

# Introduction

In 2022 it will be 350 years since the birth and 280 years since the death of the first political *émigré* and the first Hetman of Ukraine in exile, Pylyp Orlyk.

On 5 April 1710 in Bender, Orlyk was elected Hetman in place of Ivan Mazepa. His diary entries are saturated with the echoes of both heroic deeds and the fatal defeat of Mazepa's successor. For more than three centuries, passions have revolved around failure, radically opposed and irreconcilable. The outstanding Ukrainian specialist in medieval history Yaroslav Dashkevych writes about it:

Mazepa lost – and was therefore considered a “traitor.” Had he won, no one would have considered him a traitor just as no one considered George Washington traitor who, along with like-minded people, “betrayed” the British crown, seized British lands and founded the United States of America just as no one considered Simón Bolívar traitor who “betrayed” the Spanish crown and started a movement for the independence of Spanish lands in South and Central America.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth supplementing these highlights by mentioning some prominent figures who lost battles but became the pride of their countries and nations. Hungary's national hero, Lajos Kossuth, did not live to see his country's independence, just as Hetman Orlyk died in exile. Furthermore, the hero of Belarus, Kastus Kalinowski, after losing the war, left his compatriots an eternal testament that has not lost its relevance to this day. Tadeusz Kościuszko, in turn, is a hero not only of Poland but also of America.

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<sup>1</sup> Я. Дашкевич, *Іван Мазепа (Іван Мазепа і Росія)*, in: *ідет, Постаті. Нариси про діячів історії, політики, культури*, Львів 2006, p. 199 (unless otherwise indicated, quotations are given in the translation).

Orlyk is probably a hero also in Belarus, as one can learn from the study *Імя Піліпа Орліка у беларускай гісторыі*.<sup>2</sup> The author points out that the Belarusian Cultural Foundation, with the support of the State Committee for Science and Technology, launched the programme “Return of Names” in the 1990s. („Вяртанне імёнаў”). Among those born in Belarus, Pylyp Orlyk is described as a Ukrainian statesman and a “polyglot, historian, theologian, politician, poet, publicist”<sup>3</sup>. Researchers see parallels between Orlyk’s 1710 Constitution and one of the most prominent in the history of Belarus, the Statute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of 1588, which was considered “the most advanced code in Europe at that time.”<sup>4</sup>

Orest Subtelny described the actions of the Mazepists along the lines of the uprisings of the Eastern European nobility in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century:

Like Rákóczi<sup>5</sup>, Cantemir<sup>6</sup>, Patkul<sup>7</sup> and Leszczyński<sup>8</sup> in their home countries, Mazepa and Orlyk led the struggle of the Ukrainian elite against foreign absolutism; in this case, against what Moscow was trying to introduce in Ukraine. Their resistance to Peter the First’s centralising reforms was based on the belief that these reforms violated the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654, which Ukrainians believed guaranteed their self-governance. Since this was a century in which an attack on the country’s autonomy meant in practice a curtailment of the political rights and privileges of the elite, the desire of Mazepa, Orlyk and the officers to secure their interests was closely intertwined with concern for the welfare and general will of their “beloved homeland, Ukraine.” The combination of pragmatism and altruism is typical of aristocratic patriotism in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. This patriotism had a much more concrete, as one might say, more organic basis than the romantic nationalism of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Л. Собалева, *Імя Піліпа Орліка ў беларускай гісторыі*, in: *Піліп Орлик – гетьман і автор першай конституції України*, ed. Г. Калюжна, Л. Ясинський, Мінськ 2006, pp. 73–77.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 74.

<sup>5</sup> Francis II Rákóczi (1676–1735) – between 1703 and 1711 he led a great uprising against the Habsburg monarchy. Along with the Hungarians, the Germans, Romanians and Ukrainians took an active part in the Rákóczi war for the freedom of Hungary.

<sup>6</sup> Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723) – hospodar of Moldavia, scientist, humanist, writer. In 1708 he rebelled with the boyars of his country against the Ottoman sultan.

<sup>7</sup> Jan Reinhold von Patkul (1660–1707) was a Livonian politician, active in Swedish, Saxon and Russian service, led the movement of the Livonian nobility against Swedish absolutism. Sentenced to death by Charles XII for treason.

<sup>8</sup> Stanisław Leszczyński (1677–1766) – king of Poland in 1704–1709 and 1735–1736.

<sup>9</sup> О. Субтельний, *Мазепинці. Український сепаратизм на початку XVIII ст.*, trans. from English В. Кулик, Київ 2019, p. 153.

## Biography of the author of the Diary

The first biography of Pylyp Orlyk by Antoni Petruszewicz was published in Lviv on the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Hetman's birth, in 1872, under the title *Филипп Орлик, последний польский гетман Западной Украины, 1709–1740*. We only have a reference to this work in Iryna Dmytryshyn,<sup>10</sup> but neither she nor we have yet managed to find it.

To confirm the thesis of Boris Krupnytsky that Orlyk is an “old noble name”<sup>11</sup>, spread in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia<sup>12</sup>, let us turn to the sources. Piotr Nałęcz-Małachowski links this surname with the Nowina coat of arms: “Orlicki of Nowina coat of arms. Orlyk of Nowina coat of arms”<sup>13</sup>, characterising it as follows:

Nowina Coat of Arms. In the blue field, a white cauldron ear with both ends upwards and the shoulder downwards, in the centre a sword with the handle upwards and the end downwards. As if kneeling on the crown, an armed leg with a spur, the sole turned to the left in the helmet. Acquired during the reign of Bolesław III Wrymouth after the battle of Halych.<sup>14</sup>

In turn, Kasper Niesiecki in *Herbarz Polski* (“Polish Coats of Arms”) gives such information:

Orlicki of the Nowina coat of arms, and before that the Orlyks. Of these, Stanisław Orlyk of Lazisk, a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, a magnate of Rus, died 1540, whose tombstone is in Kraków at Holy Trinity, he left two sons with Katarzyna Komorowska of the Korczak coat of arms. Orlyk the doter of Seweryn Chamca of the Gryf coat of arms, wife, Orlicka of Samuel Drohojewski the Starosta of

<sup>10</sup> See: I. Дмитришин, *Григорій Орлик або Козацька нація у французькій дипломатії*, Київ 2019, p. 19.

<sup>11</sup> Б. Крупницький, *Гетьман Пилип Орлик (1672–1742): огляд його політичної діяльності*, Варшава 1937, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> It was in Silesia, as we learn in the opening section of the *Diary*, that Orlyk found his relative Baron Charles Orlyk in 1720. The fact that Filip Orlik called his Polish-language diary *Diariusz podróżny* (“Travel Diary”), gave Hanna Dziechcińska reason to relate it to Polish travel diaries of the Saxon period. See discussion with the author: В. Соболев, “Слов’янська щоденникова проза і діаріуш Орлика,” in: *Слов’янські обрії. Доповіді до XIV Міжнародного Славістичного конгресу*, Київ 2008, pp. 617–631.

<sup>13</sup> *Zbiór nazwisk szlachty z opisem herbów własnych familiom zostających w Królestwie Polskim, i Wielkim Xięstwie Litewskim przez urodzonego Piotra Nałęcza Małachowskiego ziemianina Woiewod. Czernichowskiego ułożony*, Lublin 1805, p. 340.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 700–701.

Miedzial. Stefan Orlyk, landowner of Smolensk, whose bravery and fidelity to the homeland praised the Constitution of 1662. Fol. 18.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the old Orlyk family had Czech and Belarusian roots. Natalia Yakovenko writes that “Orlyk’s ancestors were Czech barons; one of his family’s branches migrated to the Polish Kingdom during the Hussite wars in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and later settled in western Belarus.”<sup>16</sup> Oleksandr Reient and Ihor Kolyada point to a genealogical metric drawn up in 1747 by Hetman’s son. Field Marshal of Louis XV, Grégoire Orlyk, was convinced that their family’s roots go back to 1121.<sup>17</sup>

His father, Stepan Orlyk, died at 51 near Khotyn in the battle against the Turks on 11 November 1673 as part of the Polish-Lithuanian army. His mother, Iryna Malakhovska, came from an Orthodox Lithuanian-Belarusian noble family of the Hrymal coat of arms. Pylyp Orlyk was born on 11 October 1672 (according to the old calendar) in the village of Košuta, Ashmyany county, Vilnius region. In late 1672 or early 1673, according to the Orthodox rite, Orlyk was baptised. He was probably first educated at the local Basilian monastery school in Kosuta, Belarus, and later studied at the Jesuit college in Vilnius. In his book *Wilnianie. Żywoty siedemnastowieczne*, David Frick describes the atmosphere of Vilnius at the time:

Orthodox culture had a particular advantage in those days; with the passing of Kyivan Rus to Lithuanian rule, Ruthenians began to move to Lithuania, bringing with them the Ruthenian language, which was to become the official language of the culture for a long time. Ruthenian remained the language of the land decrees and tribunals of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until 1696.<sup>18</sup>

It was at that time, in the last decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, that Pylyp Orlyk studied with the Jesuits at the Vilnius college:

Thus, the city has been characterised by the presence of Ruthenian culture for quite a long time, and the use of official Ruthenian will remain a sign of Lithuanian distinctiveness long after the elite stops speaking this language.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Herbarz Polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S.J. powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych i wydany przez Jana Nep. Bobrowicza*, vol. 7, Lipsk 1841, p. 128.

<sup>16</sup> N. Jakowenko, *Historia Ukrainy do 1795 roku*, trans. A. Babiak-Owad, K. Kotyńska, Warszawa 2011, p. 417.

<sup>17</sup> See: O. Реєнт, I. Коляда, *Усі гетьмани України*, Харків 2008, p. 297.

<sup>18</sup> D. Frick, “Wstęp,” in: *Wilnianie. Żywoty siedemnastowieczne*, ed., introd., and comment. by D. Frick, Warszawa 2008, p. XVII.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. XVIII.

In the early 1690s, Iryna Malakhovska and her son moved to Ukraine, Orlyk graduated from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in 1694.<sup>20</sup> An essential role in Orlyk's fate was played by his teacher, professor of rhetoric and philosophy, the intellectual Stefan Jaworski. He probably recommended his student to serve in the Hetman's office.

Most studies indicate that the career of the future Hetman began at the Kyiv Consistory. Oksana Prokopiuk and Maxim Yaremenko attempt to illuminate this "pre-Cossack" period of Orlyk's biography, which has not yet been sufficiently explored.<sup>21</sup> The authors hypothesise that serving as a secretary in the consistory was a type of obedience, and leadership was the domain of black clergy,<sup>22</sup> and also claim that Orlyk intended to be tonsured a monk.<sup>23</sup> However, this did not happen because on 23 November 1698 (according to the old order), Orlyk married Anna, the daughter of Poltava colonel Pavel Hercyk.

From the diary entry of 1724, in which Orlyk thanks the Lord for 26 years of marriage, it can be inferred that the marriage was for love and not just for convenience (marriage with Anna Hercyk introduced him, as emphasised by most researchers, to the Cossack aristocracy in the Left Bank of Ukraine). Later, Orlyk became the general secretary and a confidant of Ivan Mazepa.

In his 1937 monograph, Boris Krupnytsky emphasises:

The Ukrainian Hetman needed such loyal men and appointed Orlyk to the post of secretary-general just when he began to pay more and more attention to Charles XII and Stanisław Leszczyński. It is a fact that Orlyk has been employed in various sensitive cases.<sup>24</sup>

Here is a view of the course of events from the distance of time, from the perspective of the 21<sup>st</sup> century:

The educated nobleman-chancellor soon came to Mazepa's attention, and it was not long before the young newcomer began a rapid climb up the Cossack administration

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<sup>20</sup> We do not know the year of Orlyk's admission to the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, but it is known that in 1692 he studied at the Faculty of Philosophy.

<sup>21</sup> О. Прокоп'юк, М. Яременко, "На початку кар'єри: катедральний писар Пилип Орлик," in: *Пилип Орлик: життя, політика, тексти. Матеріали Міжнародної наукової конференції „Ad fontes” до 300-річчя Бендерської конституції 1710 р. Київ, НАУКМА, 14–16 жовтня 2010 року*, ed. Н. Яковенко, Київ 2011, pp. 41–60.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 57–58.

<sup>24</sup> Б. Крупницький, *Гетьман Пилип Орлик (1672–1742): огляд його політичної діяльності...*, p. 7.

ranks to reach one of the highest positions in 1706 – that of scribe general of the Cossack elite; in 1698, he married the daughter of a Poltava colonel, Hanna Hercyk, and in 1702 Mazepa himself became godfather to his first son Grégoire.<sup>25</sup>

On 5 April 1710 in Bender, Orlyk was elected Hetman in place of Mazepa. It is known that before his death, Mazepa named his nephew Andriy Voynarovsky as his successor. He rejected the offer, but, as Yakovenko points out, he wanted to receive the inheritance. Taras Chukhlib quotes an excerpt from a speech in the style of ancient orators, delivered by the newly elected Hetman during a reception in the Swedish King Charles XII camp.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, Orlyk vowed to continue Mazepa's cause.

In 1711–1712 he tried to regain his rights in Ukraine through armed struggle, as Orest Subtelny points out. In 1714, Orlyk was in Moldavia with Charles XII, then moved to Sweden, where he remained until 1720. One of the first, in 1909, Alfred Jensen captured this period,<sup>27</sup> and recently Theophil Rendiuk.<sup>28</sup>

The *Diariusz podróźny* from 1720–1723 records the journey through Germany and Bohemia to Poland, where the Hetman stayed until March 1722. Orlyk then left Poland for Turkey. He stayed for some time in Khotyn, which was then part of the Moldavian Principality, as is particularly emphasised by a Romanian researcher following the six periods of Hetman's biography and political activity:

Khotyn was then part of the Principality of Moldavia. That is why P. Orlyk wanted to learn as much as possible about Moldavia and visit the burial place of his father – Khotyn, where almost half a century later, in 1722, he spent part of his hard but noble life.<sup>29</sup>

He later wrote that he was “in the land of mourning” and “in prison” in Thessaloniki. From the records of 1724, we learn that for six months, when an epidemic raged in Thessaloniki, he retreated to the village of Galateia. The stay in Thessaloniki was a turning point in the emigrant's life. He begins to understand the hopelessness of the situation in which he has found himself more deeply. Here the Hetman will remain for 12 long years, isolated from his usual surroundings, from his wife and children.

<sup>25</sup> N. Jakowenko, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

<sup>26</sup> Т. Чухліб, *Пилип Орлик*, Київ 2008, p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> See: А. Єнсєн, “Орлик у Швеції,” *Записки Наукового Товариства ім. Шевченка* 92, 1909, pp. 94–112.

<sup>28</sup> Т. Рєндюк, *Пилип Орлик: молдавські та румунські шляхи*, Чернівці 2013, pp. 7–11.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

He would call those years Babylonian captivity and imprisonment, complain of bad luck and dream of escaping from there. Feeling as strange as if he were in hell, there is a belief that Mykhailo, the only one of the eight children left with his father, will die here. Here the Hetman learns of the marriage of his daughter Anastasia to General Ivan Steinflickt, of the birth of his grandchildren, first Charles and Philip, and then in 1726 also a granddaughter; of the untimely death of his mother and the Hetman's eldest daughter. Grégoire came to him in 1730, but given the conspiracy, his father had no right to share the joy that it was his son with his friends.

It was clear that for the king's sake, it was considered necessary to keep Orlyk at a distance, in reserve, although the arrival of the Hetman was rather valuable to the Turkish government. In his person, Porta had a hostage to negotiate with foreign countries. In the case of war with Moscow, the Hetman could prove even more useful.<sup>30</sup>

At the end of 1734, Orlyk received permission from Istanbul to leave Thessaloniki.<sup>31</sup> He first stayed in the Sultan's residence in Căușeni.<sup>32</sup> Hetman's Căușeni period, when he actively corresponded with the Zaporozhian Sich, was marked by disappointment: the Sich came under the rule of Moscow. At the end of 1739, he was forced to move from Iași to Bucharest, as Russian troops occupied the Moldavian capital on 1 September 1739. He visited Bendery (1742) with the Sultan's permission and met with Colonel Sava Chaly. In his monograph, Krupnytsky analysed Orlyk's diplomatic activities during his stay in Bendery<sup>33</sup> and Europe.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> See: Б. Крупницький, *Гетьман Пилип Орлик (1672–1742): його життя і доля*, Київ 1991 (repr. ed.: Мюнхен 1956), p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> The *Diary* makes a convincing case that the stay in Thessaloniki was not an honourable exile at all, according to diplomat Theophil Rendiuk (*idem, op. cit.*, p. 144). An Appendix to this work is a translation of the Constitution and a fragment of the 1722 Diary into Ukrainian and Romanian: *ibidem*, pp. 177–238.

<sup>32</sup> Căușeni is a town in Moldova, the capital of the Căușeni District, located 24 km south of Bender.

<sup>33</sup> Krupnytsky writes of two defining periods. The first period (1709–1711), when Orlyk became hetman, and the second period (1711–1714), in which the researcher separately characterizes such areas as Orlyk's Turkish orientation; see: *idem, Гетьман Пилип Орлик (1672–1742): огляд його політичної діяльності*, pp. 62–73; “Поворот П. Орлика на шведський бік,” in: *ibidem*, pp. 73–86; “Орієнтацію П. Орлика на офіційну Польщу,” in: *ibidem*, pp. 86–108. Krupnytsky devoted the fifth and sixth chapters of his work to examining Orlyk's diplomatic activities in Turkey. The years 1722–1728 are the first period of the hetman's activity in exile. The second period (1729–1742) was a collaboration with his son Grégoire.

<sup>34</sup> Krupnytsky classifies Orlik's stay in Europe (1715–1722) as follows: 1) Orlyk in Sweden and 2) the Brest and Krakow periods of Orlyk's activity; *ibidem*, pp. 122–135.

The Hetman died on 24 May 1742.<sup>35</sup> The Hospodar of Moldavia, Constantine Mavrocordat (1741–1743), had to make, stresses Theophil Rendyuk, “an unusual but noble decision. According to the influential Romanian historian P[etre] Panaitescu, the Hetman was buried in the metropolitan cathedral of Iași.”<sup>36</sup>

In his Diary, Yevhen Malanyuk wrote:

The year 1742 – in Moldova’s Iași (26 May) in exile, poverty and oblivion (“Moscow reigns everywhere... In my terrible life, when hope in God was all I had left, I found courage and consolation in the majestic stanzas of the wise Dante”) Pylp Orlyk dies. He was buried at the expense of the Moldavian hospodar. In the same year, the son of a registered Cossack from the Chernihiv regiment, Hryhory Rozum, “court bandit” Alexei Razumovsky<sup>37</sup>, marries Elizabeth, Empress of Russia... Strange is our history.<sup>38</sup>

A fragment of the Diary from 1720–1723, published by Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz<sup>39</sup> in 1936, revealed only a few previously unknown moments in Orlyk’s biography. Twenty years later, on 16 September 1958, the force of this discovery resounded dramatically in the note mentioned above from the *Diary* of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century émigré Yevhen Malanyuk.

## The state of research on Orlyk’s Diary: megalomania or a return to the sources?

There is much research on Orlyk and even more popular science papers. Given the abundant literature on Hetman’s biography,<sup>40</sup> Daniel Beauvois

<sup>35</sup> There is still no consensus about the date of Hetman’s death, which is mentioned in different sources: Yevhen Malanyuk indicates 26 May 1742; Natalia Yakovenko, on the other hand, gives the date of the new order, saying that Orlyk died on 4 June, and his burial place is unknown; *eadem*, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

<sup>36</sup> See: Т. Рендюк, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>37</sup> Alexei Razumovsky (1709–1771) – court chorister, later Russian count, field marshal. In 1742 he secretly married Empress Elizabeth Petrovna of Russia, daughter of Peter the First. With his help, the hetmanate was revived in Ukraine.

<sup>38</sup> Є. Маланюк, *Нотатники 1936–1968*, Київ 2007, pp. 139–140.

<sup>39</sup> *Діярій гетьмана Пилипа Орлика*, ed. Я. із Токар Токаржевський Карашевич, Варшава 1936.

<sup>40</sup> See: В. Різниченко, *Пилип Орлик (Гетьман-емігрант). З нагоди 175 роковин з часу його смерті*, Київ 1918; М. Костомаров, “Мазепинці,” *Український історичний журнал* 1990, 8, 10, 11, 12; 1991, 1, 2, 3; О. Субтельний, *Мазепинці...*; О. Реєнт, І. Коляда, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–320; Б. Крупицький, *Гетьман Пилип Орлик (1672–1742): його життя і доля...*



begins his exploration with an ironic statement: Pylyp Orlyk is known in Ukraine due to excesses bordering on “megalomania” by some historians<sup>41</sup> who, in his opinion, have no national legitimacy. The corpus of texts on Orlyk’s life and work has grown considerably over 30 years.<sup>42</sup> Texts that are also multidimensional.<sup>43</sup>

Let us outline the main stages of research into Orlyk’s ego-document. The manuscript of Orlyk has been arousing the interest of researchers for a long time. An incomplete copy of 3,000 manuscript pages was likely made in the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is known that in 1804 it belonged to Count Stanisław Zamoyski, through whom a copy made its way to the library of the Princes Czartoryski in Puławy and is now held in the library of the Princes Czartoryski in Krakow (no. 1977). Microfilm of an abridged copy of Orlyk’s *Diary*, made by three anonymous Polish palaeographers and prepared for publication in 1830, is also available in the National Library in Warsaw.<sup>44</sup> The censor Szaniawski allowed it to be printed in Warsaw on 8 July 1830, although publication did not occur either then (because the uprising broke out in Poland) or later. It took a long time to decipher the copy, but it helped master Orlyk’s manuscript. A comparative analysis of the copy with the original 1724 diary argues for the validity of the thesis that the incompleteness and sometimes sloppiness of the copy “resulted in many misunderstandings about the author of the diary.”<sup>45</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Д. Бовуа, “‘Щоденник’ Пилипа Орлика: від міражу вигнанця до українського міфу,” *Український археографічний щорічник* (new series) 8/9, 2004, 11/12, p. 322.

<sup>42</sup> П. Орлик, *Конституція, маніфести та літературна спадщина. Вибрані твори*, ed. М. Трофимук, В. Шевчук, Київ 2006; О. Трофимук, *Пилип Орлик: гетьман в еміграції, бароковий поет, автор першої Конституції*, Львів 2008; *idem*, “Творчість Пилипа Орлика. Пошук міфу Мазепинської України,” in: *Mazepa e il suo tempo. Storia, cultura, società / Mazepa and His Time. History, Culture, Society*, ed. G. Siedina, Alessandria 2004, pp. 503–515; М. Трофимук, “Синтаксичні конструкції як засіб сугестії барокового письменства кінця XVII – поч. XVIII ст.,” *Історико-філологічний вестник Українського інституту* 1, 1997; В. Кравцевич-Рожнецкий, *Амбасадор казачого народу*, Київ 2004; *Пилип Орлик: життя, політика, тексти...*

<sup>43</sup> For example, in 1837 Michał Czajkowski’s book was published, in which the author resorted to speculations that Orlyk was first an “osaul of Mazepa, and after Hordenski’s death was appointed Kish otaman. When he left his faith and accepted the Mahometan one, he married a Tatar woman – the Zaporozhians threw him down from Otamanship and one of them killed him with his own hand – so the story goes”; *Powieści kozackie Michała Czajkowskiego*, Paryż 1837, p. 39; see footnote.

<sup>44</sup> BN, mcf 16748, *Diariusz Podróży który w Imię Troycy Przenajświętszey zaczął się w Roku 1720. Miesiąca oktobra dnia 10*, copy.

<sup>45</sup> *Діярий гетьмана Пилипа Орлика...* (1936), p. IX.

Franciszek Rawita-Gawronski was one of the first to describe manuscript no. 1977 of a copy of the Diary of 800 pages.<sup>46</sup> At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, he found in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow a manuscript of a copy made by anonymous palaeographers<sup>47</sup> and used it to understand the life of “the Hetman of Ukraine, unrecognised by any state, one of the most educated and bravest that Ukraine has ever had.”<sup>48</sup>

Besides, it seems essential to address some issues related to the emigrant hetman and his Diary – in the so-called interwar period of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

It became significant that the manuscript was deciphered and published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw<sup>50</sup>. As a result, in 1936, a fragment of Orlyk’s *Diary* was published, covering 1720–1723 of the Hetman’s life in exile. This initial passage was deciphered from the manuscript, edited and prepared for publication by Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz.<sup>51</sup> In an appendix, he presented several documents (material on Orlyk from the Stockholm, Dresden and Prussian archives).

Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, on the assumption that not the copy but the original has extraordinary importance,<sup>52</sup> intended to read the entire manuscript and print all five volumes of the Diary, and separately – in volume six – to present the Hetman’s biography with detailed information about the family of “the Counts of Lazisk Orlyk and related families, collections of additional documents, supplements and registers.”<sup>53</sup> However, he did not manage to do so. A year later, in 1937, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw published Boris Krupnytsky’s book about the political activity of the Hetman in exile<sup>54</sup>. This comprehensive monograph played an important role in studying Orlyk’s life, political and diplomatic activities.<sup>55</sup> It was

<sup>46</sup> F. Rawita-Gawroński, “Filip Orlik jako hetman kozacki,” *Biblioteka Warszawska* 1899, pp. 394–395.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 394.

<sup>49</sup> At that time in France, Elie Borschak was working on father and son Orlyk materials, but his books were banned for years and only published in independent Ukraine.

<sup>50</sup> This scientific research institution operated in Warsaw from 1930 to 1939.

<sup>51</sup> *Діярий гетьмана Пилипа Орлика...* (1936).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. VI.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. IX.

<sup>54</sup> Б. Крупницький, *Гетьман Пилип Орлик (1672–1742): огляд його політичної діяльності...*

<sup>55</sup> Reviewing Krupnytsky’s book, Józef Łobodowski wrote that the monograph on Orlyk, based on rich and solid historical material, is much more than a research or a simple sketch of the hetman’s political activity. Łobodowski called this work “an invaluable contribution to the knowledge of the essence of Moscow imperialism, as it has been for centuries and

possible thanks to the remarkable spirit which prevailed in the pages of the weekly *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński / Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin* (1932–1938).

Published in Warsaw, *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* repeatedly referred to the figure of Orlyk in connection with the issue of the first Ukrainian emigration as the first political emigration in Europe. Let us draw attention to a few publications. Apart from Jarosław Dryhynycz's articles on Ivan Mazepa,<sup>56</sup> it is worth noting two more titles from 1934 – by Jerzy Janowicz and Jan Reychman and an article by the latter from 1937, signed with the cryptonym J.R.,<sup>57</sup> as well as a conceptual thesis by Józef Łobodowski,<sup>58</sup> who proposed a new perspective on Orlyk's historical role: The Hetman was an agent not only of the first Ukrainian emigration but also of the first political emigration in Europe. The ideas of father and son Orlyk were ahead of their time, embracing the concept of the law of nations (international law), which only became widespread in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beyond.

Researchers have begun to study the problem of Ukrainian emigration. According to Reychman, its pioneers were Pylyp and then Grégoire Orlyk.<sup>59</sup> The historian compares the Ukrainian emigration of the time with that of the Stuarts in England. The latter phenomenon was based primarily on dynastic elements, without deeper reference to social issues. The Orlyks, on the other hand, while neither claiming nor disputing the right to the hetmanate nor, as Reychman puts it, “the Ukrainian crown,” supported the right of the Cossack people to freedom, thus invoking a notion of right that was not yet actual but was only implemented as the “right to self-determination” at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup>

It is also impossible not to mention the biographical research carried out in Poland on members of the Orlyk family, the results of which have been made public in the biographical entries in individual volumes of *Polski słownik biograficzny* (“Polish Biographical Dictionary”). We are referring

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continues to be... if the aphorism about »history – the teacher of nations« was at all correct, it was especially so in this case”; *idem*, “Książka o hetmanie Orliku,” *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* 1938, 23(262), p. 246.

<sup>56</sup> J. Dryhynycz, “Iwan Mazepa,” *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* 1936, 15(154), pp. 145–147; 16(155), pp. 154–157; 17(156), p. 166 (dokończenie).

<sup>57</sup> J. Janowicz, “Z ideologii politycznej pierwszej ukraińskiej emigracji,” *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* 1934, 3(38), pp. 4–6; J. Reychman, “Pierwsza polityczna emigracja w Europie,” *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* 1934, 8(43), pp. 1–3; *idem*, “Polityka wolności,” *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* 1937, 4(195), pp. 37–39.

<sup>58</sup> J. Łobodowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–246.

<sup>59</sup> J. Reychman, “Pierwsza polityczna emigracja w Europie...,” p. 2.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*.

in particular to the articles by Józef Gierowski on Pylyp Orlyk, Emanuel Rostworowski on Grégoire Orlyk, and Michał Domański on Stanislav Orlyk, a relative of those mentioned above.<sup>61</sup>

As for American and Canadian research on the life and work of Pylyp Orlyk, there is a separate paper on the subject.<sup>62</sup> Let us just mention the English translations of the well-known works of Boris Krupnytsky, Roman Smal-Stocki and Elie Borschak, and monographs, among which synthetic studies are the most outstanding, especially the work of Orest Subtelny,<sup>63</sup> the Ukrainian translation of which has already been published twice. A facsimile, unfortunately illegible, of Orlyk's *Diary* has been published as part of the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. Texts series. First, the sixth volume of the series with an introduction by Omelyan Prytsak, followed by volume five, with the introduction by Orest Subtelny<sup>64</sup>.

Also, in recent years, researchers have begun to reflect on this historical figure and her legacy. On 14–16 October 2010, at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, on the initiative of Natalia Jakowenko, an international conference “Ad fontes” took place, organised on the 300th anniversary of the promulgation of Pylyp Orlyk's Constitution. It addressed issues related to the person of Hetman and defined the main research directions: in addition to his biography, the intellectual, cultural and political context of both his activities and the Bender constitution, among many other topics.<sup>65</sup>

On the eve of the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Orlyk's birth, contemporary studies update the image of his activity as the main continuator of Ivan Mazepa's ideas. Furthermore, this is one of the major themes of his notebook. Another motif is the author's particular religiosity, which most scholars stress. The Hetman visited almost all the churches in Thessaloniki and wrote

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<sup>61</sup> J.A. Gierowski, “Orlik Filip herbu Nowina (1672–1742),” in: PSB, vol. 24, 1979, pp. 198–202; E. Rostworowski, “Orlik Grzegorz (Hrehory) Piotr h. Nowina (1702–1759),” in: *ibidem*, pp. 202–205; M. Domański, “Orlik Stanisław herbu Nowina (zmarł 1559),” in: *ibidem*, pp. 205–207.

<sup>62</sup> Ю. Кудінов, “Постать гетьмана Пилипа Орлика у студіях істориків США та Канади: від глорифікації до об'єктивного розгляду (1950–2000 рр.),” *Гілея* 61, 2012, pp. 172–177.

<sup>63</sup> O. Subtelny, *The Mazepists. Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century*, New York 1981.

<sup>64</sup> *The “Diariusz podróży” of Pylyp Orlyk (1727–1731)*, introd. O. Pritsak, Cambridge (MA) 1988 (Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. Texts, 6); *The “Diariusz podróży” of Pylyp Orlyk (1720–1726)*, introd. O. Subtelny, Cambridge (MA) 1989 (Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature. Texts, 5).

<sup>65</sup> *Пилип Орлик: життя, політика, тексти...*

two or three mass intentions for the health of his wife Anna of Hercyk and their eight children. Relations with the Greeks of Thessaloniki were not always ideal, when some clerics could not appreciate his Europeanism, knowledge, erudition, called him a Latinist, accosted him like that “foolish and mad high priest” who, as Orlyk writes, “considering me a heretic, as they say, a Latinist, doubted my admission to communion and ran to consult his metropolitan and confessor.

Contemporary scholars stress that “[h]is entire worldview is imbued with piety: it is simple, solid, organic and at the same time theoretically sound.”<sup>66</sup> His scholarly interests lie in theology, history and politics, as evident in the theological discussions in which the 1726 manuscript abounds.

He was a bookman. The Psalms, Ecclesiastes and St Augustine were sources of inspiration with which he was inseparable, seeking consolation in religion. We learn about Hetman’s preferences and erudition from Elie Borschak’s and Petro Zlenko’s papers<sup>67</sup>. Among Orlyk’s library books are Herodotus, Strabon, Pliny, Virgil and Ovid. In Sweden, Orlik buys a Dutch edition of François Fénelon’s 1719 book *Telemachus* and reads it on his way to Thessaloniki. He read Dutch newspapers with particular interest (as the most informed at the time) and French, Italian and German press; the *Diary* contains interesting comments on what he read.<sup>68</sup> His book collection included works by Dante, Molière and Shakespeare. So Orlyk took notes in French from Shakespeare’s *Richard III* and *King Lear*. He read the works of eloquent French preachers, took an interest in legal issues, and, as a politician, gleaned his information about what was happening in the world from the press and conversations with travellers.

The relationship between the Orlyks and Voltaire is a separate topic. It is known that Orlyk junior gave Voltaire from Orlyk senior several valuable materials, based on which Voltaire wrote the *History of Charles XII*.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 175.

<sup>67</sup> І. Боршак, “Данте й Орлик,” *Українська Трибуна* 1922, 22, pp. 2–3 (his contribution in Italian is also important: “L’atamanno ucraino Filippo Orlik su Dante,” *L’Europa orientale* 4, 1924, 3, p. 169 n.); *idem*, “В книгозбірні гетьмана Орлика,” *Літературно-Науковий Вісник* 11, 1923, pp. 260–266; *idem*, “Пилип Орлик – книжник,” *Бібліографічні вісті* 1929, 2–3, pp. 48–53; П. Зленко, “Українські приватні бібліотеки (Івана Мазепи, Пилипа Орлика, Кирила Розумовського),” *Українська книга* 9–10, 1937, pp. 197–203.

<sup>68</sup> Diverse in content and tone: both vital and life affirming, as well as tragic, dramatic and sometimes sarcastic, as for example when commenting on the stories of incestuous marriages in the European press Orlyk ends his reflections with a witty proverb: “As is faith, so is sacrifice.”

The dominant theme of contemporary research is that Orlyk succeeded in developing the idea of Ukrainian liberation into an original doctrine that is a platform towards Prometheism. That issue was emphasised in numerous publications in the *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* and developed in 2018 by Paweł Kowal,<sup>69</sup> bringing closer the evolution of the idea of Prometheism: from Orlyk through the Czartoryski family, the Polish emigration of the nineteenth century, to Piłsudski's doctrine.

Among the most recent publications, it is worth mentioning Iryna Dmytryszyn's monograph devoted to Grégoire Orlyk, in which she also refers to the figure of the Hetman.<sup>70</sup>

It is impossible to analyse all the scientific and popular publications devoted to Orlyk's notebook. To sum up the short review, we put forward a thesis: Orlyk's extensive manuscript (three thousand pages) could very well fit into a world context and be included in a modern collection such as *Remarkable Diaries. The World's Greatest Diaries, Journals, Notebooks, and Letters*<sup>71</sup>. This manuscript is one of the greatest notebooks.

In Orlyk's ego-document, we find the author's deeply personal reactions to everything that happens to him and around him, as well as to world events. *Diariusz podróżny* ("The Travel Diary") is a true journal of exile: *ignis et aquae interdictio*.<sup>72</sup>

## The basis for the edition

The original of Orlyk's *Diary*, dating from 1720 to 1732, is held in the Diplomatic Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>73</sup> and comprises some 3,000 manuscript pages. This edition is based on an extract from that original covering 1725 and 1726. In 2013, the Ukrainian publishing house "Tempora" released a digital copy of the original Orlyk's

<sup>69</sup> P. Kowal, *Testament Prometeusza. Źródła polityki wschodniej III Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa–Wojnowice 2018.

<sup>70</sup> І. Дмитришин, *Григорій Орлик або Козацька нація...*, pp. 222–223.

<sup>71</sup> *Remarkable Diaries. The World's Greatest Diaries, Journals, Notebooks, and Letters*, introd. K. Williams, ed. R.G. Grant, A. Humphreys, E. Ripley, I. Zachek, New York 2020.

<sup>72</sup> Lat. „prohibition of water and fire” (exile); C. Jędraszko, *Łacina na co dzień*, Warszawa 1970, p. 91.

<sup>73</sup> Archives diplomatiques du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, La Courneuve, sygn. MD Pologne, P.18006, P 18007, Vues: 956 [Journal de voyage d'Orlik, rédigé en polonais], 5 vol. in-fol. Original, vol. 7 – 278 folio, vol. 8 – 412 folio, vol. 9 – 437 folio, vol. 10 – 485 folio, vol. 11 – 510 folio.

manuscript held in Paris, reproducing the full text.<sup>74</sup> In addition, two copies are kept in Poland: at the National Library in Warsaw, an abridged 800-page document prepared by anonymous Polish palaeographers,<sup>75</sup> and at the Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow.<sup>76</sup>

Work with the manuscript was carried out in three stages. The first stage was to decipher the copy held in the National Library in Warsaw. In the second stage, we got acquainted with the Hetman's *Diary* of 1724, prepared for publication in 2010,<sup>77</sup> deciphered and translated into Ukrainian based on the already cited facsimile edition of 1989.<sup>78</sup> The third stage was the most fruitful, as during work on the original text in the diplomatic archives, it became clear that a few important passages from the *Diary* had been omitted from the facsimile published by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. For example, the question of why facsimile did not contain notes like tables, a few pages, a fragment of *Pro memoria*, copied by anonymous Polish palaeographers, remains a mystery. For a long time, one of the facsimile pages appeared to be drenched in ink, whereas in the original, it turned out to be the only known drawing made by the author of the *Diary*.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>74</sup> П. Орлик, *Діаріуш подорожній, який в ім'я Тройці найсвятішої, розпочатий в року 1720 місяця жовтня дня 10-го*, vol. 1–5, ed. by О. Ковалевська, І. Дмитришин, Київ 2013.

<sup>75</sup> BN, mcf 16748, *Diariusz Podróży ktory w Imie Troycy Przenaysiwętszey zaczął się w Roku 1720. Miesiąca oktobra dnia 10;* see: В. Соболю, *Помножені часом світи (факсиміле Пилипа Орлика за 1724 рік та копія анонімних польських палеографів: порівняльно-зіставне вивчення, спроба перша)*, „Схід” 2009, 99, pp. 3–11.

<sup>76</sup> BCz, ms 1977, Filip Orlik, *Diariusze*.

<sup>77</sup> The facsimile of the 1724 edition is 432 pages of Orlyk's manuscript, which was 216 pages of the Harvard edition respectively, as the publishers put 2 pages of manuscript on one A4 page. Therefore, the Harvard original edition of the entire *Diary* – *The “Diariusz podróży” of Pylyp Orlyk (1720–1726)...; The “Diariusz podróży” of Pylyp Orlyk (1727–1731)...* – totals over one thousand six hundred facsimile pages, but actually twice as many, about three and a half thousand manuscript pages. The copy, on the other hand, is eight hundred A4 pages.

<sup>78</sup> *The “Diariusz podróży” of Pylyp Orlyk (1720–1726)...* There are two handwritten pages on each facsimile page. As it turned out today, the reason for the difficulty in reading the facsimile edition is not always Orlyk's handwriting. The main reason: poor quality of publications.

<sup>79</sup> Orlyk sketches in his *Diary* the *agiasmos* (holy water) source he visited, and next to it he explains his own drawing with a description in ten points. Travelling to the sacred springs, of which Thessaloniki abounded, is one of the few ways to add variety to a captive's life and improve his health. Ethnographic sketches, short but colourful descriptions, also bear witness to such moments of joy and rest: how the Greeks celebrate spring, what strange superstitions they have, and so on. This Orlyk's sketch is analysed in the article: W. Sobol, “Dyskurs życia prywatnego w *Diariuszu podróży* Filipa Orlika (ujęcie

The year 1725 in Orlyk's *Diary* is short; according to the 1988–1989 facsimile edition published by the Ukrainian Research Institute<sup>80</sup>, it covers only a few pages (pp. 652–658), on p. 659, the year 1726 already begins. However, the “Tempora” edition<sup>81</sup> also contains a fragment (pp. 781–793), missing from the facsimile edition and a supplement in French (pp. 795–819) corresponding to the archival pagination from pp. 397 to 409. We find small handwritten notes in French and Latin under “Notata ex Ecclesiaste” (Notes from Ecclesiastes) on pp. 795–798. It is probably a synopsis, as is “Ex Libro Sapientia[e]” (from the Book of Wisdom) on pp. 798–799. On p. 799, there are less clear notes; on pp. 800–802, some difficult to read glossary entries, while pp. 803–805 remain blank, and pp. 806–808 and 812 are probably a draft of some glossary written in Cyrillic. On pp. 814, 816–818, on the other hand, we find notes from a dictionary in French, possibly also an index, and pp. 809–811, 813 and 815 are left blank.

Like the notes of 1724, those of 1725 and subsequent years were written in exile in Thessaloniki. The exception is part of the 1724 manuscript, written in the village of Galatea, where the Hetman took refuge with friends from the cholera epidemic raging in Thessaloniki from early 1724. We also find information about this epidemic in the *Diary* entries from the following year.

The *Diary* was written in skoropis (Ukrainian: *скоропис*) – a cursive method for making writing faster, featuring many abbreviations. Year by year, Orlyk's writing became finer and less legible. The manuscript is not always as clear as the publisher of the 1720–1723 fragment, Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz, wrote: “Hetman's handwriting is clear, the ink has hardly faded, and there are not many places difficult to read.”<sup>82</sup> In his *Diary*, Orlyk's experience of education in Kyiv and Vilnius combines with European influences, which can be seen in both the content of his notes and the form of his writing, which shows features of Latin palaeography. His handwriting can be described as minuscule with varying letter heights, and between one and four ductus can be seen in capital letters.

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komparatystyczne),” in: *Memuarystyka w dawnej Polsce*, ed. P. Borek, D. Chemperek, A. Nowicka-Struska, Kraków 2016, pp. 161–167.

<sup>80</sup> *The “Diariusz podróży” of Pylyp Orlyk (1720–1726)*...

<sup>81</sup> П. Орлик, *Діаріуш подорожній...*, vol. 2, pp. 781–818.

<sup>82</sup> *Діарій гетьмана Пилипа Орлика...* (1936), p. IX. The publisher used triple numbering: firstly their own, secondly introduced in the French diplomatic archive, and finally used by Orlyk. At the same time, the publisher carefully annotated the pages from the original, noting that some of them contained no dates at all.



The author of the *Diary* often used abbreviations, ligatures (i.e. combining adjacent letters and sometimes words), lines, suspensions (cutting off a significant part of a phrase), contractions (tightening or omitting one or more letters). The contraction was his favourite technique. Its advantage over suspension is that preserving the word ending helps eliminate inflectional doubt. In addition, the author used syllable substitution methods, writing brackets in combination with a colon – :). Orlyk placed notes in the margins perpendicular to the main text, abbreviated endings, etc. He wrote sentences carrying the main semantic charge in round or square brackets. Some of his expressions, especially letters in French and Latin, exhibit a refined Baroque style. For example, the review of what Orlyk read in a French newspaper takes on the characteristics of crime fiction than a simple story in the *Diary* entry of 1724.

It is worth noting the ° sign, used quite often but in different ways. In Polish notations it is used only to indicate the endings of words such as: „zrodzone°” – „zrodzonego”, „zapowietrzzone°” – „zapowietrzonego”, „wielkie°” – „wielkiego”. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz reproduces this sign as follows: dla cze-o, osobliwe-o. It has not yet been well defined and is missing from the list of abbreviations used in Polish-Latin manuscripts of the 14<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, provided in the *Vademecum* by Teodor Wierzbowski.<sup>83</sup>

The most challenging, but at the same time interesting, are the Latin-Polish macaronisms. Czesław Hernas believed that the colourful and numerous borrowings – apart from their practical purposes (the insertion of various phrases, words and grammatical constructions, mainly Latin in Old Polish) – were an expression of rhetorical fashion, as “Polish interlaced with Latin seemed nobler and richer.”<sup>84</sup> What is essential for the understanding of the work is the very technique of how skilfully, and sometimes even virtuosically, the author interweaves Latin words, adding a Polish ending to a Latin base or writing Latin expressions in Polish multiplying macaronisms that are difficult to decipher and translate.

The context in which he uses proverbs is also particularly interesting. Among other things, he uses Latin expressions.

It may be argued that Orlyk’s Latin was not just “the fashion of the day”, as Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz described that phenomenon (and Czesław Hernas later justified it), but a special cultural code, a refined

<sup>83</sup> T. Wierzbowski, *Vademecum. Wykaz skrótów i słowniczek łacińsko-polski*, introd. and ed. E. Potkowski, Warszawa–Łódź 1984.

<sup>84</sup> C. Hernas, *Barok*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 265–267.

language of the elites,<sup>85</sup> in which – as Jerzy Axer writes – “are recorded [...] the deeds and views of the elites of the Republic of Poland, which was a part of the Latin community of humanist Europe and yet had such a distinct and peripheral specificity.”<sup>86</sup>

## Editorial principles

In historiography, not only Polish, there has been a discussion for years about the ways and scope of linguistic modernisation of historical sources for publication. Many scholars insist on fidelity to the original, even pointing out that “corrections kill the truth of the moment.”<sup>87</sup> A similar position is presented in the publishing manual for historical sources from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which is still in force today,<sup>88</sup> and by the Ukrainian editorial community, especially those involved in translating foreign documents.<sup>89</sup> However, publishers have advocated an increasingly extensive modernisation of the text in recent years. The introduction of the publisher’s own rules is also envisaged in the manual edited by Kazimierz Lepszy.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, in the present edition, it has been decided to apply the same instruction, but with the introduction of the modernisation principles indicated below. That is more justified as scans of the original accompany the source text prepared by the publisher. Spelling errors and glaring grammatical errors have been corrected. Punctuation has been modernised to make the source easier to read; in places, the original punctuation has been retained only to convey the author’s emotional state. Square brackets indicate any additions or comments by the publisher. Translations of letters from Latin and French are given in italics in square brackets in the text (from the Latin in the translation by Witold Tokarski, from the French

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<sup>85</sup> Zob. *Łacina jako język elit*, ed. by J. Axer, Warszawa 2004.

<sup>86</sup> J. Axer, “Sytuacja metodologiczna w badaniach nad źródłami łacińskojęzycznymi okresu nowożytnego,” in: *ibidem*, p. 31.

<sup>87</sup> Zob. *Діярії гетьмана Пулина Орлика...* (1936), p. IX; Ph. Lejeune, *Wariacje na temat pewnego paktu. O autobiografii*, trans. W. Grajewski [et al.], ed. R. Lubas-Bartoszyńska, Kraków 2001; quot. in: R. Lubas-Bartoszyńska, “Wszystko o teorii i historii dziennika osobistego we Francji,” *Pamiętnik Literacki* 104, 2013, 2, p. 266.

<sup>88</sup> K. Lepszy, *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku*, Wrocław 1953.

<sup>89</sup> *Передача текстів документів і пам’яток. Матеріали науково-методичної наради*, ed. B. Німчук et al., Київ 1990, pp. 18–22.

<sup>90</sup> K. Lepszy, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

in the translation by Wanda Fijałkowska), in paragraph layout due to the length of some letters and their appendices-like character, sandwiched between the entries in the *Diary*. The spelling of upper and lower case letters has also been modernised, an exception being made only to convey the author's emotional attitude, for example, when he writes about his family. The exact words were not repeated, sometimes occurring twice – at the end of a page and the beginning of the next. Notes made vertically in the margin are given in curly brackets – {}, indicating this in a footnote. Explanations of identified persons and places (apart from well-known cities), as well as concepts and events cited in the *Diary*, are given in footnotes at their first occurrence; for unidentified geographical names, the original notation has been retained, marked with an exclamation mark in square brackets – [!]; in the case of unknown persons frequently mentioned in the *Diary*, any variants of names are given in the index of persons. The edition has been supplemented by a glossary of the most common Latin terms used in the text, which are not explained in the footnotes. The indexes of persons and places were also collated (in the latter, unidentified locations were not included).

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