

History of Ukraine-Rus'

The Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research
Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

The Hrushevsky Translation Project

Editor in Chief
Frank E. Sysyn

Deputy Editor
Serhii Plokhyy

Managing Editor
Uliana M. Pasicznyk

Senior Editor
Myroslav Yurkevich

Project Manager
Marko R. Stech

Associate Editor
Marta Horban-Carynnyk

Assistant Editors
Andrij Hornjatkevyč
Dushan Bednarsky

Technical Editors
Tania Plawuszczak-Stech
Olena Plokhii

Mykhailo Hrushevsky
History of Ukraine-Rus'

Volume 9, Book 1
The Cossack Age, 1650–1653

Translated by
Bohdan Strumiński

Edited by
Serhii Ploky, *Consulting Editor*
and
Frank E. Sysyn, *Editor-in-Chief*

with the assistance of
Uliana M. Pasicznyk



Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press
Edmonton • 2005 • Toronto

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2E8

University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5S 2J5

Copyright © 2004 Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

ISBN 1-895571-22-7 (set)

ISBN 1-895571-49-9 (v. 9, bk. 1)

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Hrushevs'kyi Mykhailo, 1866-1934
History of Ukraine-Rus'

Translation of: Istoriiia Ukraïny-Rusy.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Partial contents: v. 9, bk. 1. The Cossack Age, 1650-1653 /

translated by Bohdan Strumiński; edited by Serhii Plokyh (consulting editor) and Frank E. Sysyn (editor-in-chief); with the assistance of Uliana M. Pasicznyk.

ISBN 1-895571-22-7 (set)

ISBN 1-895571-49-9 (v. 9, bk. 1)

1. Ukraine—History. I. Title

DK508.5.H6813 1997 947.7 C97-930436-9

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

Printed in Canada

The History of the Ukrainian Cossacks

Volume 3, Book 1

The Cossack Age, 1650–1653

The preparation of volume nine, book one of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'* has been funded by a generous donation from Sofia Wojtyna in memory of Vasyl Bilash, Mykhailo Charkivsky, and Mykhailo Wojtyna.

Підготовка першої книги дев'ятого тому англomовного видання *Історії України-Руси* Михайла Грушевського здійснена завдяки щедрому дарові Софії Войтини в пам'ять бл. п. Василя Білаша, Михайла Чарківського та Михайла Войтини.

Foreword

The Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research was established at the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, in 1989. The Centre was endowed by Peter Jacyk of Toronto, who requested that the Centre undertake the translation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy (History of Ukraine-Rus')*. Mr. Jacyk was an enthusiastic and dedicated supporter of the Hrushevsky Translation Project, and the Petro Jacyk Educational Foundation continues his commitment and legacy of support. The Project has also received support from the Canadian Foundation for Ukrainian Studies. Individual benefactors have undertaken the sponsorship of particular volumes. Numerous individual donors have also contributed to the funding of the Hrushevsky Translation Project.

The translation of volume 9, book 1 was funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C.

Contents

Foreword	viii
Editorial Preface to the Hrushevsky Translation Project	xix
Editorial Preface to Volume 9, Book 1	xxi
Introduction: Writing the <i>History</i> in the USSR—Serhii Plokhyy	xxix
Glossary	lxv
Maps	lxxiii

* * *

Preface	lxxvii
---------	--------

I. Submission to Turkey and the Moldavian Campaign of 1650	1
---	----------

The mood in Ukraine in the spring of 1650: the return of the Polish hetmans from captivity and ensuing alarm (1–2); Potocki's note to the king concerning the Cossack issue (3–4); the program of revenge (4–5). Internal tensions (5–6); the dissatisfaction of the Cossack masses—rumors about the self-appointed hetmans (6); dissatisfaction with Khmelnytsky (7); legends about him (7); his manifestations of loyalty (7–9); the issue of the nobility's return to Ukraine (9–10); the admittance of royal officials to administrative duties—Shumeiko's letter (10); the magnates' bargaining with the hetman and the Cossack officers for admittance to their estates (10–12); mutual exasperation and revolts by subject villeins (13); the hetman's reprisals against the revolts (13–14); proclamations issued against unruliness (14–16); flight across the Muscovite border (16–18). Unmet religious demands (18–19); the unrealized Zboriv resolutions (19); the metropolitan and the clergy are invited to the Diet (19–20); the January conferences in Warsaw (20); Kysil's measures (21–22); the situation of the Cossack delegates (22); the royal charter of 12 January [N.S.] (23); the Kyiv discussion of religious affairs in March (24); the king's refusal in May (25–26); the August meeting at Irkliiv and the metropolitan's instruction to the emissaries dispatched to the king (26–27).

Polish plans to set the Cossacks against the Turks or Muscovy: the revived Venetian plans (27–28); Parčević's mission (28); Warsaw rumors about the khan's desire to fight with the Turks (28–29); the nuncio's reports about the khan's desire to obtain help from the Cossacks (30–31); Warsaw's hopes for a Venetian subsidy to hire an army to be used against the Cossacks (31). A Muscovite ultimatum to Poland interrupts these plans (32); the Polish government counters it with a plan for a Cossack and Tatar campaign against Muscovy (32–33); Kysil's advice (33); negotiations with Khmelnytsky (33–34); the hetman's dissemblings—his assurances of his complete readiness (35–36); the true wishes revealed by Cossack envoys in discussions with Muscovite envoys in Warsaw (36); the Host desires a Muscovite protectorate (36–37); Cossack envoys advise Muscovy not to make peace with Poland in view of the inevitable Cossack-Polish war (38–39); plans for the creation of an Orthodox league (39); Muscovy's indecision—symptoms of a new Time of Troubles (40–41); the khan demonstrates his desire to fight against Muscovy (41); Muscovy makes concessions; the Muscovite-Polish conflict disappears (41); the renewal of the Muscovite-Polish treaty (41).

A Venetian mission to Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the hetman's diplomacy: Sagredo's directive to Vimina (42–43); the situation at the Warsaw court (43); the audience in Chyhyryn (43–44); the hetman's

situation (45–46); his letter to Sagredo of 3 June 1650 (46); Vimina's report (46–47); Polish negotiations and rumors of a war against Turkey (47–48); Ossoliński's plans and his death (49). Ukrainian relations with the Porte (49–50); the Turkish diplomatic mission at Chyhyryn in July 1650 (50); the hetman's reply, and his grievances against the khan (51); the hetman restrains the Don Cossacks (51). The khan demands a Cossack army against the Circassians (51–52); the hetman's proclamation of May announcing a campaign (52–53); the expedition of Lysovets and Tymish Khmelnytsky to the Don area in August (53–54); the hetman explains his motives to the tsar (54). Akundinov and Muscovite efforts to extradite him (54–55).

The audiences at Chyhyryn in late July: the Turkish mission (56–57); the hetman's letter to the sultan (58–59); the declaration of submission to the Porte (59–60); Polish accounts (61–62); the khan's mission—an appeal against Muscovy (63). A mission from the king (64); the meeting at Irkliiv (64–65); Strukov's news (65); Khmelnytsky rejects the campaign against Muscovy owing to the threat from Potocki (66); Khmelnytsky's relations with Potocki (67–68); Polish mobilization (68–69); the alarm generated by the mobilization—Lubieniecki's report (69–70); Potocki's insulting letter to the hetman (71–73); rumors of a war with Poland (74–75); mobilization and uprisings against the lords (75–76); rumors of Nechai's conflict with Khmelnytsky (77); the alarm raised among the nobility (78); the hetman's 'stern edicts' against the uprisings (79–80).

The Moldavian campaign—its unexpectedness (80); contemporary attempts to explain it (81–83); prospects generated by the Moldavian campaign (84–85); the situation of the Porte (85); Khmelnytsky's true motives (86–87); literary romanticization (87–88); a factual history of the campaign, September 1650 (88–90); Lupu's entreaties to the Poles for help (91); negotiations with Khmelnytsky (91–92); conditions of the truce (92–93); the political significance of Khmelnytsky's treaty with Lupu (93–94); its strategic significance (95); Khmelnytsky and Radziwiłł (95); the Orthodox-Protestant league (95–96); an explanation for the masses—a *duma* about the Moldavian war (97–100); unfavorable views on the part of contemporaries (100). The resolution of tensions generated by the campaign (100–101); the mission to Rákóczi (101); dispatches between Potocki and Khmelnytsky (102–3); Kravchenko's mission (103–4); alarm in the Polish camp (104–5); the Cossack army returns to Ukraine (106–7); the execution of lawless individuals (107); a Christian idyll—the 'sacred intentions' for the liberation of Christianity (108); the October negotiations (109); the mission of the flag-bearer Vasyl (109–10); dismissal of the Polish army (111); Potocki's report of 22 October (111–13).

Ukrainian-Muscovite relations—reports of Muscovite embassies (113); Protasiev's mission (113–14); the search for Akundinov (114); the hetman's discussions with Protasiev during his return journey from the Moldavian campaign (114–16); Unkovsky's mission (116); Akundinov in Chyhyryn—Muscovite attempts to poison him (116–17); the hetman receives Unkovsky on 22 October n.s. (118); the discussions of 25 October (118–19); an exposition of Ukrainian politics (119–20); requests for the extradition of Akundinov and the hetman's refusal (121–23). Arsenii Sukhanov's report—a mission from Khmelnytsky to the Wallachian hospodar (123–24); Patriarch Paisios's letter to the hetman (124–25); Arsenii visits the hetman on 4 / 14 November (125); intercessions concerning Akundinov's extradition (125); the hetman complains about the tsar's policies (126–29); the theory of redeeming falsehood (130); a demand for a categorical reply from the tsar (130); the conclusion of the Akundinov affair (131–32); news from Unkovsky and Sukhanov (132–33); Újlaki's mission from Rákóczi (134–35); relations with Moldavia (135–36); and the Porte (136–37).

The formalization of relations with the Porte—the return from Istanbul of Antin Zhdanovych and the Turkish envoys in November (137–38); news of the Porte's great interest in the Cossacks (138–39); the hetman's letters to Istanbul of 1 December (139–41); news from Istanbul (141–42); the sultan's letter of Rabi I 1061—the formalization of the hetman's vassalage (142); letters of Istanbul's dignitaries sent along with it (143–44); the patriarch's letters (144); Kyivan talk about this (144–45).

II. The War of 1651 with Poland: Preparations and Onset of the Campaign (Autumn 1650–Spring 1651)

146

Autumn plans for a preventive campaign against the Cossacks in Warsaw circles (146); the plan for a December Diet concerning preparations for war (147); a tally of forces (148); the search for foreign aid—Venetian subsidies and Austrian troops (149–50); measures undertaken in Istanbul (150); the desire to be done with the Cossacks by springtime (151); ‘ploys and counter-ploys’ (151–52); appeasement of the Cossack Host (152); Kysil’s mission (152–53); Polish emissaries visit Khmelnytsky (153–54); demonstrations of Cossack-Tatar friendship in Warsaw (155); the khan advises war against Muscovy (156); demands by the Cossack Host (156–58); Khmelnytsky’s appeal to the dietines (158–60). The Cossack officers’ council in November (161); the Moldavian issue (162); the Host does not wish to send delegates to the Diet (162–64); its pleas (163–64); news from Chyhyryn from Radziejowski’s emissaries (164–66); news from Muscovite agents (166); martial moods (167); war is approved by the Host (168).

The Diet of 5–24 December 1650 (168–69); the mood on the eve of the Diet (169); Kysil’s memorandum—his letter to the king (170–71); his address to the Diet (171–72); the program for a truce (173–74); the Diet appoints a commission in the matter of the Cossack issue (174); taxes for the war and a levy en masse (174); preparations for war (175–76); unsuccessful attempts to divide the khan and the Cossacks (177); emphasis on the desire for an accord (178); Machowski’s mission (179); correspondence with Khmelnytsky (179–80); the Cossacks’ attention is lulled (181–82); the metropolitan’s letters (183); Prażmowski’s mission to the tsar with warnings against the Cossacks (184); new information from Witowski’s and Abukhovich’s mission (185). The Tatar mission to Sweden (185).

The beginning of the campaign—ambiguities in the literature (186–88); the king’s initiative (187–89); his orders to the hetmans (188–89); Kalinowski’s march to Bar in February (189); disputes with the Cossacks over the demarcation line (189); Kalinowski meets up with Lanckoroński (190); the encounter with Nechai (191–92); the defeat of Nechai in Krasne (192–93); and his death on 21 February [N.S.] (193–94); impressions made by his death (195); its popularity in folk song writing (195–96); songs about Nechai (196–200); they contrast Nechai with Khmelnytsky (200) and blame Khmelnytsky for his demise (200–201); the fragment of a duma about the siege of Vinnytsia (201).

The war in Podilia: Kalinowski’s attack on Murafa and Sharhorod (202–3); an attempt to negotiate with Khmelnytsky (203); Kysil’s mediation—letters to the hetman and the metropolitan (203–5); resumption of the Polish attack on 3 March [N.S.] (205); the rout of the city of Stina (206–7); the raid on Iampil (207–8); the march on Vinnytsia (208); the assault and siege (208–9); demoralization within the Polish camp (210); Bohun’s reputation as a hero (210–11). The Cossack offensive—the encounter with it at Lypovets (211–12); battles at Vinnytsia and the flight of the Poles (212–13); the retreat to Bar (213); the Cossacks at Kholmilnyk (213–14); a council in the Polish camp on 1 April [N.S.] and the retreat to Kamianets (214–15).

In the Cossack camp—the hetman’s mysterious passivity (215); news from the Cossack side (215–16); the search for foreign aid (216–18); Cossack missions in the Crimea (218–19); relations with Rákóczi (220); Moldavian and Wallachian embassies (220); relations with Muscovy (221); decisive Muscovite attitudes (221–22); an assembly of the land is convened for February to accept Ukraine (222); the assembly’s resolutions (223–24); Lopukhin’s embassy to the hetman (224–25); his instruction (225); additional instructions sent with the undersecretary Stepanov (226); the tsarist government does not support the hetman (226–27). The hetman’s campaign—a report from the hetman’s headquarters by Radziwiłł’s messenger (227–29); Captain Polovko’s information (230–31); the situation in March–April (231–32); awaiting the Tatars (232–33).

The Belarusian front—Ukrainian-Belarusian relations (233); Belarus’s orientation toward the Cossacks (234); the Vilnius panegyric to Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky (234); Afinahen Kryzhanouški’s accounts (234–35). The Lithuanian magnates’ policy of neutrality (236); Sapieha’s letter (236–37); Janusz

Radziwiłł's position (238); rumors of a Ukrainian-Lithuanian truce (239). The Prypiat front (239–40); uprisings (240–41). Radziwiłł's offensive (241–42); Nebaba besieges Homel (242–43); Cossack envoys visit Radziwiłł (243–44); Radziwiłł detains the envoys and sets out on the campaign (245).

Polish measures: the search for subsidies (245–46); optimistic news about the successes of the campaign against the Cossacks (246); negotiations with Venice (246–47); negotiations in Moscow (247–48); Witowski's and Abukhovich's declarations of May 1651 (249). Preparations for war (250); the levy en masse (250–51); delays (251–52); the king departs to join the army (252); Venice's final attempts to prevent the war (252); news about the Cossacks (253–54). Kalinowski leaves Kamianets (254–55); the Cossacks at Kamianets (255–56); diary of the siege written by Jesuits (257–58); the Cossacks retreat (259–60); the pursuit of Kalinowski (260–61); the battle of Kupchyntsi (262).

The hetman's march: information about his army (262–63); captives' accounts (264–66); the mood among the Cossacks (266–67). The hetman's foreign relations (267); the discharge of the Moldavian mission (267); the correspondence with Lupu (267–69); a mission from Rákóczi (270); the Dissenters attempt to obtain Rákóczi's intervention (271); Rákóczi's vacillations (271–72). The tragedy in the hetman's family (273–74); his black days (274); distress with Muscovy (274); the mission to Moscow of Elias, son of Manolis (274); what he related in Moscow (274–75).

III. Berestechko and the Treaty of Bila Tserkva of 28 September 1651

276

Before the Berestechko catastrophe: the amassing of the Polish army (276–77); the march to the vicinity of Sokal (278); in the camp at Sokal—measures taken to keep spirits up (278–79); 'funny stories' in the royal headquarters (279); dissatisfaction in the army (279–80); news about the Cossacks (280–81); hesitation on the part of the Polish general staff (281–82); the march to the vicinity of Berestechko (283); at the new location (283–84). Alarming news about Khmelnytsky's emissaries in Poland (284–85); 'arsonists' (285–86). The rebellion of Kostka-Napierski (286–87); hopes placed on the Cossacks (288–89). A Cossack campaign to the Smolensk region through Muscovite territory (290). Alarm in the Berestechko camp (291); reports about the Cossacks and the Tatars, a march launched against them (291–92); Khmelnytsky's offensive (292).

The Berestechko debacle: the paucity of information from the Cossack side (292–93); Polish reports (293–98); the hetman's procrastination (299); awaiting the Tatars (299). Cossack accounts of the skirmishes at Berestechko (298–99); Semen Savych's account (299–301); the accounts of Cossack colonels (301–2). Polish sources on the skirmishes at Berestechko (303). The theater of the Berestechko debacle (304). Cossack and Polish forces (305); the battles of 28, 29, and 30 June N.S. (305); the Tatars' passivity and retreat (306). Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky travel to see the khan (306–7); the khan's betrayal and flight—the hetman's (307) and Vyhovsky's (307–8) accounts of this; Savych's account (308–9); the khan's explanations (309–10). Why did Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky stay with the khan? (310–11); Vyhovsky's account (312). The siege of the Cossack camp at Berestechko of 1–10 July N.S. (313); Khmelnytsky's replacements (314); negotiations with the king (315); the terms of surrender (316); the Cossacks' refusal (317); panic in the Cossack camp (318); the debacle of 10 July N.S. (319–20); the rout of the Cossack camp (321); the Poles' trophies (321); instances of Cossack bravery (322). Impressions made by the 'Berestechko tragedy' (323); a poem about Berestechko (323–26); songs about Berestechko (327–29); the interweaving of motifs about Nechai and Khmelnytsky (329–30).

After Berestechko: rumors of Khmelnytsky's oppressive captivity in the hands of the khan (330–32); and how he managed to press the khan to go on (332); Khmelnytsky in Liubar (332); consultations and ordinances (333); the gathering of the survivors of Berestechko (334); consultations at Bila Tserkva (335) and the proclamation of 17 July [N.S.]; measures to strengthen the northern border and a new mobilization (336–37); the hetman's marriage (337). A revision of diplomatic relations—the mission of Metropolitan Gabriel and Grigorii Bogdanov (338); Vyhovsky's conversation with Bogdanov (339). Relations with the khan (340–41); the policy of Rákóczi and Lupu (341); the situation of the Porte

(342); information about the situation gathered by Bogdanov (343); the hetman and the officers manage to get the situation completely under control (343–44); Polish information about the despondency and a new uplifting of Ukrainian spirits—July 1651 (345–46).

The Lithuanian army's offensive against Ukraine during July–August: Radziwiłł's march on the Siverian region (346–47), Nebaba's defeat (347); Pobodailo's defensive measures (348); Radziwiłł's failed march on Chernihiv (348). The rout of the Smolensk raid (349). The Cossack defeat at Dymër (350). Radziwiłł changes his plan of operations—instead of Chernihiv, a march on Kyiv (351–52). Panic in Kyiv (353), 'the supplication' of the Kyiv clergy and burghers (353–54); the Lithuanian army at Vyshhorod—the legend of Vyshhorod (355); the Cossacks leave Kyiv (355–56); Radziwiłł enters (356); Westerfeldt's illustrations (356–57); Kyivan trophies (357); the rout in Kyiv (357–58); the fire and the destruction of the city (358–59); the Lithuanian army's difficult situation (359); its blockade (360).

The Crown army's offensive: the breakdown in the army after the triumph near Berestechko (360–61); the king attempts to march into Ukraine and returns (361); the Crown army's arduous march through Volhynia (362); bliss on Kyivan territory (362–363); the demoralization of the army (363); popular uprisings (364–65); the march on Bila Tserkva (365); Jeremi Wiśniowiecki's illness and death (366); the rout of Trylisy (366–67); the Polish army in Fastiv (368); the feasibility of a merger with the Lithuanian army (369). A renewal of negotiations from the Cossack side (369); Khmelnytsky's letter of 22 August [N.S.] (370–71). The people's determination (371–72). Potocki seeks an accord (372). Amicable gestures toward the Orthodox hierarchy (372). The first Cossack delegation to Potocki, 2 September [N.S.] (373–74).

Battles and negotiations: Radziwiłł leaves Kyiv to join forces with the Crown army (374–75); the Cossacks attempt to gain control of Kyiv (375). War or truce—the hetmans' consultations (375–76); the second Cossack delegation, 6 September [N.S.], and Machowski's mission (376–77). The blockade of the Polish army (377); Machowski in the Cossack camp (378–79), the commissioners depart for Bila Tserkva for negotiations (379); the negotiations in Bila Tserkva (379–80); the Cossack revolt (381–82); the return of the commissioners (383); negotiations in the Polish camp (383–84); the Polish army's advance on Bila Tserkva (384–85); the breaking off of negotiations (386); the skirmishes at Bila Tserkva—23, 24, and 25 September [N.S.] (387–89).

The Treaty of Bila Tserkva: Khmelnytsky's letter and the renewal of negotiations (389); an agreement is reached, 26 September [N.S.] (389); additional demands and the final agreement (390); Khmelnytsky expresses humility and swears an oath on 28 September (391); the quarrel with Radziwiłł (391–92); Vyhovsky's farewell visit (392); news about a peace agreement (393); the text of the agreement (394–96); motives for the agreement, as represented to the king by Potocki (396–97); an assessment of the hopeless situation of the Polish army by Oświęcim and others (398–400). What forced the Cossack side to make peace? (401)

IV. From Bila Tserkva to Batih (Winter 1651–Summer 1652)

402

The situation created by the Bila Tserkva peace agreement—misjudgment of it in the historiography (402–3); the impossibility of implementing the terms of the treaty (403–4); events immediately following the treaty—Khmelnysky and his family in Korsun (405); councils in the Polish camp (406); alarm caused by the Tatars (407–8); Potocki's correspondence with Khmelnytsky (408–10); plans for a sea expedition (407); the khan's apocryphal letter to Khmelnytsky (408); the prospect of a Cossack expedition against Moldavia and the ensuing alarm (408–9); Khmelnytsky attests to his loyalty (411); the Cossack government's attempts to implement the resolutions of Bila Tserkva (411–12).

Under the sign of loyalty: 'the quieting of the defiant' (412); Kysil's advice (413); Potocki praises Khmelnytsky's loyalty to the king (415–16). Venice resumes attempts to organize a Cossack sea expedition (417); Khmelnytsky postpones his expedition against Moldavia (417). The return of Polish

officials to Ukraine (418–19); their acts of violence against the populace (419–20); the Polish side takes note of such acts (420); alarm among the people (421–22); flight across the Muscovite border (423). Rumors of revolts against Khmelnytsky (423); complaints against the hetman and the Cossack officers (424); rumors of new hetmans (424–26). Potocki's death aggravates the situation (427); the king orders soldiers to be dispatched beyond the Dniro (427); his reprimands to Khmelnytsky (428); the damaging of relations (428–29); Khmelnytsky maintains his loyalist policy (429); the compilation of the register (429). Kysil asserts the peace agreement's brilliant successes (430).

Before the explosion: the Cossack officers' New Year's consultations (431–32); Iskra's embassy to the tsar (432–33); questions about the possibility of help for the Cossacks and, in the event of failure, the Cossack Host's transfer, with or without its territory, under the tsar's protection (433–34); completion of the register and the delegation dispatched with it to the Diet (434–35); the envoys' instructions (435–36). Infighting between the king and the opposition at the Diet and the Radziejowski affair (436–38); rumors of an alliance between the king and the Cossacks (438–39); the Diet is broken (440); the Treaty of Bila Tserkva is not ratified (440); royal resolutions regarding the Cossacks' petitions (441); charters for the Host (442–43).

The massacre beyond the Dniro and its consequences: the account of the Eyewitness Chronicle (444); the hetman's warning to Pobodailo (445); the soldiers' conflicts with the population (446); the massacre in Lypove (447); Kalinowski's orders (448); Khmelnytsky plans to go to Poltava (449); mass emigration across the Muscovite border (449–51); Colonel Dzykovsky's departure (450). The responses brought from Moscow by Iskra (451–52); the council of the Cossack officers concerning these responses (453); the hetman's martial intentions and their revocation (454–55). Instead of a council in Poltava, a commission in Korsun (455); the trial of those accused of tormenting the Poles (455); the execution of Hladky and others (455–56); a reaction against Khmelnytsky (456–58); Khmelnytsky eases tensions by declaring war on Poland (459); an official *duma* about the causes of the break with the Poles and the purging of Ukraine (459–62). What was said about the causes of the new break (462–63).

A battle at Batih: information on the council at Chyhyryn (463–64) and the participation of Tatar delegates in it (464); a resumption of Moldavian plans (465); their political significance (465–66). Alarms raised by Kalinowski (468); mobilization in the Crimea (468–69); the recall of troops billeted across the Dniro (470); the mobilization of the Cossack army (470); the model of a circular about the mobilization (470–71); uprisings against the lords (472). The hetman sets out on the campaign (472–73); he warns Kalinowski not to block the route of the campaign against Moldavia (474); the encounter near Batih (475); the battle and the defeat of the Polish army on 2 June [o.s.] (476); the hetman's and Vyhovsky's accounts of the victory (477); the hetman's apocryphal proclamation (477–78).

After the rout at Batih: panic in Poland (478–79); tales of tortured prisoners (480); reports of contemporaries (480–82). An excursion to Moldavia (483), renewal of the treaty with Lupu (484). The Cossack army near Kamianets (484); the unproductive siege and the hetman's return home (485–87); a letter to the chancellor concerning the renewal of relations (488). The Polish government's passive attitude toward ongoing events (489); diplomatic measures—an embassy to Muscovy (490); Unkovsky's embassy to the hetman (491); Muscovy is alarmed by Ukraine's ties with the Crimea and Turkey (492). The July *Diet* (493); Radziejowski's intercepted letters to the hetman and Vyhovsky (494–95); the hetman struggles to establish links with the Swedish court (495); information on the Cossack delegation to the Diet (495); the commission to establish relations (496); an instruction issued to the commissioners, Zatsyvilkovsky and Czerny, on 30 August [N.S.] (496–97); the Cossack envoys are graciously received (497–98); how the king's tactic was interpreted in Ukraine (499); Lupu's mediation in a reconciliation between the Cossacks and Poland (500); Khmelnytsky's demands advanced during these negotiations, at Tymish's wedding (501). The report submitted by Zatsyvilkovsky and Czerny about their mission (502–4); Khmelnytsky's hostile attitude (503–4); details about rude treatment of the envoys

(504); the impossibility of taking military action (504); Radziwiłł takes on the role of mediator (505–6); his program for ennobling the Cossacks (506); requests to the hetman (507).

The mood in the autumn—Polish preparations for an autumn war (507–8); proclamations of mobilization (509). Cossack diplomacy—relations with the Crimea and the Porte (509–10); an embassy by Bohdanovych-Zarudny and his comrades to Muscovy (511–13). The Cossack officers' council on the Feast of the Epiphany (513). An epidemic—its effect on the slackening of tensions (513–14). The heightened mood of the Host—an interesting letter written by Captain Umanets (514–15).

V. The Marital Ties and Demise of Tymish Khmelnytsky

516

Tymish's marriage—the literature (516); the sensation generated among contemporaries (517); a romantic interpretation (517); its important political significance (517–18); the circumstances that forced Lupu to give his daughter away in marriage (518); final negotiations and the wedding (518–19); the journey of Tymish and Vyhovsky (519–20); a contemporary description of the wedding (520–24); Costin's account (524–25); Giustiniani's report (525); Goliński's compendium (525); the newlyweds' return to Ukraine and rumors of their unhappy coexistence (526); the hetman's announcement of the marriage (527); contemporary thoughts about its political consequences (527–28); changes brought about by it in political relations (528–29); a dilemma—who would convince whom (529); rumors of Lupu's and Khmelnytsky's designs on Wallachia and Transylvania (529–30); Tymish's winter journey to visit his father-in-law and suspicions raised by it (531); the resulting Moldavian coup d'état (532).

Ukrainian-Moldavian relations during the winter of 1652–53 and the spring raid: prospects of a Polish-Ukrainian war (532–33); the hetman's letter to the king, probably written in January (532–33); the negotiations of Bohdanovych-Zarudny and his comrades in Moscow in December (533); the council held in January in Chyhyryn (532–33); the Crown hetman announces the king's campaign to the Ukrainian hetman (534); the senatorial consultation at Hrodna in this matter (535); counting on the Cossacks' greatly weakened state caused by the epidemic and internal struggles—Kochowski's account of Khmelnytsky's acts of tyranny (535–36). Plans for a preventive war, February 1653 (536); the war is delayed to the spring (536); a tally of forces (537). An interim raid on Ukraine in March (538); news from Polisia and Podilia (538–39); the siege of Monasteryshche (539); Czarniecki and Bohun (539–42); the mobilization of Cossack forces (542–43); the Poles retreat (543).

Diplomatic relations—winter–spring 1653: the hetman's lively relations with the Crimea (543–44); Tatar contingents in Ukraine (544–45); measures taken in Istanbul (545–46); relations with Rákóczi (546); Lupu's mediation (546–47). Negotiations with Moscow—the promises brought by Bohdanovych-Zarudny and his comrades (547); the embassy of Burlii and Muzhylovsky (547–49); the issue of allowing the Cossack envoys' transit to Sweden (549). Radziwiłł's letters (550); rumors of an alliance between Radziwiłł and the Cossacks (550–51); the revival of the legend of an alliance between John Casimir and the Cossacks (551); the Diet at Brest—under the auspices of the Radziwiłłs and their peace-making policies (551–52); questionable reports of a Cossack mission (553); news of a Cossack mobilization (553); meager appropriations from the Diet (554); Polish quests for foreign help—the mission to the Imperial Diet (554–55); the mission to the Kalmyks (555). The Moldavian affair (555); a mission from Lupu requesting help (556); the king explains the halt of the raid on Ukraine in terms of Lupu's interests (557); the question of protecting Lupu in Kamianets (557). Adam Kysil's death and characterizations of him (557–58).

An internecine struggle in Moldavia and the Cossacks' participation in it: accounts of the coup d'état in Moldavia—Georg Kraus's (559–61), Miron Costin's (562–64), Paul of Aleppo's (564–67). Tymish's campaign in aid of his father-in-law (561, 563, 565–66); Tymish in Iași (566–67). Reports from Istanbul concerning the internecine struggle in Moldavia: that of Ioannes, son of Georgios (567); an anonymous author's (567–68); Röniger's (569); Ierlych's account (569); Goliński's compendium (570–71). The intense attention paid by Moldavia's neighbors to the Cossacks' participation in the events transpiring

in Moldavia (572); the degree of Khmelnytsky's participation in them (572–73). The campaign of Rákóczi's army against Lupu (573–74); Lupu's flight (575); he pleads with Khmelnytsky for help (575–76); the letters of Bohdan and Tymish Khmelnytsky to Lupu (576–77); the hetman's account of these events to Fomin (577); Cossack accounts (578).

Tymish's first campaign into Moldavia: Hospodar Ștefan's defense measures (578); Tymish's lightning-quick march (579); Ștefan flees (579); the strong impressions made by this episode (580); Poland alarms Europe with the Cossacks (580); the Poles' vacillation concerning Lupu (581); the Radziwiłłs' line (582); Poland's military alliance with the Romanian confederation (583); manipulating public opinion against Tymish and the Cossacks (584); accounts of Tymish's acts of tyranny (584–85). Cossack missions to the Porte (586–87); talk in Ukraine about these relations with the Porte (587–88); Turkish envoys visit the hetman (588); conditions of submission to the Porte (589–90); the sultan's reprimand concerning Tymish's campaign (591). The defeat at Țirgoviște and Tymish's return to Ukraine (591–92); the hetman's and the Cossacks' accounts of this (591–92); those of Paul of Aleppo (593–94) and Costin (594–95); Tymish's flight (595–96); Röniger's information (597) and that of fugitive Moldavians (597–98). Impressions made by this episode (599); dissatisfaction in the Host (599).

The hetman's march into Podilia: Matveev's and Fomin's report as the primary source—they are dispatched with Burlui and Muzhylovsky (599–601); the Cossack mission's dissatisfaction with the negotiations (601); obstacles encountered en route (601); the hetman on the march (602); Iatsin's report (603); his discussions with the hetman in Bar on 13 June [N.S.] (603–4); the hetman at Bedrykhyv Horodok (605). Retreat from Podilia—Polish explanations (606); misunderstandings with the Tatars (607–8); a mutiny in the Host in the latter third of June (608–9); the hetman's wrath against Vyhovsky—Muzhylovsky's account (610–11); Vyhovsky's explanations (611–12); accounts of the council on relations with the Porte (612). Vyhovsky's explanation of Ukrainian-Crimean relations (613); the Muscovite envoys' reports from the Crimea (613–14); Cossack missions to the khan (614–15); the khan threatens to sever relations as a result of the Cossacks' alliance with Muscovy (615–16). The end of the campaign—Zhdanovych's mission to the king (616–17); the terms submitted by the Zaporozhian Host (617–18); a letter from the Crown hetman to the Cossack hetman (618–19); the return of the hetman and the Host (619–20); Tymish's return (621–22).

The Muscovite protectorate: Matveev and Fomin in Chyhyryn (622); conversations with Vyhovsky (622–23); an audience with the hetman on 14 July [N.S.] (624–25); the register of colonels (625); a private conversation with the hetman and Vyhovsky (626); news of Lupu and Rákóczi (627); Matveev and Fomin are discharged (627). Ladyzhensky's mission, the tsar's letter of 22 June O.S. stating that Ukraine is being taken under tsarist rule (627–28). Consultations by the Cossack officers in this matter at the end of July (629); the Moldavian and Crimean issues (629).

Tymish's second campaign into Moldavia and the king's campaign against the Cossacks: Lupu's second flight from Moldavia (629–30); his pleas for help from the Cossacks (630); Lupu visits the hetman (631); discussions of this affair during the council (631–32); preparations for a new campaign (632); the clandestine forms of Ukrainian and Polish intervention in the Moldavian affair (632–33). The king in Lviv, the 'Lviv commission' (633); the arrest of Zhdanovych and his comrades (634); the king renounces Lupu despite the wishes of Janusz Radziwiłł and announces a levy en masse against the Cossacks (635); the partnership with Rákóczi against Lupu and the Cossacks (636); the concealment of this action from the emperor and the Porte (637); the dispatching of the Polish army to Moldavia in the guise of volunteers (637–38). Rákóczi breaks with the Cossacks (638–40). Tymish's departure on the campaign (640); his march toward Suceava (640–41); Hospodar Ștefan's account of this campaign (641); the accounts of Costin (641–42) and Paul of Aleppo (642–43) of the siege of Suceava. The dire situation of the besieged (643). The Tatars abandon Tymish (644). News of the hetman (644–45).

The demise of Tymish: interest in his person (645); accounts of his inclinations toward debauchery (645–46); romantic stories about his death (647–48); Cossack accounts of the Liakh betrayal (648);

various versions of the circumstances of Tymish's death (649); comments and characterizations (649–50); the exact date of his death (650). The garrison continues to defend itself (650); Fedorovych succeeds Tymish as commander (650); the hetman's approach (652); Lupu endeavors to rescue the garrison (653). The king obtains a capitulation—Machowski's mission (654), the capitulation agreement (654–55). The Poles fail to uphold the agreement (655); the Cossacks leave for Ukraine with Tymish's body (655); the fate of Lupu's wife (656–57) and Lupu's treasures (658); rumors about Kondracki (658); the khan arrests Lupu (659); Janusz Radziwiłł's grievances over such a finale to the affair (659); Fedorovych's tragic demise (660–61); Tymish's funeral (661); Rudawski describes his sepulchre and the fate of his widow, Roksanda (661); Roksanda in Rashkiv (662); her letters to the tsar in 1660 and 1664 (662–63).

Appendixes

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. The Warsaw Religious Discussion of 1650 | 664 |
| 2. The Vilnius Panegyric to Khmelnytsky | 683 |

Supplements

- | | |
|---|-----|
| Draft of the sultan's letter to the hetman of 10 August 1650 | 688 |
| Letters to the hetman from Istanbul in March 1651 | 690 |
| Correspondence concerning permission for the Cossack Host to go through Muscovite territory to Roslavl in 1651 | 693 |
| Reports to the royal prince Karol Ferdynand in 1651 | 694 |
| The letter of autumn 1651 from the hetman to the Turkish sultan | 694 |
| Ukrainian emigration from the Siverian region in connection with the billeting of Polish troops beyond the Dnipro in 1652 | 695 |
| The hetman's mission to the Porte of spring 1652 | 695 |
| The date of Hetman Potocki's report | 696 |
| Lupu's and Khmelnytsky's plans for Wallachia and Transylvania | 696 |
| 'To drink tobacco' | 696 |
| Nosach in Moldavia | 697 |
| Bisaccioni on the siege of Suceava | 697 |

* * *

- | | |
|---|-----|
| Bibliography | 699 |
| Abbreviations | 699 |
| Unpublished Sources | 700 |
| Published Sources | 701 |
| Secondary Literature | 704 |
| Tables of Hetmans and Rulers | 708 |
| Translations and Publications Consulted | 715 |
| Index | 716 |