
Finland 37, 41, 45, 131
France 205
Frösåker 97
Genoa 85
Georgia 173, 187, 189, 221, 231, 233
Globicy 47
Gori 223
Gorodnja 137
Goryni 77
Goslar 197
Greece 111, 115
Grisslehamn 35
Gruzija 187
Gubanicy 45
Gulf of Finland 41, 45
Gurleva 47
Gverstjanicy 97
Haag 207
Halikko 39
Hamburg 145, 207, 217
Harievala 41
Helsingfors 39
Häntälä 37
Holland 107, 203, 209, 227, 231, 239
Homeljoki 41
Iberia 99, 111, 119, 187, 221, 231
Igumenka 137
I'men 237
Imeretia 223
Ingria 41, 43, 45, 47, 53, 61, 67, 179, 227
Israelsdahl 37
Istra 117
Ivangorod 51, 53, 65, 151
Ivola 41
Izmajlovo 169
Jama (castle) 45, 47, 65, 67, 119
Jama (river) 65
Jamskovicy 47
Jamuga 139
Janiff 89
Jaroslavl' 135
Jaželbicy 97, 99, 115
Jerusalem 209, 215, 217
Jonxa[?] 49
Kabanovo 139
Kachetia 223
Kaffa 207
Kama 197
Kangaspeldo 41
Kardis 47, 67, 71, 87, 89, 179
Karis 39
Kartalinia 223
Kasimov 223
Kazan' 181, 201, 223
Kiev 99, 101, 109, 111, 181, 217, 219, 227
Kimito 39
Kipino 77
Klin 129, 135, 139, 141

- Kokkila 39
 Kolomna 117
 Kolomno 117
 Konstantinovskoe 135
 Koporje 41, 45, 47, 49, 51, 65
 Korboselski 43
 Korkkulla 39
 Krasnye Stanki 95
 Krestcy 95, 97
 Kresteckoj Jam 95
 Krivoe Koleno 93, 95
 Kumlinge 37
 Kunino 93
 Kuppis 39
 Kutaisi 223
 Kutu 47
 Kuženokino 115
 Kuzneckij ostrog 137
 Kvarnby 39
 Kyrkslätt 39
 Ladoga 45
 Lavansaari 41
 Lemo 37
 Lithuania 217
 Livonia 139
 L'jalovo 143
 Ljubyni 77
 Logovic[?] 123
 Lojo 39
 Lomaka 49
 Luga 77
 Majdanovo 139
 Malica 127
 Marian Busch 157
 Mar'ino 123
 Matjuškino 143
 Mednoe 123
 Meletia 185
 Melkovskaja slobodka 137
 Mironegi 97
 Mokricy 77
 Mola 41
 Molčanovo 141
 Moloskovicy 67
 Morovino 67
 Moscow (city) 35, 47, 49, 53, 55, 57, 61, 65, 69, 71, 75, 87, 91, 93, 97, 99, 101, 107, 111, 115, 119, 121, 125, 133, 135, 137, 139, 141, 143, 145, 155, 157, 159, 171, 175, 179, 181, 185, 187, 195, 197, 199, 201, 211, 213, 215, 217, 221, 223, 227, 229, 231, 233, 235, 237
 Moscow (river) 195, 205
 Mošna 95
 Mošnicy 141
 Mosseberg 65
 Mšaga (jam) 237
 Mšaga (river) 237
 Msta 93
 Muscovy 57, 61, 73, 85, 227
 Narva (city) 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 53, 55, 57, 67, 69, 73, 77, 89, 91, 121, 143, 147, 191, 203, 205, 209, 217, 225, 239
 Narva (river) 49, 51, 57
 Negodicy 47
 Nemirov 217
 Neva 7
 New Jerusalem 209
 Nikol'skoe 141, 143, 187
 Nikol'skoj pogost 77
 Niša 95
 Nordic Sea 197
 Nova Bura (see Bura)
 Novgorod 47, 49, 57, 61, 67, 69, 75, 77, 79, 83, 85, 93, 95, 109, 117, 119, 121, 123, 133, 153, 177, 181, 191, 201, 209, 211, 215, 217, 229, 237, 239
 Novinka 95
 Novoe 143
 Nyby 39
 Nyen 41, 43, 45, 59, 85, 89, 117, 191
 Nyenskans 41, 43, 45
 Nyland 37
 Nöteborg (castle) 43
 Nöteborg (province) 43
 Olonec 183
 Onstopel' 67
 Opoki 237
 Oredež 77
 Orlino 71, 73
 Orsjannikovo 143
 Ozerticy 47
 Palvanselki 43
 Pampala 41
 Paris 203, 207, 209
 Pasta 47
 Pavljukovo 139
 Peking 205
 Pellule 41
 Peremera (estate) 135
 Peremera (stream) 135
 Perekop 219
 Pernå 39, 41
 Perrå 41
 Persia 177, 185, 191, 221, 223
 Peški 141
 Pillola 49
 Pljussa 67, 71, 179
 Podljutov'e 95
 Podoga 41, 49
 Pojo 39
 Pol 39
 Poland 109, 139, 175, 179, 181, 183, 185, 201, 205, 219, 227
 Poljany 77
 Polomet' 97
 Pomerania 73
 Ponedelka 95
 Porkala point 39
 Prasolovo 139
 Prutnja 121
 Pskov (city) 57, 97, 201, 221, 237, 239, 241
 Pskov (province) 237
 Pskovskaja reka 239
 Putinovo[?] 237
 Pyterlax 41
 Pyttis 41
 Päärinen 37
 Rachino (Novoe, Staroe) 97, 115
 Radomlice[?] 143
 Raseborg 39
 Reval 49, 61, 65, 187
 Riga 73, 199, 201, 203, 207, 227, 233, 237, 239
 Rogačevo 145
 Rouen 207
 Russia 43, 61, 75, 91, 113, 125, 131, 133, 181, 201, 205, 219, 231, 235
 Russkaja derevnja 93
 Russkaja reka 93

- Ržavki 143
 Sakartvelo 221
 Sarvlax 39
 Satabago 223
 Sel'co 119
 Seljatina 141
 Šelon' 237
 Šemacha 197
 Semenovskoe 137
 Semsempalla 47
 Sestra 139
 Sibbo 39
 Sievola 37
 Signilskär 35
 Širvan 197
 Šiškova 117
 Sjundeå 39
 Skavistad 39
 Šlina 117
 Slobodskie 141
 Sofija 77
 Šolca 237
 Solikamsk 197
 Sordavala 41
 Šornovo 139
 Šoša 123, 135, 137, 139, 141, 145
 Spasskoj pogost 77
 Spas-Zaulok 139
 Stockholm 35, 37, 51, 57, 65, 91, 117, 191, 197, 203
 Sudimirka 137
 Svanberga 35
 Sweden 49, 59, 69, 71, 73, 147, 153, 155, 157, 169, 171, 173, 177, 179, 183, 187, 191, 205, 213, 221, 235
 Svenskby 39
 Sviščevo 123
 Syslavka[?] 143
 Systerbäck 43
 Tallaawa[?] 141
 Tarvalla 35
 Tatory 137
 Tavastland 37, 39
 Tbilisi 223
 Tenala 39
 Terechovo 143
 Teškovo 47
 Tesovskoj jam 77
 Theodosiopolis 207
 Tmaka 127
 Toržok 117, 119, 121, 123, 127, 129
 Tosarby 37
 Toxa 43
 Trokovič[?] 137
 Tušino 147
 Tver' 121, 123, 125, 127, 129, 131, 135, 137, 143, 147, 149, 161, 201, 235
 Tverca 117, 119, 121, 123, 127
 Tösse 65
 Tövsala 37
 Ukraine 99, 201
 Uppsala 37
 Uševicy 97
 Valdaj 97, 99, 101, 115, 117, 119, 217, 235
 Valkiasari 43
 Vargata 37
 Varsala 37
 Vattuskiftet 37
 Veckelax 41
 Velegošči 77
 Velekse[?] 77
 Velikaja reka 237, 239
 Viborg (city) 41, 43, 45, 59, 231
 Viborg (province) 39, 43
 Vichtis 39
 Vilajoki 41
 Vina 95
 Vjažickoj pogost 77, 79
 Vlas'ev 135
 Volchov 79
 Volga 121, 123, 127, 129, 133, 135, 137, 145
 Volynskoe 141
 Voronova 47
 Voskresenskoe 137
 Vruda 67, 69
 Vrudskoj pogost 67
 Vydropužsk 119
 Vyšnij Voločok 117
 Vysokovo 139
 Värmland 65
 Västerås 183
 Zaecevo 95
 Zagora 237
 Zaostrov'e 47
 Zareč'e 69, 73, 173
 Zavidovo 139
 Zimnjaja Gora 103
 Åbo 37
 Åland 35, 37
 Åland Sea 35

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1. Portrait of J. G. Sparwenfeld. Anonymous oil painting, Rudbeckian Gymnasium, Västerås.
- Fig. 2. Portrait of J. G. Sparwenfeld. Oil painting by Lukas von Breda, Uppsala University Library.
- Fig. 3. Sparwenfeld's Russian diary. The National Archives, Stockholm, p. 35.
- Fig. 4. Ivangorod: Plans of the Church of the Assumption and the fortress.
- Fig. 5. A wind-powered sawmill outside Narva.
- Fig. 6. A salmon fishery in the Jama River.
- Fig. 7. A Livonian kiln.
- Fig. 8. The Monastery of St Nicholas at Vjažišče.
- Fig. 9. Russian standards at the reception of the Swedish embassy in Novgorod.
- Fig. 10. The cowl of a Russian monk.
- Fig. 11. Sparwenfeld's Russian diary. The National Archives, Stockholm, p. 47.
- Fig. 12. Women's headgear in the Tver' area.
- Fig. 13. A Russian crucifix.
- Fig. 14. Plan of a Russian cottage.
- Fig. 15. A Russian plough.
- Fig. 16. Oxenstierna's audience with Tsar Aleksej Michajlovič in 1674, as recorded by Eric Palmquist.
- Fig. 17. The placement of the Russian and Swedish delegates at the conference on 6 May.
- Fig. 18. A plan of the tsar's summer residence at Izmajlovo.
- Fig. 19. A plan of Pskov.

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The idea for the *Slavica Suecana* logotype originates from Sparwenfeld's diary of his Russian journey. There he describes a tree he observed on the Swedish-Russian border, with a crown carved in its bark on the Swedish side and a cross on the Russian.

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