

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 2, Part 2
The Cossack Age, 1654–1657

Translated by
Marta Daria Olynyk

Edited by
Yaroslav Fedoruk, *Consulting Editor*
and
Frank E. Sysyn, *Editor in Chief*

with the assistance of
Myroslav Yurkevich



Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press
Edmonton • 2010 • Toronto

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press

University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada T6G 2H8

University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5T 1W5

Copyright © 2010 Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

ISBN 1-895571-22-7 (set)

ISBN 978-1-894865-17-3 (v. 9, bk. 2, pt. 2)

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Hrushevs'kyi Mykhailo, 1866–1934

History of Ukraine-Rus' / Mykhailo Hrushevsky

Translation of: Istorii Ukraïny-Rusy.

Vol. 9, book 2, part 2 translated by Marta D. Olynyk; edited by Frank E. Sysyn and Yaroslav Fedoruk; with the assistance of Myroslav Yurkevich.

Editor in chief: Frank E. Sysyn.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Contents: v. 9, bk. 2, pt. 2. The Cossack age, 1654–1657.

ISBN 1-895571-22-7 (bound : set)

ISBN 978-1-894865-17-3 (v. 9, bk. 2, pt. 2)

1. Ukraine—History. I. Sysyn, Frank E. II. 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 2, Part 2

The Cossack Age, 1654–1657

The preparation of volume nine, book two, part two of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's *History of Ukraine-Rus'* has been funded by a generous donation from Dr. Maria Fischer-Slysh of Toronto in memory of her parents, Dr. Adolf Slyz and Olha Slyz.

Підготування другої частини другої книги дев'ятого тому англomовного видання *Історії України-Руси* Михайла Грушевського здійснено завдяки щедрому дарові д-р Марії Фішер-Слиж з Торонта в пам'ять її батьків, бл. п. д-ра Адольфа Слижа й Ольги Слиж.

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 2 was funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D.C.

The publication of volume 9, book 2, part 2 of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* has been funded by a generous donation from the estate of Edward Brodacky (1926–2007), who settled in London, England, after the Second World War.

Contents

Foreword	viii
Editorial Preface to the Hrushevsky Translation Project	xvii
Editorial Preface to Volume 9, Book 2, Part 2	xix
Overcoming Historical Stereotypes and Analyzing Ukrainian Foreign Policy, 1655–57—Yaroslav Fedoruk	xxvii
Hrushevsky Confronts Lypynsky: The Historian’s Final Assessment of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Khmelnytsky Era—Frank E. Sysyn	lx
Glossary	lxxix
Maps	lxxxvii

* * *

X. The Galician Campaign of 1655. The Problem of Western Ukraine; Issues Relating to the Occupation of Belarusian Lands and the Ukrainian Emigration (Spring 1656)

1

Polish attempts to reach an understanding with Cossackdom and measures to provoke the Horde against it—the king’s proclamation to the Cossack officers and the rank-and-file Cossacks (1–2); the dissatisfaction of the Diet estates with the king’s promises (3); the Diet commission on the Cossack question (3–4); the instructions issued to the commissioners in late June (4); truce conditions (5–6); Fedir Vyhovsky’s mission (7–8). The wretched state of the Polish army (8); efforts to seek the help of the Porte and the Horde (8). The Cossack government halts these efforts by diplomatic and military means (8–9); the Cossack mission in Istanbul (9); the Porte forbids the khan to fight the Cossacks (10–11), the khan insists on a campaign (11–12); the Horde moves against the Cossacks in August 1655 (13).

The march on Lviv and the beginning of the Swedish-Ukrainian alliance: news from the march—the hetman in Bar on 15 July (13–14); the siege of Husiatyn (14–15); the conflict with Buturlin (15); the Cossack army at Kamianets (15–16); a diplomatic mission from the Swedish king and György Rákóczi visits the hetman (17); negotiations with Rákóczi and both hospodars (18–19); the beginning of military cooperation (19–20); a Ukrainian-Swedish military convention (September) (20–21); Ivan Zolotarenko’s relations with the Swedes (22–23); Moscow manifests its claims to Belarus and Podilia—the tsar’s new titles (23–24); a history of the title of ‘Little Rus’ and White Rus’ (24–25); political repercussions of this manifestation (25–26).

In the vicinity of Lviv: the march from Kamianets (26); the capture of Iahilnytsia and Pidhaitsi (26); a battle at Horodok (27); the siege of Lviv (28); the hetman’s letter to the city administration (28); the first delegation from the city administration visits the hetman (29–30); discussions (30); the second delegation (30–31); the attack of 8 October (32); the hetman’s terms of surrender (33); further negotiations and an understanding (33–36); negotiations with Governor Krzysztof Grodzicki (36); the plan for a Cossack protectorate (36–37); the Cossack army departs from Lviv (37–38). The Cossacks in Lublin (38–39); reforms carried out to the benefit of the Ukrainian population (39); misunderstandings with the Muscovite voevodas (40–41).

Political differences and prospects—the question of submitting in the name of the tsar or the hetman (41); the Cossack officers’ plans (41). Relations with the Swedes (41–42); plans for a struggle with the Islamic

world (42); the Swedes' unfavorable attitude toward Cossack demands (43). Opportunism with regard to Poland (44); Stanisław Lubowicki's mission (44–45); Bohdan Khmelnytsky's fable (46–47); homage to the queen (47–48); Cossackdom's political program (48). The Turkish mission of Shahin Agha (48–49); the khan's offensive (49–50).

The renewal of the agreement with the khan at Ozerna: Buturlin's report (50); a Cossack diary (51); Jaskólski's report (52); Tatar accounts (52); the battle of Ozerna (18 November) (52–53); its presentation by memoirists and historians (53–55). The hetman's negotiations with the khan (55); their truce (56–57); the hetman's meeting with the khan (58–59); ambiguities in the literature about the truce conditions (59–60); the actual nature of the agreement of 22 November (61–62).

The expedition to the Prypiat region of Polisia: Dmitrii Volkonsky's account (62–64); the role of the Muscovite army (64); Polish reports (64–65).

Developments on the Belarusian front: Zolotareno's tactics (65); the expansion of the Cossack protectorate (66); the dissatisfaction of the tsarist government (66–67); Zolotareno at the tsar's headquarters in June 1655 (67); his wishes and the tsar's resolutions (67–68); the death of Zolotareno (69); his ghastly funeral—legends on that subject (69–70); the significance of this loss for Cossackdom (70–71). Ivan Nechai as Zolotareno's successor—'colonel of Chavusy and Novy Bykhaŭ' (71–72).

After the march on Lviv—Semen Polovets's mission (72); Ivan Vyhovsky visits Vasilii Buturlin in Bila Tserkva (72–74); news dating from December (74); Buturlin's messenger (74); an account by Paul of Aleppo (74–75); the disgrace and death of Buturlin (75–76). The January conference in Chyhyryn (76–77); a wedding at the hetman's (77); the Chyhyryn meetings (77); the metropolitan's news (77–78); news from the secretary of Romen (79). The problem of western Ukraine (79–80). The issue of the occupied Belarusian lands; Muscovite claims (80–81); the organization of Cossackdom in Belarus (81); the issue of awarding the Belarusian regiment to Nechai (81–82); differences of opinion with Muscovy concerning other issues (82).

Diplomatic prospects in early 1656: John Casimir's return to Poland (82–83); his hopes with regard to the hetman and the khan (83); relations with the hetman (84); instructions issued to the commissioners in January (85); Vyhovsky's letter of 1 February to Grodzicki (86–87); western Ukrainian plans (87). Relations with the Crimea; Mykhailo Makharynsky's mission (87–88); the hetman's letter of 22 January (88); Tokhtamish Agha's mission (88–89); the hetman's letter of 31 January to the khan (89); Cossack and Polish envoys in the Crimea in February (90–92). Relations with Sweden—delays with the diplomatic mission (92); letters of 11 January to the Swedish king and Hieronim Radziejowski (93–94); Daniel Kaluger's mission to Chyhyryn (94); letters from the Swedish king in February (94–95); Kaluger and Samuel Grądzki in Chyhyryn in March (96–97). Relations with György Rákóczi II—his rapprochement with Cossackdom for operations in Poland (97); István Lucs's mission (98); the hetman's restrained attitude (99). Moldavian and Wallachian envoys (99–100); the hetman's and Vyhovsky's letters of April (100–101); Kaluger and Grądzki visit Rákóczi (101–3); Ivan Briukhovetsky's mission to Rákóczi (103–4); Ferenc Sebesi's mission to the hetman (104); Briukhovetsky is discharged (104–5).

Polish and Crimean relations from February to May: the missions of Stanisław Lubowicki and Jan Piaseczyński (106–7); Polish reports from Ukraine (107); the king relates the course of the negotiations (108–9); the hetman's and Vyhovsky's letters written to the king in March (109). Polish measures concerning the khan's information (110–11); instructions to Jan Szumowski (111–13). Sübhan Agha visits the hetman (113); Cossack envoys visit the khan in May (114). Wawrzyniec Rudawski's account of the situation (114–15); plans for the unification and complete independence of Ukraine (115).

Ukrainian-Muscovite tensions concerning the Belarusian question: Larion Lopukhin's mission (115); conversations with the hetman from 6 to 12 April: Muscovite complaints about the Cossacks' conduct in Belarus (116); the free and forced cossackization of the populace (117); torture by the Cossacks (118); the hetman champions Cossackdom (119–21). A proposal concerning the introduction of voevodas in Ukraine (121–22); the issue of a blockade of the Crimea (122–23); the question of the occupation of western Ukraine (123). The hetman's claims in the matter of Ukrainian emigration (124). The issue of Ukrainian tavern keepers (125–26). An inquiry into the Belarusian affair—Antin Zhdanovych and Nikita Sivtsov

(126). The mission of Dionysii Balaban (127). Lopukhin is discharged (127–28). Additional Muscovite complaints (128). Iakov Portomoin is dispatched to the hetman (129); his conversations with Ivan Vyhovsky on 15 April (129–30). Further Muscovite complaints about Ivan Nechai (130–32). Additional orders issued to Lopukhin (132–34).

The council on the Feast of St. George and current issues of Ukrainian politics: Vyhovsky's account (134); the negative attitude toward Poland (134–35); the breakdown of negotiations—Krzysztof Tyszkiewicz's letter to the hetman (136). Swedish and Transylvanian relations (137). Patriarch Nikon's letter to the metropolitan (137). The replacement of the Kyivan voevoda—instructions issued to the new voevodas on 1/11 May (138–39). An inquiry into the Belarusian affair (139–40); the rehabilitation of Ivan Nechai (141–42); the formal settlement of Muscovite demands and the *de facto* preservation of Belarusian Cossackdom (142).

Emigration and revolts: Muscovite tactics with respect to Ukrainian emigration (142–43); the hetman's claims in connection with emigration (143–44); the danger stemming from it (144–45); the hetman requests the tsar to issue firm directives to the voevodas (145); the Muscovite government's two-faced policy in this matter—correspondence about the Toret River tradesmen (145–46); the dynamic settlement of the Sloboda region by Ukrainian emigrants in 1655 (146). The hetman's plans for a campaign against the Sloboda region to disperse the emigration (146–47). The 'great revolts' of the Cossacks (147); the uprising of Grisha Nebliadin (147); the hetman's march to the Muscovite border (148). Rumors of Cossack revolts from the summer of 1656 (148–49).

XI. The 'Muscovite Betrayal' and the New League (Summer 1656–Spring 1657) 150

The negotiations in Vilnius and their reverberations in Ukraine: Muscovy's truce with Poland and breach with Sweden (150–51); Moscow informs the hetman about this (151); the hetman responds with Ivan Skorobohaty's diplomatic mission of 7/17 June (151); the instructions to Skorobohaty (152–53); Vasillii Kikin is dispatched with information (153); Roman Haponenko's mission (153); the demands of the Host to be taken into consideration with respect to a treaty (153–54); the hetman cautions the tsar against an agreement with the Poles (154–55); his letter in this matter to Andrei Buturlin (155). The Cossack officers' indignation at the treacherous conduct of the Muscovite government (156); the officers' subsequent mentions of it in a manifesto to foreign states (157–58). Polish measures concerning an understanding with the Cossacks: the letters of Krzysztof Tyszkiewicz and Jan Leszczyński (158–59); Dionysii Balaban's mission (159); the Poles simultaneously discredit the Cossacks in the eyes of Muscovy (159–60); in particular, they reveal Khmelnytsky's relations with the Swedes and György Rákóczi II (160–62).

The actual progress of the Vilnius meetings (162–63); the Muscovite plan of demarcation (4 October) (163–64); Polish 'drafts' (164–65); rumors circulating among the Cossacks about the Vilnius negotiations (165–66); the Cossack officers' meetings concerning them (166); Pavlo Ianenko-Khmelnytsky's account (166); Ostafii Vyhovsky's account (166); the documents of the Vilnius commission are received by the Cossack officers (167–69); Ostafii Vyhovsky on their impact (169–71); the hetman's fury (170); the 'Muscovite betrayal' (171). News in Moscow about this mood—the dispatch of Vasillii Kikin (171); a conversation with Ivan Vyhovsky in November (172). Ivan Fomin is dispatched (173); the hetman's letter of 9/19 December to the tsar (173–74); Avram Lopukhin is dispatched (174); the order issued to him (175).

The Belarusian affair—the Muscovite government is disturbed by Ivan Nechai's conduct (176); the master of the table Leontiev and the secretary Grigorii Bogdanov are dispatched to Nechai (176); Bogdanov's encounter with Ivan Skorobohaty (177); Nechai's proclamations collected by Bogdanov (178–79). Nechai's hopes of preserving Belarusian Cossackdom (179); Bogdanov's conversations with him (179); the tsar's reproaches to Nechai (179–80); Nechai renounces his Cossacks (181); Nechai's letters to the tsar (182–83); the tsar pardons Nechai (184); Belarusian Cossackdom is recognized by the tsar on 14/24 September (184). Nechai's new conflicts with the voevodas (185–86); unsuccessful measures pertaining to Stary Bykhaŭ (186); 'New Mahilioŭ' at Lupalava (187); Stary Bykhaŭ surrenders to the hetman; the hetman's report to the tsar (188).

Cossack expansion to the north: the program of consolidating and evening out the boundaries of the occupied Belarusian lands (188–89); the Radziwiłłs' principality of Slutsk under the hetman's protectorate (189); Samiilo Stefanovych's mission from Bogusław Radziwiłł (190–91); information about the protectorate established over Slutsk (191); the hetman's endeavors on behalf of Janusz Radziwiłł's widow (192); Ivan Nechai's protectorate over the nobility of the Navahrudak palatinate (193–94); the occupation of the Buh and Dnipro routes in order to abut the Prussian and Swedish domains (194–95); the hetman's proclamations to the western Ukrainian populace on the occasion of Antin Zhdanovych's expedition of 31 December (195); the 'port of Stary Bykhaŭ—the hetman's proclamation of 15 March (195). Cossack advice to the Belarusian nobility not to cleave to the tsar but to submit to the hetman; the Kotel and Deryhlaz affairs (196–98).

Swedish-Ukrainian relations; preparations for an alliance—the Swedish king's hopes for the Polish crown hinder an understanding (198–99); the hetman's correspondence with the king is intercepted by the Poles (199); Daniel Kaluger leaves Chyhyryn and manages to reach the king in August 1656 (198 and 202); his ambassadorial report (202–3); information from Rákóczi's envoys about the Cossacks' demands for Rus' extending to the Vistula (203); Hieronim Radziejowski's intrigues and his arrest (203–4); the mission of Jacob Törniskild and Daniel Kaluger (205); the instructions to the envoys and the draft Swedish-Ukrainian agreement of 5 October (205–6); ensuing opportunities if the Swedish king should become king of Poland (207); various means of severing the alliance between Ukraine and Muscovy (207–8); the postulate of the complete independence of Ukraine (209); various versions of possible relations between Ukraine and Sweden (210–11); Sweden ensures itself trade routes through Ukraine (212); variants of Ukrainian statehood (212); blueprints of Ukraine's social order (213–14). A delay in the envoys' departure (214); the hetman's letters to the king in the autumn of 1656 (214–15); Gottard Veling's mission (216).

Preparations for an alliance with Transylvania: the literature (216); Ferenc Sebesi's mission (216); his instructions of 20 June (217–18); further observations (218–19); Sebesi's journey with Ivan Briukhovetsky (219); the substance of the mission (220); the draft of the hetman's charter (220–21); the Cossacks' desire for complete equality (221); the mission of Ivan Kovalevsky and Ivan Hrusha to Rákóczi (221–22); Hospodar Ștefan's report about those negotiations (222–23). The Swedish envoys' negotiations with Rákóczi in August 1656 (224–25); Rákóczi's claims to Ukrainian lands (225); parallel negotiations with Swedish and Ukrainian envoys in Alba Iulia (226); the Ukrainian-Transylvanian military convention (227); the treaty document of 7 September (227–28); László Újlaki's mission to Chyhyryn for its ratification (229); his report on negotiations in Chyhyryn in October (229–31); accusations against Ivan Hrusha and his letter to Rákóczi (231). The hetman's letter to Rákóczi (231); Rákóczi dispatches Henter to him and appoints István Horváth to coordinate the campaign (231). The Swedish-Transylvanian treaty of 6 December—Rákóczi protests the concessions made to the Cossacks (232–33); he sets out on campaign (233).

The alliance with Rákóczi and the joint campaign against Poland, as it was interpreted in Ukraine (233–34); Antin Zhdanovych's subsequent accounts (234–35); the Muscovite-Polish understanding as a cause (235). Plans for the annexation of western Ukraine (236). The Cossack patronage of Volhynia—Stepan Sviatopolk-Chetvertynsky's correspondence with the hetman and the Cossack officers in this regard (236–37); Cossack 'garrisons' in Volhynia, Podilia, and Polisia (237). Zhdanovych sets out on campaign (238); obstacles encountered en route—information from Pierre des Noyers and Georg Kraus (239–40); Rákóczi's march (240); he receives a Cossack mission in Vyshkiv (241); a report from the Muscovite envoy Grigorii Volkov (241); Rákóczi's new assurance to Cossackdom in the event of his becoming king of Poland (242). Crossing the Carpathians (243); Rákóczi in Stryi, awaiting the Cossack army (244).

Diplomatic affairs in January–February: Avram Lopukhin's arrival (244), the hetman's information (244–45); warnings from Poles (245); an explanation of Zhdanovych's campaign (246); a letter of 19 January to the tsar (247). The Swedish envoys: Tom Garschowen and Gottard Veling (247); conversations with Vyhovsky and an audience (248–49). Veling is dismissed empty-handed—his explanations in this regard (249–51); the explanations of Ivan Vyhovsky and Samuel Pufendorf (251); the issue of 'Rus' up to the Vistula' (251); Petro Doroshenko's mission to the Swedish king (252). The king's agitation; his letters of February 1657 (252–53). Polish diplomatic missions—the queen's emissary, Stoniewski (254); the king's

envoy, Stanisław Bieniewski—his instructions (254–55); a favorable situation and the great importance of the mission (255). Romaszkwicz's mission to the khan (256–57); Mariusz Jaskólski's mission to the Porte (257–58); Jan Ignacy Bąkowski's mission to the tsar (258).

Austrian mediation to establish a truce with Ukraine: Austrian advice concerning a truce with the Cossacks (259); measures taken by Franz Lisola and Hieronim Radziejowski (259–60); consternation caused by the Swedish-Transylvanian-Ukrainian league (260); the search for an envoy in January 1657 (261); Petar Parčević and Kristofor Marianović are dispatched (261–62); their journey through Galicia and Volhynia—scenes of devastation and alarm (262–64); the route through the Kyiv region to Chyhyryn (264); an audience with the hetman (265–66); a multitude of envoys in Chyhyryn (266). The hetman's profit from this mediation—Lavrin Kapusta's mission to Istanbul (267); information given to the Muscovite envoy Vasilii Kikin (268).

Muscovite measures—Kikin's mission to the hetman and the metropolitan (268–69); rumors of the hetman's mortal illness and the question of succession (271); the metropolitan is charged with the task of calming the Cossack officers (268); war with Poland in the offing (268–69); Muscovy's plans to exploit the campaign launched by Rákóczi and Zhdanovych (269–70). The hetman's letter to the tsar sent through Kikin (271); his information and explanations (272–73); the justification of Zhdanovych's campaign (273–74). The Poles discredit the hetman and his information to the Muscovite government (274–75).

Ukrainian measures: diplomatic jousting in Istanbul in May (275–76); Cossack envoys visit the khan in April–May (277); efforts to dissuade the khan from aiding the Poles (277–79); strategic measures to impede this campaign (279–81). The hetman's policies with regard to Poland (281); the lack of information about the results of Bieniewski's mission (282); what is to be gleaned from the report on the imperial mission (282–83). The election of Iurko Khmelnytsky and the discharge of the mission (283–84); letters from the hetman and Vyhovsky to the king, forwarded by Bieniewski (284–85); the results of his mission—Polish news about it (286–87).

XII. The End of the Khmelnytsky Era

288

Khmelnytsky's illness and the succession issue: premature reports about the last illness and death of the hetman (288–89); Vyhovsky's efforts with regard to the hetman's mace (289); the significance of the succession issue for Ukraine's subsequent policies (289–90). A revolt in Zaporizhia (290); the rank-and-file Cossacks want to attack the officers (290). The Pentecost council (291); the election of Khmelnytsky's son, as presented by the hetman and others (291–92); the reports of Kristofor Marianović and Gustaf Lilliecrona (292); conflicting reports—their interpretation in more recent literature (292); how the Ukrainian populace was informed—the *duma* about the election of Khmelnytsky's son (293–96); its subsequent layerings (296). The death of the metropolitan (296); the tsar and the patriarch are not informed immediately (297); the request, relayed through Fedir Korobka, that the patriarch arrive to bless the new hetman and the metropolitan (297); the hetman's letter of 23 April O.S. sent with Korobka (298–99); the written order issued to Korobka (299–300) and information that he relayed in person (300–301).

Ukrainian-Muscovite tensions—Fedor Buturlin's mission (301); the anti-Polish bias of Korobka's diplomatic mission and the information relayed by him (301); Moscow does not accept the hetman's policies (302); the tsar's restrained and unfavorable reply (302); Polish accusations against Khmelnytsky; reports from Jan Szumowski and Klimentii Ievlev (302–4); Ivan Zheliabuzhsky is dispatched to Rákóczi and Zhdanovych (304–5); the task of discrediting the hetman's rule in Ukraine is entrusted to him (305–6); his conduct confirms this (306); the conviction in Ukraine concerning such a mission (306–7); Artamon Matveev's mission to the hetman (307).

Rákóczi and Zhdanovych's campaign from February to April: rather favorable beginnings—the Galician nobility takes a neutral attitude, but Lviv is defiant (308–9); the hetman's letter to Lviv (9/19 March) (309–10). Operations at Sambir and Peremyshl (311–12); Sternbach's reports (312–13); the merging of the Cossack army with Rákóczi's and the march on Cracow (313); dangerous symptoms—the lack of a plan (313); inclinations to looting (314); robbery and brigandage (314); accounts of inhumane conduct (314–15);

the search for a Cossack protectorate in Volhynia (316). Swedish troops join forces with those of Transylvania and Ukraine (316–17); Swedish information about the latter (317); Ferenc Traks (318); Charles Gustavus seeks Cossack support (318); Lilliecrona's mission to establish a formal alliance (318–19); his instructions (319–20); plans for the Crimea (321–22); Sebesi's mission (322).

Rákóczi and Zhdanovych's campaign in May and June and the organization of a Cossack protectorate: crossing to the right bank of the Vistula (322); the assault on Zamość and the capture of Lublin (322–23); the capitulation of Brest (323); its strategic and political significance (324); conflict with Muscovite claims (324); Zhdanovych's measures concerning the organization of a Cossack protectorate in the Buh and Prypiat regions (324–25); a council of the Pynsk nobility and its 'submission' to the hetman (325); the Pynsk delegates swear an oath in Chyhyryn on 20 June (325–26); the hetman's assurance to the Pynsk nobility (326–28); the political and social significance of this Pynsk constitution (328–29). The organization of a Cossack protectorate in Polisia and Volhynia (329–30); a Volhynian delegation visits the hetman (330–31).

The collapse of Rákóczi's campaign—the Swedish king's withdrawal for the sake of the war against Denmark (331); the elector abandons the league (331); Swedish recruiters enlist Cossacks and others into the Swedish army (332); Rákóczi's despair and entreaties (332–33); the disintegration of the Cossack army (333); its desire to return to Ukraine (334); the Cossacks' revolt and Rákóczi's march to Warsaw (334); Iurii Nemyrych sets out on a journey to the hetman (334); the capitulation of Warsaw; the remainder of the Swedish army betrays Rákóczi (334); Rákóczi abandons Warsaw to return home—captives' accounts of his army (335–36).

Fedor Buturlin's mission and the information gathered by him (June–July)—a conversation with Ostafii Vyhovsky in Hoholiv (336–37); Buturlin in Chyhyryn (337); the first audience with the hetman (338); his illness (338–39). A conversation with Vyhovsky on 15/25 June about Zhdanovych's campaign (339–40). A conversation with Vyhovsky and Iurii Khmelnytsky on 19/29 June (340); the hetman's response to the reproaches made to him (340–41); he defends his right to conduct diplomatic relations (342); an audience with the hetman on 19 June—he is rebuked for his alliance with Sweden and fighting against Poland (343); a dispute about voevodas and revenues from Ukraine (343); the hetman defends his political independence (344). A conversation with Vyhovsky on 20/30 June (345–46). The arrival of Gustaf Lilliecrona and Ferenc Sebesi—inquiries about them on the part of Buturlin and his associates (346–47); Buturlin's audience on 23 June/3 July (347–48); references to the campaign of 1655 (348); complaints about Ivan Nechai (348–49); explanations concerning the election of Iurko Khmelnychenko (349); the issue of dwellings for the Kyivan musketeers (349–50); the flight of Muscovite subjects to Ukraine (351). Buturlin is discharged (352). Information about the situation gathered by various diplomatic missions—war and diplomacy (353–54).

The diplomatic mission of Gustaf Lilliecrona, Daniel Kaluger, and Ferenc Sebesi: their arrival and the skeptical attitude of the hetman's court toward them (355); the first audience (355–56); the causes of Gottard Veling's fiasco (356); the Host does not wish to sever relations with Muscovy or with Sweden (356–58). A letter from the elector of Brandenburg brought by Daniel (358). The dispatch of envoys from the hospodars and the mission to Istanbul (359). Sebesi's report (359–60); his summary of the mission (360–61); his notes: the Muscovite and Crimean missions (361); the plan for war with Turkey with the assistance of Sweden and England (362); Zhdanovych's information (362); plans for the partition of Poland and Cossack claims to lands extending to the Vistula (363); Swedish diplomatic missions (363); the hetman's German troops (363–64); the surrender of Stary Bykhaŭ (364); Polish and Crimean relations (364); relations with Muscovy (364–65); Cossack revolts (365); the hetman's anger at Vyhovsky for his claims to the hetman's mace (365–66); news from Zaporizhia (366); an emissary from György Rácz; the fugitive seimens (367); more news about the Zaporozhian revolt (367–68).

Zhdanovych is recalled; Polish proposals: dissatisfaction with Rákóczi's conduct—the hetman's complaints to Hospodar Ștefan (368–69); news of Charles Gustavus's departure brought by Stanisław Bieniewski (369); Bieniewski's achievements (370); his new mission—the king's instructions of 13 June (370–71); Bieniewski's letters to the hetman and Vyhovsky (371–72); their replies of 9/19 July (372); Pavlo Teteria's mission to the tsar—the revelation of the Polish betrayal and a request for assistance against the Poles and

Tatars (373); Teteria's information (373–75); the Muscovite reply (376); questions concerning Bieniewski's mission (376–77), the wishes of the hetman, Vyhovsky, and Teteria (377–78).

The catastrophic finale of Rákóczi's campaign: the khan's offensive (378); Cossack measures against it and the khan's attempts to reach an understanding—the khan's letter of 20 July from Sharhorod (379); the hetman summons Grigorii Romodanovsky for assistance—his letters to Romodanovsky of 23 June/3 July (380–81); the khan at Kamianets—his letter to the king (382); Cossack outposts against the Horde (382–83); the rout of the Horde on the return journey (383). Rákóczi's relations with John Casimir (383–84). The Swedes' advice to Rákóczi (384); his march to Cracow and the Cossacks' refusal (384–85); crossing the Vistula and the march on Turobin and Zamość (385–86); Antin Zhdanovych's correspondence with Jan Zamoyski (386–88); a raid by Stefan Czarniecki's cavalry (388); the Cossacks hurry home (388); the accounts of Samuel Grądzki, Rafał Jączyński, and Adrian Piekarski (388–91); Heinrich-Celestin Sternbach's report (392–93); the Cossacks abandon Rákóczi (392); Sternbach on the Hungarians' treachery (392); the Cossacks' loyalist explanations to the Muscovites (393); the khan's march and the rout of the Transylvanian army (394–95); the Horde returns home (395).

The hetman's last tribulations and his death: the Cossack revolt spreads from Rákóczi's army to Iurii Khmelnytsky's (396); Ivan Zheliabuzhsky's account (396–97); his agitation against the hetman and the Cossack officers—the motif of a deliberate march against the tsar's will (398); the Cossack revolt against the Cossack officers (398); the army disperses (399). The aging hetman is broken by these events (399); apoplexy (400); his final concerns—to continue the western Ukrainian action (400). The march to Rákóczi's assistance is nullified by his capitulation (400); the declaration to Rákóczi concerning the hetman government's firm intention to support him (400–401). Succession to the hetmancy—the hetman opposes Vyhovsky's plans (401); agitation against Khmelnytsky's son (401); echoes of this in a folk *duma* (401–2). The date of Khmelnytsky's death (402); his funeral (402–3); Cossack laments in the literature (403); the legend of the church that burned down during the funeral (404); an oral tradition about the poisoning of the hetman (405). Ukrainian and Polish literary descriptions (405–6); exercises on this theme (406); the Ukrainian literary tradition (407).

XIII. Some General Observations

408

The traditional view of the Khmelnytsky era as an entity (408); 'liberation' and the restoration of rights (408–9); 'the struggle for the faith' (409); the concept of the nation as a whole (409); the polemic on that subject (409–10); attempts to characterize the class attributes of Khmelnytsky and his immediate milieu (410–11); the statist aspect (412); idealization and protests against it (412–13); Panteleimon Kulish's panegyrics and condemnations (413–14); Volodymyr Antonovych's apology of Khmelnytsky (414).

The hetman and the Cossack officer milieu—the question of integrality and solidarity (414); Bohdan's role and character (414–15); to what degree he transcended other Cossack activists (415); an optimistic assessment of his character in Ludwik Kubala's work (416–19); accurate features of this assessment (419); Viacheslav Lypynsky's attempts to develop the statist and constitutional aspects of Khmelnytsky's activity (419–20). Lack of integrality in the policies of Khmelnytsky and his milieu (420); differences in aspirations in the years 1648 and 1649, as well as 1649–54 and 1655 (420–21). Who formulated Ukrainian policy in the early stages of the Khmelnytsky era (421); a change of policy under the influence of the Kyivan milieu in 1649 (421–22); a faulty interpretation of the Zboriv Agreement (422–23); the decline of the Ukrainian revolution, deterioration and dispersal of forces (423); the Pereiaslav Agreement does not bring a clear perspective to political plans (423–24); new plans in 1655 (424); they are continued after the death of Khmelnytsky—the absence of a boundary between the Khmelnytsky and Vyhovsky eras (424–25).

The strong and weak points of Khmelnytsky's character (425); Khmelnytsky as a leader of the masses and as a statesman (425–26); Vyhovsky as the man in charge of Khmelnytsky's policies (426); the flaws of those policies with regard to Poland, Moldavia, Muscovy, Sweden, and Transylvania (426–27); Muscovite politicians exploit those flaws (428); fatal relations with the Crimea (428–29).

The weakness of state and social creativity—the creative impotence of 'former citizens of the Commonwealth' (429–30); the lack of new ideas (430); the insecurity of the peasantry (430–31); conflicts

between Cossackdom and the burghers (431–32); peasants and burghers flee the hetman's rule (432). Impressive aspects of the Cossack order—the efficiency of the Cossack machine under Khmelnytsky's hand (432); but an absence of constructive aspects (432–33); the mechanical repetition of obsolete slogans in the national and cultural spheres (433); 'a knot of social and political contradictions left tangled' (434); revolts (434); the hetman is prepared to abandon Ukraine (434); the lordly plans of the Cossack officers (435); the peasant uprising (435); the 'Ruin' already a fact in Bohdan's time (436); differences of opinion even with the clergy—the element that seemingly triumphed (436); objective causes of these flaws—grave historical defects of Ukrainian life (436–37). What is the attraction of the Khmelnytsky era? (437); its importance for succeeding generations (438).

Supplements

Khmelnytsky's missive of 1655 to the sultan	439
Captain Ivan Petrovych	439
About 'Khmelnytsky's fable'	439
A claim to Cracow on behalf of the Zaporozhian Host	439
The hetman's letter of 18/28 June 1657 to the Wallachian hospodar	439
Ferenc Sebesi's notes	440
Jącyński on the pursuit of Rákóczi	440

* * *

Bibliography	442
Abbreviations	442
Unpublished Sources	442
Published Sources	443
Secondary Literature	446
Tables of Hetmans and Rulers	449
Translations and Publications Consulted	456
Index	457