Portrait des Generalen Patrick Gordon!
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The Last Campaigns

Dmitry Fedosov

...The time of my departure is at hand.
I have fought a good fight,
I have finished my course,
I have kept the faith.

2 Timothy, 4, 6–7

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

Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries

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

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

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

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

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3 Traditional Russian infantry.

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

5 Admiral [Lefort] was the last to come to Azov and the first to depart, leaving his regiments and fleet, and in all probability proving himself absolutely useless…” (M.M. Bogoslovsky, Piotr Velikiy. Materialy dlia biografii, Vol. I (Moscow, 2005), p. 334).
almost simultaneously reached the Kalancha towers, seized from the Turks the year before. They decided not to wait for the rest and take action without delay. The first operation took place at the mouth of the Don against the Turkish naval squadron. The Don Cossacks attacked, burned some enemy vessels and drove others away to sea, after which Gordon “went downe with some companies and cannon to the mouth of the river and sent boates to the ruined Turkish ships, who brought from thence 141 great bombes & 95 glasse hand-granadoes with diverse other things”. The old general had to remain there for several days, as if “forgotten” by Peter and Shein who did not send him any orders; however, not being used to waste time, he personally chose and marked out the site for a fort, and put his men to work (fols. 37–38 v.).

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

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

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6 Zasypnoy val – so called by Tsar Peter in a letter to Patriarch Adrian dated 4 July 1696 (Pisma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago, I (St.Petersburg, 1887), p. 80).
7 “Volodimer got his host ready and ordered to make a mound toward the town” (Povest’ vremennykh let (St.Petersburg, 1999), p. 49).
and roll as much earth before us, as will not only be sufficient to fill up the fosse, but will have more over and above than will exceed the height of the town walls; by which means, in a few weeks we shall oblige the enemy to surrender, or we shall bury them alive. The Czar preferred this opinion, and told them to do as he had proposed”. This statement has all the more weight because Auchintoul then held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the tsar’s army and fought at Azov. The same, calling Patrick Gordon the chief conductor of the siege and describing the wall with technical details, is attested by the English Captain John Perry, who, although acquainted with the general, only came to Russia two years later. However, the general’s own journal shows otherwise: “June 22… All the soldiery of the meaner quality and condition having sollicited, and after their advice asked, desired & consented to the throwing up a wall of earth and driveing it on to the towne wall, wee assented to their desires” (fol. 45 v.). It follows that the proposal was made by rank and file, which finds curious, if indirect, support in a later petition by the rebel strel’tsy Vasily Zorin, who claimed that already during the first siege of Azov the strel’tsy had offered to take it by means of an adjacent wall (prival), but the idea was turned down by their foe, Lefort.

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

Gordon demonstrated the grand scale of the works to German engineers who only arrived at Azov when its fate was virtually sealed, and they were very impressed (fols. 53 v.–54). Both walls, “the army’s” and “Gordon’s” behind it,

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

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

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

12 J.G. Korb, Dnevnik puteshestviya v Moskuiyu (St.Petersburg, 1906). Original edition: Diarium Itineris in Moscoviam Perillustris ac Magnifi ci Domini Ignatii Christophori Nobilis Domini de Guarienti & Rall... Anno MDCXCVIII Ablegati Extraordinarii descriptum a Ioanne Georgio Korb... Viennae Austriae. [s.d.]
13 Pis’ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago, I, p. 93.
ground, deepnes of the lake, spaciousnes of the place for the harbour, besides a small brooke of wholesome water giving ground for it” (fol. 63). Having finished the main works and left a strong garrison, the Russian army turned home. On 30 September 1696 it formed a triumphant procession towards the Moscow Kremlin, concluded with Gordon’s division: “My 6 reg-ts marched afterwards, in the reg-t of Butirsky sojours being all the drummers, hoyboyes and these who led the spare horses, with 12 men on each side of me, a dozen befor, and these who carryed the military signes, as also the furers or under ensignes, were all clad in Turkish habite with turbants, which made a great & pleasant show, and much wondered at by the Russes as well as strangers. Wee marched through the Castle or Tzaars Court, and befor the last gate the reg-ts were dismissed to their quarters … As wee entred the gate of the stone bridge, where the triumphal arch was, short speeches were made out of a speaking trumpet, and many cannon fired continually till all were past” (fol. 78 v.).

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

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

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15 A. Brückner, *Patrick Gordon i ego Dnevnik* (St.Petersburg, 1878), p. 94. This remains one of the best essays on Gordon in any language.
in revising Muscovite customs: it was his home that was first honoured with a visit by the tsar, and it was he, a “heretic” without any Russian court rank, who first assumed independent command over a whole army of tsar’s soldiers and strel’tsy. An entry for 16 January 1697 yet again testifies both to his wide hospitality and to the general respect he inspired: in the morning he received Frol Minayev, ataman of the Don Cossacks (apparently, escorted by not a few Cossack elders), and right afterwards welcome was given to the newly arrived Venetian galley-builders (fol. 93 v.). Convivial intercourse with worthy representatives of different nations, creeds, estates and trades has always been typical of Gordon.

In a historical source one should consider not just the things contained therein, but also things omitted. We cannot but notice the utter absence in Gordon’s journal of any trace of preparations for one of Peter’s greatest enterprises, unparalleled either before or after his reign. This was the Grand Embassy to Western Europe, which the sovereign himself joined incognito, disguised as a humble NCO (uriadnik) of Preobrazhensky regiment. This gap is all the more strange because Gordon was the only man in Peter’s circle who visited and well knew almost all the main points of the Embassy route except Vienna, although he had a fair idea of that court’s policies too, due to his constant links and correspondence with Imperial officials. The Scot’s diplomatic experience was formidable: back in 1666/67 he went as a courier with tsar’s letters to London, and in 1686 the king of Great Britain even appointed him envoy extraordinary in Muscovy.\footnote{Diary, II: 1659–1667, pp. xxiii–xxviii, 221–69; IV: 1684–1689, pp. xxiii, 166–9.} Surpassing even the most skilled Russian diplomats, he had first-hand practical knowledge of European courtly protocol, mastered half a dozen languages and had no need of interpreters. Lastly, no one has done more than Gordon in order to turn Peter’s eyes and aspirations toward the West, whither the tsar was now irrepressibly drawn. With all this in mind, and given the perfect intimacy between Peter and his loyal advisor, they could not but discuss the aims and details of the forthcoming mission. Nevertheless, it was Lefort who became the “First Grand Ambassador”, despite having little to do with diplomacy before.\footnote{“Lefort, having had no practice in this respect, was as nominal first ambassador with the embassy, as he was admiral in the navy” (Bogoslovsky, Piotr Veliky. Materialy dlia biografii, I, p. 378).}

Perhaps, Gordon was prevented from joining the Embassy by his advanced age (in March 1697 he turned 62) or failing health? But in the same year he was still strong enough to accomplish a very difficult campaign, comparable with...
the journey abroad in length and distance, and much less comfortable. No, the explanation lies in his firm political beliefs. As so many of his compatriots, he remained a staunch Jacobite, i.e. supporter of the exiled King James II (VII). The last volume of his journal gives vivid proof of his stance: when at a banquet in the presence of the tsar and high dignitaries they drank to “the usurpator of Great Britaine”, Gordon pointedly raised his cup to “King James his good health” (fol. 25 v.) – few could afford such insolence! On 14 October he and like-minded persons regularly celebrated their rightful sovereign’s birthday (fol. 79 v). But “the usurper of Orange” was stadhouder (ruler) of the Netherlands and acting king of England, heading two great maritime powers and Russia’s trading partners, which were the priorities of the Grand Embassy. This alone was sufficient to rule out Gordon’s participation. Moreover, for all the tsar’s wilfulness, and affection for his Swiss favourite, he had too much respect for the old warrior to subject him to Lefort, the Scot’s former protégé, who yielded much both in years and talents. And I would offer one more reason. On the very eve of the Embassy’s departure a plot by I.Ye. Tsykler and his accomplices was exposed; the tsar was so preoccupied with investigation that he twice postponed his promised visit to Gordon, which did not normally happen (fols. 97 v.–98 v.). Peter knew how many internal and external enemies he had; he also realised that A.S. Shein was a mediocre commander20, let alone the mock “generalissimos” Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky and I.I. Buturlin. The tsar could have presaged that Gordon would be of much more use in Moscow, to perform his usual duties of protecting the frontier and lawful authority. This decision proved wise indeed.

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

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20 I agree with Paul Bushkovitch that Shein “was more an administrator than a field commander” (P. Bushkovitch, Peter the Great. The Struggle for Power, 1671–1725 (Cambridge, 2004), p. 186).
also made this campaign, “notwithstanding the Czar’s absence… the war was carried on pretty successfully against the Turks: the boyar A.S. Shein being left Generalissimo (but with express orders from the Czar not to undertake any thing of moment without General Gordon’s advice).”\(^\text{21}\) Even if such an order was not expressly made (for obvious reasons Auchintoul highly honoured his clansman and father-in-law), Shein was long acquainted with General Piotr Ivanovich, respected him as well, and could only gain by taking his advice. Gordon Sr. usually assumed responsibility upon himself and changed the disposition, “ordering the cavalierie neerer the flankes”, and causing “divide and assigne the stations to the regiments according to their strength” (fol. 115). The Turks and Tatars did not hazard to approach the fortress, being checked by the very presence of the tsar’s troops. Prisoners reported: “If the Christians did not come with a considerable army to Azow, the Turkes intended with all the forces they could gett together in these countreyes to attack it. But if any great forces should come and compleet the fortifications, then that they would never adventure the takeing of it without a great power” (fols. 117–117 v.). Anyway, light skirmishes with the enemy were frequent: “On the 3d of June a body of Tartars came up early in the morning, in view of the Russian camp… A battallion of foot, with 2 squadrons of horse and 2 field-pieces, together with the Cossacks and Calmucks under the command of Lt.Colonel Alexander Gordon [of Auchintoul], were ordered out against them. The Tartars were forced to retreat; the Cossacks and Calmucks pursuing them, killed a few of them, and took 6 prisoners”.\(^\text{22}\)

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

\(^\text{22}\) Ibid., p. 115.
\(^\text{23}\) See Korb, op. cit.
fortune; until being sufficient weary, both parties retired”. In the end Kalga failed to lure the Christians out of their ranks with a false retreat in order to a counterstrike, so often used by Tatars to deadly effect, and had to turn back (fol. 126 v).

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

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

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

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

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

26 Ibid., pp. 208–14.
went to the Butirky to prevent all misfortunes, and be ready in case any tumult or mutiny should be” (fol. 186a v.). Soon troublemakers were driven out of Moscow, and all seemed quiet. But Romodanovsky and others, appointed by the tsar to govern in his absence, could well remember the fateful events of 1682 and 1689, and did not worry in vain.

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

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

27 Peter to Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky, 9 May 1698 (Pis’ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago, I, pp. 251–2).
28 Korb, op. cit., p. 64.
about 2,200 strong\(^3\) were already crossing the Istra river. “With expostulations & faire words” he advised them not to pass the river, which they insisted upon. Turning back to bring up his troops, deploy them and block the Moscow road, the general met the strel’tsy again in order to negotiate, “but found them very refractory to what wee desired” (fols. 197 v.–198). The next day, on the 18th, he went to the rebel camp for the third and final time, bidding them go back to the places assigned for their service, and give up the ringleaders and deserters, promising them pardon and tsar’s grace instead. Given the importance of this episode, I shall quote several accounts by contemporaries, each of whom, even if not present at New Jerusalem on that day, was closely acquainted with Gordon and must have heard the story from him direct.

Korb says in his *Diary*: “Gordon compensated force for stratagem, and came to the bank alone, wishing to speak with the strel’tsy. He found them already busy at the crossing, and began to dissuade them from further attempts in roughly the following expressions: what is their intention? Whither are they bound? If they are thinking of Moscow, the approaching night hinders them from going further and taking all the narrows of the higher bank; therefore, they better remain on the other side of the river, and use the night time for wiser deliberation what to endeavour tomorrow. The rebel crowd did not oppose such friendly advices, because physical fatigue affected their thoughts too, declining them from unexpected accidents of battle. Meanwhile Gordon, who has well observed all the conveniences of terrain, caused his soldiers occupy, with Shein’s consent, an advantageous hill nearby, distributed and strengthened the sentry posts, and omitted nothing which could serve, on the one hand, for the defence and protection of his troops, and on the other, for the detriment and loss of the enemy”.\(^3\)

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

\(^{30}\) Ibid., p. 165.  
frozenness, henceforth let them, the strel'tsy, not expect any mercy at all from His Tsarian Majesty”. But thereafter to him, Mr. General, as formerly, they gave answer with much ignorance from hostile and rude words…”

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

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

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

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

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

34 Ibid., p. 124.
35 Ustrialov, op. cit., III, pp. 161, 165. In the 17th century all West Europeans were called in Russian nemtsy (literally, “mute ones”), which came to mean “Germans”, that nation being the most numerous in Muscovy.
36 Bogoslovsky, Piotr I, III, p. 43.
possible, to look them in the eyes. True, the strel’tsy have long known Gordon very well, and could not but pay him due respect: at Azov the regiments of Kolzakov and Chorny formed part of his division and were directly subjected to him. They often saw him on the march and in battle, the veterans could remember him at Chigirin and Perekop. Remarkably, at the forthcoming investigation, where the strel’tsy fully revealed their hatred for “Frantsko Lefort” and other “Germans”, they did not blame Gordon for anything. One source even claims that during negotiations the strel’tsy “bowed” to the Scot.37

However, in similar circumstances, when in 1682 Boyar A.S. Matveyev strove to pacify the riotous strel’tsy, his speech seemed to work, but in a moment the enraged mob butchered him, even though he was Russian Orthodox, one of their own, a former strel’tsy colonel. A single shot or a poleaxe slash would have sufficed. The general could have been killed, wounded or taken hostage – and then, would Shein, who stayed behind all the time, and other commanders have coped without him? Auchintoul observes with some justice: “It is certain, that if the rebels had killed General Gordon on this occasion (which they might have done without any difficulty), they would have carried their point, for there was none other who had the resolution to oppose them”.38 As it happened, the general failed to convince the mutineers by peaceful words, but he came out unharmed from this verbal and psychological duel, gaining the time to concentrate government forces. After this the rebels’ chances became minimal: they were outnumbered and outgunned as well as surrounded and pressed against the river.

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

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37 Dnevnye zapiski I.A. Zheliabuzhskogo, Russky arkhiv, 1910, Kn. III, p. 60.
We caused all the prisoners be driven into the monastery and put into several vaulted howses & other places” (fol. 199).

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

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

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

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

General Gordon lived in his large mansion in the Foreign Suburb, with spacious grounds and gardens. Always distinguished for his diligence and ability to keep house, in the last years of his life he embarked on a major construction programme with improvements to both his residence proper and outbuildings. This was required by his status and constant necessity to entertain numerous high-ranking guests with their suites, starting with the tsar and foreign envoys, as well as the growing numbers of his kin and servants. There were large orders and deliveries of stone, brick, timber, iron, lime, tiles etc. Accounts were settled with contractors, masons, carpenters, smiths and oven-makers. On 2 January 1697 the general “agreed with Nikita & Stephan to build me a stone-house according to the modell, & to give him for worke 120 rubles and 10 span of brandy” (fol. 92); the “model” was probably designed by himself. Later on 15 rubles were allotted to build a mill (fol. 100). In April 1698 the hall (Palata) was added to, and in June it was agreed for 5 rubles “to change the pends & bring the two in one” (fols. 188 v., 196 v.). He also ordered “to set-over the double bathstove and cut 2 roomes above it, cover and do all within the new stone addition, and make the trally with gates, all for 13 rubles & 2 span of brandy”. At the same time the orchard received from Prince
Cherkassky “20 aple-trees, 2 peare-trees, and befor 21, with rizerberry [Scots for currant] trees 100”, and “10 aple- & 10 peer trees were got from the diak” (fol. 189 v).

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

At this period Gordon’s annual salary amounted to 952 rubles (fols. 95 v., 174). After the conquest of Azov in 1696 more of the tsar’s favours followed: “a medall of 6 ducates, a covered gilted cup, a coat of cloth of gold lined with sables”; “received 90 rubles for a gilt cup of 6 pund & cloth of gold to a coat; received sables for 180 rubles to line the coat with” (fol. 91, 101). But the most important rewards were Gordon’s first Russian heritable lands (he already transferred his Scottish family estate of Auchleuchries to his eldest son John). Only the supreme commanders received lands for Azov; besides Gordon, the others were Shein, Lefort, A.M. and F.A. Golovins and N.M. Zotov. The Scot was granted 100 peasant households, and on 12 February 1697 he obtained a patent on the villages of Krasnaya in Riazan’ district (37 households) and Ivanovskoye in Solova district (25 households – fol. 96). But again the vain and jealous Lefort, as formerly with the First Selected regiment, stole a march on his old “cousin” and patron; the village of Krasnoye, which they both had a claim on, was given to the Swiss favourite (fol. 98 v). Instead, Gordon got Krasnaya Sloboda in Riazan’ district with 64 households; on 20 March “His Ma-ties Priviledge letter or Patent” for these lands was delivered (fol. 99, 100 v.). The deficient 11 households due to him are not indicated in the Diary; they could have been added in the last year of Gordon’s life. On 27 May 1707 (1699), upon his petition, another estate was assigned to him “in

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Ustrialov, op. cit., I, p. 396: “In the year 205 to General P.I. Gordon – in Riazan’ district the village of Krasnaya Sloboda (confiscated from Prince Golitsyn) – 63 households [should be 64], 113 cheti of tillage, 3,000 ricks of hay, revenue 128 rubles”.
Yefremov district, in the town of Bogoyavlenskoye, in the village of Gogol’, which later became known as Gordonovo.\footnote{Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA), Moscow, Fond 1209, opis’ 1, № 147. I am grateful to L.N. Turbina for this reference.}

The general instantly took to settling the affairs of his newly acquired possessions: he visited them in person, appointed managers, registered his peasants and their goods, distributed their duties, and even gave instructions as to crop rotation: “Ordered 62 3/4 tiagles and so many diais\[ati]nes of rey and as much of summer corne to be laboured for me, the third part more or so much to ly ley, and to be brought in with the other by turns” (fol. 206 v.). Soon waggon trains with rents and gifts were on their way to Moscow. The annual rent (obrok) from Krasnaya Sloboda amounted to “31 rubles in money, 15 bagges of rey meale, 15 bagges of buck-wheat groates, 11 bagges of hopes, 45 & a halfe spanes of brandy, 140 fishes, 25 pude of swines flesh, 10 pude of honey, 5 pude of butter, 25 pigges, 25 geese, 20 duckes, 57 hens, 22 1/3 tonnes of barley” (fols. 172 v.–173). In February 1698 the peasants of Ivanovskoye brought to their landlord “of table provisions: 40 geese, 29 duckes, 31 hens, 26 ½ spans of wyne, 1,040 egges, 250 handfulls of lint, 2 pude & 30 pund of butter; & of my cornes: 18 tunnes of oates, 18 4/1 [sic] tunnes of rey, 1 tunne 1/7 of wheate, 9 czetveriks of hempseed” (fol. 176 v.) etc.

All this was surely of great help for Gordon’s hugely expensive way of life both at court and at home, and his campaigns demanded a lot of supplies as well. Moreover, he strove to increase his possessions by various means: “Changed lands with Lt. Geresin in the Columinsky district in the Meszerskoy volost in the Dorp Bunkovy, Gavrilovsky also”, and then bought 5 chetvert’ of land in the same place for 5 rubles (fols. 184, 196). He lent money against a pledge: “A gentleman, Alfiem Velimbassuf sin Ochliabinin, borrowed 20 rubles to the 20 of May next, & layd in pawne of the Galitsky uijasd, Robdina stan, dorpi Kunitzina 5 pawres with all their goods”\footnote{Diary, V, p. 454.}; for nonpayment these serfs became the general’s property (fols. 173 v., 176, 180, 196). On another occasion he “bought a man and a wyfe with 3 sons from a gentleman Konrady Nikiforuf for 27 rubles” (fol. 101). He also took care to improve the skills of his servants: “Given the boy Filat to learne the shoomaker trade by the sutor Michael Minayuf for 8 months” (fol. 84 v.). In a word, Gordon tried to make the best use of every peaceful respite in order to perfect his household and estate.
On 9 August 1698 the general set out for his new country house with his wife, sons, daughters and grandchildren on “31 horses, 6 coaches & kolesses, 4 polubes & 5 slight waggons” and with a convoy of 25 soldiers and servants (fol. 205 v.). The cavalcade was so impressive that Charles Whitworth, the later British envoy to Russia who read the Diary, mistook it for a “march against the Turks”! The Gordon family was numerous indeed, but by this time most of its members lived apart, in houses of their own, and not all of them in the Foreign Suburb. The general’s second wife was the Roman Catholic Elizabeth Ronaer, daughter of a Netherlandish colonel of the tsar’s army; on 3 February 1698 they celebrated their silver jubilee (fol. 175 v.). Gordon’s eldest son by his first marriage to Catherine von Bockhoven, John (1667–1712), started as an ensign in the Russian army, but quitted military service, settled on the family estate of Auchleuchries and received a grant on it from his father. On 1 August 1698 he came from Scotland via Riga to Moscow with his wife Elizabeth Grant and two officers (fol. 205) staying in the Sloboda until May 1699. Patrick’s second son, James (1668–1722), in his father’s footsteps became a soldier, commanded the Tambov regiments as colonel and distinguished himself at Azov; he spent much time in Tambov and on campaigns, but often visited Moscow. The youngest of the general’s surviving sons, Theodore (1681–1733/4), was born in Kiev, graduated from the Jesuit College of Braunsberg (Braniewo) in Eastern Prussia, and also followed the military career; after the conquest of Azov he addressed a welcoming speech to the tsar, having “gratulated his M. safe returne & glorious atchievements”; on 5 August 1697 he was appointed ensign of Butyrsky regiment along with John Hamilton, who was also brought up in the Gordon family (fol. 77, 130 v.).

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

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

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

49 RGVIA, F. 495, opis’ 1, № 57, fol. 2.
50 Ibid., № 65, fols. 5–7.
The Scottish colony in Russia was far from confined to the Gordons. Apart from Robert Kinloch, Volume VI abounds with names like Menzies, Livingston, Hamilton, Crawford, Bruce, Scott, Gilbert, physician John Buck and others. As these people, mostly officers, moved along in space and career, an effective international system of recommendations was used. Thus, on 19 December 1698 Patrick Gordon “received a letter from Mr. John Drummond, recommending Capt. Georg Walker to me, dated Amsterdam 2 Aug. 1698” (fol. 218). The general was close both with new arrivals and long Russified Orthodox persons of Scots descent, such as Colonels A.V. Buist and I.I. Chambers (“at a feast by Coll. Chambers, where his M[ajesty]. Stayed long” – fol. 211 v.).

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

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

53 RGVIA, F. 495, opis’ 1, № 58.
54 Ibid., № 54.
letters… on purpose, because those letters are most necessary for military conduct”.

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

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

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

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55 RGADA, F. 150, opis’ 1, 1697, № 16, fol. 1 (File on Alexander Gilbert’s arrival, 20 May 1697).
Foreign Suburb included many eminent members: Imperial and Polish envoys with their retinues, Admirals Lima and de l’Oisière, tsar’s doctors Carbonari and Zoppot, noted military families of Ronaer, Menzies, Livingston, Strasburg et al., the rich merchants Guasconi and Lefort’s wife Elizabeth. But the Gordons were held in special esteem. A little later Rev. Francis Emilian affirmed: “After the Most August Emperor, this mission is hardly indebted to anyone more than to the Gordon family. Let alone what they have constantly done for the missionaries themselves, they presented to this mission a select and most useful library, and a rather numerous one at that; they have built the larger part of the stone temple, taking care of its decoration, and they are always ready to do even more, if they are able to.”

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

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

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

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

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60 Ustrialov, op. cit., III, pp. 495–6; Pis’ma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago, I, p. 780.
Patrick Gordon’s final moments are described in detail by his confessor, Rev. Francis Emilian: “The general told me: “Father, why do you pray for my health? It is all over, let us prepare for the journey”. Soon after, according to his desire, we began to say a parting prayer for his soul; as if by a given sign, he fell into agony, but then, rendering in a still steady voice his deepest gratitude to God for his dying unlike so many others, who had to die without a priest or holy sacrament in Tatar deserts, he asked us to read the psalm Miserere, briefly took leave of his wife, and blessed his sons and daughters… Raising his eyes to the image of the Most Blessed Virgin, which hung near the bed, [he] lost all senses at the very moment when the Most Serene Tsar entered the adjoining room… [The tsar] exclaimed to the dying one: “Piotr Ivanovich, do you not know me?” But he did not even take his eyes from the image of the Most Holy Mother, and gave no sign that he knew him. After two light convulsions he sweetly expired. Then the Most Serene Tsar, taking a mirror, looked if there was any sign of life, but found none and, glancing at me, said: “Father, I believe he is already dead”… Having closed the eyes of the deceased and kissed him, his own eyes filled with tears, [the tsar] went away”.63 In the eighth hour of the morning on 29 November 1699 General Patrick Gordon departed on his final journey – to eternity, and “the eyes of him who had left Scotland a poor unfriended wanderer were closed by the hands of an Emperor”64.

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

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63 Pis’ma i doneseniya iezuitov, pp. 46–7.
65 Theatri Europaei Continuati… (Franckfurt am Mayn, 1707), p. 637.
66 Tagebuch des Generals Patrick Gordon, I, S. lv–lvii. Alas, the primary source for this description is not given.
67 Pis’ma i doneseniya iezuitov, p. 48.
at the burial served either as an expression of grief, or as a salute”. After a Catholic requiem mass, Gordon’s body was laid to rest in the family vault built by himself near the church of the Holy Trinity. The simple white gravestone was only marked with a cross and the epitaph: “Sacrae Tzareae Majestatis / Militiae Generalis / Patricius Leopoldus / Gordon / Natus An[no] D[omi]ni / 1635 / Die 31 Martii / Denatus An[no] D[omi]ni / 1699 Die 29 Novembris / Requiescat in / Pace”. Accounts of the memorial repast have not yet been found, but it was certainly attended by the tsar and the highest dignitaries of state and diplomatic corps. A silver-gilt spoon with the name of the deceased general and dates of his life is preserved; such spoons were given to guests of honour at funeral ceremonies.

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

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

68 Korb, op. cit., p. 256.
69 The slab, rudely broken and split in two with a loss of a bottom fragment, now belongs to the State Historical Museum in Moscow and, regrettably, is not on display; I saw it in the basement of the Intercession Cathedral (St. Basil’s) in Red Square.
70 Museums of the Moscow Kremlin, Inv. № М3–2327 (Rossiya–Britaniya (Moscow, 2003), p. 97).
72 Ibid., p. 72.
The Last Campaigns

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

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

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

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

74 D. V. Tsvetayev, Istoriya sooruzheniya pervago kostiola v Moskve (Moscow, 1886), p. 126.
75 See D.Yu. Guzevich, Zakhoroneniya Leforta i Gordona (St.Petersburg, 2013). Some points in this work are rather disputable. In particular, I cannot accept as proven that it was Theodore Gordon’s remains that were transferred to Vvedenskoye cemetery, not those of his father. Besides, the author was even unaware of the survival of Patrick Gordon’s gravestone.
76 This was the expression used in 1805 by an English engineer, astonished by the numbers and influence of Scots in St.Petersburg. Under the same title in 1987 an exhibition
Diary of General Patrick Gordon

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

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

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77 V.O. Kliuevskiy, Russkaya istoriya, II (Moscow, 1997), p. 493.
79 Diary, V, p. 154.
edition is now accomplished. The Clan Gordon motto, *Bydand*, translates from Scots as *steadfast* or *abiding*, and, while our world lasts, the greatest son of his clan in Russia and his labours are destined to abide.

* * *

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

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

The text is placed on both sides of a folio and measures (when a page is completely filled) 18.5 x 12.5 cm. The margins are 1.5 cm wide on top, 2 cm on the left, 1.5–2 cm on the right, and 1–1.5 cm below. The hand leaves no doubt that this is Patrick Gordon's autograph. In some places the writing becomes very small, but still remains neat and legible. Words and fragments that present any difficulties are rare, and there are few corrections or blots. The length of one-time entries varies from 1 or 2 lines to 5 pages of continuous text; its density fluctuates from 5 (fol. 49 v.) to 38 (fol. 197 v.) lines per page. Entries for 19–20 June and 1–7 October 1696 are lacking, which implies losses in the original. In some places the author has left two or more blank pages (fols. 8–8 v., 22–22 v., 156 v.–157, 167–171 v.; in the last case, at the end of 1697).

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80 RGVIA, F. 846, opis' 15, № 6.
On margins and between the lines there are many marks made by readers and translators in the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly by Charles Whitworth, British ambassador to Russia in 1704–1712, who studied the Diary.81 Some of these additions are amusing, i.e. the above-mentioned blunder by Whitworth about a “march against the Turks” (fol. 205 v); on fol. 209 v. Gordon’s usual term for peasants (pawres) was literally rendered in Russian by some 18th-century hand – “pavry”.

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

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

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

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

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

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81 Whitworth’s hand was determined by Graeme Herd: “Peter the Great and the Conquest of Azov: 1695–96”, Peter the Great and the West. New Perspectives, p. 163.
G.F. Müller, Lord George Gordon Byron (member of the same clan on his mother’s side) and many others. In 1793 F.O. Tumansky, editor of the first Russian historical magazine, wrote: “The rarity of this Diary makes me hope that my compatriots shall have great pleasure see it printed in the Russian language, considering that it is not published in English, and hardly anyone has a copy of it. Many translated it either for an acquaintance, or for money, now into German, now into French; how much work then did it take to arrange everything in order, to conform and rewrite this Diary in Russian…” On 10 May 1831 the noted man of letters A.I. Turgenev, having acquired a copy of the Diary in London, broke news to the famous poet V.A. Zhukovsky: “This manuscript is surely a historical jewel, having to do with real affairs of state, as they were then understood, not just with the subjects of merely scholarly or antiquarian curiosity. It would have served Zhukovsky to compile a historical guide to this age…” The greatest of Russian poets, Alexander Pushkin, shortly before his untimely death discussed Gordon’s Diary with D.E. Koehler, who translated it at the Russian Emperor’s behest: “The Emperor [Nicholas I] told me of this manuscript as of a rarity, but I did not know it is so extensive… Carry on with it, you will do a great service.” “A treasure unappreciated, predominantly historical material, yielding to no act in trustworthiness, replete with a multitude of most interesting particulars!” – such was the opinion on Gordon’s legacy of the renowned Russian historian N.G. Ustrialov. In 1907 M.O. Bender, director of the Military Archive in Moscow and keeper of the Diary, quoting the high appraisals of this source by his predecessors, regretted that the latter “have barely seen the original”, and added: “Gordon has sent a 6-volume message poste restante to Russian society, but it turned out to be ciphered. We need a key, a golden key… If our society finds it, Russian historians who study the second half of the 17th century will be able to pay more attention to this precious monument”.

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

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82 Zapiski russkikh liudey, p. 97.
83 Russkaya starina, XXXI (1881), p. 199.
84 Diary of D.E. Koehler (RGVIA, F. 846, opis’16, № 1150, fols. 37, 40).
85 Ustrialov, op. cit., I, p. lxxxiv.
86 RGVIA, F. 800, opis’ 1, № 723, pp. 8–9.
Archive of Military History, the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts and the State Public Historical Library of Russia; to my colleagues and friends at the Institute of General History, Russian Academy of Sciences, and at the Moscow Caledonian Club, as also to my family. For expert advice on the commentary and publication at large I am much obliged to P.A. Avakov, O.A. Kurbatov, A.N. Lobin, O.Ya. Nozdrin, P.V. Sedov, M.A. Yusim and many other historians, all of whom it is impossible to name here. Special thanks go to Cairns Craig, Director of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen, for assuming the formidable task of publishing the Diary. Together we have finally managed to complete the first scholarly edition of this incomparable source both in the original and in Russian translation, more than three centuries after it was written.

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

The text of Patrick Gordon’s Diary is transcribed, collated, edited and reproduced in its entirety from the original autograph manuscript kept in the Russian State Archive of Military History, Moscow. Every care has been taken to preserve the author’s spelling as faithfully as possible, with just a few most evident slips emended and repeated words excluded. The original punctuation has been taken into account and modified, since Gordon hardly uses any question, exclamation or quotation marks. Paragraphs have been introduced where they seemed appropriate. The capitals, rather wayward in the original, have been standardized. Foreign words (not English or Scots) are given in italics, and omissions indicated by ellipses. Except for some obvious or uncertain cases, most abbreviations, contractions and initials have been extended in square brackets, which are also used for editorial additions and conjectures. The author’s own notes and significant corrections as well as variant readings of any substance are mentioned in the commentary.
In the seventeenth century the only title held by Russian noblemen was that of prince (kniaz’). In the medieval period the title implied some degree of sovereignty, but by Gordon’s time came to signify only greater honor. All Russian noblemen, titled and untitled, held a rank granted by the tsar. These were of two types, the higher being the Duma ranks, and the lower primarily honorific titles and many of the designations derived from court service. The Duma ranks implied the right and duty to sit in the Tsar’s council, the Duma, and were, from the highest down, boyar, okol’nichy, Duma (adjective: dumny) nobleman and, rarely, Duma dyak (secretary) and Duma general.

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

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

In the later seventeenth century the Duma ranks included some seventy men in the 1660s, rising to about a hundred by 1682, and 150 by the end of the decade. The lesser ranks numbered in the thousands, mostly provincial noblemen. All noblemen had landed estates, partly inherited and partly granted by the tsar, as well as grants in money and kind for their service in the army and administration or at the court.
Manuscript page from Patrick Gordon's Diary, Volume VI, fol. 58.
Jan-ry 1\(^2\), Wed.  God give us all a good new year!
Gave to the Dutch\(^1\) trumpet[ers] 3 ducates.

2. Rec-d a letter from my son in law Snivins\(^4\), dated Archangel 24 Dec-ris.
Writt to Lt.Coll. Pawlofsky by a vlosny pawre\(^5\), desiring and ordering my
things to be sent to Mosko with all expedition, as also such things belonging
to the regiment\(^6\) as I found necessary.

Given of 2 chests with cartouses\(^7\) to Andrew Valentin. Davits, w-ch belonged
to James Bruce\(^8\), wherein should have been 623, but were no more as 383.
Received hereupon from the said Davits 90 rubles, which delivered to Mr.
Woolffe\(^9\).

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

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

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

\(^3\) By Dutch Gordon usually means German (Deutsch).

\(^4\) Major (later colonel) Carl Snivins was the husband of General Gordon’s second daugh-
ter, Mary, and commanded a strelcty regiment in Archangel.

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

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

\(^7\) Powder bags.

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

\(^9\) Philip Wolfe, English merchant in Russia from the 1680s.

\(^10\) This folio is damaged, and two or three words are lost. Probably Gordon refers to the
Dutch galley brought to Moscow as a model for Russian vessels which were built for
the second Azov campaign.
4. In town by most of the noblemen with whom I am concerned. The reg-t mustered in Butirky.
7. Lent to Capt. Albert Pile upon his bond in all 30 rubles. *This thereafter payed.*
8. [Jan-ry 7.] In towne, 1,000 sojours of my Tambovish sojournals ordered to go suddenly to service to the New Sergeyuf.

Rode after to his Majesty and spoke to him about diverse things.
9. Writt to my son in law Snivins. At the wedding of Capt. Albert Pile.
10. In towne, mustered the Stremeny reg-t with their boyar.
11. Mustered Zukow & Titow their reg-ts. Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated Archangell 29 Dec-ris.

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11 The blessing of the waters for the Orthodox feast of the Theophany (Baptism of Christ).
12 Doctor Gregor Carbonarius de Wisenegg, properly Voglar (1651–1717), native of Slovenia, was sent by the Emperor from Vienna in 1689 on request of the Tsars. In 1700 he was captured by the Swedes after the battle of Narva, came back to Russia in 1704, and finally returned home in 1714.
13 James Bane (Bain), obviously a Scot, colonel of a Russian soldier regiment. In the first Azov campaign he belonged to Gordon’s division and was wounded.
14 This phrase was written in later.
15 The top left corner of this folio is damaged, and some words are conjectural. Novosergevsk was the Russian name of a fort near Azov seized from the Turks in 1695. In the Diary Russian endings “ov” or “ev” are often rendered as “uf”, a sign of the fact that the first Slavic language learnt by the author was Polish.
16 Tsar Peter I (later called the Great) (1672–1725), who ruled from 1682 and after the coup of 1689 gradually assumed full autocratic power.
17 I.e. in the Tsars’ palace in the Kremlin.
18 Kni az is Russian for prince. Prince I.B. Troyekurov (1633–1703), voyevoda, from 1677 boyar, head of several Offices, including, from 1689, that of the Streltsy. Brother-in-law to Tsar Peter (his wife was Anastasia Fiodorovna Lopukhina).
19 Stremenny polk, the Tsars’ personal guard whose name comes from stremia, stirrup, because they escorted the Tsar while on horseback. Commanded by Colonels S.G. Sergeyev and I.M. Konishchev, during the Azov campaigns it was subjected to Gordon and formed part of his division. The boyar is Prince I.B. Troyekurov.
Jan-ry 12, Sun. Capt. Alex-r Gordon came and brought letters for me from Pater Dumbar, [dated] at Gordon Castle [...] June, & from the G[overnour] & Chancellour of Novog[rod].

Was afternoone by his M[ajesty].


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

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

Was in towne, mustered the last of the streltsey. Was afterwards by Al[exey] Sim. Shein. Dined by Lew Kirilovitz. Was afterwards by diverse.

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

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

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

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

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

24 Strel’tsy were Russian infantrymen of the 16th and 17th centuries, armed with long guns, poleaxes and swords. They were divided into regiments (prikazy) of several “hundreds” each.

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

26 L.K. Naryshkin (1664–1705), brother of the late Tsaritsa Natalya Kirillovna, Tsar Peter’s uncle and chamber stol’nik and from 1688 boyar. Virtual head of government at the start of Peter’s personal reign.
16. At devotion. Sent in the rolls of all ammunition & necessaryes for the 5 Selected regiments, for 4 Russkyes, and of the officers for these & the rest. The wedding of the chirurgeon Philemon.

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

In Preobrasinsko.

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

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

18. In towne by Alexey Simonovits Shein.

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


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

Writt to my son John, my brother John, unkle, Laird of Crichy, cousin

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27 In fact, Gordon's regiment had a 5-regiment structure then: the Butyrsky proper and four Tambov regiments under his son James, Alimpy Yurenev, James Bane and Thomas Junger.
28 I.e. Russian military units, not “regiments of foreign order” modelled on West European armies.
29 Preobrazhenskoye, Tsar Peter's favourite residence north-east of Moscow, which Gordon frequented.
30 Entry crossed out in MS. Alexey Vasilyev Buist, stol'nik and colonel, Orthodox convert of Scots descent. According to P. О. Bobrovsky, he commanded the Butyrsky regiment from 1685 to early 1687, when Gordon succeeded him. After the capture of Azov in 1696 Buist served in its garrison.
31 T. N. Streshnev (1644–1719), former tutor of Tsarevich Peter, from 1686 boyar, head of the Great Palace, Razriad and Stable Offices. During the Russian Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8 he was one of those in charge of the Muscovite government.
32 General Gordon's eldest son John (1667–1712), born in Russia, was made ensign by Tsar Fiodor, then sent by his father to study in the West, and finally settled on the family estate of Auchleuchries in Aberdeenshire, which the general handed over to him in 1692.
33 John Gordon of Westertown (ca.1637–after 1698), the only surviving brother of the Russian general. Patrick's paternal uncle was James Gordon, his trustee in Scottish affairs.
34 William Grant of Crichie, Roman Catholic Scots laird whose eldest daughter Elizabeth was married to Patrick Gordon's son and heir John.
William\textsuperscript{35}, and to Mr. Meverell\textsuperscript{36}; all the other in his by Mr. Kintzius\textsuperscript{37}.

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

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

\{4v\} Jan-ry 22, Wed. Sent of Dominico \\ & Spakofskyes\textsuperscript{38} money by Capt. Gregory Evertson in a leathern purse 22 rubles, in a bigg linnen bagge 34 \frac{1}{2} \ rubles, in a longish bagg 9 rubles 22 altins 2 denges\textsuperscript{39} and 10 reichs dollers, being Church money, and 10 rubles of my owne, all to Mr. Guasconi\textsuperscript{40}; being in all 81 rubles 22 alt. 2 d., but after telling-over found but 76.

23. Rode to Butirky and mustered the new written in sojours, who by proclamation of freedoome had gone from their masters and found.\textsuperscript{41}

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


Wrott to Mr. Frazer, Mr. Gray, Mr. Forbes\textsuperscript{42}, Pater Schmidt\textsuperscript{43}, the late

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

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

\textsuperscript{37} Abraham Kintzius, Netherlandish merchant mentioned in Russia from 1687.

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

\textsuperscript{39} Altyn, old Russian unit equal to 3 kopeks. Deng, half a kopek.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{43} The Jesuit Johann Schmidt, native of Prussia, came to Russia with the Imperial embassy in 1684, remained in Moscow for Roman Catholic worship and headed the first Catholic school there. He left Moscow in August 1688 and became rector of the Jesuit Colleges in Reszel (Rößell) and Braniewo (Braunsberg).
Envoy Kurtz\textsuperscript{44}, and Mr. Ro. Maister & Gab. Dowcker\textsuperscript{45}, and sent to Mr. Forbes 30 ducates for money he disbursed for my son Theodorus\textsuperscript{46}. These and my letters of the 21 sent by Mr. Kintzius.

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

\{5v\} Jan-ry 26, Sun. At the wedding of the Lt. Gregory Ostrofsky with […] Czervinska, where scruples were scarcely overcome, which had been made upon the acco-t of the bridegrome his haveing in sickness made a promise of turning monke.

27. In towne & the Butirky mustering the new listed sojours. At the wedding againe in the evening.

Received letters from his Grace the Archbishop of Glasgow\textsuperscript{47}, dated Hamburgh 27 July \textit{st.v.} '95; from Mr. Ro-t Jolly, dated Hamburgh the 1\textsuperscript{st} of August; from Mr. John Buck, phisician, dated Dantzick\textsuperscript{48} 20 Jan-ry, with a copy of the Lord Achintowles\textsuperscript{49} letter to me in his recommendation.

\{6\} Jan-ry 28, Tues. At the wedding of Lt.Coll. Scott\textsuperscript{50} with Colonell Farensbachs daughter.

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

\textsuperscript{45} Robert Maister and Gabriel Dowker, merchants in Narva and Gordon’s trustees.

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{50} Son of George Scott (in Russian, Yury Andreyevich Shkot), colonel of obvious descent, who served with Gordon in Sevsk. He was the progenitor of the Russian noble family of Shkot.
29. In Preobrasinsko.
In the morning about 10 aclock his Ma-tie Tzaar Johan Alexeyovits deceas-
ess suddenly, being old.51

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

{6v} Jan-ry 29, Wed.
May it please your Grace.

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

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

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

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

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

To his Grace the Archb-p of Glasgow.

{7} Jan-ry 30. His Ma-tie interred a little after midday, yet was carried out
to the church about 9 aclock.

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

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

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

53 Apparently, Charles Goodfellow († 1728), merchant who arrived in Russia by 1697 and
became British Consul there in 1699–1712.
31. Writt to Mr. John Buck in ans-r to his of the 20th Jan-ry st. n. from Dantzick; to Mr. Forbess, informeing him of my haveing remitted 50 ducates [to Mr. Buck crossed out]; to Mr. Fraser, desireing him to remitt 50 ducates to Mr. Forbes, and to advance to Mr. Buck whence to the value or summe of 50 ducates more; hereby a bill of credit from Mr. Munter to him.

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

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

Writt to my son in law Maior Snivins.

2. At Church.

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

In the evening many ffriends by me.

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

54 Heinrich Münter, wealthy merchant from Riga, Swedish subject who traded in Russia since the 1660s; an old acquaintance of Gordon’s.
55 Gordon’s eldest daughter, Catherine Elizabeth (1665–1739), widow of Colonel Rudolf (Rodion) Strasburg.
56 I.I. Chaadayev († 1696), from 1663 Duma nobleman, from 1676 okol’nichy, voyevoda in Kiev, Pereyaslav, Archangel and Yarensk, head of Zemsky and Siberian Offices. Okol’nichy was a Russian court rank between boyar and stol’nik.
57 There follow 2 blank pages in MS (fols. 8 and 8v).
58 Carl David Riegemann, major general in Russia from 1692. In the second Azov campaign he was in charge of a division.
59 Braniewo (Polish). In 1651–53 Patrick Gordon studied at the Jesuit College there (Collegium Hosianum), founded by Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius in 1565 and regarded as one of the best educational institutions of Poland-Lithuania. In 1692–95 Gordon’s son Theodore also studied there.
60 A floren, or złoty polski, was equal to 30 silver groszy.
3. At home. In the afternoon many strangers by me.

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

In the evening by the Englishes.

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

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

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

Lent to Simon Ivanuf sin Pankratius 62 432 rubles upon his note or bond.

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

I at Preobrasinsko by his M.

Col. Yonger 63 went from hence to Tambow.

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

9. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort 65, where his M. & most of the boyars.

Newes of the Tartars being retartyed.

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

Payed for binding of 2 bookes 23 kopikes.

Dined by Mr. Guascconi.

11. In towne by Al. Sim. Sheyn and in the Pagana Prudt 68, where wee consulted with the enginiers & fireworkers.

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

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61 Cf. entry for 23 January above.
62 Syn (Russian), son. Possibly, son of gost’ (privileged merchant) Ivan Pankratiev, who took part in raising money to build ships at Voronezh in winter of 1696/97.
63 Colonel Thomas (son of Balthasar) Junger, apparently, of German origin. In Azov campaigns he commanded a regiment of Tambov soldiers in Gordon’s division.
64 Arshin, old Russian unit of length, which varied until standardised by Tsar Peter the Great in early 18th century to equal 28 English inches (71.1 cm).
65 François (Franz) Lefort (1656–1699), Swiss officer from Geneva, famous as a favourite of Tsar Peter. He began his Russian employ in 1678/79 as captain in Kiev under the command and patronage of Patrick Gordon whose first wife, Catherine von Bockhoven, was a cousin of Lefort’s wife, Elizabeth Souhay.
66 A kind of obsolete printed cotton fabric.
67 Same as kumach, i.e. calico, usually red.
68 Pogany (literally “foul”) prud, a pond in central Moscow, renamed Chisty (“clean”) in 1703.
69 Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa (1639–1709), Hetman of Ukraine from 1687. During the Great Northern War he changed sides and joined the Swedes, fled to Turkish dominions.
{10v} Feb-ry 12, Wed. At home. Caused pay to be given out to the new written in sojours, a ruble a man.

13. At home, mustered the nitschike. Changed the writing of Simon Nikitits Boborokin, receiving 16 rubles, and he giving a note for 112 rubles, with the former pawne.

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

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

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

The Boyar Alexey Simon. Shein by me.

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

My pillars & other things came from Tambow.

15.

16. At devotion, had the patres and other friends with me at dinner.

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

{11v} Feb-ry 18, Wed. At a feast by G-ll Le Fort, where the Regimen de Marine marched by.

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

70 Netchiki (Old Russian), deserters.


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

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

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

75 This regiment, formed before the second Azov campaign to man the galley fleet, is
I invited & cause invite many boyars to dinner. Writt to my son in law Snivins. The officers according to my roll preferred.  
19. His M. with many others at dinner by me, stayed late & were merry.  
20. At a feast by Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] upon the acco-t of his name-day, where his M. with many more, stayed late. Writt to Coll. Georg Skott by his son.  
21. Writt to Yeffim Czornoy, chan[cellar] in Novogrod.76 Received 472 rubles for my halfe-yeares pay and cornes. Remaining of money from the last expedition, and given:  

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<td>To Ivan Baybakuf</td>
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<td>and by Nikita Solochin77</td>
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<td>In all</td>
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{12} Feb-ry 22, Sat. Writt to the Cosakish Hetman by his ser-t Wisoczky.  
23. At devotion. His M. went from hence.78 Received letters from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 13 February; from my [nephew cr.o.] John, dated Narva 6 Feb-ry.  
24. Received a letter from Mad[am] Mary Magdalena Menezes79, a nunne in Diepe, dated there the 22 Oct-ris 1695.

regarded as Russia's first unit of marines.  
76 Ye.A. Chornoy († after 1701), from 1687 дьяк, from 1694 served in Novgorod and in 1697–9 in Azov.  
77 Regimental clerk of Gordon's Būtrysky regiment  
78 Tsar Peter left for Voronezh to complete preparations for the Azov campaign.  
79 Evidently, a relation (sister?) of the late Major General Paul Menzies (1637–1694). Like Gordon, he sprang from an old Roman Catholic family in North-Eastern Scotland, Menzies of Pitfodels, and was distantly related to the Diary's author (his mother was Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Sutherland). Menzies studied at the Catholic Scots College of Douai in Flanders, then joined the Polish army. In 1661 he moved to Russia with Gordon, whose close friend he remained. In 1672 Major Menzies was sent by the Tsar to Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, Venice and Rome to negotiate an alliance against the Turks, was promoted to colonel and possibly became the first foreign tutor to young Tsarevich Peter. With his regiment Menzies fought in the Chigirin and Crimean campaigns, and died in Moscow, honoured by Tsar Peter with a remarkably grand burial.
Caused buy 55 *ars.b.* of white mitkal at 4 *alt.* 4 *deng.* p[e]r *ars.b.*, 62 *ars.b.* of *kumake* halfe red halfe violet at 35 *alt.* the piece for 20 collours to the 2 Nisovy\(^80\) regiments.

\{12v\} Feb-ry 25, Tues. At devotion.
Writt to my son in law Snivins.
Bought 45 load of hay at 32, 33 & 35 kop. a load.
26. Writt to Coll. Leviston with his M. order for him to march to Voronies\(^81\).

27. In towne & Butirky.
Received a letter from my son in law Snivins, dated 18 Feb. at Archangell, giving notice of his going from thence the 19\(^{th}\).
Sent away 10 loads with provisions, as 11 bigg & small rundlets of beer.
Received from the *Dvorets* or his Ma-ties *Hof*\(^82\) a hogshead of white wyne, a *aam*\(^83\) of Spanish, halfe a *pud*\(^84\) of sugar and a good quantity of all sorts of spices.

\{13\} Feb-ry 28, Frid. Writt to Mr. W-m Kettlewell\(^85\), merch-t in Narva, and to my [nephew *c.r.o.*] there, ordering him to come as soone as possible to Novogrod & Mosko, desireing Mr. Kettlewell to assist him with cloaths & money; to Lt.Coll. Palmer in Novogrodt to assist him also.
Payed to Alexey Zotuf the fishmonger 23 rubles, and for 4 ½ brewings of malt with hopes 18 rubles.
Payed for 14 bookes in folio great & small 10 rubles.
Received 300 rubles *podyom*\(^86\) or for my equipage.
29. Payed for 25 bookes of different syzes & subjects 3 ½ rubles.

\{13v\} March 1, Sunday. At devotion, received the Blessed Sacrament.
2. *In towne, received 300 rubles for my mounting.*\(^87\)
Returned an ans-r to Madam Menezes in Diepe in ans-r to hers dated there the 22 *Octobris* bypass by Gen-ll Le Forts conveyance.

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

\(^81\) Voronezh.

\(^82\) *Dvorets* (Russian), *Hof* (German), palace or court.

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

\(^84\) *Pud*, pood, old Russian unit of mass equal to 16.38 kilos.

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

\(^86\) *Podyom* (Old Russian), allowance for official travel or military campaign.

\(^87\) Entry crossed out in MS.
3. My son James went from hence. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 20 Feb., with a stone with my coat of arms on it, for which I am to give 3 reichs dollers.


{14} March 5. In town, took leave of most of the boyars, and in the Pagana Prudt of the strangers.

In the evening 572 podwodes brought.

6. In town, took leave of these others with whom I am concerned.

7. At devotion. Afternoon & in the evening many friends by me. Payed to Ivan Lukianuf sin Golosuf 55 ruble[s] for 56 great books.

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

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

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

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

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

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

90 Podwody (Russian), wagons.

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

92 Versta, old Russian unit of length, in the reign of Peter the Great equal to 500 sazhen (1.06 km).
11. Marched and crossed the river Occa by Kashira\(^33\), 30 \textit{verst}, and lodged there.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter & nephew:

\{15\} March 12, Thur. Writt to Knia\v{z} Boris Alex. Golitzin\(^34\), to Mr. Forbes & Mr. Ro-t Gordon in Dantzick, and to Mr. Vinius\(^35\).

Marched and unadvisedly to the left hand, to the Orechofsky gate in the \textit{sashek}\(^36\), 20 \textit{verst}, and lodged 5 \textit{verst} further in the village Petrova belonging to the Pustshins, the \textit{r[iver]} Mordwa\(^37\).

My waggon\(s\) & baggage haveing gone to the right hand, to the A\l\i\o\n\(t\)ofsky gate, wee had but bad accommodation.

13. I by advise marched to the village Tolstoy, 5 \textit{verst}, thinking to gett over by a bridge, but it being broke of by the violence of the ice & river, I resolved to cause make floats & gave orders for materialls, but being advertised that to Winieva\(^38\) wee must cross another river called Polosa\(^39\), broader as this Osio\(t\)or, where neither bridge, floote, boate nor foord, and hearing that higher up at Roguto\(v\)a there had been floats made, I resolved to march thither, being 4 \textit{verst}.

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

This river Osio\(t\)or cometh from the west not farr from Winiew, and receiving the \textit{r[iver]}s Winiew & Polose with diverse small rivers & brookes, falleth in the river Occa some \textit{verst}s above Columna\(^40\).

\(^{33}\) Kashira.

\(^{34}\) Prince B.A. Golitsyn (1654–1714), Tsars’ carver (kravch\(y\)), from 1689 boyar, head of Kazan’ Palace Of\(f\)ice. Former tutor to young Tsar Peter and leader of his party in the struggle with Regent Sophia. During the Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–8 he was one of the chief members of Russian government.

\(^{35}\) Andrey Vinius (1641–1717), dumny dyak, son of a Dutchman. He served in the Embassy Of\(f\)ice, and later headed the Siberian and Artillery Of\(f\)ices, contributing to the development of mining and metal production in Russia, and translating Western military and technological treatises.

\(^{36}\) \textit{Zas\(k\)i or zasch\(n\)ye ob\(r\)ty}, defensive structures along Russia’s southern borders built to ward off Tartars and other invaders. They consisted of felled trees, ramparts, moats and natural obstacles connected by a chain of forts.

\(^{37}\) Mordva’.

\(^{38}\) Veniov.

\(^{39}\) Polosnia.

\(^{40}\) Kolomna.
Being come to Rogutova wee caused swimme our horses, and ferryed over in small boates; and holding the right-hand way wee came to Vinieuva about 2 aclock in the afternoone, and about 2 howres thereafter our waggon came, who had gone the direcetest and best way. Winiewa is 40 verst from Cashier, and the river by this towne falleth in the Osioiter 5 verst below the towne.

March 14. About 8 aclock in the morning I marched and crossed the r. Viniofka about 3 verst of at a village called Beresova, and travelled 15 verst to the vill. Chaltobino, where rested a little. Then 10 verst further wee went to the right hand, and crossing the little r. Pronia wee lodged in a village belonging to the Stolniki101 Ivan Fomits Bibikuf, 10 r.[2]102 This evening after a bitter frost a most vehement storme of snow & haile with a violent wind from the north did come and oppresse all, so that it was impossible to stirr out of doores all the next day and put our waggons upon sledges.

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

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

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

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

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101 Stolniki was a Russian court rank, originally an attendant at the Tsar's table.
102 After the name there is a short illegible addition, apparently indicating the distance in verst.
103 Liutorich.
104 Writer is Gordon's usual term for poduchny, middle-ranking civil official in old Russia.
105 Viazovnia, or Viazovka, falls into the Don.
106 Possibly Snezhnaya.
Then 7 verst further through the vil. Chrustshowa and 12 verst further lodged in the vil. Rokitna 3 verst short of Lebedan.

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

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

20. Came to the vil. Prusinkin, 10 verst, and 6 verst further dined in the vil. Studinets, crossing a rjivulejt of the same name. Wee crossed throw the woods to the vil. Czernoe, 5 verst, and 10 verst further lodged in the great village Rsvavets belonging to the Dutchess Voratinska\textsuperscript{107}. Here are about 1,000 howses.

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

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

23. Marched early and about 10 aclock came to the towne Voronies, 20 verst, and haveing taken up my quarters went to his M., who was busy about his gallyes; and being invited dined with his M. by Fiodor Fiodorovitz Plesheyow\textsuperscript{108}.

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

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

Was with his Ma-tie viewing the gallyes.

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

25. Writt to my wyfe and both my daughters, Katherine & Mary\textsuperscript{109}.

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

27. Writt to my wyfe, son Theodor & Mr. Vinius.

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

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

\textsuperscript{109} Gordon’s second daughter Mary (1673–after 1698), wife of Colonel Carl Snivins.
Sent for 5 load of hay & 5 tunne of oates, w-ch the Bishop ordered to give me.

Received from the ColonelPerfil'y Nikitits Tutshuf a roll of the ammunition, which had been brought to this place and the town Kostansk this winter for our present expedition, as followeth.

{18} March.
2,992 tunnes of powder weighing 17,951 pud[e], whereof 5,396 pud[e] of musquet powder; 6,005 pud[e] of fine powder whereof 2 tunnes wet, and of the same 151 tunnes made with brandy; 7,976 pud[e] of cannon powder.
162 pud[e] of tinne.
2,120 pud[e] of wool & haire.
2,000 pud[e] of hempe.
500 pud[e] of lunt.
3,080 trubka to hand-granadoes.
13,993 trubes or roren to great bombes of different syzes.
50 pud[e] of lint.
20 pieces of cannon of several different syzes for the shipps or rather gallyes.

Bullets to these

240 of 3 1/4 pund, 960 of 5 pund, 600 of 4 pund, 2,280 of 3 pund, 9,600 of 2 pund.

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

34 pieces of cannon, each weighing 43 pud[e], long 3 arshins, wanting a 4-t of 6 pund ball, to these 7,680 bullets.
17 cannon weighing each 25 pud[e], long 3 ar., with the breech or touch hole, to the which 5,100 bullets of 2 pund.

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110 Mitrofan (1623–1703), Bishop of Voronezh from 1682. He was canonised by the Russian Orthodox Church in 1832.
111 Tiutchev.
112 Trubka (Russian), fuse.
113 Rohr (German), tube or barrel.
114 Thus in MS, but one would expect 9- or 8-, because both here and below the author lists calibres in decreasing order.
115 Galleasses were larger and more heavily armed vessels than regular (“light”) galleys. They usually had three masts and up to 32 oars, each worked by up to 5 men.
Bombes of different syzes

98 of 8\[or\] 9\[pud\]e, 29 of 6\[pude\], 7,801 of 3\[pude\].

{18v} March 27, Frid.
836 bombes of 2 ½\[pud\]e, 6,059 of 2\[pude\], 889 of 1 ½\[pude\], 2,028 of 1\[pude\], 2,803 of halfe a\[pude\], 1,098 longish.

Hand granadoes

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

Cannon bullets

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

119\[pud\]e of iron\[drob\]\[16\] or cutt-haile.
455\[pud\]e \& 12 pund of saliter\[17\].
100\[pud\]e of brimston.
15,480 arshins of linnen.
2\[pude\]e of cotton.
20 rime of writing-paper.
20 rime of gray paper.
150 arshins of krasinin\[18\] or coloured linnen.
15 pund of theed.
10 pund of campher.
25\[pude\]e of terpentine. 3\[pude\]e of waxe.
9 tunnes of lint-seed oyle.
220 span of duget\[19\] or waggon-smear.
30\[pude\]e of swines fatt.
8\[pude\]e 30 pund of red-copper for shuffles.
20 copper flatt pans.
10 copper kettles.

\[16\]Drob\[‘\](Russian), small shot or grasapeshot.
\[17\]Salpetre.
\[18\]Krashenina (Russian). Term explained here by Gordon himself.
\[19\]Zhban\[ev\] diogtia (Russian), can[s] of tar.
25 copper formes or calmes\textsuperscript{120} to cast bullets in.

\{19\} March 27.

15 \textit{pude} of steele.

400 white iron \textit{blaiches}\textsuperscript{121} or plates.

20 \textit{blaich} funnels.

30 \textit{blaich} cases for lunt.

330 \textit{pude} of iron.

3,391 iron shuffles.

483 \textit{kirkie}\textsuperscript{122}, 187 mattocks.

10 bores for mining. 10 \textit{szypes}\textsuperscript{123}.

100 great needles.

20 \textit{naboiniki}\textsuperscript{124}. 10 \textit{koczetuges}\textsuperscript{125}.

10 iron ladles. 4 great sheeres.

20 knives. 20 great bodkins.

10 halfe \textit{skurnoy}\textsuperscript{126} sawes.

10 paire of \textit{kuskies}\textsuperscript{127}. 5 \textit{ostrozubes}\textsuperscript{128}.

2 paire of bellowes. 5 steddyes.

2 grindstones. 6 hammers of different syzes.

6 tunnes of white-pitch or rozin, weighing 44 \textit{pude} 15 pund.

5 tunnes of red rozen, weighing 53 \textit{pude}.

5 \textit{slude}\textsuperscript{129} lanthornes.

500 quilts or \textit{voyloks}\textsuperscript{130} of cowes or neats haire.

520 great matt bagges.

12,970 litle matt bagges.

20 troughs. 5 sieves. 2,000 tallow candles.

11 covered waggon with lockes.

92 cables of different syzes.

\{19v\} March 27, Frid.

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\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Calm} (Scots), bullet-moulds.

\textsuperscript{121} \textit{Blaich} (German).

\textsuperscript{122} \textit{Kirk} (Russian), picks.

\textsuperscript{123} \textit{Szyp} (Russian), probes or feelers.

\textsuperscript{124} \textit{Naboiniki} (Russian), tampers.

\textsuperscript{125} \textit{Koczetu} (Old Russian), awls or puncheons.

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Skurny} (Old Russian), leathern or belonging to leather.

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Koski} (Old Russian), here, apparently, small anchors or pole hooks.

\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Ostrozuby} (Old Russian), literally “sharp teeth”, i.e. some cutting or piercing tools.

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Sluda} (Russian), mica.

\textsuperscript{130} \textit{Voylok} (Russian), felt.
25 peitches\(^{131}\), 1,500 fath[oms] of hempen ropes. 
22 pude of small hempen ropes or cordes. 
4,120 basten ropes. 
6,000 double-matts. 1,396 single-mattes. 
60 oaken thick boords for l’affûts\(^{132}\). 
600 pude of kettle and other copper, being 240 kettles, 1,061 plattes of different syzes. 
4 copper pulishes & to these 4 copper wheeles whereof 2 bigge. 
One tunne of oyle-d’olives. 
3 tunnes of calaphony. 

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

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

{20} March 28, Sat. 
29. The Butirsky Regiment & that of Michael Kriftsow came. 
The post came & brought me letters from Mr. Pat. Forbes in Dantzick, dated 16 Martii, from Mr. W-m Gray in Konigsberg, dated 14 March, giving me notice that he had payed to Mr. Frazer on my account 177 florens; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 12 Martii, acquainting me of the reseat of 46 r[eichs] d[ollers] and 15 gr[osses] from Mr. Gray, and that 100 r.d. had been payed to Doctor Buck in Dantzick, and he is to give him as much there, all upon my account, the said Mr. Buck being arrived there and to hasten forward; from Mr. Vinius, dated Mosco 23 Martii. 

{20v} March 30, Moond. Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinius; to my son John; Mr. Joseph Woolffe in London & Mr. Philip in Mosco about the remitting of 4 [...] to Scotland. 
31. This day I ended the 61th [sic] yeare of my troublesome lyfe. Blessed be the Great God who hath given me so long a time of repentance! 
Writt to the Dumny Achtemon Ivanuf\(^{133}\) about 6 mineing-bores with scruews and the 20 anchors I had put in my roll at Mosko. 

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\(^{131}\) Peitschen (German), whips or lashes. 
\(^{132}\) L’affûts (French), gun carriages. 
\(^{133}\) А.И. Ivanov († 1709), from 1688 dumny dyak, in 1693/94–1696/97 head of the Foreigners’ Office (Inozemsky Prikaz).
{21} April 1. Caused writt the following list of ammunition for my reg-ts of sojours & streltsees:

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

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

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

{21v} April.  

A list of struges\textsuperscript{137} for w-ch I have occasion:

\textsuperscript{134} Calms (Scots), bullet-moulds.  
\textsuperscript{135} Blätter (German), plates.  
\textsuperscript{136} Schleifstein (German), grindstone.  
\textsuperscript{137} Strugi (Russian), large river-boats propelled by sails and oars.
18 for the Sojour reg-t with as many boates.
48 with their boates for the 4 strelsee reg-ts, whereof 5 with
shardakes138 for ye col[one]ls.
2 with 2 boates & a yesaulny for the Generall.139
1 with a boat for the two chancellours140.
For 8 writers with the money treasure one struge with its boat.
For the Generals adjutant, quartermaster & maior of the ammunition 1
struge, 1 yesaulny & a boate.
For 16 stolniks adjutants 3 struges, one yesaulny and 3 boates.
For the ammunition 2 struges with boates.
For the 2 Low Countrey reg-ts 33 struges, 2 yesaulnyes & 33 boates.
For the surgeons with their medicaments.
For the fireworkers to worke in.
For the smiths with the coales.
In all 112 struges, 10 yesaulny & 112 boates.141

{23} April 1, Wed. I rode early to have mett the Generalissimus142, but he
was come to his lodgings in the night, whither I went and visited him, and
spoke about diverse businesses.
2. This day 3 gallyes were launched out on the river, and were with some
ceremonies called by the names of Principium143, St. Marke & St. Mathew.
Writt to my wyfe per post.
3. Caused receive 37 floats of 15 or 17 trees in each, and 13 not received.
Col. Leviston with his son came from Kyow144.
Doctor Carbonary came and brought letters for me, dated 16 Martii from
my wyfe, son, daughter & son in law, as also some other things along w[h]ich
were forgott.
The Capt. Ivan Katzayuf came and brought a letter from my son James.
{23v} Aprill 4, Sat. Was by the Boyar and afternoone by his M.
The Coll. Michael Protopopuf came with his reg-t.
5. In the fields visisteing the great boates.

138 Cherdaki (Old Russian), ship cabins.
139 The General is Gordon himself. Yesaulny here and below stands for yertoulny vessels, i.e.
sailing in the van.
140 I.e. dyaki.
141 There follow 2 blank pages in MS (22 and 22v).
142 Boyar A.S. Shein.
143 The Tsar’s galley whose captain was Peter himself.
144 Kyiv (Ukrainian), Kiev (Russian). Gordon spells it the Polish way.
2 Tartars ran away out of Mich. Protopopufs reg-t.


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


7. Writt to my wyfe, daughter Kate, son, son in law, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krebet147 and to the Russe lords I correspond with, as to Lew Kir. [Naryshkin], Kniaź Boris Al. [Golitsyn], Tichon Nikit. [Streshnev], Kniaź Peter Ivan. Prosorofsky148, Kniaź Ivan Boris. Troyk[urov], Yemel. Ukra[intzev] & Achte-mon Ivanuf.

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

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

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

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

I payed to Gregory Tituf his ser[van]t Elias Semenuf for 15 measures of oates, at 14 kop. p[er] measure, 2 rubles & one grivn149.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

149 Grivna, old Russian monetary unit of 10 kopeks.
Wee began our devotion of the Resurrection about 7 aclock at night.

{24v} Aprill 12, Sund. About midnight the Russes had their devotion of the Resurrection.

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

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

14. Writt to my wyfe, daughte[r]s, son & son in law and Mr. Vinius, and to the noblemen I correspond with.

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

I dined with his M. & others by Peter Matfeovitz Opraxin. Rode in the afternoone downe by the river syde.

{25} Aprill 15, Wed. At home, being indisposed & melancholyous. Caused receive 7 old struges. Sent away 11 flotes.

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

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

I caused bring a list of the sojours and streltsees, who brought as followeth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regiment</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Chosen Regiment of sojours</td>
<td>960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivan Czornoy his streltsee reg-t</td>
<td>581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Kriftsow his reg-t</td>
<td>587</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Protopopuf his reg-t</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael Sucharuf his reg-t</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the townes</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all 3,474

16. Received my strange.

Sent the Turks writeings interpreted to the Boyar.

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

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

151 The numbers actually add up to 3434.
Gen-ll Le Fort came.

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

The Admirall galley & another launched from the stocks.

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

19. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort where w[il]h great solemnity was drunk the usurpator of Great Britaine152 his health, which I refused, and in place thereof drunk King James153 his good health.

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

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

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

Went aboard my boate.

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

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

Gave Ivan Czarnoy with his regiment to safeguard & convoy the provisions. Writt to my son James by Capt. Georg Ried, by whom I sent my horses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27 [Moon.] By day light wee put of, and about 9 aclock came to Kro-
tiak161, a large towne with a cittadell situated on a hill on our right hand as the other and all the villages are. For since the Tartars some yeares ago destroyed the villages on the left hand of the river and carried the people into captivity,
that syde remaines still uninhabited. This being the last Russia towne where a governour, I stayed untill the sojours had furnished themselves with some necessaries. I dined by Gregory Andr. Plemenikuf, by whom, being shortly to returne to Mosko, I did writt to my wyfe and sent in a croby my laudan shube\textsuperscript{162}, Theodorus his bajonet and some Turkish books. \{27v\} And Colonell Levis-ton sent 50 rubles by the same stolnik, who had been heer getting in provisions, he with 2 others having 94,000 tunnes of biscet, oatmeal & oat-groats.

About 2 aclock, the signe given, wee put of, and at 3 aclock came where the river Sosna, coming from the right, falleth in the Don. Below which is a small monastery called Div[n]ogorska, wherein a prior and 40 monkes. It standeth low by the river, being furnished with some iron cannon and muskets and environed with a ditch and woodden wall for fear of the Tartars. I went a shore, the prior conducted me up a strait hill just above the monastery or convent into a chappell cut out of a rock of a white stone or rather chalke. Above this are the ruines of ane old monastery, which they said had been built at the charges of a Greek Emperour called Andronicus\textsuperscript{163}. After short prayers sung by the monkes in the chappel wee returned and being invited, went in with the prior to his cell, where he presented us with a drink of beer. I gave him a ducate for his paines and so went to our boat. Here is a very pleasant prospect, the chappell and diverse rocks of chalke looking like statues afarr of.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{162} Korob (Russian), box or chest. Shuba (Russian), fur coat. Laudan was a kind of silk.

\textsuperscript{163} Such was the name of five Byzantine emperors from late 12th to early 15th century. But their role in the foundation of Divnogorsky monastery is unlikely, because at that period the Don region was dominated by hostile infidel hordes. This religious house is believed to originate in mid-17th century.
short 3 hours way of the river Bituk, having this day passed the mouth of the r. Morok on our left hand and the r. Sherod\textsuperscript{164} on our left also.

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

About 5 aclock afternoone we passed by a rock \textit{on margin: called Buyuf} on our right hand, very dangerous when low water, because the river runneth with a strong current and at this rock suddeinly turneth.

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

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

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

In the evening wee passed by the mouth of the r. Mamon on our right hand\textsuperscript{165}, and so rowed on till midnight; then laying by to the brink of the river, wee stayed till day light.

May 1. By day light wee rowed away and at 8 aclock came by the mouth of the river Bogutzar on our right hand, which is about 15 \textit{verst} from Donetsky, the first towne belonging to the Dons Cosakes. Two howres thereafter wee passed by the \textit{rivulet} Tulycefka\textsuperscript{166}, and about ane howre thereafter another r-t of the same name, both from the left hand. About midday wee passed by a cell belonging to the Div[n]ogorsky monastery, and ane howre thereafter another cell or monastery, very poor, belonging to the Cosakes. About 6 aclock afternoone wee came by the first Cosakish [town], or rather pitifull village called Donetsky, and came late to our station and stayed all night about 2 \textit{verst} from Donetsky by land and 4 by water.

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

\textsuperscript{164} Probably the Marak and Oscred' rivers, although the latter flows into the Don further downstream than the Bitiug does.

\textsuperscript{165} Mamonovka is the left tributary of the Don.

\textsuperscript{166} Apparently, Tolycheva.
wee passed by the 3d towne, Migulin, on our left hand, and one howre there- 
after passed by the 1st Tichae on our right hand. At 8 aclock wee passed by 
the 4th towne, Tishansky, on our left hand, and in the evening laid by to the 
land.

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

{30} May 4. Having left 7 old and 4 new uncovered great boates for 
ferrying-over the reg-ts with my son, as also a new covered boate for his provi-
sions, I put of and at 5 aclock in the morning came by the monastery called the 
Transfiguration. And 2 howres thereafter wee passed by the mouth of the 1st 
Medivedita on our left hand, and a little below the Cosakish towne Glasunow 
or Ust-Mediveditza; and it being a great tempest of wind, wee were forced to 
come to land and stay till the next morning.

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

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

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167 Khopior.
168 Cherkassk, then capital of the Don Cossacks.
169 Raspopin.
after midnight wee passed by a towne [on] our left hand called Prekopskoy, and by day light another on our left hand called Kremenoy.\(^{170}\)

6. About 9 aclock a great tempest of wind arising, wee were forced diverse tymes on land, and having broke our rudder, we stayed for mending of that and until the storme was over about 3 howres. At 2 aclock afternoone wee passed by the towne Novoy Gregoriofsky on our right hand. About 3 howres thereafter wee passed by the towne Staroy Gregoriofsky on our right hand. About sunsett wee passed by the towne Sierotina on our right hand.

{31} May 7. Haveing in the evening and night-tyme passed by chawky hills or rocks on our right hand, which make though not so faire as the other, yet a most delicate prospect, about day light wee passed the mouth of the rivule\(t\) Ilovoy\(^{171}\), which cometh from the left hand; where also the towne Ilovoy. At 5 aclock wee passed by the towne Kaczalin on the same hand. At 7 aclock wee came to the towne Panczin on our left hand. Here I stayed untill all the fleet conveened, and having left 19 \textit{budares}\(^{172}\) for bringing downe my two Low Countrey regiments and written letters to the Boyar Alexey Simon, Shein, to the governour of Tzaricza and Colonel Evanitsky about his making hast and on the way to provide great & small gabions\(^{173}\), \textit{Frisish rylers}\(^{174}\) or turne-pikes and other materials.

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

8. So that in the morning by the peep of day I caused put of, haveing written to my wyfe by a Moskovish \textit{trubnik}\(^{175}\). By the way the Cosakes brought a sturgeon alive to me.

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

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

\(^{171}\) Ilovia.

\(^{172}\) \textit{Budara} (Old Russian), large boat with freight capacity of 15 to 25 poods.

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

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

\(^{175}\) \textit{Trubnik} (Russian), trumpeter.
May 9, Sat. At 7 aclock in the morning wee passed by the towne Vierchny Czir on our right hand & about 4 howres thereafter first passed by the r. Moskova\textsuperscript{176}, left, & then by the towne called Lower Czir on our rig[ht] hand, both named from the river Czir, which coming out of the Crimish fields fall-eth in here. The Cosakes from this towne brought me a living sturgeon, and begged from me my great boat which Ivan had left here in his coming from Assow. At 3 aclock afternoone wee passed by the r. Czir on the rig[ht] hand. At 7 aclock wee passed by the towne Kobilak. An howre thereafter wee passed the r. Rikun coming from the right hand, where also the r[ivulet] Salona.

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

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

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

12. At 3 aclock in the morning wee passed by the towne Bistrinska, l[eft]. At 5 aclock wee passed by the towne Upper Michaelew, l[eft], from whence the Cosakes brought to me a sturgeon. At 8 aclock by the Nether Michaliev, rig[ht]; at 10 aclock by the towne Troilow, rig[ht]; at 1 aclock afternoone by the towne Kagalnik on a illand, more pleasant & fashionable as the other; here Stenka Razin\textsuperscript{177}, intending to winter, was taken by the Donish army and sent.

\textsuperscript{176} Myshkova.

\textsuperscript{177} S.T. Razin (ca.1630–1671), ataman (leader) of the Don Cossacks, who headed a powerful popular rebellion against the Tsar’s forces in 1670–71. Gordon took part in suppressing its echoes in the vicinity of Novy Oskol.
to Mosko in chaines. At 3 aclock by the towne Vedernik when on ane illand, also r[ight]. At 7 aclock wee passed by the towne Babie, r[ight]. At 9 aclock at night wee passed by the towne Zolotoe, r[ight]. One howre thereafter wee passed by the northern mouth of the r. Donets, r[ight]. At midnight wee passed by the towne Koczetow on the left hand. Here on the same hand the r. Sal felleth in the Don.

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

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

May 15. The Ottoman Frowl Minayuf visited me.

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

Writt to my son James with Marka the corporall.

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

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

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\[178\] Razdory.

\[179\] Manych.

\[180\] Frol Minayev, ataman of the Don Cossack army in 1680–1700.

\[181\] At an entertainment (Latin).
afternoone I removed and stood all night a little above Czirkass[k], on the other syde.

At 10 aclock at night his M. sent Alex-r Kikin\(^{182}\) to me to tell me that I should come the next morning early to him and I must march early to the Novosergeyuf.

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

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

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

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

May 19 [Tues.]\(^{184}\) at 5 aclock in the morning came to the Kalentzay Towers\(^{185}\) now called Novoy Sergeyuf; and haveing saluted them with 2 piece of cannon, I was answered with all the cannon they had on the wall.

*About 9 aclock his M. came aboard my boat and after a short consultation departed.*\(^{186}\)

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

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

\(^{183}\) Kurgan (Russian), mound or hill.

\(^{184}\) The day is marked on the next page of MS.

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

\(^{186}\) Entry crossed out in MS.

\(^{187}\) Tenaille (French), an advanced work in the ditch before the curtain of a fortress, taking its name from resemblance to the lip of a pair of tongs.
river I did meet his M. and went with him to the fort and then to my boat, where with the Boyar Fiodor Alex.\(^{188}\) and the Donish ottoman wee consulted of the designe his M. had of att acted the 2 ships lying in the road below Assow on the lake\(^{189}\); and concluded that his M. with his gallyes, the Ottoman with his Cosakes should go and attack them, and for a diversion I should, upon intelligence of the Turks rowing or going downe to assist their ships, march out with 3 regiments from the new fort on the illand, which might give some stop lest they should be attacked in their rear.

A little before evening I rode to the place where our bridge had been over the nearest yerik\(^{190}\), and did writt to my son James by the Cosakes conveyance.

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

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

A little before evening wee perceived our gallies returning.

I went and visited both the forts of Kalentzay, now called Novosergeyuf. About midnight his M. returned in his boat.

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

\{35v\} May 21, Thur. About 10 aclock his M. came to me and told me how that he had been at sea and had seen about 20 saile of gallyes & ships and a great many lichters\(^{191}\); that he found it not fitt to adventure upon them, and so had ordered the gallyes to returne, being very melancholious or grieved.

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

\(^{189}\) Gordon makes use of the ancient name for the Sea of Azov, Palus M(a)eotis, Macotian lake or swamp.

\(^{190}\) Russian dialect word for river arm or channel.

\(^{191}\) Scots term for a loading boat.
About midday the gallyes returned to their stations, as also my Tambovish regiment who had not been at the mouth of the river Kalentzayuf, the gallyes not being able to get out for want of water.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{192}\) Sablia (Russian), sabre.

\(^{193}\) Bek-mes (Turkic), grape syrup.
March 26, Tues. I went downe with some companyes and cannon to the mouth of the river and sent boates to the ruined Turkish ships, who brought from thence 141 great bombes & 95 glasse hand-granadoes with diverse other things. In the afternoone the gallyes went downe by another arme of the r. Kalentzay into the sea.194

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The officers from the gallyes dyne by me.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

197 *Lager* (German), military camp.
198 Gordon often uses the term *army* to designate a division or corps.
June 8, Moon. I removed into the entrenchment by the great wall on the right-hand.

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

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

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

The Cosakes being removed, the rest of the regiments marched and joyned the former.

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

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

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

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

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

Being Corpus Christi day, wee heard devotion.

I did writt to my wyfe & ffriends in Mosko & to the noblemen I corres-pond with.

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

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

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

*My son James gave in to me the acco[un]t of the money he had rec[eive]d.*
From Mosko taken along 1,600
Sent from Mosko by a writer 1,500
In all 3,100

Given out to the sojours to a man 2,595

Remaines 505

Of this disbursed 7

Remaines 498

Sent from Mosko by the Major
Anisim Posniakow to buy horses for the artillerie 144

Bought in Tambow 29 horses for 86 24 2

Remaines 57 2 -

Sent to feed 90 horses 90 - -

Disbursed of that 23 27 4

Remaines 66 5 4

In all received 3,335 - -

In all given out 2,683

In all remaines*199

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

1696

{41v} June 12. The rear admirall with one gally & 4 branders200 came.

My son James gave in ane acco-t of moneys received & disbursed, as followeth:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R</th>
<th>All</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taken from Mosko</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent from Mosko</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Disbursed to 2,595 sojours to a ruble a man 2,595

Remaines 505

200 Brandier (German), fireship. Rear admiral – the Frenchman Balthazar de Lauzier (properly de l’Oisière) († 1697), who served in Russia since 1687.
Sent from Mosko to buy horses 144 - -
To feed them with 90 - -
In all 234 - -

Disbursed for 29 horses 86 24 2
To the maiors to feed these horses 17 16 4
To a lt. progon to Mosko 1 2 4
On other small things 5 8 2
To 3 Kalmuks for convoying him to Assow 6 - -
In all 116 18 4
Remaines 117

Received all in all 3,334 - -
Disbursed all in all 2,711 18 4
Remaines all in all 622 14 4

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

201 Progon (Russian), payment for post-horses.
202 Schrot (German), small shot or grapeshot.
June 14. In the morning I was in the trenches and ordered all things necessary. Thereafter wee espied some Turkish gallyes coming towards the road, and immediately after they anchored at a great distance.

Wee rode as far as the hill by the river Kagalnik to take a neerer view of them, and perceived them to be 16 great vessels and a great many lesser, but how many wee could not well discern. *This fleet was commanded by Tournacza Basha, aboard of it 4,000 foot to be brought into the town.*

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

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

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

By reason of an alarum having been in the night-tyme in the trenches, little was done, only the lyne of communication betwixt G-ll Aftemons ataque & Rigemans was finished.

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

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

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

I caused bring 12 morter pieces into the trenchess.

I received letters from Mosco from my wyfe & children & Mr. Krevet & Ukrantsuf, dated 2 Junii, with notice of the death of Coll. Bockhoven, and the coming of the enginiers sent from the Roman Emperour.

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

---

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

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

205 Leopold I (1640–1705), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire from 1658, Russia’s ally in the Holy League against the Turks and Tatars.
June 16. By day light I perceived that Colonell Leviston had taken possession of the fort, and were busy in repairing it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

The prisoners reported that the horsmen were expecting more; that they had invited these who were a-shipboard to go with them towards our bager; that they had refused, saying they had only order to bring in the provision & ammunition into the towne and themselves, and that they would attempt nothing else; that they had sent to the Sultan\footnote{Mustafa II (1664–1703), Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1695.} for orders that they would expect; that the succours they intended to bring in being 1,500 Janizaries and 2,500 new-levyed people.

\{45\} June 21.\footnote{There are no entries in MS for 19 and 20 June, which, given the detailed narrative here, implies that they were removed.} In the night were 3 false alarums.

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

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

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

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{In Mosko received to feed 25 artillery horses} & \textbf{Rub} & \textbf{Alt} & \textbf{D} \\
\hline
& 30 & & \\
\hline
\textbf{Disbursed on them and for waggons & deebt} & 9 & 20 & - \\
\textbf{or tarr} & & & \\
\hline
\textbf{Remaines} & 20 & 13 & 2 \\
\hline
\textbf{Received in Tambow for every sojour a ruble in all} & 1,000 & - & - \\
\hline
\textbf{Disbursed hereof to the sojours} & 802 & - & - \\
\hline
\textbf{Remaines} & 198 & & \\
\hline
\textbf{All in all} & 218 & 13 & 2 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\{45v\} June 22, Moon. Writt to my wyfe.
The last lyne of communication betwixt Aftermons army and myne finished.

\footnote{Duigil’ (Russian), tar.
My trenches advanced till within 20\textsuperscript{211} fath[oms] of the ditch, and another communicating lyne with the other begun.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I went through all the trenches and caused make preparation for throwing up the wall.

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

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

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

A thousanf sojours of Gen-ll Le Forts given to me to worke in the trenches.

A Cosake whom Vasily Vayikuf\textsuperscript{212} had ransomed, being let go with a writing to his friends to send his ransome, he haveing agreed for 7,000 dollers, came to us and told that by the Kuban [river] no Tartars were more, that all their forces were here, & be in all about 5,000 men.

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

\textsuperscript{211} Corrected from “15”.

\textsuperscript{212} Voyeykov.
About 8 aclock wee were alarumed by the enemys horsemen, who haveing in considerable numbers passed the r. Kagalnik, did fall upon our forragiers. Whereupon our horsemen drew out, dispersed & followed them to the r. Kagalnik disorderly; which the Turks seeing, wheeled about with hideous cryes, repulsed and put our horsemen to a confused retreat, killing 15 or 20 persons, wounding many and takeing 2 *stolniks*. Whereupon wee sounding a retreat, began to draw of much against reason, whereas wee should have kept the field, being farf more in number as they. But the confusion and consternation was such that it was to be feared a greater mischiefe had fallen out, if they had keept the fields any longer.

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

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

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

I rode over the Don by the bridge, and then by water to the road betwixt Azow & Lutina\(^{213}\), where I intended to build a fort. Thereafter by Colonell Leviston in that fort.

The enginiers & fireworkers from the Elector of Brandenburg\(^{214}\) came.

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

\(^{213}\) Lutin, Turkish stone fort on the Miortvy Donets, which covered Azov from the north. It was built in 1660.

\(^{214}\) Friedrich III (1657–1713), from 1688 Elector of Brandenburg, from 1701 first King of Prussia as Friedrich I.
A Tambovish soldier having runaway from the Tartars told that he was
taken the 18 instant, and observing his tyme had with a sable cutted the thong
wherewith he was bound. He could tell nothing of their strength or intentions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

June 30. I was early in the trenches. Thereafter rode to the lower syde
of the towne, and viewed the convenience of the other syde of the Don,
where another fort may be built over against the lower end of the towne for
annoying that quarter; and immediately dispatched the Enginier Adler to Coll.
Leviston with orders to cause build a fort and batteries in it, capable of having 2 or 300 men in it.

500 horsemen of the Low Countrey as Jaick\(^{215}\) etc. came.

\({49v}\) In the evening I found myself very indisposed, which about 10 aclock break out with a violent vomiting & purging, which continuing the whole night weakened me very much.

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

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

About midday the Turkes sallyed out on our workmen in my and Aftemons q{uar}ter, and were repulsed with great loss. Wee lost 12 men.

In the evening his M. with diverse noblemen came to visit me, having lain the whole day. It was told that the Turkes out of the townes had made signes for a parley, but being asked by ours out of the trenches, they denied by their mute signes and shooting at these who asked them; so that I looked upon it as a fancy or imagination.\(^{216}\)

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

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

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

\(^{215}\) Yaik, former name of the Ural river.

\(^{216}\) In the bottom right corner of this page there are figures in Gordon's hand, 1868 and 25–4–, one above the other. Cf. the end of entry for 3 July.
and this to batter downe their new highented workes and the stone-wall, to the
which many seemed averse.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

{52v} July 7, Tues. Having been in the trencches early and found all
things in pretty good forwardnes, after a little repose the Generalissimus sent
for me. And hearing the relation of one who was escaped from the enemy,
that they intended to breake through with a 1,000 foot and bring them into
the towne the upper way by forcing one of our forts, wee concluded to raze
that fort, which was out of the lyne, and cast up a trench from the bridge to
the last-made fort with some redoubts on it, and so to hinder all passage so
well on this as on the other syde. And so set all hands a worke, and befor day brought all in a posture of defence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²¹⁸ Gundarov, a Cossack town on the Donets.
Befor evening I went with them through all the trenchees and visited the mines. They admired the great worke & labour wee tooke in the trenchees.

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

{54v} July 12, Sun. The Colonell Kraghe with all the enginiers & minirers dyned with me. Thereafter went into the trenchees, and the coll. over the river to view the batteries.

His M. by me an howre.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

{55v} July 14, Tues. Being early in the trenchees, I gave orders for bringing up cannon upon the new batteries.

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

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

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

221 Kasimir von Krage, military engineer from Brandenburg, colonel of artillery. He remained in Russian service until 1700, when taken prisoner by the Swedes at the battle of Narva.
Sent two pieces shooting 15 pund to the other syde of the Don.
About 3 aclock afternoone Coll. Leviston departed this lyfe.
In the evening in the trenches with the Boyar, where some contestes about
the mynes.
Sent to the Donish Attoman for an order to permitt Colonell Leviston to be
interred in the churchyard in Czirkask, which he granted with some reluctancy.
{56} July 15. Renewed the date of most of my former letters, sealed &
sent them to the Post.
In the morning being in the trenches, gave orders for fyreing from the
new batteries, which was done with extraordinary good effect, breaking out
[all cr.o.] the pallisadoes on the corner bulwarke.
About 2 aclock the corps of Colonell Leviston was carryed out of the
campe in order to his buriall in Czirkask. I convoyed him to the bridge below
the hill, and then went into the trenches.
A Valachian came over from the [enemy] horsemen, as a few of them
appeared befor our campe, who related that they were dayly expecting Galga
Sultan with 6,000 men, and the like things, which others had related befyr.
{56v} July 16, Thur. Our new wall brought alike and close to theirs at the
point of the bulwarke, and possession taken thereof.
The cannon from my batteryes ruined the most of the pallisades on the
corner bulwarke.
The Turkish horsemen appeared in the fields in greater numbers as ordinary,
and had some light skirmishes with our Czirkasses & Kalmuiks with
great harme.
The Post to Mosko dispatched.
I was in all the trenches with the Boyar and ordered the hastening of them
forward.
The souldiers the night befyr having lodged themselves in the [middle
cr.o.] corner bulwarke, this night secured their lodgings and covered it; the
Turkes having drawne in their cannon within the traverse in the gorge of the
bulwarke.
{57} July 17. In the morning a spy of 16 or 17 yeares was taken at the
fort by the bridge, who being examined, told that this was the 2d tyme that he
with others had come out of Assow; that now 2 others which came out with
him went to the Kalentzay; that the governour\footnote{Bey Hassan, Turkish commander in Azov.} had ordered them to survey
the army in the campe, the ammunition & provisions in the boats, and what preparations were making against them.

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

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

In the evening I gave orders to enlarge the lodging in the corner of the bastion.

In the night we having sent granadiers to assist the Czirkasses, they drew out 3 small pieces out of the bastion, after the Turks had burnt their l'affuits. At the same time the Donish Cosakes drew of another small piece from ano-r place of the wall.

{58} July 18, Sat. Having been in the trenches and found all in a pretty forwardness, we concluded that against Tuesday morning all things should be ready for attacking and investing the earthen wall; yet so as not to enter over the wall, only to beat them from the wall, and standing upon our wall make their parapet or breast-works ours.

A little before midday the Turks and Tartar horsemen appeared in the fields in great numbers, and after some light skirmishes with the Czirkasses & Cosakes takeing advantage of some foot strageling out too far into the fields to the body of a killed Tartar, they assailed them from the syde and cut of their passage from their companions, killed about 20 Czirkasses and half a dozen of gentlemen, and took some prisoners.

A little after this the Turks in the towne despairing of being succoured from without, and being so straitened by our contiguous wall to theirs, and our having got possession of the parts of two bulwarkes, desired to capitulate. Which being easily condiscended to, they sent {58v} out a Turke called Mustapha with a letter, who being conducted to the Generalissimus and the letter interpreted, wherein they offered to render the towne on conditions that they might have liberty to depart with their wives, children, armes & goods, and to be convoyed, and have carts or waggons by land or boats by water to the other syde of the rivulet Kagalnik to their horsemen who lay encamped there. Which after some sendings to & again was granted and pledges given.
The greatest difficulty was that they scrupled to give out the German Jacob, who last yeare ran away from us and was the occasion of much evill, because he was become a Turke and entred into the order of the Janizaries. Yet at last they condescended to deliver him, and so accordingly they brought him out & delivered him.

{59} July 19 [Sun.]. Ten regiments being ordered to invest the towne, and 8 to be ranged in two lynes through which they were to pass from a sally port near the river to the boats, all marched about 5 aclock, the ten reg-ts to the wall, and the eight to the medowes below the towne.

The boates being come to the shore below, the Turkes came out not in any order, but each as he could gett ready, and some embarked with their wives within the towne, which should not have been. Yet wee were glad to let them go, and looke through our fingers to small miscarriages, especially seeing the Czirkasses became so unruly that without order they thronged into the towne in great numbers and did fall to plunder, which notwithstanding all meanes used to hinder them could not be remedied.

In the meane tyme I put a guard of a hundred sojours to secure the Governour and the chieffest of the Turkes, who were gott about him with 16 collours. All whom I caused convoy out of the towne in safety to the Boyar who was on horseback neer the boates; where the collours being delivered, they embarked, and so rowed downe the river, our gallyes being drawne in order at their anckers, & letting the boats pass through the lane betwixt; when also diverse salvees were given of great and small shott, which was some vaineglory in us, and too much honour for them. A litle after midday they arrived below the r-t Kagalnik, and were received with great congratulations.

Wee haweing taken possession of the towne, the sojours were all this day busy in digging and seeking-up the hidden goods of the Turkes, and found good store of vessels & cloaths, but nothing of any great value.

I went and saw the Christians church and the 2 Turks moszets or mosquee, w-ch were all ruined with bombes, as the whole towne in rubbish, not a whole house or hutt in it; the Turks being all lodg’d in hutts or holes under or contiguous to the earthen wall.

Writt to my wyfe.

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223 The Dutchman Jakob Jansen, who joined Russian service as a sailor and bombardier, but defected to the Turks during the first siege of Azov and gave valuable information to the enemy.
{60} July 20, Moon. The enginiers were sent to view the towne, and draw a draught of the fortifications necessary for the defence [& inlargment or] thereof.

Our scouts being out, returned & related that the Turks & Tartars horsmen were all gone, which was confirmed by one who had been prisoner by them & escaped from them.

Wee were at a rejoicing feast by the Generallissimus, where much drink and powder spent.

Wee were busy at the filling of the trenches and levelling of the batteries. In the evening wee had alarum as if the Turks were returned by water to take possession of the towne againe, which was both incredible & ridiculous. However it put all our armyes in a fiery-fary which continued a good part of the night.

The Dons Cosakes having without order gone with some boats to Lutina, called to those in the garrison to render, telling them that Assow had rendred, which they not believing, were at length perswaded by giveing a manat\(^{224}\) or hostage, to send {60v} one to know the truth, & so came in the night-tyme into the campe.

*Received from Mr. Ruell 52 rubles upon Mr. Munters acco-t whereof 44 is for the rent of my money for...*\(^{225}\)

July 21, Tues. In the morning the Turke sent from Lutina was sent into the towne to view the place. So being convinced of the truth, and having power to capitulate, desired nevertheless one to be sent along with him, with such articles as wee should grant. So one Ivan Bachmetu\(^{226}\) was sent with 300 strelces on horseback with orders to conduct them to the leaguer in safety with their wearing-cloaths and sticks in their hands, all their armes, and other things to be left. In this towne were 31 brasse cannon, good {61} store of ammunition and provisions of victualls for 2 or 3 months. The booty of cloaths or other things was given to the Dons Cosakes, the horses, about 40, to the Kalmuiks. They marched out 115 men and left one old Turke of 84 yeares behind, who desired to be christened, fearing that they might kill him.

This fort is built of stone, having 4 towers 8 corner’d, one gate the door thereof beat over with strong iron platts; the haraque round contiguous to the wall, two rowes one above another; some roomes in the midle also for the

\(^{224}\) Am\(\text{manat}\) (Arabic), hostage.

\(^{225}\) Entry crossed out in MS. Christian Ernst Ruell, lieutenant of the Swedish army, from 1692 engineer in Russian employ, was Lefort’s protégé. Cf. below, fol. 127v.

\(^{226}\) Ivan Yefremovich Bakhmetev, stol’nik and “commissioned (posyl’ny) voyevoda”.
governour and ppll persons and a little mosque; the magazine & provisions in
the towers. By two and most of the third syde from the land ane earthen wall,
but low, and a ditch not broad with water in it. A little and unequall distance
from it a yerik or outlet from the river round it; the river syde haveing nothing
but the stone wall. The wall-gang above the upper baraques with convenient
places to go up. It was built, as also the Kalentzay towers, in the year of our
Redemption 1663 by Mechmet Girey Chan at the command of the
Sultan Mahomet the 4th to hinder the Dons Cosakes from coming downe
the river Donets into the Palus Meotis.

Wee were at a feast by the Admirall Le Fort, where all well f[ull].

July 22. The garrison of Lutina marched by our campe, gott 20 horses to
carry their baggage & provisions, for they had been permitted to carry most
of their substance along, and were convoyed over the r. Kagalnik, and then
lett go whither they would.

Received letters from my friends in Mosko dated 7 & 8th of July.

Wee were busy levelling our trenches and bringing the cannon from the
batteries, and putting all things in order.

Tryall made to gett out some sunk vessels out of the river, but did not
succeed.

{62} July 23, Thur. Wee levelled the trenches and campes made the last
yeare, which the Turkes for want of tyme had not levelled.

Eight thowsand men ordered to be left in Assow whereof I am to give
3,500, viz. 1,000 Tambovish sojours, 500 Resanish, 500 Nisovish & 1,500
streltsees.

The draught or plana of the towne as it is to be new fortifyed being brought,
wee concluded it impossible to make all this year; so resolved to fortify the old
earthen wall in a more regular and defensive way.

24. Writt to my wyfe, children & ffriends.

Le Fort went from hence by water.

Ordered 2,000 men to be ready for the worke the next-day.

Sent carpenters to repair one of the Turkish mosques, which is to be con-
verted into a Christian church.

The Ensigne Ivan Mechmetuf went from hence with my boat & my bag-
gage to Voronies.

227 Mehmed IV Geray (1610–1674), Khan of Crimea in 1641–1644 and 1654–1666. Mehmed
IV (1641–1692), Turkish Sultan in 1648–1687.

228 Palus Meotis, ancient name of the Sea of Azov.
July 25, Sat. Wee began to worke at the fortifications of the towne, divideing among the armyes the worke.

26. Wee had all at worke notwithstanding the Sabath day.

About midday his M. sent for the Generallissimus, me & others to go with him by water to view a place for building a towne & harbour at the Taganarogue on the Crimish syde. So went aboard the gallyes and rowed downe the river, without the mouth whereof we stayed all night at anker, haveing course accommodation.

July 27. Wee weighed ankers about 5 aclock in the morning, but could not get forward by reason of the shallowness. So wee quitted the gallyes and went into the boates, and so rowed towards the said Tagana-Rogue, whither we came about 4 aclock afternoone.

This is a promontory of high ground on a rock. Haveing viewed and considered the situation of this place and the convenience of a harbour, wee went further out to another lower promontory ane English mile or two from this, being lower as the other & a clayish ground, near w-ch a small illand. This lyeth just over against the Oczakofsky-Rogue (from whence so called I know not).

Haveing surveyed the situation and conveniencies of both places, most were of opinion that the first was the fittest place; the hight, rocky ground, deepnes of the lake, spaciousnes of the place for the harbour, besides a small brooke of wholesome water giveing ground for it. In the evening wee rowed back to this place, and stayed at anker all night with very ordinary convenience, the night being cold, a narrow bench for a bed, and litle to eat or drink.

July 28, Tues. By day light wee rowed up towards the mouth of the river Donets\(^{229}\), but comeing neer it wee were forced to draw our boats over the shallow places for 2 or 3 English miles. Wee went rowing up that mouth of the river which is next the high ground & the west, being the streightest, broadest and deepest, to the fort, which I have befor described. Haveing viewed it sufficiently, wee tooke guides, and rowing all night, came about 7 aclock to Assow by the river way up the Kalentzay, and passed throw the bridge.

29. I found the face of the corner bulwarke in pretty good forwardnes, and all busy with more as ordinary dilligence.

{64} July 30. The curtaine lyne measured out, and all hands set a worke to enlage the ditch.

\(^{229}\) Clearly, the Miortvy Donets.
The Preobrasinsky reg-t marched out of the leaguer to be gone by water to Voronies.

31. Received letters from my friends in Mosko, dated 18 & 19th July.

Notice being given that the Kalmuiks whom wee had desired the Yayuka to send were coming near to Czirkask, orders were sent that seeing they were come too late, they should do some service to his Ma-tie in going to the r. Kuban and there ruine the inhabitants of that place.

The galeass being ready, sailed downe the river & in passing the bridge broke it, sinking some boates.

{64v} Aug. 1, Sat. No worke befor midday because of the great procession to the river, used every year on this day.231

Afternoon began to worke at the curtaine.

2. Writt to my wyfe & friends in Mosko.

The ravelin befor the port drawne out, and the gate ordered to be made.

Ordered the army to worke night and day in three exchanges.

The Preobrasinskoy reg-t went from hence by water.

3. The Kalmuiks brought near to the camp a great number of horses to be sold, which they had taken from the Turks neer the r. Kuban (as they said).

{65} A Russe runnaway from the r. Kuban over to us reported that the inhabitants by that river were retired into the hills & some into the Crim with intention to returne privately without their familyes to earne their harvest.

Gott 120 rubles a months pay.

Aug. 4, Tues. Were busy at worke.

The bridge begun to be set-up.

The post went but this day.

Caused [bring] the ammunition, broken armes and other instruments near to the towne wall.

5 [Wed.] Some regiments marched into the towne, the rest being busy in levelling the ruined places & clearing the rubbage.

G. Le Forts reg-t of foot went from hence by water.

{65v} The howses ready for laying up the cordage, tackling, sailes, cannon and the other things belonging to the gallyes.

The ravelin befor the gate [ready cr.o.] drawne out and begun to worke at.

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230 Ayuka (1642–1724), principal chieftain (taysha) of the Kalmyks from 1672, first Kalmyk khan from 1690.

231 Orthodox Holy Cross Day. By tradition, Rus was christened on this day by St. Vladimir of Kiev, which is commemorated by blessing the waters.
Aug. 6. Notwithstanding the holy day of the Transfiguration all were at worke.

Wee dyed by the Boyar, where his M. All were pretty merry.

7. Wee began to lay with turffe the foundation of the curtaine.

The Czirkasses having got 15,000 rubles, and their ppl officers being rewarded apart, each according to his quality, as also 6 field pieces, marched from hence to go homeward on the Crimish syde.

{66} Aug. 8, Sat. The Turkish mosque or mesquit being made ready and covered, it was with great solemnity consecrated, and the first Christian service done therein; the great guns round the towne, from the gallyes & galeass, as also from the campe being fyred three severall tymes, and 3 vollies of small shott.

I went & felicitated his M. as he came from divine service.

The pallisadoes begun to be sett round[ sic] the ravelin without the ditch.

Sent the last of our sick people away by water.

Caused each regiment make a prumme\footnote{Parom (Russian), ferryboat.} or ferry-boate to ferry us over.

A feast by Simon Ivan. Yasikuf\footnote{S.I. Yazykov, from 1688 Duma nobleman. In the Azov campaigns he was in charge of army provisions. Later okol’nichy, in 1700–1705 general proviantmeister.}.

I observed on one of the water gates of Assow, above it I meane, on a stone engraven a griph. What it should meane, I know not.

{66v} Aug. 9, Sun. The foundations of the [curtaines cr.o] flankes lay’d with turffe.

I had all the stranger colonells at dinner.

The raine hindred our working.

10. The Boyar went to Lutina.

Some prisoners haveing escaped out of prison from the river Kuban, reported that the inhabitants there were for the most part fled into the hills; that Galga Sultan was retired into Czirkassia; that they were threatening & talking of coming to besiege Assow the next spring.

The traitor Jacob haveing revealed that a considerable treasure of money & cloth was hid in a vault or hole under ground, workemen were sent to digg it out, but after much labour such a hole was found, but nothing in it.

Caused give to Colonell Bush his halfe yeares pay, being 92 rubles.

Caused give to Lt.Colonell Snivins 30 rubles which rested of his advance money in Mosko.
Aug. 11, Tues. They began to take of the takeling and other things from the galeasse & gallyes.

The Kalmuiks refused to go to Kuban unless wee send some of our people with [them] & some cannon, so they were permitted to go home.

The Boyar returned, having had with him priests who consecrated the little mosque or mesczet in Lutina to a C[h]ri[s]t[i]an church.

12. The Marine regiments marched away in boats.

13. The post came & brought us letters, dated Mosko 28 July & 1 Augusti, from my wife, children & other friends.

I was by his M. on the galeass and was oppressed with drinks.

Rec’d a letter from Mr. Kurtius, dated Buda or Offen 3 July.

Wee ended our worke.

Aug. 14, Frid. I caused the waggon & baggage of the Butirsky and the 5 strelses reg-ts march to the Kalentzayes and ferry over the Don there.

In these six regiments were with officers and ammunition, stolniiks & my waggon in all 1,249 waggon.

I let off the 2 Kasanish regiments, they being to go by water in boats.

Received 63 rubles 26 altins 4 dengees from my son in law for the cred[it?]

of J.B.

15. Dined with his M. by the Generallissimus.

The galeass of Capt. Meyer brought downe to the kay.

His M. went from hence to Czirkass[k] by water in his barge.

The waggon & baggage of the 4 Tambovish & two Resanshe reg-ts let off to the ferry.

A traitor Vaska Boldiruf hanged, and two other pardoned.

Lent to the Generallissimus 400 rubles.

Aug. 16, Sun. Having heard devotion, wee began to march about 8 aclock, the Generallissimus on the Nagaish syde of the Don, and I crossed it a little above the Kalentaish towers. And so marched all along the Don, and crossed the Donets by a foord, and marching over a high ground crossed the r-t Temernik and encamped; the way betwixt the Don & Donets being 10 verst & from the Donets to this r-t 5. This r-t is very plentiful of fish. At the mouth thereof, where it falleth into the Don, is an old earthen fort, and above it a kurgan, both called by the name of the river or r-t. Here the Cosakes who had been guides to the Czirkasses, and brought them to Tor from Assow

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234 Possibly, James Bruce (see fol. 1).
235 Tor (Solianoy), Cossack town, now Slaviansk, Donetsk region, Ukraine.
in 10 dayes, and returned in 4, came to me & informed that they had heard nothing of any enemy.

17. I marched early and passed the r[iver] & valley Kisitrinka, and riding to the Kubia Kurgan, I perceived the steep descent of another valley and that by turning to the left hand a little wee could avoid such inconvenience, I caused the waggonburg march that way, and so came to another great valley of an easy de- & ascent called the Great Meadow, where I dined. And then, ascending to the high ground, march in good order along by the river Axey in the valley, & encamped near the foord of that river called Karay, being passed the town Czirkask a little on our right hand. When I had encamped, I caused discharge the cannon round the campe once.

At the ends or mouths of the brookes & valleys we passed this day are forts and high kurgans on the hills adjoining, and the inhabitants report that not many years since at certaine tymes shooting was heard under ground as out of cannon, and many fables or fancies more. This dayes march was 15 long verst.

Orders sent to the Boyar Boris Petrovitz Seremetuf & the Hetman to dismisse the armyes to their quarters, and that the Hetman might come & see his M. at Ribna.

{69} Aug. 18, Tues. I rode early to Czirkask and dined with his M. & others by the Attoman Frowl Minayuf. In the evening wee had fireworks which lasted till midnight, w-ch occasioned my staying there all night.

19. I went over the river, and dineing with the Generallissimus, gott the ofcers whom I had preferred confirmed. I rode to the campe, being 10 verst, and let off the Tambovish regiments.

20 [Thur.] Writt to my wyfe per post.

Marched early without guides, yet directing our course N. & by W., wee came about 10 aclock to the river Tuslow, which coming from the West runneth most part East & falleth in the river Axey. Here I dined and in the mean tyme caused each regiment to make a passage over the river, which a little after midday wee crossed a little above where the r. Grushofka falleth in it and below the stony foord.

I directed my course N.W. & by N., but the guides of the Cosakes cominge befor evening made us turne to the right hand, and crossing a fountaine or

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236 Waggonburg (German), a temporary, moveable fortification made of army waggons.
237 Boris Petrovich Sheremetev (1652–1719), eminent commander and diplomat; voyevoda, from 1682 boyar, from 1701 field marshal, from 1706 Count.
238 Rybnoye, later and at present Ostrogozhsk.
branch of the r. Grushofka dry I encamped on the other side, having good convenience of grasse & water for necessity, but no wood; having marched this day to the river Tuslow 12 or 15 verst, and to Suchino Swiatoe (for so this place is called) 9 verst.

21. Wee marched early and in 2 howres tyme came to another branch of the r. Grushofka, which wee passed without great difficulty, and [in] 2 howres came to the last branch of the same river, which crossing with greater trouble, wee dined. At 3 aclock afternoone wee marched and in the evening came to the brooke KadamoFey, which passing easily wee lodged here, having marched this day 15 or 18 verst; our course being all day N. & by E. Here wee had no wood, but water & grasse in plenty.

{70} Aug. 22, Sat. Wee marched very early and came to one of the heads of the r. Kerczik, which wee crossed dry, and about 9 aclock came to the roade w-ch wee went last yeare, and keeping it came to one of the heads or fonts of the r. Kondrusha29, which crossing dry at one aclock afternoone wee dined, having marched about 18 verst. At 4 aclock wee marched, and having quitted the ordinary roade because of our great waggonburg, made a large compass, and came to the r. Kondrusha, not crossing it because it was late & the descent uneasy as the passage of the river. I had notice from sojours come from Czirkask that the Boyar or Generalissimus was come to the r. Axey, and that my sone with the Tambovish regiments, haveing gott over the heads of the r. Kerczick, was gone the same way which he went last yeare.

{70v} Aug. 23, Sund. I marched downe the stony or rocky hill, over the river, and encamped on the right hand of the way, having good convenience and accommodation of wood, grasse & water. Here I stayed all the day, expecting the Generalissimus.

Having received some accounts of my army, I now set them downe as followeth, to the 8th of August:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Received by Ivan Baybakuf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Mosko from Agafon Meskow &amp; others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The remnant of the last expedition</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Akh</th>
<th>Deng</th>
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<tr>
<td>1,085</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Kundriuchya.
For the officers 6,120 31 -
From the Great Army for pay for the Russe officers & sojours 1,153 13 3
Received in all 8,359 27 1

{71} Disbursed according to the examined particulars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>R.</th>
<th>Al.</th>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the colonells &amp; officers, to some for 4, to others for 6 months pay</td>
<td>7,266</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Majors Westhoffe and Posniakuf</td>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for food to his M. horses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Colonell Bush</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Lt.Colonell Snivins</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Maior Lambe</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Butinsky priest for his paines on Whitsunday</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For a pude waxe to the mines</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 453 sojours each a ruble</td>
<td>453</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Serjeant Ivan Plutanin, &amp; those sojours &amp; striltes who did extraordinary service</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 10 rim of paper</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all disbursed</td>
<td>8,022</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaines</td>
<td>337</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

{71v} Money received and disbursed by the writer Ivan Borisuf

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>R.</th>
<th>Al.</th>
<th>Deg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Received in Mosko out of the Great Treasury for payment of 4,100 Tambovish sojours &amp; 400 who remained the winter in Kalentzay</td>
<td>11,651</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Colonell Yonger</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Colonell Gordon</td>
<td>622</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the Generaliss. for the 2 reg-ts Resanish sojours for Aug. for them in all</td>
<td>1,759</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In all 14,250 29 2

Disbursed

{72} Money remaining by the R[egimen]t Quartermaster Nikita Solochin, Aug. 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>R.</th>
<th>Alik</th>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of the last years Assovish expedition</td>
<td>1,174</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of these stayed on the way</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of the present expedition</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all</td>
<td>1,451</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

{72v} Aug. 23, Sun. In the evening, having notice of the approaching of the Generalissimus, I did ride out, and saluting him, rode along with him a good way. He told me that his M. had lodged last night at the heads or fonts of the r. Kerczik and was gone this morning towards Ribna; that the Hetman of the Cosakes had sent notice how that the Zaporovian Cosakes\(^ {240} \) had been with great numbers into the Euxine or Black Sea; that they had got some booty & taken 20 Turks prisoners.

24. Marched by day light to the r. Lichoe, 15 verst, which passing, dined. About 2 alock the other army came & stayed on the other syde. I marched over strait ground and to the left by the head of the r-t Olsianky, and encamped over the Kaminka r[iver], 20 verst.

25. The Generalissimus with his army came about 10 alock to the r. Kamionka. I then having saluted him, marched, and because {73} of the strait ground and secure way, I caused defile & march regiment-wise to the r. Donets, 7 verst, where 4 ready bridges over which I marched, and encamped on the other syde about a verst from the bridges. Here I found the oates & provisions, which these I sent before had bought for me.

Aug. 26. Marched by day light and dined by the r. Olshianka, 20 verst; then over the r. Matiakin, 3 verst, and lodged over the r. Dubia\(^ {241} \), 5 verst further, where 2 of my paceing horses were stolne from me or strayed.

\(^ {240} \) Zaporizhian Sich (Zaporogi, Zaporozhye), located on an island in the middle of the Dnieper, was a major Ukrainian Cossack centre from the 16th to the 18th century, and headquarters of the Zaporozhian Host, the Cossack army.

\(^ {241} \) Evidently, Dubovaya.
27. Marched by day light and at 10 aclock came and crossed the r. Derkul on ready bridges, 12 verst. Having dined, came to the r. Czugina in 5 howres tyme, being about 15 verst, which passing, lodged or encamped on the other syde.

{73v} Aug. 28, Frid. I marched early, and ordering the army to march the road, I rode to the right hand to the Grodistsha, which viewed, I found it to be a mount or hill, in all sides steep, yet on the northwest syde a easy as-or descent, and in some places easyer as other; the river Czugina on the north syde makeing a large figure, and on the south side a brooke. Above a large plaine from east to west, about 300 fathome, in breadth unequal; in the broadest 100 fath. There is no appearance that it hath bee[n] inhabited, for there are only two little mounts above, and no other vestige of any habitation or dwelling. On the descent to the north a large thicket of trees, and in a declineing valley to the south some trees also; large medowes. The river Derkul, though not navigable, yet plentiful of fish, fields & soile fertile, and all the blessings of nature bestowed on this place. Yet because in a wild desart, no passage or any other necessity for setting a plantation, except to evacuate encreasing multitudes of inhabitants, or setting a magazine of provisions for armies marching this way, it may be perhaps neglected.

This dayes march being long, wee came to the r. Yaufsuga242 about 1 aclock afternoone, which crossing, rested about {74} two howres. Then marched up a steep hill, and having brought all the regiments together, encamped in the fields, with convenience of wood & grasse, but farr from water. This dayes march was 35 verst.

Aug. 29, Sat. I marched early and about 10 aclock came to the river Aidar, which crossing, I encamped to the right of the way. Here I let off the stolenkes to go to their habitations.

30. Having notice that the Generallissimus was neer, I caused make dinner ready and rode out to meet him, and invited him with the other to dinner, w-ch he excused, being invited already by his brother in law, it being his name-day. He came, however, into my tent & stayed halfe ane howre.

All the colonells and officers with the gentlemen, as also the inferior officers, being called & convened together to the Generallissimus his tent, the Tzaars colours {74v} were brought, and a writing read wherein persons of all quality were thanked for their services, and the gentlemen dismissed.

242 Yevsug
After dinner I marched and turned to the right hand over the high ground and came to the r-t Casimka, 12 verst, where I supped; the regiments not encamping, but each standing with convenience. About 8 aclock afternoone I marched and by day-light crossed the head of the r. Bialinka243, 30 verst, where resting till sunrising,

Aug. 31. I marched and about 10 aclock came to the […] Dolina, where wood and digged pitts wherein water for necessity, 15 verst or [20 cr.a]. Here I stayed till 3 aclock afternoone, then marched & in the first howre of the night came to water where good grasse but no wood, about 20 verst. Here I stayed till two aclock in the morning

{75} September 1, Tuesd. Marched and by day light came to the r. Vray书法家, 12 verst, then 7 verst to the other Vray书法家, w-ch crosseing I dined, whither the governour of Vailuka244 came to me. After dinner I rode to Vailuka, 10 verst, and encamped by the Yempsky Slaboda. In the evening the Generallissimus came.

2. I dined with the Generallis. by the governour, and haveing gott 130 podvodes I marched, the Generallis. being gone by the way of Kuersk. About midnight I came to a lake a little short of a rjvulejt, where stayed 3 howres, 20 verst.

3. Marched and in the first howre of the day comeing to good convenience of grasse, wood & water, I rested & dined by Iagor Ivanovits Ianuf245, about 20 verst; and in the evening came to Novo Oskol, where supping & haveing gott fresh podvodes I marched all night, and at 6 aclock came to the village Akuniova246, 30 verst.

{75v} Sept-r 4, Frid. I caused writt orders for the sojours reg-t to have 30 and each of the streltsees to have or gett 20 podwodes for bringing-up the sick people. Haveing dined I marched to Stary Oskol, haveing crossed the r. Oskol thrice. Here were few podwodes, yet receiving these who were I stayed all night, and by day light

5. I crossed the r. Oskol, 10 verst, and rested on the other syde by the vill. Kraviova. Then to the vill. Opotczka, 20 verst, and 10 verst further to water in pitts on the right-hand of the way, where lodged.

243 Belen’kaya.  
244 Valyuka was then the southernmost fortress of Russia’s steppe frontier, so that the hardest part of the return march was over. Its voyevoda was Afanasy Gavrilovich Ragozin.  
245 Ye.I. Yanov, stol’nik, who as early as 1682 was sent to the Don Cossacks to administer their oath.  
246 Okunevo.
6. Marched by 2 aclock to the r-t Kalitina, 6 \textit{verst}, & as much to the other Opotczy; then 12 \textit{verst} further & rested, a vill. & water being on the right hand, but far of. Then marched 10 or 12 \textit{verst} further to water on the left hand, where stayed till 10 aclock at night. Then marched and

7. by sun-riseing came to the towne Livin, \{76\} 25 \textit{verst}. Here I crossed the river Sosna and having received \textit{podwodes}, I tooke by misinformation of guides the way to the right hand, and marched a great way all along the r-t Livinka, being a hilly narrow way. Then over a desart in the evening came to a little brooke, which crossing, I lodged, 20 \textit{verst}.

Sept-r 8. I marched early and came to the r. Luboshy, 5 \textit{verst}, w-ch crossing by a village, and 5 \textit{verst} further came to the great way, which keeping through a wood of oakes where scarcity of water, 20 \textit{verst}, and then had water on the right hand, being wells. Here resting a little, I marched over corne fields to the r. Sushia\textsuperscript{24}, which crossing came to Novosilla, 20 \textit{verst}, where receiving \textit{podwodes} I marched 10 \textit{verst} further and lodged by good convenience of grasse & water, but no wood.

\{76v\} Sept-r 9, Wed. A little after midnight I marched and about sunriseing came to a little brooke, 30 \textit{verst}, which crossing I dined. Then to the r. Plova, 20 \textit{verst}, whither I came 3 howres befor night and here caused bury the Ensigne Martin. Here wee had no wood but what wee fetched from the village.

10. I marched at 10 aclock at night & befor day light came to the river Solova, 20 \textit{verst}, and 30 \textit{verst} further to Tula; where dineing and receiving \textit{podwodes} marched 12 \textit{verst} and rested 3 howres. Then through very troublesome miry way

11. by 10 aclock I came to the iron-workes, about 40 \textit{verst}, where I found his M. and many noblemen.

I did writt by the post to my wyfe.

\{77\} Sept-r 14, Moond. My son Theodorus came to me.

I sent orders to let of the \textit{podwodes} and send my baggage to Mosko.

16. Theodorus gratulated his M. safe returne & glorious atchievments in a set speech.

17. Having notice that the Marines who went by water were some of them come to Voronies, his M. went to the Protwa iron workes, and I to Czerpuchow, 20 \textit{verst}.

\textsuperscript{24} Zusha.
18. Marched by day light and came to the vill. Lopatin[O], 25 verst, where dined; then to the vill. Mlobia, 15 verst, where lodged.

19. Marching early, I came to the r. Pachry, 20 verst, where the reg-ts were encamped.

{77v} Sept-r 20, Sund. I dined by the Okolnitze Ivan Ivano. Golovin.

24. Kniaz Boris Alexeyovitz Golitzin being come to his howse Dubrovitza, sent to desire me to come to him. I went & stayed till Saturnday.

26. Having dined I returned to the campe.

At 8 aclock at night his M. being come to Dubrovitza, and having gott notice that the Marines were marched from Czerpuchow, sent to me ordering me to march with all to Columinska.

27. I marched and came about 12 aclock to the vill. Novinka, where I lodged with the Butirsky reg-t, sending the other reg-ts to quarter in Kosuchova and Nagatina.

{78} Sept-r 28, Moon. His M. came. Being by him, it was concluded to make our entry on Wednesday, and orders sent to the Preobrasinsky reg-t to hasten day & night.

29. The Generalissimus came, advised with his M. about the ordering of our entry. Having dined there, I returned and caused prepare all things for the next day.

30. I caused the reg-ts to draw out and march and stand in order on the right side of the way, by the Semenofsky monastery.

At 9 aclock the Marines marched first by; then the Generalissimus with his household and other attendants; then the taken collours & the prisoners; then the Bombardiers; then the Generall Aftemon Mich. Golovin with his 5 reg-ts in the first whereof was carried on a scaffold the traitor Yaska with stretched out armes to the side-trees of a gallowes, his neck in a halter or rope tyed to the upper tree, above him a halfe-moone & starr, on his brest an inscription, he in Turkish habite with a turbant & irons on his legs, well guarded on all sydes, which spectacle had many spectators.

My 6 reg-ts marched afterwards, in the reg-t of Butirsky sojours being all the drummers, hoyboyes and these who led the spare horses, with 12 men on

248 Molodi.
250 Kolomenskoje, the tsars’ grand country estate south of Moscow, now within city limits.
251 Simonovsky.
252 At that period army musicians were often called “oboists”, although early military woodwind were usually fifes, not oboes.
each side of me, a dozen befor, and these who carried the military signes, as also the *firers*\(^{253}\) or under ensignes, were all clad in Turkish habite with turbants, which made a great & pleasant show, and much wondered at by the Russes as well as strangers.

Wee marched through the Castle or Tzaars Court, and befor the last gate the reg-ts were dismissed to their quarters, the *Generalissimus* to his house. The traitor Yaiska was convoyed by the Preobrasinsky reg-t to Preobrasinsko.

In the evening his M. sent for the Turkish collours to the *Generalissimus*, who at the first & second message refusing them, at the third getting a severe reprehension, was forced to deliver them.

As wee entred the gate of the stone bridge, where the triumphal arch was, short speeches were made out of a speaking trumpet, and many cannon fired continually till all were past.

\{79\} Oct-r 8, Thurs.\(^{254}\) In the afternoone at the buriall of Lt.Colonell Balk his son.

9. At home, being indisposed.

10. The anniversary of the departure of my first bedfellow & deare love.\(^{255}\)

11. At devotion. In the evening at the *sponsalia*\(^{256}\) of Eustachius Boleman with Coll. Christoph Rigeman his daughter, shee being my God-daughter.

12 [Moon.] Given into the Office 48 horses whereof 6 strayed, and left in Tambow 55, in all 103.

\{79\}\textit{v} Received letters from my son John, dated Achluichries\(^{257}\) 8 Aug. ’96. From my unkle, dated Westertowne the 14\textsuperscript{th} Aug.

From my brother John, dated Bridgend the 9\textsuperscript{th} July.

\(^{253}\) *Führer* (German) in 17\textsuperscript{th}-century Russian infantry was a company sub-ensign (*podznamenshchik*).

\(^{254}\) A week-long break in Gordon’s notes suggests a possible loss of folios in MS.

\(^{255}\) Gordon’s first wife, Catherine von Bockhoven (1650–1671/72).

\(^{256}\) Betrothal (Latin).

\(^{257}\) Auchleuchries (Gaelic *Achadh luachrach*, field of rushes), Patrick Gordon’s family estate and birthplace near Ellon in Aberdeenshire. These lands once belonged to the general’s mother, Mary Ogilvie, and were not rich, although he cherished them greatly. They yielded £ 357 6 sh. 8 d. Scots (about £ 30 sterling) a year (Aberdeen University Library, Special Collections, MS 252, Valuation of Aberdeenshire, 1674, fol. 39; MS 568, The Book or List off Poleable Persons within the Shire off Aberdein, 1696, fol. 831). The estate was held by the Gordons of the Hays, Earls of Erroll, in feu-ferme for an annual payment of £ 12 Scots. On 11 January 1692 General Gordon signed and sent to Scotland a formal deed transferring Auchleuchries to his eldest son John.
From my daughter in law, dated Achluichries 8 Aug.
From Margaret Burnet, dated Peterhead 28 April.
From my cousin W-m Gordon, dated Aberdeen 21 Aug.
From Mr. Meverell, dated London 4th July, all 1696, with the copy of his Apr. 3d.
Oct-r 13. In towne by the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein and in the Butirky. The regiment exercised & mustered, being 1,055 men whereof 26 not come as yet; and of these 12 left in Czirkask & 14 by the way; 141 without armes.
14. Being the birth day of our Royall Soveraigne King James, I sent for all the countreymen wee have here, and were merry at the drinking the remembrance of him & well affected persons.
His M. came hither in the 5th howre of the night.
Oct-r 15, Thur. Gave orders for sending in 49 horses to the Prikaz whereof 6 are such as podvodshikes left by the way.
Payed visitts to Lt. Gen-ll Gulits, Col-s Westhoffe & Kraghe.
The Boyar Boris Petrovitz Seremetuf being come, I had a particular relation of the expedition of the Zaporovish Cosakes into the Euxin Sea as followeth.
The Cashovoy, as they call him, went with about 1,500 men in boates into the sea in the beginning of the month of July, and passing or stealing by Oczakow roamed some dayes up & downe. They at last did fall on 3 ships of the Turkes going with mercandize to Caffa, and taking two of them gott good booty, some cannon & 30 or 40 prisoners. Destroying these ships, they went farther to seek for more booty and did fall upon some vessells cominge from befow Assow, which they attacked and had already made themselves masters of one of them, when 3 galleyes coming on, put them to their shifts in resisting; and after a sharp conflict, their kashovoy being wounded, retired and with him about 150 Cossakes, which the rest seeing betook themselves to flight, and were persued by the Turkes two dayes, who had also given notice to these of Oczakow to secure the passages into the r. Boristenes. So that the

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258 Elizabeth Grant († 1726), eldest daughter of the Roman Catholic Scots laird William Grant of Crichie, wife of Patrick Gordon’s eldest son John.
259 Probably a relation of Gordon’s old comrade-in-arms, Colonel Andrew Burnet of the Tsar’s service.
260 Prikaz (Russian), government office.
261 Podvodchiki (Russian), carters or waggoners.
262 Koshovyi otaman (Ukrainian) was the highest military leader of the Zaporizhian Host, elected by Cossack elders.
263 Medieval name of Feodosiya, Crimea.
264 Ancient name of the Dnieper.
Cossakes seeing themselves besett on all hands, resolved to go ashoare & fire or cut in pieces their boates & so march over land with their prisoners, and to leave on the illand […] the cannon and such booty as they could not carry along with them with a part of their forces, who having buryed the cannon and hide such booty as they left, might by tyme steale into the river.

So the Colonell Czialy was left there with 300 men. The rest haveing destroyed their boates marched away by land. But being not Farr from {81} Oczakow, a Turke who being prisoner the year befor, had taken the C[h]ri[sti-] an religion, had done them good service and was trusted by them, runaway and gave the Turkes in Oczakow notice of all, especially of the Colonell Czialy with his party in the illand. Whereupon a great detachement of foot was sent to search them out, which they did for many dayes, yet could not find them, the illand being bigg and full of bushes & marishes. But the Cossakes finding their provisions failing & that they must be discovered at last, resolved to take themselves to their boates, which they did, and rowing over to the Crim, plundered & set fire on diverse villages, and then to sea againe. But being persued by the Crimeans & the Turks of Oczakow, they were forced to land and so march of. But being hotly persued by the foot as well as horsemen who had joined them, they were driven into a thicket, where no water. Here {81v} they defended themselves 2 dayes, when fainting for want of water\(^\text{265}\) and haveing 50 of their number killed, they were forced to surrender and were carryed prisoners to Oczakow.

Oct-r 16. Colonell Ivan Roman. Farenbach dyed of ane inward apoplexy, having lyen speachles and without sence or moveing 4 dayes.

17.
18. At devotion. Towards evening by Mrs. Guasconi.
19. His M. in the evening by M. G. Menezes his widdow.

\{82\} Oct-r 20, Tues. At devotion.

Of seale skins in the trunke 26.

Of \textit{saffian}\(^\text{266}\) 34. 3 other skins & 4 granate baggs.
Of barked skins brought by Ivan Mechmetuf 130.

7 rime of paper & 4 rime not whole.

21. 3 howres befor day a fire in the Twersky street whereby 20 howses were consumed.

22. In Preobrasinsko. Spoke with his M. about the writeings.

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\(^{265}\) Written over “drink”.

\(^{266}\) \textit{Saffian} (Russian), morocco leather.
At the buriall of Colonell John Farensbach.
Caused receive 17 balls of cloth of a *malina* or raspberry collour, being 170 pieces or halves and 5,055 4/3 *[sic]* arshins, to be coats to the sojours.
23. Sent in the booke into the Stranger Office wherein were written these of the last yeare who were taken into service, to wit 147 freemen & 225 men who had belonged to boyars & others, in all 372.

Oct-r 24, Sat. Mr. le Ditte valued the jewell at 800 rubles.
At the buriall of Mrs. Cooke’s daughter, wyfe to […] van Geveren.
Received a letter from the English merch-ts, dated Archangell 12th instant.
25. Rode to Pokrofska or Chwily where his M. & others.
26. An attonement or agreement made.
Writt to the English merch-ts in ans-r to theirs of the 12th.
Came home
27. at two aclock in the morning.

Oct-r 28, Wed. Payed 5 rubles for drawing my picture to the wast.
29. At Preobrasinsko, dined thereafter by the *Dumny* Aftemon Ivanuf with his M. & others.
30. Payed 2 rubles 7 *grinees* postage for my last packet from Scotland, it weighing 10 *zolotniks*.
Cannon brought downe to fire at the great treat by G. Le Fort.

Oct-r 31. Payed 7 rubles, 9 *alt.* & 1 kop. for the ovens of the roomes for the guards.
Mustered the sojours who were enrolled this yeare, and turned out some of them.
More for 3,000 brickes & 10 load of clay, 55 *altines* to the abovem-d ovens.
The roll for pay of October for these who stayed in Mosko: 13 serjeants, 7 *furiers*, 15 corporalls & pipers, 92 sojours, 3 *emeriti*, widdowes 140, 5 sojours sons.

No-r 1, Sun. At devotion.
At the feast or treat by Gen-ll Le Fort, where stayed till 3 aclock in the morning.
2. Stayed at home, being indisposed, only heard devotion.

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267 *Malina* (Russian), raspberry.
268 Fili, old country estate of the Naryshkin family, now part of Moscow.
269 *Zolotnik*, old Russian unit of weight equal to 4.2658 grams.
270 *Vuirier* (French & German) was a company billeting NCO under the regimental quartermaster.
271 I.e. fifers, there were no bagpipes in the Russian army.
3. At the wedding of Ensigne Carolus von Smallenberg.
4. At the Cabinet counsell in Preobrasinsko, where concluded that the lords of 10,000 pawares should build & furnish out a ship with all & maintaine it constantly; so many to make up that number joyning together272, and these gentlemen who have under 100 of pawares shall give of each houwse or pawe halfe a ruble. And there being {84v} in Russia of these haveing upwards of a 100 pawares with the church lands 480,000, so there will be 48 ships built; all which must be ready against the first of Aprill 1698. It was concluded also to send 20,000 men of the Ukrainish or countrey militia to assist at the building a towne and harbour at Tagana-Rog, which army is to conveen at Valu[y]ka the first of March, and be there the first of May.

Given the boy Filat to learne the shoomaker trade by the sutor Michael Minayuf for 8 months; given 3 rubles in hand & 2 to be given 8 months hence.

No-r 5. Invited to Alex-r Petr. Protasiuf273 his treat, but did not go.
6. In the Butirky.
7. No-r 7, Sat. At home.
8. At the grand treat by the Generalissimus, where fireing at the drinking of healths out of 36 cannon. Came home at 12 aclock.
9. At 6 aclock in the morning a fire beyond the Colugaes Gate to the w-ch I went, where his M. also.
10. At the wedding of Lt. Adam Wedel.
11. His M. came in the evening to me and stayed about 2 howres.
12. No-r 12, Thur. At a treat by M. G-li von Mengden274, where the stranger who stayed last was evill treated.
13. A fire in Gen-li Le Forts house, but soone quenched.
14. In the evening by Gen-li Le Fort, where his M. & others.
15. At devotion, and being St. Leopoldus day, I had ffriends & drunk to the Rom. Emperour, with K[ing] Joseph275 and other good healths.

272 This act of the Duma obliged the owners of 100 peasant households or more “to join themselves together for a ship of 10,000 households”, i.e. to form companies (kump-anstva) for shipbuilding.
273 A.P. Protasyev (1655–1699), voyevoda, okol’nichy, head of Vladimir Judicial Office, from 1696 was in charge of galley-building in Voronezh and other places. Disgraced for bribery, he “died of grief and shame”.
274 Georg von Mengden († after 1702), in Russian sources Yury Andreyevich Famendin, Livonian German officer in Tsar’s army. Having served in Kiev with Gordon, probably on the latter’s recommendation he was given command of the elite Preobrazhensky regiment on 30 March 1692, then became a major general.
275 St. Leopold (1073–1136) is the holy patron of Austria. Prince Joseph (1678–1711), son and heir of Emperor Leopold I, was Archduke of Austria, from 1687 King of Hungary,
{86} No-r 16. Payed for 26 plates of iron weighing 10 pude 12 pund, at 8 gr. p[e]l pude, 8 - 28; for 6 stang[e]s276 weighing 6 pude 10 p[un]t, at 4 g., 2 - 5 -. In all 10 rubles 7 grivnees 8 den. This to a doore & 2 windowes in my burial place.

17. In Butirky, mustered out 43 of the most unlikely men.


19. At devotion.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 5th of No-r, in ans-r to myne dated here the 2d Oct-ris.

{86v} No-r 20, Frid. Writt to Mr. Fraser in ans-r to his rec-d yesterday.

In the evening by G. Le Fort where his M. & others.

21. At a wedding feast by Kniaż Boris Alex. [Golitsyn], where many boyars & thereafter his M.

22. At devotion; dined by I. Persenofsky277.


{87} No-r 24. In Butirkys. Caused measure over the cloth, there being of sad col-lour 1,784 arshins 3 4ts, and of light col-lour 3,254 arshins 3 q-ts & 2 verstkies279; in all 539280 arsh. 2 q-ts 2 verstkyes, there being wanting 16 arshins & 2 verst.

Dined by Mr. Termond281.

25. At devotion. Dined by my da-r Katherine, being her name-day.

26. In Butirkys, distributed cloth to the sojours.

Received a letter from Mr. Woolffe, dated 16 No-ris Archangell.

27.

{87v} No-r 28. In Butirky, where having calculated the number of measures in the cloth, caused give to each 5 arshins.

from 1690 King of the Romans, and from 1705 Holy Roman Emperor.

276 Stang (German), bar or rod.

277 I. Persenovsky, apothecary in Moscow.

278 Prince F.Yu. Romodanovsky (ca.1640–1717), Tsar Peter’s “Prince-Caesar” and mock Generalissimus, head of Preobrazhensky, Siberian and Apothecary Offices. During Peter’s Grand Embassy to the West in 1697–98 Romodanovsky was the virtual ruler of Russia.

279 Verstok, old Russian measure of length equal to 4.45 cm.

280 Should be 5,039.

281 Johan Termond, a native of Friesland, soon to become chief physician with Tsar Peter’s Grand Embassy to the West.
29. At the wedding of Eustachius Boleman, Major, with Agnes, daughter to Colonell Christophr Rigeman and my Goddaughter, where his M. & others.

30. At devotion, being St. Andrewes day, and againe at the wedding. Agreed to make 400 brazen overgilt pieces to the brests of the sojours coats for 10 altins a piece.

{88} Dec-r 1, Tuesd. Payed for 9 pude 29 pund of Swedish iron 4 rubles 16 altins, & for 10 plattes of iron weighing 3 pude 30 pund 3 rubles.

2. A list of the reg-t for Dec-r, Jan-r & Feb-r pay: 1 fireworkr, 32 serjeants, 27 capt. arme282, furiers & foriers, 42 corporalls, 45 hoyboyes, 2 verstany283, 851 not verstany; in all 1,000, 3 emeriti, 181 widdowes, 53 orphans.

Caused give 50 rubles for makeing of furniture to the sojours cloaths.

3. In the evening by his M. in Preobrasinsko, came home late.

4.

5. {88v} Dec-r 6, Sun. At devotion. Dined by Eustachius Boleman, being the inferr feast284.

7. Notice given for a feast by my son James.

8. Invited to the feast.

9. The feast, where his M. & many others.

Colonell van Kragge made the tryall of his shooting, which was & pleased well.

10. Advanced upon the acco-t of Mr. Philip Woolffe 13 rubles to Ro-t Cooper.

Writt to Mr. Tho. Loftus by him.

11. In Butirky. Agreed to make crests to the granadiers caps at 8 copikes a piece, being painted on white-iron.

{89} Dec-r 12. Payed for 2 pude of Sweds iron 32 altins.

13. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort, wher all or most drank.

Rec-d a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 3 Dec-r.

14. At home indisposed.

282 Kapitennarmus [French capitaine d’armes], senior NCO responsible for storage and distribution of arms, ammunition, uniforms and provisions.

283 Verstany (Russian), a serviceman with increased pay in kind, money or even land. Gordon sometimes calls one “a gentleman sojour”.

284 Infare (Scots), feast given by bridegroom to celebrate the coming of his bride to her new home.
Rec’d a letter from Colonel Levenfelt, dated Tobolsky\textsuperscript{285} 20 Oct-ris.  
15. In Butirky, did much business.  
16. At the burial of Nicolaes the ships carpenter. Dined by his M. in Preobrasinsko, came home late.  
17. I examined the business betwixt my son & the Tambovish sojours. In the evening by Mr. Guasconi, who came last night.  
\{89v\} Dec-r 17. Nikita Solochin gave in a note of the money by him of the last two expeditions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Of resting money</td>
<td>1,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of sojours not come</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all</td>
<td>1,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of this disbursed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(not agreeable w[j][t][h] ye former)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Fiodor Snietskofsky</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To plascht\textsuperscript{286}</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To other such</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Lubim for painting</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the smiths to granad-bags</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To timber to the roome</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Telepin to buy timber</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the carpenters</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{2}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaines</td>
<td>1,148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given to 939 sojours cloth 5 arbins to each. Not given to 66, whereof 15 not come. Cloth remains 320 arbs 3 q-ts, besides what is made and to be made in caps about 15 arbs; to 8 ensignees – 40.  
\{90\} Dec-r 18. In the night about 2 aclock in the morning Kniaź Andrew Petr. ProSOROFsky\textsuperscript{287} his howse burned, where all. 
Sent […]  
The bookes of the last expedition given into the Stranger Office.

\textsuperscript{285} In 1693 for some grave offence Colonel Christoph Löwenfeld was exiled to Tobol’sk, capital of Siberia.  
\textsuperscript{286} Plascht (Russian), cloaks.  
\textsuperscript{287} Prince A.P. Prozorovsky († 1722), boyar from 1692.
Received a letter from Colonel Fiodor Affanasseovitz Kolsakow, dated Azow 23 No-ris, wherein he writeth his reg-t is 750 strong, many whereof are sick & weakly.

From Col. Alexey Vasil. Buist, dated Azow 1 No-ris, showing that in October are 26 of his reg-t runaway & 26 dyed.

From Major Timofe[y] Belevin, dated Azow 3 No-ris, showing that that regiment is 938 men strong whereof 200 sick.

19. Received from Mr. Woolfe a letter, dated Archangel 14 No-ris, & with it a hogshead of claret, two halfe-ames & an halfe-anker of sack, with other things of his.

Al. Ob. Kn.289

20. At devotion.

{90v} Dec-r 21, Moon.290 Gott home the iron doores & windowes, w-ch weigh 24 pude & 30 pund; iron being given to them 17 pude of Swedish stang-iron and 39 pund, and of plates 14 pude & 2 punde; so that wants 7 pude 9 pund; 1½ pude of small things over 4 plates.

Nikita Solochin his acco-t received, wherein he writes:

Received pay for 960 sojours wherein the under officers comprehended, from the first of March to the first of July of the 7204 year after the Russe acco-t 6,057 – 30 – 4.

Given out of this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>March</th>
<th>April</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>June</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>1,168</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>956</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>1,127</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>921</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>924</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all</td>
<td></td>
<td>5,942</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaines</td>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

288 *Anker*, old Dutch measure of volume, or small cask holding around 45 bottles, or approx. 38.75 l.

289 Undeciphered. Possibly a Russian name.

290 Under the year 1696 AD on top right margins of this page and the next Gordon adds the year according to the Russian Orthodox calendar “from the Creation of the World”, 7205.
Payed to my ser-ts their yeares fee

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rubles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Ivan Beresin &amp; his wyfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivan the cooke &amp; his wyfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; for service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikita &amp; wyfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archip &amp; wyfe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miska 3 r. &amp; for service 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

{91} Payed of Kusma for the last yeare 1 ruble & for the future 2 rubles, he being hired for 8 rubles a yeare.

Dec-r 22. At the buriall of Peter Marselis merch-t.
Lent to Ivan Bogd. Yakufleuf 500 rubles, being the deceassed Coll.
23. Leviston his aires money at 10 p[e]r cento with pawne and writeing payable at Christmass 1697; and I have given my bond to the aires for that money, having the gentlemans writeing & pawne by me.
25. A little before midnight at devotion, confessed & communicated.
26. Sent for into the towne. A skaska\textsuperscript{291} or declaration read to us above, wherein after a particular relation of our services it was told us that the Boyar\textsuperscript{292} shall receive a medall of 13 ducates with a chaine, a covered gilted cup, a coat of cloth of gold lined with sables & 307 pawres\textsuperscript{293}. To the Generall [A.M.] Golovin & me to each a medall of 6 ducates, a covered gilted cup, a coat of cloth of gold lined with sables & \{91\} 100 pawres. To the Generall Commissary [F.A.] Golovin a medall of 5 ½ ducates, a cup, coat, with 57 pawres. To diverse others cups, medalls & coats; & to Nikita Zotuf\textsuperscript{294} 40 pawres. Wee dined by the Generallissimus, went afterwards & thanked his Ma-tie.

Gave to Alex. Sim. [Shein’s] singers a ruble.

Dec-r 27, Sun. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] & L.K. [Naryshkin]. Dined by Colonell Kray, where the agreement betwixt him & the Baron.\textsuperscript{295}

\textsuperscript{291} Skazka (Old Russian), notification or report.
\textsuperscript{292} A.S. Shein.
\textsuperscript{293} Here and just below peasant households (dvory) are meant.
\textsuperscript{294} N.M. Zotov (ca.1644–1718), former tutor to young Tsar Peter, dumny dyak. Also held the mock title of “All-Foolish Father Ioannikit, Patriarch of Presburg, Kokuy and All Yauza”. In the second Azov campaign he directed the headquarters chancellery.
\textsuperscript{295} Colonel von Krage and probably Baron von Borgsdorf.
28. His M. by me in the morning; gave orders that the Colonell Kray should make another tryal of shooting.


30. Gave to Lew Kiril. singers 2 rubles.

31. The great company of singers by me, to whom I gave 3 rubles, and to the other singers a ruble.

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296 “At Yuletide a company of some 200… in several dozen sleighs would tour the city all night till morning “to sing the praises”; at the head of the procession was the mock Patriarch in his vestments with crozier and tin mitre, followed at full gallop by sleighs crammed with his singing and whistling attendants. Owners of houses honoured with a visit by these laudators had to entertain them and pay for the praises; they drank horribly at that…” (V. Kliuechevsky, Russkaya istoriya, II (Moscow, 1997), pp. 485–6).
Jan-ry 1, Frid.  God give us a good new yeare!
  Writt to Mr. Frazer about the deck sent by Ro-t Cowper, the booke I wrott
  for formerly & some Rigaes butts.
  The great slavizniks\textsuperscript{297} in the Butirky, to whom given 10 rubles.
  2.  Agreed with Nikita & Stephan to build me a stone-house according to
      the modell, & to give him for worke 120 rubles and 10 span of brandy.
  3.  At a great feast by Gen-ll Le Fort.
      Gave to the Dutch trumpeters fowre ducats.
  4.  In towne by T.N. [Streshnev]. The reg-t mustered.
  5.  Againe in towne.
      Agreed with Julian Saveliuf to furnish 300 tunne of lime at 6 alt-\$s the tunne
      w[i][h] 10 tunne to the boote; given 27 rubles in hand.
      Agreed for the yuft\textsuperscript{298} of white stones, being 100 of ane arsh. \& 100[?]\textsuperscript{299} of
      3 4-ts arsh. at two rubles 7 gr-s the yuft.
      {92v}  Agreed for bricks at 60 alt. 5 kop. the 1,000 with carriage, and 14 gr-s
      without careiage; given to the master 60 rubles.
  Jan-ry 6, Wed.  Called above early and gott orders together with the Boyar
  Alexey Simonovits Shein & Knia\textsuperscript{300}z Luka Fiodorovitz Dolgorukov\textsuperscript{300} to go to
  service to Azow.
  7.  In towne, gott nothing done about the villages. In the afternoone by
      Mr. Vinius.
  8.  In towne againe, \& in the afternoone by Knia\textsuperscript{300}z Boris Alexeyovits
      [Golitsyn].
      Magnus Menezes\textsuperscript{301} came in the evening.

\textsuperscript{297} Slaviznikh, Russian choirs which sang praises during Christmastide.
\textsuperscript{298} Yuft\textsuperscript{298} (Russian), leather, originally treated with tar.
\textsuperscript{299} The last digit is indistinct.
\textsuperscript{300} Prince L.F. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) († 1710), from 1671 stol'nik, then roveyda in Kiev,
    from 1697 commander of Sevsk razriad (army corps).
\textsuperscript{301} Magnus, eldest son of Major General Paul Menzies, was born in Moscow ca.1677. In
    1691 he went to the “Imperial lands” to study, which he did for about a year and a half,
    then served in the Emperor’s army as ensign and lieutenant for four years more. On
    8 April 1697 he became a Russian subject. On 19 November 1700, as major, he was
    captured by the Swedes at the battle of Narva.

Jan-ry 10. 9 regiments of streltzes ordered to service, 6 to Azow, 2 to Byalogrod & 1 to Kyow.

The Venetians came.

11. In towne, and by his M.

12. Dined by Colonell von Kraghe, where his M., and diverse proofs made of military inventions.

13. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] and by Mr. Boetenant and by L.K. [Naryshkin].

14. Dined by the Baron of Borgstorffe.

Jan-ry 16, Sat. The Ottoman of the Dons Cosakes by me in the morning, as also the Italians or Venetians lately come.

In the afternoone Colonell van Kraghe shewed proofs of shooting out of cannon and with bombes extraordinary speedily, with [th] cartouses and bombes prepared with a rope tyed round them, neither spiegell, prop nor the bombe pitched, which, as reason, pleased.

In the evening wee went all to John Vryes, where began the grand treat by the Englishes.

17. Feasted all this day and came home a little before midnight.

18. Agreed with the smiths Fiodor Ivanuf, Michala Nikolayev for 10 kopikes a pude for worke; 2 kop. for a sowder & as much for a obuch & zasove,

---

302 Harry (Henry, in Russia: Andrey) Gordon, Scottish Jacobite captain. In 1689 he was an officer in the Edinburgh garrison under his clan chief Duke of Gordon, who held the castle against William of Orange (Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1689 (Edinburgh, 1828), pp. 36, 58, 60, 75). In September 1691 with the Duke’s recommendation Harry came to Russia via Warsaw. Under the patronage of General Gordon on 16 August 1692 he was promoted to major, then served in Count Graham’s regiment in Belgorod and saw action against the Tatars in Ukraine. On 21 January 1695 in Moscow he married Caroline Ronaer. Probably took part in Azov campaigns. In 1697–8, as lt.colonel, he was based in Archangel. In 1700 he fell prisoner to the Swedes at Narva, but 10 years later won his freedom with Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky and other Russian captives, who seized the Swedish frigate that transported them from Stockholm to Göteborg; on 19 June 1711 they reached Russian-held Reval.

303 Belgorod.

304 Evidently, galley builders sent upon Tsar Peter’s request by his ally, the Republic of Venice.

305 Heinrich (Andrey) Butenant von Rosenbusch (ca.1634–1701), originally a merchant from Hamburg, since 1679 served as Danish factor (resident) in Moscow and was ennobled by his King; he also owned iron foundries in the Tula and Olonets regions.

306 Spiegell (German), sabot, a device used in a cannon or firearm to fire a projectile that is smaller than the bore diameter.

307 Obukh & zasor (Russian), bolt eye and bolt, or bar lock.
1697

I kop. for a *kruik*\(^{308}\).

Given Fiodor the chiefe smith ten rubles.

Received a letter from the Cosakes Hetman Masepa, together with a pipe of brandy, a wild boar & a rae. Gave to his ser-t a reichs doller.

\{94\} Jan-ry 19, Tues. In towne twice. At night by Ivan Moskow.

20. At home indisposed.

Gave to the brick-maker 100 rubles, now in all 160 r.

21. Having had a violent fitt of the collick in the night-tyme, I kept my bed all day.

22. Having taken phisick at night, it had good operation this day, so that I began to recover.

Colonell Baltazar de Lauzier dyed, and the chirurgeons, who had cutted and promised confidently to cure the excrescency under his eye, imprisoned.

23. Gave to Nikita the *podriadshik*\(^{309}\) 5 rubles.

To the carpenter 2 rubles.

24. The wedding of Mr. Isbrandt with Mr. Munters daughter.

\{94v\} Jan-ry 25, Moon. I durst not hazard abroad, being not fully recovered.

26. A *skasy* or declaration to the sojours. Every one to have a gold kopike, and these who have lands to gett 100 *chetvert*\(^{310}\) augmentation and each eight rubles in money.

His M. dyed by the *Okolnitze* Peter Matf. Opraxin, who goeth governour to the Great-Novogrod.

27. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev], L.K. [Naryshkin] & Al. Sim. [Shein].

28. The buriall of Coll. de Lawzier with Catholick ceremonies.

29. In towne by his M. about the Imp[erial] coll.\(^{311}\) his busines. He with the *Dunmy* by me in the evening.

30.

31. At the wedding of Pope with Mr. Mullers daughter, with great pompe.

\{95\} Feb-ry 1, Moon. At the wedding of Jan Jacobson with Andrew Litzkin his daughter, and in the evening at the other wedding.

\(^{308}\) *Kruik* (Russian), hook.

\(^{309}\) *Podriadshik* (Russian), contractor or master builder.

\(^{310}\) *Chetvert* (Russian), literally, fourth part or quarter, but here and elsewhere it means an old measure of land of varying size, in some cases 40 by 30 *iarben* (fathoms).

\(^{311}\) Probably, von Krage.
2. Writt to the Hetman in answer to his of the 7th past by his ser-t Jacob Ivanuf.
Dined with his M. by the Imp. colonell.
Afterwards in the Ambassay boffe and at the wedding by Doctor Carbonary.
3. In towne, and againe in the afternoone.
4. At the wedding of Lt.Colonell Georg Westhoffe with Colonell Gaspar Gulits his widdow daughter.
5. At the burrail of Jan Vlamme; dined in Preobrasinsko.
6. Feb-ry 6, Sat. At the burrail of van der Hulsts mother.
7. At devotion. Dined by the Engineer Holtsman. The misfortune of the Imperiall colonell in wounding the minirer.
My yeares pay brought, being 952 rubles.
8. At a birth dayes feast by Kniaæ Fiodor Yuriovitz Romadanofsky, where late.
9. At home indisposed.
10. In towne, nothing done.
11. In towne, then by Kniaæ Fiod. Yurio. Dined with friends by Mr. Guascony, came home late.
12. Feb-ry 12, Frid. In towne. Gott ane order for the village Krasna in the Resansky district, being 37 paures, & Ivanofiska in the Solofskyes district, being 25 paures. A writer of the Bolshoy Dworets called Fiodor Deraviagin being ordered to go thither, writt over all things and deliver them to any I shall order.
Dined by Al. Sim. [Shein], stayed till cr.o. late as all the reg-ts also to have been present at the fireworks, but they not being ready, all was deferred till the next day.
13. In the first houre of the night the fireworks were fired, & continued till 10 with good success.
14. At a feast by the Admirall Le Fort. Thereafter at the wedding of Andrew Boetenant von Rosenbush with Jean Crawfuird of Jordanhill.

312 Prince Yu.F. Shakhovskoy († 1713), stol’nik, one of Tsar Peter’s court jesters, styled as “Archdeacon Gedeon of the All-Drunken Synod” and “Knight of the Order of Judas”. From 1711 he was general gewaltiger, i.e. head of Russian military police.
313 Jan Vlamm(e), captain of the 44-gun frigate Santa Profetie, built on Tsar Peter’s commission in Holland and sent to Archangel in 1694.
314 Zacharias Arnold van der Hulst († 1694), Dutch doctor at the Tsars’ court.
315 F. Dereviagin, podvysy of the Great Palace Office (Bolshoy Dworets) from 1688.
316 Jean Crawford, daughter of Major General Daniel Crawford of the Russian service (†
This day my son Theodorus being borne, an entertainment was intended, and delayed till the next day, because I could not be present.

Feb-ry 15, Moon. Had an evening entertainment upon the account of my sons birth-day, where all merry till 4 aclock in the morning.

Dispatched Capt. Kaczyauf with the writer to receive the 2 villages.

At home, being indisposed.

Doctor John Buck after much solicitations was received by my intercession into his Ma-ties service on Sunday last.

Being Ash Wednesday, at devotion and the sprinkling of ashes ceremony.

Given in a note of officers for the Butirsky & the 3 Tambovish, viz.: 3 colonells, 5 lt.colonells, 11 maiors, 27 captains, 3 capt. l-ts, 37 lieutennants, 3 quarterm-rs, 1 adjutant, 46 ensignes; in all 136 officers, to whom with me for 4 months full pay cometh 4,973 rubles 9 alt-s 2 denges, but to reckon in the yeares pay comes to 3,315 rubles 12 alt. 4 denges.

In towne, Butirky & in Preobrasinsko.

Feb-ry 19, Frid. At home, tooke phisick which had good operation.

In towne, at a birth- or names-day feast by Leo Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], where his M. & others.


Rec'd a letter from Mr. Joseph Woolffe, dated London Jan. 19.

In towne by Tich. Nik. [Streshnev], Leo Kiril. & Al. Semen. [Shein]. The Stranger Office given to Al. Sim.

Feb-ry 23, Tuesd. At home. In the evening by Gen-ll Le Fort, where a merry intended night spoiled by an accident of discovering.317

At devotion. Expected his M. to supper, but being taken up with multitude of business he could not come.

At a vecherinka318 by G. Le Fort, where dancing till 3 aclock in the morning.

His M. promised to come to me, but did not come.

My ser-ts returned with the writer, having written up and given of the villages of Ivanofsky & Krasna, in the first 25 and in the last 37 pawres.

At devotion. Ffriends by me in the evening.

1674), who had been Gordon's regimental commander and friend. These Crawfords belonged to the family of Jordanhill, an estate near Glasgow.

317 On this day the Tsar was informed of the conspiracy of Ivan Tsykler and his accomplices.

318 Vecherinka (Russian), party, soiree.
March 1, Moon. In towne & in Preobrasinsko, by his M. The Boyar Tichon Nik. [Streshnev] by me in the evening.

2. At a feast by Kniaz Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky].

The traitors sentenced by all the boyars.

3. The traitours should have been executed, but was deferred till the next-day.

4 [Thur.] About 11 aclock the traitors Alexey Prokoifuf Sukownin, Ivan Eliseuf Sichler, Fiodor Matfeuf Puskin were brought forth to the place of execution; and after their crimes were read before them, the two first had their hands & feet cut off & then their heads; the last only his head.

A pillar being erected on the piazza in the towne, on the tops whereof the heads were set up, and the cut-off members round about, the rumpes were throwne downe by the pillar; all being brought as in procession from Preobrazinsko where they were executed. They all confessed that they had an intention to have murdered his Ma-tie, and to that purpose had tryed to draw the strælers to their party. And because the Boyar Ivan Michaelovitz Miloslavsky, who deceased about 12 yeares ago, was the author of all the plotts ag-t his present Ma-tie, it was ordained that he should be digged up and brought in his coffin to the place of execution, which was accordingly done; and he being drawne on a sledge by two great boares brought to the place, & the coffin being made open and he uncovered, the blood of each of their heads as they were cut of sprinkled on the dead carkass, which in some places was rotten & consumed.

His M. had promised to come to supper to me, but was hindred by going to the buriall of his uncle Martimian Kiril. Narishkin.

The village Krasna, about which the difference betwixt G. Le Fort & me, given to him.

March 5. I was in towne.

In the evening his M. came to me and supped and stayed till near midnight.

319 A.P. Sokovnin († 1697), voyevoda, from 1682 okol'nichy, from 1690 yasel'nichy. Ivan Yeliseyevich Tsykler († 1697), strælsy colonel of foreign stock, Orthodox convert. He supported Tsarevna Sophia and was a leader of the stræltsy revolt of 1682. In 1689 he defected to Tsar Peter's party, informing him of Sophia's plot. In 1692 he became a Duma nobleman and voyevoda in Verkhoturye. F.M. Pushkin († 1697), sta'nik.

320 I.M. Miloslavsky (1635–1685), boyar and voyevoda, one of the leaders of the Miloslavsky party and the conspiracy of 1682. He was in charge of the Foreigners’, Reiters’ and Cannonier Offices.

321 M.K. Naryshkin († 1697), chamber sta’nik, then boyar.

7. At devotion. Gott the order to receive the village Krasna Slaboda in the Resansky district, being 64 howses.

My sone went from hence. The Butirsky regiment marched from hence.

8. In towne.

9. A feast by Gen. Le Fort from whence all went to Nikolska, 15 *verst* from hence, where I with others lodged.

10. Having dined early, his M. bidd adiow to all there, being most of the senators & ppl strangers. Thereafter wee tooke our leave of the ambas- sadour and all the rest, who lodged this night in Czesnikow, 40 *verst* from Mosko.

The peasants came from Ivanofsky, brought 20 tunnes of rey & 5 tunnes of oates; and remained in 2 barnes as yet 25 tunnes of oates and 5 of rey.

{99v} **March 11, Thur.** Sent away the orders to receive the village by Capt. Kaczayuf.

12. Sent away the most of my baggage *yet by accident was forced to stay.*

Given to Ivan Mechmetuf 10 rubles.

Mustered these who remained in the Slaboda, being 102 men whereof 13 serjeants, 5 *furets*, 9 corporalls & 72 common souldiers; 130 wivses & mothers of unmarryed sojours, at 15 *altins* per month; 159 widdowes who have male children, at 15 *alt*.; 6 *emeriti* who have male children, at 20 *alt*.; 51 orphans.

Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort.

13. In towne, tooke leave of diverse in the towne & Slaboda.

Advised by Dimitre Gavrielov to buy Pobedna Slaboda on the other syde of the river Poswa and Valina Polania on the other syde of the river Paria in the wood.

---

322 *Dorf* (German), village.

323 In March 1697 Tsar Peter departed on his unprecedented Grand Embassy to Western Europe, which was to last a year and a half.

324 “The First Grand Ambassador” of this remarkable Russian mission to the West was General Lefort, the second, Boyar F.A. Golovin, and the third, Dumny Dyak P.B. Voznitsyn.

325 Chashnikovo.

326 Marked words crossed out in MS.
The writer Ivan Baybakow gave of to the writer Terenty Kirilow 327 608 rubles 9 alt. 4 deng.

{100} March 14, Sund. At devotion. Dined by Mr. Guasconi with friends. Russ friends by me in the evening.
15. Gott 50 rubles, which had been taken into the Dworets out of my village Ivanofska.
78 r[ubbles] by I[van?].
16. In towne, tooke leave of some lords.
17. Made up my acco-ts with Mr. Munter, he being owing me 600 rubles.
Made good Mr. Frasers assignation to him in part of the interest for the last yeare.
18. Payed to Kusma 6 rubles 26 altins for spices.
Writt to my son John & Mr. Joseph Woolffe in answer to theirs of the 8th of August & 19th Jan-ry per post.
19. Payed to Alexey the fisher 7 ½ rubles for alive fish and 6 more for to morrow.
Given to Ivan Beresin 15 rubles to build a mill.
Given of my daughter Katherine her money 400 rubles, to receive the next year this date 440 rubles, receiving in pledge 46 pund & 92 zolotniks in silver plate, and a round to a cap sowed with pearle & small diamonds & rubies.

{100v} March 20, Sat. His Ma-ties Priviledge letter or Patent brought to me for the Hereditary Lands of Krasna Sloboda or Grodno, and Ivanofsko, as also a medall of sixe ducates, by the Chancellour Ivan Timof. Kubiakuf and the writer Michael Gregor. Gulayuf328, to each of whom I gave 5 ducates. The parchment to the letter cost 12 rubles, the silver case to the seale 3 rubles & 10 altines, the other decorments six rubles, the boxe to keep it in 1 ruble & 2 grinees.
The Boyar Tichon Nikitovitz [Streshnev] with his chancellours and some writers and acquaintances dined with me, in all about 30 persons, and were merry.
21. At devotion.
Rec’d a letter from his Ma-tie, dated Novogrod 17 Martii, and written some of it with his owne hand.

327 I. Baybakov and T. Kirillov, podwybe of the Foreigners’ and Judicial Palace Offices respectively.
328 I.T. Kobiakov († 1700), from 1690 dyak of Razriadny Prikaz; M.G. Guliyev († after 1704), from 1674 podwyby, from 1700 dyak at the same Office.
22. Writt to my son John & his wyfe, the Lord of Achintowl, the Laird of
Crichy, my uncle, brother, cousin W-m and to Marg. Burnet in answer to
these received last, and given this packet with my picture to Mr. Ph. Woolffe.
To Harry Gordon at Archangel in ans-r to his of the 23 past. The packet
for Scotland sent with my picture by Mr. Stiles\textsuperscript{329}.
Sent my people to view a place to be sold 35 \textit{versts} from Mosko.
23. Gave to the writer who writt the Priviledg-letter a ruble, because he
had cott too litle.
Made up my acco-ts with Mr. Woolffe; payed him upon the acco-t of the
deceased James Bruce 91 rubles, and upon my owne acco-t 61 rubles, so that
there remains by him over the 200 rubles given to him 48 rubles.
\{101\} March 24. Gott halfe \textit{aame} of French wine from Mr. Woolfe.
Bought a man and a wyfe with 3 sons from a gentleman Konrady Niki-
foruf for 27 rubles.
Gott 40 rubles, which had been taken into the \textit{Dworets} out of my village
Krasna Slaboda or Grodno.
25. At devotion.
26. Writt to his Ma-tie\textsuperscript{330} in returne to his of the 17th.
27. The Boyar Knia\v{z} Boris Alexeyovitz Golitzin with severall others
dined by me.
Received 90 rubles for a gilt cup of 6 pund & cloth of gold to a coat.
Received sables for 180 rubles to line the coat with.
28. At devotion.
29. Rode to Bratofshin 30 \textit{verst} and then to Andrushina 18 \textit{verst}, where
viewed the conveniences of that place which I intend to buy; returned to
Danielofsky belonging to the Czudofsky monastery, 4 \{\textit{verst}\}, where I lodged.
The place or \textit{pustosh}\textsuperscript{331} called Andrushina, belonging to Knia\v{z} Ivan Perfilo-
vits Shachofsky\textsuperscript{332}, for w-ch he asketh 490 rubles with a family, & I give him
350 rubles.
\{101v\} March 30, Tues. Returned to Mosko at 3 aclock afternoone.

\textsuperscript{329} Henry ("Andrey") Stiles († 1712), prominent English merchant who enjoyed Tsar Peter's
favour. Mentioned in Russia since 1684, he entertained the Tsar in London in 1698.
In the 1700s he founded a powder factory in Obukhovo on the Kliaz'ma, which for a
while became the largest in Russia.
\textsuperscript{330} This letter from Gordon to the tsar survives and was published (Pis'ma i bumagi Imperatora
\textsuperscript{331} \textit{Pustosh} (Russian), wasteland.
\textsuperscript{332} Prince I.P. Shakhovskoy (1636–1716), chamber \textit{stol'nik} of Tsar Ioann V.
Received a letter from the Ambassadour Le Fort, dated Plesko\textsuperscript{333} 27 Martii, which day he with his suite went from thence.

31. At devotion. Payed to Al[exey] for alive fish fyve rubles.

This day I ended the 62d yeare of my troublesome lyfe. Blessed be the great & glorious name of the Almighty and Most Mercifull God for giving me so long and large a tyme of repentance, whereof if I have not made due use, I crave pardon of God Almighty!

This same day about 3 aclock afternoone I begin the 63d yeare of my lyfe, being my great climicterick, and so accounted the most dangerous.

O most gracious God, dispose of me according to thy good will & pleasure. I resigne my self wholly to thy will, \textit{ecce ego in flagella paratus sum}\textsuperscript{334}. If thou art pleased to afflict me, it is but what I deserve. If thou shalt be pleased to call for me out of this world, thy will be done. If thou shalt be pleased to prolong my lyfe and peregrination in this world, thy will be done. Grant me only that I may make better use of my future tyme, as I have done of the bypast. Grant me true contrition, amendement of my lyfe, to conforme my will to thine, and with joy to expect the tyme of my dissolution. Amen. Amen.

\{102\} Aprill 1, Thur. At devotion, confessed and received the blessed Sacrament.

In the evening I was by the \textit{Generallissimus}, he haveing sent for me to advise concerning our march.

2. At devotion.

3. Given or advanced in all to the sojours 71 rubles for their pay for Aprill, & other casualties.

4.

5. Jacob Kusmin \textit{sin Kormiltzin} my neighbowr in Resan\textsuperscript{335} came to me, promiseing assistance in the village business.

\{102v\} Aprill 6, Tuesd. At devotion, received the benediction from the paters. At 9 aclock bid adiew to my family and went through Mosko, and lodged in Pachry or the vill. by the r[iver] Pachry called […]

7. Rode to Dubrovitza, tooke leave of \textit{Kniaz} Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn], haveing first dined. Then rode to Molodiach, where rested, & lodged in Lopatin[o].

\textsuperscript{333} Pskov.

\textsuperscript{334} Lo, I am ready for the scourge (Latin Vulgate, Psalm 37:18).

\textsuperscript{335} Riazan'.
8. Came to Czerpuchow. Passed the r. Occa in the night with some difficulty.

9. Breakfasted in the village Lipitsa, 3 verst. Rode to the iron workes and lodged in Kamionka, whither our wagons came late; this from the iron workes 10 verst, and these from the r. Occa 20.

10. Passed by a church on the right hand, 10 verst, to the dorp Telegino, 5 verst, & 5 verst further dined by the vill. & r. Voshiana, which running to the west falleth in the r. Volotta 7 verst from hence, and 20 verst further lodged by the r. Volotta, which falleth in the r. Occa 30 verst from the high way or road.

103 Aprill 11, Sun. Came to the towne Tula, crossing the r. Uppa, 10 verst, where getting fresh horses and having dined and bought necessaries for the paumres I had with me, I went the Msczinesk road, and because of the bad way going about to the left by the vill. Rudakovo, lodged by the r-t Koslofka in the sashek by the high way from Tula, 10 or 12 verst.

12. Passed through the sashek to Yasnia Polania, 3 verst, & the dorp Grodru, 1 verst, 1 verst further to the vil. Koczak Migunuf on the right hand; to the dorp Yesirky, 5 verst. Then going from the Msczenesk way [to] the Murafsko road by the d. Spiczin on the left hand, 3 verst from Yesirky; then through a desert yet corne-land by a house alone and villages on the r. Uppa on the left hand, came to the d. Czubarevo, about 20 verst, where having refreshed men & horses, rode to the high way again by a small d. to the r. Uppa by the vil. Zariow Pristan, 5 verst, having gone this day about 40 verst.

13. Rode out into the desart, having the r. Uppa on our left hand to a place called the Bishops Bush; 10 verst, and 10 verst further by a vil. belonging to the Chrusczowes. Then having the r. Krasiva Meczet on our left hand came to a village belonging to the Ignatiufs, 5 verst, & 5 verst further to the d. Ivanofsko, by which the r. Zitowa Meczet runneth, which about 10 verst from it falleth in the river Krasivo Meczet, having first from the south

336 Gordon is incorrect here: Vashana river flows into Oka, and Volot’ into Upa.

337 Ozerki. The first Slavic language that Gordon mastered was Polish, and even after many years in Russia he sometimes polonises Russian words (Polish jezioro, lake).

338 Muravsky shliakh, steppe road, which led from the Crimea through the watershed of the Vorskla and Seversky Donets rivers towards Livny and Tula. Crimean Tatars often used it to invade Ukrainian and Russian lands.

339 Apparently, identical in meaning and location with Vladychnye Kusty, mentioned by Gordon on his return journey (below, fol. 158v).

340 Sitova Mecha. This very village of Ivanovskoye was recently granted by the Tsar to General Gordon. Hence his instructions below to the village elder (starosta) and servants.
west received the r-t Kamine or Stony Meczet. This dorpe is 40 verst from Tzar-erow Pristan and 90 from Tula, from Yefremow 20 or 30, and from Novosila [...] Left here by the starost\(^{341}\) Nikifor 12 rubles to buy roomes for ser-ts, 6 to pay the land bought from Marke. 5 rubles by Yelfim to pay the other gentleman for his land, and with my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf 9 rubles to give to 3 ser-ts with their families, and 2 to buy necessaries for the other ser-ts.

April 14, Wed. Having dined, I rode along the r. Zitovy Meczet by some howses on the other syde, and a little vil. on this syde, to the vill. Kadno, 10 verst, where lodged. Here groweth woods of pleasant birches & other trees, which the inhabitants here being petty gentlemen & sojours preserve each the places opposite to his habitation; all the rest of the countrey to the west & sowth a great way being desart without wood, yet good corneland.

15. Crossed the river Krasivoy Meczet by a bridge, which I caused repaire, and passing by diverse villages came to the towne Yeffremow, 20 verst, where crossing the r. Meczet I dined. This r. Meczet falleth into the river \{104\} [Sosna cr.o.] Don about 30 verst from hence, being here pretty navigable for small vessels. Marched 12 verst further and lodged in the fields by wood & water.

April 16. Marched early and came 15 verst to the r-t Palonke by the vil-s Sadnoe & [...] Came 10 verst further and crossed the r. Palnoe or Great Palnoe, which haveing received the Lesser falleth in the r. Sosna some verst below the towne Yelets. Then passing by the vil. Kapustin on the left hand & ano-r on the right came to the vill. Rogatow, where lodged, 10 verst from the r. Palnoe.

17. Marched to the towne Yelets, 5 verst, where first crossing the r-t Yelets & then the river Sosna by a bridge, gott change of horses and dined on the other syde. This r. Sosna, being here a navigable river, falleth in the r. Don 30 verst from Yelets, and below Lebedan some verst. Here I left two of my best horses.

At 3 aclock afternoone I marched and keeping the high road through a desart 20 verst, passing here 2 small brookes, or rather one, where a church standing alone, & on the other side a d. called Slepuchino. Then in the nighttyme crossed the r. Snova by the vil. Dolgushino. This Snova haveing \{104v\} received the r-t Lomovets & others falleth in the r. Don 20 verst from Dolgushino. Came to Lomofitsa vill., haveing crossed the r-t of that name 10 verst from Slepuchino.

\(^{341}\) Starosta (Russian), village elder.
Writt to my wyfe by the Tules yemshik\(^{342}\), addressing it to Tule to [...] and to my ser-t Ivan Vlasu by the poteshne\(^{343}\) Safka.

Aprill 18, Sund. The waggons coming but this morning, I marched 10 verst & dined in the vil. Kaminin, where a fellow without any occasion given rung the larum bell, whom I caused lay hold on and beat him soundly; then caused ty him neck & heeles, intending to take him to the governour of the next towne, but the priest and seniors interceeding, I let him go at last. This vill. is from the r. Don 15 verst. Then crossing the Lesser Snova came to Ziemlianska, about 30 verst, where lodged.

19. Marched not early, the fresh horses being brought but late. Then came to the r. Veduga, 10 verst, which crossed by a foord at the vil. Ievliova. This r. falleth in the r. Don about 20 verst from hence. Marched 25 verst further to the vil. Chochlova, where the r. called the Smierdusha Dievitsa or Stinking Maide, where lodged. This r. falleth in the Don 30 verst from hence.

{105} Aprill 20. Having crossed the forsaid river, which is very cleare and in many places exceeding deep, came 10 verst to the vill. Nikolska, where the brook called the Dry Yemantsa which falleth in the r. Dievitsa; and 10 verst further crossing the r-t Swietla Voda, dined at the village Siomadieseta\(^{344}\). Came then about 12 verst further & lodged by the vill. Krasno, where no river.

21. Turned of from the Ribnaes road to the right hand & came to the r. Potudin\(^{345}\), 10 verst, which crossing by a bridge at the vil. Podgorna. This r. falleth in the r. Don 20 verst from hence. Then 10 verst further to the vil. Setitza\(^{346}\), and a verst further dined by the vil. Salomnova. Then a verst further by the vil. Chmielova, which belongeth to the Wsiords district, and 10 verst further to the d. Prutky, where the r-t Kapleika, which falleth in the r. Wsiord 7 verst from the dorp. Here I lodged.

22. Came at 8 aclock to the towne Wsiord\(^{347}\), crossing the r. Wsiord by the towne, where it falleth in the Southerne or Calme Sosna, which falleth in the r. Don at the Diw[n]ogorsky monastery 50 verst from this towne.

Writt to my wyfe, daughte[rs], M-rs Vinius, Krevet, Woolfe, Stiles, Frazer, Forbess, Gen-II Le Fort, G[reat] Cap[tain]\(^{348}\), Fiod. Fiod. Yamshchik (Russian), coachman.

342 Yemshchik (Russian), coachman.
343 Poteshnye was the name of Tsar Peter’s “playmen” of Preobrazhenskoye and Semionovskoye, who were formed with Gordon’s help into two elite regiments in the early 1690s.
344 Semidesiatka.
345 Potudin’.
346 Setishche.
347 Wsiord, then an important frontier fortress, today the village Streletskoye.
348 G[reat] Cap[tain], i.e. Tsar Peter, who went on his Grand Embassy to the West incognito,
[Pleshcheyev], the govern[ors] of Ziemliansk, Yelets, Yefremof & to my ser-t
Ivan Vlasuf, by this governours convoyance.

{105v} Aprill 23, Frid. I rose early and came to Olshianka, 30 verst. Dined
by M. Gen-ll Rigeman, and then to Ribna alias Ostrogosky, 10 verst, where haweing consulted with the Generalissimus concerning our further march, I
returned to Olshianka and resting there,

24. came about 8 aclock in the morning to Wsiord, and dined by the
governour.

The same evening dispatched my letters by the governours convoyance.
Received a letter from the governour of Olshiansky concerning the giveing
halfe a tunne of oates for each of his Ma-ties horses, being 126, to the which
I answered immediately.

25. Had the governour and other ffriends by me to dinner.

20 horses with waggons sent from Ribna to furnish these deficient in my
regiments.

Received a letter from Mr. Vinius, dated Mosco 7 Aprilis, with gazettes of
the 9th of March.

26. Dined by the chancellour.

The governour of Olshianska sent 63 tunne of oates for the artillery
horses, which I caused receive & answer his letters immediately.

Sent a capitaine to enquire of the march of the Tambovish regiments.
Bought a horse for 9 rubles.

{106} Aprill 27, Tues. Dined by Coll. de Duthe.

Sent another officer to enquire of the Tambovish regiments.

The colonell with other officers dyned by me.
The Boyar & Generalissimus came in the evening. I did meet him on the
other syde about a verst from hence, and the Butirsy regiment on the other
syde of the bridge.

29. The Generalissimus with the ppl persons dined with me. After dinner
I convoyed them over the bridge & returned.

Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinius by a gentleman Ivan Ivan[ov] in the Gen-
ssim[us] his converto.

30. Writt to my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf in Ivanofsky not to receive the 3 ser-ts
which offered themselves there, for diverse reasons.

Left in Ivanofsky by the […]

as a humble NCO of Preobrazhensky regiment named Piotr Mikhaylov.
1697

May 1, Sat. Rode out to view a place to encamp in.

2. Writt a *otpisky*\(^{349}\) to the *Generalissimus*, and letters to Lubim Olfer. Dumnin\(^{350}\), to Doctor Karbonari, to Alex-r Ivan. Priklonsky with a letter to my wyfe in the last; these sent by the Lt. Johan Hampe.

Writt to my son James by Affonasse the *furer*.

Writt to my wyfe, daughters and Al. Abr. Pestzow voyevoda\(^{351}\) of Yelets by Sergey Vikulin a *prikasy* writer\(^{352}\) of Tula; sent by him two horses which the *podvodsbikey* from thence had deserted, wherof he acquitted.

Dined by the governour.

9 horses having strayed out of the desert to my horses, I sent them after the army by Roman Pudofkyn.

Of money by Fiodor Sniatkofsky 344 r. 9 alt. 4 d.

Caused Gregory Evertson the capt. content the writer of Yelets for a horse taken from thence.

May 3. Viewed a place where they distill brandy, being a house, wherein one oven and kettle for boiling of water. On the same syde, a great *chuane*\(^{353}\) or fatt wherein they mask. On the other syde two great ovens, each being separate below but plaine above. At the side next the wall, in each oven two kettles walled in, in all 4, to each a narrow furnace. In the masking-fatt, which contains 4 or 5 hogsheads of water, they put in 8 quartermes of rye meale (yet if mixed with malt better); then boiling water in the great-kettell, and power thereon, and maske it as beer; then let it stand 24 howres; then put barme to it, and so let it worke other 24 howres. Which being done, they fill the small kettels, putting potts with pretty large *trubes*\(^{355}\) in them and well closed about with dough. Then putting fire leisurely into the furnaces, lett it distill at leisure so long as it begin to smell of burning, or is but watery; which is received in vessells under the *trubes* or pipes and put in a tunne, and this they call *riake*\(^{356}\). It is better to distill it without the seeds or malt, drawing it of. Then this *riake* is distilled againe in the same kettells well skowred & cleansed, so long as it doth not tast too waterish, or according as you will have

\(^{349}\) *Otpiska* (Russian), written report or answer.

\(^{350}\) L.A. Domnin († after 1703), from 1663 podyachy, from 1676 dyak of Razriadny Prikaz, from 1688 dumny dyak.

\(^{351}\) *Voyevoda* (Russian), governor or military commander.

\(^{352}\) S. Vikulin, podyachy of Razriadny Prikaz from 1677.

\(^{353}\) *Chan* (Russian), vat or tun.

\(^{354}\) *Chetverik* (Russian), quarter.

\(^{355}\) *Truby* (Russian), pipes or tubes.

\(^{356}\) I could not find a Russian equivalent for this word.
it strong. Out of a tunne of meale cometh ordinary 6 spanne or viaders\textsuperscript{357}, and more or better if mixed with malt, I beleve, of ordinary or slight-brandy, as they call it.

\{107v\} May 3. The writer Fiodor Bogdanuf gave in a writeing of money received from Ivan Baibakuf, as followeth; this \textit{shatrovy}\textsuperscript{358}.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Received} & \textbf{R.} & \textbf{Alt.} & \textbf{D.} \\
\hline
\textit{Disbursed on diverse small things} & 608 & 9 & 4 \\
\hline
\textit{Remaineth} & 599 & 16 & 4 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The writer Terenty Kiriluf received from the writer Ivan Borisuf of money left over of officers \& sojours pay of the last yeares expedition 6,037 – 26 – 2, whereof 7 r. 26 alt. 2 dengees badd.

By Fiodor Sniatkofsky, as befor, 344 – 9 – 4.

\textbf{Acco-t of money from Nikita Solochin}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Of money left of the sojors pay} & 1,703 & 20 & 5 \\
\hline
\textbf{From Ivan Baybakuf} & 64 & 2 &  \\
\hline
\textit{In all} & 1,767 & 20 & 5 \\
\hline
\textbf{Disbursed according to bookes} & 1,000 & 12 &  \\
\hline
\textbf{Remaines} & 767 & 8 & 5 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\{108\} May 4. Received a letter from Dmitre Vrantzow, giveing thanks for sending the 9 horses which belonged to his \textit{streltsees}.

Removed and marched without the wall \& encamped.

The Lt. Hampe returned and brought me letters from the \textit{Generallissimus}, the \textit{Dunno} Lubim D[omin] \& Doctor Carbonary.

5. Sent the \textit{furere} Makey to meet the Tambovish regiments with orders for them to make hast.

The \textit{furere} Affonasse returned, bringing no notice concerning the Tamb[ov] regiments.

6. Received a letter from the \textit{Generallissimus}, dated at the r-t Ural\textit{е}va the 5\textsuperscript{th}, giving me notice that he is to march the next day towards the r. Aidar and that he sends me a packet come from Mosko by post; from the \textit{Dunno}

\textsuperscript{357} \textit{Vedro} (Russian), bucket.

\textsuperscript{358} \textit{Shatrovy money}, sums from Razriadny \textit{shatior} (tent), the Russian army camp office.
L. Dumnin with the same and above that the Boyar Peter Vasil. Seremetuf\textsuperscript{559} departed the 22 past.

Received a letter from Mr. Vinius, dated Mosko 28 Apr., wherein he salutes me from the Great Capitaine by his expresse order, and giving notice of the Grand Ambassades arrivall at Mittaw\textsuperscript{360} the 11th of April, with gazettes, the yongest the 23d of March.

Had notice of the Tamb[ov] reg. ferrying over by Krotiak; wherefor removed further to better convenience of grass by the r. Slow Sosnia about 4 verst from the towne. The same evening received a letter from my son, dated Krotiak the 5th, that he arrived the day before and was ferrying \{108v\} over the regiments with all possible hast; that he had his compleet number of men; intended to march the next day.

May 7. Writt to my wyfe by Ivan Vasil. Terayuf his ser-t, as also another to her, but dated the next day, by my landlord Stephan Simonuf the writer. To my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf in Ivanofsky, recommended to the governour of Yephremuf Yakim Step. [Zhdanov], by the same writer.

8. Received a letter from the Generallissimus, ordereing some officers with horses to be sent to receive such ammunition as I have occasion for in my regiments. To which I immediately returned answer that such ammunition as I had occasion for on the way to Azow was received in Mosko, and that the horses in my regiments were scarce sufficient to bring the same forward.

Caused bring eleven horses, who were suspected to have strayed from the army.

The Tambovish regiments came and encamped on the other syde of the r. Sosnia.

\{109\} May 9, Sun. Caused distribute armes and ammunition to the Tambovish regiments, 288 musquets to each, powder, lunt, bullets for musket & cannon with other necessaries.

The Tambovish regiments being come over the river and encamped, I stayed untill the regiments had ordered their business.

10. Marched early along the greben\textsuperscript{361}, as they call it, or high ground, where pleasant valleyes with bushes on each syde. On the right hand a place where it appeares a small fort has been, but to what purpose I know not, seeing here is neither passe nor high roades, scarcity of water, and now but litle woode,

\textsuperscript{559} P.V. Sheremetaev the Younger (ca.1650–1697), voyevoda, from 1678 boyar, from 1689 head of Estate Office (Pomestny Prikaz).

\textsuperscript{360} Mitau (German), now Jelgava, Latvia.

\textsuperscript{361} Greben’ (Russian), ridge or crest.
albeit in former tymes there may have been good-store. There are some vesti-
gees that the ground has been manured hereabouts. Having marched 10 long or 15 ordinary \textit{verst}, I dined by good convenience of wood, water and grasse. Having rested 3 howres, marched 15 \textit{verst} more and lodged on the left hand of the way, by the same good convenience.

This day marching on the high ground, wee had on the right hand the springs or heads of the rivers Palatia \\& Valuya, and on the left some springs of the \textit{r. Czarna Kalitva}. The place where I dined was called the Skaradna Dubrowna, and that where I lodged the Kopany Bayrake. Befor noone wee had some valleyes to passe, but after all even ground, the way leading about the heads of the valleyes; our course, if directly kept, being south.

May 11, Tues. Marched early and passed by the Saltsovy Yarug on the left hand, where diverse other valleyes on both hands, as also the Dechtarny Bairak, and dined by the Povrotna Dubrovna, 16 ordinary \textit{verst}. Here the soldiers tooke and brought to me a roe buck, which because he was too wild and like to kill himself, I caused kill.

Marched over the chieffe head or font of the \textit{r. Aidar}, it running to the left hand, and over another valley, and lodged at the place called Kulakovo, where good convenience of wood, water \\& pasturage; 15 or 18 \textit{verst} from the place where I dined.

May 12. Marched early, all along the high ground, having the \textit{r. Aidar} on our left hand, pleasant valleyes with timber growing on both hands, about 12 \textit{verst}. Came to the river Aidar, a little below where the \textit{r. Nagolnia}, coming from the east, falleth in it, and above a little where the Great and Lesser, or Higher \\& Lower Losnia, coming from the west, falleth in it. I crossed it by a foord, and because there was here no wood, I marched 5 \textit{verst} further downe the river; and because the passing the river had taken up some tyme, and hearing also that the \textit{Generallissimus} was not as yet come to the \textit{r. Aidar} at the Karpova Isba, I stayed here all night by good convenience of wood, water \\& grass.

I did writt to the \textit{Generallissimus} from hence, giving him notice of my march, and that I am marching along downe the river to joyne him. With this I sent my son in law Lt.Coll. Snivins.

May 13, Thurs. Having caused make 2 bridges over the \textit{r-t Rutke}, I marched over them, being about halfe a \textit{verst} from our camp. Then 5 \textit{verst} further over the \textit{r-t} or brooke Burolom, and 5 \textit{verst} further over the brooke Beresovke. Then 5 \textit{verst} to the Prekopne Luge or medowes, and a little further dined by the river Beloy, where I caused make bridges whilst wee dined;
and then marched over them and 10 verst further marched about the brooke Rogova, and two verst over the r-t Kaminke, and a little further encamped on the Oshinove medowes.

Here my son in lawe returned and brought to me letters from the Generalissimus that I should march over the r. Yaufsuga & there joyne him. I received also letters from Mosko from Mr. Vinius, dated the [...] of April, but no gazetts.

14. I marched to the left hand from Aidar over the plaine desart and dined by a head of the r. Derkul, about 30 verst. Then further 12 verst and came late to a head of the r. Yaufsuga, where good convenience beyond expectation. The r. Bitug\[^{62}\] coming from the right hand, falleth in the r. Derkul.

{111} May 15. Marched along the r. Yaufsuga 8 verst to the place where the bridges were made, at which tyme the Generalissimus with the great army came also, whom I went to salute, and he permitted me to go befor. So having dined with f riends of the great army, I marched over two great valleyes and through the desart, having the r. Derkul and the hill Grodishtza on our left hand and the r. [Yevsug] on the right, both a good way from the great road, but the Derkul furthest. This was a long march and more as 30 verst. I encamped 5 verst short of the r. Czigina in the fields, where wood and water but farr of.

16. Marched early and crossed the r. Czugina, which falleth in the r. Derkul not farr from hence, and encamped on the right hand. Here I had the stolniks and others at dinner. I received a letter from the Generalissimus, desiring me to stay till he came up.

In the evening he came with the great army and encamped 3 verst short of the r. Czugina. I went to him, and after some discourse he desired or ordered me to march befor to Azow with all expedition, because he had gott intelligence that the Turks with a strong army were on their march thither.

{111v} May 17, Moond. Writt to my wyfe and Mr. Vinius by the post. Marched 15 verst and crossed the r. Derkul by ready bridges, where dineing, I marched, having the r. Donets in sight, and crossed the r-t Dubovia higher up as in our returne from Azow. Then going higher up, lodged in a pleasant field by the r. Mitiakin, 5 verst from Dubovia or Dubia, which is 15 verst from Derkul.

\[^{62}\] Obitok.
Maxim the Cosake or Yesaul came and lodged by me. He told me that their Attoman was at the r. Donets, had a prisoner by him, whom the Cosakes had brought being at sea, but had lost 30 of their owne men. This prisoner related how the Turks with great forces were preparing for Azow.

18. Having caused mend old & make some new gatts, passed the r. Mitiakin and ano-r head of it. Came 5 verst further and crossed the r-t Vasilefka, being a miry durtly marish, with some difficulty. 5 verst further wee rested by the r-t or brooke Olchovnoe. Then marched 15 verst over sandy ground to the r. Donets, which I crossed by a bridge and encamped on the other syde; whither the Attoman of the Dons Cosakes came & saluted me; from whom I received 3 guides, a Russe Nikifor and 2 Kalmuiks.

From hence I wrott to the governour of Azow to send boates to the river Mertvoy Donets for transporting the army, by the Lt. Varlaam Ieganofsky.

{112} May 19. Marched over the r. Kamionka, 7 verst, & dined; then marched to the r. Lichoe, 30 verst, where lodged.

20. Having mended the old gatts, marched over the r. and came to the Bigger Kondrusha r., 15 verst. Having dined, I passed over by foords, and turning to the right hand came to the head of the Lesser Kondrusha, 10 verst, where lodged because of water. All the rivers & brooke[s], which I passed from Aidar, with it fall into the Don.

21. Marched over the brooke and along the desart on a high ground, having the r. Grushofka on the right & Kadamofka on the left hand, which falleth in the r. Tuslow, and the first in the Axay. Having marched about 20 verst, turned of to the r. Grushofka and dined by good convenience. After dinner marched to the high ground, & comeing on the road I went last yeare kept that, and came to the same Grushofka a little below where wee crossed last yeare, and lodged, having marched after dinner 12 verst.

{112v} May 22, Sat. Having made gatts, wee passed the rivulet Grushofky with difficulty, being very miry, and came 5 or 6 verst to the other, Lesser Grushofky, which wee also gatted. Here a wild-boare being started, the guides followed him on horseback and overtaking him, the Kalmuik killed him with ane arrow. They brought him to me and I gave them a doller wages. Marched

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363 Yesaul, Cossack officer comparable to captain.
364 Frol Minayev, ataman of the Don Cossacks.
365 Gat’ (Russian), causeway.
366 The first Russian voyvoda in Azov was Okul'nykh Prince Piotr Grigoryevich L'vov († after 1705), whom Gordon had met in Vologda in 1694. In later June 1697 L'vov was substituted in Azov by Boyar Prince Alexey Petrovich Prozorovsky.
367 From Russian verb gatit’, to span or bridge, especially marshy ground.
12 verst further & dined by the r-t Kotlubany, a little lower where I lodged last yeare. After dinner marched towards the Neswetay river, because the water in the r. Tuslow was so high that wee could not cross it where wee had the yeare befor. The r. Neswietay haveing high banks, wee made passages and passed it, being 12 verst from Kotlubany. Lodged about a verst further by the r. Tuslow at the Stony Foord.

23. I caused two bridges to be made and the old way made broader for 4 waggons to pass. Marched over and encamped on the other syde, where I stayed till near midday because of White-Sunday. Haveing dined, I marched, and had a false alarum of the Tartars. I turned by advice of the guides to the left hand and encamped by the mouth of the r. Axay, where it floweth into the Don; but had gone neerer by going directly to the river Temer[n]ik, as likewise I had done by comeing from the r. Kondrusha to have kept the Greater Grushofka on my left hand.

May 24. Marched early, and going to the right hand came to the r. Temer[n]ik, which haveing gatted and being come 10 verst from the Don, marched over and came 10 verst more to the Don, where the r. Mertvoe Donets goeth out; where I found 17 great-boates and some litle. After a litle and short refreshment I began to ferry over. At my comeing, being in sight and neer Azow, I saluted it with 3 shott of cannon.

Received letters from my wyfe, daughter and Yem. Ukraintzuf, dated the 12th May; from Mr. Vinius, dated the 13th with gazetts; from the Generaliss., dated the 22d from the Donets; from L[euwenfelt], dated Tob[ol'sk] 8 Feb-ry.

I wrott againe to the governour of Azow to cause bridge the passages on my way to Azow.

Had notice by this post of the death of the King of Sweden368, who departed the 5th.

Writt to the Generaliss., giveing notice of my arrivall to the Donets, & that I am ferrying over.

{113v} May 25, Tuesd. About 4 aclock afternoone, all being ferryed over & marched, I went by water and landed below the Kalentzay Towers about midnight.

26. All being gott over the Don, I marched with ane intention to have marched up the hill and encamped befor the towne, but the bridges over the yeriks not being ready, I was forced to stay on the medowes all night.

368 Karl XI (1655–1697), King of Sweden from 1660. He was succeeded by Karl XII, adversary of Tsar Peter the Great.
27. The wind blowing from midnight out of the sea, the water rose so high that notwithstanding our marching early, wee were not got half over, when the water overflowed the fields; so that with much ado and with the help of boats wee got out of the lower ground. I encamped betwixt the old walls on the syde of the hill towards the medowes, and being invited by the governour, went to dinner, where at drinking of healths the cannon were fired round the towne 3 tymes. Three horsemen appearing on the kurgans as wee were encamping, seeing our forces, retired immediately. I caused invest and make 3 redouts to serve for out-guards and guard the bridges.

{114} Writt to my wyfe & daughter. Writt to the Generalliss. by C.Lt. Yergeolsky.

May 28. Writt to Mr. Vinius.
My boate with provisioins came.

29. I received 2 letters from the Generalliss., one dated 26 May from the font of Grushefka, the other the 27th from the r. Nieswetay, which I answered immediately by Capt. Nikita Krokvow; and writt also to Lubim Dumnin, with my letters to Mosko in a bagg. Writt to Leo Kiril. [Naryshkin], Tich. Nik. [Streshnev], Kiniayj Fiod. Yur. [Romodanovsky], Yemel. Ignat. [Ukrainstev], Achenmon Ivanov & Gregory Kochintzuf.

The governour gave me a visit.

30. The Generallissimus came to the Donets. Received a letter from the Generalliss,., dated by the Donets this day.

Being his Ma-ties birth day, I dined by the governour, where at drinking his M. health the cannon were fired round the towne.

{114v} May 31, Moond. Maxim Menezes came and brought me letters from his mother, my wyfe & daughter, dated 22 Aprilis.

Dined by Coll. W-m von Delden.

Received letters from Vasily Savitz Narbekov and my ser-t Ivan Vlasuf, as also from Sisoy Kusnitsuf.

Afternoone the wind blowing from the sea, the water overflowed the medowes.

{115} June 1, Tuesd. The streltsees regiments began to ferry over, being much inaccommodated by the deep way.

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369 G. Kochintsev, captain in Gordon's Butyrsky regiment.
370 Russified name of Magnus Menzies (see above, fol. 92v).
371 V.S. Narbekov, voyevoda, from 1681 Duma nobleman, from 1682 okol'nichy. Gordon knew him at least since the Crimean campaign of 1689.
2. The post came, by which I had no letters.

The gen-ll quarter[master] came & brought me a letter from the Generaliss. with a list of the regiments how they should stand, which I changed, ordering the cavalerie nearer the flanks.

3. Thur. I went by water to the Generaliss. and had consultation with him about diverse businesses. As I was returning, I discovered the Tartars falling upon our forragiers, w-eh made me make hast, but I came too late. For about 50 or 60 of these Turkes & Tartars had suddainly from a valley where they lurked fallen upon the forragiers in the medowes, who seeing them runaway most of them over a brooke. Yet they overtooke some, taking 3 sojours & 8 gentlemens ser-ts prisoners and a dozen of horses, and wounded a sojour dangerously. This was about 8 aclock befor noon.

I rode out afternoone and caused measure the utmost earthen wall, where the army shall encampe, and found it to be from the declining of the hills round the wall 81 ropes long, the rope being 27 fath. ordinary long. So that I caused divide and assigne the stations to the regiments according to their strength.

{115v} June 4. The governour gave me notice that the fishers had seen about 100 Turkes or Tartars below the towne by the river, and that there be 2 or 300 more on the other syde of the r. Kagalnik. Wherefor, fearing lest they, haveing intelligence from the prisoners they had taken that no horsemen were come over as yet, they should swimme over the Don and fall upon our horses in the illand, I caused 4 or 500 sojours mount on horseback, though few of them with sadles, with their armes after the Donish fashion, and drawing them up in trowpes, marched round without the utmost wall, sending scouts out into the fields to discover, and so returned.

I sent also in the night a recruit to the guard by the horses, ordering them to keep near the fort and in case of being attacqued gett into it.

5. M. Gen-ll Rigeman came & tooke up his station in the campe.

Afternoone the Generaliss. came by water to the towne & lodged by the governour.

Cosakes sent out by water & land for intelligence.

{116} June 6, Sun. Rode with the Generaliss. round the utmost wall, who afterwards came by me and stayed ane howre or two.

Some regiments of foot came & tooke up their stations & posts in the places alloted them.

7. The regiments of horse came and invested their respective posts.
8. Writt to my wyfe, daughter & Mr. Vinius, to Vasily Savi[ch] Narbekuf and to all the noblemen and other Russe I correspond with per post.

Received letters from my wyfe & daughter, [the other] daughter, dated 28 May; from Mr. Vinius and Yem. Ig. Ukr[aintsev], dated 27, with gazettes of the 12th May.

{116v} June 9, Wed. The Cosakes came, being about 4,000 men. They came all by water.

A party sent towards the r. Kuban returned and reported that they had not seen any enemy any where, and that all the places there were wast, the inhabitants being fled to the hills on the other syde of the r. Labia.

Alarum by our owne people.

10. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, M-rs Vinius, Guasconi, Tabert372, and to the noblemen I correspond with. Resolved not to send the post this day, but to stay till the ordinary on Tuesday next.

Dined with the Generalis, by Kniaź Andrew Michael. Gagarin373.

Sent workemen to bring the bridges in the low medowes to another place, because of the water & deep wayes.

{117} June 11. Went over the river with the Generalis. and the Gen-ll Inginier Antonius de Levall374 and had the fort on the other side drawne out.

12. The 3,000 Kalmuiks sent by the Ayuka Taizi375 came with letters from the Ayuka to the Generalis. These were command[ed] by a nephew or cousin of the Ayuka called Muchtimir Taiza, being a cousin of Ayuka. They brought a prisoner being a Tartar with them, taken some weekes ago in a skirmish, who being examined could not give any certaine knowledge of things; only that some thousands of men *commanded by Aly Bassa*376 sent by the Sultan were come to the Temruk & Kertsh with intention to build a fort at the mouth of the r. Kuban; that the Nuradin Sultan377 had collected the usual tribute this winter in the countrey of Cabardinia; that the noise was there that if the Christians did not come with a considerable army to Azow, the Turkes intended with all the forces they could gett together in these countreyes to attack it. But

372 Elias Ta(u)bert († 1698), Dutch merchant in Russia from the 1660s.
373 Prince А.М. Gagarin, stol'nik from 1680, voyevoda.
374 A. de Laval (La Valle), one of the chief military engineers sent from Vienna to Russia in the summer of 1696. In 1698 he was accused of treason and brought in shackles from Azov to Moscow.
375 Taysha, chieftain of the Kalmyks.
376 Words added on margin.
377 Nur-ed-din was the title of the next in line in the Geray dynasty after the Crimean khan’s heir, Kalga Sultan.
if any great forces should come and compleet the fortifications, then that they would never adventure the taking of it without a great power, & such things more; that last winter had been a great fight betwixt the Kalmuik Tartars and them, for some of the Kalmuik Tartars having separated from the Yayuka and gone to the Kuban, were persuaded by a party sent from the Yayuka, and being overtaken, entered into a sharpe conflict with them; but these deserters having before given notice to the Crimean, Nagayish and Kuban Tartars, these came timely to their assistance, and after a whole dayes fighting the Kalmuiks were worsted and forced to retire.

This afternoone two persons, one a Donish Cosake, the other a Poll, having escaped out of prison from the Tartars, came to our campe; who could not tell any thing else as what the Tartar had told.

The Generalissimus removed to the place allotted & prepared for his abode during this camagne.

{118} June 13, Sun. Dined by the Boyar and were afterwards by diverse others.
14. Began to work at the horne worke, ravelin and contre-garde378 befor the towne.
15. Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinius, and changed the dates of those written the 10th to the noblemen.

{118v} The acco-t of the money given in by my son James:
Remained over the advance money of the Tambovish sojours – 514 rubles.
Of this disbursed for several things as waggons, smier etc., and 5 rubles to each maior for oates to his M. horses, in all – 24 rubles 3 alt. 4 denges.
Remaines – 489 [r.] 29 alt. 4 d.

June 16. By the contrary winds, which had filled all the low ground, the post did not come the day before as usual, by which I had no letters.

The last regiment of foot came into the campe.

Ivan Ivanovitz Shepin379, Dumi Dworanin, came with his army of 4 or 5,000 men to the Slow or Southern Donets380.

{119} June 17, Thurs. Dined by Colonel Mevis.
18. Received by ane extraordinary post letters from my wyfe, dated 7th Junii, Hary Gordon, dated Archangel 25 May; from Johan Gilbert, dated

378 Contre-garde (French), an outwork in a bastioned fortification that usually comprises only a low rampart and lies in front of the fortress moat that runs around the bastions or ravelins.
379 I.I. Shchepin († after 1706), Duma nobleman, voyevoda, head of the Judicial Palace Office.
In 1697 he was sent to build the town of Taganrog on the Sea of Azov.
380 Probably, Miorrey Donets.
Riga 20 May. By this post wee had notice that our Ambassadors were at Konigsberg.

19. Sent to Czirkask for the ammunition house.
A party of the Kalmuiks & Cosakes sent out for intelligence.
20. The horne worke with the ravelin & contragarde, after prayers and the usuall processions round them, were with ceremonies begun, and 3 turffes laid by the priest, one by the Generaliss., then I, and the others in their stations, according to their quality.

The M. Gen-ll Rigeman and all the stranger colonells dined by me.

22. Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinius and the noblemen I correspond with per post.

Dined by Gregory Petr. Gudenev.
23. Dined by the Boyar, and after rode to the mouth of the r. Kagalnik, viewed the old fortifications on the hill, and going in a boat turned the several currents of the r. Don to find a convenient passage for gallys to pass, but could find none. The river spreading along the slacks very shallow, and the currents such as they are changing with the inundations, so that there are small hopes and little encouragement for making a harbour here.

The Generalissimus mustered the Smolensko gentlemen.

{120v} June 24. The new governour, Kniaź Alexey Petrovits Prozarof-skys, arrived and at his landing was saluted with all the artillerie round the wall.

I dined by the L.t. Generall Kniaź Ivan Michalovitz Mosalsky.
25. The Ribnaes regiment with others came to the Still Donets.
26. The new governour feasted by the Generalissimus, where much liquor & smoake.
27. Dined by Ivan Michaelovitz Volinsky. Went over the r. Don and survied the fort to be made there.

Received letters from my wyfe, dated the 10th; from Mr. Krevet, dated the 7th & 12; Mr. Vinius, the 10th; the Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], the 14th.

381 G.P. Godunov (1664–1704), stol’nik from 1678.
382 Prince A.P. Prozorovsky († 1705), from 1690 boyar, in 1697–9 voyevod in Azov and later in Archangel.
384 I.M. Volynsky, stol’nik, in 1697–8 head of judicial Vladimir Office.
ditto or instant, with gazettes of the 26th May; from P[ater] Pawlus Jaross, dated the 5 of June.

{120v} June 28. Laid on the storme-pales\textsuperscript{[385]} on my quarter and sent over the Don to divide the worke there.

The two prisoners brought yesterday related that many Turkes & diverse nations were conveening together by the r. Kuban with intention to come to Azow.

29. Writt to my wyfe, daughter Katherine, M-rs Vinius & Krevet, and to the noblemen I correspond with.

According to the acco-t now given in by F. Sniatkofsky and delivered to Vasily Biczkow:

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Being his M. name-day, wee were all feasted by the \textit{Generallis}. In the meane tyme a \textit{stolnik}, \textit{Kniaz} Vas. Sim. Lvow, came with his M. letters of grace to us for our makeing hast to Azow; which were read publickely in the \textit{Shater}\textsuperscript{386}, and first, the \textit{Generallis}. his good health was asked; then his M. gracious sentiments or praise (as they call it) for his makeing hast to this place; lastly encouragement, that seeing his M. favour [for his service \textit{c.r.o.}], he should strive in the future to deserve it & serve faithfully and sincerely; at each of which paragraphs he bowed himself to the ground, acknowledging his M. favour and praying for his M. health. Then the \textit{stolnik} asked me and the Lt. Generall \textit{Kniaz} Ivan Michaelovitz Musalsky by the predicate of \textit{Tovarises}\textsuperscript{387} or […] of our healths, and the next expression also, at both which wee bowed our selves to the ground, and prayed for his M. good health. Then the colonells and

\textsuperscript{385} \textit{Sturmfähde} (German), defensive palisade, tilted outward.

\textsuperscript{386} \textit{Shatior} (Russian), pavilion or tent.

\textsuperscript{387} \textit{Tovarisch}, in 17th-century Russia, commander subordinate to the chief \textit{voyevoda}. 
other officers with the gentry their good healths were asked. Lastly, the under officers with the sojours and streltsees were asked.

At dinner vollyes of great shott were given at many healths, and at the prayers before mass all the great guns round the camp, towne, gallyes & Kalentzay were fired, and thereafter all the regiments fired their pieces.

At the same tyme the Generallis. received his instructions or commission, I being named his first Towaris.

{121v} June 30, Wed. One who had been taken prisoner and escaped came to us & related the same things that the others, with this more particulour that the Galga Sultan, who with about 3,000 men lay at the mouth of the River Kuban in a safe place, for fear of being attacked by us, had sent to the Turkes in Temruke to go along with him either to Azow, or to fall upon the Ayuka Taiza.

The Ayuka Taisa his 3,000 Kalmuicks gett 20 oxen and 200 sheep every weeke.

{122} July 1, Thurs. Dined with the Generallis. and others by the Stolnik Gregory Petr. Gudanow.

2. Went over the r. Don, the bridge being scarce ready, and caused begin the worke there; the regiments under my particular command getting that side towards the Kalentzayes, consisting of two halfe-bastions and the curteine, the faces being 40, the flankes 20, & the curteine or Gordon 60 fathom; in all 180 fathom.

I dined there.

3. All the other regiments having gott their shares in the worke, began to provide & labour.

I tooke in 30 fath. more for my reg-ts from M. Gen-ll Rigeman, being so much of the other face of the bulwarke.

{122v} July 4, Sund. After devotion and the usuall ceremonies by the benediction of a place, the new fort opposite over the Don to Azow was named by the titul of St. Peters Towne.

Dined by the Boyar Kniiaz Alexey Petrovits Prosarofsky, the new governour.

5. At a feast by the Generaliss., when the stolnik who came last Tuesday was dismissed. The Generaliss. gave him diverse pieces of silke stuffe. I gave him 9 arrb. or a parties of white lawdan. The other Towaris a parties of

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608 Apparently a pun by the author himself or his colleagues, which reflects his role in building this fortification.
ordinary lawdan, the Dumny the like, & each of the chancellours a parties of slight taffety.

The old governour, Okoshitez Kaiaż Peter Gregoriovits Lvow, with his cousin the above-said stolnik came by me & tooke their leave.

{123} July 6. Writt to my wyfe, daughter Katherine, M-rs Vinius & Krevet, and to the noblemen I correspond with.

Sent a detachment with an inginieur to the river Miaus to recognosc the conveniences of that place for a harbour, wee being informed by Nikita the Usushshe Cosake and other of extraordinary advantages for a harbour there.

7. The Donish Cosake Affonassy came, haveing been in some danger by that rable for his enrolling himself to stay in Azow.

8. Received letters from my wyfe & daughter Katherine, dated the 16, 23 & 24 passat; from my daughter Mary, dated the 22; from Mr. Philip Woolffe, dated Mosco the 23d Junii; from his bro-r Joseph, dated London 2 April, with the copy of his former dated 19th January; from my grand-child Elizabeth, 22 Junii; from Mr. Vinius, the 24.

Mr. Joseph Woolffe in his informeing me of haveing made over 400 p. sterl. to my son John; maketh me debtor upon my son James his acco-t.

{123v} July 9, Frid. Our worke advanced with great celerity in hopes of a dimission in short tyme, though in some places retarded by the flowing of the river, occasioned by the south westerly winds.

10. 11. Dined by M. Gen-il Rigeman.

12. A post came from the Biallygrodish encamped at the r. Kolumna with letters dated 3 July, informing that Kaiaż Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy with the Cosakish Hetman Ivan Stephan. Masepa were marched the 16 past towards the Dneper, intending below the Porohies or falls to go or send by water towards Oczakow and the Black Sea; that prisoners had related, as well

389 I.e. of Izium, important town in eastern Ukraine, centre of a Cossack regiment.
390 Elizabeth (“Olinka”), daughter of Gordon’s eldest daughter Catherine and the late Colonel Strasburg.
391 Troops of the Belgorod corps (razriad).
392 Evidently, Kolomak river in Ukraine.
393 Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky (Dolgorukov) (1639–1720), boyar from 1697. In 1687 he was sent as ambassador to France and Spain to secure support of these powers for the anti-Ottoman alliance. In 1689–95 head of Moscow Judicial Office. He took part in Azov campaigns, spent 1700–11 in Swedish imprisonment and after a bold escape became a senator.
394 The Dnieper Rapids.
as some escaped out of prison, that the Turkes had sent 30,000 & some 70,000 men for the defence of Oczakow, intending to fight the Christian army before they get to Oczakow. Others had said that only 3,000 Janizaries were come to Oczakow & 10,000 horsemen; that they had made and fortified an earthen wall round the town, with some gallyes to anchor at the mouth of the Dnepor or Boristhenes to hinder the incursions of the Christians by water into the Black Sea, which last I looke upon as the piece of truest newes.

July 13 [Tuesd.] Writt to my wyfe, daughter Kat., Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krevet, Mr. Joseph & Philip Woolffes, with an enclosed to my son John in Mr. Jos. letter, & that to Mr. Vinius. To Coll. von Kraghe in answer to his of the [...] past, received p[e]r last post.

This evening received letters from my wyfe, daughter Katherine, Mr. Vinius, Tichon Nikitis [Streshnev], Yemel. Ignat. [Ukaintsev], dated the first of July.

Herewith notice that my daughter Mary was delivered of a son the 28 past.

{124v} July 14. The more particular acco-t of the businesses and money belonging to my army:

Received in Mosco podyem money for the Butirsky regiment

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[R.]} & \text{[Alt.]} & \text{[D.]} \\
3,000 & - & - \\
\end{array}\]

Given to the 896 sojours at 3 rub.

\[\text{p[er month]} \quad 2,988^{396} \quad - \quad - \]

Remaines

\[\quad 312 \quad - \quad - \]

Received in Mosco podyem money for the Tambofsky sojours to a rubles [sic]

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[R.]} & \text{[Alt.]} & \text{[D.]} \\
3,696 & - & - \\
\end{array}\]

Given to 3,182 sojours

\[\quad 3,182 \quad - \quad - \]

Remaines

\[\quad 514 \quad - \quad - \]

Disbursed of that for diverse necess.

\[\quad 24 \quad 3 \quad 4 \]

Remaines

\[\quad 489 \quad 29 \quad 4 \]

Received for May & June months pay for the Butirsky reg-t

\[\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[R.]} & \text{[Alt.]} & \text{[D.]} \\
1,955 & 4 & 1 \\
\end{array}\]

Remaines of this for 4 sojours

\[\quad 9 \quad 4 \quad 2 \]

\[^{395}\text{There is no gap in the text here, but a word is lost, perhaps denoting armament or ammunition.}\]

\[^{396}\text{A slip. It should be 2,688, which agrees with the remainder below.}\]
Received for May & June months pay for the Tambofsky 3 reg-ts, according to the list for 3,165 men

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Given to 5 old serjeants at 9 d. pr day</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 34 new serjeants at 20 alt. pr month</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 furer at 1 r. 10 alt-s pr month</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 3 corporals at 8 deng. a day</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 2,979 sojours</td>
<td>2,448</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all to 2,979 men

{125} Remaines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For 180 runaways</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 4 taken prisoners</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For 2 dead-men</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all for 186 men

Since meanes received – 11 runaway, 2 dead.
Now present 2,966 men.

The Gen-l Inginieur de Lavall went to the Tagana-Roghe.

{125v} July 15, Thursd. Dined by the Dumny Lubim Olferiovitz Dumnin.

16. A little befor day the Kalmuiks who had been sent out for intelligence returned & told that they had been neer to the Czarna Protoka, and had discovered about 2,000 Tartars or Turkes come over the said Protoka; and upon neerer discovery perceived a great number on the other syde. So that they reckoned them to be in all about 20,000 men and that they were keeping the direct way to Azow, the way lying by the lake-syde. This with what a Kalmuiks boy runaway from them had told two dayes befor so terrifyed the Kalmuiks under Munkutimir Taiza, that they immediately sent such baggage as they have over the Don into the illand, and removed from their stations by the r. Kagalnik, to the side of the r. Don above the towne.

Another party sent out to discover & bring sure intelligence.

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397 This number should not have been identical with the previous line, because the regimen- tal complement included not just the soldiers but also NCOs, indicated in this table above. Therefore the sum total should have been higher than the soldiers’ pay alone.
July 17. The M. Gen-l Liarsky with the ppll officers & gentlemen of Smollensko dined by me; the Generalissimus dineing at the same tyme by the Ribnaes colonell, whither I had been also invited.

18. Dined by Ivan Ivan. Rsewsky with the boyars & others.

The Kalmuiks party returned and brought us no intelligence of the enemy. Wee sent out however this and the day befor to burne of the grasse in the fields, where the enemies should march or encame.

19. Being the day on which the yeare befor wee tooke possession of Azow, wee were all at a feast by the Generalissimus.

July 20, Tuesd. In the first howre of the day the Tartars, being in the night tyme come neer and lodged themselves in the valleyes neer the campe, broke out suddainly and tooke away some horses and prisoners. Wherewith wee being alarumed, drew out all the cavalierie and sent for the Kalmuiks, placing them on the left hand or wing. Wee continued standing bef or the campe about 4 or 5 howres, our voluntiers or these who were willing to go skirmishing with them all this tyme, with diverse fortune; untill being sufficient weary, both partyes retired, ours to the campe, & the Tartars with the Turkes to the River Kagalnik, which passing, they encamped. On our side wee had 27 wounded, but none killed. These were commanded by Galga Sultan, and appeared in the fields not above 5,000 strong, but wee haveing had intelligence of their being more as 20,000 strong, durst not hazard too farr in the fields for fear of being engaged and entangled beyond possibility of coming of without loss.

Received letters from my son John, dated the 8th of Feb-ry, by way of Archangel; from my wyfe & daughter Katherine and Mr. Vinius, dated the 8 July; from Harry Gordon.

Writt to my wyfe, daughter, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krevet & others I correspond with.

July 21. The party sent out the evening befor to recognosce returned with notice that the enemy was retired in the night-tyme towards their owne habitations. Wherefor another party was sent out, who returning in the evening, reported that the enemies were fled in great hast, had buryed 12 persons where they stood, and 3 further of.

398 Petro Bul(l)art, formerly follower of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir of Moldavia, although his surname comes from the Netherlands. In 1693–8 colonel of Ostrogozhsky (Rybnensky) Cossack regiment.

399 I.I. Rzhevsky (1653–1717), stol'nik from 1678. Son of Gordon’s comrade-in-arms, Okol’nichy I.I. Rzhevsky Sr., who was killed in Chigirin in 1678 (see Diary, III).
22. Dined by the governour. The Generall Ingenieur de Lavall returned, haveing drawne out a pentagon fort on Petrushina Tuba, 5 verst further as Tagana Roghe. The Cosake Nikita returned, haveing been out at sea, discovered no ships or other vessells, only horsemen on the land.

Frowl Minayuf having given notice that a new path or sliack\(^{400}\) of Tartars were seen marching up towards Maynits, and desired that some of the Cosakes might be returned for safeguard of their townes, wherefor the halfe of them were permitted to returne.

{127v} July 23, Frid. Our party sent out returned and gave notice that the Tartars, being come to the r[iver ...] had divided in three companies and marched sundry wayes homewards.

24. Andrew Czulka, a Cosake who had been taken prisoner in the spring and now escaped, related that Aly Bassa, governour of the countreyes on the Euxine Sea and Meotish Lake, forced with threats about 27,000 horsmen to come towards Azow; that he was busy with about 10,000 Turks in building a towne or fort at the mouth of the r. Kuban; that it was talk’d there that the Sultan himself would come with a great power the next yeare to Azow.

Invited by the Dummy Ivan Sim. Lorionuf\(^{401}\), but did not go.

Received from Mr. Ruell 52 rubles upon Mr. Munters acco-t, whereof 44 is interest for 400 rubles due to me last winter; I owing him now 28 upon this yeares interest.

{128} July 25, Sun. Being taken in the night-tyme by a violent fitt of a colik, I tooke phisick; was better, yet kept bed the most part of the day.

26. Mustered the 300 Tambovish sojours who are to stay in Azow.

27. From midnight a most terrible tempest of wind, which drove the water so high that all the low ground was overflowed. Some people & horses drowned.

Writt to my son John & to Harry Gordon, to my daughter Mary, Mr. Vinius, Mr. Krevet, Tichon Nik. [Streshnev] & Yem. Ignat. [Ukraintsev].

Received letters from my wyfe, daughter Kate, Mr. Krevet & Nikita Zotuf.

Newes of Friderich Augustus, Elector of Saxony, being chosen King of Poland the […] of June.\(^{402}\)

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\(^{400}\) Shliakkh (Old Russian), road or way.

\(^{401}\) I.S. Larionov, Duma nobleman, second voyevoda in Azov.

\(^{402}\) Friedrich August I, the Strong (1670–1733), from 1694 Elector of Saxony, from 1697 King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania as August II. Tsar Peter’s ally against Sweden in the Great Northern War of 1700–21.
July 28, Wed. The bridge being broken with the storme, there was no passage over the river; neither did the waters aswage much by reason of the s.s.-westerne wind.

29. The bridge being gott ready at midday, wee sent over to worke at Fort Peter.

30. A great storme & raine in the night, whereby all the low ground was under water againe. Towards evening somewhat calmer, but in the night againe a great wind arising from the same airt.

31. All was overflowed againe. Yet towards evening the wind turning, the waters began to fall.

This day many horses & some people were drowned, amongst the rest a Smollensko gentleman.

Aug. 1, Sund. Post nubila Phoebus. The wind being calmed in the night-tyme, the waters run of, and this a very calme pleasant day.

The Lt. Gen-ll Mosalsky with the Gen-ll Ingenieur and others sent to view the conveniencies of the r. Miaus.

2. Munkutimire Taiza with his Kalmuiks let of to their homes, he and some of the ppl persons with him getting presents, and the rest nothing but their weekly provisions of sheep & oxen; they haveing this yeare served for the ruble a piece, which they gott the last year, when they came too late & did nothing.

3. Writt to my wyfe, daughters, M-rs Vinius, Krevet & Woolffe with the noblemen I correspond with.

Newes in letters by ane express come from the Dneper from the Cosakish Hetman & Kniaz Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy, that they were come with their armyes below the falls; that many vessells were bruised & some broken coming through the falls; that the governour of Tavan had informed them that the Tartars Chan was on the north syde of the Dneper by Aslan with all his forces; that they were expecting foot from Oczakow, 6,000 whereof were come in 30 gallyes & other vessels, there being in Oczakow befor 4,000 old sojours, Janizaries; that it was to be feared that when these forces are joyned they may attack Tavan, or seeing our armyes on the other syde of the Dneper, the Chan with his forces may fall into the Ukraina and ruine the

403 "After clouds, Phoebus", i.e. the sun (Latin). This saying goes back to the French divine and poet Alain de Lille (ca.1128–1202).

404 Khan Selim I Geray of Crimea was repeatedly deposed by Turkish Sultans, and ruled four times (1671–77, 1684–91, 1692–99, 1702–04).
country. Wherefor, it was concluded that I should march with all expedition with a part of the army to Valu[y]ka, and according to intelligence, march and guard the country.

The Smollensko gentlemen and Ribnaes reg-t marched from hence.

Officers received pay for July & August.

Received pay for the sojours, which [I] am to give out in Valu[y]ka.

{130} Aug. 4. Ivan Ivan. Rzewsky, after much contesting with the Dworanyes and Silliskyes companyes\(^4\) who would not march under his command, marched without them.

16 companies of the Tzaars house were ordered to go along with me & be under my command, I receiving a written order for it. 5 of these were of the quality & predicate called Dworany, and 11 called Siltseys.

5 [Thursday]. I marched early with the foot regiments into the fields and formed the waggonburg; and there being above 3,000 waggons belonging to these gentlemen, I could scarcely get them stowed within the sojours waggonburg. About 10 aclock I went to take my leave of the Boyar, who kept me to dinner, afterwards convoyed me to my leaguer, and after drinking of some healths & firing of cannon we parted, I on my way, & he towards the camp. I marched and lodged in a class waggonburg at the head of the river or […] Koysova\(^4\).

{130v} This day my son Theodorus & John Hamilton\(^4\) I placed ensignes in the Butirsky regiment.

August 6. I marched early. Dined below or a little short of the Zapolny Kurgan, and marched to the river Don a little below the Zolotoy Yerik, where the 15 great boates which I had sent away two dayes before were ready, and pristanes\(^4\) made. I caused two regiments of foot ferry over all the night.

7. The rest of the foot and the most part of the horsemen were ferryed over.

I did writ to the Generalissimus, acquainting him of my being ferryed over & hasting to the r. Ayax, dateing & sending away my letter the next-day.

{131} August 8, Sund. Sent downe the 14 budars & one of mine, on which wee ferryed over, to Czirkass[k] for the use of the other army.

\(^4\) Dworiane (gentlemen) and zhiltisy (literally, “dwellers”, i.e. at the Tsar’s court) were two lower ranks of Russian gentry of whom military service was required. They were formed in companies.

\(^4\) Koysug.

\(^4\) John Hamilton, son of the Scottish Lt.colonel of the Tsar’ army who died in 1693, was brought up as a Roman Catholic in Gordon’s house.

\(^4\) Pristan’ (Russian), landing or pier.
Marched by sunriseing, dined over against the towne Bisargenuf, and crossing the r. Axay, encamped on the other syde.

9. Marched, and dined by the r. Kerczik, about 5 *verst*, where I stayed 5 howres untill the army were gott out of the strait ground & come together. The post from Mosko passed by. Haveing crossed two heads of the r. Kerczik, encamped on the other syde.

10. Marched early. Dined by the Litle Kondrusha r[iver] and lodged on the other syde of the Greater.

11. Marched early. Dyned over the river Lichoy & lodged by the r. Kamionko, a very great afternoons march. All this way from the Axay hither wee had no abundance of grasse, all being dryed up, and about 60 *verst* thereof, to witt from the Litle Kondrusha to Kamionko being rocky ground.

{131v} Aug. 12, Thursd. Marched over the r-t Kamionky and the river Don[ets] on 4 bridges, and encamped on the high ground, where stayed the whole day waiting for those who had wearyed horses.

I received letters by post from my wyfe, daughters, Mr. Vinius, Krebet, Ukrainzuf and others, dated the 29th of July.

Marched this day three reg-ts befor, myne and the gentryes waggons in the middle, a reg-t of foot & the Ribnaes reg-t in the rear.

13. Marched early through heavy sandy ground & dined by the r-t Mitiakin, which crossing & the r. Dubovia, lodged on the other syde. Here the sojours brought a hind and two raes alive, which they had taken.

Writt to the Boyar by post & to the Valu[y]kaes gov-r. Writt to my ser-t in Ivanofska by Coll. Bularts conveyance to Yelets & from thence by that and the Yeffremovsh governours.

14. Marched early and crossing the r. Derkul by bridges encamped and dined on the other syde. Then marched to the r. Czigin, where watering the horses and takeing water along, wee marched 8 *verst* further and lodged on the right hand of the way over against the Mount Grodistsha.

From hence dispatched Fiodor Steph. Obonossuf to my wyfe in Grodno, [letter] dated this morning at Dubovia.

15. Marched early a long march to the r. Yaufshuga, which crossing encampd & dined. Marched and came to the r. Aidar about midnight.

{132} Aug. 16. Marched about 8 aclock over the r. Aidar, and because of the strait ground below, marched to the right hand to the r. Kosinka, where dined. From hence marched reg-t wise, yet encamping at midday and at night in the usuall square *waggonburg*, and this night by the r. Bialloy.
17. Crossed the head of the r. Bialloy [above: Kamenkoy] and dined by the oake-wood, where digged pitts of water. Lodged by the r. Uras[ov]a, where good convenience of grasse & water, but no wood. This day wee did meet the Moskoes post.

18. Marched early and crossed the r-s Uras[ov]a and Ural[ye]va. Encamped on the high ground on the other syde. This day another Moskoes post went by.

19. This day lay still. Gott 10 podwodes for my provisions.

{132v} Aug. 20, Frid. Sent away the most part of my horses & baggage to my vill. Ivanofsky, being 26 horses & mares, 6 covered & 6 uncovered waggons; 7 of these horses and mares being strayed horses; with these sent the Lt. Ivan Mechemetuf and 4 denshikes with about 20 sojours. Caused give 2 rubles of the shatrove money to buy oates for his M. horses in the Butirsky reg-t.

Received a letter from his Ma-tie, dated Mosko the 10 of August, wherein are related the newes which the Boyar Kniaz Jacob Fiodorovitz Dolgorukoy had written, and is here befor written the 3d instant (his letter dated the 20 of July); ordering me to march in great hast with my army to the most convenient place for the guarding of the countrey against the incursions of the enemy, and annoying them upon occasions, and frequently to give notice of what passeth to Mosko & to the Generallissimus, and to conforme my self to this order and letters sent from the Generallissimus, and to returne an answer immediately, in what place this letter hath found me.

Upon this I immediately dispatched a otpiska to the Generallissimus to acquaint him herewith and to desire his orders, sending it by a Captaine Ivan Tobolefsky. Writt to Lubim Alfer. Dumnin by this.

In his Tzaarsky Ma-ties letter was particularized how that the Dumny Dworanin Vasily Boris. Buchchostuf had written to the Boyar Kniaz Jacob Fiodor. Dolgorukoy that the Turks and Tartars were come in great numbers the 14 of July and had taken possession of the castle Aslan, from whence they shott continually at the fort […] out of cannon and musquets; that they had convoyed {133} themselves into [upon er.a] the illands above the forts & hindred & stopped all passages that way; that more cannon & foot were coming from Oczakow to attack the fort on Tavan; that the Chan with all his forces was

409 Denshchik (Russian), orderly.
410 I.e. a letter from the Russian government in the name of the Tsar, who was away in Western Europe.
411 V.B. Bulhvostov, from 1691 Duma nobleman, in 1697 voyevoda of Tavan’ fortress on the lower Dnieper; for his able defence against the Turks and Tatars promoted to okol'nichy.
rendevouzing at the Kalantzziak and intended to fall into the Ukraina townes; that the Boyar had sent 3 regiments of foot under the command of the Dumny Dworanin Simon Protas. Niepluiuf, & the Hetman forces under the command of the Czernichovish colonell befir, and that he with the Hetman with all their forces were preparing to go downe by water.

Aug. 21 [Sat.] Dispatched the gentleman which brought his Ma-ties letter with ane answer thereto. Writt with him to the Boyar Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev].

About 4 aclock afternoone came a messenger from the Generallissimus with a otpiska, that I should according to his M. order march with great hast to Bogoduchova on the river Merlo to the above-said purpose. Whereupon I immediately dispatched a sojour [to] my waggons and prepared to be gone the next-day early. I sent for 60 podwods or horses for the cannon and ammunition, which were brought late and distributed among the regiments.

{133v} Having caused muster and given pay for August month to the regiments, the following list was brought to me.

In the Butirsky regiment 892 men, under officers and sojours, all armed, whereof 30 w[i][t]h a serjeant by the Generallissimus a guard to the treasure. Not compeered to receive pay 51.

In the Tambovish regiments

In the first 1,152, whereof 121 without muskets. Not compeered to receive pay 51 persons.

In the second 639, whereof 82 without muskets. Not compeered to receive pay 79 persons.

In the third regiment 621, whereof 43 without muskets. Not compeered to receive pay 26 persons.

In all present 2,500, whereof without armes 246.

412 S.P. Nepliuyev († after 1713), postel’nichy, voyevoda, from 1688 Duma nobleman. In 1697 he oversaw the transfer of 121 large boats from Briansk to the mouth of Samara river for a joint Russian and Cossack campaign down the Dnieper.

413 Yakiv Lyzohub († 1698), in 1665–88 general osavul of the Zaporizhian Host, from 1687 colonel of Chernihiv. In 1696 he was interim (nakaznoy) hetman of Ukrainian Cossacks at the conquest of Azov. In Tsar Peter’s words, “a man skilled in virtue and in military labours”.

414 Instead of the crossed-out 2,664. However, the addition of the given numbers of Tambov regiments amounts to 2,412 men. Possibly Gordon includes the officers in the total.
Absent 156 persons.

{134} Aug. 22, Sun. In the morning early, as I was ready to march, I received an order not to go from hence, but await the coming of the Generalissimus.

A little thereafter I received letters from Mosko from Mr. Vinius of the 5 & 13 instant, from Yemelian Ignat. Ukraintzuf & Nikita Zotuf of the 5.

Being invited, I went & dined by the governour, and being not in good disposition stayed not long.

Dispatched an answer to the Generalissimus his letter by Capt. Gregory Evertson. Writt 3 letters to my wyfe.

The Smollensko gentlemen marched by to their homes.

23. In the evening I received a letter from the Generalissimus wherein he writeth that I shall stay in Valu[y]ka with my army, and upon notice of the enemies advancing march thither, and that I shall have of his army under my command 3 regiments of horse, a regiment of foot & the Ribnaes reg-t. Received 2 letters from Mr. Vinius of the 12 & 19 inst-t, from Nikita Mos. Zotuf of the 5.

24 [Tuesd.] Sent to view a place to encampe in.

Rode and mett the Generalissimus at the river Uras[ov]a, then went & dined by the Ribnaes colonell. From the r. Uras[ov]a the army was dismissed, and the collours from the gentry received.

Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Vinius. Writt to the Boyar Kniacz Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy & his bro-r Kniacz Luka by the woywods stanitza415, and to his Ma-tie by the Chancellour Archipa.

{134v} I dismissed the stolniks, who had been with me from Mosko, and the companies given me under Azow.

The names of the rittmesters416 were, by the companies of the Dworanyes:

2. Kniacz Ivan Kniacz Dmitreuf sin Isupuf.
4. Peter Dmitreuf sin Daviduf.

415 Stanitsa (Russian), Cossack party or settlement.
416 Rittmeister (German), captain of cavalry.
417 Bagration-Davydov (Bagrationi-Davitishvili), Georgian princely family descended from King Alexander I of Kakheti († 1511), and settled in Russia from 1666.
5. Andre[y] Andreuf sin Sestakuf. This dyed the 20 inst.

Silzy companyes

1. Kniaʒ Peter Kniaʒ Alexeyuf sin Kropotkin.
2. Ivan Gregoriuf sin Kobiakov.
5. Jacob Vasileuf sin Kortashow.
6. Ivan Averkiuf sin Opuchtin.
7. Mikita Nazariuf sin Melnitskoy.
8. Sidor Artemiuf sin Iliin.
9. Rodivon Gregoriuf sin Besobrasuf.

All stolnikes by office.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet without date [Mosko cr.o.]
After wee had read and considered the post-newes the Generallissimus came into my campe and tent, where stayed ane howre, then went to the towne.

{135} Aug. 25. Dispatched my son in law & son Theodorus to my wyfe in Krasna. After breakfast rode to the towne, conferred with the Boyar about many things, then brought him out of towne, & so parted, he on his way & I to my campe.

An order to give the officers & sojours pay of the money remaining over.
26. Sent ane order to the colonells to send in a list of their officers, horsemen, sojours, armes, ammunition, cannon & waggons.
Sent and caused measure out the place I am to encampe in.
Writt otptikyes to the woyvod of Charkow420 called Simon Obrosimovitz Durow and to the Isumshe Colonell Fiodor Wolodomirovitz Shilow, giving them notice of my being here with an army for the defence of the countrey, and that upon certaine information of the [enemy's] approach or designes they shall give me immediately notice.

27. Received a letter from the Boyar, confirming the newes of the Turks & Tartars lying still at the siege of the forts Tavan & Singerey, as yet the 2d of

418 Thus in MS.
419 Zhdanov.
420 Khar'kov.
August; that at the towne New Bogoroditza\(^2\) by the r. Samara the Tartars had appeared in great numbers and passed the river at the Sandy Foord, and had been seen at Bogdanova, and that it appeared that they intended to fall into the Ukraina townes; that therefor I shall do my best \(\{135v\}\) to hinder them and preserve the townes and "slabods" from harme, according to his Majesties former order. Wherefore, being ready to march to another campe, I resolved to march directly to the most suspected places, and so marched over the r. Valuy & encamped on the other syde of the towne.

Aug. 28. In the morning by other letters wee had the confirmation of the former newes, so I marched immediately, dividing the army in two for the neerer & quicker passage over the r. [O]skoll; the one halfe crossing a little above the towne, and the other 5 or 6 verst further up. A little before evening I encamped at the head of the Little or Dry Kosinka by good convenience of wood, grasse & water.

I wrott to his M. and to the Generalissimus, informing of my march, as also to the Boyar Kniaz Jacob Fiod. [Dolgoruky] & his brother Kniaz Luka of the same.

Sent some of my most unnec[essary]ary horses and other things to my village Ivanofsky and the heaviest materials & ammunition to Mosko on 15 horses.

Received a list from the colonells of their regiments, as followeth:

Colonell Gaspar Gulits – 982 lanciers & ryters\(^2\), 370 wag.
Col. Vasily Bratsuf – 1,003 [lancers] & ryt., 323.
Col. Ivan Tertova\(^3\) – 431 sojors, whereof 181 without armes.

\(\{136\}\) Writt to my wyfe, to Mr. Vinius & Krevet, and to the Russe ffriendes I correspond with in Mosko.

Aug. 29. I rested and sent before to the townes and villages neer which I was to march, to make ready and bring out bread & provisions for our money.

30. I marched early, crossing the head of the Dry Kosinky and holding to the west to passe by the head of the other Kosinka. Dyned by a wood, where water for necessity, and came to the village Olchova on the head of the Wett Kosinka, encamping a verst to the syde of it.

Writt to the Isumshe colonell.

\(^2\) The fortress of Novohogoroditsk, founded on Samara river (Ukraine) in 1688. Gordon, as an experienced military engineer, took part in its planning.

\(^2\) Reiter (German), reytyary (Russian), troopers. This term used to denote cavalry “of foreign order” in Russia, as distinct from traditional mounted gentry.

\(^3\) Tyrtov.
31. Marched, and quitting the Isumshe way, turned to the right. Dined not farr from the village & head of the r. Burluk, then encamped in the evening by the r. Kotumka 424.

{136v} Sept-r 1, Wed. Being the feast of SS. Simon & Jude and the first day of the new year by the Russes, I stayed till their devotion was finished. Then marched over the r. Chotomka through the desart to Saltowa by the r. Donets, encamping on the Nagaish syde of the river, a little above the town, which is on the other syde. This town is from Valu[y]ka 12 miles, from Novoskol 15, from Belagrod 6, from Zołoczow 6, from Peczinega 3 & from Charkow 6, from Czugoyow 6.

2. Writt to his Ma-tie & the *Generallissimus* by the Corporall Marka Urivuf; by the same occasion to the noblemen I correspond with, to Mr. Vinius & Krevet, to my wyfe & daughters, and to the Maior Gen-ll Rigeman in Novoskol. To the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. Dolgorukoy in Belag[rod] by Capt. Brink, to *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. by the Saltovish stanitsky guides.

Received letters from the Isumshe Colonell Fiodor Volod. Shilow in ans-r to myne, with the same newes in the former from the *General[issimus]*, promising to advertise me of any newes that should fall out; these dated Ishume 28 Aug. 1697.

{137} Sept-r 3. Caused give halfe a months pay to the officers & sojours, which amounted in all to […]

4. Capt. Brink returned from Belagrod with notice that the Boyar *Kniaz* Jacob Fiod. was returneing and come to the Kudak the 28 of August.

Received a letter from M. Gen-ll Rigeman, dated Novoskol the 3d instant, to the which I returned an answer immediately. Received a letter from Col. Devits 425, dated 3d inst.

5. Had all the ppll persons in the army at a feast.

The Ribnaes colonell came.

Received a letter from Coll. Gast, dated 3d inst.

6. Received a letter or *otpiska* from *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. Dolgorukoy, dated 3d instant in answer to myne of the 24 from Valu[y]ka.

Writt to *Kniaz* Jacob & *Kniaz* Luka Fiod. Dolgo. and to Col. Gast, in whose these to the former, desiring him to forward them.

{137v} Sept-r 7, Tuesd. Dyned by the Ribnaes colonel.

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424 Just below Gordon writes it with *Ch*. Evidently, Khotomlia.
425 Probably identical with Colonel Devissen mentioned by Gordon in *Diary IV* and below.
Received a letter from the Ishumse Colonell Fiodor Wolodomir. Shilow, to
which I returned an ans-r immediately.

Having sent an imperilll order to the governour some dayes ago for pod-
wodes, and being still delayed and put of with excuses, I sent a 100 sojors & in
the villages take so many horses as I had oc[ca]sion for.

In the evening received a otpiska from Kniaaz Luka Fiod. that there is no
newes in his army; that his brother the Boyar Kniaaz Jacob Fiod. is returned
to the Dneper and ferrying over at the Kudakes ferry; this dated the 6th inst.

8. After devotion, a little befor midday I marched the road to Volczy
[Vody]426, and first crossed the broke Griasny, then the Zapoly and a little
further the Ilmine Kolodes or broke, all which at ane equal distance, about a
verst & a halfe from another, fall into the Donets. I encamped 4 verst short of
Volczy, because of the convenience of wood, grasse and water; yet in lakes,
out of which the Ilmine.

{138} Sept-r 9. Sent the cannon and spare ammunition belonging to the
Butirsky regiment to Valul[y]ka, as also 53 horses belonging to that reg-t and 2
belonging to the surijon prentices, in all 55.

About midday I received letters from his Ma-tie, dated in Mosko the 1st of
7ber, but sent from Mosko the 2d in the 6th howre of the day. Wherein is writ-
ten how that Kniaaz Jacob Fiod. had written from Tavan [Kasa-Kermin cx.o.]
how that a formidable force of the Crimish Tartars with some Turkes foot
were come to Aslan-Gorod, and a great power of the Belagrods Tartars427
were come on the other syde to Kasa-Kerm; and that the Turkes from Ocza-
kow with artillery and ammunition in above 100 gallyes or furcates as they call
them, besides other boates & vessels, were coming up the Dneper; that he
had certaine intelligence from prisoners and others escaped from them, that
they intended to besiege and attack the forts of Tavan & Sangerey, as also to
keep him and the Hetman up with their armyes there; that the Chan may in
the meane-tyme with all his power fall into the Ukraina and ruine the countrey.

To prevent which, his Ma-tie ordered me to march in all hast to such places
where the enemy is expected, and to send for (if needfull) Maior Generall
Rigeman, the Coll-s Mevis, Czubaruf, Kolsakow, Czarny & Hundertmark to
joyne me and march to any place where notice shal be had of the
enemies, and have a great care that the countrey gett no harme. Hereby were

426 Later and now Volhansk, Ukraine.
427 The Akkerman (Belgorod) horde of Tatars was based in Budjak, a plain along the Black
Sea between the Danube and the Dniester.
imperial letters to the above-said colonells w-ch I dispatched immediately
with others from myself to them in the townes wherein they lay.

I returned also an answer to his Ma-ties letters, and wrott also to the Generalissimus, the Boyar Kniag Jacob Fiod. & his brother Kniag Luka, all by post. Writt also to M. Gen-ll Rigeman.

Sept-r 10, Frid. A list of these who have received pay for the halfe of September month, given by the maiors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regiment</th>
<th>Payed</th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Supernumerary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Butirsky reg-t</td>
<td>839</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gordons reg-t</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De Duithes reg-t</td>
<td>704</td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pawlofskyes regt</td>
<td>567</td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all present 3,148 absent 241

Not agreeable with the former by 11 persons.

This cleared, one being dead & 10 more runaway.

{139} Sept-r 11. Received letters from his M. upon myne of the 28 from Valu[y]ka, when I was on my march, with the substance of the former therein, to the which I returned immediately an answer, & to the Generaliss. These letters dated the 4th instant.

Received a letter from M. G. Rigeman, dated Novoskol 9 inst., which ans-d immediately. Writt to the Coll-s Devissen & Gast.

12. Received an ans-r from Coll. Devissen.

13. I marched, crossing the r. Volczy at a small towne of the same name, and marching about 8 verst further encamped by the same river too soone & out of the way, whereas I could have marched further and had the same convenience. This done by the unskilfulnes of the guides.

On the way to the right hand by the river on a hill is a ancient fort with a double trench about, and on the corners vestigees of bulwarks, it being 4 square. There is a well within it, but when and by whom built no body knowes.

Gordon VIHB.indb 122 10/10/2016 11:26:01

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628 Colonel James Gordon, Patrick’s son.
Sept-r 14, Tues. Marched early over corne-field and then the high road through the stepe or desert; have the small towne Nesegoll on our left hand & the r. Volczy on our right hand, about 12 verst, & encamped by good convenience.

Whilst I was at dinner, I received by the post from Mosko his M. letters with a more particular relation of the passages at Tavan & Kasa-Kermin. And seeing it was presumed by letters from thence that the Turkes under the Seraskier, and the Chan with his Tartars shall besiege or stop the passage of the Boyar Kniaž Jacob Fiod. & the Hetman, that I should call for the above-sd major generall & the colonells & march directly with all possible hast to the New Bogaroditska, and from thence according to intelligence to the forts Tavan and Kasa-Kermin, and endeavour with all power the relieffe of the said Boyar & Hetman. Hereby were orders to the above-sd m. gen-ll & colonells, which I dispatched immediately by an express of my owne, and {148} sent also Lt.Coll. Ronaer to the Boyar Kniaž Jacob Fiod. with letters. Writt also to M. Gen-ll Rigeman & the colonell of Ribna. Writt also to Kniaž Luka Fiod.

Removed a litle lower downe and encamped by the river, where sort of good convenience.

Writt to his M. and to the Generalissimus by post.
Sept-r 15. Writt to my wyfe & Mr. Krevet.

Received a letter from Coll. Mevis.
Maior Lambe came.
17. Captaine Riedt came.

Received a otpisky and a letter from Coll. Fiod. Aff. Kolsakuf, dated Ishum the 14th.
18. Returned ane answer to the yesterdayes letter by the same bearer his pristave.

Received a letter from Coll. Gast, informing that the Turkes were come by sea and besieging Tavan; that the Boyar Kniaž Jacob Fiod. had sent a regiment of sojours and another of streltsees to their relieffe; the kormovy Donish

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629 Serasker Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army.
630 In this volume of the Diary the next two quires (Nos. 18 and 19) are filed and bound in reverse order, but the pagination (not by Gordon) is continued despite the breach of chronology. In the MS (fols. 139v and 148) this breach and the ongoing entry for 14 September 1697 are marked #, possibly by Gordon himself. The present edition keeps the chronological order.
631 Pristav (Russian), an official assigned for escort.
632 Kormovy (Russian), receiving payment (korm) from the Tsar’s government in kind and/
Kosakes sent also, and that he is to stay with the army in the fields untill notice be of the enemies marching away from the siege.

{149} Sept-r 19, Sun. Received a otipsky from the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein, dated Tula the 7th instant, by the writer Fiodor […], with 2,000 rubles to pay the soouldiers. Received also a letter from the Dummy Lubim Alf. Dumnin & the chancellours by him.

20. Received a letter from his Ma-tie with grace, thankes & praise for upon newes of an enemy going from Vailuka and comeing so soone to Saltow, with encouragement to proceed in his M. service with alacrity. And because nothing is to be heard of an enemy, to stay in a convenient place without going further.

Hereby another imp. letter, giving me notice that the two other regiments of strleetsees, to witt Affonasse Czubaruf[‘s] & Tichon Hundertmark[‘s], are also ordered to go to Rzew, with his M. letters to them; which I immediately dispatched to them by Ivan the Kalmuiik, a Butirsky sojour, giving him halfe a ruble on the way; writeing by him to Coll. Hundertmark, from whom I received this day a otipsky and a letter with the {149v} following newes. That 62 of Crimish and Nagaish Tartars came to Tor; that 73 Donish Cosakes & Kalmuiiks being upon party, and first did fall upon their kaus433, being a station where they leave their spare horses & victualls, and tooke 4 Tartars & 66 horses; these Tartars conducted them to their comorades, and so the Cosakes did assaile them by the r. Tortsa434 and routed them, killing many and takeing 7 prisoners.

Sept-r 21. In the morning earlyLt.Coll. Rooner returned and brought me letters from the Boyar Kniâz Jacob Fiodor. Dolgorugoy, informing me that the Hetman had written to him, how that by letters from the Zaporovian Cosakes out of Szetczy435 he had notice how that the Turkes were attacking the fort of Tavan with all their force, and by continuall throwing of bombes and shooting [of] cannon had forced them to quite their outworkes, as also the fort of Kasa-Kermin; that they were busy both by water & land in forcing of it; that Aly Bassa, who had been building the fort at the mouth of the r. Kuban, was come with 7 or 8,000 men; that the Chan {150} with his Crimish Tartars and the Belagrodish borderes436 were still there, and that they had so

433 Kosh, Tatar or Cossack camp.
434 Torets.
435 Zaporizhian Sich (Ukrainian), Sech (Russian).
436 Orda (Russian), horde.
closed up all passages by water & land that there could no body get in to them; that others thereafter were come, who had been on the illand nearest to it, and declared that in 3 dayes they had heard no shooting. Wherefor the Boyar desired me most earnestly to come thither and be at a counsell with the Hetman, who was to come from Hadits\(^{437}\) in some dayes; and that he with the army will march towards Rublefsky\(^{438}\) to be neerer to the Hetman.

With this I received a short relation of his jorney and passages there, as that they had fortifyed the fort Tavan with new workes; that the Chan with his Crimish Tartars on the Crimish syde, as also a great power of Turkes, Janizaries & other foot with cannon, morters and other military provisions were there also and fired continually at the fort Sangerey, and came continually on the illands, especially on that of Tavan, striving all they could to hinder the compleeting of the fortifications; that on the Belagrods syde the Belagrodish bordar with 3,000 spabies\(^{439}\) and other Turkes did also infest them; that the fort {150v} Sangerey, being too farr to be relieved from the maine fort Tavan, he had caused it to be demolished; that some dayes befor he marched from thence the Turkes had lyen still without acting any thing; that he had left a garrison of about 6,000 men in the fort with 60 pieces of ordinance, and provision sufficient till the winter way with all sort of warlike provision; that he marched from thence the [...] of August, came to the illand Tomakofsky the 26, and the 30 of August to the Czernetskoy ferry; had on the 3d of 7ber ferryed over the Dneper, and came to Kolumka the 9th, where hath joyned with his brother Kniaz Luka, and stayes now there.

Sept-r 21, Tuesd. I returned answers to his M. letters by the same who brought them, and wrott to the Generalliss., as also to Mr. Vinius and Krever; to my wyfe enclosed in one to Yakim Step[anovich] Zdanuf, governour of Yeffermow.

I tooke jorney and came to Volczy, and in the evening to Saltova, where changing horses I travelled the whole night, crossing the brooke Babka, 5 \(\text{verst}\) from Saltova, and then through the step, and crossing \{151\} the r-t Niemisly within 3 \(\text{verst}\) of the towne Charkow, which is from Saltova 5 miles. Here in the suburbs I crossed the r. Charkow, from whence the towne hath its name,

Sept-r 22. and being come to a lodging 2 howres befor day, I stayed till 7 aclock for fresh horses. Then crossing the river Lopian by the towne, came

\(^{437}\) Hadiach, Ukraine.

\(^{438}\) Rublevka, “hundred’s” town of Akhtyrsksy Cossack regiment, with a fortress.

\(^{439}\) Sipahi, elite Ottoman heavy cavalry, the Sultan’s horse guards, recruited from ethnic Turks who owned land.
to the r. Uda, 6 verst, which crossing at a milne, I came to the r-t & great village Lubotin; where refreshing our selves & horses, being from Charkow 3 ½ miles, I went throw badd way in thick woods, and came in the evening to the towne Chmielofka, 4 miles. Here I rested till midnight.

23. I marched, and by mistake of the guides went to the right hand towards Kalentayuf, yet came to the campe about 8 aclock in the morning. Haveing dined with the Boyar\footnote{Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky.}, wee rode towards Rublefky, and there crossing the r. Merlo, to the suburb of Opoczno\footnote{Oposhnia.}; where after a long conference and many debates wee at last concluded that the business of Tavan requires a speedy relieffe. And so resolved upon a detachment of 20 or 30,000 men, whereof I and the Kniæ Łuka Fiod. Dolgorukoy \footnote{In Ukrainian sources, kompanystchi or kompanysty. Gordon himself explains this term as “mercenary horsemen of the Cossacks” (Diary, III, p. 58).} am to have the command over the Russes, & the Hetman to send a commander apart to command his men.

Here I had further information how that at the first coming of the army to Tavan a party of the Hetmans companshikes\footnote{In Ukrainian sources, kompanystchi or kompanysty. Gordon himself explains this term as “mercenary horsemen of the Cossacks” (Diary, III, p. 58).} had been drawne into ane ambush by the Belagrodish Tartars, and above 200 of them killed & taken; that the new fort of Tavan is a tetragon; that no other outworkes was made befor it; that notwithstanding the Turkes & Tartars were staying there with a designe to attack it, yet that the scarcity of provisions had forced the Boyar and Hetman to returne, leaving a garrison of 6,000 men; that if they should have stayed any longer they must have consumed the provisions, which were to be left for the subsistance of the garrison; that in their retreat they had no trouble from the enemy; that whilst they sailed or rowed up the river the horsemen who were with them swammed their horses up the river from illand to illand; that haveing heard of new supplyes come to the Turkes, they had detached 3,000 men \footnote{In Ukrainian sources, kompanystchi or kompanysty. Gordon himself explains this term as “mercenary horsemen of the Cossacks” (Diary, III, p. 58).} more to strenthen the garrison; that they hoped these were entred; that no certaine intelligence they had thereafter, only that the Zaporovish Cosakes had from the illands heard the thundring of the cannon and bombes; that a Cosake lately come had related that in three dayes befors he came from thence no noise of cannon or throwing of bombes had been heard, by which wee presumed that either they had quitted the siege, or that the garrison had begun to capitulate, which last wee concluded to be most likely. However, wee resolved to send the fores-d detachment, and that to show our dilligence, as also to give a terour or diversion to the enemy.
Having supped by the Hetman and to drive away melancholy made merry, wee returned to the campe, the Hetman at parting having presented me with a silver overgilt & enameled kan of above 2 pund.

{152v} Sept-r 24, Frid. Having taken leave of the Boyar and his brother with other friends, some whereof convoyed me, I went the direct road to Chmielofky; and after I had gone about three miles, a servant of the Hetmans did overtake me with a good horse, being a pacer, which he presented me. I gave the servant 5 reichs dollers wages and to the Cosake with him one.

Having changed horses at Chmielofky, about sunsetting I went from thence and travelling all the night the same road I came,

25. came to Charkow by day light, from whence getting fresh horses I came in the evening to Saltow; where changing horses I crossed the r. Donets and about 9 aclock came to Voleczy, & a little after midnight to my campe.

{153} Sept-r 26, Sun. About 8 aclock in the morning a gentleman of the Rosriade brought me his M. letters, dated the 16, where I was ordered, in case all be quiet in the Ukraina, and that the effaires of Kniaț Jacob Fiod. requires not assistance, then that I shall muster or view the regiments and dismisse them, and come my self to Mosko. I answered these letters immediately and shew the reasons why I could not dismisse the regiments nor come to Mosco, being necessitate to march to the relieffe of Tavan. Received also a letter from Mr. Krevec, which I answered. Wrott also to Mr. Vinius & my wyfe.

Dispatched Captaine Nikita Krovkow to the Boyar Kniaț Jacob Fiod. with notice of my being to march to Charkow the 28, and sent him the copy of his M-s letter to me. Writt also to Tichon Nikit-s [Streshnjev], to M. Gen-ll Rigeman & to Coll. Bullart, ordering him to provide 100 good Cosakes with 3 or 4 weeks provision to go along with me & to come to me himself in great hast.

I ordered also 100 horsemen out of each regiment to go along, and gave orders for {153v} quartering the regiment of horse in the neerest townes.

Sept-r 27. Received a letter from M. G. Rigeman.
The Ribnaes colonell came.
I dispatched my best horses & some waggons with my superfluous things.

28. Having breakfasted, I marched and passing Voleczy encamped neer our old leaguer.

29. Marched to Saltow, where crossing the r. Donets, I marched to the r-t Babia, where encamping, staying there all night.

By the way received gazets sent from Mr. Vinius.

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443 Razriadny Prikaz (Office).
444 Babia.
{154} Sept-r 30, Thurs. Marched and by the way Capt. Krokvow did meet me with a opisika from the Boyar Kniarz Jacob Fiod., desireing me to march with as much hast as possible to the relieffe of the fort Tavan, sending the copy of a letter sent from the Hetman with intelligence of what passeth at Tavan, to witt that the Turkes had the first 8 dayes of 7ber with great force attaqued Tavan; that they expected assistance & relieffe from us.

Encamped in a field near the towne by the r-t Niemisly.

{154v} Oct-r.

Ane acco-t of the money received, disbursed and in the treasury, by the writer Terenty Kirilow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Received</th>
<th>R.</th>
<th>Disbursed</th>
<th>[R.]</th>
<th>[À]</th>
<th>[D.]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From the writer Ivan Borisuf</td>
<td>6,030</td>
<td>To the sojours for the month Sep[r] pay</td>
<td>1,834</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of moneys left over of August &amp; July of the Tamb. sojours</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>To Fiodor Bogdanuf for the officers</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the regiment writer Vasily Medy[alde]</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>In all</td>
<td>1,865</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sent out of the great army</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all received</td>
<td>8,396</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remaines the last of September 6,530 – 6 – 3.

{155} Oct-r.

Ane acco-t of the money received, disbursed and remaining in the treasury by the writer Fiodor Bogdanuf:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Received</th>
<th></th>
<th>Disbursed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shatrovoy from the writer Ivan Baybakuf</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>For necessaryes to the treasury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Coll. Gordon of money left-over of the podvion for the Tambovish sojours 516 - - For necessaries in the Tambovish reg-ts 24 - -

In all received 1,124 9 4 To Cosakes for convoying 4 - -
From TerentyKirilow 31 6 - For oates 6 - -
Sum. sum. 1,155 15 4 To Ivan Kalmuik - 16 4
For a horse 4 - -
To the officers of pay for halfe 7ber 547 6 -
In all disbursed 594 15 4

Remaines 561 - -

{155v} Oct-r.
The acco-t of the reg-t writer Vasil[y] Med[vedev]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Received for</th>
<th>Disbursed</th>
<th>Rests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>900</td>
<td>879</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>August</td>
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<td>879</td>
<td>2\textsuperscript{445}</td>
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<tr>
<td>September halfe</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>30</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept-r the other halfe</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>425</td>
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</tbody>
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\textsuperscript{445} Second digit blotted out in MS.
In all remaines 84 r. 8 alt. – d.

Sent in all horses away                    26
Here by me still                          21
Bought one, being a mare                  1
In all                                  & 2 kazionny

{140} Oct-r 1, Frid. Having given the sojurs pay for the other halfe of 7ber, I stayed here to give them tyme to buy and provide themselves of provisions, but they consumed the tyme most in drinking, by which many quarrels.

I dined by the governour and gott 50 podwodes or horses with provisions from the governour & Ribnaes colonell.

2. I marched early and went round the towne, crossing the river at a milne and the r. Uda at a milne 5 verst from the towne, and 2 miles further through the village Lubotin; and a large mile further encamped among corne fields, having for convenience of water the font of the r. Merczik on our left hand, which having run about 200 fath. sinketh unsensibly into the ground, and cometh out on the right hand of the way about a mile and falleth in the r. Merlo a good way of.

The governour of Charkow came to me in the evening and stayed all night.

Received by the way a otpiska from the Boyar Kniaz Jacob Fiod., w-ch I ans-d by the Lt. Olfery Sniter.

{140v} Oct-r 3, Sun. After devotion & breakfast marched and going through the town Perekop encamped on the other syde, hard by the towne, having passed by the towne Valky a little of on our left & the towne Olshianky on our right hand. Here is the font of the river Moz.

4. Arose about midnight and rode to the towne Kolumka 1 ½ mile. Here the sotnik told me how that the Tartars, about 100, had at the place where salt-peter is made not far of taken 11 persons and 2 horses. From thence to

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446 Kazionny (Russian), government (adj).
447 Pagination failure is due to a mistake in the binding order of two quires in this volume. See above, fol. 148.
448 Perelop, important fortress in Ukraine founded in 1643 (not the one on the Crimean isthmus). “Hundred’s” town of Khar’kov Cossack regiment.
449 Later and now Ol’shany.
450 Sotnik (Russian & Ukrainian), an officer of Cossacks or striltsy in command of 100 men. Kolomak was a “hundred’s” town of Akhtyrsky Cossack regiment.
the Boyars campe by the r. Merlo over against the towne Kalentayuf, where I consulted & dined with the Boyar & his brother. I returned a neerer way through the towne Chmielofka and came to my campe at 9 aclock in the night.

Writt to his M., the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Sim. [Shein], to my wyfe, Mr. Vinius and Krevet, dated yesterday & now dispatched.

Whilst I was by the Boyar, letters came from the Hetman with a relation of what a Cosake Lukian had told: that he came with the Cashovoy Ottoman & the Russes sent to strengthen the garrison of Tavan the 1st of 7ber; that in their passing from the Kustorsky illand the Turkes {141} and Tartars had annoyed them with small shott & arrowes from the Kasa-Kermyns syde; that the Zaporovian Cosakes had gone ashore and beat them of; that the garrison of Kasa-Kermin had sallyed out also & assisted them; that they went & landed on the Tavanish illand and taken post in ane entrenchment befor the fort; that the Turkes had made their approches on the illand towards the fort, had twice stormed it, setting up their ladders to the walls, and were beaten of with great loss; that the Turkes for 12 days had out of 6 morter pieces shott bombes into the fort, w-ch however had done little harme; that they had in the same tyme fired out of cannon perpetually, dismounted the guns of the fort; that after that they had ceassed to trouble them much in that fort, but were busy in attaquing Kasa-Kermin; that they had sprung two mines to their owne loss, they breaking out & falling upon themselves, killing many; that being now used and acquainted with this play, they did not value the danger so much as at first; that the passage was free betwixt Kasa-Kermin {141v} and the fort Tavan, as also the passage downe the Dneper free; that by prisoners they were informed that the Turkes were intended to stay till the first of October or untill the cold should drive them away.

Oct-r 5, Tues. I stayed here, waiting for horses from the Boyar.

In the night tyme about 400 of the Tambovish sojours ran away.

6. I did writt to the Boyar by my brother in law⁴⁵¹.

Received from the Boyar 50 horses & 20 waggons.

Left the horse I gott from the Hetman and two mares here, recommending them to the governour.

{142} Oct-r 7, Thurs. Marched, and passing by the 2 heads of the r-t Sliachowa, and rested by another font of the River Moz. Marched further and lodged by a head or font of the r. Orczik. All this way, being a mile from the Precop, [two Dr.s.] wee had on our left hand thick woods, which serve for a

⁴⁵¹ Either a brother of Gordon’s first wife, of the Bockhoven family, or the second, of the Ronaers.
defence to the countrey, and on the right fields. The other mile wee had the r. Orczik, though farr of, on our left hand & the desart on our right.

My brother in law returned and informed that Kniazi Luka Fiod. [was cr.o.] marched on Tuesday last.

8. Wee marched and encamped by the river Orczik and dined, being two miles, and two miles further encamped by the same river and stayed all night, having good convenience of wood, grasse & water at a place called the Milnes.

9. Marched two long miles and encamped by the Cosakes Pristane, where good convenience of wood, water, grass & hay. Here the Kosakes of Pultava have their apiaryes, and fishers live here in small hutters. I stayed here all night, being too farr to water & wood. This is 6 miles from Pultava and as much from the little towne Niech[v]orostsha by the river Oriel.

Oct-r 10, Sun. Marched a little after 7 aclock. At [halfe cr.o.] 8 marched south west (whereas our march along the river had been south) from the river Orczik. About 10 aclock crossed the great road from Miaus to Pultava and the Ukraina, and an howre thereafter a dry head or font of the r-t Lipianka, and at 2 aclock afternoon the right Lipianka, where encamped and stayed all night by good convenience of hay, grasse & water, but little wood.

From hence I dispatched a post with letters to Kniazi Luka Fiod., giving notice of my march and desiring to know of his, and if any newes from Mosko or Tavan. Writt also to Coll. Devisson, both this by Lt. Hampe.

Oct-r 11. Marched by 7 aclock along the r-t Lipianka to the towne Niech[v]orosha, so called from a small brooke falling [in] the r. Oriol here. Here I passed the rivier [sic] Oriol at a milne below the towne and encamped by a oaken wood on the other syde by all sort of good accommodation. Here I did meet 2 companshikes, who told that a post was gone by to the Hetman with intelligence that the Cosakes had sent a cr.o. Turkes had quitted the siege at Tavan. Wherefor I resolved to stay the next day and expect the certainty of such newes.

Writt to his Ma-tie, to the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Alexey Sim. [Shein], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin], to my wyfe & daughter, Mrs Vinius and Kre-vet. Sent these letters by the guide Pawl Stepanuf. to the governour of Precop, with a letter to him from my self. Gave to the guide halfe a ruble.

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452 Probably, Mlyny.
The Cosakes of this town Nech[v]orosha told that they had notice that the Pultavish Colonel Iskra\(^\text{453}\) with these by him were come to Scetsa, and to go immediately farther, to Tavan.

\{143v\} Oct-r 12, Tuesd. The yesterdayes newes made me stay here all day, expecting the returne of the officer sent to Knia[\v]z Luka Fiod. I sent also a officer to the camp[e] where the companions stay to learne the truth of the yesterdayes relation, and what passeth amongst them; who returned befor evening and told that what was told yesterday was false.

I caused give halfe a months pay to the sojours, which amounted:

To the Butirskies [...]
To the Tambovish [...]
To the Romanovish [...]
In all [...]

13. Marched over a dirty mire out of the strait ground, and ordering the waggonburg marched directly south, haveing the river Oriel on our right hand, as also the towne Maiatzek, and the desart on our left. A little past midday I rested by convenience of water, hay & grasse, but the wood farr of. On our left hand were two kurgans about a mile from another, where people were busy makeing salpeter. At 3 aclock I marched and passing by the towne Tzaritzinka\(^\text{454}\) and crossing the r-t \{144\} of the same name, encamped on a bare ffield near the towne, to have convenience of buying in provisions.

This morning returned the officer I had sent to the Stolnik Knia[\v]z Luka Fiod. with ane answer to my letters, adviseing that he was passed the r. Oriel at Kitay & marching forward without delay to Samara, desireing me to make hast also, that wee may march together after wee have ferryed over the Dneper. Some passages were also written concerning the siege of Tavan, how the Turkes had sprung 4 mines and were makeing ready the 5th under Kasa-Kerm[n]; that these mines were fallen over on themselves and killed a number of them; that at outfalls and by such accidents above 7,000 of the Turkes [were killed] with little loss on our syde, and many particulars more, which needs confirmation and a strong faith.

\{144v\} Oct-r 14, Thur. By the importunity of the impertinent drunken under officers of the Butirsky reg-t I stayed till ten aclock, which gave opportunity to many of the Tambovish to runnaway.

\(^{453}\) Ivan Iskra († 1708), colonel of Poltava in 1696–1700. He was executed for a delation against Hetman Mazepa, which was considered false.

\(^{454}\) Tsarichanka.
I marched and had the towne Kitay on our right hand & the desart, yet some corne fielde, on my left; and coming on the Kitayes road, I marched to the east, having all the way on the r. Orczik & to this place marched south. Having marched 4 or 5 long miles, I encamped on the further syde of the brooke Czaplinke, and by marching a little to the right had good convenience of forrage for the horses.

15. I marched early and dined by convenience of grasse & water, even with a wood of firs on my right hand. Then rode to the other campe by Kniaze Luka Fiodorovitz, where he informed me that Vasily Koslow with other were gone by yesternight from Tavan and Setczy with certaine information that the Turkes were marched of from the siege of Tavan and Kasa-Kermin. By w-ch newes many were rejoiced, and even all, for it is a very unseasonable tyme of the yeare for marching a army through a wild desart and uninhabited countrey 3 or 400 miles, the returne being more terrible & dangerous for losing our horses for want of forrage as the march thither. So having concluded to send 1,000 tunnes of meale and 125 tunne of oate-groates to recruit the provisions of the garrison, wee resolved to returne. Having supped, I returned to my campe, which was neer the r. Dneper about halfe a mile of.

Oct-r 16. I marched early and dined at the same place wee had dined the day befor, and encamped all night by the brooke Czaplinky where befor, being 5 good miles.

From hence writt to his M., Al. Sim. [Shein] & Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], informing them of the certainty that the Turkes had broke up their siege befor Tavan & Kasa-Kermin, and that I am returning with my army, which according to my former orders I am to dismiss in a convenient place. Writt to my wyfe also, and sent by Kosakes of the towne Korotsha to Precop to the governour there, ordering him to forward it to Mosco.

{145v} Oct-r 17, Sund. Marched 3 howres befor day, and being darke, with difficulty passed the marish. About day light it began to snow so vehemently that wee could hardly see the way, the snow with a great wind being wet, made very unpleasant weather. Wee rested a little nevertheless in the fields over against the towne Kitay, & then passing by Tzaritsinka encamped on a low ground halfe a mile from Majatsko. This dayes march was 5 miles.

18. A litle after midnight there was such a violent tempest of wind with wet snow and raine that all our tents were blowne over & torne, and such a cold thereby that wee could not stay any longer for feare of starving the souldiery. So marched in the night tymee over the river Oriel and lodged the
army in the towne Maiatsko, where wee stayed the whole day & the night there to compose & dry ourselves.

From hence I dismissed the horse trowpes who were with me.

{146} Oct-r 19. Marched by day light over the r-t Mayatsko by a bridge and so up along the river Worska and over the brooke Niech[v]oroshtsha, and then turning to the left hand, to the head or font of the r-t Lipianky, where dined. Then went the road to the r. Orczik, and came at 2 aclock in the morning to the Cosakes Pristane, where stayed till daylight. Here the Afterks colonell with his regiment lodged, going the same errand I went. This dayes march was 5 long miles. This day I received a letter from his Ma-tie, dated the 4th of October. Writt to the Boyar Kniaz Jacob Fidor. Dolgorukoy.

20. Marched a little before sunriseing. I stayed a little for the Afterks colonell, who came to give me a visit. Haveing marched a mile & a halfe, dined at the place called the Milnes, and then marched up along the r. Orczik and came about 10 aclock to one of the heads or fonts of the r. Orczik, being 3 long miles.

{146v} Oct-r 21, Thurs. Marched about 5 aclock and came to the towne Prekop and encamped on the north syde thereof in the fields. Here I mustered the regiments of foot. After dinner I rode to the campe of the Boyar Kniaz Jacob Fiodor. Dolgorukoy, but found that he was marched in the morning, haveing dismissed the army. His campe was by the river Merczik.

22. Writt to his Ma-tie that seeing the siege befor Tavan & Kasa-Kermin was raised, and no notice of the Tartars to come & invade the Ukraina townes, I had dismissed the army, haveing first mustered the regiments. Writt here-with to my wyfe by Lt. Loree.

Marched after I had dismissed the reg-ts severall wayes, crossed the r. Mer-czik, dined a mile further, and came and lodged in the towne Olshianka, being 3 miles from the towne Prekop. By this towne is a r-t of the same name, which falleth in the r. Uda a mile below the towne, and the r. Merczik which wee crossed this day falleth in the r. Merlo.

{147} Oct-r 23. Marched a little after midnight and crossed the r-t Losin, which falleth in the r. Uda, as also the r-t Rogosinka, which falleth also in the Uda, this being 10 verst from Olshianka, and 5 verst further the r. Uda by the village Dolshin. This Uda falleth in the r. Donets. 5 short verst further wee came to the towne Zoloczow, where haveing dined, marched over

455 Ivan Perekrestov, in 1681–1704 colonel of Akhtyrka, stol’nik.
456 Losinaya.
457 Later and now Dolzhik.
the brooke Duvalna, 4 *verst*, & 6 *verst* further the r. Lopan above a village of the same name, and stayed in the fields till about midnight.

24. Marched, and crossing the r-t Vaselky under or by the towne Belagrode, came to the Boyars’ house at 9 aclock. Haveing had long conference with him, I dined with him, were merry, and after dinner haveing discoursed of many businesses, his lady & daughter at parting gave each to me a piece of excellent stuffe with gold flowers. Haveing visited ffriends, and with them came to my quarters 2 *verst* from the towne, crossing the r. Donets by a long bridge. The village I quartered in is called the Old Towne, the towne Belagrode haveing stood [here cr.o.] neer this place befor; the walls & ditches being still knowne, but nothing of a towne, save some holes where {147v} cellars have been, being all overgrowne with weeds.

Oct-r 25, Moond. Haveing gott fresh horses, I marched about midday by the Yempsky Slabod and along the great road, haveing the r. Donets decored with pleasant villages on both sydes on our left hand, and the high ground on our right hand well cloathed with woods. And being come about 15 *verst*, wee quitted the Korotshaes road on the right hand, and going directly forward lodged by a wood near villages on both sydes; this place, called Olechovoy Kolodes, being about 20 *verst* from Belagrode.

26. Marched befor day 4 howres and came to the *oshinovie* wood, where dined, 15 *verst*, and 15 *verst* further lodged by the Graiteve Dubrovne.

{156} Oct-r 27, Wed. Marched early, about 8 aclock, left the great road on the left and marched by the village Pusatczina, about 20 *verst* from the Grayova woods, and passed over the r. Garasim at a milne, & dined in the village Kuskina. This r. Garasim falleth in the r. Oskoll. Here I changed the *podwodes* or horses and marched 10 *verst* further, lodging in the woods by good convenience.

28. Marched early, and about day light the road from Staraskoll did fall in, and dined in the edge or border of the Savinoy woods, 15 *verst*, and 15 *verst* further lodged by the long-wells on the left hand of the way.

29. Marched a little after midnight and came about 10 aclock to Livna, crossing the r. Sosna by the towne. Here I stayed all night, lodging in the ffields by the suburbes.  

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458 Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky.

459 Pagination failure is due to a mistake in the binding order of two quires in this volume.

See above, fol. 148.

460 There follow 2 blank pages in MS (fols. 156v and 157).
Oct-r 30, Sat. Marched early the Yefremish way and crossed the r. Livinka at a milne 3 verst from the towne and came to the village Solovie, where breakfasted and gott fresh horses, being 10 verst from the towne. After dinner marched 10 verst over the r. Czernaisky, which falleth in the r. Sosna [some cr.o.] 15 verst below Livna by a towne of the same name. This was a difficult passage and a strait hill to go up, which consumed much tyme, so that wee were forced to lodge in the village Czernaafka 2 verst from the river.

31. Much snow being fallen, wee came with some difficulty with our waggons to the village Little Lesky, 10 verst, on the left hand of the way; where having dined and furnished our selves with sledges, wee rode to the high way which wee had quitted on our right hand, and leaving the roade to Yeffremow on the same hand, rode on in the Murafsky sliech or road; and crossing the r. Lokotsh or Lokotecez, which falleth in the Semen[ek], and this in the Sitowy Metz\[e\]61, wee lodged in the village Daritza\[e\]62, 5 verst from the river & 15 from Liasky.

No-r 1, Moon. Marched ane howre befor day light and passed by the vill. Puczkovo on our left & the vill. Novogolsko on our right hand, and passing the r. Dry Gogol turned to the right hand and dined in another Novogolsky by the r. Gogol, which falleth also in the r. S[e]men[ek], about 15 verst, and then came 10 verst further and lodged in the village Dolgo Lesky to the left hand of the roade. [Marched cr.o.]

This day I rode by the r. Dry Gogol to the right Gogol and viewed lands on the syde of that river not given out as yet, for which I intend to supplicate, and to exchange with some body on the other side to gett both sides for a milne.

2. Marched ane howre befor day and, crossing the Murafsky way, came to the village Archangel by the r-t Gresnoy. Then crossing the r. Kameny Meczet at a milne, came about 10 aclock to my village Ivanofsky, crossing the river Zitovy Mecz by the village, having marched 12 verst.

No-r 4, Thur. After breakfast marched 5 verst and crossed the Zitove Mecez by a village belonging to the Ignateofs. Then passing by diverse villages on the right hand & a large vill. Volozy on the left, from Ignateova 5 verst, & 10 verst further passed by the Vladiczny Kuste, and yet 10 verst to the Tzareof Pristane, where lodged. This is by the r. Uppa. This vil. belongeth to the Volqhonskies.

\[e\]61 A mistake: Semenek falls into Krasivaya Mecha.
\[e\]62 Darishchi.
5. Marched at 1 aclock in the morning or after midnight to the r. Solovy, 20 verst. Dined at the Osiorky, and came to Tula at 3 aclock afternoone, being 40 great verst from Tzareuf Pristane.

6. About 2 aclock in the morning marched, crossed the r. Volota, 10 verst, & 20 verst further dined in the vill. Olsianko. Then crossing the r. Volshiano, to the d[orp] Telegni 3 verst & to Kamionky 7 verst, and 10 verst further came to the upper iron workes, 10 verst, and going to the right hand lodged in the vil. called St. John Baptist, 2 verst.

{159} No-r 7. Marched a little after midnight and by day light came to the village Lipiets, 20 verst, and 5 verst further to the Czerpuchovsh Ferry over the r. Occa. I dined in Czerpuchow and having got fresh horses, I went in the evening from thence and with very bad & troublesome way came to Lopatina, 20 verst, about 25 [sic] aclock after midnight.

8. By day light I marched and at 11 aclock came to Mlodia, 15 verst, where dined, & came to Pachry, 20 verst, where lodged.

9. Marched a little after midnight and came to the Slaboda about 9 aclock in the morning. After having heard devotion, I dined with friends, and received many visits.

10. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 16 April ’97, by Alex-r Gilbert, and one from Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg the 8 Aug., by Ensignie Georg Gordon. These recommendations from the for-s-d persons of the bearers.

{159v} No-r 11, Thur. Dined by Mr. Tabert, where our Generalissimus, who from thence came & gave me a visit in my house.

12. Went to towne and was by the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

13. In towne by the Generaliss. & Kniag Boris Alexeiovits [Golitsyn].


15. Being St. Leopoldus day, wee had extraordinary devotion. Dined by the Imperiall colonell, came home late.

16. Had many visits given me.

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463 Vashana.

464 Alexander Gilbert, apparently of Scottish descent, was a lt.colonel’s son from Riga. He came to Moscow in May 1697 with recommendations to General Gordon as his kinsman, was accepted for the Tsar’s service and sent to join the main army at Azov.

465 Probably the special solemnity of this feast of Austria’s patron saint had to do with the recent battle of Zenta in Serbia (11 September N.S. 1697), which resulted in the brilliant and complete rout of Ottoman forces by the Imperial army under Prince Eugene of Savoy.
17. Repayed to M[adam] Guasconi a 100 rubles which my wyfe had borrowed in my absence, and dispatched the Krasna Slabodaes pawses, having put a yearly rent upon them {160} what they are to pay, to witt: from each house, according to the pistzovy⁴⁶⁶ books being 64, a ruble & 2 spanne of brandy, a pude of swines flesh. From the whole village: 50 measures of barley, 30 of buckwheat groates, 30 of rye meale, 20 pude of mead or honey, 10 pude of butter, 10 pund of hopes from each house; from each tiagly czetverty⁴⁶⁷, a goose, a duck, 2 hens & a pigge, & from two houses a sheep.

No-r 18. Sent away 10 horses to Ivanofsky.

19. Writt to the Great Ambassadour Le Fort, to Mr. Frazer in answer to his of the 16 of Aprill, to Mr. Gray in answer to his of the 8 of August, to Mr. Forbes.

20. Sent to the Chancellour Andrean Greg. Ratmanuf 10 dollers, & to the writer Mikifor Fiod. Rumiantzuf for their paines about the vipis⁴⁶⁸ & future advices, and promised to Simon […] Zukuf⁴⁶⁹, who hath the ordering of the Yefremovsh effaires, a gratuity.

{160v} No-r 21, Sun. At devotion.

22. In towne by Al. Sem. [Shein].

23. In towne by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] and Kniacz Boris Al. [Golitsyn].

Payed to Eliaz Tabert 30 rubles which was borrowed in my absence. [and 100 rubles to Mrs. Guasconi cr.o.]

24. Received by a Captaine Yerofe[yy] Kosakuf two Tzaars letters, one dated the 16 & the other the 17 of 7ber. The one for 200 podvodes for me & the army, the other that if no newes be to be heard of an enemy, to dismiss the army and come to Mosco. These had been in Kniacz Luka Fiod. [Dolgoruky] his army and sent by him from Sewskey hither.

I was in the morning by the Generalissimus Kniacz Fiod. Yuriovits [Romodanovsky].

{161} No-r 25. At a names feast by the deceased M. Gen-ll Pawl Menzhes his widdow.

26. Writt to his M., which I delivered to the Post-M[aste]r⁴⁷⁰ my self.

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⁴⁶⁶ Pistshov (Russian), written.
⁴⁶⁷ Tiaglaya chetverty, old Russian unit by which annual peasant duties were assessed.
⁴⁶⁸ Vypis' (Old Russian), official written extract. A.G. Ramanov († after 1718), dyak of the Estate Office from 1692. N.F. Rumiantsev, from 1681 podyachy, in 1702–4 dyak in the same Office.
⁴⁶⁹ Probably, S.L. Zhukov, from 1681 podyachy of the Estate Office, in 1701–2 dyak.
⁴⁷⁰ A.A. Vinius.

At devotion [partly cr.o.]. The Stolnik Ivan Bogdan. Yakufleuf brought 200 rubles of the deceased Coll. Leviston his money, tooke most of the pawne away, leaving only on[e] pair of pendants, a round top of a cap sowed with pearles & slight stones, a silver bridle & sable coat. He payed also the 50 rubles for the rent of the 500, and tooke out his note, giving another for 300 rubles.

28 [Sun.] At devotion, being the first Sunday of the Advent.

{161v} Received his M. letter, dated Mosko, wherein after notice given of diverse things it was written that 5,000 rubles were sent to the armyes on the acco-t of the Tavanish expedition.


30. At devotion, being St. Andrewes day.

{162} Dec-r 1, Wed. Signed a list of the Butirsky regiment for Dec-r, Jan. & Feb-r moneths pay, as followeth: a fire-worker, 33 serjeants, furiers & foriers 27, 46 corporalls, 41 pipers, 6 verstany sojours, 846 not verstany and 5 more lately sent, in all 1,005.

Emeriti or cashired sojours, who have male children yong, 5.
161 widdowes, who have male children yong.
51 orphans.

Received a letter from Lt.Coll. Rider, dated Azow.
2. In towne by diverse lords. Dined by Kniaž Boris Al. [Golitsyn].
3. Received letters from Coll. Pfeningbeer his widdow Gertrude Wilhelmovna and from her son John.


{162v} Dec-r 5, Sun. At devotion. Ffriends dined by me.

Dined by Coll. von Werden.

7. In the evening Kniaž Fiodor Yuriovits [Romodanovsky] by me.
8. Being the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, at devotion.

9. In towne by the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Sim. [Shein].

10. Writt to his M. & the Amb. Le Fort.

Lt. Coll. Le Ade murthered about 8 aclock at night by his owne ser-t.

Received letters from Lt.Coll. Gordon, dated Archangell 29 No-ris.

{163} Dec-r 11, Sat. In towne by the Generalissimus about the business with Vas. Sav. Narbekuf.
12. At devotion.

Georg Gordon made it.


{163v} Dec-r 16, Thur. My pawres came from the vill. Ivanofsky with provisions.

Achintowle\textsuperscript{471} graced colonell.

Writt to Mr. Frazer, Peter Mat. [Apraksin] & Coll. Westhoffe by Coll. Blomberg\textsuperscript{472} his ser-ts.

17. 18. In towne by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev], Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin]. [By John cr.o.]

19. At devotion. The Danish Envoy\textsuperscript{473} & other frifends at dinner by me.

Received letters from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 9 Dec-r; from Anth. Schade, dated Amsterd[alm] 19 November.

20. In towne by Alexey Simon. [Shein].

21. In the Butirky, Gilbert graced ensigne.

Let of the pawres of Ivanofsky and with them a prikazchik\textsuperscript{474} Vasile Fiod. Nieczayuf with his wyfe, and with him the Tzaars letter to the governour of Yefremova for giving 90 czetverts of land to Ivan Yakimuf.


In the evening Vasile Ivan. Everlaker\textsuperscript{475} by me.

\textsuperscript{471} Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul the younger.
\textsuperscript{472} Baron Johann Ernst von Blomberg, as l.t.colonel of cavalry, came to serve in Russia from Kurland via Pskov in December 1696 on General Gordon’s invitation (Russian State Archive of Military History, Moscow. Fond 495, opis’1, No 58). He shortly became colonel of the elite Preobrazhensky regiment.

\textsuperscript{473} Poul Heins († 1705), Danish envoy in Russia from 17 July 1697 until his death.

\textsuperscript{474} Prikazchik (Russian), clerk or steward.

\textsuperscript{475} V.I. Everlakov, \textit{stol’nik} of foreign origin, in 1681–2 \	extit{voyenda} in Kol’sky Ostrog, in 1698 sent to serve in Tavan’ on the lower Dnieper.

Wee had notice that 300 Tartars had been by Tzaritsinka and driven away their horses and cattell, but the Cosakes of that & the adjacent places haveing followed & overtaken them, beat them, recovered all their booty, killed many and tooke nine prisoners, who reported that the Turkes are {164v} resolved to come & lay a formall siege to the forts Tavan & Kasa-Kermnin; others that they will make ane invasion into the Ukraina and march into Hungary this summer; the first is most probable or likely.


Dec-r 25. About one aclock in the morning wee went to devotion, confessed & communicated at high masse.

476 Prince M.Ya. Cherkassky († 1712), from 1680 stol’nik, from 1684 near boyar; voyevoda in Novgorod and from 1697 in Tobol’sk.

477 A.F. Naryshkin († ca.1716), uncle of Tsar Peter, from 1686 chamber stol’nik, in 1693–8 voyevoda in Tobol’sk.

478 Pierre d’Avity, sieur de Montmartin (1573–1635), French writer, historian and geographer. Gordon probably means his main encyclopaedic work: P. D’Avity, Les Estats, empires, et principautés du monde: représentant par la description des pays, moeurs des habitans, richesses des provinces, le forces, le gouvernement, la religion, et les princes qui ont gouverné chacun estat; Avec l’origine de toutes les religions, et de tous les Chevaliers et Ordres militaires (Paris, 1613); this edition was later enlarged by him and others, and by 1660 grew to 6 volumes. Christoph Besold (1577–1638) was a noted German jurist and historian, professor of law at Tübingen and Ingolstadt, who converted to Catholicism. It is unclear what Excerpts of his are meant by Gordon, for I could not find such a title among his numerous works.


480 Szymon Okolski (1580–1653), Polish Dominican friar, from 1641 superior of Dominican monastery in Kamianets-Podilskyi, from 1648 provincial of his order in Lviv; he was a divine, historian and expert on heraldry. Gordon ordered his fundamental Polish armorial: Sz. Okolski, Orbis Polonus splendidibus aedi, triumphis mundi, pulchritudine animantium condecoratus, in quo antiqua Sarmatorum gentilisata perveletita nobilitatis insignia etc. specificatur et reducit. 3 vols. (Kraków, 1641–3).
Jan Stanislaw Bokiey, *Subjudex i Deputat ad pacta conventa Woiwodstwa Trocki* ⁴⁸¹, came extraordinary or rather ordinary Envoy and Resident hither and was in church, whom I invited to dinner, but he did not come excuseing his not eating flesh, the Christmass after the new stile being past.

{165} Dec-r 26, Sun. At devotion. The Polls resident dined with the *patres* & other friends dined *[sic]* with me.

Received letters from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 21 Dec-ris, & Mr. Georg Gordon the elder⁴⁸².

C[aptain] Lt. Al. Gordon his daughter christened and called Katherine, I with M[adam] Le Fort & others being God-fathers & mothers.


28. Writt to Maria Yakufleofna⁴⁸³ and sent my ser-ts to convoy her.

{165v} Dec-r 29, Wed. At the burial of Claudius Le Ditte *jubilier*⁴⁸⁴.

30. In towne by diverse noblemen. In the evening by Gen-ll Le Forts lady at a wedding feast, where *Kniaż* Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] coming by me & then thither proved troublesome.

31. Blessed be God Almighty for preserving me this yeare bypass from all dangers, misfortunes & inconveniencyes!

Rec-d a letter from Coll. Konishuf, dated Azow the 23 of No-r, giveing me notice of the reseat of 10 tunne of malt & 2 *pude* of hopes for my use, which the Ribnaes colonel had sent. By this I had also notice that Ajuka Taiza with 8 or 10,000 men was gone against the Kuban Tartars; that they had driven to Azow a great number of all sort of bestiall to sell.

{166} Dec-r.

The writer Terenty Kirilow gave in a writinge of the money received & disbursed by him, as followeth:

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⁴⁸¹ Subjudge and deputy for the articles of agreement from the Voivodeship of Troki (Latin & Polish). Jan Stanislaw Bokiej in 1689–94 was deputy cup-bearer, in 1690–5 city clerk, in 1694–1703 subjudge, and in 1703–5 district judge, all ranks being in the Troki Voivodeship. In 1697 he took part in the election of King August II of Poland as a deputy from the same palatinate. He represented Poland-Lithuania in Moscow until the end of 1698.

⁴⁸² Probably the father of Lt. George Gordon, who came to Moscow with a recommendation to his clansman, the Russian general (see above, fols. 159, 163).

⁴⁸³ I.e. Mary, daughter of Jacob. Apparently, Maria Ronaer, sister of Gordon’s wife.

⁴⁸⁴ *Juwelier* (German), jeweller.
Received in Mosko from the writer Ivan Borisuf 6,030 rubles & of bad money 7 rubles 26 altins 2 dengees.
From the great army 1,529 rubles 26 altines 2 dengees.
From the Butirsky regiment writer 300 rubels.
In all received 16,859 rub. 26 alt. 2 d.
Disbursed to officers & sojours 10,441 r. 2 alt. 4 deng.
Remaines: the money received from Ivan Borisuf 6,030 rub. and bad money 7 rub. 26 alt. 2 d.
Of the money sent out of the great army 388 rub. 24 alt. 4 d.
In all 6,418 rubles 24 alt-s 4 d-s and 7 rub. 26 alt-s 2 d-s bad money.
Money received by Fiodor Bogdanuf from the writer Ivan Baybakuf 608 rub. 9 alt. 4 d.
From Colonel James Gordon money left over of the podyem money of the Tambovish sojors 516 rubles.
From the writer Terenty Kirilow 38 rub. 22 alt. 4 d.
In all 1,162 rub. 32 alt. 2 d.
{166v} Disbursed: to the officers for the halfe of September month 554 rubles 22 alt. 4 d.
For oates & necessaries to the regiments 75 rub. 9 alt-s 4 denges.
In all 1,162 rubles 32 altines 2 denges.
Remaines 533 rubles.
In all 6,951 rubels 24 altines 4 denges and 7 rubels 26 altines 2 denges bad money.485

485 Blank pages follow in MS (fols. 167–171v).
Jan-ry 1, Sat. God send us all a good new yeare! Dined by Kniaź Michael Ivanovitz Likow⁴⁸⁶, and was thereafter by other ffriends. Came home late.

2. At devotion. In the evening ffriends Russes & strangere by me. Received a letter from Maria Yakufleofna from Troitza⁴⁸⁷.

3. The little girle haveing dyed last night was buryed.


5. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], & thereafter by Kniaź Fiodor Yuriovit [Romodanovsky].

{172v} Jan-ry 6, Thurs. In towne by Kniaź Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn], and dined with my wyfe & others by the Danish Envoy, and in comeing home by M. Gen-ll Charles Rigeman.

7. In towne in the afternoone by Tichon Nikitits, Mikita Mos. [Zotov].


9. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 30 Dec-ris.

At the wedding of Lt.Coll. Christopher Timmerman with Coll. Tornier his widdow called Saidakuf.

The pawres from Krasna Slaboda brought provisions and money, being obrok⁴⁸⁸ or duty from this year, which began the first of September last: 31 rubles in money, 15 bagges of rey meale, 15 bagges of buck-wheat groates, 11 bagges of hopes, 45 & a halfe spanes of brandy, 140 fishes, 25 pude of swines flesh,

{173} Jan-ry 10, Moon. 10 pude of honey, 5 pude of butter, 25 pigges, 25 geese, 37 hens, 22 1/3 tunnes of barley.

11. Writt to the Coll-s Gast & both the Devissons, to Kniaź Michael Yak. [Cherkassky] & to my wyfes sister.

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⁴⁸⁶ Prince M.I. Lykov-Obolensky (1640–1701), regeroda, boyar from 1682 and head of the Robberies Office.

⁴⁸⁷ Trinity-St.Sergy Lavra, the most famous monastery in central Russia, north of Moscow.

⁴⁸⁸ *Obrok* (Russian), rent in kind.
12. Osip Andr. *sin* Romeika\(^{489}\) gave a writeing with his owne hand to bring Larka his wyfe & children the [...] of Feb-ry next.

13. At devotion, and in the evening at the wedding of Lt. Thomas Yochimson with widdow Jansons.

14. Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort, M-rs Frazer, Gray, Karsten & P[ater] Ernest Sturme\(^{490}\), Mr. Forbes & Mr. Gordon.

\{173v\} Jan-ry 15, Sat. At the buriall of Maior Gaspar Gulitz, and there-after at a feast by Mr. Gen-ll Rigeman, where were the Boyars Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Simonovits [Shein] with others.

16. Received letters from Gen-ll Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 17 Dec-ris; from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 11 Jan-ry; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 6 Jan-ry; Mr. Grayes ordering 30 ducates to be advanced to his nephew Geo. Gordon.

The Paniins\(^{491}\) & the Polls Envoy by me in the afternoone & evening. Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort.

17.

18. In towne. Received two letters, one to recover runaway *pawres*, another to get 5 *pawres* belonging to Ochlebin[in] upon the acco-t of money he owed me.\(^{492}\)

Mr. Kintzius in the evening by me and took his leave of me.

Received a letter from the Hetman by his ser-t.

\{174\} Jan-ry 19, Wed.

20. At the buriall of M. Gen-ll Biltis his widdow, and at night at the wedding of Baldwin Andrews\(^{493}\) with the widdow of yong Betling.

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489 Probably a gentleman from a Lithuanian-Belorussian family. During the Russo-Polish War of 1654–67 Andrey Romeyko-Gurko was taken prisoner by the Russians, and his descendants became Russian subjects.

490 Ernst Sturm, Austrian Jesuit based in Mitau, Gordon’s friend and correspondent from 1686. He wrote a work entitled *Catholische Glaubens-Bekenntniß deß uralten Römischen Reichs... denen Königen, Churfürsten, Fürsten und Herren-Ständen... im Römischer Kayserlicher Wahl zu Frankfurft 1658... übergeben und... zum anderthen mahl... nachgedruckt* (Mitau, 1671).

491 Possibly, Duma Nobleman Vasily Nikitich Panin, who in 1673–4 was *voyevoda* in Sevsk, where Gordon also served then, and his son Ivan (1673–1736).


493 Baldwin Andrews (ca.1650–1705), English merchant and manufacturer in Russia from the 1670s. His wife was named Susanna.
Writt [to Pater Sturme and Mr. Karsten cr.ø.] to Mr. Frazer, Mr. Gray, Gen-II Le Fort, Fiodor Alex. Golovin, Prokofy Bogdanovitz Vosnitse⁴⁹⁴, Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyuf, all by Mr. Kintzius. Writt to the Hetman Masepa.

21. Received my yeares pay, being 952 rubles.
   Dined with the ppll lords by Timo[fe]y Rzewsky⁴⁹⁵.
23. Received a letter from G-II Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 24 XIbris; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga […] Jan-ry; from Coll. Yonger, dated Klinow⁴⁹⁶ 6 Jan.
   At the wedding of Herman Becker von Dellen, Maior, with Colonell Crow his sister.
   Given to Lt. Georg Gordon 20 rubles, & 3 dollers befor, by order of Mr. W-m Gray in Konigsberg.
   {174v} Jan-ry 24, Moon. In towne.
   In the evening sojours from Preobrasinsko tooke the Pater Decan away by force to Preobrasinsko, upon a petition from a graver, and rudely handled.
25. In towne early.
   The Pater released on baile.
26. At a birth dayes feast by the Generallissimus Alexey Simon. [Shein], his son Sergey being borne on this day of the month.
27. Three letters of his M. sent to me, one to the Stolnik and Woywoda Yeffim Pankratiovitz Zibin in Pereslaw Resansky⁴⁹⁷; the other to the Stolnik & Woywod Peter Paramonovits Tiutuf⁴⁹⁸ [Timofe Ivanovitz Bobarikin cr.ø.] in Galitz; the third to the Stolnik & Woywod Dimitre Vasileovitz Polonskimu in Voronies, all in my effaires.
   At the wedding of Elizabeth von Bockhoven with Capt. Buck in the evening.
   {175} Jan-ry 28, Frid. At home, being indisposed.
29. Maior Generall von Mengden with his family dyned by me.

⁴⁹⁴ P.B. Voznitsyn († ca.1702), noted diplomat, from 1690 dumny dyak. In 1697–8 he was third ambassador in Tsar Peter’s Grand Embassy to the West. He represented Russia on the side of the Holy League at the Congress of Karlowitz, where he signed an armistice with the Ottoman Empire.


⁴⁹⁶ Possibly, Klin near Moscow, or Khlynov (Viataka).

⁴⁹⁷ Old name of Riazan’. Ye.P. Zybun († 1725), Stol’nik, voyevoda, later high commissioner of artillery.

⁴⁹⁸ Titov.
30. At the wedding of Francis Shulett the bildhauer with Mary Hamilton. Received letters from my son John & wyfe, dated 25 7bris '97; from the Laird of Crichy and my brother John, dated at Rothemay & Bridgend the 21; from my uncle, dated Westertowne 28 ditto. From Mr. Georg Fraser, dated Riga 20 Jan-ry '98.

31. At home indisposed.


2. 3, Thurs. About 4 aclock in the evening most of the invited guests being convened, wee went by paires from my daughter Katherine her howse to mine, and there kept the remembrance of my nuptiall feast, it being now 25 yeares that I have been marryed with my present wyfe. Wee were all merry & sat up late.

*Sent Capt. Everton to Galits to bring 5 families forfeited to me for debt.*

{176} Feb-ry 4. Writt to his M., my son John, to Mr. Frazer & M[r] Gray, to Madam Leowenfelt; that to his M. by Mr. Krevets convoyance and that to my son by Mr. Woolffes, the other by post.

5. At the buriall of Mr. Brest his wyfe, and dined or rather supped thereupon by Andrew Artemonovits [Matveyev].

6. Received letters from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 27 Jan-ry; from Mr. Forbess, dated Dan[z]ick the 29 Jan-ry; from Mr. Andrew Marjorybanks, dated the 28 Jan-ry; from John Gordon, dated 28th Jan-ry; from my son John, dated Achleuchries the 1st of August '95.

At the wedding of Lt. Yochimson with M. Assenius. My son in law Coll. Snivins sickened.

499 Bildhauer (German), sculptor or carver.
500 Entry crossed out in MS.
501 Hendrik Brest, Dutch merchant in Russia in the 1670s–90s. A.A. Matveyev (1666–1728), eminent diplomat and statesman. Son of Boyar A.S. Matveyev, whom Gordon knew well, and Evdokiya Grigoryevna Khomutova, who probably descended from a Scot named Hamilton. From 1699 Matveyev jr. was Russian ambassador in The Hague, London and Vienna, then president of the Marine Academy and Justice College. In 1715 he was created count. In his memoirs he mentions Gordon with great respect.
502 Possibly, the Scot from Poland mentioned in previous Diary volumes from 1688.
503 Thus dated in MS. It is either a slip or this letter took very long to arrive.
Capt. Evertson went from hence to fetch the 5 powers of Ochlobin.[in].


Notice that Coll. Bruckell was a missing and said to be runaway.504

My son in law took bed, being oppressed with a great heat & distemper in his head especially.

{176v} Feb-ry 8, Tuesd. At a feast by Lubim Alfer. Dummin.

Let of the Ivanofsky powers, who had brought of table provisions: 40 geese, 29 duckes, 31 hens, 26½ spans of wyne, 1,040 egges, 250 handfulls of lint, 2 pude & 30 pund of butter; & of my cornes: 18 tunnes of oates, 18 4/1 [sic] tunnes of rey, 1 tunne 1/7 [q-ts cr.o.] of wheate, 9 czetveriks of hempseed.

A note also brought me of all sorts of bestiall in the Hoffs there: 10 oxen & bulls, 2 cows, 50 sheep, 5 turkyes, 33 hens, 26 geese, 16 duckes, 1 cran.

In the evening Kniaz Boris Alex. [Golitsyn] by me.

My son in law no better, tooke a powder.


Having given three watches to the Hetmans ser-t, I sent the other two after him to Donskoy Bogaroditsa505, but he was gone.

10. At a Requiem feast by the Polls Envoy.

The Danish Envoy afterwards by me.

*Payed the smiths 27 r. 31 alt. 2 deng.506

Sent Ivan Krasnoe to Krasna Slaboda & Voronies to recover runaway powers and bring two waggons of mine from Voronies to Krasna Slaboda.

My son in law let blood in the forheid, whereafter some ease.

{177} Feb-ry 11. Writt to Mr. Fraser, Mr. Marjorybanks, Mr. Forbess & Mr. Gordon in answer to theirs received last post, by post.

In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alexey Simonovits [Shein], and thereafter in Butirky.

Payed to Mr. Baltus 21 rubles 13 kop. for diverse things taken this winter.

My son in law rather worse as better & sometymes speaking idly.

Payed to the smith Philemon […] for 31 pude of irone made in windowes & doores, at 8 gr. per pude, 28 rubles […] alt. […] d.

504 Bruckell, German engineer. After the conquest of Azov in 1696 he fortified the place. In 1697 he was ordered to build a canal between tributaries of the Volga (Kamyshinka) and the Don (Ilovia), but when the project failed he stole out of Russia.

505 Donskaya Mother of God (Orthodox icon). Apparently, Donskoy monastery on southern outskirts of Moscow.

506 Entry crossed out in MS.
12. Payed to the fisher Alexey Isotuf for malt, hopes and fish 23 rubles.
In towne by Tichon Nikitits.
Caused invite to my daughter Katherine her wedding.
Wee had notice that the Tartars had made one incursion as far as Saltow and destroyed two villages, carrying away all the people into captivity.
Clashing betwixt the Prikazy.508
The doctors consulted about my son in law, ordered a cooling-drink, a powder & a clister.

\{177v\} Feb-ry 13, Sund. The sweating powder had no operation, neither did the clister come of, and was very much distempered in the night. The doctors consulting againe, ordered another diaphoretick powder, a cordiall drink and vesicatories509 to be put to his neck and wrists.
No apothecary being to be found in the apothek, nor any that would go thither, no medicines were to be had, only the vesicatories & some ingredients but not all for a clister; which being applied, had againe no operation, and the whole night he raved and struggled to get up, so that two persons were forced to keep him downe.

14. In the morning his head began to sweat and therafter a great sweat was over all his body. The doctors being come, they caused renew the vesicatories and ordered cordiall drink to be given. He lay still the whole day without speaking except when spoken to, casting and turning.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 3d Feb-ry.
Dined by the Englishes.

\{178\} Feb-ry 15. My son in law nothing better, but all simptomes of weakness & of death, some preludiums of convulsion. About 8 aclock he was quite gone, the pulse ceasing, yet recovered afterwards & spoke some words. It was not found fitt to administer any thing to him, only renewed the vesicatories.

All the friends being convened, wee went to church with the bridegroome, and about 12 aclock they were married. At 3 aclock the Generalissimus Alexey Simonovitz [Shein] with others came. At 9 aclock wee convoyed bride & bridegroome to their chamber.
About 10 aclock my son in law began to struggle with death, and continued in the agony about halfe an hour, and so departed in the 32 yeare of his

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507 Gordon usually calls him Zotuf (Zotov).
508 Prikazy (Russian), government offices.
509 Plaster made from Spanish flies (Lytila vesicatoria).
age; he being borne An. D-ni 1667 the […] of July, a modest, discreet, civill, ingenious and godly person. Requiescat in pace

I sent immediately notice to my howse that the musick should ceass, and let the guests go if they pleased.

Received a letter from Harry Gordon, dated Archangel 19 Jan-ry.

{178v} Feb-ry 16, Wed. Many condoleing visitts.

17. Caused make preparations & invite to the buriall.

18. Desired Mr. Woolffe to writt for some bookes, furniture to witt 26 stooles, & provisions with other things.

An order sent that upon my otpiska to the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein 2,000 rubles had been sent to me from Tula in the beginning of September to pay the sojours, and that 337 rubles had been taken out of the Razriadny shater of money taken from the gentlemen which did fall sick by the way and were let of to Mosko; and that his M. had ordered that money to be sent into the Rosriad out of the remaining money in my army, & to send it in to the Stranger Office to be remitted thither. And there being 388 rubles 24 altins & 4 denges left-over of that money, I ordered it to be sent immediately according to the order.

{179} Feb-ry 19 [Sat.] Most of the ffriends being conveened, betwixt 11 & 12 the corps was brought out. First marched a battallion of foot of 300 men in 6 divisions, 2 whereof pikes, betwixt which 6 collours, preceded by a company of granadiers, all with their armes as also the collours in the mourning posturs; the drummes covered with black cloth beating a march, and the flutes playing by turnes with the drummes. Then a marshall with his batoon or stock in mourning; then a horse of honour richly caparisoned, led by two […]. Then a horse covered with mourning and a coat of armes on each syde, and led by two […]. Then the honoures, as a paiere of spurres, a paiere of gantlet gloves, a drawne sword with the sheath a crosse, a casket or helme, all on black cushions and carryed by officers in mourning. Then a marshall, and one after him carrying the deceasseds coat of armes. Then the two inviters. Then the ministers with the schoole-master and children befor and round the coffin with candles, the carriers round the coffin also, and the coffin elevated on a high theatris sledge covered with black; on the coffin a white linnen sheet and above that a mortcloth whereon a white cross and a batton above 4 coates of armes, one on each syde and at the head & feet, all drawne by 2 blacke horses covered with mourning. After the coffin a marshal befor the men mourners and another befor the women mourners, all in deep mourning.

510 Rest in peace (Latin).

511 Razriadny shator (Razriad Office tent), the Russian army camp of fi ce.
Being brought into the church, and after preaching into the churchyard, at the letting downe into the grave, when downe, the battalion gave a volley, when the earth was all throwne on another & a third when they began to depart. All the mourners, leaders, carryers, marshalls & others who had any office, with the officers of the battalion dined with me, and to the sojours was given bread, beer & brandy sufficient. 68 florins were given, some more as needfull. 5 rubles to the minister for his paines & preaching, 10 copikes for each cloake etc.

Feb-ry 20, Sun. At devotion. The neerest friends dined with me.

Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 10 Feb-ry.

21. Payed 5 rubles and a halfe for a iron kettle.

Fiodor Sniatkofsky gave in a accusation against Nikita Solochin of haveing playd fowle play in his acco-ts.

Writt to M. Gen-ll Rigeman.

{180} Feb-ry 22, Tues. Payed 11 rubles 15 alt. to Andrew, being now in all 30 rubles in 2 wekes tyme for spices & other things, as sugar etc.

For the last floors or kep, being in all 68, and in all money 16 rubles 16 alt. 4 denges.

In the evening Gregory Everton came and brought the otkazny book of Ochlebin[nes] 5 paures, and 3 of the paures with him, they with all their horses & cattell being valued at 61 rubles.

They brought me letters from the woywod, the Capt. Neliduf & the writer.

23. Ane order sent to give 3,000 rubles for podiom money to the three Tambovish regiments, to Coll. James Gordon.

Another to send into the Stranger Office […] rubles […] for 2 months advance to the colonells & officers who go to service.

24. At devotion.

{180v} Feb-ry 25, Frid. Writt to Gen-ll Le Fort, Mr. Frazer.

Received a letter from M. Gen-ll Rigeman, dated Iron workes 23 Feb-ry '98.

Gave orders to send in […] rubles into the Inushemsky Prikase, 80 to the chancellour & 75 to 25 sojours who go to the Tambovish regiments, being podiom money 3 rubles for each.

A note of how much is abated of the pay of the Russ officers for their lands, for each howse:

From a colonel to 11 altins & 4 denges.

512 Flor (German), crepe.
513 Otkazny (Russian), renouncing (a right).
From lt.colon. & majors to 8 alt. & 2 denges.
From capitaines to 7 alt.
From lievetnants to 6 alt. 4 denges.
From ensignes to 7 alt. 5 denges.
From quarterm-rs & adjuants & waggonm-rs to 5 altines.
26. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] and Al. Sim. [Shein].
Lett of the three pawers of Ochlebin[ns] and writt by them to the Woy-wod Peter Paramonov. Tituf, to the Capitaine Ivan Affonas. Neliduf & to the writer.
Agreed with them to give 8 rubles for this yeare and to bring it at the 1st of 7ber.
{181} Feb-ry 27, Sund. Received a letter from his M., dated London 18 Jan-ry; from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 17 Feb-ry.
Was in the evening at a wedding feast by Doctor Carbonari.

{181v} Martii 1, Tuesday. Agreed with the Smoyolovsky515 Ivan Troyiluf to bring bude516 or wild stones a fath. at 2 rubles.
2. In towne by the Generallissimus. Dined by the Doctor Carbonari.
The cooke Ivan absconded or runaway.
3. Received letters from Ivan Konishuf, Martinian Sucharuf and Dragneovits, dated Azow […] Feb-ry.
At the wedding of Major Stephan Lima with Gertrud von Treyden genant de Trotta.517
5. At dinner with my wyfe by Kniazy Boris Alexeyovits [Golitsyn].
{182} Martii 6, Sunday. At the wedding of Maior Ostoya518 with Dorothea von Bockhoven.

514 Frans Timmerman († 1702), Dutch merchant who taught young Tsar Peter geometry and mathematics. At the first siege of Azov he served as a military engineer.
515 I.e. from the ‘Tsars’ estate of Izmaylov east of Moscow.
516 But (Russian), quarry stone or rubble.
517 Genant (German), called. Major Stefano Lima was the son of Giorgio Lima, “master miner” from Venice, who moved to Russia in 1678, served under Gordon in Chigirin and Kiev, and became colonel in Tsar’s army, then vice admiral in the navy.
518 Apparently, Josef Ostoya, artillery officer sent from Vienna to Russia.
Received a letter from Gen-ll Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 11 Feb-ry; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 24, and from Mr. John Gilbert dato ibid. & ei[susdem]519.

Wee had notice that Mr. Quariant the Emp. Envoy520 being come to Konigsberg & takeing his way towards Smollensko by a letter from him, dated there the 1 Martii st. n.

7. My son James went for Tambow.
Baron Blomberg with his lady, Coll. Kragge, Madam Pfenningbeers with others dined by me.

8. Received a letter from Mr. Forbess, dated Dantzick the 30 Dec-ris, with a little booke & a kalender, as also some butts from Riga.

9. At devotion, received the ashes.521 In the evening by Lt.Colonell Roon-ae & Mr. Guasconi.

{182v} March 10, Thurs. The Dumny Yemelian Ig. Ukraintzuf was by me in the morning, with whom I had large discourses about all our transactions, and about the fortifying of Smollensko.

Wee had notice that the Tartars had brought in provisions to Kaminiets522, and with 10,000 men had made ane incursion as farr as Lublin in Polland and ruined all, and captivated many.

11. Writt to his M., to Gen-ll Le Fort, Mr. Frazer & Mr. Gilbert in answer to their last above-mentioned.

A list of the Butirsky regiment for the months of March, Aprill & May pay.

1 bombardier.
34 serjeants.
27 furiers & foriers.
46 corporalls.
25 pipers or hoyboyes.
5 verstaines.
837 not verstany.
5 lately sent.
980 in all, besides 18 pipers & 7 sojours sent to service.

519 Dated there and then (Latin).
520 Baron Ignaz Christoph von Guarient und Rall († after 1710), Envoy Extraordinary of the Holy Roman Empire to Russia in 1698–9, sent to confirm the anti-Ottoman alliance. In 1706 he was appointed in the same quality to Constantinople.
521 On Ash Wednesday.
522 Kamyanets-Podilskyi (Ukrainian), Kamieniec Podolski (Polish). The capital of Podolia was seized by the Turks in 1672, but returned to Poland in 1699.
24 wives whose husbands are at service.
161 widows.
50 orphans.
1,215 [in all].

Received 32 rubles from Simeon Ivanovits Pankratius for the rent of 400 rubles by him, lent to him 204 yeare [1696] 8 Feb-ry [523].

{183} March 12. Writt to my son James & Achintowle by Coll. von Delden. To the Hetman by his ser-t Samuel Vasilofsky, his surgeon.
In towne by Mr. Vinius.
Sent to the Hetman the other two watches, having sent the other three by Vasily Czuikovits, his oldest writer.
Writt to Maria Yakuleovna by the Chirurgus Gottefried.
Payed of the wood-mongers according to their owne notes, which cost me 9 rubles more as I expected.

13. At devotion. In the evening by M[adam] Le Forts.
14. Writt to Coll. Konishuf to give 20 spanne of bier to Coll. Snivins, as much to Nicolay Balke, and to [sic] 10 to the Co-lls de Duiten & William von Delden.
Having agreed for 5 fath. of bude or wild stones at 2 rubles a fath., I gave him 5 rubles. Agreed for 100 tunne lyme at 2 gr. the tunne; he brought now 19 tunne, I gave him 3 rubles.
Given to Archip (this to Archip Fiodoruf) to buy necessaries for him and his wyfe 2 rubles, they being to go to Ivanofsky.

{183v} March 15, Tuesday. Sent 3 ston'd horses and 2 coach horses to Ivanofsky.
Tooke phisick which had no operation.
16. Tooke phisick which had good operation.
The boores from Ivanofsky came & brought 16 tunnes & 3 q-ts of oats & 14 spanne of brandy.
Rec-d a letter fr[om] C.I.B. [525]
17. About one aclock after midnight I gott a violent fit of the colick, which kep’t me about 4 howres. Afterwards gott some ease, and kept my bed the whole day.

[523] See above, fol. 9v, entry for 6 February 1696.
[524] Apparently, to the above-mentioned supplier Ivan Troilov.
[525] Initials undeciphered.
18. Writt to my son John, the Laird of Crichy, my uncle & brother in a
cover to W-m Gordon in Aberdeen, addressed to Georg Frazer in Riga.
Writt to my son James by the Ensigne Sawa, to Ivan Neliduf by his ser-t.
{184} Changed lands with Lt. Daniel Michaeluf sin Geresin in the Colum-
minsky district in the Meszerskoy volost26 in the Dorp Bunkovy, Gavrilovsky
also. His share 15 zetverts in the ffield and twice as many with it, with a Hoffe
and on the Hoffe building a roome on a podklet27, another stove, a new ambare,
2 sarayes28 covered, the howse environed about or hedged with balkes; and his
boore Affonka Anikeyuf with his wyfe Matrona, and on his Hoffe a stove and
bath stove, the house also sabor’d29 about. Given him for this 20 rubles.
March 19. Writt to my son James by Capt. Printz.
The boores from Krasna Slaboda came with provisions.
20. At devotion.
Received letters from the Pater Ernestus Sturme, dated Mittaw 24 Feb-
ry 1698; from Mr. Karsten, dated ibid. 3 Martii; from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 10
Martii 1698.
{184v} Martii 21, Moond. Given to the Krasna Slaboda boores the fol-
lowing writeing.

The last year, 205 [1696/97], received from them abrok in all 85 rubles,
wants [hereof cr.o.], to 2 rubles from ane howse, 43 rubles.
This 206 yeare by both their sendings received:
55 rubles.
111 spanes of brandy.
42 pudes of swines flesh.
23 pigges.
20 pude of honey.
10 pude of butter.
25 tunnes and a halfe of rey meale.
24 tunnes & a halfe of buckwheat groates.
43 tunnes of barley.
14 bagges of hopes.
25 geese, 20 duckes, 37 hens.

526 Volost’ (Russian), rural district.
527 Podklet (Russian), ground floor or basement.
528 Ambar & saray (Russian), barn and shed.
529 Zabor (Russian), fence.
Not brought: of money with the last yeares
52 rubles.
17 spannes of brandy.
12 pude of swines flesh.
4 tunnes & a halfe of rey meale.
5 tunnes & a halfe of buck-wheat groates.
7 tunnes of barley.
18 geese, 23 duckes, 49 hens, 43 sheepe.

Brought more:
88 paire of basten shooes & 3 troughs.
2 ½ rubles yempsky or prisoner money.
9 tunnes of rey & as much oates for the streltsees.

Sent Capt. Ried with Miska & Lorion his son to view the land bought from Dan. Mich. Geresin.

Received a letter from Harry Gordon, dated Arch[angel] 8th of March; from Jeremy Polansky chancellour, dated there ditto.

{185} Martii 22, Tuesd. Given to the Ismailufs boores now in all for 5 fathome of bude 10 rubles, at 2 r. p[e]r fath.
Given 20 altines to Lazar the locksmith.

Maior Ivan Kaczayuf went from hence with the Tzaars letter concerning the lands by Krasna Slaboda.

23. Received letters from Ro-t Gordon, dated Krakow 25 January; from Mr. Andrew Marjoribanks, dated Dantzick 30th Jan-ry; from John Gordon, dated Dantzick 2 Feb-ry, all 1698, all by Lievtennant Nicolaus Hendrich de Ram.

Ivan Krasnoe came & brought me acco-t of the runaway boores, with a letter from my prikastzik concerning that and other businesses.

24. {185v} March 25. Writt to Mr. Forbess, Mr. Gordon, M[r.] Marjoribanks, Mr. Gray, Mr. Fraser & Lt.Colonell Gordon p[e]r post.

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530 Lapti, traditional footwear of Russian peasants.
531 Yamskiye den’gi, old Russian tax for the upkeep of coachmen, post horses and stations. Prisoners’ money was the tax levied for ransom of Russian prisoners, especially from the Crimea.
532 Ye.L. Poliansky († 1700), from 1675 dyak of the Foreigners’ and Reiters’, from 1681 of Razriad, from 1687 of the Cannoneer Office. In 1690 he was dismissed and exiled, but in 1694 was dyak in Pskov, and from 1697 in Archangel.
At devotion.
26. Rec’d in part of payment from Coll. Buists lady 10 rubles, so much being still owing. This ordered to pay the rest of the lime.
27. At devotion.
Received letters from Mr. Gordon, dated Dantzick 15; Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg the 1, and Mr. Fraser, dated the 17th of March; Pater Franciscus Xaverius Leofler, dated Voronies 7 Martii.
28. Given to the cooke Ivan 4 ½ rubles, he being hired for 9 rubles a yeare 2 weekes ago.
{186} March 29. Writt to M. G. Charles Rigeman, my son James, Achintowle & Coll. Gast by Ensigne Detlovits.
Lt.Coll. Rooner his child dyed.
30. Caused writt on the servants in the Slave Office, w-ch cost a grivnee for each head, an altine for every ruble, halfe a ruble to the chancellour & 20 altines to two writers.
Given to Stephan the bildhawer 2 rubles.
31. At the buriall of Lt.Coll. Rooner his son.
This day I ended the 63d yeare, being the grand climicterick of my age, and troublesome lyfe. Blessed be my gracious God for giving me so long a tyme to repent me of my sinnes! Grant, O my gracious God, that I may make better use of the future tyme I have to live and employ it in repenting & doing satisfaction for my sinnes, liveing a more godly lyfe by fervency & zeale in prayer, and doing workes of charity; and that I may be alwayes ready with a peacable conscience and cheerfulness to resigne my sowle into thy hands!

{186v} April 1, Frid. The Tambovish sojourns by me, whom I diswaded to trouble themselves with petitioning or being at expences untill his M. returne.
The Ensigne Simon Alex. Bleklow brought an order to be a lievtennant in Ivan Yowmatufs place.
2. The writer Fiodor Bogdanuf brought the following acco-t of the shatrovy money:

In cessa 533 rubles.

533 Dean Franz Xaver Lefer, German Franciscan friar who officiated in Moscow’s Roman Catholic church founded by Gordon. He was then in Voronezh in order to serve the religious needs of Catholic Venetians who worked at the wharves there.
534 Or Serf Office (Kholopy Prikaž). Gordon resorted to that Office in order to recover his runaway servants.
Mart. 6 given by order into the Inoshemsky Prikaz 175 rubles 6 altins 2 denges.

Given to the writer Terenty Kirilow to supply the pay of the officers 231 rub. 17 alt. 2 denges.

In all given out 406 rub. 23 alt. 4 denges.

Remaineth 126 rubles 9 alt. 4 denges.

The writer Terenty Kirilow brought the following account of the money in his custody:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Received in Mosco from Ivan Borisow the money left over in the former expedition</th>
<th>R.</th>
<th>Alt.</th>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6,037</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of the great army for the Tambovish regiments at and on the way from Azow</td>
<td>10,529</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From the regiment writer of the Butirsky regiment of money left over of podyom</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In all received</td>
<td>16,867</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of this disbursed

Pay to the Tambovish regiments 1,041 2 4

Added for pay to the officers for half a month 38 22 4

[186a] April.

And this year by several orders out of the Stranger Office

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feb-ry 22</th>
<th>R.</th>
<th>Alt.</th>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1,134</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb-ry 24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

535 Foreigners’ Office (Inoshemsky prikaz) dealt with foreigners in the Tsar’s service as well as “regiments of foreign order”, i.e. regular army units of horse, dragoons and foot soldiers organised and armed along Western lines. Gordon and other Western officers in Russian employ were responsible to it.

536 It is not an inserted folio, and its additional number has to do with the fact that this folio was left out when the MS pagination was made after Gordon’s time.
The same date 337 - -
Feb-ry 22 for podyom to the Tambovish regiments 3,000 - -
Feb-ry 24 podyom for 25 Butirsy sojours 75 - -
Same date to the Chancellour 80 - -
Nef. Nikit.537
To the writer Ivan Borisow 20 - -
To buy necessaries for the Tamb. reg-ts
To the officers of the horse-men for Tavans service 952 13 5½
To the officers of the soldliers 732 4 4
In all disbursed 16,863 26 4½
And from Fiodor Bogdanuf 207 - -

6 officers have not received as yet.

{186a v} April 3. At devotion. Dined by the Polish Envoy.

This day afternoone the streltnes who were petitioners & these who had runaway out of the army of Kniaz Michael Greg. Romodanofsky538, being near 400 as was said, came most part of them to the house of their Boyar Kniaz Ivan Boris. Troykuruf539, desireing to be heard. And when it was told them that they should send in 4 of their ppl persons, who being come declared that it was impossible for them to go to service in such bad way and desired tymne, remonstrating the great necessityes they had suffered and still labourd under, and aggravating all beyond measure, and that they are redacted almost to despaire. But the Boyar interrupting them, ordered them immediately to service and to be gone instantly; which they refuseing, he ordered them to be

537 Possibly, Kuzma Nikitich Nefimono († 1699), from 1695 dyak of the Embassy Office.

538 Prince M.G. Romodanovsky (1653–1713), voyevoda, Gordon’s comrade-in-arms since the Chigirin campaigns. From 1678 boyar. In 1697 he headed Russian regiments on Lithuanian border intended to help the Elector of Saxony who became King of Poland. In 1698 this division was moved to Toropets, which annoyed the streltsi, who wished to return to Moscow. Romanovskiy had to deal with the mutineers and take part in the inquisition against them. He ended up in disgrace, but was later pardoned.

539 Prince I.B. Troyukurov, head of the Strelsy Office.
seized & carried to prison, which their comorades seeing, they drove away those who had seized them as they were on the way to the prison, and set the prisoners at liberty, which caused a great consternation among the great men, especially these in office in the city.

The Generalissimus Kniaź Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] sent immediately for me, and having told me all the business with high aggravations, which I considering the weakness of that party and the want of a head, did not think it worth the taking it so highly and apprehending so great danger. However I went to the Butirky to prevent all misfortunes, and be ready in case any tumult or mutiny should be. I having caused make diligent search if all the sojours were at home, and finding that they were, except those on duty, I laid me downe to rest, being late, having first giving notice of all to Alexey Sim. [Shein] & Kniaź Fiod. Yur.

{187} April 4. By day light I sent to reconosce what was doing in the city and especially at the judicall howses belonging to the streltsees. And having notice that all was quiet, I rode to the Generalis. Alexey Simonovitz and to Kniaź Fiod. Yur., who had all been at a councell above. I found the last and these with him very apprehensive of danger still, which I strove to extenuate. But as the Russes are by nature very apprehensive of danger, so in this & the like they have another designe, which is by aggravating things of this nature to make their service and dilligence in appeasing, oppressing and overcoming the difficulties appeare more illustrious and meritorious. I returned to the Butirky after I had been at my howse, and having had all the officers together at the exercizeing of the regiment, I dismissed two thirds of the officers to their howses and to comply with the feares of others stayed my self with the rest all night. Some hundreds of the Simonofsky regiment having been sent to hasten away the streltsees to service, they not only not resisted, but made themselves ready, and having delivered up the ringleaders of the sedition, were all gone by midnight.

{187v} April 5, Tues. I caused the regiment come together, and the officers being come, I caused march them out into the fields & exercise them, and after dinner passed the tyme with decideing of controversies among the sojours.

6, Wed. I rode in the morning out into the fields, and by Kniaź Alexey Petr. Prosaroñsky his country house called Amsterdam, to Petrofsky, a country howse belonging to the Boyar Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], where I found him & his lady, with whom having drunk a glass of wine, I returned to the Butirky.
Begun to cleanse the garden.

7. I rode into the towne and visited Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], and then rode to Alexey Sim. [Shein], whither came afterwards the engineers, with whom having had some discourse, it was concluded that they should come in the afternoone by me and consult about all things. And so afternoone they all came, and after much discourse it was concluded to set up a list of the workmen & materials for the building of the haven at the river Miaus, which the Sea Captaine Mathew Melanthon Simon, a Venetian who hath undertaken to build it, did immediately and promiseth very confidently to bring it to perfection.

April 8. I did writt to his M. the passages of this last weeke.

The letter or order for L.C. Gordon to stay another yeare at Archangel gott out, & writt to him.

Rec'd a letter from C. Lewenfelt, dated Tobolsky the 11th of March.

Given to Gavriel Bazuf540 5 rubles for this yeare.

Payed to the brewing workmen for 9 brewings of beer 4 ½ rubles.

Given to Vasily the carpenter 20 altines to buy wood, he haveing agreed to make the biggest raames541 to the windowes for 5 altines and the lesser for 4 altines a peece. Given to the carpenters one ruble more.

Writt to Colonell Yonger.

April 9, Sat. Writt to my ser-t Vasily Neczayuf by Ivan Bassuf his ser-t.

10, S. At devotion.


Received a letter from Gen-ll Le Fort, dated Amsterdam 21 March.

Mr. Woolffe & Mr. Meverell542 by me in the afternoone.

Maior Katshayuf returned, without haveing gott any thing done.

12. Elias Tabert deceassed.

Coll. Andrew Zeugh his howse burnt downe about 9 aclock at night.

Lent to Ivan Andreuf Liach 10 rubles upon his note to pay it in Voronies to Pater Franciscus or Capt. Meyer.

Given to Ivan & Stephan the podriadshikes 5 rubles, they being to have 20 rubles mor for building the addition to the Palate543.

540 Apparently, Bazhov.
541 Ram (Russian), frame.
543 Palata (Russian), chamber or hall.
13. Writt to Kniaż Michael Ivan. Likow, to Jeremey Leontiovi[ch] Poliansky & to Harry Gordon by his ser-t Nikita. Writt to my ser-t Vasily Neczayuf and to the Reg-t Quarterm-r Ivan Leonty. Yakimuf, and to the Governour of Yefremow Yakim Stephan. Zdanuf with his M. letter to the governour to otkazy\textsuperscript{544} or give-of the lands, being [...] czetverts, which I have exchanged with Ivan Yakimuf.


15. Writt to his M., G. Le Fort, Mr. Gray & Mr. Fraser.

Given to the ovenman 6 rubles in hand.

A list of the sojours in my 7 regiments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regiment</th>
<th>Sojourns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Butirskyes</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tambowsh</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wasenyes\textsuperscript{546}</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czaronzufs\textsuperscript{547}</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viatczinies\textsuperscript{548}</td>
<td>1,177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all 7,367

A note of the money in the Butirsky regiment.

By Nikita Solochin 500 rubles
By Vasily Biczkow 126 rubl. 20 alt.

Given orders to give out pay to the sojours for March month & for halfe Aprill out of the money remaining in the regiment.

\{189v\} April 16, Sat. Writt to the Boyar Kniaż Michael Yakufleovitz Czirkasky & to Mary Yakufleofina by their ser-ts.

\textsuperscript{544} Otkazy (Russian), renunciation or quitclaim.
\textsuperscript{545} I.e. back yard.
\textsuperscript{546} Vazhane, soldiers recruited in the Vaga province in northern Russia, along the Vaga river.
\textsuperscript{547} Inhabitants of Charonda region in northern Russia, on or near the lake Charondskoye (Vozhe). In the 17th century it was a separate province with its own hoyvoda, administration and numerous population subordinate to the Great Palace Office. Today Charonda is a fully extinct village of the Vologda region.
\textsuperscript{548} Natives and/or inhabitants of Viatka.
Dined by Knia̱z Fiodor Yuriovitz Romadanofsky, it being his daughter her name day. El. Tabert buryed.

Bought from him [Romodanovsky] 5 mares for 55 rubles.
20 aple-trees brought from Kn. Mich. Yak. and 2 pear-trees, and befor 21, with rizerberry trees 100, or bushes.

17. At devotion.
Lent to L.Col. Roonaer 3 rubles, being now in all 33 r. which I have lent him.

18. At devotion.
The Boyar Fiodor Petrovitz Seremetuf by me in the evening. Got 10 aple- & 10 pear trees from the diak.
Made up my acco-t with Alexey Izotuf, and I to give to him for 41 tunnes of malt at 20 alt. p[e]r tunne, 85 pund of hopes at 5 deng., & for fish 6 rubles; in all 32 rubles 24 alt. 2 deng.

19. Received letters from Mr. Pat. Forbes & Mr. And. Marjorybanks, dated Dantzik 4 & 8 Aprilis; Mr. W-m Gray, dated Konigsberg the 5 of March; Mr. Frazer, dated Riga 7 Aprilis.

Agreed with plotnikes to set-over the double bathstove and cut 2 roomes above it, cover and do all within the new stone addition, and make the trally with gates, all for 13 rubles & 2 spann of brandy.

[190] The Roman Emperours Envoy […] made his entry at the Kolu̱gaes gate, being met by a gentleman at the farthest suburb, and there went over into his M. coach drawne with 6 white horses; the pristave sitting by him on his left hand & the interpreter befor them. Befor rode a stallmaste[r] with 100 konuches, 3 & 3 in brest; then 200 writers, haveing ane of themselves for an officer befor them; then came 2 trumpeters belonging to the Envoy, but not sounding; then the stallmaster; then 4 rideing-horses with sadles & deckes & rich furniture, led by his servants, they haveing the horses on their left hand; then his Major-domo and 6 gentlemen on horseback 2 & 2; then the Tzaars coach with the Envoy, & 6 lackeyes in good liveryes by the coach; then 3 of the Envoyes coaches rich & fashionable, each drawne by 6 horses, a 4th drawne

549 Scots for currant.
550 E.P. Sheremetev (1655–1722), voyevoda, from 1684 boyar. Gordon was in close touch with him during their joint service in Kiev in 1684–5.
551 For this Russian rank Gordon normally uses the term “chancellor”.
552 Plotnik (Russian), carpenter.
553 Baron Ignaz Christoph von Guarient.
554 Stallmaste[r] (German), equerry. Koniukh (Russian), groom.
also by 6 horses wherein 3 patres, then the baggage with servants in livery on horsebak attending it. He hath in all 35 persons & 40 horses. He was lodged very straitly by the Pokrovish street.

Payed for making two silver cups, a bridle and a charke, being a pound or 14 r[echs] dollers, & for worke 2 rubles.

Writt to Capt. August Meyer to receive ten rubles from Ivan Liach the Dons Cosake, w-ch I had lent him.

{190v} Aprill 20, Wedn. At devotion.

Given in a note of the necessary things to be given or added, according to the number of 7,367 men:

19 regiment cannon whereof 3 droboviki, to which luntstocks, stampel, screwes, shuffles or ladles and leathern covers, and two toves to each 10 fathome long & 2 verstkyes thick.

3,500 musquets, 5,000 patrone cases or powdercases, 120 hallebards, 2,000 Hollands pikes or the irons at least, 40 partizanes, 4,000 berdis.

21. At devotion, confessed & communicated.

Payed to Alexey the fisher mor 1 r[uble] 13 [alt.] 2 [deng].

Given to Simon the stoliar 2 rubles more, so that he hath gott now 4 rubles.

{191} Aprill 22, Frid. At devotion.

Giving to the masons 5 rubles more, so that they have now gott 10 rubles and are to receive yet 15.

Given to the stone dealer 2½ rubles, which with the former is 4½ rubles, and to give yet halfe a ruble when all is compleet as it should be.

Given to the wrights 3 rubles & one spanne of brandy in hand.

Writt to Mr. Fraser, Coll. Westhoffe, Kirila Alex. Nariskin & Peter Matfewowitz Opraxin by post.

23. At devotion. In the evening at 8 aclock began the Office of the Resurrection, which lasted about ane howre & a halfe.

555 Corrected from 4.
556 Charka (Russian), small cup.
557 Droboviki (Old Russian) are described by Gordon himself as “short pieces for small shott”.
558 Stampfer (German), rammers.
559 Patrone (German), cartridge.
560 Berdyski (Russian), long crescent-shaped poleaxes.
561 Stoliar (Russian), joiner.
562 K.A. Naryshkin (1670–1723), stol’nik, Tsar’s carver (kravchy), later high commandant of Pskov and governor of Moscow.
April 24, Easter day. At devotion. Many communicants. Pater Pawlus had his <i>valete</i> preaching.

25. At devotion. Nothing from his M., only notice that he is as yet in England.

26. At devotion. In towne by T.N. [Streshnev] & A. Si. [Shein].

Gott from the serv-t of Lew Kiril. [Naryshkin] 100 pude of <i>zwiasny</i> iron wherein 28 stanges & 2 broken pieces with 14 olnches among them; 50 pude of <i>polosatovo</i> in 37 prutes; the <i>zwiasny</i> at 30 & <i>polosaty</i> at 35 kop. the pude.

Newes by prisoners come out of the Valachia that the Vizier was still at Adrianople; that <i>bussaes</i> were sent to Belgrad, Mortesa & Haly Bassaes to Oczakow with a good army to observe the Moscovites; that the King of Poland is still in Dantzick expecting the Elector of Brandeburgh to conferr with him; that a <i>nuntius</i> from the Pope was come into Poland to compose busines.


28. At devotion. The Englishes by me in the afternoone.

29. In the Marina Bush with ffriends.

30. In towne by Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] & Alex. Sim. [Shein], & afterwards gave the Emperours Envoy a visit.

Wee had intelligence that 20,000 Turkes were to come to Oczakow and attact Tavan, if our armyes do not prevent them; that […] Bassa is to command them.

Given a ruble to the <i>plotnik</i> Michael.

May 1, Sund. Our new <i>pateres</i> entred on their function.

I dyed by Coll. Kragge, and was afterwards with ffriends in the Simonofskys woods, where very many and choice company.

563 Farewell (Latin).
564 Sviazny (Russian), bracing or fastening.
565 Polosovoe (Russian), band (iron). Prut (Russian), rod or bar.
566 Amcazade Köprüli Hüseyin Pasha (1644–1702), Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire from 1697.
567 Innocent XII (1615–1700), Pope from 1691.
568 Kadashevskaya sloboda in Moscow, beyond the Moscow river.
569 Maryina Roshcha, then a suburban grove popular with Western immigrants, now part of Moscow.
570 Roman Catholic priests from the diocese of Olmütz (Olomouc, Moravia), who arrived with the Imperial embassy, Franz Emilian (Milan) (1662–1738) and Jan Berula (1661–1744). They were Jesuits in disguise.
Writt to Coll-s Konishuf, N. Balk & de Duith.
2. Gave to the plotniks the 4th ruble.
The English by me in the afternoone.
Payed to Ivan Kiriluf 4 r. 4 grivine/s for 40 balkes.
4. The gunsmith buryed.
5. At the wedding of Daniel Sheir with the daughter of Lt.Coll. Rolland.
6. In towne & in the Butirky. The Danish Envoy by me in the afternoone.
Writt to my son John & his wyfe in a coverto to Mr. Frazer. Received a letter from my son James, dated Belgrad[571] 22 Apr., showing his arrivall the day befor.
7. Gott 40 rubles from Vas. Nediveduf[572].
Given to the masons Ivan Nikitin & Stepan Stepanuf ten rubles, being in all 20, & to the plotnik Michael 2 rubles, being in all 6 rubles.
Stated my acco-ts with Mr. Munter, & he remaineth owing to me 464 r[eichsthalers]s 5 sh.
{193} May 8. The Roman Emperours Envoy in the church with cer.
9. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 28 April.
About 2 aclock I went from Mosco & lodged in Odintzova, 15 verst, &
10. the next morning early came to Wiasomka, 15 verst, where dined, & rode to the dorpe [...], where againe dined. And after noone riding-over a bridge, Gabriell Ivanovitz Golofkin[573] did fall in the pond with horse & all, the bridge haveing broke under him, whom with danger & trouble wee recovered.
Came in the evening bake [sic] to Wiasomka, 3 verst or rather 5, being extraor-
dinary bad way.inee supped late, and after supper tooke leave of the Boyar Knia[574] Boris Alexeyovitz [Golitsyn]. Went to my lodging, &
11. the next morning about 4 aclock went from thence, and came to the Slaboda at 11 aclock.
12. Writt to my sister in law, and to my son James by a stolnik Ivan Yef-
sheyowits Bechteow.
13 [Frid.] Writt to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 28th past.

571 Belgorod.
572 Medvedev.
573 G.I. Golovkin (1660–1734), chamber stol’nik, later count and chancellor, president of the College of Foreign Affairs and head of Russia’s foreign policy.
Afternoone gott a violent fitt of the colick, which continued about 3 howres with vomitting and extreame paines. Caused apply warme baggs with oates & sand whereby some ease.

Received letters from my son James, dated Bialygrod or Tiaplanka 6 May; from Achintowle, dat. Abuninka 29 April.

May 14. Having slumbred the night over, was more at ease this day. Afternoone bathed with a decoction my belly and applyed a plaster, which gave much ease of the gripeings of my belly. Drunk at night a spirit. Payed the smiths 2 r. 14 alt. 4 deneges.

15. Hade some ease of the gripeings & voided blood downeward.

16. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated 6th May, with notice that M. Gordon came thither ye second.\footnote{Entry crossed out in MS, but added in Gordon’s hand on margin: “this right”}

Had some gripeings, was advised to take a laxative, which Doctor Carbonari prescrived and Mr. Persenofsky made up.

Sent Basuf & Alabin to Gavrilofofsky.

17. Took the laxative at 5 aclock in the morning, which 3 howres thereafter began to operate with greater torments as any purge, which continued 6 howres with most violent gripeings. Then after a little rest some ease and operation.

Sent my 5 great-mares with a foale to Evanofsky with Peter the dentshik.

May 18. At better ease, in the afternoone rose up.

Sent a petition to Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev] to delay further enquiry about Narbekufs ser-t till his M. returne, as also that he may be kept fast in the Prikase, which he granted.


The Imperiall Envoy Mr. Quarriant by me in the evening.

Received 200 rubles from Mr. Munter by his ser-t.

Sent cornes to Gavrilofofsky a osmin\footnote{Osmina (Russian), eighth part.} of barley, 2 czetveriks of hempe, 6 czetveriks of buckwheat and linseed, & a czetverik of wheat.

20. Mr. Timmerman went from hence.

Given to the plotnik Michaell 1 ruble, being now 7. Agreed with him for 40 altines to uncover and againe cover the 2 little chambers, and with the masons to build the walls of the chambers 2 archins higher, 2 rubles.
21. Given to my daughter Mary the writings and assurances, daans &
kupshiye, as also a writing from my self to secure the house wherein she
liveth to her & her heires generall begotten of her body.

Payed to the iron merch-t 22 rubles, he haveing now gott in all from me 47
rubles for small things.

{194v} May 21, Sat. Sent to Mr. Meeverell 12 rubles, which makes up the
acco-t betwixt his deceased father & me.

Given to the masons 2 rubles, in all now 22.

22. Written to Kniaź Jacob Fidorovitz Dolgorukoy, to my son James &
Achintowle.

Heard devotion by the Polls Envoy, wee both being not well disposed.

23. Received a letter from the Ambassadour Le Fort, dated Amsterdam
29 Aprilis, showing that his Ma-tie was returned from England in good health,
and that they are to depart for Vienna shortly.

24. In towne by Tichon Nik. [Streshnev], Alex. Sim. [Shein] and by Kniaź
Fiodor Yur. Romadan[ovsky].

The boyes Ivashka Borisuf sin Trubishin of the towne Torshok and Ivaska
Anikeuf sin Kolokolczin of the vil. Petrova written on in the Stranger Office;
signed by Al. Yatsky, & given to the writer Ivan Muranuf.

25. Consulted about takeing of phisick.

26. At the wedding of Lt.Coll. Robert Bruce with the widdow West-
hoffes, borne Meyerin.

I tooke in the morning a digestive julip.

{195} May 27, Frid. Signed a list of the regiment for June, July and
Augusts meanes, viz. 1 granad. mr., 34 serjeants, 27 foriers & furiers, 46 cor-
poralls, 25 pipers, 5 verstany sojors, 837 not verstany, 6 newly sent, in all 981
persons; emeriti 6, 24 wiwes of sojours whose husbands at service in the Tam-
bovish regiments, 161 widdowes, 51 orphans; in all 1,223.

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576 Darstvennye & kupshiye (Russian), deeds of grant and purchase.
577 A.G. Yatsky († after 1703), from 1682 dyak, from 1698 in the Foreigners’ and Reiters’
Offices. I. Muranov, from 1686 podpusty of the Estate Office.
578 Robert (Roman Vilimovich) Bruce (1668–1720), son of William Bruce, Scots colonel in
the Russian army. He took part in Crimean and Azov campaigns, and in 1697 was a
member of the Grand Embassy as far as Königsberg, where he stayed to study artillery.
From 1704 he became first high commandant of St. Petersburg, and later lieutenant
general. Elder brother of the famous Count James Daniel (Yakov) Bruce (1669–1735),
whose title was inherited by the offspring of Robert.
The petition or \textit{iajka}\textsuperscript{579} of myne upon the cooke Ivaska Ivan. Panamaruf, that haveing stolne silver plate, tine & other vessels to the value of 125 rubles he run away. This written on the 5\textsuperscript{th} of March, signed by the \textit{Diak} Stephan Alexeyuf\textsuperscript{580}; given to be written on by the writer Ivan Muranow.

In the morning I sent to Altzowa to learne the condition of that place. They returned early, it being 20 short \textit{wrest}.

Writt to Coll. Scott by his son.

Payed for the impression on the grave stone of my son in law Snevins 60 altines.

28. Took phisick, being a purge, which had but little operation.

29. At devotion early. Rec-d 1-ss from Mr. Gray, dated Konigsberg 21 May, & Mr. Fraser, dated Riga ye 19\textsuperscript{th}. Received letters from Capt. Meyer, dated Woronies 20 May & the \textit{woywod} there.

30. At devotion. Agreed with \textit{plotnikes} to repaire and highten the utmost roome of the congregation howse for 6 rubles. In the afternoone by Mr. Guasconi and Mr. Woolffe.

31. At a feast by the \textit{Generalliss}. Thereafter by Kniaż Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky], haveing been in the morning in the Butirky.

\{195v\} June 1, Wedn. Writt to my son James with the Tzaars letter, to give the 25 sojours with him their monthly pay out of the money remaining over of the \textit{podyom} money.

Writt to Maior Evertson & the \textit{woywod} of Woronies, as also to Capt. Gustavus Meyer. To my ser-t Vasily Neczayuf in Ivanofsky.

Given to the \textit{plotnik}e Michel 2 rubles, being in all he hath gott now 9 rubles.

Had notice that the Boyar Dolgorukoy [Romodanovsky cr.o.] marched from Belagrod the 17 past.

2. At devotion early.

3. Writt to Mr. Fraser in ans-r to his of the 19 past, and to Mr. Gray in ans-r to his of the 21.

4. Had notice from Azow that the son of Murteza Pasha was come to the Kertcz, and that Ali Pasha was come with a few men to their new built fortress by Kuban, and that they were to conveene the Kubansh and other Tartars and make an incursion into the Ukraina.

\textsuperscript{579} \textit{Yarca} (Old Russian), claim or application.

\textsuperscript{580} S.D. Alexeyev († after 1711), from 1684 \textit{podyachy}, in 1697–9 \textit{dyak} in Razriadny, and later in the Foreigners’ and Reiters’ Offices.
June 5. Received a letter from his Ma-tie, dated Amsterdam 9 May; from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 26 May, with the state of acco-ts betwixt him & me, which is so [...] The Ro[man] Emp., Danish & Polnish Envoyes with their suites, the paters & other ffriends dined by me & stayed till night.

Dispatched Shaparra to Evanofsky with letters to Vasily Neczayuf & Peter Rakuf, as also Archip to Bunkova.

6. Bought 5 cszetverts of land in the dorpe Bunkova for 5 rubl.

7. Gott a writing from Ochlebin[in] to possess the land, the paures, which I have from now [to] enjoy for 3 yeares to come, and another, not to ask of me nor myne the money, viz. 40 rubles, w-ch the paures were valued above my debt of 20 rubles.


Some rumors coming of the 4 regiments of strelses at Toropets enclining to mutiny & disobedience, a querry was sent to bring notice of their doings.

9. An order to send 4 officers & 40 sojours to overtake the strelses reg-ts and take 140 runaway strelses and convoy them to the Ukraina townes; as many of the other reg-ts ordered.

Made up my acco-ts with Mr. Woolffe and sent him 47 r. 28 alt-s 2 kop., and retained 50 rubles upon the acco-t of 20 or 30 p[oun]d st. disbursed by my son John to the deceased James Bruce his mother & sisters.

{196v} June 10, Frid. Writt to Mr. Fraser in ans-r to his of the 26th past.

Given to the mason Ivan 2 rubles, having agreed with him for five to change the pends & bring the two in one.

Newes of the 4 regiments of strelses, which had been in the compare at Veliky Luky and now at Toropets, upon the dimission of the rest of the army and orders for them to go to diverse townes, were discontent and enclining to mutiny.

11. Two capitaines arrived from Toropets and related how the strelses after diverse private consultations had agreed and resolved not to go to the designed places, but to go directly to Mosco, and desired their colonells & officers to go along with them; and upon their refusall had dismissed them and chosen 4 of each regiment to be their directors, and were absolutely intended for Mosko. This brought no small consternation among the grandees. Where-for a counsell being called, it was resolved to send an army against them of horse & foot, and that I should advance with the foot befor, until the cavaliery might be conveened. So I was sent for, and told hereof accordingly. And there
being ordered that 500 of my regiment and as many of each of the other three standing regiments in Mosco\textsuperscript{581} should be commanded, I accordingly ordered the officers & sojours who must go.

12. I was above in counsell, where the former resolutions were againe concluded. No further notice from the mutineers.

I dined by the Polls Envoy with the other Envoyes and friends.

Rec'd a letter from Coll. Westhoffe, dated 5 Junii, & from [my cousin \textsuperscript{582}, dated both at Plesko.

27 queryes and 2 stolpovy \textsuperscript{583} sent to me to be made use of to send before and on messages to Mosko.

\{197\} June 13, Moon. I was againe above in counsell, and they persisting in the former resolutions, I was ordered to march to the r-t Chodinka with the foot & artillery, and there wait orders. So haveing caused give a months pay to the sojours and sent the 5 pieces of cannon to the Butirky and received 150 podwodes & marched in the afternoone from the Slaboda. And haveing stayed ane howre in the Butirky untill all was ready, I marched & encamped by the r-t Chodinka, and the other 3 reg-ts came about midnight.

14. Gave notice of my arrivall, and that I had sent out on all the wayes for intelligence. Received answer from those I had written to, as to Tichon Nikitits [Streshnev], Alexey Simonovits [Shein] & \textit{Kniaz} Fiodor Yuriovits [Romodanovsky].

The Polls Envoy came to our campe, as also my [...] Sent diverse tymes to Mosco with such intelligence as wee could learne from people coming from these places neer to which the streltsees mutineed, without any certainty.

In the evening the konuch or query who had been sent from Mosko the 9th returned.

15. The Boyar\textsuperscript{584} came to the army, mustered the gentlemen of his M. Court, and I caused the household servants of his M. and the writers to be mustered. After which the Boyar with the ppll persons who were here came by me, stayed an howre or two and then returned to Mosko.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{581} Lefort’s, Preobrazhensky and Semionovsky regiments.
\textsuperscript{582} Apparently, one more of many Gordons who came to Russia; mentioned above (fol. 193v).
\textsuperscript{583} Stolpovy dvoriane, members of old Russian noble families whose names and estates were recorded in special lists (stolbtsy).
\textsuperscript{584} A.S. Shein.
\end{flushleft}
16. I marched about 5 aclock and encamped by the r. Swidnia\textsuperscript{585} short of Tushina a \textit{werst}.

I mustered the household servants belonging to the Court, as also the writers, & found to be 96 household servants on horseback & 113 to foot, and of writers 280 on horseback and 741 to foot.

About midnight the Boyar came and brought orders upon all the articles which wee had sent to the counsell to be instructed and impowred herein.

\textsuperscript{197v} June 17, Frid. I marched with the foot about 6 aclock, and passing by a old entrenchment & the vill. Tushina, to Czernieva 10 \textit{werst}. Here I did meet a gentlemans servant who told me that he had lodged last night with the \textit{streltsees}, and that they were marching very hard, intending to gett to the Voscreszcinsky monastery\textsuperscript{586} this night; which made me make as great hast as possible to preveene them. And being come 5 \textit{werst} further to the dorp Nachabina, I rested a little and gave notice to the Boyar of all, and that he should send some horsemens to me.

Here returned some of the horsmen whom I had sent out on diverse wayes to recognose, telling that they had been a great way of & had heard no certainty of the \textit{streltsees} march. But these I had sent befor to the monastery and whom I had instructed to bring certaine intelligence where the \textit{streltsees} should encampe this night, and which way they were marching, I expected not till the evening.

Having rested & refreshed men & horses ane howre or two, I marched over the r-t, and fearing that the mutiniers might prevent me, I made hast with such horsemen as I had gott together, and within 2 \textit{werst} of the monastery 4 \textit{streltsees} were brought to me by these querryes whom I had sent to recognose the monastery way; who told that they were sent a man from each [of the \textit{cr.o.}] regiment with a petition to the Boyar. Which I having read, found it to be only a list of their services, with ane aggravation of their grievances and a desire to be permitted to come to Mosko to visit their howses, wifes & children, and to petition for their necessityes. I dispatched these to the \textit{Generalissimus}, and having learned from these that they were 15 \textit{werst} of & not like to reach the monastery this night, I ordered the campe to be drawne out near the monastery in the most convenient place.

About sunsett I came to the place where wee should encampe, and gott immediately notice from our skouts that they were advanced to the river and

\begin{tiny}
\textsuperscript{585} Apparently, Skhodnia.
\textsuperscript{586} Resurrection (Voskresensky) monastery (“New Jerusalem”), founded by Patriarch Nikon in 1656 on the bank of Istra river, 40 versts from Moscow.
\end{tiny}
were passing it at a foord. I hasted thither with such horsmen as I had by me, and with expostulations & faire words advised & commanded them to returne over the river againe & encampe \{198\} on the other syde, to the which they would not assent. So they turned into a lane and encamped in a medow w[j][th][h]out the village by the river. I hasted back to bring up our foot and haveing mett them, ordered the two formost regiments to march through the village and take post in the most convenient place, and the other two to take post in the fields by the Moskoes way.

I rode then downe to them and communed with them, but found them very refractory to what wee desired. However I perswaded them to send 2 deputies more to the Generalissimus, which they did, and after promise made on both sides that no moveing should be this night, they went to their campe leaving a strong guard in the lane. And I caused a battallion to keep guard a little from them, and another battallion at a distance for a reliefe, and then went to the other regiments and ordered strong guards & plottons in several places in view of their campe to observe them, and recognosced their campe my self at a distance. And finding no appearance of stirring among them, and haveing againe visited our guards, I returned to the campe at the beating of the travallie by us (which I had forbidden them) and rested ane howre. Then went to the Generalissimus and consulted what should be done.

June 18, Sat. Haveing well advised, wee concluded that I should go to their campe and intimate to them that, 1st, they should returne and go to the places to the which they had been ordered; 2, that they should deliver the 140 fugitives who had run from Veliky Lugy to Mosko, as also the ringleaders and stirrers up of this mutiny & disobedience to his M. commands; and that his M. should in the places to the which they should go cause give them their usuall pay & bread or money according to the price currant there; and that this fault of their disobedience should be pardoned them; as also the others more guilty should not suffer any great punishment.

So takeing their 6 deputies along, I went to their campe, and commanded them to conveene and heare \{198v\} his M. gracious concessions. There conveened about 200 of them, to whom I caused first their deputies declare what was ordered, and then my self used all the rhetorick I was master of to perswade them to submission, and to bring a petition of being guilty of transgressing his M. commands. But they answered that they were all ready to dy or go to Mosko albeit for 8 or 3 dayes, and then to go whither his M. should order. And when I told them that they will not be permitted to go to Mosko, and that they should not once think of that, they replied that will rather dy as
not go to Mosko; and two old fellowes among them began to aggravate their grievances & necessitates, and halfe a dozen more confirmed what the other said, and kept a great deale of stir. I advised them to consult each regiment apart and consider well what they did; which they refused, saying that all were of one mind. Then I told them that I would go without the campe and stay for ane answer, threatening them that if they did not now lay hold of his M. grace, hereafter they were not to exspect such conditions, if wee should be forced to use violence to reduce them. All which they valued not.

So I rode out of their campe, and stayed at a little distance about a quarter of ane howre, & then sent to them for their last answer. And they returning no other, with signes of commiseration I departed; and having viewed the conveniences, after consultation with the Generalissimus & others, wee resolved to draw out the army & cannon and use violence, if they should not submit.

I brought the foot regiments & the cannon to a convenient place and environed their campe on the other hand with the cavallierie. And having planted 25 pieces of cannon, sent a gentleman to summon & advise them to submitt; and upon their refusall, another to demand a categoricall answer. But they rejected all propositions of accommodation and prepared for defence, bragging of being alike with us if wee should begin & use violence.

So wee, seeing all hopes of their submission vanished, caused fire the cannon round; which shooting over them, encouraged them so that they began to flourish their collours, throw up their caps and prepare for further defence. But at the next firing of the cannon round they began to reell, seeing some of their comorades in all quarters killed. So then, whither for despair or to shelter themselves from the shott of the cannon, they sallyed out with 5 or 6 collours into a lane, which post wee had well guarded, yet this put me to my shifts how to do. So I commanded G-ll Le Fort his reg-t and 4 companies of the Butirskyes to secure that post, and going myself ordered 100 musquetiers to go along by the river and post themselves under the shelter of a low ground with a paralell hight opposite to the lane, and fire on them as they should appeare or aproach into the lane. Which the strelteses perceiving, run out of the lane to their campe againe, and some into the barnes & out-howses. At the third firing round many of them ran out of their campe towards the foot & horsemen; and at the 4th firing very few remained in their waggonburg. So I advanced downe into their campe with two battalions, and set guards round & within it.

In the tyme of this service, which lasted about ane howre, wee had some wounded with small shott, and a Dutch bombardirer with a slugg. Of the rebells
were 22 killed on the place and about 40 wounded, few whereof are like to recover.

Wee caused all the prisoners be driven into the monastery and put into several vaulted howses & other places; and then caused make ane inventory of their horses, and ordering their waggons or goods not to be stirred, only the ammunition & other regiment waggons wee caused be brought to the pavilion and revided there.

{199v} Immediately after the action wee dispatched a gentleman to Mosko with a short relation of the business, and were busy all the afternoone with gathering the armes which were strayed in the campe & fields.

June 19, Sun. Having gott some notice from those who thought to preoccupate favour, of some of the ring-leaders, wee called some of the principall and examined them; and thereafter befor noone mustered one of the regiments, and asking the opinion and votes of most of the ppl persons & others as to their behaviour, they freely declared some to have been ring-leaders and troublesome mutiniers. And so wee placed those who were declared good to on hand, and the bad to the other; and afternoone with another regiment the lyke.

I received a letter from the chiefe enginier Baron Borgsdorffe, dated Woronies the 9 ditto or instant, wherein he complains of the slow dispatch was made for him.

20. Wee removed our campe to befor the monastery for the being neerer our business & being out of the great dust & stuffe which was on the tilled ground where wee stood; and dined by the stroitel of the monastery, which is the oecunome.

{200} June 21. Wee mustered another of the regiments after the former manner, and examined & brought to the torture diverse persons, who confessed their malicious designes had they gott to Mosko. Wee gave notice to Mosko twice, thrice & more tymes of all that passed.

22. Having found 24 persons by their owne confession guilty of hainous crimes, as of one intention when they were gott to Mosko of massacring some of the ppl boyars, forcing an augmentation of their salary or pay and a regulation of their services, wee passed the sentence of death upon them, of having their heads severed from their bodies. They were set apart and ordered to confess, take the communion, & prepare themselves for death.

58* Stroitel (Russian), builder.
23. These who were sentenced yesterday, Boriska Fiodoruf & comorades, were executed by severing their heads from their bodyes.

The 4th regiment mustered after the same manner as the former.

Provisions of brandy, fish, groats & sukharyes brought for the sojours.

24. I did writt to his Ma-tie in short all the circumstances of this expedition, and sent it to Mr. Vinius.

25. This and the following dayes, except Sunday, wee were every day busied from morning to evening examineing business, and many were tortured, some whereof confessed.

26. Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 16, wherein he writes that my son John is not arrived as yet.

{200v} June 27. A okolnitse, Kniaz Fiodor Ivanovitz Shachofsky, came to the camp and in a set speach asked of our healths, praising our service, with other usuall ceremonies and complements. First the Boyar was asked, then wee the Towarises, and then the tsaredvortsy, colonells, officers & sojours, after the usuall manner. The Boyar feasted him and all the ppl persons, and at the drinking of his Ma-ties & other healths the cannon were fired, whereof 20 were placed round the place.

Orders brought to send the less guilty streltses to diverse monasteryes, to be kept in prisons there.

28. Some who had confessed themselves guilty, being prepared, were executed by hanging; and wee wrott to Mosko for orders concerning the rest who were guilty of twice deserting and clamouring and being troublesome.

Writt to my son Jame[s].

29. Being his Ma-ties name day, wee celebrated it first with devotion, & then with feasting & firing of cannon at our healths drinking.

Wee dispatched many of the streltses towards the monasteryes klogged & with strong guards of sojours and monasteryes servants.

30. Many examined & brought to the torture of Coll. Hundermarks regiment, but none of them would confess to be more guilty as another, but were all alike. So wee ordained them to cast lotts, that every tenth man should dy, which they did.

Above 200 persons knuted in the afternoone.

588 Sukhary (Russian), dried bread.

589 Prince F.I. Shakhovskoy († after 1700), voyevoda, from 1659 stal’nik, from 1683 okol’nichy.

590 Tsaredvortsy (Russian), Tsar’s courtiers.

591 Knut (Russian), whip. Already in 1661 Gordon affords perhaps the earliest instance of the verb to knout in English or Scots usage (Diary, II, p. 138). It by far predates the year 1716 given by Merriam-Webster Dictionary.
Writt to Generall Le Fort.\footnote{This letter, written in Low German, survives and was published in F. Lefort. \textit{Sbornik materialov i dokumentov} (Moscow, 2006), pp. 284–5.}

\{201\} July 1, Frid. 45 men of Coll. Hunder[t]marks reg-t being by lott to dy, were brought out, and after some supposed intercession mercy was showne that every two should cast lotts; w-ch being done & they set apart, it was told them that if yet they would tell who were the ring-leaders of the mutiny, they should be let go free. After some pawses they began to mumple & tell of one or two, who being brought to the torture, without much ado confessed themselves guilty & told of 3 or 4 more, who were also brought to the torture, and after some stripes they confessed also. So were set apart and ordered to prepare themselves for death, and these on whom the lotts had fallen wer let free.

Orders came in the afternoone that these who had twice deserted & some others should be hanged.

2. This day were 72 persons hanged to fyve and to three on gibbets. Many streltsees as on the former dayes sent away, the officers & sojours who convoyed them getting a months pay, the sojours getting provisions sent from Mosco, and the podvods who remained with us getting to a kopike a day.

Wee examined many this day and sentenced 4 to be beheaded, and ordered the sick & wounded with 4 persons more for future further inquisition to be left in the monastery, so that but 25 persons remained here.

\{201v\} July 3. This day his Majesty letters came to dismiss the army and was read publikely, in the beginning whereof wee had all thanks for our services. The gentry departed immediately, and three of the sojours regiments after dinner. The Generalli[ss]imus and wee his Towarises with cancellary, chancellours & writers with the Butirsky regiment stayed all night.

This day were the last of the streltsees sent away.

4. In the morning the 4 sentenced on Saturnday last were brought out into the fields, where the other were, and beheaded. They all, except some few, dyed very insensibly without speaking [of cr.o.] any thing, but crossing themselves, and some takeing leave of the spectators. 130 were executed, 70 were killed & dyed of their wounds, 1,845 persons sent to prison in diverse monasteryes & 25 remained in this monastery.

At 7 aclock I dismissed the Butirsky regiment and a little thereafter marched away my self. By the way I did meet with letters from Mr. Fraser & my son John, dated Riga the 23 \textit{Junii}, showing of my son & his wyfes arrivall thither.
the 19, and that he was to go from thence the 28th. I rested one howre at Nachabina, and came home at 4 aclock afternoone.

Received letters from my son James, son in law and Mr. Gen-ll Rigeman, dated 2 Junii from Kolumka; from L.C. Harry Gordon, dated Archangell 20 Junii; from Lt.Coll. Palmer, dated Novogrod 28 Junii.

{202} July 5. Writt to my son James, Achintowle, M. Gen-ll Rigeman by the ordinary, and to Harry Gordon, Mr. Woolfe and the governour by Ivan Antrushin.

6. I rode in the afternoone and visited Kniaz Fiodor Yuri. Romadanovsky. My daughter Mary her son very sick and small hopes of his recovery. Received many visits.

This day after devotion I with many more were confirmed by the Archbishop of Ancira called Petrus Paulus de S.Joseph of the Carmelite order, I takeing the name of Leopoldus and my son Theodorus that of Joseph.

The Danish Envoy & many others by me in the afternoone, I haveing dined by Coll. von Kragge.

7. I was by Al. Sim. [Shein], Kniaz Fiod. Yur. and in towne by Kniaz Boris Al. [Golitsyn], who detained me to dinner. After which I came home with the Archb-p, who stayed one howre or two with me.

Dispatched Lt. Ivan Mechmetuf with a writer to Evanofsky.

8. Writt to my son John, to L.C. Palmer & to the governour.

About 8 aclock in the morning my grandchild Patrick Snivins dyed. I caused the same day invite to the buriall against the next day in the afternoone, and provide all things thereof, takeing ane anchor of sack & another of white wine for 6 rubles the first & the last for 8.

{202v} July 9, Sat. I was in the morning by Tich. Nikit. [Streshnev]. Thereafter at devotion, where the Archb-p confirmed diverse, among the rest Coll. Lima his son Stephanus, who named himself Petrus, I standing Godfather to him.

About 4 aclock those invited being conveened, wee convoyed the child to our church and after the usuall devotion and ceremonies put him in the vault by my son Peter. The Emperours and Polish Envoyes with others came home with me and stayed ane howre or two.

593 Pietro Paolo Palma de Artesia († 1700), scion of a noble Neapolitan family, nephew of Pope Innocent XI. In 1673 he joined the Carmelite order and preached in India. In 1696 appointed Vicar Apostolic of India and Archbishop of Ancira. He was also styled “Councillor of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and His Majesty’s Envoy Extraordinary to the Kings of Persia and Ethiopia, as well as to the Great Mogul”. He visited Russia en route to India, where he arrived in 1699, but shortly died at Surat.
10. At devotion, and afternoone at the vespers.


12. Being a name-day of the Roman Empress\textsuperscript{594}, wee were magnificently entertained by the Emperours Envoy Mons-r Guariant and came home late.

13. Peter Rakow came from Evanofsky, bringing along 2 great oxen, 27 yong sheep, 530 egges, 5 sides of spek & 12 hens.

Writt to Ivan Meechmetuf in Evanofsky by the pawres. Writt to my son James & Achintowle by the ordinary.

{203} July 14, Thur. The acco-t of Ivan Yakimuf of 20 rubles given him:

For expences for thrice or three seisins of lands 2 r. 8 alt. 4 denges; for bought lands 7 rubles; for howses & tenments 8 rubles 7 alt. 2 d. In all 17 r. 16 [alt.]

Rests by him 2 rubles – 17 – 2.

Writt to my son John by Theodorus.

Rec-d l-rs from my son James, dated Czaplinka 14 June, & from Achintowle, dated Oriol r[iver] the 10.

15. Payed to the petcznikes\textsuperscript{595} or oven-makers Fiodor Stepanuf & ano-r of the same name for the ovens in the upper and in the middle roome next the kitchin, being therein 950 pots or kachles\textsuperscript{596} at 3 denges, and the oven in the roomes below, being 340 green kachles at 1 kopike & a polushke\textsuperscript{597}, in all with the 7 rubles they gott befor 18 rubles 16 alt-s 4 deng.

Writt to Mr. Frazer.

Given to Pimin 5 bookes to bind.

Received l-rs from L.C. Gordon, dated Archangell the 5\textsuperscript{th} inst-t; from my son James, dated the 30 of June from Samar[a] and 4\textsuperscript{th} of July from Woronofka; and from Achintowle the 30 of June from Samara.

I was by Al. Sim. [Shein], Tich. Nikit. [Streshnev] and Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin].

16. Writt to L.C. Harry Gordon by a diasatnik\textsuperscript{598}.

Payed to the carpenters 12 altines for 4 raames & given them 15 altius for wood for more raames to the windowes in the new roome.

\textsuperscript{594} Eleonore Magdalene of Pfalz-Neuburg (1655–1720), third wife of Leopold I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

\textsuperscript{595} Pechnik (Russian).

\textsuperscript{596} Kakhli (Old Russian), tiles used to decorate a stove.

\textsuperscript{597} Polushka, Russian coin equal to 1/4 kopek.

\textsuperscript{598} Desiatnik (Russian), NCO in command of ten men in strilty and “town Cossack” regiments.
Writt to Ivan Irkatuf in Krasna & to Ivan Mechmetuf in Evanofsky, the first by the Knia[ziag]ina Maria Petrovna Chilkow, her convoyance, the other by Peter Rakow.

In the afternoone I rode to have seen Kn. Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky] at Tucharow, then to have seen the Archb-p at his boat, but he was not come & the first gone from thence.

In the evening late Mr. Lhoyd came to me with one Capt. Perry & Mr. Deane lately come from England, the one for making of the canal, the other for building 5 fregattes.

{203v} July 17. Received a letter from Mr. Frazer, dated Riga the 7th of July, wherein he advises me of my son his being gone from thence the 2d, and that he had payed for a kolesh for him 70 r[eichs] d[ollers], and for 8 horses hire to Plesko 48 r.d. at 6 r.d. p[e]r horse; to Kinloch 15 & to Grissell Gordon 7, making me debitor for 140 r.d. 56 g[rosses].

Received a letter from Coll. Westhoffe, dated Plesko the 10th instant, advising me that my son arrived thither the 8th and departed from thence the 10th instant.

18. Payed of the wood-merch-t Ankudin Gregoriuf sin Danieluf siedi-lets for 48,000 burn’t bricks at 17 gr[iven] p[e]r 1,000; for 266 white stones 3 q-t-s arsh[in] long 3 r. 33 alt-s; for 188 white stones 1 arsh. long 3 r. 23 alt-s, all r 2 d.; in all payed to him 88 r. 22 alt-s. I gave him also 2 rubl. for 10 tunne of lime which I received from Mr. John Vry. If 48,000 bricks, he is to have 10 r-s as yet.

I was in the morning by Knia[zi] Fiodor Yur. [Romodanovsky].

Given a note to the reg-t writer for 200 rubles which I have borrowed to my pay.

599 Maria Petrovna, née Matiushkina, second cousin of Tsar Peter, widow of Prince Mikhail Yakovlevich Khilkov († before 1698), stol’nik and voyevoda in Viatka in 1688–90.

600 William Lloyd, British merchant in Russia from 1689, obviously a Welshman. John Perry (1670–1732), captain of the Royal Navy, in April 1698 was invited into Russian service as engineer by Tsar Peter in London. At first he worked on the project of the Volga-Don canal, but after its failure was sent to Voronezh. In 1712 he returned to England and published his account: J. Perry, The State of Russia Under the Present Czar (London, 1716). Another Englishman, John Dean(e) († 1699), also joined Russian employ in Amsterdam in 1698, and should be distinguished from his younger countryman and namesake active in Russia in 1712–21, who wrote the History of the Russian Fleet during the Reign of Peter the Great by a Contemporary Englishman, 1724 (London, 1899).

601 Koliaska (Russian), waggon or carriage.

602 Captain Robert Kinloch came to Russia from Scotland via Riga in July 1698 along with John Gordon, the general’s son.

603 Sidelets (Russian), shop assistant.
19. Being sent for to Preobrasinsko, his M. gracious praising our services and encouraging us in the usuall formes were read, as also to the sojours, to whom it was told that they should have: a serjeant to a ruble & 10 altines, a corporall a ruble & 5 altines, and each sojour a ruble, & all to have their Ma-ties table. Wee were also entertained to excess, especially in drinking, the cannon being fyred at the drinking of the healths.

A list of the Butirsky regiment given in of those who had been in the late expedition, to witt: one master granadierer, 14 serjeants, 15 foriers & furers, 21 corporalls, 22 pipers, 5 verstany and 499 sojours; in all 577 persons.604

{204} July 20. I was sick the whole day, even unto death almost, and kept my bed.

21. I was at a feast by the Danish Envoy and magnificently treated, came home late.

22. Writt to Mr. Fraser with a large letter in my coverto from Mr. Munter to him.

Received a letter from L.Coll. Harry Gordon, dated at Archangell the 12th of July.

Caused writt out how many czetverts there are in Krasna Slaboda. So it is that I have 113, and to Vasily Sav. Narbekuf & to the Dutchess Maria, widdow or wyfe to Kniaz Michael Chilkow, was given in the yeare 191 of the oitczina605 of [Michael Timof… cr.o.] Alexey Lichatshowa each of them 66 czetverts & a osmina, so that they both have in that place 133 czetverts, which is 20 more as I have.

23. Made up my acco-ts with Alexey Zotuf, and am to pay him for 400 small sterlets in the pond 9 rubles, and for other small things & fish 3 rubles 28 altines; in all 12 r. 28 alt-s.

With Ivan Kiriluf the day befor for diverse things 8 rubles 31 alt-s 2 d.

24. Received a letter from my son John, dated Novogrod the 19th, & from Lt.Coll. Palmer of the same date.

{204v} July 25, Moon. At devotion. Dined in the towne by the Imperiall Envoy & was merry.

Received a letter from Mr. W-m Gray, ordering 40 r.dollers to be given to his nephew Georg Gordon.

604 This list corresponds exactly with the published document from Russian archives, signed by Gordon (N. Ustrialov, Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago, Vol. III (St.Petersburg, 1858), p. 586).

605 (V)otchina (Russian), patrimony, heritable estate.
26. In the morning by Alex. Sim. [Shein] & K. Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsky].

Sent Miska to Bonkowa and given 16 rubles along to buy rey.
Given to Michael the plotnik 3 r., in all now he hath received 12 rubles.
Given to the petshnik Semon Osipuf two rubles, which with the former 3 maketh 5.

Kniaz Fiod. Yur. was by me.
27. Writt to my son James, Achintowle & Harry Gordon.
Gave a visit to M. Gen-ll von Mengden, Coll-s Westhoffe & Gulits.

28. At devotion.
Sowne in Gavriloofsky 10 tunnes of rey.

29. Made up againe acco-ts with Ivan Kiriluf, I being now to give him 17 r. 30 altins, and for the church 38 r. 4 d.
Received letters from Lt.Coll. Gordon and Mr. Timmerman, dated Archangell 19 July.

30. Gott halfe a aame of red wine from Mr. Guasconi and a hogshead of white wine from Mr. Andrewes; for the first I am to give 8 r. & for the other 22.

31. At devotion. The Imperial Envoy dined with me.

{205} Aug. 1, Moon. My son John with his wyfe came, by whom I received letters: from the Earle of Errol607, dated Slaines the 3d of March & 25 April; the Earle of Airlie608, dated the 30 April; Count Lesly609, dated Fetternierz 30 May; the Laird of Creichie, dated there 26 April; his lady, dated Rothemay the 20 Apr.; her sister, dated Rothemay 2 May; Nethermuir610, dated there the 23d of March; my unkle, dated Westertowne 4th May; my sister611, dated Newtowne of Ardenret 29 Apr.; brother, dated Bridgend May 4; Cults612, dated May 2; Far[the]r Dumbar, dated Bamffe 30 Apr.; Achintowle613, dated there the

606 Gordon's note on margin: payed.
607 John Hay, 12th Earl of Erroll († 1704), Lord High Constable of Scotland, General Gordon’s feudal lord over his estate of Auchleuchries.
608 James Ogilvy, 2nd Earl of Airlie (ca.1615–1703), chief of clan Ogilvy, to which General Gordon’s mother belonged.
609 Jacob Ernst (James) Leslie (1669–1728), Count of the Holy Roman Empire from a well-known Scottish clan. Judging by the date of his letter, in 1698 he visited his family home in Scotland. He was uncle to Elizabeth Grant, wife of General Gordon’s son John.
610 John Gordon of Nethermuir, Patrick’s cousin.
611 Patrick’s sister Elizabeth Gordon (1644–after 1698), widow of William Hay of Ardenret.
612 Patrick Gordon of Cults, cousin of the Russian general.
613 Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul the elder.
14 of March; my brothers son, dated Bridgend May 2d; from Craig Forbes, dated Aberdeen the 2d Junii.

2. The pawres of Krasna brought 38 sheep, 5 dying by the way. By the Generallissimo. Capt. Perry tooke his leave. Writt to my Krasnaes prikasczik by the said pawres.

3. Writt to L.C. Gordon & Mr. Timmerman in answer [to] theirs of the 19th of July.

4. At devotion.

5. Writt to the Laird of Creichy in a coverto to Mr. Fraser.

6. Payed to the petshnik Simon Osipuf now in all 8 rubles. Writt to my son James & Achintowle by M. Westhoffe.

Given to Georg Gordon 5 rubles, and a note for 17 on Mr. Munter. The pawres of Krasna brought on the great-boates 10 waggons with covers, 2 bagges of groates, 1,000 egges, 3 turtle-doves, 11 windowes, 24 geese, 14 ducks, 45 hens, 2 tunnes of rey of streletsee bread and as much of oates.

{205v} Aug. 7, Sund. At devotion.

8. In towne & above by the boyars. Afterwards by the Imp. Envoy. Payed to Tichon Grachofsky the petshnik in all 7 rubles, the kachles being at 2 kop. in the greatest roome.

Payed to Ivan the mason 1 ruble, being all due to him.


I went from Mosco, having in my company my wyfe, sons & daughters with their children, 31 horses, 6 coaches & kolesses, 4 polubes & 5 slight waggons, 25 sojours & servants. I lodged on a medow by Novinka all night, 7 verst.

10. I went not early from hence, dined at Pachry, 25 verst, and lodged at Mlodia, 15 verst.

11. Jorneyed early. Came to Lopatina, 15 verst, dined by a r-t 13 verst short of Sherpuchow; then to Sherpuchow & over the ferry, lodged by Lipnitsa.

12. Marched early. Came to the iron workes, 20 verst, where dined; then 12 r. to Kamionka and lodged.

13. Being a great raine, wee stayed till 3 aclock afternoone, then went forward & lodged in the dorpe […], 10 verst.

14. Marched by sunriseing, dined in the woods, came to Tula, 35 verst.

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614 Paluba (Old Russian), roofing or cover for baggage.

615 Gordon uses his habitual military term here. This beguiled Charles Whitworth, British envoy in Russia and early reader of the Diary, who on this page captioned Gordon’s family trip to their country estate as March against ye Turkel.
15. Dined here, marched & lodged at the river Solova, whither wee came late.

Affonasse Nurakuf.616

{206} Aug. 16, Tues. Marched to the Tzareow Pristane, 10 verst, dined by the Vladishny Bushes, 10 verst, and to the Krasivo Mecz, 14 verst, to Evanofsky 6 verst.

17. My waggon having gone astray the evening before and lodged in the fields all night, came this morning.

18. Some gentlemen came to see me, some whereof brought complaints.

19. I rode to Kadno, fished in the Krasivoe Mecz, and viewed the woods & lands which I have bought.

20. I rode to the milne of Gresnofsky, 8 verst, dined there, and towards evening came to Gogol, 22 verst. Here was Samson Alex. Krivintzuf.

21. Having dined, I took a journey. A lt. called Gregory Tichon. Puckow did meet me. Came to the village Archangel where supped by Yermol[ay] Ivan[ov], then came to Evanofsky late.

22. I heard the complaints of Abram Gabrilov Pashintzow & others, & made strict inquisition in that business. Diverse gentlemen dined with me & Seliverst Petr[ov] w[i][th] his wyfe.

23. I sent to fish at the milne of Gresnofsky.

The old starost gave in the following acco-t: Threshed out 2 ovines or 4 kopnaes of oates, wherein 2 tunnes & 3 czetverikes of oates.

Gott this acco-t of my mothers father. The Laird of Petlurg married Janet Ogilby, daughter to the Laird of Cullen, and was soon after killed at the battle of Pinky618, leaving him who succeeded unborne or in the cradle. She was afterwards married to one Ogilby of Blarak her cousin, a cadet of the house of Cullen, and [owner] of 3,000 merks in the Boyne619. By him she had a son called James, brother uterine to Sir John Gordon of Petlurge & uncle to Mr.

616 Name written by Gordon at bottom of page.
617 Ovin & kopna (Russian), barn and rick.
618 John Gordon of Pitlurg (1517–1547) fell at the battle of Pinkie near Edinburgh on 10 September 1547, when the English army under the Duke of Somerset routed the Scottish host under the Earl of Arran. At that time King Henry VIII of England, trying by force to obtain the hand of young Mary Queen of Scots for his son, afflicted Scotland with punitive invasions (“Rough Wooing”). The Scots, however, won their independence yet again, with French help.
619 Boyne, large estate with castle (now ruined) of the Ogilvies near Portsoy in Banffshire.
Robert. This James marryed Marjory Gordon, daughter to Georg Gordon of Coclaraqhy. These my grandfa-r & grandmother.

Aug. 24, Wed. Having caused writt over all the people in the howses, and considered their abilityes, I advised how to order their duties, examined and punished the prikasziik & others.

25. Diverse officers & gentlemen came to visit me and dined with me. The paures with their wives dined also & were merry.

26. Ordered 62 4/3 [sic] tiaglaes 620 and so many desiatines 621 of rey and as much of summer corne to be laboured for me, the third part more or so much to ly ley, and to be brought in with the other by turns.

I received a letter from L.C. Leiston, giving hopes of his Ma-tie being in Mosko this weeke; another from C. Kinloch & L. Gordon, both dated Mosco 23d Aug., & one from L.C. Gordon, dated at Archangel 8 Aug.

27. Having made all things ready & breakfasted, I rode to Czernieva 6 verst, to Nieprjadva 4 verst. Here crossed the Krasivoe Mecz & dined; marched 6 verst further, all S.S.E. & by S., then turned to the left hand to Platayow 622 E., 9 verst, where lodged. Here Yetremow was to the right hand 10 verst.

28. Rode 5 verst to Dzielnkow and to the r. Mecz all along by it & pleasant villages 5 verst more & dined by it. Then marched up the hill and through corne-fields and oaken woods to the Kosakes village 20 verst, and lodged a verst further by a milne on the river Ptania. This day our course most east.

Aug. 29, Moon. Marched early and came to the village Tiaply, 7 verst; to the r. Viasofka, 4 verst, which crossing & along by it came to the towne Donkowa, 5 verst. The cittadell of this towne is situated on a hill by the river Don, which was now foordable. Here dined, and being detained by mending of the waggons & shooing the horses till neer sunsett, I then rode over the r. Viasofka and crossed the Don by a bridge a verst below the towne, where lodged with good accommodation.

30. Marched by diverse villages to Karpowka, 10 verst, & dined 3 verst further by a river where wee fished; then to Topkowa 2 verst, and by diverse villages on both hands to the font of the r. Kobielska, 15 verst, where lodged, and gott provisions from Fiod. Petr. Verderevsky 623 his ser-ts.

620 Tiaglo (Old Russian), peasant couple or household as a unit of taxation. The fraction should apparently be 3/4.
621 Desiatina, Old Russian measure of land, equal to 2,400 square sazhens, approximately 10,925 square metres.
622 Apparently, Ploty.
623 Stol’nik F.P. Verderevsky served in Gordon’s division in the Azov campaign of 1695.
31. Marched by & through diverse pleasant villages to the r. Little Chuputka\textsuperscript{624}, 20 \textit{verst}, which crossing, dined by a valley and came to the town Riaz\textsuperscript{zh}\textsuperscript{sk}, 1 \textit{verst}. Here the citadel all ruined. Here I crossed the r. Chuputka by a ford and rode 6 \textit{verst} further to the will. Diochtania, by which I lodged.

Donkow is from Epifan 60 \textit{verst} or rather 50, from Ria\textsuperscript{zh}\textsuperscript{sk} as much, from Lebedi\textsuperscript{n} 30 & from Yeffremow 40 or [4]5.

\{207v\} Sept-r 1, Thurs. Rose early, rode through the vill. Veselofka and diverse others to the vill. Uchalofka\textsuperscript{625}, 9 \textit{verst}, and 12 \textit{verst} [further] dined in the woods 3 \textit{verst} short of Saposhech\textsuperscript{626}. After dinner rode over the river Saposhech\textsuperscript{627} by the town and crossed the r. Poswak\textsuperscript{628} by a bridge, 2 \textit{verst}, and the r. Kormishinka, 4 \textit{verst}. Then through corn fields, having the villages Borky & the other Krasna on our right hand, came to my village Krasna Slabod, 6 \textit{verst}.

2. I caused writt up all the people, the horses & cattell in each house.

About eleven aclock I received a letter from L.C. Leviston, dated 25 Aug., with notice that his M. was arrived the same day in Mosko and had been in my house asking for me. Wherefor I caused hast with my preparations to be gone the next-day early.

Received a letter from my cousin W-m Gordon, dated Aberdeen the 3d \textit{Junii}, from Mr. Philip Woolffe, dated at Archangel the 15 Aug.; from L.C. Gordon, dated there so also.

3. I arose early and viewed the lands in question with me & others. Returned about 8 aclock and took journey at 10 aclock. Came by the village Kruli, 2 \textit{verst}, to Piasetsne\textsuperscript{629}, 5 \textit{verst}, [and cr.o.] dined in the woods 7 \textit{verst} further and lodged by the r. & vill. […] In the woods wee had very bad & strait way.

4. Wee marched early and came to the village Shilowa, 5 \textit{verst}, where ferried over the r. Occa and dined. Rode some \textit{verst} afterwards through thick woods all along downe the river Occa, then to Usty & through diverse \{208\} other villages, and lodged by the vill. […] having the river Occa now on our left hand. This & yesterday\textsuperscript{s} journey was most north west. Having supped, I took some few persons with me and travelled all night, about 10 \textit{verst}. Then turned out of the road to the right hand some \textit{verst}, & I perceiving by the starrs that wee were not right, I caused stopp till day light.

\textsuperscript{624} Malaya (Little) Khupta river.
\textsuperscript{625} Now Ukholovo.
\textsuperscript{626} Saposheh.
\textsuperscript{627} Saposhehv stands on the river Moshka.
\textsuperscript{628} Pozhva.
\textsuperscript{629} Krivel’ and Peschohovye.
Sept-r 5. Having got a guide, wee returned to the high way by a village called Nikola. Then rode along at a distance by the r. Ocea, dined 3 verst short of the vil. Dubrovitza; then into the low ground or medowes along by the river Ocea came to the Zloczow monastery, and 3 verst further lodged in a medow by corne-land, our course being still N.W., having rode this day & night about 50 verst.

6. About midnight rode through the low ground, & againe went astray, to the left hand towards the vill. Kusminka on the other syde of the river; & finding ourselves wrong againe, stayed till day light. Then being informed, returned to the road againe, and came to the monastery Niscza, where a writer called Gabriell Ivanov hath a great trade of brandy. From hence our guide shew us to the right hand, which way wee went about 10 verst, it being to the monastery Nikola Radost. So being informed by a cross that we were wrong, wee tooke another way to the left hand and came to the vill. Bielomet, this being all through a firr wood, through which 2 verst further dined in a medow. Then through diverse pleasant villages by the river Ocea, where great-boates were building, to the vill. Diedilova, where it being exceeding great raine, I lodged in a howse, having marched this day about 50 verst. These villages pay to his Ma-tie their duty in fish and complains hugely of the great oppression of the officers.

{208v} Sept-r 7, Wed. Having got a sure guide, wee went forward about midnight, and about 7 aclock crosseing the r. Mosco came to Kolumna, 25 verst. Here I dined, & rideing round the towne (the stone-wall whereof is decaying), came through diverse pleasant, commodious & well situated villages and lodged in a vill. 5 verst short of Brunits, 35 verst.

8. Wee tooke journey a little after midnight and came through the vill. Brunits & by others to the ferry, which is distant from Brunits 20 verst. Having crossed the river, 5 verst further I rested a little, and at 9 aclock going from thence, I came to the Slabod at 12 aclock.

In the evening his M. sent for me & received me very graciously, he being in Colonell von Kragge his howse. Here I stayed about 3 howres & came home at eleven aclock.

630 Solotcha.
631 Probably, Kuzminskoye.
632 St. Nicholas Radovitsky monastery.
633 Dedino.
634 Bronnitsy.
9. Rode to the Generallissimus Kn. Fiod. Yur. [Romodanovsky]. After heard masse & stayed at home the whole day, many ffriends visiteing me.

I received here in Mosco letters from Mr. Geo. Fraser, dated Riga 18 Aug; from the Cosakish Hetman, dated at Kaza Kermin […] Aug; from my son in law Achintowle, dated Kaza Kermin the last of July; from my son James, dated 16 Aug. 30 verst from Kaza Kermin by the r. Ingulets; from Capt. Ripley\(^{635}\), dated 26 July; from M. Gen-il Rigeman, dated 5 miles from Kaza Kermin 16 Aug; from Mr. Timmerman, dated Colmogrod\(^{636}\) […] Aug; from Lt.Coll. Palmer, dated the 23 July from Novogrod.

{209} Sept-r 10. Writt to the Cosakish Hetman.

Was by the Boyar Al. Sim. Shein, and in the afternoone by the Gen-il Le Fort, whither his M. came. The Imperiall Envoy being there also, he came home with me.

I sent Miska to meet my wyfe.

In the evening about 8 aclock my wyfe came.

11. At devotion, dined by the Imperiall Envoy.

12. I made a calculation of the paupers in Krasna Slaboda, and regulated them and ordered their dutyes, and found them to be 81 howses, & in them dwelling 336 worke-people. So reckoned every two worke-people or a man and wyfe, a osmucha\(^{637}\), as they call it. I ordered 158 osmuchas, sparing some old & infirme people, and ordered the duty of them so:

From every osmuch a 8\(^{th}\) part of a tunne of rey, as much of buckwheat groates & of wheat, 4[th] of oates & 3[rd] of barley; 3 pund of butter, or 2 altines; 2 pund of cleane hopes, a pund of dry gribees\(^{638}\); 12 fishes, whereof 2 pikes of an arshine long, 2 bresemes\(^{639}\) of 3 q-t-s, 4 perches & 4 plotites\(^{640}\); a span of brandy & 15 altines in money. From each czetvertky: 1 pude of swines flesh, a goose, a duck & a hen all alive, and a pigge. From the whole village 10 pude of honey, and this to be taken of these who have no or few beeskepes, and of every beeskepe a pund of honey, and to be sure to make up 20 pude in all. And of all the village 8 span of hempe-oyle. Which maketh in all: wheat, rey &

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\(^{635}\) William Ripley († 1699), English captain who brought to Archangel the yacht *Royal Transport*, presented to Tsar Peter by King William III. In June and July 1699 Gordon wrote to the Tsar about Ripley’s disappearance and his body being found in the Yauza river near Moscow (N. Ustrialov, *Istorija tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikago*, Vol. III, pp. 495-6).

\(^{636}\) Kholmogory.

\(^{637}\) Os’mukha (local Russian), eighth part.

\(^{638}\) Griby (Russian), mushrooms.

\(^{639}\) Brassen (German), bream.

\(^{640}\) Plotvitsa, plotva (Russian), roach.
buckwheat of each 19 tunne 6 czetferiks, 78 of oates, 58 [tunne] & 4 czetferiks of barley; 11 pund & 38 pund of butter; 20 pund of honey; 158 span of brandy; 71 rubles; 7 pund 36 [pund]⁴¹ of clean hopes; 3 pund 38 pund of gribees; 316 pikes of an arsh long, 316 bushels of 3 q-t-s, 632 pears, 632 plotitsees; 79 pund of swines flesh, 79 geese, 79 ducks, 79 hens, 79 pigges. From the whole village 8 span of hempe-yle; 500 kopnaes of hay.

{209v} Sept. r 13, Tues. I was at a feast by the Imperial Envoy, having been in the morning by the Boyar Alex. Sim. [Shein] & Kniaz Fiodor Yuri. [Romodanovsky].

I dispatched the paures to Krasna with the regulation of things there, ordering the resting duties to be brought in this harvest tyme how soone the worke-tyme is past, writing to the prikasczik to that purpose.

14. Sent 16 horses to Evanofsky with my ser-t & two sojurs, and writ to the prikasczik Gabriela Bazu & the sojor Peter Rakow, ordering 20 or 30 tunne of oates to be brought to Mosko, and 5 or 6 tunnes of rey.

15. Rode to the Boyar Alex. Sim. & Kniaz Fiod. Yur.

16. Took phisik. Miska returned from Lubimofska or Kamionka.

17. Many streltsees brought & pined, his M. intending a more severe inquisition as wee had done.

18. At a feast by Fiodor Al. Golovin, where much company and drinking with dancing.

19. At home, being indisposed. Strict inquisition made among the streltsees.

{210} Sept. r 20. More streltsees brought, many examined & pined, and to some given notice to prepare themselves to death.

Sent 74 bookes to the patres for the use of the Church.

21. Writt to Mr. Woolffe & Harry Gordon, to my son James and to Maria Yakuflofna.

At devotion, being St. Matthews day. Some strangers by me in the evening.


His M. came to me in the evening and told me many things concerning the examination of the streltsees; stayed about halfe ane howre, drunk one glass of sack, and being called for, departed.

23. Writt to Mr. Geo. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 18th Aug., and to Mr. W-m Gray in ans-r to his of the 19th of July.

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⁴¹ Repeat in MS: pund.
Intending to go to Preobrasinsko, on the way I did meet his M. and was
with him by Kniaź Fiodor Yuri.

In the afternoone went to Preobrasinsko in vaine, all being busy above
about takeing out of some of the attendants on the Princess Sophia, 642, & put-
ting the [Princess cr.o.] Queen 643 in the monastary.

24. In Preobrasinsko see the maid Anna Alex. pined and afternoone the
Lt.Coll. Kulpakuf. 644

{210v} Sept-r 25. At a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort with his M. & others.
The pauvres from Ivanofsky came.
Given to the potter Simon Osipuf 5 rubles, which with the 2 given in my
absence & the 8 given befor maketh in all 15 rubles.
The Imperiall Envoy by me.
27. In Preobrasinsky, dined by Kniaź Boris Al. [Golitsyn].
The pauvres went from hence.
28. In Preobrasinsko. Gott a bajonet from his M.
29. At devotion.
Given to the potter Tichon Garochofsky a ruble in reckoning for the oven
in the great roome, being in it 504 potts at 2 kopikes the piece, 13 bolases 645 at
3 denges, 180 green at a kopike, being in all 12 r. 13[?] alt. He hath gotten now
8 rubles payed [in] all & 15 altines more because the green are at a kopike &
polushki.
The pauvres from Evanofsky brought me 13 ½ tunnes of oates & diverse
other things, and the following acco-t from Basuf: 235 kopnaes of oates and
the 13 ½ tunnes sent to Mosko, 48 kopnaes of buckewheat, 9 tunnes of peese
threshed out and one of whytt-peese, and 9 tunnes of prosa 646.

642 Tsarevna Sophia (1657–1704), daughter of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich. In 1682–9 she ruled
Russia as regent to her under-age brothers Ivan and Peter, with Prince V.V. Golitsyn as
first minister. After deposition she was confined in Moscow’s Novodevichy convent.
According to the inquest on the mutiny of 1698, the streltsy planned to put her on the
throne, so that after the defeat of the mutineers she was forced to become a nun. Some
streltsy were hanged under the very window of her cell.
643 Tsaritsa Evdokia Fiodorovna, née Lopukhina (1669–1731), estranged
first wife of Tsar Peter. On 23 September 1698 she was made to go to the Intercession monastery in
Suzdal’ and had to take the vows there.
644 Anna Zhukova, servant of Tsarevna Marfa, and Lt.Colonel Vasily Kolpakov who were
interrogated and tortured during the process of the streltsy rebels.
645 Balasiny (Russian), balusters, here meaning decorative glazed colonnettes on a stove.
646 Proso (Russian), millet.
{211} Oct-r 1.
2. At a feast by Alex. Sim. [Shein], where his M. and others.
3. In Preobrasinsko, where I saw the crocodile, swordfish and other rarities which his M. had caused bring from England & Holland.
   The boyars & other councellours examined upon their shaskaies.
4. At a feast by Gen-il Le Fort, it being his name-day, where his M. and others came after dinner. His M. went to Troitza in the evening.
5. I was by the Boyar Alexey Sim. & Kniaź Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsk]y.
   The powers [sic] of Krasna Marka Nikitin & comorades brought 44 rubles, 7 whereof was wanting of the last-yeares duty and 37 of the former.
   His M. returned with the vice- & arrear admiral.647
{211v} Oct-r 7. Strict examination.
8. In the evening my son in law Achintowle came.
10. I being unwell, stayed at home. In the afternoone by the patres with the Imperiall Envoy.
11. The Imperiall Envoy dyned with me. Afternoone Gen-il Le Fort, M. Gen-il Carlovits649, M. Boetenant & others were by me.
12. I was by the Boyar Alexey Sim. Shein & Kniaź Fiodor Yuriovitz [Romodanovsk]y. Came home, after dinner found my self much distempered and tooke bed.
   Payed 2 rubles to the potter Simon Osipuf, which w[i][l]h the 15 given befor is 17 rubles. He is yet to have 4 rubles 15 altines, there being kachles in 4 ovens: in the northermost oven 384, in the next 337, in that next the kitchen 339, in the after hoffe 371; in all 1,431 at 3 denges.

647 Vice Admiral Cornelius Cruys (1655–1727) and Rear Admiral Jan van Rees († 1705), both hired by Tsar Peter in Holland.
648 John (Ivan Ivanovich) Chambers (1650–after 1708), in his own words, “a Muscovite of Scots race”. An early military instructor of Tsar Peter, in 1690s he was colonel in command of Semionovsky and in 1700–6 of Preobrazhensky regiment. From 1704 lieutenant general and one of the first to receive the highest Russian order of St. Andrew.
649 Georg Carl von Carlowitz (1658–1700), major general in the army of Saxony, sent to Moscow by King-Elector August II to prepare an alliance against Sweden. He was killed at the siege of Riga when the Great Northern War broke out.
Oct-r 13. Tooke phisick and fomentations with some ease, but nothing to the maine chance.
14. Applied the same remedies with the same effect.
15. In the same condition still with the ordinary paines in the abdomen.
16. A great feast by the Imperial Envoy, where his M. & others.
17. 110 persons executed by diverse hands.
My son James came.
I caused set a ventose\(^{650}\) on my belly.
18. I found some ease.
The Polls Envoy by me.
Roman & Michael came from Evanofsky and brought with [them] on 4 podvodes 2 kades\(^{651}\) with honey, 2 czetferiks of baire\(^{652}\)-groates, a czetverik with a czetfericzok\(^{653}\) of oate-groates, a 3d part of a tunne of brandy, a czetfert & 5 czetferikes of rey meale, a bagge with wooll, 2 pillowes with feathers.
The Imperial Envoy gave me a visit.
My regiment ordered to relieve the guards in his M. Hoffe, castle & towne.
20. The Great Ambassade\(^{654}\) at audience by his Majesty.
Was at a great deal more ease this bygone night & today as before.
Payed of the potter Simon Osipuf for 1,431 potts to the 3 ovens in the after chambers & the one in the after hoyfe in the lower roome, at 3 denges the pott, 21 rubles 15 alt. 3 denges.
My regiment relieved the guards in the towne.
21. I kept my bed still.
22. A great feast by Leo Kirilovitz [Naryshkin], where his M. & others.
23. A great feast by Gen-Il Le Fort. In the evening his M. went to Wornies without giving answer to my petition presented on Wednesday last about the eleven pawners, which I wanted.
Oct-r 24. Received a letter from Johan Philip de Wartt or Ward, lt. & commendant in Wirowitz\(^{655}\), dated ther the 25 7bris, for which I payed 20 altins postage, it weighing 2 ¼ zolotnikes.

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\(^{650}\) Ventouse (French), cupping glass.
\(^{651}\) Kadi (Old Russian), tubs.
\(^{652}\) Possibly from Herse (German), millet.
\(^{653}\) Chetvericzok (Old Russian), small chetverik, quarter-measure.
\(^{654}\) This was the ceremonial return of Tsar Peter’s Grand Embassy, although its principal figures were already back in Moscow on 25 August.
\(^{655}\) Wirowititz (German), Virovitica in Slavonia, Croatia. This fortress was liberated from the Turks in 1684, but long remained at the theatre of Austrian-Ottoman wars. Gordon...
25. Took a powder of Doctor Salmons, which troubled me much without operation till two hours in the night; then after good operation got ease.

26. Found myself much lighter. Yet the pains in the lower part of my belly returned now & then, yet without great violence.

27. In the same condition & apparent bettering way.

Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated Riga 6 Oct-ris.

28. Having invited the doctors Karbonary and Sabbat\textsuperscript{656} & the apothecary Persenofsky to dinner, I desired them to consult about a remedy to remove the cause of my disease. Which they did and prescribed a ointment and a drink to take 7 days together, a laxative, with an elixir or \textit{essentia} to be taken 30 drops at a time each morning.

\{213v\} Oct-r 29, Sat. I found myself on the bettering hand.

Received a letter from Pater Pawlus Josephus Jaross, dated Smolensk 22 Octobris, which day they went from thence; from Lewenfelt, dated Kirginsky Slaboda\textsuperscript{657} the 22 July.

30. Took physic. Felt no alteration till before evening I felt most grievous pains which continued some hours; having vomited 3 [times], then purged below, whereby some ease.

31. Being distempered, I could neither take physic nor arise.

\{214\} No-r 1. Took physic again, dined sparingly at the ordinary time. Afterward she afterwards got a press of vomiting, then very great pains. Sent for the doctors, who after consultation ordered a glisters and other physic with an ointment. In the evening a glisters was set, which having kept an hour and a quarter had good operation whereby I got ease.

2. About noon the doctors came, prescribed me a diet with another glisters.

3. Took the glisters, which had good operation, having taken the prescribed 30 drops also.

4. Took the drops in the morning, found me eased of my pains, and great appearance of health.

5. In the same condition. The Danish Envoy visited me.

\textsuperscript{656} In his diary Johann Georg Korb, secretary of the Imperial embassy to Russia, mentions “the Tsar’s doctor Zopot”. He was Roman Catholic and died on 4 December 1699.

\textsuperscript{657} A settlement on the river Kinga near Ibit in the Urals.
I caused put into the greatest pond 98 sudakes\textsuperscript{658} 78 whereof of halfe a arshine long, 20 of 5 verskyes, 300 sterlets [of] 5 ½ verskyes, a karpe of 1/3 of an arsh., another an arshin wanting 2 verskyes, 50 bresemes.

{214v} No-r 6, Sun. On the mending hand. The doctors dined by me, they prescrived a laxative \& corroborantia pro stomacho\textsuperscript{659} for 6 dayes.

The wedding of Boris with the new brought girle.

7. In the same condition, tooke the ordinary 30 drops.

Payed 2 ½ rubles for the worke of setting round with diamonts the last piece of gold gott from his Ma-tie for my Azovish service, being therein 24 diamonds weighing 7 ½ zolotnikes with the gold \& diamonds.

8. Tooke the laxative which caused great, though not so extraordinary, paine \& torments as befor.

Payed for this phisik 11 grivnees \& for the former 8.

9. I could not take any thing, by reason the laxative had not quite its operation.

Gen-ll Le Fort sent me 6 fresh limons \& a orange.

10. Tooke the corroborating stomachical \textit{[sic]} electuary and was somewhat better this day.

My children at a feast by Gen-ll Le Fort.

11. The Danish Envoy sent me 3 bottles of Canary sack, haveing befor sent me an ancker of wine vinegar.

12. Received letters from M. Gen-ll Gulits \& Colonell Skott, dated Shewsky\textsuperscript{660}.

{215} No-r 13, Sun. *A feast by Gen-ll Le Fort, where all my children were.*\textsuperscript{661}

The patres dined by me. Fiod. Fiod. Plesheyow, who had been in Holl., Engl. \& Italy, came and gave me a visit.

14. Diverse ffriends by me. An order not to reseat any of the wiwes or children of the stre[t]sees who have been executed.

15. Writt to Maior Gen-ll Gulitz \& Colonell Skott, desireing the coll. to cause find out the place where my deceased wyfe was buryed.

A feast by the Imperiall Envoy, it being the Emperours name day. My children were there.

\textsuperscript{658} Sudak (Russian), zander.
\textsuperscript{659} Roborant for the stomach (Latin).
\textsuperscript{660} Sevsk.
\textsuperscript{661} Entry crossed out in MS.
16. I continued phisiking, one day takeing to 30 drops of the elixir or essentia, & the other day the electuarium.

17. A feast by my son in law Achintowle, where Gen-ll Le Fort & others. In the evening Kniaź Boris Alex. [Golitsyn] gave me a visit. He promised to give L.C. Roonaer his pay for so much of this yeare as he shall stay in Casan662, till the tyme he change the governour of Sarapol.

18. Gen-ll Le Fort, and the Dumny Diack Lubim Alfer. Dumnin by me in the morning.

Writt to Scotland to W-m Gordon, to Elsinure to Patrick Lyall663, to Mr. Georg Fraser in Riga by post. To Kniaź Michael Yakufi, in Sibir, to Lt.Coll. Roonaer in Casan.

{215v} No-r 19. Being my wyfes name-day, some ffrinds at dinner.

A child, a boy, being found upon the streets and brought to us, wee caused christen him & called by the name of Josephus Mattheus in the Catholick Church.

Received a letter from Baron Borgsdorfé, dated by the river Mias 3 Oct-ris 1698, and from the Capt. Mattias […] the Italian664, dated 10 Oct-ris 1698.

20. The Emperours Envoy & others dined by me.

My provisions came on 6 podvods from Archangell, being 4 hogsheds of white wine, 2 of claret, 2 halfe aames of sack, 1 barell of pickled harring, 1 of salt kod, 1 of salmon, 1 of anchovies, 1 of bisket, 1 of butter, 4 pude of stockfish, 1 bar[rel] of har[ring], 1 of salt cod from Hary Gordon, a barrell of anchovies & ano-r of olives.

21. I found my self in a pretty good condition, yet tooke drops.

Gave to the […]

22. I tooke no phisick, willing to have nature help itself.

Writt to Ivan Paramonovits Tituf governour of Galitz & to the Lt. Ivan Neliduf, to send out my Galitz pawres with the last & this yeares dutyes.

23. Tooke no phisick. In the evening found paines in the lower part of my belly againe.

Sold the sables for 120 rubles.

The Generallissimus Shein his lady delivered of a son.

662 Kazan’.

663 Already in mid-16th century the Scots made up nearly 14% of the population of Helsingor, and the Lyall family was very influental, Alexander Lyall being the burgomaster and director of the Sound Toll. His clansman Patrick Lyall († after 1707), Gordon’s correspondent, was British consul in Helsingor from 1681 (T. Riis, Should Auld Acquaintance Be Forgot… Scottish-Danish Relations c.1450–1707 (Odense, 1988), passim).

664 Apparently, the Venetian Captain Matteo Simon mentioned above (fol. 187v).
24. Tooke drops & kept dyet, whereby some ease and in the night much better as befor.
25. I found my self indifferent well, yet after victualls imediately paines in abdomine, & stoppage.
26. Tooke 5 drops of the oyle of citrons, which seemed to do well, yet haveing taken some victualls, found paines & stoppage as usuall, which continued till midnight.

Sent Miska to Buntsova & Columna, given him 2 rubles.
Let of the paowers who brought the 4 load of hay.

Let of the two sojours to Archangel & given them 2 rub. for progon & on the way, & 22 altines 4 denges which they had disbursed on the way hither.

29. Writt to Harry Gordon at Archangell.
The of the officers gott their yeares being 4 months pay.
30. As to my health, I continued in the same condition, haveing great paines in the lower region of my belly after I take victualls.

Bought 74 sterlets for 13 grivnees & 5 kopikes, some, to wit 10, of 10 verstkies betwixt head & taile, 54 of 8 verstkies; and in October from Alexey: 1 karp of 3 q-t-s, 1 of an arsh., 20 sudakes of 5 verstkies, 300 sterlets of 5 ½ verstkies, bressomes 5 of 4, 31 of 6, & 13 of 5 verstkies; in all 49 bressomes.

Befor sturgeons
And befor that […] sterlets; this last payed, being […]
The 100 sudakes 5 rubles, the 2 karps 2 rub. 16 alt. 4 deng.; the 300 sterlets 5 rub. 13 alt. 2½ deng.; 50 bresoms 2 r. – 8 – 2. The former 9 sturgeons 1 ruble 23 alt. 2 denges.

[216v] Dec-r 1, Thur. Tooke no phisik.

Had notice of the great troubles in Polland betwixt the nobles among themselves, & the King & them, which was the occasion of M[ajor] G[eneral] returning to his M. to Woronies.

2. Received a letter from the governour of Pereslav Yeffime Pankrat. Zibin, one from a lt. from Ustjuga & one from Ivan Yakimuf.

665 Mentioned above as Bunkova.
666 5 written above the line.
667 Major General von Carlowitz, agent of the King of Poland.
668 Pereslav‘-Riazansky, later and now Riazan‘.
3. Writt to the governour of Pereslaw.
4. At Church in the morning, and should have dined by my daughter Katherine with the Envoyes, but could not sitt at table by reason of my indisposition, by going abroad too soone. Wherefor went home & having 5 drops of the oyle of pomerrants, I found ease. Yet tooke bed, resolving to take no more phisick, and to rely only on Gods help, and to take rest and keep a good dyet.
5. Was not well at ease, so kept bed.

My regiment relieved the guards above, in the Tzaars Pallace & round the townes & other places, haveing on the guard 600 men.

Received a letter from Yeffim Pankrat. Zibin, governour of Pereslaw, dated there 26 No-ris.


In the evening hay brought from Buntsowa 5 load by the pawres.

{217} Dec-r 7. By keeping of dyet & takeing rest I found ease and could eat meates of easy digestion indifferently, for w-ch praise be given to my gracious God.

Received a letter from Mr. Krevet, dated Woronies the 26th of November. Mr. Lloyd by me in the evening.

8. Kept bed still.

Given the pawres 1 ½ tunne of meale & dismissed them.

9. The Hetmans ser-t by me in the morning, who told me that the Kyovish colonell & he were to be dismissed, they having been sent for to verify some miscarriages of the Belagrodish woywod in the last campagne. He told me also that the Hetman had been by his M. at Voronies, and had been very kindly received.

10. Writt to the Hetman by his ser-t.

Newes of the Enginier Rowell being drowned with all with him in a boat on the Meotish Lake. *This found false.*

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669 Pomerrants (Russian), bitter orange.
670 Apparently, Kitay and Bely Gorod, walled central parts of Moscow.
671 I.I. Buturlin (1661–1738), “near” stol’nik, first major of Preobrazhensky regiment, from 1693 Generalissimus of mock troops, from 1721 “general-in-chief”. The meaning of the following abbreviation is unclear.
672 Prince I.B. Lwov, stol’nik, inspector of Russian students in Holland and England, from 1716 Ober-Equipagemeister of the Navy.
673 Konstantin Mokievsky († 1709), Cossack colonel of Kiev (1691–1708) and Chigirin (1708–1709), kinsman of Hetman Ivan Mazepa.
674 Prince Ya.F. Dolgoruky.
675 Phrase added later.
My ser-ts returned with hay.

11. Found my self better disposed & rose up. *Gloria tibi Domine.*

{217v} Dec-r 12, Moon. The Boyar Fiodor Alexeyovitz Golovin came to me in the morning early. Shew me a letter from his M. with his owne hand wherein: that a prisoner escaped out of the Crim & come from thence in 5 weekes informes that the Chan is preparing with all his forces to come and burne the ships which are a-building at and about Woronies. Wherefor he ordered 6 companies of soldiers to be sent thither in all hast. An order also that from every 100 *pawres* a man shall be sent thither well armed & provided with maintenance for 3 months.

I ordered immediately 2 companyes of my reg-t to be ready, being in all with under officers 161 persons.

Received a letter from Mr. Fraser, dated 1 Dec-ris '98.

13. Received a letter from the Baron von Borgsedorffe, chieffe Enginer, complaining of bad usage, dated Pawlofsky the 5 of No-r.

14. In the morning the Donish Cosakes came by me and brought me a letter from the Donish *Attaman* Frowl Minayuf & the army, desireing me to befriend & interceed for them.

In the afternoon the Generall Commissary Carlovitz gave me a visitt, being come from Woronies, and told me that his M. intended from thence hither the 18 instant.

The two companies marched from hence in the night, haveing gott each and pay *[sic]* along to the first of March.

15.

{218} Dec-r 16, Frid. Writt to Mr. Frazer in ans-r to his of the 1" and for booke for our schoole.

17. Made up my acco-ts with Alexey Zotuf the fisher, and I am to pay him 30 rubles 10 *altines*.

18. Found my self better, but weake.

19. Received a letter from Mr. John Drummond, recommending Capt. Georg Walker to me, dated Amsterdam 2 Aug. 1698.

20. His M. came and was the same evening by Coll. Blombergh.

21. A feast by Gen-ll, where his M. & others late.

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676 *Gloria to Thee, O Lord! (Latin).*

677 George Walker, one of the first commodores of the young Russian Navy. He was senior in rank among ten Scots engaged for the Tsar’s employ in Amsterdam by Captain Cruys.

On 3 June 1698 he arrived in Archangel and was given a salary of 40 thalers a month.

678 Lefort.
22. Being a stormy day, I was very indisposed.
30 podwods from Evanofsky came & brought […]

Received of my pay 880 rubles, being only wanting cornes.

{218v} Dec-r 23. Writt to Mr. John Drummond in ans-r to his of the
2d Aug. Writt to my brother in law L.C. Ronnaer with the Tzaars letter to give
him halfe a yeares pay.

24. Sent the pawres for wood.
25. All went to Church about 11 aclock. I heard mass at home, being not
able to go abroad.

About midday his M. came, and ane howre & a halfe by me.
In the evening M. Gen-ll Carlovitz & others came by me.
Gave to Al. Sim. [Shein] his singers a ruble.
26. In the morning Yermolaisko came by me with his comorades, to
whom I gave 3 reichs thallers.

Many colonells came to me.
27. The Dummy Lubim Alfer. Dumnin came to me.
Afternoone & in the evening feaverish.
28. Payed to Ivan Kiriluf the former note 16 rubles 25 alt-s and for the
last 4 rubles 4 alt-s; in all 20 r. 29 altines.

Lukian came to sing, gave the singer a r.doller. Other two dwarfs came, to
whom 1 ½ doller.

29. Afternoone feaverish.

Payed to Ivan Kiriluf for all acco-ts 20 rubles 29 altines. 
Payed to Alexey Zotuf 30 rubles. 
Payed to Ankudin Gregoriuf for all acco-ts 7 rubles. 
Payed to Peter in the iron market 14 rubles. 20 rubles. 
To Mr. Woolffe on reckoning 100 rubles. 
To Lew Kirilovitz [Naryshkin] on reckoning 100 rubles. 
To Vasily Ned[vedev] 399 rubles. 
To Baldwin Andrewes 22 rubles. 
To Elizary Kluik – 14.
To Mr. Guasconi – 8.

{219} Dec-r 30, Frid. Dispatched the pawres of Sorokina and sent with
them money to the people there, to Ivan a ruble, to Boris 40 alt-s, to Simon a
ruble, to his son 8 grivnees.

679 Yermolay Danilovich Mishukov, Tsar Peter’s dwarf.
680 Dutch merchant in Russia from the 1660s.
31. Sent away the people of Buntzowa and given to them: to Lorivon with his son 1 ½ czetvert of meale, to Archip a czetvert, to each of the others a osmin. Sent 3 horses with them, 2 being there already.

God Almighty be praised for his gracious indulgence to me in prolonging my lyfe, and grant, O mercifull God, that I may make a good use of this large tyme of repentance, which Thow art pleased to give me.

This yeare I have felt a sensible decay of my health and strength. Thy will be done, O my gracious God!
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