

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 Plokhy

Managing Editor
Uliana M. Pasicznyk

Senior Editor
Myroslav Yurkevich

Project Manager Marko Stech

Associate Editor Marta Horban-Carynnyk

Assistant Editors Dushan Bednarsky Andrij Hornjatkevyč

Technical Editors
Tania Plawuszczak-Stech
Olena Plokhii

Mykhailo Hrushevsky History of Ukraine-Rus'

Volume 8 The Cossack Age, 1626–1650

Translated by
Marta Daria Olynyk

Edited by Frank E. Sysyn, *Editor in Chief*

with the assistance of Myroslav Yurkevich



Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press

University of Alberta Edmonton, Alberta CANADA T6G 2E8 University of Toronto Toronto, Ontario CANADA M5S 2J5

Copyright © 2002 Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies ISBN 1-895571-22-7 (set) ISBN 1-895571-32-4 (v. 8)

Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data

Hrushevs'kyĭ Mykhaĭlo, 1866-1934 History of Ukraine-Rus'

Translation of: Istoriia Ukraīny-Rusy.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Partial contents: v. 8. The Cossack Age, 1626–1650 / translated by Marta D. Olynyk; edited by Frank E. Sysyn; with the assistance of Myroslav Yurkevich.

ISBN 1-895571-22-7 (set) ISBN 1-895571-32-4 (v. 8)

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 2 The Cossack Age, 1626–1650

The preparation of volume eight of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, has been funded by a generous donation from Hanna Mazurenko in memory of her husband, Danylo Mazurenko.

Підготовка восьмого тому англомовного видання *Історії України-Руси* Михайла Грушевського здійснена завдяки щедрому дарові Ганни Мазуренко в пам'ять її чоловіка бл. п. Данила Мазуренка.

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 Ukrainy-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 8 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	xxi
Editorial Preface to Volume 8	nniii
Introduction: Assessing the 'Crucial Epoch': From the Cossack Revolts	
to the Khmelnytsky Uprising at Its Height—Frank E. Sysyn	xxxi
Glossary	lxx
Maps	lxxix

Part 1: From the Kurukove Campaign to the Battle of Kumeiky (1626–1638)

Preface

2

3

I. In an Atmosphere of Loyalty (1626-28)

The search for a modus vivendi (3); currents of compromise in society (3); in hierarchical circles (4); Meletii Smotrytsky's mission to the patriarchs (5); the issue of the brotherhoods' rights (6); their abolition by the patriarch (7). Despondency among the Orthodox (7); dreams of an understanding 'of Rus' with Rus" (9); Kasiian Sakovych's *Desiderosus* and measures taken by Smotrytsky in 1626–27 (10); his motives (10); the draft of a synodal agreement at the Diet of 1626 (11); the king decrees a synod (11); Smotrytsky goes over to the Union (12); his letter of 1627 to the patriarch of Constantinople (13); negotiations with Iov Boretsky and Petro Mohyla (13); Isaia Kopynsky raises the alarm (14).

A mood of opportunism among the Cossacks (15); Mykhailo Doroshenko's tactics (15); the 'selection of the Host' (16); the issue of removing the Cossacks from nobiliary estates (17); the mission to the Diet of 1626 (18). A Tatar attack (19); the issue of keeping those excluded from the register from launching campaigns (20); fears in Turkey (20); measures taken by Doroshenko against unruliness (21); sea campaigns in 1626 (21); Doroshenko's expedition to Zaporizhia (22); the compilation of the register (23); Cossack demands (23). The defeat of the Tatars at Bila Tserkva (24); Cossack petitions are not satisfied (25); the council at Pereiaslav in early 1627 (25) and new petitions (26).

The Cossacks' dissatisfaction with the government's inflexibility (27); their rejection of a campaign against the Swedes (27); the Swedish government attempts to establish relations with them (28). The Turks begin building fortresses on Ukrainian territory in 1627 (29); a show of force by Stefan Chmielecki and the Cossacks (30); a Cossack sea campaign (30). The mission to the Diet (30); the position of the House of Delegates (31). Doroshenko's campaign against Aslan Kerman (32). Shahin Giray's war with Cantemir (33); the Cossacks' march to the Crimea and the death of Doroshenko (33); the retreat from the Crimea (35); Shahin Giray in Zaporizhia (35).

The sea campaigns of 1628 (35); the election of Hrytsko Chorny (36); agitation for a new campaign against the Crimea (36); the mission to the king (37); the hypocritical policies of the Polish government (38); the reply to the Cossacks (38). Sea campaigns (39). The agreement with Shahin and Mehmed Giray (40); the second Crimean campaign of 1628 (40); the Cossacks at Perekop (41); councils and disputes (42); the retreat to Zaporizhia (42).

III. Tensions and Conflict in 1630

Dissatisfaction with Hrytsko Chorny (44); the election of Ivan Sulyma (44); the dissatisfaction of the Cossacks (45); the growth of unruly elements (45); the mission to the Diet of 1629 (46); the sea campaign (47); the third Crimean campaign (47); its failure (48); betrayal by the Tatars (49). The election of Levko Ivanovych (49). Devlet Giray's campaign against Ukraine and the victory at Burshtyn (50). Tension between the registered and non-registered Cossacks; Levko Ivanovych and Hrytsko Savych (50); the conclusion of the Swedish War and the arrival of the Polish army in Ukraine in late 1629 (51); Chorny's order to the Zaporozhians (52); Levko Ivanovych's reply (52); the issue of the register (54) and the emergence of a conflict (54); its interpretation in Stanisław Koniecpolski's report (54); the end of Chorny (56); the religious aspect of the uprising (57).

The issue of a synod (57); the Diet resolution concerning a subsidy from the Ruthenian clergy (57); the compromising publications of Meletii Smotrytsky—the Apology (57); arguments directed to the Ukrainian nobility (59). The Kyiv synod of 1628 (60); the Apology on trial (60); the intervention of the Cossacks (61); Smotrytsky's capitulation (61); the condemnation of the Apology (63); Smotrytsky's works are anathematized (63); his new publications (64).

The continuation of the synodal action (65); the designation of 'general' and 'particular' synods in 1629 (66); negotiations in this matter (66); the favorable attitude of the Orthodox hierarchy (68); the protest of the Orthodox nobility at Malbork (68); Kyivan protests (68); the Zaporozhian delegation (69). The sessions of the Kyiv synod (70); the Cossacks speak out (70); the synod 'breaks asunder' (72); the declaration of the clergy (73); the Orthodox refuse to participate in the Lviv synod (73); the difficult position of the Uniate hierarchy (74); the congress in Lviv (74); the draft formula of church union (74).

Links between the Orthodox opposition and political agitation (76); Polish and Ukrainian rumors (77); the religious coloration of the Cossack war of 1630 (77). The arrest and execution of Chorny (78); the victory at Korsun (78); Polish mobilization (79); Laszcz's campaign (79); Ioakym Ierlych's description of Laszcz (80); the Cossack mission to Koniecpolski (81); his campaign (81).

The Pereiaslav campaign of 1630: the first victory over the Polish army (83); Koniecpolski at Pereiaslav (83); Grigorii Gladky's information (84); the uprising on the Right Bank (85); the rout of the Polish troops (85); the decisive victory of the Cossacks (86); 'the night of Taras' (86); Koniecpolski's declaration (88); the change of hetmans (88); the Cossacks' reply to Koniecpolski (89); the agreement (90); the revision of the register (90); Tymish Orendarenko as leader (91); Koniecpolski's account (92) and the actual consequences of the campaign (92); sea campaigns (93); the government's helplessness (94); the Cossacks' demands (95); the council at Masliv Stav on 23 August 1630 [o.s.] (95).

The Cossack issue at the Diet of 1631 (97); the dissatisfaction of the nobility (98); fear of a peasant uprising (98); the Polish army in Ukraine (99); skirmishes with the Polish soldiers (99). The relaxation of tension (100); the question of the vacant metropolitan's seat (100); the unsuccessful Swedish mission to the Cossacks (101); the government's measures with regard to the metropolitanate (102); Mohyla's candidacy (103); Metropolitan Isaia (103). The prospect of war with Muscovy (104); the mobilization of the Cossack Host (105); Cossack petitions to the Diet of 1632 (106); King Sigismund's final reply (107).

III. The Interregnum and the 'Accommodation of the Orthodox'

108

44

The death of the king (108); the Orthodox prepare for a decisive struggle (108); Ukrainian petitions to the Convocation (110); the activity of the brotherhoods (110); Cossack demands (110); the instructions to the Cossack mission to the Diet (111); the postulate concerning the right of the Cossack Host to

Contents

participate in the election of the king (112); the Cossack Host's show of arms (113); correspondence with the magnates (113). The Orthodox question at the Convocation (114); debates in the committee with regard to the Orthodox question (114); drafts of a compromise formula (116); the declaration of a 'general confederation'; (116); the dispatch of Cossack envoys from the Diet (116); the rejection of the Cossack demand with regard to the election (117).

The dissatisfaction of the Orthodox with the Convocation Diet (117); Metropolitan Isaia at the Cossack council in the Cherniakhiv forest (118); agitation within the Host and the deposition of Ivan Kulaha (118); a crisis in Cossackdom (118); the death of Kulaha (120); the Cossack mission to the election (121); demands pertaining to the religious question (122); the Host supports Władysław's candidacy (122); the prince's efforts pertaining to the Orthodox issue (123); his plans (124); Metropolitan Isaia's agitation in favor of Muscovy (124); the struggle of various parties at the Election Diet (125); the firm stance of the Orthodox (125); the role of the Cossacks (126); the prince's understanding with the Orthodox (127); Władysław as arbiter (127); the working out of the compromise formula (127); 'measures for the accommodation of citizens of the Greek faith' (129); Catholic protests (130); the triumph of the Orthodox (130). The issue of the election of bishops (131); Mohyla's candidacy (131); his election (132); the election of bishops (133); Catholic measures and Orthodox threats (134).

The Coronation Diet (135); the Catholic opposition at the Diet (135); Władysław's uncertain conduct (136); the aggressive attitude of the Orthodox (136); demands that the king's promises be fulfilled (136); a compromise (139); the king's diploma to the Orthodox, 15 March 1638 (N.S.) (139); other royal decrees (140); the unsealing of churches (140); privileges granted to the bishops (140); the question of the Peremyshl bishopric (141); Mohyla's consecration (143); the reclamation of St. Sophia's Cathedral (143); Mohyla's triumphant entry into Kyiv (144); the issue of Metropolitan Isaia (144); a schism in the metropolitanate (145); Cossack mediation (145); the populace is reconciled with Mohyla (146).

The futile 'accommodation' (146); the revival of the religious struggle (146); the implacable attitude of the Catholics and Uniates (147); Władysław's instability (147); the disposition disadvantaging Orthodox schools (147); measures to win the curia over to the compromise (148); the religious issue at the Diet of 1635 (149); the Diet takes cognizance of the concessions of toleration made by the king (150); privileges granted to the Uniates and the Orthodox (150); the Siverian archbishopric (151); the appointment of commissioners for the division of churches (152); the commissioners' protocols (152); Uniate terror in the Kholm region (153); Metodii Terletsky's lawlessness (154); the Hulevych affair (155); the difficulties facing Orthodox bishops (155).

IV. Cossack Affairs, 1632-37

156

The Cossacks abandon the church issue (156); purely Cossack interests (156); mobilization for the war in Muscovy (157); changes in the hetmancy (158); the Cossacks in the Siverian region (159); mobilization of the Cossacks for the relief of Smolensk (159); accounts of the Cossacks at Smolensk (160); news from the Muscovite theater of war in 1634 (161). The danger of a Turkish war (162); Abaza Mehmed Pasha's campaign (162); the Treaty of Polianovka (163); the Diet of 1634 (163); a truce with the Turks (164); dissatisfaction among the Cossacks (164); measures against Cossack unruliness (165); the resolutions of the Diet of 1635 (166); Kodak (167); conflict with the Cossacks (167); sea campaigns (168); prospects of a Swedish war (168); the Cossack expedition to Prussia (169); Cossack boats on the Baltic Sea (170); a truce with the Swedes (170).

The destruction of Kodak (171); Sulyma's past (173); the participation of the registered Cossack army (174); the commissioners' bribes (175); the treachery of the registered Cossacks (175); the sentencing and death of Sulyma and his comrades (176); the reply to the demands of the loyal army (177); the question of rebuilding Kodak (178); internal dissension in the Crimea—Inayet and Cantemir (178); the

government allows the Cossacks to support Inayet (180); the Cossack mission to Muscovy (180); vexation among the Cossacks (180); the conflict at Korsun with Stanisław Daniłowicz (181).

Before the uprising of 1637: the Cossack councils of 1636; Kysil's reports (182); help from the metropolitan (183); Pavliuk's agitation against the loyalists (184); the Cossack chief Tomylenko (184); the campaign to Zaporizhia and to the sea (185); the mission to the Diet (186); Inayet's war with Cantemir (188); Cossack participation in the internal conflict (188); government measures (189); Kysil's reports from the spring of 1637 (189); the council on the Rosava River (189); the revision of the register (190); the sea campaign (192); the end of Inayet and Cantemir (192); Pavliuk's accusations against the Cossack officers for their Crimean policies (193).

Pavliuk's uprising: the seizure of the artillery (193); Tomylenko's attitude (194); Pavliuk's declaration of 16 June (194); his demands (196); the plan for a sea campaign (196); the danger of a Turkish campaign (197); Koniecpolski summons the Cossacks to assist him (197); the Cossack officers depose Tomylenko; Pavliuk accepts war (197); his August proclamations (198); the arrest of the Cossack officers (199); the death of Sava Kononovych (201); Pavliuk's excuses (201); his assurances of loyalty (201); Koniecpolski's wrath (201); the Polish army's march on Ukraine (202).

V. The Wars of 1637-38

203

The popular uprising (203); Pavlo Skydan's proclamations (203); mobilization (204); the march of the Polish army (205); Pavliuk's measures concerning Tatar assistance (206); vacillation among the Cossacks in the settled areas: the council at Korsun, 19 November [o.s.] (206); the council at Pereiaslav (208); news of Pavliuk's approach (208); the confederation in the Polish army; the successes of the uprising (208). The renewal of the Polish advance (210); Pavliuk in the settled area (210); the proclamation to the Trans-Dnipro Cossacks (210); the encounter with Łaszcz (211); the advance on the Polish army at Kumeiky (212); the battle (212); the escape of Pavliuk and Skydan (213); Hunia commands the retreat (213); the encounter at Borovytsia (213); capitulation and the surrender of Pavliuk (214); Koniecpolski's demands (214); the abolition of elective Cossack officers (215); the declaration dictated to the Host (215); Khmelnytsky's signature (216).

Between the winter and summer campaigns: Stanisław Potocki's zeal in the destruction of unruly Cossacks in the Trans-Dnipro region (217); his motives (217); Kyzym's followers (218); the 'uprising' in the Lubni region (218); Potocki's bloody terror in Nizhen (219); executions in Kyiv (219); the soldiers' billets (219). Revision of the register in Trakhtemyriv in February 1638 (220); Kysil's report (221); Cossack losses in the campaign (222). The council at Pereiaslav (222); Mielecki's mission to Zaporizhia (222); the mission of the registered Cossacks to the king and the Diet (223); futile efforts to be restored to favor (223); the execution of Pavliuk and his comrades (225). The new Diet ordinance for the Cossack Host (225); Kysil's authorship (225). The rebuilding of Kodak (226). Szymon Okolski's account of spring activities (227); Hunia's letter to the khan (228). Mielecki's expedition to Zaporizhia (228); the dispatch of the Zaporozhians (229); fear in Ukraine and Potocki's repressions (229).

The war of 1638: the campaign from Zaporizhia to the settled area (230); Iatsko Ostrianyn in Hovtva (230); Potocki's unsuccessful attack (231); Ostrianyn's pursuit of the Poles (231); the battle at Lubni (232); the defeat of Murko Putyvlets (233); Ostrianyn in the Romen region (234); the camp at Lukoml (234); Ostrianyn's strategic plan (234); the uprising on the Right Bank (234); Ostrianyn's new assault on Lubni (235); the defeat of Sekyriavy (236); the battle at Zhovnyne (237); Ostrianyn abandons the Host (237); the election of Dmytro Hunia (237); negotiations (238).

The siege at the Starets and capitulation: the relocation of the camp to the Starets (239); the advantages of the position (239); the arrival of Pavlo Skydan's forces and the renewal of the struggle (239);

negotiations (240); the Polish blockade (241); Hunia's letters (241); hopes invested in Fylonenko by the besieged (242); his misfortune (242); the final negotiations (243); the capitulation of the Cossack Host (243).

The final movements: news from the Chyhyryn region (244); from the Romen region (245). The general council in Kyiv on 9 September (N.S.) (245); the mission to the king (246); the commission at Masliv Stav (247); the appointment of new Cossack officers (247); their selection (248); Cossack submission (249).

Part 2: The Beginnings of the Khmelnytsky Era (1638–1648)

Preface 252

VI. The 'Golden Peace'

253

Depression after the failure of the uprising of 1637–38 (253); the triumph of the nobility regime (253); the decline of opposition elements (254); the nobility's peace policy (254); the nobility annuls King Władysław's war plans (254); claims to the tsar's crown (256); the cancellation of Swedish plans (256); Władysław vacillates between France and the Habsburgs (258); prospects of war with Turkey and the Crimea (259); fears in 1637–38 (259); the Cossacks at sea in 1639 (259); the attack of the Horde in 1640 (260); the Oziv war (261); Cossack provocations and Tatar attacks in 1640–41 (262); Władysław's plan for a campaign against the Crimea at the Diet of 1641 (262); attacks of the Horde in 1642–44 (263); Władysław proposes a new plan at the Diet of 1645 (264).

Giovanni Tiepolo's mission (265); a plan for a Cossack diversion on the Black Sea (265); Władysław's plans for war with Turkey (265); a Muscovite mission and plans with regard to the Balkan Christians (266); Władysław's negotiations with the Cossacks in 1646 (267); the opposition of the Senate (268); the Diet's measures to counter the king's plans (269); Jerzy Ossoliński's mission to Ukraine (270); the expeditions of Koniecpolski and Jeremi Wiśniowiecki (270); expectations of a rift with the Horde and Turkey (271) and Władysław's final relations concerning war against the Turks (271).

Cossackdom in the years 1638-47: measures against the concentration of the unruly element in Zaporizhia (272); the rebuilding of Kodak (273); the instructions to the garrison (273); unruly elements in the Lower Dnipro and Don River regions (274); the military comradeship of the Zaporozhians and the Don Cossacks (275); joint sea campaigns (275); Zaporozhian participation in the Oziv war (276); the sea campaign of 1643; Polish repressions against the participants (277); the Zaporozhians' initiative to renew the Oziv war (277).

Ukrainian Cossackdom across the Muscovite border: Ukrainian volunteers in Muscovite service (278); Ukrainian brigands (279); Hrytsko Torsky and Semen Zabuzky (280); Zaporozhian otamans on the Donets and Don Rivers in 1644–45 (281); attacks on Muscovite transports on the Don River (282); campaigns to 'Mordovian and Cheremys places' (283). Last reports before the Khmelnytsky Uprising (283).

VII. The Ukrainian Colonizing Push to the East

284

The colonization of eastern Ukraine from 1625 to 1643: the development of Ukrainian colonization across the Muscovite border in the 1630s and 1640s (284); a general picture of Ukrainian colonization in the east (285); free villages in the part of eastern Ukraine belonging to Poland (286); magnates' latifundia and colonizing motives of Polish policy (286); the vested interests of its leaders: Koniecpolski; Potocki; Wiśniowiecki (286); the settlement of the Trans-Dnipro region on the eve of the Khmelnytsky era (287); population density in the settlements (288); the Wiśniowiecki holdings (288); the Muscovite borderland in the 1640s (290); the magnates' wars for latifundia (291); the Wiśniowiecki-Koniecpolski affair at the Diet (292).

xiv Contents

Antecedents of Ukrainian colonization across the Muscovite border: joint defensive measures in the sixteenth century (293); the military comradeship of the Don Cossacks and the Zaporozhian Cossacks; the song about Mishka Cherkashenin (293); the testimonial of Oleksa Shafran (294); Ukrainians in Muscovite service in the second half of the sixteenth century (294); 'thieving Cherkasians' (294); the Ukrainian foraging economy (296); emigration from the Polish borderland in the first half of the sixteenth century (296); Muscovy's organization of defense and its requirements for defensive military service (298); the system of fortifications (298); the organization of a sentry service in Muscovite Ukraine in the 1550s and 1560s (299); the reform of 1571 (299); the 'Cherkasians' (301); the construction of new fortified towns in the 1580s and 1590s (301); changes occasioned by the Time of Troubles (301); the 'Belgorod line' in the first half of the seventeenth century (303); the construction of fortified towns and fortifications in the 1630s (303); requirements for military personnel (303).

The influx of Ukrainian emigration in the 1630s and 1640s: Muscovite reports from 1637 to 1640 (304); the Muscovite government's attitude to this emigration (304); stipends (305); the organization of Ukrainian colonies: the town of Korocha as a model (305); the allotment of land (305); military organization (307); subjection to Muscovite regulations (307); Muscovite 'cruelty' (308); limitations on land use (308). Ukrainians settle beyond the line: 'foraging grounds' (309); the distribution of 'estates' (310); spontaneous economic colonization (310).

The emigration of Ostrianyn's followers; Ostrianyn and Hunia (311); Ostrianyn's appearance in Belgorod (312); the settlement of Chuhuiv (312); vexations associated with provisions and officialdom (313); dissatisfaction with Ostrianyn (314); petitions (314); Ostrianyn in Moscow (314); the 'rebellion' of the Chuhuiv residents and the death of Ostrianyn; the Chuhuiv residents in the role of 'thieving Cherkasians' (314). The significance of this episode and of Ukrainian emigration across the Muscovite border in general (315).

VIII. 'The Origin and Cause of Khmelnytsky's Wars': Ukrainian Society before the Khmelnytsky Uprising

316

The causes of the great uprising as elucidated by the Ukrainian tradition: the 'Eyewitness''s exposition of the 'origin and cause' (316); the exposition of the motives for the uprising as given by Khmelnytsky: the 'register of grievances' (318). Polish explanations: Samuel Kuszewicz and Wespazjan Kochowski (318); Samuel Gradzki (319).

Religious motives: the circumstances of religious life—the struggle for the church in western Ukraine as a cause of exasperation (320); the war for the Peremyshl eparchy (321); the struggle in Belarus (322); repressive measures of the Catholic clergy and nobility (322); Anna Chodkiewicz-Ostrogska and Jan Tyszkiewicz (323); the mood in hierarchical circles (324).

The age of Mohyla; its significance in cultural and national life: the reorganization of the church—the Kyiv synod of 1640 (324); Mohyla's 'Catechism' (325); Sakovych's polemics (326); Lithos (326). Mohyla's Trebnyk (327); plans to publish a Ukrainian hagiology; the publications of Sylvestr Kosiv and Atanasii Kalnofoisky (328). The organization of education: the Kyivan College and its branch (329); the curriculum of the Kyivan College (329); representatives of 'Mohyla's Athenaeum' and alumni of Mohyla's schools (330); the character of Mohylan learning (331); its weakness from the general cultural and national standpoint (332) and its Orthodox irreproachability (332).

Restraint toward Catholic circles (333); hostility toward the Uniate Church (333); the Uniates' difficult situation (333); repressive measures of the Catholic hierarchy (334); the government is prepared to sacrifice the Union (336); its plans for religious compromise (336); the formula of understanding (337); plans for a patriarchate for Poland and Lithuania (338); concordant currents in Mohyla's circles (338); Mohyla's struggle for the fullness of hierarchical rule (338); conflict with the brotherhoods and the

Contents xv

patriarch (339); rumors of Mohyla's plans to acquire the title of patriarch (339); agitation by Metropolitan Isaia and his supporters (340); the emigration of monks to Muscovy (340). The curia's unfavorable attitude toward the plans for compromise (341); conflict between the nunciature and the government (341); favorable expectations in Orthodox hierarchical circles (342).

The hierarchy's attitude toward society (343); indifference to the brotherhood movement (343); antagonism toward the Cossacks (343); legends about Mohyla's links with the Cossack uprising (343). What, then, was the basis for the interpretation of the Khmelnytsky Uprising as a struggle for the faith? (346). The universality of such an interpretation (346).

Social motives of the uprising: its true character and its concealment by more strident slogans (346). Hostility toward the magnates and the petty nobiliary element in the uprising (346). Anti-Semitism in the seventeenth century (348); responses of Polish writers (349); rumors collected by Grigorii Kunakov (350); accounts of the leasing of churches by Jews (350); the poetic tradition concerning injustices at the hands of Jewish leaseholders (351); images of Jewish arrogance in the *dumy* (351); tales from the Cossack chroniclers (353); more recent polemics concerning the leasing of churches (354). Violence perpetrated by soldiers (355).

The national motive of the Khmelnytsky Uprising: the national synthesis of anomalies in the structure of the Commonwealth (356); lords = Liakhs (357); suspicions about the bishops (358); the idea of national liberation (358).

Injustice done to the registered Cossacks as a direct cause: excesses of Polish officers (359); unfilled vacancies (359); injustices perpetrated by the starosta administration (360); Cossack grievances in the petition of 1648 (361); other information pertaining to injustices suffered by the Cossacks (363); Cossack complaints in 1639–40 (364); the investigation of 1643 (365); the representations of Mikołaj Potocki and Adam Kysil (365).

IX. The Khmelnytsky Uprising

367

Alarming rumors and signs: Koniecpolski's fears (367); news of Cossack relations with the Crimea (368); the death of Koniecpolski and the 'spark' in the Cossack Host (368); Władysław's relations with the Cossacks (369); his privilege to the Cossacks (370) and his mutinous advice (370); the passivity of the Cossack officers (372); the king's plans (373); the Cossacks do not carry out the king's instructions (373); Ossoliński's journey to Ukraine (374); negotiations on the religious question (374).

The Khmelnytsky affair: Khmelnytsky's lineage (376); the social status of his family (377); his upbringing (378); the Tutora campaign (379) and captivity (379); activity in the Host (379); private life (379); legends about Khmelnytsky (379); Bohdan's romance (382); his conflict with the starosta administration (382); accusations of instigating a rebellion (383); his arrest (384); Khmelnytsky as an individual (385); his traits (385); his flight to the Lower Dnipro region (386).

The Khmelnytsky Uprising: legends about its genesis (387); the contemporary, and most reliable, reports (388); the first news of the rebellion (389); Khmelnytsky takes control of the Sich (389); Potocki's account (390); accounts collected by Kunakov (391); Khmelnytsky's representation (392); his plans (393); agitational motifs (393); the legend of legitimacy (394).

X. The Spring Campaign of 1648

396

The uprising unfolds and the Poles advance: successes of the uprising in the Lower Dnipro region (396); Khmelnytsky's forces (397); negotiations and alliance with the Crimea (397); the movement 'to the

settled area' (398); alarm in nobiliary circles (398); Potocki's campaign (398); the refusal of the king and the senators (399); Potocki's implacable attitude (399); his plans to crush the movement without scruple (400); the mission to Khmelnytsky and his reply (401).

Zhovti Vody: the march of the Polish army (402); the Polish forces (402); the expedition to the Lower Dnipro region (402); Szemberg's campaign (403); Stefan Potocki's overland expedition (403); rebellion at Kamianyi Zaton (403); the hetmans at Chyhyryn (404); their retreat (405); the blockade of Stefan Potocki at Zhovti Vody (405); retreat and defeat (405).

Korsun: news from Kodak (406); the hetmans' alarm (406); news of the defeat at Zhovti Vody (406); retreat to Korsun (407); the Cossack advance (407); the retreat of the hetmans (408); the defeat at Horokhova Dibrova (408); contemporaries' impressions of it (409). Tatar detachments (410). Khmelnytsky at Bila Tserkva (411); his forces (411); the uprising unfolds (412); news from the Trans-Dnipro region (412); the flight of the Poles and Jews (413); Khmelnytsky attempts to keep the uprising within the bounds of correctness as much as possible (413).

Part 3: The Khmelnytsky Uprising at Its Height (1648-1650)

Preface

XI. Attempts at Compromise (Summer 1648)

416 418

At Bila Tserkva: panic after Korsun (418); the interregnum (418); Ossoliński's role (419); his instructions (419); diplomatic measures in the Horde and in Muscovy to isolate the Khmelnytsky Uprising (420); Khmelnytsky tries to settle the conflict (421); a letter to vice-starosta Zygmunt Czerny (421); news of Cossack demands (422); the 'separate domain' (422); the Cossacks' actual demands (424). The mission to the king: Khmelnytsky's letter (424); Cossack demands transmitted through the envoys (425); other letters dated that day, 12 June [N.S.] (426); Petronii Lasko's mission to Khmelnytsky (427); Kysil's understanding with Khmelnytsky (427); Lasko's accounts (428); the mood in the Host (429); the Horde's position (430); Khmelnytsky retreats from near Bila Tserkva to Chyhyryn (431).

A truce and the convocation: jubilation owing to the truce and Khmelnytsky's retreat (431); attacks on Ossoliński (432); the Diet's dispatch of the Cossack mission (433); the drafting of a plan with regard to the Cossacks (434); the designation of commissioners, Kysil and his comrades, and the announcement of a general campaign (435); the optimism of Polish politicians and fears for Khmelnytsky (435). The uprising unfolds (436). The Trans-Dnipro region (437); rumors about Maksym Kryvonis's mission (438); the actual spontaneous development of the uprising (438); news from Chernihiv (439); Starodub (440); attempts to combat the uprising (441). Kyivan Polisia (442). The Bratslav region (443); the destruction of Nemyriv (443); Tulchyn (444); legends about the massacre there (444); Kryvonis's first actions (445).

Kryvonis and Jeremi Wiśniowiecki: Wiśniowiecki's arrival from beyond the Dnipro (446); the punitive expedition to Nemyriv (447); the defeat of the Poles (447); the march on Makhnivka (448); the ruin of Polonne (448); impressions of Wiśniowiecki's actions (449); Kryvonis as avenger (450); reports about him (451); his ideology (452); rumors about the rivalry between Kryvonis and Khmelnytsky (452). Khmelnytsky abandons his previous reserve (454); his march from Chyhyryn (454); reasons for the campaign in a letter to Władysław Dominik Zasławski; Wiśniowiecki's advance (454) and the detention of the envoys (455).

Polish mobilization and the failure of the commission: the dispatch of the army to Ukraine (456); Zasławski's operations (456). Kryvonis declares war (457); the battle at Starokostiantyniv (457); Wiśniowiecki and his retreat (458); Kryvonis in Podilia (459); Mezhybizh and Bar (459); rumors about Kamianets (460). Khmelnytsky at Pavoloch (461); diplomatic measures: the proclamation for Lithuania (461); negotiations with the Crimea and Turkey (462). The march toward Starokostiantyniv (462). The

journey of the Polish commissioners (463); efforts to open negotiations with Khmelnytsky (464); the Polish army's hostility to the truce and the commissioners' action (465); the violation of the truce (465); Kysil's report (467).

XII. The Autumn Campaign and the Winter Accord of 1648

468

Pyliavtsi: the triumvirate of Zasławski, Koniecpolski, and Mikołaj Ostroróg and rivalry with Wiśniowiecki (468); the merging of their armies at Chovhanskyi Kamin (469); the Polish forces (470); the luxury of the camp (470); the march to Starokostiantyniv (472); the expansive mood in the Polish camp (472); Cossack positions at Pyliava (473); the Polish advance (473); the battle of 13 September O.S. (474); a rumor about the Tatars (474); panic in the Polish camp (474); the flight of the Polish army (475); the booty from Pyliavtsi (476). Further plans (478); Cossack statements (478); Samuel Kuszewicz (478); Wespazjan Kochowski on Cossack deliberations and reasons for continuing the campaign (479); the march on Lviv (480).

The siege of Lviv: the national status of Lviv (481); the mood of panic during the Khmelnytsky Uprising (482); refugees from Pyliavtsi (482); the organization of a defense (483); the recruiting of an army under Wiśniowiecki's command (484). Wiśniowiecki abandons Lviv (484); Khmelnytsky at Lviv (485); attempts at a defense (485); Lviv fabrications about the Cossacks (485); Khmelnytsky's benevolence toward Lviv (486); initial negotiations (487); Lviv delegates in the Cossack camp (488); a depiction of it (489); the capitulation of Lviv (489); the departure of the Cossack Host (490); the uprising in Galicia (490); indifference to it on the part of Khmelnytsky and his officers (491); the desire to proceed 'to the Vistula' (492).

Zamość: Khmelnytsky's procrastination (492); reasons for the march on Zamość (492); Khmelnytsky's information (493); his proposals to the residents of Zamość (493); letters (494); the blockade of Zamość and the devastation of the surrounding area (495); the capitulation of Zamość (497).

The election: Khmelnytsky's support of John Casimir's candidacy (497); the candidacy of the royal princes and György Rákóczi (497); their supporters' ties with the Cossacks and the Dissenters (498); Iurii Nemyrych's measures (499); Vasile Lupu and Janusz Radziwiłł (499); Rákóczi's envoys visit Khmelnytsky (500). The partisan struggle at the Election Diet (500); Kysil's deductions (501); the issue of defense (501); panic at news of the Cossacks (502); the influence of the Cossack argument on John Casimir's election (503); his relations with Khmelnytsky: Iurii Iermolovych's mission (503); Khmelnytsky's declarations in favor of John Casimir (504); Andrzej Mokrski's mission (504); Khmelnytsky's letters of 15 November (N.S.) (505); the election of John Casimir (506).

The truce: Mokrski's grim news about Khmelnytsky's policies (506); the demands of Khmelnytsky and his Host (506); debates on these questions in the Senate (508); the war party and the peace party (508); Śmiarowski's reports on the mission to Zamość (509); a depiction of the hetman's residence (509); Khmelnytsky accepts the truce (511); his conversations with Stanisław Ołdakowski (511); decrees issued by John Casimir (512); proclamations of amnesty (512); the dispatch of commissioners to Khmelnytsky (513).

XIII. New Ukrainian Plans and a Decisive Breach with Poland. The Campaign of 1649

515

Khmelnytsky in Kyiv: the march from Zamość (515); the arrival of Patriarch Paisios (516); the hetman's entry into Kyiv (517); Kyivan ovations (517); conferences with the patriarch (518); the political attitude of Kyivan circles and the role of the patriarch as intermediary (519); his influence on the hetman's policies (520); the change in his mood and plans (520).

The policy of the hetman, the Host, and society: the uncertainty of the agreement with Poland (521); the hostile mood of the masses (522); the Horde's eagerness for war (523); the concept of an anti-Turkish Orthodox league (523); the plan of reliance on the Turkish system (524); the attitude of the Kyivan clergy and the patriarch (524); the hetman's Moldavian plans (525); foreign missions at the beginning of the year (525); the mission of Paisios and Syluian Muzhylovsky to Muscovy (527); the Don Cossack question (527); reckoning on Rákóczi (528); the neutralization of Lithuania (529).

The Commonwealth commission visits the hetman: its plans and tasks (529); the conference with the metropolitan (530); denunciations of Kysil (530); Ukraine's grim demeanor (531); arrival in Pereiaslav (532); the conferral of insignia on the hetman (532); initial discussions (533); the hetman's disinclination toward the commission (533); the program of Ukrainian statehood (535); the declaration of war on Poland (535). Repressions against the uprising in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (536); battles in Podilia (537); the wrath of the hetman and his officers occasioned by this (538); hopes in Muscovy (538); the draft truce worked out by the commissioners (539); negotiations (540); the truce of 14/24 February (541); its terms (542); the end of the commission (543); the flight of the nobility with the commissioners (543).

The breach: the endeavors of the king and the chancellor to settle the conflict (544); their difficult position (544); Śmiarowski's mission (544); Adam Kysil's instructions (545); his missive to the hetman (545); Śmiarowski's directives (546); the king's and Kysil's advice to the hetman (546); the curbing of hostile operations (549); missions to the hetman (549); an implacable attitude toward Poland (549); the hopelessness of the truce (551); Kysil's final measures (551); the breach of the truce (552); the hetman's final letter of 3/13 May (552).

Before the campaign: Polish repressions and provocations (553); Samuel Korecki's repressions (553); eastern Podilia (554); Ivan Bohun and Danylo Nechai (554); Polish operations in Podilia (554); the restrained attitude of the Ukrainian borderland (555); the death of Tughay Bey (556); the hetman's efforts to obtain the aid of the Horde and the Don Cossacks (556); Muscovy's neutrality (557); Grigorii Unkovsky's mission (557); the hetman strives to engage Muscovy's interest in Lithuania (557); relations with Radziwiłł (558) and the Rákóczis (558); the Host's resolute mood (559).

The beginnings of the campaign: mobilization (560); forward positions (560); agitational slogans (560); manifestations of Ukrainian statehood (561); the general council planned for Masliv Stav (562); the death of Śmiarowski (562); Petronii Lasko's accounts (562); review of troops in Kyiv (562). The delay in the early stages of the campaign (563); the Polish forces (563); a Cossack attack (565); terror at Mezhybizh (565); the concentration of Polish forces at Zbarazh (566); Khmelnytsky's march (566); Krychevsky's diversion to Lithuania (567); the king's march (568).

The siege of Zbarazh: the hetman's haste (568); the Polish forces (569); the Cossack forces (569); Khmelnytsky's organizational talent (570); the difficult situation of the besieged (570); blockade methods (571); Cossack losses (571); Stanisław Mrozowicki (Morozenko) (571); attempts at negotiations (572); signs of exhaustion (572); the dissatisfaction of the Tatars (573); the Polish army's helpless situation (573).

XIV. The Zboriv Agreement and Its Hopelessness

575

The king's march and the Zboriv blockade: the slow pace of the king's march (575); optimistic views (575); creating a mood (576); proclamations to the Ukrainian people (576); the appointment of Semen Zabuzky as hetman (577); the Cossacks' clandestine march to encounter the king (578); the encounter at Zboriv (578); the 'confusion' of 5/15 August [1649] (578); the nocturnal council and the letter to

the khan (579); the mission to Khmelnytsky (580); the king's letter to Khmelnytsky (580); the battle of 6/16 August (581); Khmelnytsky's letter to the king (581); the tragic nature of this moment (583).

The Zboriv truce: the official representation of events (583); the king's absolution to Khmelnytsky (583); the initiation of negotiations with the khan (584); the first meeting (584); Khmelnytsky's second letter (585); the hetman's meeting with Ossoliński (585); the Cossack mission to the king (586); the hetman's third letter (587); the king's accord with the khan (588); permission to take captives from Ukraine (588). The 'points' submitted by the Cossack Host (589); the question of Cossack immunity (591); Cossack territory (591); the religious question (592); amnesty (592). Negotiations (592); the diminution of Cossack territory (592); the khan's guarantee (593); the 'declaration of favor from His Majesty the King' (593); the privilege to the Cossack Host (595); Khmelnytsky visits the king (596); the Cossack Host sets out from Zbarazh (596).

The mood and negotiations after Zboriv: dissatisfaction with the Zboriv act on both sides and the masking of its actual contents (597); the hetman's official representation (598); legends about the king (598); tales of Tatar captivity (599); the profound impact of this fact on the Ukrainian populace (600); a curse on Khmelnytsky (601). The diminution of Cossack territory (601); the hetman's administration conceals the contents of the agreement (601) and maintains the status quo (602); the hetman's depressed state (604); correspondence with Kysil (604); the hetman's administration bars the nobility from Ukraine (605); Kysil's devices (605); reminders about the register (606); the question of the Kyivan nobility's dietine (606); the despair of the nobility (607); Kysil's representations (607); the impossibility of satisfying the nobility (609); the hetman administration's desire to manifest its loyalty (609); the hetman's meeting with Kysil in Kyiv in mid-November (610); the manifestation of the palatine's jurisdiction (610); the rejection of other demands (610); the king's reminders to the hetman (611); the proclamation to the Host in the borderlands (612).

Diplomatic relations in the autumn of 1649 and the hetman's policy: audiences in Chyhyryn (613); the renewal of relations with the Horde (613); the hetman takes care to interest the khan (613); relations with the Ottoman Porte and its vassals (613); attempts to stir up a larger international political conflict (614); plans for a campaign against Muscovy (615); its motivation among the Ukrainian masses (615); anxiety in Muscovy at this news (616); Grigorii Neronov's mission to Khmelnytsky (617); the diplomatic ritual of the hetman's court according to his reports (617); the hetman expresses his dissatisfaction and censure of Muscovite policies (620); threats against the Don Cossacks (620); more favorable notes on parting (621); rumors of an alliance between Ukraine and the Crimea against Poland (622).

Harbingers of war in the winter of 1649–50: rumors of military measures by the Polish magnates (623); fears of Wiśniowiecki's designs (624); expectations of a campaign against Muscovy and the Don River region (624); the Don Cossacks' mission to the hetman (625); the cancellation of the campaign (626); mobilization at New Year's (627); its cancellation in January 1650 (628); the deliberate nature of these warlike alarms (628).

Ratification of the Zboriv Agreement: the mission to the Diet (628); the compilation of the register (629); instructions to the envoys to the Diet (629); the metropolitan's departure for the Diet (630); the mood at the Diet (630); the deferral of the religious question (631); the laconic confirmation of the Zboriv Agreement (631); royal privileges conferred on the Host and the hetman on 12 January [N.S.] (632); the privilege 'to the Ruthenian nation' (632); proclamation of a complete truce and return of all to their homes (633). The nobility endeavors to return (634); apprehension in Ukraine (634); conflicts: the Korecki incident (635); Nechai's forays (636); rumors about him as leader of the opposition (637); Khudolii's uprising (638).

Efforts at conciliation by the hetman's administration (638); lack of support against Poland (639); the compilation of the register as a manifestation of loyalty (639); the circumspection with which it was

done (641); the significance of the register as a source (641). The number of regiments (641); their composition: the Chyhyryn regiment (642); the regiments of Cherkasy, Kaniv, and Korsun (643); of Bila Tserkva and Uman (644); of Bratslav and Kalnyk (644); of Kyiv (645); of Pereiaslav (646); of Kropyvne, Myrhorod, and Poltava (646); of Pryluka, Nizhen, and Chernihiv (647). The misunderstanding about the 'Ukrainian diet' in the literature (647).

The Kyiv meeting of February and March 1650 (647); the city's unfriendly attitude toward Kysil (648); the hetman's steadfast position (649); an understanding with the palatine (650); the mission to the king and the letter of 20 March [N.S.] (650); the Host's demands (651); the fulfillment of the Zboriv terms is delayed until the demands are settled (652); Kysil's accounts (653).

Notes		655
1.	Works on Religious and National Relations in the Second Quarter of the Seven- teenth Century	655
2.	The Cossack Period, 1635–38: Sources and Secondary Literature	660
3.	The Decade before the Khmelnytsky Uprising: Secondary Literature	664
3. 4.	Ukrainian Colonization East of the Dnipro: The Left Bank and Sloboda Ukraine	667
5.	Sources for the History of the Khmelnytsky Era and its Historical Tradition: memoirs of contemporaries (671); monographs treating the Khmelnytsky Uprising as a whole or certain stages of it (672); older Ukralnian historiography: Syluian Muzhylovsky (676); the 'Eyewitness' and Hryhorii Hrabianka (676); Samiilo Velychko (677); later compilations (677).	007
	Poetical works of the Khmelnytsky era (678).	670
6.	Documentary Material: Ukrainian (683); Muscovite (684); Polish (685); from	
	other countries (687).	683
7.	Scholarly Literature on the Khmelnytsky Era: Johann Christian von Engel (690); Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky (690); Oleksii Martos (691); Zaporozhskaia starina (692); Mykola Markevych's Istoriia Malorossii (692); Mykola Kostomarov's Bogdan Khmel'nitskii (693); Mykhailo Maksymovych's Pis'ma (695); Sergei Soloviev and Gennadii Karpov (696); Panteleimon Kulish (698); other Ukrainian- and Russian-language works published between 1870 and 1880 (699) and in the 1890s (700). Nineteenth-century Polish historiography (700). Works of the last two decades (701).	690
	* * *	
Biblio	ography	719
Ab	breviations	719
Un	published Sources	720
Pu	blished Sources	721
Se	condary Literature	731
Table	s of Hetmans and Rulers	747
Trans	lations and Publications Consulted	755
Index		757