

## The Zaporozhian Cossacks in Western Print to 1600

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The early history of the Zaporozhian cossacks is almost entirely known to us through the writings of foreigners. The Dnieper bands of the sixteenth century were composed of freebooters organized into small, loosely-knit, and highly mobile groups.<sup>1</sup> Though the cossacks could certainly write when necessary (for example, when conducting diplomacy), they generally needed to keep no records and apparently kept none. Fortunately for modern historians, their European neighbors were more willing to describe the lower Dnieper and its inhabitants. Beginning in the first half of the sixteenth century information about the cossacks began to appear in the diplomatic papers of the Ottoman Empire, Muscovy, Poland, Lithuania, and the Papacy. Somewhat later in the century references to the Dnieper bands filtered into printed ethnographies of the major kingdoms of eastern Europe. Yet despite the importance of unpublished diplomatic and published ethnographic sources for early Zaporozhian history, scant attention has been paid to them. To be sure, they have long been used to write the history of the Dnieper cossacks. However no systematic effort has been made to catalogue the foreign writings or describe their contents. There are indeed three scholarly works touching on the subject of foreign sources: the *Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva*, published by the Kiev Archeographic Commission in 1874; Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi's monograph on “Ukraine” in foreign writings from the sixth [sic] to the twentieth century (1938); and, finally, a recent article about depictions of Kiev in foreign accounts from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Though these works provide some guidance to foreign Ucrainica, all are in one way or another deficient. Due to this lack of *hilfswissenschaftliche* attention, at present we know neither *what* is available in the foreign record nor *when* the Zaporozhian cossacks became known in central and western Europe.

The present work attempts to address both of these queries for printed accounts relating information about the Zaporozhian cossacks. The first section below provides a list of printed texts describing the lower Dnieper to 1600. The bibliography organizes and expands the stock of known foreign sources, thereby providing researchers with a new reference tool. The second section tracks the growth of European awareness of the Dnieper bands as reflected in the content of printed works. In the course of this investigation it will become clear that information about the Zaporozhian cossacks was completely unavailable in print before 1549 and remained fragmentary until the last decades of the sixteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup>On the early organization of the Dnieper cossacks, see Günter Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums* (München: Isar Verlag, 1953), 143-78 and Linda Gordon, *Cossack Rebellions. Social Turmoil in the Sixteenth-Century Ukraine* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 61-98.

<sup>2</sup>*Sbornik materialov dlia istoricheskoi topografii Kieva i ego okrestnosteï* (Kiev, 1874). Volodymyr Sichyns'kyi, *Chuzhynsi pro Ukrajinu* (reprint, Kiev: Dovira, 1992). There is an English translation: *idem, Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions from VIth to the XXth Century* (New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, 1953). Hennadii V. Boriak, “Inozemni dzherela pro Kyjiv XIII-seredyny XVII st.,” *Ukrajin'skyi istorychnyi zhurnal* 12 (1981): 31-41.

### A Bibliography of Printed Foreign Accounts of the Lower Dnieper, 1487-1600

Though written descriptions of foreign governments seem natural to us, they were a novelty in the later fifteenth century when the first descriptions of the Dnieper appeared.<sup>3</sup> Among medieval genres, we find none dedicated to the ethnographic description of foreign states. State-description as an organized cultural practice finds its origins in three late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century phenomena: the rise of the early modern diplomatic system, which encouraged the collection of foreign reconnaissance; the explosion of print, which made it possible to disseminate data about parts foreign; and, finally, the emergence of a class of readers interested in the ethnography of foreign peoples and governments. Since the chronology of the formation of state-descriptive discourse is well outside the scope of this essay, suffice it to say that by the mid-sixteenth century state-description constituted a discrete cultural arena comprising several genres: the state-descriptive monograph (a work offering a synoptic view of a state); the cosmography (a work printing several reduced synoptic views under one cover); the compendium (a work republishing several state-descriptions under one cover); and the narrative relation (“news” or “historical” works offering narrative information about states). State-descriptive information had several distinctive features. It was putatively non-fiction: authors writing in this vein understood themselves to be describing, not inventing (though in fact they did much of the latter). It was by and large public: state-descriptive information was not generally part of personal correspondence, though there are exceptions, particularly in the earliest period of the discourse. Finally, state-description was political in a particular sense: the object of discussion was almost always the structure of states, resources of rule, and the activities of the powerful.

The present bibliography describes the entry of the lower Dnieper into the purview of printed state-description. Included are works sharing three characteristics:

- a. They were printed between 1450 — the earliest beginnings of state-description — and 1600 — the time at which descriptions of the Dnieper cossacks are commonly found in all the branches of state-description.
- b. They include some reference to the lower Dnieper, the traditional locus of Zaporozhian power.
- c. They refer to “Rus’ians,” “Ruthenians,” “Cherkassians,” or “Cossacks” — populations living along the lower Dnieper not likely to be Polish, Muscovite, or Tatar.

Entries are formatted as follows. Items are arranged according to the year in which they were first printed (“date + p”, i.e., “year of publication”). The date of drafting is also offered where available (“date + w”, i.e., “year(s) of writing”). Drafting dates are approximate in two senses. First, even where a more exact date is available in an account, only the year has been provided. Second, though some effort has been expended to date undated sources, the estimates below could easily be wide of the mark by several years. If more exact information is necessary, the provided date should be checked in the original and in secondary treatments. After the dates of printing and drafting, the author’s name (with vital dates, nationality, and occupation, where known), original title, place, and date of the original edition are given. Following this, the genre of the work is given. Finally, each entry indicates whether the item is noted in the three existing treatments of early foreign accounts of “Ukraine.” (“*Sbornik*,” “*Sichyns’kyi*,” or “*Boriak*”). Convenient modern editions of the original and translations, if available, are cited in the notes.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>The following is drawn from Marshall T. Poe, “Russian Despotism?: the Origins and Dissemination of an Early Modern Commonplace” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1993).

<sup>4</sup>For a complete accounting of modern editions, see the relevant entries in Marshall T. Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy. An Analytic Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Sources* (Columbus, OH: Slavica, 1995).

- 1487p;1474-87w: Ambrogio Contarini (d. 1499; Venetian envoy), *Questo e il Viazo de misier Ambrosio Contarin ambassador de la illustrissima Signoria de Venzia al Signor Uxuncassam Re de Persia*. Venice, 1487.<sup>5</sup> Compendium. *Sbornik* and Boriak.
- 1517p;1517w: Maciej z Miechowa [Miechowita] (ca. 1457-1523; Polish scholar), *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiatica et Europiana et contentis in eis*. Cracow, 1517.<sup>6</sup> Cosmography. Boriak.
- 1518p: Maciej z Miechowa [Miechowita] (ca. 1457-1523; Polish historian), *Chronica Polonorum*. Cracow, 1518.<sup>7</sup> Narrative. Boriak.
- 1519p: Albert Krantz (1448-1517; German cleric, scholar, Hansa official), *Wandalia in qua de wandalorum populis, et eorum patrio solo, ac in italiam, galliam, hispanias, apbricam, et dalmatiam, migratione: et de eorum regibus, ac bellis domi, foris que gestis*. Cologne, 1519.<sup>8</sup> Cosmography.
- 1520p;1520w: Johann Boemus (fl. 1500; German geographer), *Omnium gentium mores leges et ritus ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus . . .* Augsburg, 1520.<sup>9</sup> Cosmography.
- 1525p;1525w: Paolo Giovio (1483-1552; Italian humanist, cleric), *Pauli Iovii Novocomensis libellus de legatione Basilij magni principis Moscoviae ad Clementem VII. Pontificem Max. in qua situs Regionis antiquis incognitus, Religio gentis, mores et causae legionis fidelissime referuntur*. Rome, 1525.<sup>10</sup> State-description.
- 1526p;1526w: Johann Fabri (1478-1541; German cleric), *Ad Serenissimum principem Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae, Moscovitarum iuxta mare glaciale religio, a D. Iacone Fabri aedita*. Basel, 1526.<sup>11</sup> State-description.
- 1530p;1529w: Willibald Pirckheimer (1470-1530; German scholar), *Germania ex variis scriptoribus perbrevis explicatio*. Nuremberg, 1530.<sup>12</sup> Cosmography.
- 1530p;1530w: Sebastian Franck (1499-1542/43; German mystic, cosmographer), *Weltbuch: spiegel und bildnisz des gantzen erdbodens von Sebastiano Franco Wordensi in vier Bücher, nemlich in Asiam, Apbricam, Europam und Americam gestelt und abteilt*. Tübingen, 1530.<sup>13</sup> Cosmography.
- 1532-55p: Johannus Hutichius [Johann Huttich], ed. (1480-1544; German publisher?), *Orbis novus regionum et insularum veteribus incognitarum una cum tabula cosmographica et aliquot aliis consimilis argumenti libellis*. Basil, 1532.<sup>14</sup> Compendium.
- 1543p: Antonio Manucci, ed. (Italian publisher?), *Viaggi fatti da Venetia, alla Tana, in Persia, in India et in Constantinopoli*. Venice, 1543.<sup>15</sup> Compendium.

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<sup>5</sup>Original: “Viaggio in Persia,” in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii. K istorii italo-ruskikh sviazei v XV v.*, ed. and trans. Elena Ch. Skrzhinskaia (Leningrad: Nauka, 1971), 188-210. Translation: “Puteshestvie v Persiiu” in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii*, 210-35; *Travels to Tana and Persia by Josefa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini* (New York: Franklin, 1964?), 108-73. On the lower Dnieper, see *Travels*, 111ff.

<sup>6</sup>Original: “Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis Asiatica,” in *Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiakh*, ed. and trans. Sergei A. Anninskii (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1936), 127-98. Translation: “Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiakh,” in *Traktat*, 45-122. On the lower Dnieper, see “Traktat,” 94ff. Miechowita provides a short description of Tatar cossacks near the Don. See “Traktat,” 63, 72, and 94.

<sup>7</sup>*Chronica Polonorum* (Cracow: Krajowa Agencja Wydawn., 1986). On the lower Dnieper, see the third book of the second section, entitled “De Sigismundi regis temporibus.”

<sup>8</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Wandalia*, bk. 1, chapt. 2.

<sup>9</sup>I was unable to obtain the original and instead have relied on an English translation: *The Manners, Lawes, and Customes of All Nations*, trans. Edward Aston (London, 1611). On the lower Dnieper, see 215ff.

<sup>10</sup>Original: “Pauli Jovii Novocomensis . . .,” in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei o Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1836), folio 4, 57-78. Translation: “Kniga o posol'stve, otpravlennom Vasiliem Ioannovichom k Pape Klimentu VII,” in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei*, folio 4, 11-55. On the lower Dnieper, see “Kniga,” 29-30 and 35.

<sup>11</sup>Original: “Moscovitarum Religio,” in *Historiae Ruthenicae scriptores exteri saeculi XVI*, ed. Wojciech Starczewski, 2 vols. in 1 (Berlin and St. Petersburg, 1841-42), vol. 1, folio 3, 1-13. Translation: “Donesenie d. Ioanna Fabri ego vysochestvu Ferdinandu . . .,” *Otechestvennye zapiski* 25 (1826): 285-327 and *ibid.*, 27 (1826): 47-67. On the lower Dnieper, see “Donesenie,” 293.

<sup>12</sup>Original: *Opera politica, historica, philologica et epistolica* (Frankfurt, 1610; reprint, New York and Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969). On the lower Dnieper, see “Germania,” 105-6.

<sup>13</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Weltbuch*, xxxff. and lviiff.

<sup>14</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Orbis novis*, sections from Miechowita and Giovio.

- 1543p;1488-89w: Josaphat Barbaro (d. 1494; Venetian diplomat and merchant), “Viaggio alla Tana.” In *Viaggi fatti da Venetia . . .*, compiled by Antonio Manucci. Venice, 1543.<sup>16</sup> Compendium. Sichyns’kyi.
- 1543p;1524w: Albertus Campensé [Albertus Pighius] (c.1490-1542; German, Papal official), *Lettera d’Alberto Campense che scrivo al beatissimo Padre Clemente VII intorno alle cose di Moscovia e dello stato de’ Moscoviti e con quanda facilità si ridurrebbero all’ubediènza della Santa Chiesa Romana*. Venice, 1543.<sup>17</sup> State-description. Sichyns’kyi and Boriak.
- 1544p;1544w: Sabastian Münster (1488-1552; German geographer), *Cosmographia. Beschreibung aller Lender durch Sebastianum Munsterum in welcher begriffen Aller völker Herrschafften, Stetten, und namhafftiger flecken berkommen*. Basel, 1544.<sup>18</sup> Cosmography.
- 1549p;1517-49w: Sigismund von Herberstein (1486-1566; German, Imperial diplomat), *Rerum moscoviticarum commentarii . . .* Vienna, 1549.<sup>19</sup> State-description. *Sbornik*, Sichyns’kyi, and Boriak.
- 1554p;1553w: Clement Adams (1519-87; English author) and Richard Chancellor (d. 1556; English diplomat), “The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Muscovia.”<sup>20</sup> State-description.
- 1555p: Marcin Kromer (1512-89; Polish bishop, historian), *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*. Basil, 1555.<sup>21</sup> Narrative.
- 1555p: Richard Eden, ed. (1521-76; English translator), *The decadés of the newe worlde or west India*. London, 1555.<sup>22</sup> Compendium.
- 1570p: Abraham Ortelius (1527-98; Flemish geographer), *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Amsterdam, 1570.<sup>23</sup> Cosmography.
- 1573p: Blaise de Vigenère (1523-96; French translator), *La description du Royaume de Pologne*. Paris, 1573.<sup>24</sup> State-description. Sichyns’kyi.
- 1574p: Giovanni Battista Ramusio, ed. (1485-1557; Italian publisher), *Raccolto delle navigazioni et viaggi*. Venice, 1550 (vol. 1), 1556 (vol. 3), 1559 (vol. 2; sec. ed. 1574).<sup>25</sup> Compendium.
- 1575p: André Thevet (1502-92; French cosmographer), *Cosmographie universelle*. Paris, 1575.<sup>26</sup> Cosmography.

<sup>15</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Viaggi fatti*, sections from Barbaro and Contarini.

<sup>16</sup>Original: “Viaggio in Tana,” in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii*, 113-36. Translation: “Puteshestvie v Tanu,” in *Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii*, 136-85; *Travels to Tana*, 1-103. On the lower Dnieper, see “Puteshestvie,” 117.

<sup>17</sup>Original: “Lettera d’Alberto Campense . . .,” in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei*, folio 3, 57-82. Translation: “Pis’mo Al’berta Kampenze . . .,” in *Biblioteka inostrannykh pisatelei*, folio 3, 9-55. On the lower Dnieper, see “Pis’mo,” 27.

<sup>18</sup>Original: *Cosmographiei*, ed. Ruthardt Oehme (Basel, 1550; reprint Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis terrarum, 1968). On the lower Dnieper, see *Cosmographiei*, mviff.

<sup>19</sup>Original Latin: *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii* (Basil, 1571; facs. reprint Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964). Herberstein’s 1557 German translation: *Moscovia der Hauptstadt . . .*, ed. Freidemann Berger (Weimar, 1975). Translation: *Notes upon Russia . . .*, 2 vols., trans. Richard H. Major (reprint New York: Franklin, 1963?). On the lower Dnieper, see *Notes*, 63 and 83.

<sup>20</sup>The original was published in Latin in 1554, but does not survive. It was later published in translation by Hakluyt: “The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of Muscovia,” in *The Principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation . . .* (London, 1589; facs. reprint Cambridge: Hakluyt Society, 1965), 280-311. On the lower Dnieper, see “The newe Navigation . . .,” 285ff.

<sup>21</sup>Translation: *Kronika polska*, 2 vols. (Sanok, 1857). On the lower Dnieper, see *De origine*, 909.

<sup>22</sup>Original: *The decadés of the newe worlde . . .*, in *The First Three English Books on America*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1885; reprint New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971). On the lower Dnieper, see *The decadés*, sections from Münster, Herberstein, Giovio, Jenkinson, and Fabri.

<sup>23</sup>Original: *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, intro. Raleigh A. Skelton (Amsterdam, 1570; facs. reprint Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1964). On the lower Dnieper, see *Theatrum*, 94 v. ff.

<sup>24</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *La description*, 71ff.

<sup>25</sup>*Navigazioni e viaggi* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 1978-), vol. 3: 697-913. This is the second edition of the second volume (1574). It contains a complete Italian translation of Herberstein, in addition to Barbaro, Contarini, Campensé, Guagnini, Giovio, and Miechowita. See Walter Leitsch, *Berichte über den Moskauer Staat in italienischer Sprache aus dem 16. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: Bohlau, 1993). This translation was printed again in the 1606 edition of the second volume; it is reproduced in Leitsch, *Berichte*.

<sup>26</sup>Original: *Cosmographie Muscovite par André Thevet*, ed. Augustin Galitzin (Paris, 1858). On the lower Dnieper, see *Cosmographie*, 35-36 and 67ff.

- 1577p: Marcin Kromer (1512-89; Polish bishop, historian), *Polonia sive de situ, populis, moribus, magistratibus et Republica regni Polonici libri duo*. Cologne, 1577.<sup>27</sup> State-description.
- 1578p;1560w: Alexander Guagnini, ed. (1538?-1614; Italian mercenary in Polish service), *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio . . .* Cracow, 1578.<sup>28</sup> Cosmography. *Sbornik* and Boriak.
- 1582p: Johann Pistorius, ed. (1546-1608; Polish theologian), *Polonicae historiae corpus . . .* Basel, 1582.<sup>29</sup> Compendium.
- 1584p: Bartosz Paprocki (1543-1614; Polish historian), *Herby Rycerstwa Polskiego*. Cracow, 1584.<sup>30</sup> State-description. Sichyns'kyi.
- 1584p: Alexander Guagnini, ed. (1538?-1614; Italian mercenary in Polish service), *Rerum Polonicarum Tomi tres*. Frankfurt, 1584.<sup>31</sup> Compendium.
- 1585p: Stanisław Sarnicki (ca. 1530-94; Polish courtier), *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae . . .* Cracow, 1585.<sup>32</sup> State-description. *Sbornik* and Boriak.
- 1585p;1585w: Laurentius Müller (fl. 1580; Livonian statesman), *Polnischen / Liffländischen / Moschowiterischen / Schwedischen und anderen Historien*. Frankfurt am Main, 1585.<sup>33</sup> Narrative. Sichyns'kyi.
- 1586p: David Chytreus (1530-1600; Livonian historian), *Vandaliae & Saxoniae Alberti Cranzi continuatio Ab anno Christi 1500 . . . cum Praefatione Davidis Chytraei & indice*. Wittenberg, 1586.<sup>34</sup> Cosmography.
- 1586p;1586w: Antonio Possevino (1533/34-1611; Papal diplomat), *Moscovia, s. de rebus Moscoviticis et acta in conuentu legatorum regis Poloniae et et Magni Ducis Mosconiae anno 1581* Vilna, 1586.<sup>35</sup> State-description. Boriak.
- 1589p: Richard Hakluyt, ed. (1552-1616; English publicist), *The Principall navigations, voyages and discoveries of the English nation . . .* London, 1589.<sup>36</sup> Compendium. Sichyns'kyi.
- 1591p: Giovanni Botero (1544-1617; Italian cosmographer), *Relationi Universali*. Rome, 1591.<sup>37</sup> Cosmography.
- 1591p;1589w: Giles Fletcher (1546-1611; English diplomat), *Of the Russe Commonwealth*. London, 1591.<sup>38</sup> State-description. Sichyns'kyi.
- 1595p: Gerhard Mercator (1512-94; German geographer), *Atlas, sive cosmographicae meditationis de fabrica mundi*. Duisburg, 1595.<sup>39</sup> State-description.

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<sup>27</sup>Translation: *Polska, czyli o państwie . . .*, ed. Roman Marchwinski (Olsztyn: Pojezierze, 1977). On the lower Dnieper, see *Polonia*, 15, 26, and 30.

<sup>28</sup>Original: "Omnium regionum Moschoviae discriptio," in *Historiae Ruthenicae scriptores*, vol. 1, folio 7, 3-48. On the lower Dnieper, see "Aleksandr Gvan'ini," in *Sbornik materialov*, 12-13.

<sup>29</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Corpus*, section from Miechowita, Guagnini, Cromer, Herberstein among others.

<sup>30</sup>Original: *Herby rycerstwa polskiego* (Cracow, 1858). On the lower Dnieper, see *Herby*, 153ff.

<sup>31</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Rerum*, 365.

<sup>32</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Descriptio, passim*.

<sup>33</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Polnischen*, 77.

<sup>34</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Vandaliae*, 3ff. and 24ff.

<sup>35</sup>Original: "De Moscovia . . .," in *Historiae Ruthenicae scriptores*, vol. 2: folio 19, 273-365. Translation: *The Moscovia of Antonio Possevino*, SJ, trans. Hugh Graham (Pittsburgh: University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburg, 1977). On the lower Dnieper, see *The Moscovia*, 38.

<sup>36</sup>*The Principall navigations*. On the lower Dnieper, see *The Principall navigations*, sections including Turberville, Jenkinson, Horsey, and Adams/Chancellor.

<sup>37</sup>The original was unavailable. I used a contemporary translation: *The Travellers breviat, or an historicall description of the most famous kingdoms* (London, 1601; facs. reprint, Amsterdam: Theatrum orbis terrarum, 1969), 77ff.

<sup>38</sup>Original: "Of the Russe Commonwealth," in *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 135-308. On the lower Dnieper, see "Of the Russe Commonwealth," 173, 177, 235, and 255.

1595p;1579w: Marcin Broniowski [Martin Broniovius] (fl. 1595-1624; Polish diplomat), *Martini Broniovii de Biezdziejdea, bis in Tartariam nomine Stephani primi Poloniae regis legati, Tartariae descriptio. Cum Tabula geographica*. Cologne, 1595.<sup>40</sup> State-description.

1597p;1574w: Joachim Bielski (1540-99; Polish historian) and Marcin Bielski (1495-1575; Polish historian), “O Kazakach” in *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego*. Cracow, 1597.<sup>41</sup> State-description.

1600p: Anon., ed. (German?), *Rerum Moscoviticarum auctores varii: unum in corpus nunc primum congesti. Quibus et gentis Historia continetur. Et regionum accurata descriptio*. Frankfurt, 1600.<sup>42</sup> Compendium.

A total of thirty-eight printed accounts are listed here, twenty-two of which were not catalogued by *Sbornik*, *Sichyns’kyi*, or *Boriak*. The list is not complete: one item cited by *Sichyns’kyi* has been omitted because it was not available at the time of writing<sup>43</sup>; and four further printed items which likely contain information about the lower Dnieper were similarly omitted due to unavailability.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, though many sixteenth-century accounts were investigated that turned out to contain no relevant information, surely some works which relate significant material were missed. Later research will certainly reveal new accounts to add to the list. Let us now turn to the content of the printed accounts, and the emergence of the Dnieper cossacks within them.

### The Appearance of the Dnieper Cossacks in Printed State-Description

A content analysis of the thirty-eight printed accounts mentioning the lower Dnieper and its inhabitants clearly reflects both the rise of Zaporozhian cossacks and the growth of Western awareness of them over the course of the sixteenth century. Table 1 below indicates characteristics of printed descriptions of the lower Dnieper. The characteristics are as follows:

- R = Mentions “Rus’ians” and/or “Rus”
- D = Mentions the lower Dnieper/Borysthenes
- T = Mentions Rus’ian towns including or below Cherkassy
- M = Mentions independent Rus’ian military forces below Cherkassy
- Ch = Mentions “Cherkassians”
- Co = Mentions Dnieper “Cossacks”

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<sup>39</sup>Original: *Atlas, sive cosmographicae meditationis de fabrica mundi . . .* (Duisburg, 1595; facs. reprint Brussels: Cultures et civilisation, 1963). On the lower Dnieper, see *Atlas*, commentaries on map 25ff.

<sup>40</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Martini Broniovii*, 2ff.

<sup>41</sup>Original: *Kronika polska . . .*, ed. Kazimierz J. Turowski (Sanok, 1856). Translation: “Concerning the Cossacks,” in *Habsburgs and Zaporozhian Cossacks: The Diary of Erich Lassota von Stablau, 1594*, ed. Lubomyr R. Wynar and trans. Orest Subtelny (Littleton, Colorado: Ukrainian Academic Press, 1975), 112-14. On the lower Dnieper, see “Concerning the Cossacks,” *passim*.

<sup>42</sup>On the lower Dnieper, see *Rerum Moscoviticarum*, sections from Herberstein, Giovio, Fabri, Adams/Chancellor and Miechowita.

<sup>43</sup>Henry Austel (English traveler), *The Voyage of Master Henry Austel by Venice and Thence to Ragusa over Land, to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldavia, Polonia, Silezia and Germanie to Hamburg* (London?, 1586).

<sup>44</sup>Michael Neander (1525-95; German scholar), *Orbis Terrae partium succincta explicatio . . .* (Leipzig, 1586); Heinrich Rätel (ca. 1590-1603; German theologian), *Neue Zeitung oder kurtzer Discurs, von den jetzigen Zustand in der gantzen Welt, und was endlich darauß erfolgen werde* (Görlitz, 1591); Adam Henricpetri (1543-86; German historian, publisher), *General-Historiaen. Der aller namhaftigsten unnd fürnehmsten Geschichten, Thaten und Handlungen . . .* (Basel, 1593); Johann Rauw (d. 1600; German theologian), *Cosmographia, das ist: Eine schöne, richtige und volkomliche beschreibung dess göttlichen geschopffs, himmels und erden . . .* (Frankfurt, 1597).

In addition, the table provides information about the generic type and titular subject. For example, “[SD; Musc.]” indicates that a work is a state description chiefly about Muscovy. In the case of cosmographies, the subject of the sub-section in which passages about the lower Dnieper appear have been listed, so that “[cosm; Russia]” indicates a mention of the lower Dnieper occurring in a section concerning “Russia.” Finally, the table provides a rough approximations of the number of sixteenth-century printings (including the first) and the languages in which they appeared.

**Table 1: The Content of Printed Descriptions of the Lower Dnieper to 1600**

<u>Accounts</u>	<u>R.</u>	<u>D.</u>	<u>T.</u>	<u>M.</u>	<u>Ch.</u>	<u>Co.</u>	<u>16th-c. Printings</u>
1487p; 1474-87w: Contarini [SD; Tana]	x	x	x				9It.
1517p;1517w: Miechowita [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					11Lat.; 3Ger.; 6It.; 1Dut.
1518p: Miechowita (Narr; Pol.)	x	x					3Lat.
1519p: Krantz [Cosm; Russ?]	x	x					3Lat.
1520p; 1520w: Boemus [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					4Lat.; 10Fr.; 10It.; 1Sp.; 2Eng.; 1Ger.
1525p;1525w: Giovio [SD; Musc.]	x	x					10Lat.; 4It.; 3Ger.; 2Eng.
1526p; 1526w: Fabri [SD; Musc.]	x	x					3Lat.
1530p; 1529w: Pirckheimer [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					2Lat.
1530p;1530w: Franck [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					3Ger.; 4Dut.
1532-55p: Hutichius [Comp; New World]	x	x					1Lat.; 2Ger.
1543p: Manucci [Comp; Tana]	x	x	x				2It.
1543p; 1524w: Campensé [SD; Musc.]	x	x					6It.
1543p;1488-89w: Barbaro [SD; Tana]	x	x					7It..
1544p;1544w: Münster [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x					5Lat.; 21Ger (-1628); 6Fr.; It.3; 1Cz.
1549p;1517-49w: Herberstein [SD; Musc.]	x	x	x	x	x		8Lat.; 7Ger.; 5It.; 1Pol.; 2Eng.
1554p; 1553w: Chancellor [SD; Musc.]	x	x					3Eng.
1555p: Eden [Comp; New World]	x	x					2Eng.
1555p: Kromer [Narr.; Pol.]	x	x					4Lat.; 1Ger.
1570p: Ortelius [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x	x				16Lat.; 2Ger.; 3Fr.; 1Sp.; 1Dut.
1573p: Vigenère [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x				1Fr.
1574p: Ramusio [Comp; New World]	x	x	x	x	x		4It.
1575p: Thevet [Cosm; Lith.]	x	x	x	x	x		1Fr.
1577p: Kromer [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x	x			5Lat.
1578p;1560w: Guagnini [Cosm; Lith.]	x	x	x	x	x		4Lat.; 1It.; 1Ger.
1582p: Pistorius [Comp; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
1584p: Guagnini [Narr.; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
1584p: Paprocki [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
1585p: Sarnicki [SD; Lith.]	x	x	x	x		x	2Lat.
1586p: Chytreaus [Cosm.; Russ.]	x	x	x		x		2Lat.
1585p: Müller [Narr.; Pol.]	x	x	x	x	x		2Ger.
1586p;1586w: Possevino [SD; Musc.]	x	x	x	x		x	4Lat.;2It.
1589p: Hakluyt [Comp; New World]	x	x	x	x	x	x	2Eng.
1591p: Botero [Cosm; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	27It.; 3Ger.; 1Lat.
1591p;1589w: Fletcher [SD; Musc.]	x	x	x	x	x		1Eng.
1595p: Mercator [Cosm; Russ.]	x	x	x				1Lat.
1595p; 1579w: Broniowski [SD; Tatar.]	x	x	x	x		x	2Lat.
1597p; 1574w: Bielski [SD; Pol.]	x	x	x	x		x	1Lat.
<u>1600p: Rerum [Comp; Musc.]</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>	<u>x</u>		<u>x</u>	<u>1Lat.</u>

Total = 38

The most obvious conclusion to be drawn from this table is that beginning in the last quarter of the century, mention of the cossacks as such became a regular part of new printed accounts of the lower Dnieper. This corresponds neatly with what we know from other sources about the rise of the Zaporozhian Sich and its entry into eastern European politics, for it was only in the last decades of the century that the cossacks became a powerful force demanding attention from the Ottomans, the Commonwealth, Muscovy, and the Papacy, as this brief chronology indicates.

**Table 2: The Entry of the Zaporozhian Cossacks into European Diplomacy**

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>
1527:	Polish attempt registration (unsuccessful)
1541:	Polish attempt registration (unsuccessful)
1552-58:	Sich at Mala Khortytsia
1564-93:	Sich at Tomkivka.
1569:	Polish movement into the steppe after Lublin, 1569
1572:	Polish attempt registration
1578:	Polish attempt registration
1583:	Zaporozhian cossacks submit a project to the Vatican for anti-Turkish action
1591:	First anti-Polish rebellion by the registered cossacks
1593:	Vatican sends envoy to the Zaporozhian cossacks
1593:	Sich at Bazavluk
1594:	Cossack alliance with the Habsburgs and Vatican against the Turks
1595:	Second anti-Polish rebellion by the registered cossacks (with the Zaporozhian Sich)

We can divide the emergence of the Dnieper cossacks in Western print into roughly three stages. In the first stage, from 1487 to 1549, knowledge of the lower Dnieper was largely dependent on classical geography. Authors offer no details about the region beyond the fact that the Borysthenes runs through it and Rus'ians or Roxolians inhabit it. It is interesting to note that Miechowita, a Pole undoubtedly well acquainted with the Dnieper bands, fails to mention cossacks. The reasons are political as well as conceptual: he perhaps refuses to acknowledge them as anything other than Rus'ians subject to Lithuania, and he may be unable to understand them as anything else. In the second stage, from the publication of Herberstein's account of Muscovy in 1549 to the 1570s, additional information is added to descriptions of the Dnieper about Cherkassy and towns below it, and the presence of Rus'ian cavalry on the steppe. Herberstein's account of the Dnieper cossacks was probably written in 1518, after his return from the first of two embassies to Muscovy. How was he able to describe what Miechowita could not? The answer may have to do with the fact that he was an outsider: his perception was fettered neither by a commitment to Lithuania nor the idea of a relatively unitary Rus' nationality. He saw things along the Dnieper from the Muscovite perspective, not the Polish. The proof of this is that he uses the Muscovite term for the Dnieper cossacks — *cherkassy*. In the final stage in the emergence of the Zaporozhian cossacks in Western print, from the 1570s to the end of the century (i.e., the decades within which the cossacks became an active force in eastern European international politics), we note the appearance of cossack military forces per se in the writings of foreigners. State-descriptions, narratives, and cosmographies alike describe the cossacks as independent warriors living along the lower Dnieper.

Having said this, we should not imagine that Western knowledge of the cossacks was widespread, for all that table 1 demonstrates is that more exact descriptions of the lower Dnieper were available in the last decades of the sixteenth century. A closer look at the data shows that information about the cossacks, though becoming more exact and more accessible, was quite limited throughout the century and even in its last quarter. The number of works containing descriptions of the lower Dnieper (if not explicit mentions of “cossacks”) increases over the century.

**Table 3: New Printed Works containing Descriptions of the Lower Dnieper to 1600**

<u>Period</u>	<u>Number of Works</u>
To 1525	6
1526-1550	9
1551-1575	7
1576-1600	16

If we turn to reprints of texts containing Dnieper accounts (see “Sixteenth-Century Printings” in Table 1 above), this impression is further supported. Herberstein, who offers an excellent description of the lower Dnieper, was continually reprinted throughout the century, spreading news of the cossacks far and wide. However, if one compares the actual number of Dnieper accounts to the universe of printed texts that could have legitimately included information about the Dnieper — any description of Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy, or Tataria — then it becomes clear that the region was only on the distant margins of Western consciousness. Table 4 offers a comparison of the number of lower Dnieper accounts with the number of printed accounts of Muscovy.<sup>45</sup>

**Table 4: Printed Texts including information about Muscovy vs. the Lower Dnieper to 1600**

<u>Type</u>	<u>Muscovy</u>	<u>Dnieper</u>
State Description:	18	15
Cosmography:	27	12
Narrative:	130	4
<u>Compendia:</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
Totals:	186	38

It should be stressed that these figures are only approximate: both totals will expand as new texts are discovered and investigated. Yet even granting this, it seems clear that the Western press paid relatively little attention to the lower Dnieper.

Moreover, though descriptions of the Dnieper’s inhabitants became more defined as the century passed, they remained quite indistinct throughout it. This is indicated by the fact that all descriptions of the cossacks, even most detailed, appear *en passant*. In the sixteenth century there were no discrete descriptive monographs concerning the lower Dnieper cossacks; no cosmography devoted a separate chapter to them; no narratives were dedicated solely to their activities. They are described *only* in works and sections of works devoted to other subjects, as we see in Table 5.

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<sup>45</sup>The figures on printed Moscovitica are drawn from Poe, *Foreign Descriptions of Muscovy*.

**Table 5: The Titular Subject of Printed Items including Descriptions of the Lower Dnieper to 1600**

<u>Titular Subject</u>	<u>Printing Dates (Total)</u>
Tana:	1487, 1543, 1543 (3)
Russia:	1517, 1519, 1520, 1530, 1530, 1544, 1570, 1586, 1595 (9)
Muscovy:	1525, 1526, 1543, 1549, 1554, 1586, 1591, 1600 (8)
Discoveries:	1532-55, 1550-59, 1555 (3)
Poland:	1518, 1555, 1573, 1577, 1582, 1584, 1584, 1585, 1591, 1597 (10)
Lithuania:	1575, 1578, 1585, 1589 (4)
Tataria:	1595 (1)

Most writers over the entire period recognized that the lower Dnieper was located in the southern part of “Russia,” and that this part of “Russia” was under the administrative control of Poland and/or Lithuania. Only toward the end of the century do we receive any hint that the cossacks were an independent territorial power, and, as such, deserved separate treatment in state-descriptive writing. The best, and exceptional, example is Marcin Bielski, who as early as 1574 broke his narrative of Polish affairs to offer readers a state-descriptive subsection entitled “Concerning the Cossacks.” Bielski’s attention to and knowledge of the cossacks can perhaps be explained by the fact that he was the nephew of a cossack elder. No other sixteenth-century author to my knowledge devoted a distinct, printed, passage with appropriate header to the cossack bands on the lower Dnieper.

Finally, detailed knowledge of the lower Dnieper and cossacks was largely confined to eastern and central Europe. Authors of printed accounts of the Dnieper were usually German or Polish for obvious reasons. Italians associated with the Persian trade or the Papal campaign against the Turks also commented on the Dnieper with some frequency. English and French authors begin to describe the lower Dnieper only in the later part of the century, and their offerings are altogether meager. Table 6 breaks down the printed Dnieper accounts by the nationality of their authors.

**Table 6: The Nationality of Authors of Printed Accounts of the Lower Dnieper to 1600**

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Printing Dates (Total)</u>
Italian:	1487, 1525, 1543, 1543, 1550, 1586, 1591 (7)
Polish:	1517, 1518, 1555, 1577, 1578, 1582, 1584, 1584, 1585, 1595, 1597 (11)
German:	1519, 1520, 1526, 1530, 1530, 1532, 1543, 1544, 1549, 1570, 1585, 1586, 1595, 1600 (14)
English:	1554, 1555, 1589, 1591 (4)
French:	1573, 1575 (2)

If we analyze the place of publication of first editions, we see a similar, if a bit more dispersed, pattern: the vast majority of lower Dnieper accounts were printed in central and eastern Europe. Table 7 demonstrates this:

**Table 7: Place of Publication of First Editions of Printed Accounts of the Lower Dnieper to 1600**

<u>Place</u>	<u>Printing Dates (Total)</u>
Venice:	1487, 1543, 1543, 1543, 1550 (5)
Cracow:	1517, 1518, 1578, 1584, 1585, 1597 (6)
Cologne:	1519, 1577, 1595 (3)
Augsburg:	1520 (1)
Rome:	1525, 1591 (2)
Basel:	1526, 1532, 1544, 1544, 1582 (5)
Nuremberg:	1530 (1)
Tübingen:	1530 (1)
London:	1554, 1555, 1589, 1591 (4)
Vienna:	1549 (1)
Amsterdam:	1570 (1)
Paris:	1573, 1575 (2)
Frankfurt:	1584, 1585, 1600 (3)
Wittenberg:	1586 (1)
Vilna:	1586 (1)
Duisburg:	1595 (1)

## Conclusion

Though it is clear from the writings of foreigners such as Herberstein that cossack bands were active in the lower Dnieper region in the first half of the sixteenth century, their existence remained unknown to all but the best informed eastern European statesmen until the last quarter of the century. Even the likes of Sebastian Münster, whose massive cosmography of 1544 described the whole of the known world, and who had read Miechowita, was able to ignore completely the cossacks in his description of the lower Dnieper.<sup>46</sup> As the cossacks grew in power, they drew the attention of the great states involved in steppe affairs. This in turn raised the profile of the cossacks in Western printed state-description, and beginning in the 1570s we begin to see the cossacks mentioned with increasing frequency in foreign descriptions of the lower Dnieper. However, even near the end of the century the place of the cossacks among the peoples of the steppe was not universally acknowledged or accepted. François Belleforest's much expanded French edition of Münster (*La cosmographie universelle de nations du monde . . .* (Paris, 1575)) does not mention the Dnieper cossacks. Similarly, an expanded *Cosmographie* printed in Basel in 1598 contains no reference to the cossacks. Many other examples of neglect could be cited. It seems that knowledge of the Dnieper cossacks became truly widespread only after the Muscovite wars of the early seventeenth century. The cossacks played a major part in these conflicts, and this fact was well transmitted through European print. For example, Jacques Margeret's *Estat de l'Empire de Russie et Grand Duché de Muscovie* (Paris, 1607) contains a wealth of information about the Dnieper cossacks.<sup>47</sup> Further investigation of foreign accounts of the Dnieper between 1600 and the publication of Beauplan's influential description of Ukraine in 1651 would likely show that

<sup>46</sup>He cites Miechowita. See Münster, *Cosmographie*, mxxxiii-iv.

<sup>47</sup>*The Russian Empire and the Grand Duchy of Muscovy*, trans. and ed. Chester S. L. Dunning (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983), 19, 47, 49, and 71.

descriptions of the cossacks became standard in Western state-descriptive writing precisely in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but this is obviously a subject for later research.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>The first edition is *Description des contrees du royaume de Pologne . . .* (Rouen, 1651). A much expanded and more widely printed second edition is *Description d'Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs Provinces du Royaume de Pologne* (Rouen, 1660). The best modern edition is *A Description of Ukraine*, trans. and ed. Andrew B. Pernal and Dennis F. Essar (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).