

**Invasion of Ian Sobesky into the Right-Bank Hetmanshyna and his negotiations  
with Petro Doroshenko about the conditions of "affiliation" within Rich  
Pospolyta (autumn 1674 -winter 1675)**

*In this article the march of the Polish troops to the Right Bank Ukraine in autumn 1674 - winter 1675 with the king Ian Sobesky at the head has been described widely. The course of military operations and Ukrainian-Polish negotiations has been looked through. Positions of Ukrainian, Polish, Turkish-Tatar parties have been clarified. Text has been given and theses of Ukrainian "Main items..." and royal "Answers to items..." have been analyzed.*

**Key words:** *Polish attack, hostilities, Ukrainian-Polish negotiations, Tatar horde, "Main items...", "Answer to items..."*

Rehabilitation of P.Doroshenko authority in the Right-Bank hetmanshyna with the help of Osman empire in August -September 1674 took place with the terrible devastation of its south and central-south regions. Retreat of Turkish-Tatar troops across Dnister created favorable conditions for realization of Polish king Ian III Sobesky plans to take possession of "Ukrainian State". On October 21-22 he conducted a military meeting in Zolochivsky fortress, which resolved to settle in Ukraine, "driving out Tatars" and wait for a spring there. They anticipated by crowning their king as fast as possible, to direct Pospolyte Rushennya here. According to figurative saying of Yan III, "the way we make our bed this winter, in such way we will lie in it" or "neither giberna, nor coronation or Pospolyte Movement will save us from dying in spring"<sup>1</sup>. In the end of the month the united Polish-Lithuanian army, with overall strength of 40000 soldiers, and at least 60000 people with servants, took the field.<sup>2</sup>

Russian voivode S.Yablonovsky who was sent forward with the part of the troops couldn't gain proficiency in c.Studenytseyu and a passage near it. An attempt to take possession of Kamianets-Podilsky gates in the beginning of October was

unsuccessful for him too. Then he was forced to start retreating towards Bar, to join the main forces.<sup>3</sup> Unification took place not far from Zynkov, and on the 10th of October the king sent a part of cavalry, infantry and artillery to Bar. When they suddenly appeared the next day, they captured the suburbs and the city at once, making Tatar-Lypky and Turks retreat to the castle, garrison of which was 1, 2 thousand soldiers. They started preparing for assault at once. Dragoons started attacking at night but failed. After that cannons started firing at the castle. On the 12th of October the besieged "begged for mercy", but the king, thinking they wanted to gain time thanks to negotiations, sent infantry "to the walls". The besieged beat off this assault. The next days the battle continued. According to the participant of the campaign nobleman I.Drobysh-Tushynsky, Lypky "protected honorably". Meanwhile the mine galleries are brought up under the walls of the castle, and the trenches close to them. Having got to know that the king was in the Polish camp, the leader of the garrison bey Hussein Moravsky and the rest of the officers, decided to surrender. The Turkish gonfalons were taken away from the ramparts and negotiations were begun. October, 18 (there are facts about 22 or 23) Bar capitulated. Tatars continued to serve Rich Pospolyta. Imprisoned Turks were sent back to Kamianets by the garrison.<sup>4</sup>

Ian III Sobesky realized a significant importance to succeed in campaign due to the support of the local population. He reckoned that it was very useful to create polonofil faction among the officers and the Cossacks an oppositionally disposed to P.Doroshenko (something like M.Khanenka), which would incite hetman to be more tractable. That's why he decided to address with special decrees to different strata of society. Thus, on the 16th of October, in the decree to the clergy, the Cossacks and folk, he informed about his election as the Polish king and assured that he came to Ukraine with a purpose to rescue from "the hard bisurmanian slavery", promising "our father's endearment". He emphasized, that "entering Ukraine with numerous and brave troops" not "with war, but with the father's grace, for we could take a revenge on the Bisurmans, for the humiliated folk's blood, burned God's churches, trampled down church sacred objects and Christian souls taken to slavery.

Accentuated, that they don't want to return from here, before "the folk won't go back to the preceding glory, churches to their rituals, and the whole folk to their rights and liberties".

He called for the reason not to have "a heart like stone" for not to "see you final death".

They got to know in Stin, Ladyzin, other cities and in Uman, what the bisurmanian protection turned to, where for the saint Jesus the enemy to destroy the folks and their belief, imprisoned the children and dishonored wives, took them as slaves, and because of a great disrespect and disrespect of the folk filled the galleys."

He persuaded to go back "to the motherland of their ancestors", to "our parental grace"; coming to the common meeting, how it's better to save you, how to shift war to the land of the enemy and take a revenge on falsehood".<sup>5</sup>

In the letter from October,18 to " the knightly people, under the name of hearts which are in Ukraine ", and " the remnants of Uman, Ladyzin, Stin and the others, for God's sake, cities that are burned and chosen to the everlasting slavery, which are left without wives, children, houses and privacy...", he called them up to continue their struggle against the Bisurmans along with the crown troops, promising them money and cloth.

He invited to arrive to him, pledging to accept them "as sons of this Motherland".<sup>6</sup>

He did his best for the soldiers not to be free-willed towards the lower middle class citizens and the usual people.

On the 29th of October he ordered the Lithuanian hetmans not to let abusing, besides, soldiers should not torture " poor people, should not scold them, as it happened in different places". Being afraid of the fact that such brutality can call for the thing against Ukrainian cities in the case of "citizenship".<sup>7</sup>

Such policy brought him significant positive consequences.

In contrast to the campaign of 1671, if not the majority, but the significant part of the population met the Polish subunits with sympathy.

The biggest political success of the king is his switchover to the side of O.Gogol with Podilsky and the part of Bratslavsky regiments.

The latter, having found about apparition of the Polish troops, with the king at the head, decided to acknowledge his reign.

He dared to do this, because first of all he didn't have a possibility to protect himself from their attack, and for the second he didn't hope to get help from P.Doroshenko.<sup>8</sup> That's why when the gonfalons of a colonel Mihal Zevusky, having occupied Luchyntsi and Ozaryntsi, and approached to Mohyliv, he ordered to capture two murzas and scores of Tatars, that arrived here to "choose statsiya" and appeared in front of M. Zevusky together with them, assuring his citizenship to the king.<sup>9</sup>

Off he went from him with the officers to Bar to make an oath of allegiance to Ian III.

Evidently it took place on the 22nd of October.

As it is known from her draft, which was found by M.Krykun, O.Gogol promised to owe allegiance "till the last moment of my life, and the last drop of my blood", he disavowed from "the Tatar and Turkish protection" and covenanted to be "with regiment" Podilsky and Bratslavsky and partially to be always ready to serve the king and Rich Pospolyta "and to struggle the Bisurmans till the last drop of his blood..."<sup>10</sup>

From his side, Ian III privileged him with being "lifetime autocrate Podilly colonel" (emphasis added - Author) and under "his management" 17 cities had been given (Mohyliv, Shargorod, Ozaryntsi, Yaruga, Kamyanka, Kosnytsya, Rashkiv, Bush etc.) with all the villages and suburbs which belong to them, 7 of them belonged to Bratslavsky regiment.

Cossacks ("as knightly people") that lived with them, were emancipated "from all the supremacy dominion of the landowners", and of all "the encumbrances, tribute, quitrents, works, supplies..." Colonel of Podillya was authorized to make a Cossack roll, which had to be enrolled to a crown metrics.

List Cossacks committed themselves only to "Gogol, as colonel, for our name and service of Rich Pospolyta , and also for protection of Christianity", to be obedient.

The colonel got his rights to brew up and "make vodka" "for a lifetime".

Also to cover his colonel consumption in a regiment in every city " from every brew of beer, no matter how many they are brewed in the city, half of a golden coin of Polish currency, and also he chose one eighth of the malt for himself".

The Cossacks of the regiment were exempted from statsiyas (money tax), requisitions, soldiers' taxes.<sup>11</sup>

This day the king with his privilege presented the son of a colonel Balatsku "the mill in the city of Ozaryntsi in the province of Podillya for a lifetime".

His succession and him could possess him " with all the goods and chattels that belonged to him: a river, a pond, haymaking, cities, apiaries and those boundaries in which he lives now".

His waste grounds were exempted from statsiyas (money tax), requisitions, soldiers' taxes.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time he informed M.Zevusky, who was directing as a commandant, at the head of a powerful garrison to Mohyliv, for he could display unflagging concern for saving the cities of Podilsky regiment inviolability.

Soldiers had to "earn their lives themselves" and "not to hurt local inhabitants, and demand from them nothing but the place to stay for a night".<sup>13</sup>

To force out the Tatars from Bratslavshyna and take it under control, Ian III Sobesky set off to Bratslav.

The next day with the camp and infantry he stayed at Krasne.

Local Cossacks informed him that sultan Adji-Herey was in the fields near Nemyriv.

This information was proved by the Nemyriv low middle class citizens, who went begging to the king.

Having left the unit transport and infantry he set off to Pechery city with the cavalry, where he waded Southern Bug.

In the morning on the 27th of October he set off to Nemyriv, but the soldiers didn't find anyone in small villages.

Then the king sent mounted patrols to get “an information prisoner” and sent an order to the camp to general Kontsky, for he had to set off with the artillery and infantry.

This time from the opposite side of Nemyriv a Cossack came "with an arrow in his chest, which stuck in armor", who informed that at a mile from here the Tatars are conquering one of the camps.

Ian III immediately set off against them, but the Cossacks of P.Doroshenko, who were with the Tatars, captured a soldier and got to know from him that a king was with the army, and afterwards they set fire to hay, giving a signal about an enemy arrival.

Having noticed him, the Tatars began retreating immediately.

The fact, that the Polish were pursuing them during the second half of the day and night, wasn't successful.

According to the figurative phrase of one of the anonymous author of one of the letters, "it is hard to catch the wind".<sup>14</sup>

On the 28th of October the inhabitants of some cities and towns, especially Zhornytsi and Ilyntsi, met the king "with bread and salt" and asked him "to set them free from pagan hands".

He wrote a decree to the Cossacks and townspeople of Kalnyk, informing that he arrived to Ukraine for "liberation from paganism".

At the same time he sent the regiment of Myanchynsky beneath the walls of the city.

The assembled council decreed "to give in", about which Myanchynsky was informed, who let Ian III know about it immediately.

The latter not wasting his time sent the 600 dragoon garrison headed by Dienenmark to Kalnyk at 10 o'clock in the evening on the 29th of October.

In the morning of the next day the delegation of some hundreds of horsemen, headed by a colonel Olexandr Urbanovich, 10 km. from the city greeted Ian III.

During the negotiations the deputies of the city and garrison were assured, that the king wouldn't betray them, but they shouldn't deceive either", and offered an oath to fealty.

The Cossacks, townspeople and the clergy took their oath separately".<sup>15</sup>

Voluntary capitulation of the king became an important success of the king.

The city was called "the head of all Ukraine"<sup>16</sup> not in vain, because it served as a gate to further penetration into the boundaries of "Ukrainian state".

The voluntary act of Kalnytsky garrison was demonstrative for Ian III, which always took irreconcilable positions the attempts of Polish army to strengthen in that territory.

On the 6th of December near Illintsi the king in a letter to A.Tshebytsky stressed on this turning point of the Cossacks mood.

"Even Kalnyk which is belligerent with the regiment by khan's side, - he noted, - who recently came back from Cherkessiya, and during all this war was the most stubborn, swore his allegiance and accepted a mighty garrison".<sup>17</sup> It seemed that a king would take the opportunity to use favorable circumstances to march to Chygyryn.

However, even if it's strange for the first sight, he refused from attacking actions and returned to Bratslav (Polish subdivisions blocked only the garrison under the leadership of P.Doroshenko in Pavoloch with time<sup>18</sup>).

There existed some reasons of this deed of Ian III.

As we think, one shouldn't consider it happened only because the part of Lithuanian regiments left the king's unit transport on the 26th of October (it was approximately the half of the whole Lithuanian army) headed by the great Lithuanian hetman M.Patz.<sup>19</sup>

They didn't limit it either with the difficult situation of the king's army in ruined, and as well starving land<sup>20</sup>, though it's understood that we shouldn't underestimate this factor.

At the same time it seems that contrary to the winning contents of messages about the development of military operations, Ian III Sobesky, for the first was afraid to enter the devastated southern lands of the Cossack Ukraine, for not to meet the mighty Tatar forces here.

In the letter to the anonymous source from the 21st of December he laid stress on the fact that the enemy " committed great diversions, that's why from Dnister and further than Uman he didn't dare to advance."<sup>21</sup>

Secondly, utter defeat of the Tatars would inevitably cause the breakdown of relationship with the Crimean elite, who strived to save the loyal relationship with Rich Pospolyta, in which the king was not less interested.

For the third, an admiration of Chygyryn and when the soldiers came out to Dnister, hid a menace of breakdown of talks with Moskoviya as to the common military operation against Porta.

For the fourth, the king plotted plans how to come to terms with Porta.<sup>22</sup>

So afterwards Ian III decided not to risk and in the middle of December he gave orders to the subdivisions to settle down for winter in the land of Bratslavshyna and northern-west Kyiivshyna.<sup>23</sup>

In such circumstances the king decided to finish his campaign with a political action of a voluntarily repudiation of P.Doroshenko from the Turkish protection and his recognition of becoming a citizen of Rich Pospolyta.

Planning the negotiations with hetman about the conditions of a potential Ukrainian-Polish agreement, he invited Lviv orthodox bishop J.Shumlyansky, that arrived, obviously in the beginning of December".<sup>24</sup>

In the end of October - the beginning of December the king began to receive information about peaceable moods of Ukrainian hetman from different sources.

On the 7th of December Lithuanian hetman Myhal Radzivil informed Polish commissars in Kadjini, that P.Doroshenko with a little group of the Serdenyatas is in Chygyryn and ready to go back to Poland, only if he prays for mercy from the king.<sup>25</sup>

On Ian III Sobesky own initiative in the beginning of December gabovetskyi village headman addresses with a letter to P.Doroshenko.

Galatkevych, who was already known to hetman from the previous negotiations conveyed it, and also he was ordered by the king to give over his oral assertion about his "king endearment".<sup>26</sup>

At the same time, preventing the formation of P.Doroshenko union with Zaporizzya, Ian III in the end of the second decade of December sent the captain Simon Zavisha to Sich to the chief I.Sirko to carry out instructions as to encourage him to their side.<sup>27</sup>

Without a doubt P.Doroshenko in the third decade of October already had information about the possible menace from the Polish side.

That's why he immediately sent out the decrees to population of Bratslavshyna, for the people to resist them.<sup>28</sup>

He gave an order to his brother to give assistance to Kalnytsky regiment, and he sent orders to O.Urbanovych to hold his ground, hoping for the collateral forces to come.

On the 2nd of December it was informed from the king unit transport near Kalnyk, that "some letters have already been intercepted from Doroshenko and more than 10 cossacks have been captured, as from his brother, Andrey, colonel of Pavoloch, and from hetman himself, inspiring Kalnytsky colonel not to give in.

They promise to give him the biggest part of garrison from Pavoloch, and that he himself (Andrey - Auth.) has to come to support him".<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, A.Doroshenko set off to Kalnyk, who stayed at Stavysky30, found out about his capitulation.

From here he went to Pavoloch.

But he didn't spend much time here.

Being afraid, that the garrison and inhabitants "could follow the example of the other cities", he left it shortly after.<sup>31</sup>

P.Doroshenko met Halatkevych in a friendly way. Contrary to expectancy, a messenger saw hetman not in despair, but purposeful and energetic.

As Y.Volynsky remarked, the fortune changeability should have had a deep effect on soul of "this strong and high-spirited man".<sup>32</sup>

During the conversation, which took place obviously on the 11th of December, P.Doroshenko assured "readiness to fall beneath the feet of the brightest magistrate with the whole army" but on condition of enough satisfaction of " Russian folk and the Cossack Army in their rights, liberties and freedom..."

He asked to send a negotiator with all the sufficient authorization to conclude a treaty.<sup>33</sup>

The next day he addressed to M.Malchynsky and the king with letters.

In the first one he informed, that if he had known before (acted in a sly manner) about the approaching of Ian III to these lands, then he wouldn't be such "an apathetic loser", that at least "with my letter greeting" wouldn't do homage to his royal grace.

Stating a difficult situation in "poor Ukraine" he made reference to the fact that "both protections" caused it (hinting the Polish and the Russian sides).

He reproached the Polish side for it hadn't helped him, when he during some years "for dignity of the Polish kingdom counteracted with fortitude against Moscow, Zadniprovyia and the Tatars, sweating with blood". And he didn't manage to satisfy his wish as to be treated kindly by the previous kings with frequent solicitation.

That's why they had to "grab those protections, sharp as blade".

He repeated the thought which was already put into words about his readiness to bow to "the king's feet" with the whole army and accept the citizenship, but under the circumstances, when Ian III " with his father's affectionateness to some sufficient extent will satisfy in all the Church of God of St. Russian folk and the Cossack Army rights, liberties and freedom..."

He asked to persuade the king to send such a mediator to negotiations, who would "with the name of the king and the whole Rich Pospolyta" be able to come to agreement about all our requests, which were not once sent to "king's magistrate".<sup>34</sup>

Addressing to the king, he justified his late bow, "as the one that belonged to master from his servant", and with an ignorance of his presence in the army and "harsh and regrettable times".

And afterwards he asked for "mercy and forgiveness".

He expressed gratitude, that he himself set out to such a hard road, for he could save the remains of local Christianity from the outlandish protectors with "his father's love".<sup>35</sup>

However, having agreed to negotiate, he didn't even think about capitulation.

The next day, on the 13th of December, he addressed with a decree to the officers, the Cossacks and Pospolyti cities and towns of Pavolotsky and Bilotserkivsky regiments, namely:

Senyava, Rokitna, Koshovata, Lesevychi, Nastashki, Antoniv, Volodarka, Torchytsya, Lobachiv, Pyatygoriv.

He ordered in it, that if "the unexpected guests appeared - the Polish king, contrary to his opinion, which had been given to us before, that he shouldn't have come to Ukraine with the army to declare war, and with the usual treaties and kind manner had to try to do it, to make it up with us, now when we have banished the whole Turkish army and their khan from our land, he himself and with the forces arrived and have lead his troops into some cities and is still trying to lead.

Thus, **long since we know Pole sly temptation, and after temptation come tyrannies** (emphasis added - Author) they did well, that they moved out of their houses.

So we, having got to know about it, are sending you with that decree (there's a some kind of mistake in this sentence - Auth.) longing for it and ordering, for everyone with wives and children go to Korsun, where not for anything else but this

we send our transport driver, for the city could be fortified in the best way, because we ourselves not to somewhere else, but only to Korsun are heading with our troops and with the Crimean troops with their sultans Kalga and Nuradin, which are coming to us already, who are planning to stay near Korsun this time..."<sup>36</sup>

A letter to the king was sent with cossack Momot.

Having read the letter, Ian III decided to proceed the negotiations.

But as a preliminary condition, he was making demands to rupture the relations with Crimea.

In the letter to hetman from the 23rd of December he praised for intentions to go back to citizenship and assured his readiness to listen to the intercession "the sons of one Motherland..."

He accentuated on readiness to approve they rights and liberties.<sup>37</sup>

He sent Lviv bishop J.Shumlyansky to negotiations to Chygyryn and the colonel of a king's Guards Stanislav Morshtyn.

They received two instructions: the common one and the private one.

In the first it was noted that the ambassadors have to greet hetman, officers and "kighthood" and inform, that Ian III reacted to their wish "to become citizens" with gratitude.

Explaining the reasons of his appearing in Ukraine, had to accent that they intended to save "Christian people from the final destruction", which was worse than "the poisoning of protections".

How the king Ian III forgave hetman, officers, the Cossacks and the Pospolyti all their faults.

He promised, that the Seym would ratify everything, that they would come to agreement about and "everyone will be safe with their rights, liberties, property, when the arrangements are made forever...".

They got powers to coordinate the place for assembling the committee, where hetman had to explicate "the whole army and the whole Ukraine intentions, solicitation and claim".

However, before the committee starts working, P.Doroshenko had to banish the Horde , 'which hid near Vilkhovets', because otherwise the king would order the troops, who "holds back the decrees", to betake themselves.

They are to come to an agreement of how to make the situation in the cities where the soldiers have already settled better.

The king invited hetman and officers to come to him, guaranteeing that "a hair from their heads will not fall".<sup>38</sup>

Private instruction obliged Y.Shumlyansky and S.Morshtyn, that they had to persuade hetman, he might not worry about his life, honor and property, as he could never have been sure with Porta, Crimea and Moscovia.

At the same time they had to ask for guarantees, that he was striving for peace and citizenship of the king, because the latter had information that P.Doroshenko made arrangements with khan, that when Poland would start attacking, then in winter "he had to give in insincerely" to have "the Bisurmans' assistance" in spring.

They had to encourage hetman to think he had to come to the king committee himself.

Then it "it could be decided and interpreted with him" according to "a shared world".

At least, he could make a deal of his own private interests and interests of his kinsman and friends.

Negotiations should have been finished in some days "with a great profit for all interests".

They authorized to claim dissatisfaction of the king with "willfulness of the Serdenyatas", which closed themselves in Pavoloch.

If the latter wouldn't open the town's gates of their free will, then he will give orders to attack.

Ambassadors had to certify a fact of the king's grace to Y.Tukalsky, sympathize him because of his disease and secure support in reaching peace.<sup>39</sup>

Y.Shumlyansky and S.Morshtyn arrived to the suburbs of Chygyryn on the 4th of January in 1675.

Hetman went to meet them halfway and met them kindly.<sup>40</sup>

However, the negotiations were being conducted not in an easy way.

Ambassadors brought neither an agreement of Rich Pospolyta recognition of Ukraine as a state, nor guarantees of its protection from the potential menace of Turkish-Tatar attack or the invasion of the Russians.

They talked only about satisfaction of class interests of the Cossacks - something like Ostrozkyi pact of 1670, however even more limited.

Their acceptance would mean an acknowledgement of ruining of his political plans, from the realization of which even counting his terrible situation he didn't want to refuse.

Suggestive promises to satisfy his private interests and the interests of his family members and close companions, as well as in previous years, and nowadays, couldn't affect his taken position of consecutive vindication of the national-state interests.

Ax altera parte, he didn't want to provoke the king for resolute acts against himself.

Afterwards he resorted to the tactics of negotiations.

Because of the lack of sources we don't know the conditions which were put to the Polish, however, saying goodbye to the ambassadors on the 13-14 of January, he was venturing hope for reaching understanding.

The Serdyuks who accompanied them along the way, which was controlled by hetman, said to Y. Shumlyansky in Boguslav, saying goodbye to him " God give us peace with the king, then we all with the Polish will go to the opposite side of Dnipro".<sup>41</sup>

It's also understood, that P.Doroshenko couldn't send the Tatats to Crimea, the way Ian III Sobesky demanded, because it would mean the end of relations with the khanate, from whom he was expecting support.

To avoid the reason of their changing to the worse, and also the suspicion from Stambul he at once informed Seli-Gerey about the plot of negotiations with the king, sent the copies of separate documents and confirmed his loyalty to sultan.<sup>42</sup>

In the letter to khan he was persuading, that when he would arrive to Ukraine and stay near Bratzlav, the Cossacks would rise, "destroy" military units of the Polish and go back to "Porta's obeyance and your khan magistrate".

From now on, not expecting an attack, "happy or not, they had to yield to the Polish king".

But that's not for a long time, because they don't feel too good about the Polish army, that doesn't know mercy over indigence..."<sup>43</sup>

At the same time, to avoid new attacking of the Russians and the Left Bank regiments, from the end of 1674, he started to send his messengers to the Left Bank with his decrees to the Cossacks and officers who were faithful to him, convincing them to kill all Russian regiments in the cities.

These appeals have been supported by some parts of the locals.<sup>44</sup>

He attempted to organize the common with the Tatars raids of the Serdyuks to the Left Bank and to fight back Kaniv, where the regiment of I.Samoilovych under the leadership of general Leontiy Polubotko settled.

At the end of the second ten day period of January, 1675, the Serdyuks and the Tatars attempted to take hold of it but unsuccessfully.<sup>45</sup>

At the end of January two sultans with the hordes came to support hetman.

Nuradin - sultan Saphi-gereya was sent to Vilkhovets, where brother Andrey stayed.

During the first ten days period of February the significant part of the Tatars camped in the settlements of Korsunsky and Cherkassky regiments.<sup>46</sup>

They appeared just in time for P.Dotroshenko, because, in the end of January he got to know about the preparation to march to Chygyryn.

Indeed, worried by the news about the possible appearance of Nuradin-sultan and having received a message from the ambassadors about the protraction of the negotiations by P.Doroshenko, the king decided to attack Chygyryn.

By this he hoped firstly "to press the Tatars out of Ukraine", and for secondly, "to put Doroshenko together".

Therefore he ordered subdivisions to gather on the 15th of January near Balabanivka and get ready for attacking, hoping, that when they approach to hetman's "nest", then the talks will be conducted easier "under cover of the man with arms, such a severe and insidious man...".<sup>47</sup>

However, hetman D.Vyshnevetsky rose against the renewal of hostilities, and he managed to persuade the king to refuse from his intention.

Ian III called off his orders and the soldiers came back to their settlements.<sup>48</sup>

And afterwards, after carrying on a campaign the king falls back upon conducting talks with Chygyryn, where Y.Shumlyansky is heading for the second time.<sup>49</sup>

The latter appeared in the capital of Hetmanshyna in the end of the first ten days of February.

This time P.Doroshenko felt more or less confident.

The Tatars' support came, and at the same time the Polish troops, as a result of mass runaways, and high mortality because of the diseases and starvation, have noticeably weakened.

It's clear, that the condition of the Polish army wasn't a secret for him.

On the 10th of February, the anonymous source from Bratzlav informed that his nobility left the army, that the German regiments were called off from Bratzlav by the Brandenburg Elector Friderick Wilhelm, infantrymen escape etc.<sup>50</sup>

Ian III himself in the decree from the 14th of February had to recognize, that after the soldier's salary paid for the quarter of the year burn, large number of people are coming back home, so now "there is no one to go to the field with", and the infantrymen escape both to the enemy, and to Poland".<sup>51</sup>

On such conditions hetman refused from accepting king's offers.

While having conversations with the ambassador he emphasized, that on such conditions which arose, he can't refuse "neither from the Tatars' nor from the Turkish protection".<sup>52</sup>

Just like Y.Volynsky found out, he pronounced an offer of possibility to solve the question of "Ukraine" by including to the decree between Rich Pospolyta, Crimea and Porta which was concluded through his mediation, the article about the foundation of the Ukrainian principality with him at the head, which would be under the combined protection of Porta and Rich Pospolyta.<sup>53</sup>

He didn't decline the possibility to reach understanding with Poland.

That's why he delivered a message to Shumlyansky "the main items, because of which the Cossack army, for the sake of the whole Russian folk requests for liberties, longing to get the master's appropriate citizenship".

They mainly based on conditions of Zborivsky and Gadyatsky treaties.<sup>54</sup>

The contents of "Items" was as follows;

Union is so strengthened already, that it cannot be deteriorated and exterminated.

Thus, as the Uniat members don't want to go back to "work of penance to St. patriarch of Constantinople", as it used to be before this, it is necessary for them "to get to God worshipping and recognition of Roman catholic church and work of penance".

And old churches and Greece-Russian properties in Crown an Great Lithuanian principality "founded and built" both in the times of Russian dukes state, and in the days of Polish kings in the Polotsk and Smolensk archbishopric.

Volodyyrsky and Beresteysky, Kholmsky, Pinsky, Turivsky, Vitebsky episcopacies with departments, offices of archimandrites, the dignities of a hegumen, hospitals, properties must be expropriate from the Uniat members and passed to "orthodox folk", according to the charter of 1632, Zborivska and Gadyatska committees.

Churches and monasteries, where "the Russian folk and language are", in king and nobility mansions, cities and villages have their right to build new ones and mend the old; celebrate the liturgy, go to the diseased people with the bells, conveying the deceased singing anthems to the cemetery, and also all the ceremonies and processions of the church "conduct" freely.

The priests must be released from soldier's duty and have the same liberties, as "Roman catholic priests" have.

Also the mansions and manors of the monasteries and churches must be enfranchised of habitats, taxes, all the soldiers' oppression and feudal lord taxes, as well as the freed mansions of Roman Catholic churches and Catholic monasteries.

For the printing houses in the cities, where they were before this, and now, where the proper place can be found, could be built, the books which the Russian church need should be printed there.

Academies, as the one in Kyiv and the second, where the place for it will be chosen, and schools to found, "in sciences in Greece, in Latin, in Slavic it must be introduced for the people of Greco-Russian folk could feel free".<sup>55</sup>

For the highest clerical priests, as Kyiv metropolitan and his metropolitanate archbishops, could have seats in senate of the Polish Crown, and respect and honoring, which the archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church have.

Vacant merits:

Metropolitanate, episcopacy, offices of archimandrites, the dignities of a hegumen, monasteries in the Crown and Lithuania "without a free electing of Greece-Russian people shouldn't be given to the individuals who are given birth in nobility, only according to the canons of Holy Fathers worthy and free at the orthodox elections to the chosen given and must be sanctioned by the charters of the king".

For everlasting and indissoluble peace "Zaporizzya Army needs such grace of the king Pan and Rich Pospolyta, for three of the provinces:

Kyiv, Chernyhiv and Bratslav (noted by us - Auth.) according to Zborivska, Gadyatska and Chudnivska committee with coming back of Mohyliv with the cities

which belonged to that regiment, where separated and with boundaries secured. (emphasis added - Author); in this dissociation, for the Cossack army could use its liberties without a hold-back.

Such kind of decisions must be confirmed, that the gonfalons of the Crown and Lithuanian troops couldn't be found anywhere in Ukraine, and village headmen and members of government wouldn't come to Ukrainian cities" (emphasis added - Author)<sup>56</sup>

- If it's needed to use the Cossack Army in Polish lands, then hetman must receive the decree not from the hetmans but from the king.

If it had to be sent to the far abroad lands, then Zaporizzya hetman "shouldn't be taken out of the Ukraine by any decree", or they may demand only a part of the army, which hetman will send with his messenger.

After their service is done the army must return "to Ukraine".

- if Ukraine, spotting danger would ask for help, then with the king's and Rich Pospolyta grace it should not be refused in assistance and with the first hetman's request they send as many regiments and gonfalons as needed.

These Polish gonfalons must be under the leadership of Zaporizzya hetman;

- As the Cossack Army should be sending ambassadors to the Sejm and meetings, then the king's grace is needed, for it could be at the Sejm alongside with the ambassadors of Kyiv and Russian provinces;

- any Cossack from the Cossack Army, who will be going to Poland or Lithuania according to the letter of his senior officer, in private or public business, should be save.

And, as well as the nobility in the Crown or in Lithuania earn their living, "sell their own goods freely and duty-free, then the Cossacks should have grain, horses, oxen, sheep etc. from their own households, the goods which can be prepared by them should be sent to Poland and Lithuania and for they could be traded freely by preferences, and for none of them import duties and others, from time to time by roads, ferries, bridges, dams and river crossings shouldn't be charged.

- senatorial dignity , manor and rural governments should be distributed to the Orthodox people, and the people of the Roman church.

Cossack Army asks that in the cities of Royal Crown and Lithuania "tradesmen of Greco-Russian faith were admitted to the magistrate" (emphasis added - Author.)".

Individuals, who deserve the yard and county governments merits, being of Greco-Russian faith in Royal Crown and Lithuania, who will be entered on a list of the Sejm or yard by hetman or the Cossack Army, in order to this their reason was considered to be important and those for whom it was enrolled, was assigned in government.

"The letter is Russian too, for again in the offices of the Crown and Great Principality of Lithuania it was established and with it the decrees were produced and the missions from the Cossack Army were taken... (emphasis added - Author)"<sup>57</sup>

- to harm, abuse and misconduct that King and Rich Pospolyta believe that their suffered from the Cossacks Army were "fired into oblivion" and never mentioned to not seek revenge.

In order not to abuse the dignity of noble, cleric and civil people, who were in the Cossacks army.

- different privileges and letters to the destruction of the rights and liberties of Greco-Russian churches and to their destruction issued by the previous Sejms; the royal office also issued letters of all sorts, the Sejm constitutions are harmful and obnoxious to the military liberties and the Russian folk, so they should be canceled and abolished forever.

And all the old evidence, the privileges of Russian and Lithuanian dukes, decrees, restrictions, old and current fees and privileges of the kings, their charity for churches, properties and church organizations, the rights, privileges, constitutions for liberties which had been given to the Cossack Army from the old times and modern, the Cossack army demands to be "confirmed and strengthened" should be given to people of Greco-Russian religion.

For the garrison from Bila Tserkva "as the Cossack Army can withstand it" was totally withdrawn and for "nowhere in Ukraine in those three named and mentioned items of the above, provinces along the border, which will be set to the Cossack Army, the forts weren't besieged with garrisons and the city of Kyiv, could be free from Crown garrison at the Cossack Army (emphasis added - Author.)

the Cossack Army guns with ammunition were taken to Bilotserkivsky castle under hetman Teterya, as cannons, treasures, regalia, maces, horsetail, banners, rights and privileges, granted by Russian and Lithuanian princes, the Polish kings, exported by Teterya to Poland, to be "found and returned to us";

- metropolitan garments, kept in Bila Tserkva and taken from there by Stakhursky to Poland, should be found and brought " to us and the Cossack army".

So that "metropolitan's contributions" of P.Mogyła and S.Kosov could be restored and handed over to the current metropolitan, deposited to D.Balaban, which were left after his death, and also the sums collected by S.Kosov to repair the church of St.Sophia ,and distributed by D.Balaban to his kinsmen.

So that the daughter of the deceased Kovalevsky, who was left by father to be in ward of hetman P.Doroshenko, and also the proceeds in cash, dresses, silver and other precious things, exported to Poland by P.Teterya.<sup>58</sup>

Analysis of these points clearly shows that even in a critical situation Petro Doroshenko proceeded not from his own personal benefit and worried not especially about the Cossack state but national and state interests.

He wanted to unite the Cossack Ukraine in a single state body that could only happen on condition that Rich Pospolyta would refuse from Andrusovo treaty and territorial concessions from Moscovia.

So, hetman tried to play the hidden intentions of Ian III to push Porta and Crimea for war against the latter, to obtain the restitution of everything it took away from Poland, supporting "rebellious Cossacks", and then "so that each state remained in the borders as it had been before".<sup>59</sup>

Agreeing on joining Rich Pospolyta hetman considered not so much the status of subdivision of federation, but the subdivision of confederal communication.

One more fact draws attention to itself, that he was concerned about the protection of religious and national interests not just "Ukraine" but the whole "Russian people" of Rich Pospolyta.

Therefore, in case of the consent of Ian III and Polish political elite, they should pass "Main items..."

Hetmanshyna would turn into a territorial and political core of consolidation of the Ukrainian people, which ultimately would lead to significant changes in the political system of Rich Pospolyta

Around the beginning of the third ten day period (on the 16th of February Y.Shumlyansky, returning to Bratslav, passed by Korsun60) king and senators got proposals of P.Doroshenko, which were rated as "impossible".<sup>61</sup>

Convened, obviously, on the 24th of February senator's board rejected them.

At the same time Ian III didn't want to break off negotiations with Chygyryn.

In one of the messages from Bratslav it was mentioned, that the king decided to answer "the Main items..."

Under the pretence that P.Doroshenko would not make excuses then, so to speak, "wanted to agree with the Polish, but they didn't want it".<sup>62</sup>

On the 25th of February he sent the now deceased Y.Shumlyansky to Chygyryn with "Answer to items..."<sup>63</sup> Its contents let us understand the extent of possible concessions to the Cossack Ukraine from Poland.

Let us elaborate the main theses of the royal answer:

- he promised the father's protection to Greco-Russian religion, the rights of which were confirmed in nearly 50 constitutions, and swear that during the coronation,

- form a commission to review all church affairs immediately after the coronation, including rights and foundations, about which one does not know now and cannot do justice.

Processions and public funerals take place now as well and he hasn't heard about the complaints that prevented them.

And now he takes care to clergy be secured by soldiers, therefore he issued relevant instructions to hetmans.

He promised to support a motion to equalization of the rights of the Orthodox church estates with the estates of the Roman church, and the Orthodox clergy with the Catholic one.

- he allowed to establish printing houses as it was in Lviv.

For all that he proposed that the clergy should choose someone reasonable from them, to oversee the printing to avoid embarrassing mistakes.

He promised to approve higher clerical positions only decent people, and emphasized that there can be no restrictions for the construction of new churches and monasteries;

- According to Hadiach Commission, the Orthodox clergy have had a place in the Senate, but just did not want to take advantage of this. After all, only person of noble status can be in session here, which would have turned the spiritual state of people, though of lower origin, but known for their virtues and devotion;

- as to the definition of the Cossack Army some certain boundaries, the king himself didn't object to distinguish the Cossack Army with some certain portion of the royal and even the historical possessions. However one should keep in mind that most of the province of Kyiv and the whole Chernyhiv province are under the authority of Moscow Tsar. And that's not because of the fault of Rich Pospolyta and the kings, but because of the perversity of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who didn't want to come to an agreement with King Ian Kazymir. And because of this his stubbornness many people died and were captured. And because of it they made Rich Pospolyta agree to such conditions with Moscow Tsar. Likewise Poddillya were given to the Turks not without the Cossack's assistance. For consent and agreement to come and liberties of not only Cossack army were secured, but and the Ukrainian people, let hetman counsel with his

regiments well, and the king as a good father is ready to listen to them and do everything that is concurring with reason and conscience.<sup>64</sup>

He considers appropriate proposals as for services of the Cossack Army, Rich Pospolyta and let the king help the Cossack Army.

- As to the ambassadors of the Cossack Army, the king agrees with the fact, they must be honored as well as the ambassadors of the Crown army and the ambassadors of the Lithuanian Army.

- the king promised to make the Cossacks and nobility equal in the matter of trading their goods.

- He assured that he would distribute vacancies among the worthy individuals and would take into account the recommendations of the Cossack Army.

- as for an amnesty the king forgives everyone everything which has been done before, or this he has come to Ukraine, as to take under his wing not only as the lieges, but as father of his own children. Therefore in all occupied cities he ordered the soldiers to behave modestly, and to those who they insulted the justice was exerted.

- at the coronation he will swear to all rights of the Churches of God and the Cossack Army;

After the separation of the Cossack Army portion, when it happens, then he will not only withdraw the garrisons of soldiers from Ukraine, but he will leave himself, only he should be safe from hetman, and the confidence in his fidelity is needed.

- He will give an order that the withdrawn cannons, regalia and garments must be restored and returned to the Cossack Army and churches;

The king doesn't know where P.Teterya took regalia and rights, because the latter died in Adrianople, and if something is discovered. it is also must be returned;

- There is no information about the daughter of Kovalevsky and her dowry.

When he got to know about her, he wouldn't forbid her to depart to Ukraine.<sup>65</sup>

Thus, in his "Answer to items..." Ian III kept silence about the problem of cancellation of the unions and rejected the main solicitation of P.Doroshenko - recognition of the Cossack Ukraine a state within Rich Pospolyta.

Other requests he whether promised to allow, or rejected politely, referring to the inability to comply them under such circumstances.

In general, as Y.Volynsky observed, the king postponed the whole matter of setting the relations going till the coronation Sejm and the commission which was specially created for that.<sup>66</sup>

It's understood, that conducting negotiations, both sides couldn't avoid duplicity, pursuing the strategic objectives.

Thus, P.Doroshenko wanted to wait for the main forces of the Crimean and Nogai Tatars to come, in order to oust the Polish troops from the occupied lands of the Cossack Ukraine with their help and take those lands under his own control.

Ian III, taking into consideration that the power of his troops fades, tried to keep hetman, to whom the Tatars were coming for help, from the attacking (striking the garrisons in the cities and their blocking).

Hi tolerance concerning the Cossacks and the people was stipulated not so much by the factor of moral and ethnical character, but the political expediency to have support in occupied land.

Under the other circumstances his actions would be decisive.

The flurry of his activity proves it, when on the 25th of February (the same day when the messenger was off to Chygyryn) the false news about sudden death of Doroshenko came.

There were different causes pronounced: one version said it was poisoning, another one said that having drunk too much to sultan and khan, "was very drunk riding the horse and broke his neck."<sup>67</sup>

Not wasting time, he decided to seize the initiative at once, to finally solve the Ukrainian problem.

Without waiting for confirmation received, he addressed with a union to the Cossack doyens who were in Chygyryn.

Declaring his grace "to all and everyone in particular", the king emphasized, that in P.Doroshenko's death "God's justice became apparent, which didn't want to endure his insincerity and ingratitude to us and Motherland, and God preferred to take him out of this world, than to allow him sell the Christian soul to captivity".

From now on we embrace you all to "our heart, open it wide for father's love and like beloved sons, who return to mother, take with the full feeling".

He proclaimed complete amnesty for past actions and urged them "to hold town and castle Chygyryn on our name and dropped the enemy of the Holy Cross off their own necks and helped sincerely to push enemy aside from its borders".

We, from the other hand, he noted, will "follow the ancient rights and liberties" and promise "to give more of them".

He called them to wake: "let the burned churches and houses of God astonish your nature, eradication of holy faith, destroyed cities, dishonored daughters, your sisters and wives, Christian souls, thousands of them are taken to slavery.

Let mothers' tears for sons and daughters soften our hearts, children for parents, widows for husbands and this hunger, from which the poor people, as of plague, die...".<sup>68</sup>

He instructed officers to inform him, "where and when you want to come on board, in order to chose hetman according to your will and preferences".

He insisted that from his side he is ready to confirm their choice and "beautify with regalia".

If they need something more for "their calming", then through individuals who selected among yourself "inform us" and "you will get everything".

Just do not let anyone deceive yourself and do not betray.

"Just look at it yourself and consider, you must admit it, - the king emphasized, - that it's the hideous corpse and not Ukraine, because probably it's not like the one we took from ancestors".

And who died in it if not the Russian people?

And whose ashes are those if not the great cities?

And whose smokes are those if not the churches and houses of God?

Whose coffins and tombs are those if not the parents or children who were killed in vain?

And whose after all is that terrible desert, if not the Christian souls driven, like cattle, to captivity, sold abroad, that don't have hope, to ever see his homeland.

And moreover because of the disagreements you want to die, and that last handful of people, who are rummaging somewhere in the cities, destroy.

God forbid.

And we will not let that madness.

We came here in order to protect and save everyone from such a great distress.

We sacrifice our life and blood for your life..."<sup>69</sup>

Almost everything said in the union was proper and veritable.

But "almost" because, firstly, he modestly kept silence, that in making Ukraine a "nasty corpse" a decisive role played not the Turks and not the Tatars, but the Polish soldiers, who from 1648 conducted punitive actions against the Ukrainians repeatedly, and, secondly, he came here with the army definitely not to save the Cossack Ukraine and its population.

Ian III also addressed with a letter to a deadly sick Kyiv metropolitan Y.Tukalsky, assuring astonishment with "God's judgement, God's justice which is obviously longer than his petrification (P.Doroshenko - Author.) just didn't want to endure it to the death of the Christian blood..."

He urged him, "as an autocratic leader of Greco-Russian religion in these lands", to convey with his respect to "the heart of his sheep" that we stick to all that in a fatherly way, which proclaim "the royal word".

He begged to obtain, "to hold the castle and the city of Chygyryn for our name, until another hetman would be chosen among themselves and until we approve it, and

embellish him with regalia from the king's hand", and also inform, who the officers want to see as their hetman and who he considers worthy him to be.<sup>70</sup>

The king unions calling to return to "their own Motherland" are issued, to companies and the Serdyuks of the Chygyryn garrison, the Serdyuk's subdivisions and the Cossacks and townspeople of Mankivka.<sup>71</sup>

Meanwhile P.Doroshenko decided to use the Tatars who came to renew his power of the lost lands and creation of bridgeheads in the Left Bank.

In the beginning of a second ten days period of February the Serdenyata and the Tatars appeared near Keleberda, where "many Christians were captivated and much damage was done".<sup>72</sup>

On the 12th of February "the consultant" of hetman Gamaliy (Hrygoriy?) with two thousand of the Serdenyats and the Companiytsi stormed the city of Bubniv for three times (in Pereyasliv regiment), however he failed and had to retreat.<sup>73</sup>

Apparently, P.Doroshenko planned to send his brother Andriy with the Tatars to Left Bank, therefore he called him off from Ladyzyn to Chygyryn.<sup>74</sup>

In the beginning of March Nuradin-sultan Safi-Gerey with khan's sons sailed across Dnipro and stayed near Irkliyev.

A reconnaissance detachment he sent to Lubny, returning thence was defeated by General cornet Gregory Karpov.<sup>75</sup>

We assume, that hetman sent his unions to border areas of the Left Bank, informing about the appearance of foreign forces (the Tatars) at his side, and persuading them for the safety of their lives and the integrity of their property to move to the Right Bank.

The evidence of this is his letter from the 3rd of March to otaman policeman and townspeople of Yeremeyevka.<sup>76</sup>

The nature of the Tatars actions gives grounds to express an opinion, that Nuradin-sultan didn't have intentions to conduct offensive operations.

It ran primarily about capturing plunderage and slaves.

It is possible that the statement of one of the imprisoned Tatars was pertinent, that "they wanted to be near that city (Irklijev - Author) for 15 days, because of theirs and horses' food, because to be on that side (the Right - Author) of Dnipro was starving and miserable."<sup>77</sup>

It is understood that such actions of the Tatars couldn't bring hetman any political profit.

It is significant, that they acted in a very passive way on the Right Bank, having occasional minor armed conflicts with the Polish.

Therefore we doubt that Selim-Gerei had a plan to attack Bratslav, the headquarters of Ian III.<sup>78</sup>

Negotiating with the king, which offered him to mediate in searching understanding with Mehmed IV, khan thought it would be expedient to maintain loyal relationships, than to take a militant position.

On the 16th of April he wrote to Ian III:

"and the homeland (i.e. Poland) went through a lot of good times, and now goes through it, when these three swords of ours (i.e. Polish, Tatar, Turkish) aim to someone else..then our union, that will benefit...from how much damage Poland suffered, with God's help we will mutually reward ourselves".<sup>79</sup>

And so the interests of P.Doroshenko were the third-rate for the Crimean elite, they didn't even think to pay attention to them in their policy.

Having captivated a lot of people Nuradin-sultan returned to the Right bank waiting for khan to arrive.<sup>80</sup>

Such position of the allies couldn't satisfy hetman, who had to rely now only on Porta actions.

Sultan and the grand vizier were offended by the autumn's attack of the Polish and by their capturing of Bar, Medjybiz, Kalnyk and other cities.

They demanded from Rich Pospolyta to return "the lands, on which the hoof stepped".<sup>81</sup>

These moods P.Doroshenko tried to use at most to achieve his own goals, he who received information from the resident Ostap Astamatia.

Along winter he constantly was sending letters to sultan ad grand vizier, asking to send the military assistance.

"...That Doroshenko dog, - informed on the 2nd of April from Bratslav pidstoliy of Kholmsk Stanislav Morshtyn to an anonymous source, - everything in the world he does for treason.

Along the whole winter he was disturbing Porta with letters, that then was the time to demolish the Poles, because and the army retreated and diminished gonfalons wouldn't offer the king a great assistance".<sup>82</sup>

But that was one of the strategic plans of Petro.

If Crimea and Porta from one side, and Rich Pospolyta from another side, would come to a definite agreement (on condition of withdrawal of the Polish troops from the lands of Ukrainian state), then the second of them was to make the Turkish army to attack and block Kyiv, and together with khan move to the Left Bank and not let the Russian and the Left Bank troops to Kyiyv.<sup>83</sup>

Thus, in case of realization any of these plans, hetman hoped to get a political profit.

And before the great military power appears, he thought it would be good as to keep in touch with Ian III.

Thus, in the letter from the 4th of March he informed, that he appealed to Crimea and Porta, slanting them to agreement with Rich Pospolyta.

He warned about the approaching of khan to Umanshyna, which may result in hardship to the Polish army.

He noted that with the appearance of Selim-Gerey he will personally betake himself to Korsun.<sup>84</sup>

Obviously, having received "Answer to items...", on the 6th of March he appealed to him with a new letter, thanking for an exceptional grace to "Ukraine".<sup>85</sup>

To the latter the king answered emphasizing his readiness to conciliation:

you will find love and protection in our hearts "for you and your home".<sup>86</sup>

capturing by Jan III Sobesky the significant part of the Right Bank hetmanshyna didn't force P.Doroshenko capitulate.

The course of his negotiations with the king proved his intentions to demand the recognition of its national status within Rich Pospolyta.

**Переклад на англійську Саволайнена Яніса Володимировича**