

The background of the cover is a detailed woodcut-style illustration of Ivan Mazepa, a Ukrainian Cossack leader. He is depicted from the chest up, wearing a purple coat with a white fur collar and a white sash. He has a beard and is looking slightly to the left. The illustration is composed of several circular vignettes: a portrait of his face, a close-up of his beard, a close-up of his hands holding a sword hilt, and a close-up of a sword scabbard. The colors used are primarily purple, gold, and green.

**IVAN  
MAZEPA**  
*AND*  
**THE RUSSIAN  
EMPIRE**

**TATIANA  
TAIROVA-  
YAKOVLEVA**

IVAN MAZEPA AND  
THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

The Peter Jacyk Centre  
for  
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Number eleven

IVAN MAZEPA  
—— AND ——  
THE RUSSIAN  
EMPIRE

TATIANA TAIROVA-YAKOVLEVA

Translated by Jan Surer

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In memory of my beloved father,  
Gennadii Aleksandrovich Iakovlev,  
I dedicate this work.



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## Note on Sources and Transliteration

This book is a revised and edited version of a Russian book published in 2013. I have been able to incorporate several new archival documents as well as take into account the reviews of the Russian edition. The monograph is a new and comprehensive examination of several key aspects of Mazepa's policy and rule and of his contribution to the development of the Russian Empire. Importantly, this volume examines the reasons for his conflict with Peter I.

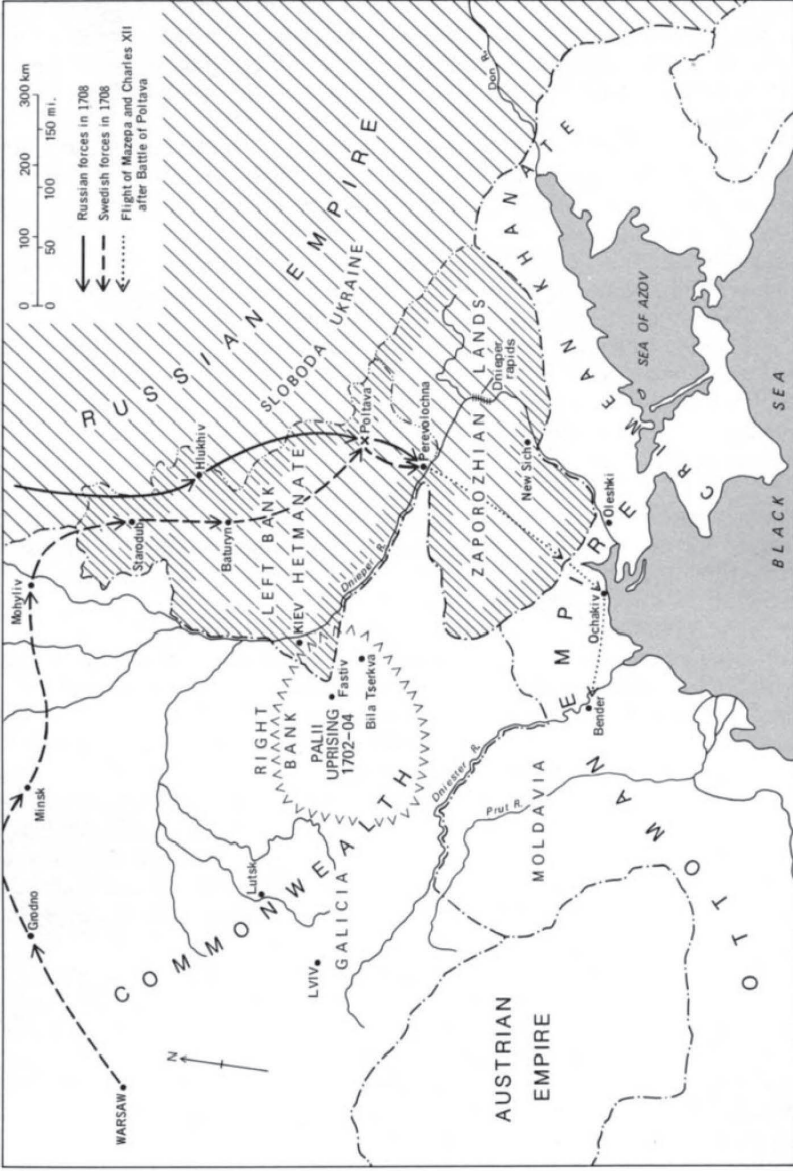
This book is based on a wide number of archival documents from Moscow and Saint Petersburg archives, as well as on Polish and Ukrainian collections. Most of those documents (including the "Baturyn Archive") have been used for the first time in this monograph.

The following are the key collections I have used:

- 1 *Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov* (Moscow, Russia): collections F. 5, 13, 124 (*Malorossiiskie dela*), 143 (*Aptekarskii prikaz*), 196 (Collection of Fedor Mazurin), 210 (*Razriadnyi Prikaz: Belgorodskii and Moskovskii Stol*), 214 (*Sibirskii Prikaz*), 229 (*Malorossiiskii Prikaz*), etc.
- 2 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Warsaw, Poland). Dz. Rosyjskie.
- 3 Archive of the Saint Petersburg Institute of History (Saint Petersburg, Russia): collections: 68 (Acts of Kyiv *Kazennaia Palata*), 83 (*Pokhodnaia kantseliariia of Aleksandr Menshikov*), 238. II.128 (collection of Dmitrii Likhachev), 256 (collection of Nikolai Mezentsev), 238 (collection of Petr Tolstoi).

- 4 Institute of Manuscripts of the Vernadsky Library (Kyiv), collection VIII.
- 5 Manuscript collection of the National Library of Ukraine (Lviv): collection of Ivan Kryp'iakevych.
- 6 Manuscript collection of the Russian National Public Library (Saint Petersburg, Russia): collections of Petr Dubrovskii, Mikhail Pogodin.

The transliteration system and translation of technical terms used in this book follows that of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies.



Ukraine in the time of Herman Ivan Mazepa, and specifically at the time of the Battle of Poltava. Source: Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History*, 4th ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), © University of Toronto Press 2009. Reprinted with permission of the publisher.



IVAN MAZEPA AND  
THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE





## INTRODUCTION

# The Ukrainian Hetmanate in Mazepa's Time

Ivan Mazepa was the sole hetman (ruler) of the Ukrainian Hetmanate for more than twenty years. As an adviser to and close associate of Peter I, he was a key figure in the founding of the Russian Empire: he helped the tsar address military challenges, participated in Russia's foreign policy, and had a hand in creating the empire's new, enlightened culture. His years as hetman were filled with momentous developments – military, political, diplomatic, and economic – that were significant for both Ukraine and Russia.

Mazepa was no angel. He was smart, talented, and extremely well educated, and he had passed through the harsh school of life. Like anyone who strives for power, he was ambitious and shrewd, and he employed all of Machiavelli's precepts without remorse. For twenty years he manoeuvred among factions of the Cossack leadership and avaricious provincial governors (*voevody*). He bribed, appeased, sought compromise, and when necessary waged an unyielding struggle on behalf of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. As an old, ailing man, he continued to cling to power, unwilling to share it with others; he believed wholeheartedly in his own superiority, and moreover, he had no heir.

Yet Mazepa also had what one does not often find among politicians – principles, dreams, and ideals. In the final analysis, it was these that led him to shift his allegiance to the Swedes – an extremely risky and ultimately tragic choice.

The people would later render their own judgment on Mazepa, summarized in the adage “From Bohdan to Ivan there was no hetman.” Ivan Mazepa is one of a few Ukrainian historical leaders who are well

known in the Western world. But he is known mainly through the works of romantic writers such as Byron and Victor Hugo.

The present work is not a biography of Ivan Mazepa. It focuses on only some aspects of his hetmanship; however, I have included a brief biographical sketch to help the reader comprehend the events of his rule. In this study I examine the circumstances of Mazepa's rise to power, his relations with Peter I, his domestic policies, and his personal and business relations with the Cossack leadership and with the "fledglings of Peter's nest." I am interested in Mazepa the man, his habits, illnesses, leisure activities, and ideals. I scrutinize the twenty years of his rule in specific narrow aspects that far from encompass all questions and issues.

Events in the Hetmanate unfolded in the context of profound changes in Russia brought about by Peter's reforms. An empire was established, and Mazepa and the members of his circle were actively and successfully involved in that process, initially with enthusiasm and hope, which gradually faded, until they found themselves faced with a monstrous choice. As Andrzej Kamiński wrote: "Without the Ukrainians, the Russian course toward modernization would have been slower, notwithstanding Peter's Western travels and the importance of the Germans, Scots, and Dutch."<sup>1</sup>

Behind the glitter and greatness of the Petrine reforms lay a rarely recalled tragedy: thousands and thousands of his subjects – boyars, nobles, peasants, and their families – saw their lives broken and crushed by the will of the great transformer. Yes, reforms were needed. Yet human life is precious. Unfortunately, even an outstanding politician like Mazepa found it impossible to square this tragic circle to the benefit of both.

I have structured the book by topic (instead of by chronology); doing so allows for a thorough study of some key issues (Mazepa's policy toward Right Bank Ukraine; the hetman's relations with the Russian political elite; the administrative reforms of Peter I, etc.). Many of my conclusions are new and are important for Ukrainian studies, as well as for the history of the Russian Empire and Eastern Europe.

#### A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

Ivan Mazepa was born on 20 March 1639 in Right Bank Ukraine in his ancestral village of Mazepyntsi, into a family of Ukrainian Orthodox nobility *szlachta*; or Ukrainian – *shliakhhta*, whose members

took an active part in the Cossack movement. In the early 1650s he studied at the Mohyla Collegium in Kyiv (including a course in rhetoric) and subsequently in various Western European countries, among them Holland (where he studied artillery), France, and Italy. His father, Stepan Adam Mazepa, was a captain (*sotnyk*) in Bila Tserkva during Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising, and when Right Bank Ukraine reverted to the Polish Commonwealth, he served as a cupbearer (*podczaszy* in Polish) in Chernihiv. His mother, Maryna Mazepa (monastic name, Mariia Mahdalena), served as the hegumene of the Cave's Monastery of Ascension (Voznesens'kyi) in Kyiv after the death of her husband.

While the Union of Hadiach and Treaty of Chudniv (also known as the Treaty of Slobodyshche) between the Ukrainian Hetmanate and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) were in effect, Mazepa gained experience in court life as a servant of King Jan II Casimir. Ongoing confrontations with the Polish gentry in royal circles, who despised the "Orthodox Cossack," prompted Ivan to return to Ukraine in 1668. There he married Hanna, the widow of the Bila Tserkva colonel Samiilo Frydrykevych, and this brought him into the Cossack leadership orbit centred around Hetman Petro Doroshenko. Mazepa completed military and diplomatic missions for the famous hetman; but then, in 1674, he was taken captive by the Zaporozhians. The commander of the Zaporozhian Host (*koshovyi otaman*) Ivan Sirko turned him over to the Left Bank hetman Ivan Samoilovych, on whom Mazepa made a highly favourable impression. Mazepa found favour in Moscow as well, when they sent him there for questioning. In 1676 Mazepa was awarded the title "Military Fellow" (*viis'kovyi tovarysh*). A year later he became a Notable Military Fellow (*znachnyi viis'kovyi tovarysh*), and in 1681 a military aide-de-camp (*voiskovyi osaul*). This brought him into the elite of the "general" Cossack leadership. Mazepa often travelled to Moscow with messages from Ivan Samoilovych, and while there he discussed questions of domestic and foreign policy. In 1687 he participated in the first Crimean campaign of the Russian-Ukrainian forces. After Ivan Samoilovych was deposed, Mazepa was elected hetman of both banks of the Dnipro at the insistence of Vasili Golitsyn. Around this same time the so-called Kolomak Articles were approved, which defined the relations between the Cossack state and Russia. In 1689 Mazepa commanded the Zaporozhian Host in a second Crimean campaign. During the Naryshkin uprising Mazepa

supported Tsar Peter, and as a consequence of this, he received broad plenipotentiary powers as well as new articles (i.e., a new agreement) from Moscow. During the 1690s he oversaw the planning and coordination of Russia's conflict with the Ottoman Empire. In 1695, alongside Boris Sheremetev, he commanded the forces that seized the fortress of Kyzy-Kermen. In 1696, Mazepa's acting hetman, Iakiv Lyzohub, commanded the Ukrainian Cossack forces that breached and captured the Azov Fortress. In 1701, on the victorious completion of the Azov campaigns, Peter personally awarded Mazepa the Order of St Andrew the Apostle the First-Called. The hetman was the second person in history to receive this order.

With respect to domestic policy, Mazepa sought to strengthen the state's power, contended with factions within the Cossack leadership and the wilfulness of the Zaporozhians, and established a system of "rents" that generated significant income for the Hetmanate's coffers. During this period the Left Bank's economy grew to unprecedented size. At the same time, the hetman introduced strict limits on the use of serf peasant labour (no more than two days per week). He encouraged the development of Ukrainian art and culture, education and enlightenment. During these years, masterpieces of the engraver's art were created, and books were printed, including some in Arabic. Under his rule, "Ukrainian [Mazepian] baroque" architecture flourished. Mazepa supported and promoted many religious figures who became widely known in Russia, among them Dymytrii Tuptalo (the future St Dymytrii of Rostov), Stefan Iavors'kyi, and Feofan Prokopovych. He opposed the alliance with Saxony. After 1701, Mazepa took part in the campaigns of the Northern War. In 1704, by Peter's decree, he launched a campaign in Right Bank Ukraine and captured the leader of the Right Bank Cossacks, Semen Palii. Afterwards, Mazepa focused on re-establishing the Cossack regiments on the Right Bank, as well as the Pereiaslav (Right Bank) bishopric. In late 1705, on Peter's orders, Mazepa launched a punitive raid against the landholdings of those Polish magnates who had supported Stanisław Leszczyński; in the course of this, he seized the fortress of Zamość. Around 1706, opposition among the Cossack leaders in Ukraine developed against Peter's plans to reform Cossack governance and end the Hetmanate's autonomy. Mazepa shared in that opposition and, beginning in 1707, initiated contacts with the allies of Leszczyński. When Peter decided not to defend Ukraine from attacks by the Swedes but instead to turn the region

into “scorched earth,” Mazepa sought to negotiate with the Polish hetman Adam Sieniawski. At this, he failed. So on 24 October 1708, Mazepa crossed the Desna; that night, he arrived at Charles XII’s encampment. For these actions, Peter sentenced Mazepa in absentia to a civil execution and anathema by the church. Mazepa’s position found support among the Cossack leadership as well as religious and secular figures in Ukraine; however, the punitive actions conducted by Aleksandr Menshikov frightened many of them. In the spring of 1709, the Zaporozhian Host went over to Mazepa’s side. Mazepa took part in the Battle of Poltava, and after he and the Swedes were defeated in that battle, he organized Charles XII’s retreat under the protection of the Turks. Mazepa died on 21 September 1709 in Bendery and was buried in Galați.

#### HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The origins of Cossack Ukraine, or the Ukrainian Hetmanate, date back to Kyivan Rus’. In the early ninth century, in what today is central Ukraine, along the Dnipro River, the territory of ancient Rus’ was formed, uniting the lands of many Slavic tribes. Its capital was Kyiv; the Novgorod lands and other East Slavic principalities had close connections with Kyiv. Kyivan Rus’ had a distinct and highly developed culture that was not at all inferior to the Western European culture of those times. The further development of Ukraine was based on that culture. However, the Mongol Invasions 1236–43 led to thousands of deaths and the liquidation or subjugation of many principalities. The Mongols destroyed established networks and changed the course of Eastern European history. Most affected were the lands of the central Dnipro. Western Ukraine – Galician–Volhynian Rus’ – suffered less than the east. As the old eastern centres were destroyed, Moscow began its ascendancy, although it would remain for almost three hundred years subject to the Golden Horde suzerainty.

The central Ukrainian principalities had been freed from Mongol-Tatar influence by the fourteenth century and became part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After the end of the Romanovych dynasty, which ruled the Galician-Volhynian principality in the times of Kyivan Rus’, it united with Lithuania to form the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which would last for more than two hundred years. In addition to Lithuania itself, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

included the territories of modern Ukraine and Belarus. In that principality a unique political culture developed, based on a democratic tradition, with broad rights for all segments of the population. This culture became dominant among the population of Ukraine. For a long time the Lithuanian princes relied on the traditions of Kyivan Rus', professed Orthodoxy, and used the Old Slavonic language in the administration. Then in 1385 the Union of Krevo was concluded, according to which the Lithuanian prince Jagiełło (Lithuanian–Jogaila) became the Polish king. The long but steady process of unifying the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Poland had begun. In 1569, this culminated in the Union of Lublin and the creation of a new state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Almost immediately after the Union of Lublin, the administrative, legal, and economic structures of the Ukrainian lands began to be transformed to conform to Polish models. The agents of this policy were the Polish gentry, who enthusiastically moved to the rich new eastern lands, having acquired the right to own property in any part of the Commonwealth. The main difference between the Polish gentry (*szlachta*) and the Lithuanian aristocracy was the fervent Catholicism of the former and the open contempt with which they treated the people of the Ukrainian lands and their culture. Ukrainian peasants were deprived of all rights and became subject to courts administered by their landowners. Those who professed Orthodoxy were deprived of the right to enter a guild and found themselves disadvantaged relative to their Catholic counterparts. The Polish gentry imposed their own economic structures (above all, the *panshchyna*, or *corvée*, unknown up to that time in Ukraine); they also seized the best Ukrainian lands, oppressed Orthodoxy, and despised the Ukrainian *shliakhtha*. This led to mass protest, as well as mass flight. Ukraine's geopolitical position – it bordered the vast and empty expanses of the Wild Fields (Pontic steppe of Ukraine, north of the Black and Azov Seas) – created favourable conditions for the latter response.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, growing religious, cultural, and economic conflicts generated in the Ukrainian lands a process of spiritual revival and the formation of a national identity. The struggle to preserve Orthodoxy happened simultaneously with the formation of a new political elite in Ukraine, one that was closely associated with the Cossacks, who arose at that time. The desire to rule their own land, and to live in freedom and by their

own rules, led to a series of bloody clashes with the forces of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. For two centuries, one Cossack uprising followed another.

In 1648, a Cossack uprising began under the leadership of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. It began with overwhelming victories over the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Ukraine was freed from Polish administration, the personal dependence of the peasants was ended, and the Ukrainian Hetmanate was founded, with its own administrative and judicial system. In 1654 a difficult military situation compelled Khmel'nyts'kyi to become a vassal of the tsars of Muscovy; even so, the autonomous status of the hetman was preserved. Though united by the Orthodox religion, Ukraine and Muscovy turned out to be very different entities, both culturally and administratively. The process of “integration” was painful, often resulting in bloody conflicts with the Russian authorities. Ukraine several times seceded from Russia in order to unite with the Commonwealth or to seek another political arrangement. The Ukrainian Hetmanate fell into a period referred to as the Ruin: hetmans came and went, looking in vain for external allies; meanwhile, Ukraine was depopulating and ruled by hostile armies. In the end, the Ukrainian Hetmanate was split asunder. Under the Treaty of Andrusovo of 1667 and the Eternal Peace of 1686 between Russia and the Commonwealth, Right-Bank Ukraine was made subject to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Left-Bank Ukraine to Russia. This was a tragedy for many patriotic Cossacks. Not until the last decades of the seventeenth century did a path out of the crisis emerge.

This was the context in which Ivan Mazepa began his political career in Left-Bank Ukraine. The Ukrainian Hetmanate had at that time broad autonomous rights, including its own administrative and judicial systems as well as its own laws, taxation system, and army. But the hetman was also a sworn subject of the tsar and was obliged to consult him on all matters of domestic policy, including appointments to basic posts.

Who were the Ukrainian Cossacks, and what was their status in Mazepa's time? The Cossacks arose in Ukraine at the end of the fifteenth century and had established a society there by the mid-sixteenth. Cossacks were divided into “Zaporozhian” and “Registered.” Zaporozhian Cossacks were the free men who settled below the rapids on the lower reaches of the Dnipro (hence the name Zaporizhia, *Nyz*). The Cossacks earned their living from the



“fisheries” (fishing, hunting, etc.) and from raids on the Tatars, for which they became quite famous. The Zaporozhians lived according to their own laws, practised a form of democracy, and obeyed neither the Polish king nor the Russian tsar even when treaties required them to do so. Women were strictly forbidden to visit Zaporizhia. Cossack otamans were chosen to lead the Zaporozhians. Until the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising, Zaporizhia was viewed as the central land of the Ukrainian Cossacks, as the place where all important decisions were made and where military alliances were forged, campaigns were planned, production was divided, and so on.

The “Registered” Cossacks were completely different. Polish kings attempted to exploit the growing influence of the Cossacks in Ukraine for their own purposes. In 1558 the Polish King Sigismund II issued a decree calling on the Cossacks to enter his service. About three hundred Cossacks heeded his call and were entered into a registry; for doing so, they received payment from the royal treasury in the form of money and cloth. The reform was completed under the Polish King Stefan Batory, who granted the Registered Cossacks special privileges: they were exempt from taxation and were subject to no court except that of their hetman. As a consequence, the Registered Cossacks became privileged members of Ukrainian society. All Cossacks dreamed of being included in the registry, and the Registered tried to expand their privileges to the entire territory of Ukraine. Thus, immediately after the appearance of the Registered Cossacks across the Commonwealth, a wave of Cossack uprisings began, continuing with brief interruptions until the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising.

“Hetman” (from the German *Hauptmann*, “main man”) referred to the leader of the Ukrainian Registered Cossacks. Later (beginning in Khmel'nyts'kyi's time), hetmans were referred to as the rulers of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Hetmans were elected at the General Council (*rada*) of the Cossacks and possessed both military and civilian authority: they headed the military, administrative, and judicial systems of Ukraine (unlike in Poland and Lithuania, where the hetman was only the commander of the army).

The title “Hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks” was used for the first time by the Polish king in 1576. That king also granted the hetman symbols of power (*kleinods*): a banner (*korohva*), a *bunchuk*, a mace (*bulava*), a seal, timpani (*lytavry*), and an inkwell (*kalamar*).

The *kleinod* is a tradition of eastern origin. The *bunchuk* was a long wooden pole with a metal ball at the end, from which horsetails

hung. It was used in the Ottoman Empire as a sign of the rank and authority of the pasha; from there it came to Poland and then to Ukraine. The *bulava* or mace (from the Latin *bullā*) was a blunt weapon that served in Ukraine as a symbol of the hetman's power. It was handed to the hetman after his election. The seal of the Zaporozhian Host was used for all the most important documents issued by the hetmans. Timpani were a kind of drum, made of iron or silver and covered with leather. They were used during official events in the presence of the hetman. The *kalamar* was an inkwell, a sign of power for the *pysar* (chancellor) of the Zaporozhian Host. The symbol of the power of the colonels was a hexagonal mace.

The administrative structure of the Ukrainian Hetmanate was fairly simple: it was divided into regiments, each occupying a specific territory. Regimental cities were the residence of colonels, who held administrative, military, and judicial power within their regiments. Regiments were divided into hundreds (*sotnia*; with cities for each hundred, the residences of captains – *sotnyks*).

The supreme authority of the Ukrainian Hetmanate belonged to the General Rada (council), at which representatives of all regiments elected the hetman and resolved other fundamental issues, such as treaty negotiations with foreign powers. The hetman ruled in consultation with the Starshyns'ka Rada (Council of Officers), whose powers had evolved over time. Initially, all officers were elected by the Cossacks during the Rada. Later, the officers were appointed by the hetmans, and in the eighteenth century by the Russian authorities. The Starshyns'ka Rada consisted of the colonels and *starshyna* (Cossack officers): *oboznyi* (quartermaster), *pysar* (chancellor), *suddia* (judge), *pidskarbii* (vice-treasurer), *osaul* (aide-de-camp), *khorunzhyi* (flag bearer). The general quartermaster was the most important official after the hetman; he was responsible for artillery, participated in the General Military Court, and in the General Military Chancellery was in charge of all military affairs. The general chancellor was the keeper of the seal and was in charge of the General Military Chancellery. It was he who conducted all of the hetman's correspondence, including diplomatic correspondence, and he participated in the sessions of the General Military Court. The general judge (usually there were two) headed the General Military Court and was in charge of all land disputes. The general treasurer was in charge of taxes, determined their amount, and headed the General Chancellery of the Treasury (*heneral'na skarbova kantseliariia*). The

general aide-de-camp (there were also usually two of them) was responsible for maintaining order in the regiments, keeping the register, and preparing for campaigns. The general flagbearer guarded the hetman's banner and headed the hetman's personal bodyguard.

The highest administrative/executive body of the Hetmanate was the General Chancellery. In the chancellery, all financial transactions and land affairs were recorded and all records were archived. The General Military Chancellery served simultaneously as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Interior Ministry. The supreme judicial body of the Hetmanate was the General Court, which dealt with all civil cases and land matters and was the court of appeal for the courts of Cossack villages and towns. All income went to the Military Treasury. In Mazepa's time the treasury was not separate from the hetman's private finances. Money from the treasury was used to pay Cossacks' salaries, finance the army, construct churches, and so on.

## Ivan Mazepa and Ivan Samoilovych

Mazepa did not arrive on the Left Bank of his own free will: the Zaporozhians, led by the famous Zaporozhian Host commander (*koshovyi otaman*) Ivan Sirko, had taken him captive. This time spent in captivity left an indelible impression on Mazepa and instilled in him a hostility toward the Zaporozhians that persisted for the rest of his life.<sup>1</sup>

Having found his way to Samoilovych, Mazepa quickly forged a new career, occupying responsible positions and becoming a trusted subordinate to the hetman. A contemporary of these events, the Ukrainian chronicler Samiilo Velychko, who was generally hostile to Mazepa, admits that Mazepa served faithfully, willingly, and intelligently; he was effective and supportive in all matters entrusted to him.<sup>2</sup> Mazepa's complete dependence on Samoilovych, "given his poverty at that time in his life" (as Velychko aptly put it), also played a by no means unimportant role; he was in no position to pursue his own goals, in contrast to the wealthy and influential Left Bank Cossack leaders.

This is all true. But when historians and biographers of Mazepa explain his rise, they content themselves with trite phrases such as "he charmed Samoilovych," ignoring completely those factors that first brought Mazepa and Samoilovych together. Mazepa came from a noble family, Samoilovych from a priest's family; even so, they had several things in common. Both men were born on the Right Bank, and both had studied at the Mohyla Collegium in Kyiv. To be sure, Samoilovych was much older, old enough to have taken part in Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising. Mazepa's father had been a captain (*sotnyk*) in Khmel'nyts'kyi's Cossack forces. Samoilovych's

biography included service with hetman Petro Doroshenko, whom Mazepa had served for many years.

It is in these biographical details that one should look for the answer to the question of how Mazepa, a lowly captive, managed to become the most trusted and influential person in Samoilovych's circle. Obviously, "charm" is not a sufficient answer. The hetman was well-versed in the vicissitudes of the complex situation following the Ruin, and he had gained power through a difficult struggle with Dem'ian Mnohohrishnyi and Petro Doroshenko. He would not trust someone he had just met merely for sentimental reasons.

Historians tend to overlook the importance of the unification of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Unification – that is, the return of Right Bank Ukraine – was an important goal for both Samoilovych and Mazepa. (This would have made the title of hetman of both banks of the Dnipro – the title officially conferred on the hetman by the tsars – a reality.) The years of these two men's rule saw Ukraine's emergence from the Ruin as well as the economic and cultural flourishing of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Everything Samoilovych initiated Mazepa later continued and advanced, including in the areas of economic policy, military reorganization (the establishment of mercenary regiments), cultural development (the Ukrainian Baroque), church policy, the return of Right Bank Ukraine, and many other matters. Mazepa while serving under Samoilovych did not merely carry out orders; he was an active participant in and facilitator of the hetman's policies, someone who shared the hetman's convictions. Only this can explain why Mazepa continued Samoilovych's policies once he became hetman, in defiance of the wishes of many political forces in Moscow.

Mazepa's diplomatic talents, his ability to conduct negotiations adroitly and prudently (it was precisely this skill that he honed while in Doroshenko's service), must have appealed to Samoilovych. His popularity in Moscow during his first visit there, when he was still practically in the position of a military captive waiting to be executed, must surely have made a favourable impression on Samoilovych. Moreover, Mazepa displayed deep knowledge of the political and military situation in the Ottoman Empire and Crimea. For example, on a visit to the khan, Mazepa heard that the Tatars had one of their own among the Kalmyks, Yusuf Murza, who informed the khan of everything, and who by his counsel dissuaded the Kalmyks from military campaigns.<sup>3</sup> Considering that Moscow had used the Kalmyks for decades as its main bulwark against the Tatars, the information

relayed by Mazepa was extraordinarily important. Only someone accepted among the Crimean elite and knowing the Tatar language could have acquired this information. Such knowledge at a time of war in the south was extremely important to the hetman.

Mazepa had excellent knowledge of foreign languages (including Polish, Latin, German, Italian, Turkish, and Tatar), a skill in which he significantly surpassed his contemporaries and fellow countrymen (including the hetman himself). He could, therefore, “hear” much more than others.

Samoilovych began to entrust Mazepa with his most complicated missions. The first trip to Moscow for which evidence has been preserved took place in February 1676, just a year and a half after his involuntary introduction to Samoilovych. Strikingly, Mazepa already possessed the rank of Military Fellow.<sup>4</sup>

A year later Mazepa led a delegation from Samoilovych to Moscow as a “Distinguished Military Fellow” (*znachnyi viis'kovyi tovarysh*).<sup>5</sup> There he reported on a delicate matter – Samoilovych’s punishment of the *protopop* Semen Adamov of Nizhyn and the Starodub colonel Petro Roslavets' (the first was made a monk, the second was “placed under guard”).<sup>6</sup> This was the first serious purge by the hetman of the Cossack opposition leadership, an action normally prohibited under the Hlukhiv Articles adopted by Hetman Dem'ian Mnohohrshnyi in 1669. It is telling that Samoilovych sent Mazepa to Moscow instead of going himself. The tsar’s reaction was extremely important to the hetman, and evidently he thought that only his protégé could present the matter in an advantageous light.

Meanwhile, military events were unfolding rapidly. In 1676, Russian forces and Samoilovych launched an attack on Chyhyryn. Doroshenko, desiring to avoid bloodshed, withdrew from the town on 19 September and laid down his hetman’s regalia before the Russian *voevoda* Grigorii Romodanovskii. Mazepa took part in the Chyhyryn campaigns and was present at the surrender of his former hetman.

Doroshenko’s departure from the political scene coincided with significant changes in Moscow: the death of Aleksei Mikhailovich and the accession to the throne of the adolescent, sickly Fedor Alekseevich. The era of boyar rule now began, characterized by savage rivalry among different factions. The Ukrainian Hetmanate played a far from minor role in these events; in turn, events in Moscow caused repercussions in Ukraine.

A very simplified narrative continues to dominate the literature on subsequent events in Ukraine: Samoiloivych fell out with Golitsyn, then Mazepa bribed Golitsyn to appoint him as hetman. In fact, everything was much more complicated. Golitsyn really was a key figure in Ukrainian events, but only one of several.

Ukraine played an extremely important role in the career of Vasiliï Golitsyn. It is likely that he did not realize how important Ukraine would be to his career, nor did he ever attempt to understand the Ukrainian Hetmanate, regarding this state structure as more of an obstacle to his plans than as a pillar of his policy. Golitsyn arrived in Ukraine for the first time in 1675, still holding the rank of master of the table (*stol'nik*), commanding the forces sent to protect the towns from the Tatars. After Fedor Alekseevich ascended the throne, Golitsyn became a boyar, arriving with his new title in Putyvl in the summer of 1676. Grigorii G. Romodanovskii, commander of the Russian forces, Hetman Samoiloivych, and the Russian *voevodas* received an order to write to Golitsyn with all the news; he in turn informed the tsar about the events in Ukraine via "special messenger."<sup>7</sup>

In 1677 the first Chyhyryn campaign began, during which the forces of Romodanovskii and Samoiloivych routed the Tatars at Buzhyn. Golitsyn, by this time "a boyar and a *voevoda*, the governor of Chernihiv"<sup>8</sup> – Samoiloivych referred to him as an "eminent and distinguished person in the Muscovite tsardom"<sup>9</sup> – also received the order to march into Ukraine. Golitsyn did not take part in the battles, however, and the hetman and Romodanovskii received all the victors' laurels. The famous Scottish officer Patrick Gordon (the same officer who later distinguished himself in the service of Peter I), a participant in the Chyhyryn campaign, wrote in his diary that Golitsyn and Romodanovskii quarrelled over who had precedence (*mestnichestvo*) and hence were not cooperating with each other.<sup>10</sup> During one heated argument between the boyars, Samoiloivych openly sided with Romodanovskii.<sup>11</sup> Historians conclude therefore that hostile relations prevailed between the hetman and the boyar, ending in 1687 with the deposing of Samoiloivych.<sup>12</sup> But Gordon wrote nothing of the sort in his descriptions of the Chyhyryn campaigns. And only nine years later, when describing the hetman's downfall, did he mention that Golitsyn bore a grudge against the hetman because Samoiloivych had taken Romodanovskii's side during the disputes at Chyhyryn.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the evidence was produced at a later date and cannot be regarded as completely reliable.

Samoilovych did indeed quarrel with Golitsyn, but this happened much later, when their approaches to foreign and domestic policy began to diverge diametrically. It is more significant that Mazepa shared the hetman's views; and, what is more, he did not conceal his opinion.

It is not known when Mazepa began to "be on friendly terms" with Golitsyn. They evidently became acquainted during the Chyhyryn campaigns.<sup>14</sup> De la Neville wrote that at that time there were four people in all of Muscovy who spoke Latin<sup>15</sup> – and one of them was Golitsyn. Mazepa most likely attracted the boyar's attention with his fluent Latin and well-known erudition. Biographers of Golitsyn note that the prince was highly observant and doubtlessly came to know the Cossack leadership well. To be sure, Mazepa was never expansive by nature. Much later, French ambassador Jean Casimir Baluze would write that he "belongs to those people that prefer either to keep quiet or speak and not to say anything."<sup>16</sup> Mazepa wrote somewhat teasingly to the prince: "Your Princely Highness knows my simple soul and simple heart."<sup>17</sup> Another significant fact typically ignored by historians: the policies of Golitsyn himself were rather unstable, and underwent profound changes over time. The Golitsyn of the late 1670s was a different person from the all-powerful "Golitsyn, the favourite" of the late 1680s. That which must have attracted Mazepa to him at first later became a heavy chain around the hetman's neck.

#### THE CHYHYRYN CAMPAIGN

The Chyhyryn campaign in the summer of 1678 was a tragic chapter in the history of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Facing an attack by the huge Turkish army, Romodanovskii, against the advice of Samoilovych, decided to destroy Chyhyryn, the hetman's residence since the time of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi.<sup>18</sup> Many Cossack leaders viewed this a national tragedy and a symbol of the destruction of Right Bank Cossackdom. The Treaty of Bakhchysarai, concluded with the Porte in 1681, provided for a buffer zone to be established between the Dnipro and the Southern Buh; meanwhile, the entire Ukrainian population was forced to flee to the Left Bank, thus ending Samoilovych's dream of realizing his title of hetman "of both banks."

In March 1679, Mazepa once again travelled to Moscow on behalf of the hetman. His mission was to obtain Russian troops to



defend Kyiv from a Turkish-Tatar attack. The Little Russian Office (*Malorossiiskii prikaz*) has preserved quite detailed records of the negotiations with Mazepa (in jumbled fragments, to be sure).<sup>19</sup> Close examination of the original documents<sup>20</sup> makes it clear that Mazepa conducted negotiations not with Larion (Fedor) Lopukhin (as stated by Sergei Solov'ev) (*blizhnii boiarin* and colonel of musketeers) but with the conciliar secretary (*dumnyi d'iak*) Larion Ivanov. Solov'ev's error has had a profound impact on the assessment of Mazepa's contacts.

In the late 1670s Larion Ivanov headed the Foreign and Little Russian Offices (*Posol'skii prikaz* and *Malorossiiskii prikaz*), and thus was the primary official responsible for Ukraine. It was specifically to Ivanov that Samoiloivych sent Mazepa, as he stated in an accompanying letter.<sup>21</sup> Excerpts from Mazepa's conversations (especially when compared with the hetman's directives)<sup>22</sup> offer a unique opportunity to form an impression of his educational level and even, to a certain extent, of his personal opinions.

Curiously, the kinds of forces Samoiloivych requested for the defence of Kyiv were not Russian regulars but detachments from Prince Kaspulat Mutsalovich Cherkasskii and the Don Cossacks.<sup>23</sup> For his part, Mazepa repeated and expanded upon this request, commenting that the Don Cossacks "were very proficient in military matters."<sup>24</sup> But both Samoiloivych and Mazepa combined the petition to send troops with an insistence on allocating sufficient food reserves; and they even sought to ban the Kyiv *voevoda* from "taking carts from the inhabitants of Little Russian towns ... for cannons and for any military supplies."<sup>25</sup> This attention to lightening the burdens of the Ukrainian Hetmanate's population testifies to a clear grasp of the need to forestall discontent and to avoid disturbances. Samoiloivych's requests coincided fully with those with which Mazepa would later inundate the Russian government during the Northern War.

Moreover, from documents it has become clear that as early as 1679 (!) Mazepa was initiated into the most secret details of Samoiloivych's foreign intelligence gathering. Mazepa informed Ivanov about the dispatch of two merchants to the Ottoman Empire "in order to obtain accurate knowledge of hostile intentions." The merchants were to visit Adrianople and Constantinople, where they had "local people who were reliable."<sup>26</sup> This indicates that the foundations laid during Samoiloivych's rule were largely responsible for

the well-developed, successful intelligence network Mazepa possessed during his hetmanship.

In conversation with the head of the Foreign Office, Mazepa displayed astonishing boldness. For example, he asked that “boyars and *voivodes* be ... few” with the forces to be sent and that “there be one great *voevoda*.”<sup>27</sup> He explained that otherwise “boyars and *voevodas* ... will start [to sort out] who is important,” “and each will not give his own troops to anyone else’s regiment and will spare his own soldiers [*polchane*], and hence there will be inequality among them.”<sup>28</sup> Ivanov objected that “there would be no reason for discord among them.”<sup>29</sup> But Mazepa adduced the example of the recent battles at Chyhyryn, during which, in his view, only the “soldiers’ regiments”<sup>30</sup> (Western-style infantry divisions) from the Musketeers divisions (*streltsy*) acquitted themselves well, while the musketeers themselves mainly stayed with the transport (*oboz*) among the carts. With respect to the cavalry and urban nobles, in Mazepa’s apt expression “only their shouting was great, but they did not come out to battle at all; they were all in the rear among the carts.”<sup>31</sup>

These were very bold declarations for a “Military Fellow.” In the preserved notes these statements come at the very beginning of the conversation. One can speculate that Mazepa had already met Ivanov at least once, since he was willing to share such revealing observations with his interlocutor.

It is likely that the events at Chyhyryn really did leave a vivid and largely negative impression on Mazepa. It must be remembered that Mazepa, now almost forty years old, had never before dealt with Russians (*voevodas* and troops) and had not come into contact with the system of precedence (*mestnichestvo*<sup>32</sup>) and other specific manifestations of the Muscovite state. To him, brought up as he was in the Ukrainian Polish tradition, this was a new, stunning, and unpleasant experience. Hence to Ivanov’s question concerning “the senior people”: “What do they care about?” Mazepa declared quite sharply, “Then there was no time to care about others; each one had to save himself.”<sup>33</sup>

Mazepa’s frank, specific comments, coming from an eyewitness of these events, were extremely interesting to the conciliar secretary. For it was precisely in these observations that Mazepa engaged in a critique of Grigorii Romodanovskii’s actions at Chyhyryn.<sup>34</sup> Of course, the excerpts preserved at RGADA give an image of only one of Ivanov’s conversations with Mazepa. There were probably many

more conversations, and far from all were documented. It must be noted that Larion Ivanov and Silvestr Medvedev (a pupil of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy graduate Symeon of Polatsk) were the organizers of the church reform of 1681, which proposed the establishment of an Orthodox Church hierarchy headed by a pope.<sup>35</sup> Although the reform was not carried out, it served as a milestone in attracting Ukrainian clergy to the reformation of Russian Orthodoxy. And Mazepa, as we have seen, played a significant role in this – at every stage.

#### SAMOILOVYCH'S COMRADE-IN-ARMS

Mazepa's stay in Moscow in the spring of 1679 lasted about two months. In May he was given an order for the immediate departure for Kyiv "of boyars and voevodas, with many regiments."<sup>36</sup>

There can be no doubt that Mazepa used his stay in the capital to strengthen his contacts and to form useful acquaintances. While still en route to Moscow, he met and spent quite a lot of time with the head of the Military Service Office (*Razriadnyi prikaz*), conciliar secretary Vasiliï Grigor'evich Semenov, who had returned from Zaporizhia (even staying with him at an inn).<sup>37</sup> This was a valuable contact to make. Semenov oversaw the chancellery for many years – up to his death in 1693. His assistant was Fedor Shaklovityi, known for his shadowy role during the regency of Sophia Alekseevna.<sup>38</sup>

These frequent trips to far-off Moscow were fraught with danger. Archival documents preserve a unique description of an encounter in 1679, in which peasant men (*muzhiki*), living off brigandage, attacked Mazepa at an inn near Karachev. Wielding cudgels and spewing insults, they attempted to murder him. How all this would have ended and how the story would have developed further is unknown, but one of Mazepa's servants (apparently on his orders) set the nearest homes on fire. A conflagration began, the peasants rushed to quell it, and Mazepa and his comrades leapt on their horses and galloped off unharmed<sup>39</sup> (even twenty-five years later the French ambassador Jean Baluze would compare Mazepa the equestrian to a German cavalryman).

In short, in this period of his life Mazepa visited Moscow annually, and this gave him an incomparable advantage over all other Cossack leaders. A favourable impression formed of him, and he navigated boyar intrigues well. At the same time, the lengthy journey in the

seventeenth century from Baturyn to Moscow must have robbed him of considerable strength and health.

In the winter of 1680 Mazepa once again arrived in Moscow at the behest of Samoilovych.<sup>40</sup> This visit was to discuss the extension of the hetman's rule over Sloboda Ukraine. The uprooted Right Bank Ukrainian population had been driven to the Sloboda region, which had long been settled by fugitives from Ukraine. By this time four Sloboda regiments subordinate to the Belgorod *voevoda* existed there: the Sumy, Okhtyrka, Rybinsk [Ostrogozhsk], and Kharkiv regiments. Samoilovych hoped to extract at least some benefit from the loss of the Right Bank by being given authority over Sloboda Ukraine, but Moscow categorically refused his request.

The Treaty of Bakhchysarai between Russia and the Porte was concluded on 13 January 1681. Golitsyn, having received awards for presiding over the diplomatic negotiations,<sup>41</sup> returned to Moscow, where his career began to advance at stunning speed. Thereafter, whenever Samoilovych sent Mazepa to Moscow, he sent him directly to Golitsyn.<sup>42</sup> It seems that his missions were largely successful, and in 1681 Mazepa received the title of military aide-de-camp (*viis'kovyi osaul*), which officially ushered him into the elite of the General Cossack Staff (*heneral'na starshyna*).<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, Golitsyn, besides being placed in charge of the foreign policy of Tsar Fedor Alekseevich, was involved in reforms of taxation and military districts. With his direct participation, the Assembly of the Land (*Zemskii sobor*) announced the abolition of the precedence (*mestnichestvo*) system in January 1682. This was a revolutionary change, one that opened a path for the renewal of the Muscovite state. Reforms of this sort would have appealed to Mazepa, who hated the bungling arrogance of the boyars, as well as to many others in Ukraine.

But on 27 April 1682, Tsar Fedor Alekseevich died. This brought about the Khovanshchina,<sup>44</sup> a rebellion during which Prince Ivan Khovanskii attempted to seize power with the support of musketeers. Among the boyars torn to pieces by the musketeers as they swept through Moscow were the conciliar secretary Larion Ivanov, the *voevoda* Grigorii Romodanovskii, and many other key figures of Old Russia who were good friends of Mazepa.

A new era had begun. Sophia as regent and her favourite Vasilii Golitsyn came to power. A boyar who had witnessed these events, Andrei Matveev, wrote that "the boyar Prince Vasilii Vasil'evich

Golitsyn was admitted to Her Majesty, the tsarevna, and into her supreme favour.”<sup>45</sup> One must give the prince his due: it was he who had crafted and carried out the plan for suppressing the “troubles.” But the powers he had attained as a reward for doing so knew no bounds. He immediately received the Foreign Office to administer, and along with this the Little Russian Office, as well as the Foreign Mercenary (*Inozemskii prikaz*) and New Formation Cavalry (*Reitarskii prikaz*) Offices, thus becoming practically the chancellor of the country. After the “Troitskii march,” which ended the revolt, and which resulted in Sofia being named regent, Golitsyn was also given huge land grants and the title “Guardian of the Great Royal Seal and the State’s Great Ambassadorial Affairs, Foremost (*blizhaishii*) Boyar and Governor of Novgorod.”<sup>46</sup>

Having been given enormous power, Golitsyn continued his reforms. But his policies now changed significantly – something that Samoilovych and Mazepa quickly recognized. Moreover, Tsarevna Sophia’s reign was a time of struggle between her camp and the supporters of the Naryshkins.

The Moscow uprising inevitably affected the Ukrainian Hetmanate. When in October 1682 the *d’iak* of the Little Russian Office, Vasiliï Bautin, delivered a missive to Kyiv with news of Khovansky’s execution, the musketeers were indignant, for many of them had fought alongside the prince during the Russo-Polish War.<sup>47</sup> In Pereiaslav the musketeers ceased to obey the *voevoda*, abandoned their companies and their non-commissioned officers, and placed an ordinary musketeer (*strelets*) in the *voevoda*’s office (*prikaznaia izba*). Samoilovych reported this with “unceasing sorrow” to the tsars.<sup>48</sup>

The hetman’s oldest son, Semen Samoilovych, the colonel of the Starodub Regiment, found himself in the village of Vozdvizhenskoe in September 1682 during the famous Troitskii retreat at the height of the Khovanshchina.<sup>49</sup> He arrived there on 16 September 1682.<sup>50</sup> Tsarevna Sophia used his arrival as a pretext to summon Ivan Khovanskii to deal with him.<sup>51</sup> Semen Samoilovych saw all the chaos reigning in Moscow with his own eyes – clearly, the authorities were not in control of events.

Evidently, the main conclusion Samoilovych drew was that an opportunity had presented itself for him to strengthen the autonomy of the Ukrainian Hetmanate as well as his own rule. In February 1684, at a meeting with the courtier (master of the table; *stol’nik*) Odintsov, the hetman declared his ambitions. He proposed that his

son-in-law Fedor Sheremetev (married to the hetman's daughter) be appointed the *voevoda* of Kyiv: "Then I would enjoy royal favour, and among the local Little Russian people there would be fear that I am the hetman and my son-in-law the *voevoda* in Kyiv."<sup>52</sup> In this time of severely weakening central authority, Moscow acceded to his demand, and that same year Fedor Petrovich Sheremetev became the *voevoda* of Kyiv.<sup>53</sup>

Having achieved near-absolute power, Samoilovych lost his sense of moderation; he also grew reckless. Not a "Cossack" by birth (he was a *popovych* [a priest's son]), and lacking popularity among the Cossacks, he began to violate traditions. He apparently had forgotten that denunciation was common practice among the Cossack elite that had emerged from the period of the Ruin.

The metamorphoses occurring under Samoilovych are vividly described in a ballad (*duma*) usually attributed to Mazepa. This *duma* very clearly tells how the hetman was initially "a lord [*pan*] good to all," but later set himself against all social estates and, rejecting all advice, began to do away with the long-held liberty of the troops. He began to view all people "as nothing," called them "the dirt under his feet," and trampled them underfoot. His sons became insufferably conceited and mistreated the people intolerably.<sup>54</sup> They went so far as to travel around Ukraine in a gilded carriage purchased by the hetman in Gdańsk,<sup>55</sup> an action completely at odds with Cossack tradition, which valued modesty, especially among youth. Much later, in 1693, Mazepa would recall the severity of Samoilovych.<sup>56</sup> It must be said that on becoming hetman, Mazepa drew the correct lessons: he expended considerable effort and money appeasing the Cossack leaders with feasts and treating them as a brotherhood of lords (*pany-bratstvo*).

Even so, however rudely, arrogantly, and sometimes erratically Samoilovych behaved as hetman, Mazepa concurred with and actively supported many of his policies, especially at a time when Golitsyn was exerting negative pressure.

Regarding relations with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it is precisely here that the persistent but entirely unconfirmed myth of Mazepa's "pro-Polish orientation"<sup>57</sup> disintegrates in light of the facts. It is utterly certain that he despised the Polish nobles (*pany*), who had received him with disdain and hostility when he was serving at the royal court; a proud, ambitious man, Mazepa never forgot this offence. For their part, the Polish authorities regarded both Samoilovych and (later) Mazepa as obstacles to the realization of their plans.

One must bear in mind that the Commonwealth was not going to give up trying to recover Ukraine (including the Left Bank). And after the Commonwealth's success at Vienna (1683), these ambitions flared up with new strength. Jan Sobieski re-established Cossacks on the Right Bank and began to appoint "hetmans" there, thus encroaching on Samoilovych's role as hetman of both banks of the Dnipro. Working through the Lviv bishop Shumlans'kyi, the Poles stirred up Left Bank Cossacks to overthrow Samoilovych, "a man useful for nothing and not warlike." In "anonymous letters" that played on the Cossacks' pride, the Poles reminded them of the shameful surrender of Chyhyryn, the "driving out" of the populace, and so on. All of this was for the purpose of sundering Left Bank Ukraine from Moscow and concluding a Polish-Ukrainian agreement directed against the Porte. Vasyl' Iskryts'kyi, the father-in-law of the Myrhorod Colonel Danylo Apostol, was sent to the Left Bank bearing secret instructions to the Bila Tserkva archpriest Semen Zarembo, ordering him to ascertain the mood of the Ukrainian clergy, as well as of the Cossack leadership dissatisfied with Samoilovych.

The mission ended in failure: no one wanted to align with the Poles (the realities of life on the Right Bank, the oppression of Orthodoxy, and so forth, were too well-known to all), and the "secret instructions" were conveyed to Samoilovych himself.<sup>58</sup>

What is most worth noting is that these two Polish intrigues that began during Samoilovych's rule were subsequently continued during Mazepa's hetmanship. In 1688, Iskryts'kyi again appeared on the Left Bank, and the Poles claimed that Mazepa was going to purchase an estate for himself on the Right Bank through him. It took Mazepa a long time to clear himself in Golitsyn's eyes.<sup>59</sup>

As for Iosyf Shumlans'kyi, it was with his help that the Polish king Jan Sobieski and the Crown Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski later carried out "the monk Solomon affair" – an extremely complicated plan to depose the hetman, indeed, one of the most mysterious and convoluted plots in all of Mazepa's hetmanship.<sup>60</sup>

Why did the ruling circles of the Commonwealth attempt to get rid of Samoilovych and then of Mazepa? The explanation has to do with the policy of both hetmans to strengthen the Ukrainian Hetmanate. In addition, both men cherished plans to unify Ukraine – that is, to annex the Right Bank. And they had reason to hope for this. It was during Samoilovych's rule that signs of emergence from the Ruin appeared: the hetman's regime had stabilized (he would remain in office for



fifteen years, whereas his predecessors succeeded one another almost every year), the “multi-hetmanship” had ended, and civil war had ceased. As a result, there was rapid economic growth, and the resulting material prosperity led to cultural flourishing. In conditions like these, the Poles found it harder to maintain their rule over the Right Bank, never mind extend it over the Left Bank.

With regard to Samoilovych’s plans to unify the Hetmanate, the prospect of an Eternal Peace between Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was especially worrisome. Samoilovych (as well as Mazepa) saw in such an agreement a threat to the dream of a united Ukrainian Hetmanate. He had legitimate grounds to claim the Right Bank because he had been elected hetman by all the Right Bank colonels at the council in Pereiaslav in March 1674. Hence his official title “hetman of both banks of the Dnipro,” a title that Moscow itself used.

Samoilovych’s position concerning the Right Bank conflicted with that of Golitsyn, whose foreign policy was oriented toward union with the Commonwealth. The prince, with his pro-European sympathies, dreamed of becoming a member of the Holy League directed against the Porte. He had reason to view the Turkish-Tatar threat as a substantial one. After the Chyhyryn campaigns, the Turks had reached the gates of Vienna in 1683. Golitsyn had ambitious plans to bring about Russian access to the Black and Mediterranean Seas.<sup>61</sup> But for these to succeed, Russia would need to reconcile with the Commonwealth as well as prevent Ukraine from interfering.

To be sure, Golitsyn’s government hoped to exert pressure on Jan Sobieski, to keep Kyiv permanently for itself, and to place Zaporizhia under its sole administration (under the 1667 treaty, Moscow and Warsaw jointly governed Zaporizhia). But Samoilovych nevertheless opposed the agreement with the Commonwealth. In February 1684 he refused to send representatives to negotiations with the Poles, declaring that “for me to send bad people – nothing would come of them; while to send good ones – it’s improper for them to stand in servitude awaiting orders.”<sup>62</sup>

In February 1684, after the death of the abbot of the Kyiv Caves Monastery, Innokentii Gizel', the Polish king Jan Sobieski appointed Lviv bishop Iosyf Shumlians'kyi as his successor, thus underscoring his rights to Kyiv. In response, Samoilovych seized villages on disputed territory along the river Sozh. Justifying himself to Golitsyn, Samoilovych wrote that “the local inhabitants are peasants ... They



were very glad I came to visit.”<sup>63</sup> The hetman declared publicly that he would not surrender these villages, no matter what orders he received concerning them.<sup>64</sup>

He did not stop at this. In April 1684, he offered amnesty to the Right Bank Cossacks and invited them to join his service.<sup>65</sup> This amounted to interference in the affairs of the Polish Commonwealth. And he continued to try to draw the Cossacks from the Right Bank over to his side with rewards.<sup>66</sup> His efforts succeeded, and in June of the same year a portion of the Right Bank Cossacks went over to Samoilovych.<sup>67</sup> Since at this time Russo-Polish peace negotiations were continuing, such actions by Samoilovych could not but annoy Golitsyn.

The hetman sent an embassy to Moscow, insisting on his position. In 1685 the general chancellor (*heneral'nyi pysar*) Vasyl' Kochubei (Mazepa's future enemy) also travelled to Moscow, and on 20 February 1686 Mazepa arrived with the hetman's son Hryhorii.<sup>68</sup> The mission was secret. The official directive given by Samoilovych – that is, the stated one – was that the envoys were to speak in person at the tsar's court “with whom it was appropriate” concerning a lasting peace.<sup>69</sup> In his instructions to his representatives the hetman spoke not so much against the Eternal Peace itself but rather against the proposed war with Crimea and against the joining of the Right Bank to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Most likely, Mazepa fully shared Samoilovych's position and sought to convey its legitimacy to the Muscovite *voevodas*.

Mazepa and Hryhorii also visited the Moscow patriarch Ioakim, who “received [them] graciously,” but they told him nothing of their visit's purpose.<sup>70</sup> Samoilovych later (patently lying) assured the patriarch that his son had come strictly to express gratitude to the tsars and that he was concealing nothing.<sup>71</sup>

Most important in the account of the Eternal Peace is that Mazepa was on the hetman's side. This is evident from his statements in Moscow and from the policy he himself subsequently pursued toward the Right Bank once he had become hetman (this will be addressed in detail below). But no less significant was the active opposition of the Naryshkins' camp to Golitsyn's policy with respect to the Commonwealth.

There was in the court in Moscow a very powerful Danish party, which opposed an alliance of Russia with Austria and the Commonwealth on the one hand and with Sweden on the other.

The Dutch plenipotentiary Johan Willem van Keller reported repeatedly in the summer of 1683 that the Danish party was conducting “intrigues” against the Eternal Peace and that Samoilovych opposed this agreement.<sup>72</sup>

Opposition was also present in the Boyar Duma. In particular, Petr Prozorovskii,<sup>73</sup> a supporter of the Naryshkins and Peter, spoke out against the agreement with the Commonwealth.

Despite all this opposition, on 24 March 1686 final negotiations began. Vasili Golitsyn and Boris Sheremetev led the Russian side. Mazepa was Samoilovych’s emissary.<sup>74</sup> On 6 May the agreement was signed. The Left Bank, Kyiv (as well as the Right Bank towns of Trypillia, Staiky, and Vasyli’kiv), and Zaporizhia were to remain under Moscow; the Kyiv region (*Kyishchyna*) (from Staiky to Chyhyryn) was to be a neutral, unpopulated zone; Volhynia and Galicia went to the Commonwealth; and Podolia remained under Ottoman rule. Moscow joined the Holy League.<sup>75</sup>

Samoilovych was outraged and even forbade prayer services of thanksgiving in the churches on the occasion of the peace.<sup>76</sup> At a meeting with the *voevoda* Leontii Nepliev he warned him heatedly that far from all the boyars would be satisfied with a breach of the peace with the Ottoman Empire and Crimea “through Polish cunning.”

Sensing no danger, the hetman went even further, sending his envoy Stefan Hrechanyi to the Polish king in June 1686. In his letter, besides declaring his readiness to participate in a campaign against Crimea, he repeated the Ukrainian Hetmanate’s long-standing claim to the Right Bank (demarcated by the rivers Ros’, Sob, Kam’ianka, and the Southern Buh). Samoilovych openly petitioned the king to transfer these lands to the hetman’s authority; it did not trouble him that he was asking for significantly more territory than had been conceded to the Commonwealth through the Eternal Peace. In August, Samoilovych sent voluminous letters to the commandant of Bila Tserkva and the Polish commander-in-chief Stanisław Jabłonowski containing proofs that Right Bank Ukraine belonged to the Cossacks.<sup>77</sup>

Samoilovych’s negotiations with the Poles were conducted through his appointee, Metropolitan of Kyiv Hedeon Chetvertyns’kyi, who himself claimed landed property in unclaimed locations.<sup>78</sup> While these negotiations elicited no official condemnation from Moscow, they must have intensely angered Golitsyn and Sophia. Finally, in September 1686, Nepliev received an order to reprimand Samoilovych. The hetman was frightened and asked forgiveness, which was granted.

But the Polish side exploited Samoilovych's imprudence. Knowing how much Golitsyn wanted to join the Holy League and understanding that in the person of the hetman they had a dangerous enemy, Polish ambassadors sought to undermine him as much as possible in Moscow's eyes. They accused Samoilovych of not resisting the Tatar Horde's emergence from Crimea and even of conducting negotiations with the khan on accepting a protectorate, as a result of which Jan Sobieski found himself in a difficult situation in Moldavia. The Poles also presented some "printed pages," purportedly printed in Kyiv, in which the hetman proclaimed himself a "sovereign grand duke."<sup>79</sup> Throughout November and December 1686 the Poles and Lithuanians doggedly insisted on "punishment" and even "execution without mercy" for the hetman who had dared to violate the Eternal Peace immediately after its signing.<sup>80</sup> The Poles also demanded the cessation of the use of the title "hetman of both banks of the Dniipro." To this the Russians replied that Kyiv was located on the Right Bank and accordingly the title might be used.

In January 1687, Mazepa again arrived in Moscow on a mission for the hetman. Now he tried to persuade Moscow to prevent crown forces from entering the empty towns of the Right Bank buffer zone – Korsun and Bratslav.<sup>81</sup> Mazepa had to explain how important these towns were for defence against the Akkerman Horde (*orda belgorodskaia*)<sup>82</sup> and to articulate how utterly unrealizable was the proposal (at that time) that these localities "as Cossack from time immemorial" remain under the rule of the tsar – even if empty.<sup>83</sup>

Samoilovych's opposition to the Eternal Peace was widely known (albeit not in all the detail presented above). The extent of Golitsyn's dissatisfaction (and especially, that of Sophia personally) is lost, however, behind the cliché repeated again and again from book to book. Kirill Kochegarov has rightly observed that it was not unreasonable for Samoilovych to oppose the Eternal Peace; however, he bases his observation on the existence of "a strong boyar faction that favoured further expansion onto the land of the noble [*shliakhetskaiia*] republic."<sup>84</sup> But no historians have paid attention to another factor: an emergent, radical change in Golitsyn's policy toward the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

For contemporaries, this change in policy was no great secret. Patrick Gordon – a man closely acquainted with both Samoilovych and Golitsyn – left very interesting, astute observations on this subject:

For the Cossacks would be faine lookt upon as a people who had by their own armes frees themselves from the servitude of the Polls, and had only craved the protection and thereby the assistance of the Muscovite; and upon this acco-t with great heart-sore they writ themselves subjects to the Czaars and not slaves, as the Russes do; and being very jealous that by this perpetuall heace with the Polls whereby the Poles had given the hereditary right they had to them to the Muscovite, the Russes should contrive to have them in such subjection as their other naturall subjects were, and that the privileges and freedoms for which had spent so much blood, sould be abridged.<sup>85</sup>

During the negotiations with the envoys from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the regent Sophia Alekseevna (evidently reflecting the attitude of Vasili Golitsyn) resorted to striking, anti-Ukrainian rhetoric. At a meeting with a member of the Lithuanian delegation, Iosif Liadinskii, his aunt and the abbess of the Novodevichy Convent, Antonina Danilovna, set forth the tsarevna's plan on Sophia's behalf. Sophia was going to shift the entire burden of military actions, as well as of border defence, onto Ukrainian Cossackdom. Thirty thousand Cossacks were to be transferred to the command of the Polish king to wage war against the Ottoman Empire; the remainder were to defend Ukraine from Tatar raids and in turn to attack Crimea. And should anti-Polish revolts break out on the Right Bank, the tsarevna expressed her readiness to cooperate with the Polish Commonwealth in suppressing them<sup>86</sup> (directly, as in the future would Catherine II during the Koliivshchyna).

In addition to Sophia's animosity toward Samoilovych, a clear plan to restrict Ukrainian autonomy, which Golitsyn would try to bring to fruition, lay behind the tsarevna's hostile statements. Ending the Hetmanate's financial independence was part of the plan.

The most important economic matter, concerning which Mazepa undoubtedly aligned himself with Samoilovych, related to the so-called leasehold system (*orendy*). At issue here was the financial self-sufficiency of the Ukrainian Hetmanate and of the hired ("mercenary") regiments that comprised the most battle-ready part of the Ukrainian army. The "volunteer regiments" had been formed during Petro Doroshenko's rule as an alternative to the old registered regiments. The new units were composed of volunteers aged seventeen to fifty, assembled regardless of their social position (excluding

peasants). There were also many foreigners among them (Germans, Poles, Wallachians, Serbs, Croats, and so forth). The regiments were maintained using funds collected by the hetman. He appointed their colonels and had full control over the “volunteers.” Mounted mercenaries were called “*kompaniitsi*”; those on foot, “*serdiuky*.”<sup>87</sup>

Doroshenko funded the regiments by levying taxes on the population. Samoilovych decided that this was too difficult and in 1678 reinstated the leasehold system (which had existed in the past under Polish rule and was subsequently restored by Ivan Briukhovets'kyi). In this system, alcohol distilling and tavern-keeping, as well as the tar and tobacco trades and mills, were farmed out to leaseholders, and these funds were used to maintain the mercenary regiments.<sup>88</sup> The leases brought enormous sums into the Hetmanate's coffers.<sup>89</sup>

Denunciations of the hetman – that he “was greedy for money” – poured in, and active opposition eventually forced him to yield on the matter of leaseholds. The practice of leasing was replaced by a levy on taverns and the sale of liquor (*horilka*),<sup>90</sup> an extremely ineffective system that did not solve the problem. The abolition of leasehold clearly did not happen by chance however; rather, it was a deliberate policy pursued by Golitsyn, who wanted to prevent any financial strengthening of the hetman's rule. One can determine this from Golitsyn's insistence that leasehold be ended after Mazepa came to power as well. Only after Golitsyn's downfall, and only after a complicated struggle, did Mazepa manage to restore the leasehold system (see below).

A successful exception, a project that appealed to Samoilovych, Mazepa, and Golitsyn alike, was the subordination of the Kyiv Metropolitanate to the Moscow Patriarchate. The Moscow authorities first articulated this idea as early as 1654, immediately after taking Ukraine “under the high hand” of the tsar. At that time the Ukrainian higher clergy categorically opposed the project, and the matter was set aside. In 1659, Moscow tried to impose its will by force, and in response Ukraine broke the treaty with the tsar. Now, in 1685, the situation had changed. Golitsyn decided to take advantage of the death of Kyiv Metropolitan Antonii Vynnyts'kyi and the appointment by Jan Sobieski of Iosyf Shumlians'kyi as “overseer” (*kurator*) of the Kyiv Metropolitanate to decide the matter of the subordination of the Ukrainian Church to Moscow.

For Golitsyn the subordination of the Kyiv Metropolitanate was most likely an integral part of his plan to limit Ukrainian autonomy

(along with the liquidation of the leasehold system). Samoilovych seized upon the prince's idea and proposed his own candidate for the post of metropolitan. Apparently he wanted to create a model of an appanage principality, in which he himself would be hetman, his son-in-law the *voevoda* of Kyiv, and another relative the Metropolitan of Kyiv. Patrick Gordon mentions in his diary that Samoilovych actively promoted the nomination of Chetvertyns'kyi.<sup>91</sup>

Why did Mazepa support the plan to subordinate the Kyiv Metropolitanate? Mazepa's family had close ties to Ukrainian Orthodoxy. He himself had friendly contacts with the Ukrainian hierarchy. These connections included Dymytrii Tuptalo (the future St Dymytrii of Rostov), who from 1679 served in the hetman's church in Baturyn.<sup>92</sup> His father, Sava Tuptalo, was a captain (*sotnyk*) in a company of the Kyiv Regiment. Interestingly, in the summer of 1689, during a very difficult period in his life, Mazepa took Dymytrii Tuptalo with him to Moscow. During Mazepa's hetmanate, with his direct support and involvement, Tuptalo began to publish his famous *Lives of the Saints*. In the late 1660s Mazepa's mother entered monastic life in Kyiv, and her devoted son undoubtedly became a frequent guest in Kyiv monasteries. Hence arose Mazepa's friendship with the Archimandrite of the Kyiv Caves Monastery, Varlaam Iasyns'kyi. After becoming hetman, Mazepa exerted direct influence on the election of Iasyns'kyi as the Metropolitan of Kyiv. That was also when Ivan met another "rising star" of Ukrainian Orthodoxy – Stefan Iavors'kyi.

Mazepa was not simply a believer; he was also well-versed in theology and far from indifferent to the oppression of Orthodoxy on the Right Bank. Most likely it was his knowledge of the situation on the Right Bank that led him to support the subordination of the Kyiv Metropolitanate. He probably judged that the strong authority of the Patriarch of Moscow would be better protection for Ukrainian Orthodox than the illusory authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who was completely dependent on the Ottoman Empire.

In January 1687 in Moscow, Mazepa had already suggested violating the terms of the Eternal Peace: Catholics and Jesuits were inflicting various oppressions on Right Bank Ukraine, forcibly compelling believers to convert to the Uniate Church and confiscating Orthodox property.<sup>93</sup> Mazepa expressed his desire that the Patriarch of Moscow intervene on behalf of the oppressed against

these offences and become the defender of all Orthodox believers in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, “over whom the former metropolitans of Kyiv had reigned supreme.”<sup>94</sup>

Furthermore, Mazepa had reason to believe that the Russian Church would be seriously reformed through the direct involvement of the Ukrainian clergy and would approach the model of enlightened Orthodoxy so familiar to Ukrainians and to Mazepa in particular. As already mentioned, during the life of Tsar Fedor Alekseevich the conciliar secretary Larion Ivanov had developed a program of Church structural reforms. This had been with the participation of Sil'vestr Medvedev, a pupil of Symeon of Polatsk (Polots'kyi), who was himself a graduate of the Mohyla Collegium in Kyiv. Despite the bloody events of the musketeers' revolt, the plans for church reform were not broken off.

With the support of Symeon of Polatsk, Medvedev became the “editor-in-chief” of the Kremlin's printing house. Thus, he gained control of Russia's only printing press (in Ukraine by the early seventeenth century, there were already several dozen of them). In 1677, with the permission of Fedor Alekseevich, he opened a second printing house in the Kremlin – the so-called Upper Printing House.<sup>95</sup> It was Medvedev who developed the ideological arguments that legitimized Sophia's rule. In particular, he wrote the famous “Brief Meditation,” in which he portrayed the tsarevna as the saviour of Russia during the musketeers' uprisings. This work was simultaneously a political pamphlet and a serious historical study based on eyewitness accounts.

But Medvedev focused his efforts on expanding education in Russia, an endeavour closely associated with Ukrainian Orthodoxy. Thus, during the lifetime of Tsar Fedor Alekseevich, he opened a Slavonic-Latin school, which was to become the foundation of an academy (similar to Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). Golitsyn supported these ideas of the elder (“a monk of great intelligence and scholarly acuity,” as contemporaries referred to him), but Patriarch Ioakim categorically opposed them. After a fierce struggle, in 1683 the Upper Printing House in the Kremlin was closed, and the Ukrainian printing houses became the only ones that were truly free from the patriarch's censorship.

An even more bitter struggle broke out over the future academy. Ioakim wanted to establish a purely religious school, without “Latinists” and, in essence, without education. In the spring of 1685, the Greek Leichoudes brothers, who led the “Champions of



Wisdom” (*mudrobortsy*) circle, supported by the patriarch, arrived in Moscow. The question of whether there was to be education in Rus’ shifted to the theological plane – that is, to a discussion of “the sacrament of the Eucharist,” to this day an extremely sensitive matter in Orthodoxy. The struggle with Medvedev reached its climax during Mazepa’s hetmanship, and when in 1685 the subordination of the Kyiv Metropolitanate was at issue, the prospects for religious education in Moscow seemed even more realistic.<sup>96</sup>

In the matter of the subordination of the Kyiv Metropolitanate, Mazepa broke with his teacher, Chernihiv Bishop Lazar Baranovych (the former rector of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy), who opposed the supremacy of the Patriarch of Moscow. Baranovych, the *locum tenens* of the Kyiv Metropolitanate after 1670, was the second candidate (after Chetvertyns'kyi) for the post of Metropolitan.

Baranovych himself did not attend the election of the Metropolitan in Kyiv, nor did he send anyone from the Chernihiv diocese.<sup>97</sup> Later, he complained to the “tsars” that Samoilovych hated him and was plaguing him with various injustices.<sup>98</sup> Many of the Cossack elite were also displeased that the Metropolitan of Kyiv had become subordinated to the Moscow Patriarch. For example, a colonel from the Hadiach Regiment present at the election of Chetvertyns'kyi spoke of “the Great Russian Holy Church with great blasphemy.”<sup>99</sup>

Samoilovych sent Mazepa to the election of the Metropolitan along with four colonels, including Vasyl' Borkovs'kyi and Leontii Polubotok,<sup>100</sup> with the main commission given specifically to Mazepa.<sup>101</sup> On 8 July 1685, Chetvertyns'kyi was elected Metropolitan.

Meanwhile, Golitsyn was eager to start fulfilling his obligations as a member of the Holy League.<sup>102</sup> Moreover, he and Tsarevna Sophia dreamed of distinguishing themselves on the battlefield and thereby strengthening their position. The regent Sophia’s ambitions were unprecedented: she demanded that the Ottoman Empire cede Crimea as well as Ochakiv, resettle the Crimean Tatars in Anatolia, release all captives, and pay large indemnities. The Scottish military consultant Patrick Gordon strongly supported war with Crimea, and his arguments strongly influenced Golitsyn’s decision.<sup>103</sup>

The combined forces of Golitsyn and Samoilovych led the main assault on Crimea. The Don Cossacks were to support their assault from Azov, while the Zaporozhians with the Russian forces of Grigorii Kosagov were to do so from Kyzy-Kermen. Simultaneously, Jan Sobieski was to begin military actions in Podolia.



## THE CRIMEAN CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION OF MAZEPA

Thus began the first Crimean campaign, which Prince Vasiliï led personally. According to a Dutch agent, it had first been planned to entrust the command to Prince Mikhail Cherkasskii.<sup>104</sup> But, in the words of a foreign plenipotentiary, Cherkasskii was “entirely uninclined to the princess ... but very inclined to the youngest tsar.”<sup>105</sup> So Golitsyn decided to lead the campaign himself. This was a mistake.

The situation was already tense. In Moscow, many boyars were dissatisfied with the sudden rise of Golitsyn. The campaign ended in complete failure. Running into enormous difficulties owing to their late departure (lack of food, water, and fodder), they decided to turn back, never confronting the Tatars in battle and never reaching Perekop. To make the situation worse, the Tatars set fire to the steppe, turning the Russians’ retreat into hell.

We now come to one of the most important episodes in Mazepa’s life: his gaining of the hetman’s mace (*bulava*). In the historiography, many clichés persist about the circumstances in which he did so. For many, Mazepa’s actions correspond to the image of the “hetman-traitor.” Once a traitor, then everywhere, always, and in everything a traitor. In simplified form, this cliché goes as follows: having betrayed his benefactor Samoilovych, Mazepa wrote a denunciation against him, bribed Golitsyn with “thirty pieces of silver” (more precisely – 10,000 rubles), and thus received the mace.

To begin, we must ask two separate questions:

- 1 Who deposed Samoilovych, and why?
- 2 Why did they then choose Mazepa as hetman?

The events of the revolution unfolded at lightning speed. Gordon wrote: “A rumor being let pass, that the Cossacks, and even that by the Hetmans connivance if not order, had fired *steppe* and grasse of purpose to hinder our progress into the Crim.”<sup>106</sup> On 7 July, at the Kilchen River, in the Cossack convoy of returning troops, a “report” was composed, which they gave “into the hands” of Golitsyn. He sent it off to Moscow with the *d’iak* Matvei Shoshin (“by a fast messenger”) with an accompanying letter.

A messenger arrived in Golitsyn’s camp from the regent Sophia on 12 July – Fedor Shaklovityi. He put a brave face on a bad business,

praised the prince, and spoke of “how the Tzaars were very well satisfied with the boyar K[niaz] Vas[ily] Vas. His conduct in this expedition.”<sup>107</sup>

Underlying this apparent enthusiasm, however, was deep concern. Gordon wrote that Shaklovityi “questioned the hetman, for that as the report went he had caused burne of the grasse ... Short consultations were had on such things as needed, and hetman denyed his knowledge of the burning of the grasse.”<sup>108</sup> After this everyone dined with the boyars, and on 16 July, Shaklovityi departed. There is no doubt that the arrival of such an important person as Shaklovityi did not happen by chance. Surely he discussed personally with Golitsyn a plan of action before returning to Sophia with a decision already made.

On 16 July the encampment stood on the Kolomak River. There Captain Filipp Sapogov arrived on 21 July with a decree from Sophia and “the tsars” dated 17 July<sup>109</sup> to arrest Samoilovych, send him to a “Great Russian town” (not to Moscow!), and elect a new hetman “whom the Cossack army wants.” Moreover, the need for Samoilovych’s removal was explained in the document from the “tsars” and the regent as arising from the concern that because of the antipathy toward the hetman in Ukraine, riots might break out there.<sup>110</sup> The implementation of the order was entrusted to Golitsyn, “as the Lord God will instruct and guide.”

According to the author of the chronicle, Samiilo Velychko, the prince, having received the decree, summoned the Russian colonels and ordered them to surround the hetman’s encampment and guard it all night, “lest anyone from the hetman’s camp leave.”<sup>111</sup> One finds virtually the same description from another witness – Patrick Gordon.<sup>112</sup>

Golitsyn himself described the event quite differently. (This document is preserved in the Little Russian Office.) He wrote that on 23 July a mob rioted in the Cossack wagon train, seized Ivan Samoilovych and his son, the Starodub colonel Iakiv, and brought them to the prince’s regiment, along with the banner and the hetman’s regalia. There they asked Golitsyn to remove the hetman.<sup>113</sup> Thus, Golitsyn shifted the responsibility for deposing the hetman onto the Cossack leadership.

A statement from the Foreign Office presents yet another version of events, with many emotional details. Golitsyn’s report also refers

to it. According to this version, after the filing of the denunciation the Cossack leaders repeatedly came to him with the warning that it was no longer possible to restrain the Cossacks, who wanted to kill Samoilovych.<sup>114</sup> The Cossack officers allegedly warned the prince that if a decree from the tsars did not come soon, “then they, the Cossacks, and the entire populace, would beat the hetman, and his children and advisers, to death.”<sup>115</sup> So on 23 July, at the second hour of the day, “the leaders and all the people brought the hetman to him to the regiment, along with the banner and the hetman’s regalia.” The Cossack leaders “accused him, going beyond the petition, with much evidence and with arguments.”

An official document titled “The Removal of Ivan Samoilovych from the Hetmanship and the Election of Ivan Mazepa” depicts everything differently, in a “rose-coloured” light.<sup>116</sup> This report states that the tsars’ charter, which proposed dismissing Samoilovych from his post and electing a new hetman, was dated 22 July. The retirement itself ostensibly took place smoothly and with ceremony – the decree was announced, Samoilovych was deposed, and the Cossack elite, delighted with the turn of events, thanked the sovereigns for their favour.<sup>117</sup>

The presence of three different versions of events in the official Russian sources can only be explained by the strict censorship to which Golitsyn’s report (including his own version) was subject. Evidently, a decision had been made to present the overthrow of Samoilovych and the election of a new hetman as a legitimate act, peacefully carried out: the Cossack leadership complained, their request was granted, the hetman was dismissed, and this was announced to the council.<sup>118</sup>

The details of Samoilovych’s removal, which were omitted from the official versions, are known from the description by a contemporary, the chronicler Samiilo Velychko.<sup>119</sup> Samoilovych realized what was happening and spent the night in prayer, believing he was about to die. In the morning (it was a Saturday), when the bells pealed for the morning service, he dressed as one should before death – so Velychko writes – and went to the camp’s church. There the Cossack leaders appeared with the colonels; they had not slept, having spent all night in council. The general aide-de-camp Vuina Voloshyn (Vuitsa Serbyn)<sup>120</sup> entered the church and uttered the famous words: “Lord Hetman, the army demands you.” Then he took him by the hand and led him out of the church.

Samoilovych did not bear up well under the blow. He feared they would kill him on the spot, as they had Briukhovets'kyi in his day. Perhaps he understood that his arrogance had set the Cossack elite against him. He wept, he showed them his diseased eyes, he begged them to let him go to a monastery to do penance. His pleas were to no avail. The Kyiv colonel Kostiantyn Solonyna took a swing at Samoilovych's buttocks, but others prevented the blow from landing. Instead they placed him in a wooden cart and conducted him first to the Russian colonels, then to Prince Golitsyn.<sup>121</sup>

A new missive from the "great sovereigns" directed that Samoilovych be sent to Orel, and from there to Serpukhov, Nizhny Novgorod, and finally Siberia, bypassing Moscow.<sup>122</sup> According to Golitsyn, the Cossack officers asked him to send Samoilovych to Moscow and there to execute him (analogous to the fate of hetman Dem'ian Mnohohrshnyi, who had been tortured at length in Moscow, then sentenced to death, though while he stood on the scaffold his sentence was commuted to exile to Siberia).<sup>123</sup>

The government of tsarevna Sophia clearly did not want the disgraced hetman brought to Moscow. The Cossack leaders, not being privy to her thoughts, had requested another scenario. In this regard, foreign legates wrote: "Tsar Peter certainly directs the party of the deposed Hetman and would like to have him [to Moscow], brought here, but it seems that the other party would like to prevent that and send the Hetman far from here to remote places so that he cannot answer [the charges against him] and all neglect can lie at his account, and Prince Vasilii might come out of suspicion with the common man".<sup>124</sup>

By Velychko's reckoning, Samoilovych was hetman for fifteen years and thirty-five days. Together with his son Iakiv he was exiled immediately to Tobolsk without being charged or tried. All of his property was confiscated. On the orders of Leontii Nepliev, his other son, Hryhorii, was held in Sevsk. Samoilovych died in disgrace in Tobolsk soon after his exile began.<sup>125</sup>

Why was Samoilovych deposed? Kirill A. Kochegarov contends that the cause was his criticism of the Eternal Peace, and he names Vasilii Golitsyn as the one who orchestrated his overthrow. Other historians point to Samoilovych's unpopularity among the Cossacks.<sup>126</sup> Indisputably, there was discontent among the Cossack officers over the behaviour of Samoilovych and his sons, the hetman's desire to establish hereditary rule, and the violation of "Cossack liberties."

The leaders themselves mentioned all of this in their “report” (in essence, a denunciation), as did the Cossack chronicles. More importantly, so did Gordon in his writings.

The Swedish representative in Moscow, von Kokhen, recorded a third explanation, declaring that Golitsyn had decided to shift the blame for his own mistakes onto Samoilovych.<sup>127</sup> Gordon, for his part, noted that Samoilovych “he was growne to such a hight, that it was not thought safe for the government.”<sup>128</sup>

It seems to me that all three versions are true on the whole, but the influence of these factors on events was varied. Golitsyn and Sophia were annoyed with Samoilovych’s stubborn opposition to the Eternal Peace. Their anger was all the more intense because many members of the oppositional boyar factions in Moscow agreed with the hetman. The ruler and her favourite had decided to depose Samoilovych at the first opportunity and to limit the autonomy of the Ukrainian Hetmanate in order to protect themselves from similar situations in the future. The collapse of the Crimean campaign presented a suitable opportunity, and besides, it was necessary to shield Golitsyn, Sophia’s favourite, from boyar opposition. One question remains: at what point did the Cossack leaders become involved? Did Golitsyn “order” them to denounce Samoilovych? Did he hint at his own dissatisfaction with the hetman? And who organized the hetman’s arrest? Was it Golitsyn himself, or, as the prince wrote, did the Cossacks riot?

As to who orchestrated the overthrow of the hetman, the answer seems to me unambiguous – it was Golitsyn. The coup would not have happened without his desire or his consent, be it overt or covert (and here the distinction is unimportant),<sup>129</sup> especially given that the Cossack camp was surrounded by Russian forces. But who was the organizer among the Cossack elite? Contrary to widespread belief, the existing sources do not permit one to speak of Mazepa’s decisive role.<sup>130</sup>

A key source for determining who led the Cossack elite is denunciation itself, as a result of which Samoilovych was deposed and replaced by Mazepa. The text of that denunciation was published by Dmitrii Bantysh-Kamenskii in 1858.<sup>131</sup> Oleksandr Ohloblyn draws attention to Bantysh-Kamenskii’s publication of a contemporary Muscovite (Russian) translation and notes: “This translation raises some doubts: for example, it states that the denunciation was submitted ‘in the camp on the river Kolomak,’ whereas this actually happened while still at the river Kilchen.” In addition, Ohloblyn believes that “the

original denunciation by the Cossack leaders against Samoilovych did not survive.”<sup>132</sup>

Fortunately, he is mistaken – the original denunciation, complete with the original signatures of the Cossack leaders, can be found in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA).<sup>133</sup> A comparison of the two documents leads to the following observations.

In the document published by Bantysh-Kamenskii, Mazepa’s name does not appear with those of the leaders who signed it. The document lists only Vasyl’ Borkovs’kyi, Mykhailo Vuiakhevych, Sava Prokopovych, Kostiantyn Solonyna, Iakiv Lyzohub, Hryhorii Hamaliia, Rodion Dmytrashko-Raicha, Stepan Zabyla, and “below is written ‘Vasylii Kochubei.’”<sup>134</sup> This publication has become the basis for many far-reaching conclusions. For example, Mykola (Nikolai) Kostomarov repeats the list of officers in his work and adds: “Presumably the main organizer here was Mazepa.”<sup>135</sup> Ohloblyn writes: “Did Mazepa participate in the conspiracy against Samoilovych? There is no signature by Mazepa on the Cossack leaders’ denunciation.”<sup>136</sup>

Sergei Solov’ev mentions that Mazepa was one of the Cossack leaders who signed the agreement, but for some reason he does so in reference to the *Collection of State Charters and Treaties*, in which the denunciation was not published.<sup>137</sup> He paraphrases the text of the denunciation, even though he describes the result as a quotation.<sup>138</sup> He does not comment on Mazepa’s role in the conspiracy.

In contrast to Solov’ev, Mykola Petrovs’kyi notes that Mazepa’s signature is not in the published text of the denunciation, while “in the copy from the Sevs’k Office we have Mazepa’s signature on a denunciation.”<sup>139</sup> But the copy Petrovs’kyi used was not the original; in fact, it was a translation into Russian. Yet another copy of the denunciation, again in translation, but with a reference to Mazepa’s signature and no other errors noted by Ohloblyn, is held in the Manuscript Institute of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.<sup>140</sup>

Analysis of the documents at RGADA indicates that Bantysh-Kamenskii published a document held in the Little Russian Affairs Office of the Foreign Chancellery, which represented an official translation completed in that office: “And the signed petition in Belarusan script [that is, in the Ukrainian language] announced above was translated in the state’s *Posol’skii prikaz* and the translation says ...”<sup>141</sup> Moreover, when preparing the text for publication, Bantysh-Kamenskii made mistakes – the document as published

included Mazepa's signature and also named the encampment on the Kolchyn River.<sup>142</sup> How such an experienced scholar could commit such errors remains unclear.

The original denunciation was written on seven sheets and their reverse sides. Its seals are missing, and the addressee and envelope have not been preserved in the file. The first part (pages 3 to 5 obverse in the file) is written in the hand of Sava Prokopovych, in measured calligraphy, as one would expect from a *pysar* (chancellor). This part of the denunciation contains the accusation that Samoilovych was disloyal toward the Eternal Peace with the Polish Commonwealth, as well as a description of his "treacherous" actions during the Crimean campaign of 1687.

The second part is written in the hand of Mykhailo Vuiakhevych (as I argue on the basis of a graphological analysis of the handwriting). It contains a conglomeration of various offences committed by Samoilovych and his sons against the Cossack leaders, townsmen, and so forth. This second part was clearly written in haste – the handwriting deteriorates and becomes less legible with each page. The final paragraph, which states that the "report" will be given to Golitsyn, was written later, most likely with another pen and in another location (the pen pressure is different).

Most curious is the "censorship" the document underwent while being translated into Russian in the Foreign Office. An entire paragraph, conveying Samoilovych's attitude toward the Russian authorities, was omitted from the official Russian translation. The denunciation spoke of the hetman's dismissive attitude toward the regent Sophia's rule, describing it as "capricious." The denunciation also stated that he viewed the tsars as "children young of mind, not fully formed, they know nothing," and that from the rule of the tsarevna, a girl, "we can expect nothing good." He thought that under Sophia's rule, one could expect only "a worse and further decline" – that unless "the young tsars consulting with the girl [can decide] on something good ... one must expect only riots and problems."<sup>143</sup>

While this translation for the official report to the "tsars" – which means to Sophia – was being prepared, all of these statements were removed.

The officers' signatures are arranged in the original as follows: one after another with a complete listing of their posts – Vasyl' Borkovs'kyi, Mykhailo Vuiakhevych, Sava Prokopovych, Ivan

Mazepa. Then under these names are three signatures in a column without any indication of their positions: Kostiantyn Solonytsia, Iakiv Lyzohub, Stefan (Stepan) Petrovych Zabala.

To the left of these names are two signatures evidently written later in the remaining free space – “Hryhorii Hamaliia” and “Dmytrashka Raicha” – both also with no indication of their posts. Raicha was clearly illiterate and signed his name only with difficulty. At the very bottom of the page, on the right, there is written “V. Kochubei.”

The disposition of the signatures has given rise to many speculations. Oleksandr Lazarevs'kyi (Lazarevskii) made the interesting observation (which historians have overlooked) that Solonytsia, Lyzohub, Zabala, Hamaliia, and Raicha at the time they signed the denunciation were not yet colonels but simply “Notable Military Fellows.” But he also points out that they rose to the rank of colonel at the Kolomak Council. From this he concluded that Golitsyn appointed them on Mazepa’s recommendation.<sup>144</sup> Lazarevs'kyi was not familiar with Patrick Gordon’s diary, in which, as will be shown below, it is clearly laid out who conferred the colonel’s ranks and when. We know from Gordon that Solonyna, Hamaliia, Raicha, and Kochubei were the most active participants in the arrest; afterwards, without hesitation and without asking Mazepa, they snatched their morsels. One cannot agree with Lazarevs'kyi that they received their ranks at Mazepa’s initiative. As is well-known, Raicha would become his personal enemy and opponent, as would Kochubei. Thus, the will of Golitsyn and the Cossack officers was undoubtedly the deciding factor in the distribution of ranks at the Kolomak Council.

On the basis of the original denunciation, it is perhaps possible to resolve unequivocally in the negative the question of whether Mazepa initiated the officers’ denunciation. Given the disposition of forces in the Ukrainian Hetmanate at that time, this is not surprising. Kochubei and Borkovs'kyi and the other officers had much more significant positions on the Left Bank, thanks mainly to their family connections, clan influence, and economic clout. The position of Mazepa’s signature – placed fourth, modestly, “in the middle” – reflected the actual state of affairs. And the “approval” of the document by Kochubei, at the bottom, separately, as if done “by a supervisor,” speaks volumes. It is even possible that it was not by chance that he did not indicate his own position, that of director of the General Chancellery – he may have already been mentally trying on the hetman’s position. Kochubei’s role is indisputable.



Gordon writes that it was Kochubei who came around midnight “to the boyar and informed how all was secured, desiring to know his further pleasure.”<sup>145</sup>

The Cossack leaders’ expression of confidence that with a new, “good” hetman they together with Moscow could conquer Crimea indirectly confirms that Mazepa did not compose the text of the denunciation. As is well-known, both then and later he opposed Golitsyn’s plan, instead crafting a different one – to seize the fortresses on the Dnipro and to advance from there on Azov. One can surmise whom the Cossack leadership itself proposed to Golitsyn as a candidate for hetman if one decodes the following: a man “who was not lazy in the present war but actively and faithfully in all instances rendered service with the army to the great lord.” Unfortunately, the currently known sources on the Crimean campaign do not permit a definitive judgment on this matter.

So, who initiated the denunciation among the Cossack leadership? The logic applied by historians, that because Mazepa became hetman as a result of the coup he must also have organized the whole affair, is extremely questionable. The signature of Vasyl’ Borkovs’kyi, the general quartermaster, appears first, and he alone is named personally in the official document “Removal from the Hetmanship.” Reportedly it was he who thanked Golitsyn on behalf of all the officers for the right to hold elections for a new hetman.<sup>146</sup> A statement from the *Posol’skii* prikaz reports that Borkovs’kyi and the judge Vuiakhevych submitted the denunciation to Golitsyn<sup>147</sup> – that is, those whose signatures were first and second on the denunciation.

Only Patrick Gordon (previously unused by historians) notes that the *voevoda* of Sevsk, Leontii R. Nepliev, by order of Golitsyn bribed two confidants of the hetman with various promises, with the aim of obtaining detailed information on Samoilovych.<sup>148</sup> It remains to be discovered whom Gordon had in mind. With a high degree of certainty, one of those confidants was the director of the General Chancellery Vasyl’ Kochubei. Less likely, it could be Savva Prokopovych, who was appointed one of the general judges the day after Mazepa’s election as hetman.<sup>149</sup> As for “one of the g[eneral] adj[utants],” here there is no definite answer. Elsewhere Gordon calls Mazepa a general adjutant.<sup>150</sup> The Scotsman was well acquainted with Mazepa, however, and always refers to him by name in his diary, whereas here one reads “one of the g[eneral] adj[utants]. Nor is the possibility excluded that Gordon simply did not know the

names of Nepliev's informants. But it is possible that they were Kochubei and Mazepa.

Vasyl' Borkovs'kyi, the general quartermaster who came forward as a candidate for hetman, could have been one of them. Gordon describes the council that elected Samoilovych's successor as follows: "First was a little silence, then some neare nominated Mazepa, which being taken up went further, so that all in a manner cryed out to have Mazepa for hetman. Some called for Borkovs'kyi, but were presently silenced."<sup>151</sup>

According to Aleksandr Lavrov, referring to a report he found in a French archive from the Polish plenipotentiary Stefan Głoskowski, the third candidate was "the General Commissioner Somko."<sup>152</sup> This is an obvious mistake, unquestionably diminishing the value of this source, for in Ukraine's history the only known Somko is Iakym Somko, who was killed by Cossacks in the aftermath of the Black Council of 1663.

If Mazepa did have secret contacts with Golitsyn via Nepliev before the overthrow of Samoilovych, he was not the only one. Then again, in all the sources right up to the council only Kochubei and Borkovs'kyi are named as initiators of the officers' "statement." Mazepa had to take part in the denunciation simply by virtue of his position: all the officers in the camp on the Kilchen River signed it. One might think that the high-handed and presumptuous behaviour of Samoilovych irritated him. But there is no documentary basis for saying that Mazepa was the "grey cardinal" of the conspiracy.

Thus, Kochubei and Borkovs'kyi were much more active leaders of the officers and the initiators of the denunciation. Why then was Mazepa nonetheless elected hetman? I believe that this was the choice of Prince Golitsyn. A year after the Kolomak Council, Mazepa wrote to Golitsyn as follows: "I was raised to the position of hetman by your hand."<sup>153</sup>

By 1687 the times when officers' opinions influenced the election of the hetman were long past. The overthrow of Samoilovych proceeded as scripted by Golitsyn. And there is no reason to think he didn't orchestrate in the choice of Mazepa as well. As Patrick Gordon aptly stated concerning Golitsyn, "all things were caryed according to [his] will, and not to reason or justice."<sup>154</sup> Gordon very clearly described how the choice of hetman took place. In his account, that choice made secretly: "the chieffe men of the Cossakes quietly and most apart desired to know, who should be most acceptable to the

Generaliss. to be hetman, and getting a hint that Mazepa was the man, the same evening they all subscribed privately a writing to that purpose. And those of the faction had the colonels and other chieffe places divided amongst them.”<sup>155</sup>

At first glance, the preference for Mazepa seems strange. The Cossacks, according to Golitsyn himself, intended to do away with Samoilovych and his advisers.<sup>156</sup> But who, if not Mazepa, had been the most prominent of Samoilovych’s “advisers” throughout the last years of his hetmanship?<sup>157</sup> Moreover, Golitsyn had done away with the “popovych” (priest’s son)<sup>158</sup> because of his position on the Eternal Peace. Yet Mazepa’s stance on this matter was similar to that of Samoilovych. It was he who had travelled to Moscow to call for the preservation of the Right Bank and to inform the boyars of the hetman’s opinion regarding peace with the Polish Commonwealth.

Historians speak in one voice of the “cultural affinity” of Mazepa and Golitsyn. The prince was indeed one of the first members of the Moscow elite to openly support “the West” – he spoke Latin well, was courteous with foreigners, maintained a huge library (including many foreign publications), and often dressed in a “Western” manner. To Golitsyn the figure of Mazepa, who spoke Latin fluently, must have seemed very attractive in the Cossack environment, which was alien to the prince. But I shall permit myself to disagree with the notion that the pragmatic prince, being a shrewd diplomat and an ambitious (if not power-hungry) politician, in quietly exploiting the passionate feelings of the regent Sophia, would have been guided by such ephemeral concepts as cultural affinity. It is quite possible that he was aware of the attitudes of the Cossack elite and was not utterly perplexed by Mazepa’s political sympathies. As for the views of the other officers, he simply ignored them.

In supporting Mazepa’s candidacy and not that of some other leader of the officers’ opposition, Golitsyn was guided by his own objectives. First, he set the political parameters for the Ukrainian Hetmanate, presenting the officers with new treaty articles – that is, conditions for autonomy; only then did he choose a suitable candidate.<sup>159</sup> A witness to these events wrote as follows: “The chieffe men of the Cosakes came by the Generaliss. and heard the articles read, to the which the former hetmans had sworne, which were most of these greed upon in the treaty of Gluchow; some were also added and others enlarged to the greater honour, power, and authority of the tzaars government over the Cosakes, to which they all assented.”<sup>160</sup>

For hetman of Ukraine, Golitsyn wanted someone of little influence, a relatively poor “outsider,”<sup>161</sup> a recent “Zaporozhian captive” who had very nearly landed in irons at Baturyn. Such an “outsider,” having received his position from Golitsyn, would, he thought, necessarily become a “puppet” hetman. Taking advantage of the power struggle among the officers and the discontent against the *popovych* brewing in their midst, Golitsyn shifted the blame for the failed Crimean campaign onto Samoilovych and elevated to the hetman’s post someone to his liking.

Legend has long held that Mazepa bribed Golitsyn for the title of hetman. Sergei Solov'ev wrote that “Mazepa must have thanked the boyar in ways other than words alone.”<sup>162</sup> Nikolai Kostomarov seized on and developed this myth: “Two years after the events described Mazepa presented a list of money and things given by him to Golitsyn as a bribe, a total of 17,390 rubles, of which 11,000 were given in coins and other silver and gold items and expensive fabrics.”<sup>163</sup> Since Kostomarov, the story has resurfaced in almost every academic and popular publication about Mazepa. Oleksandr Ohloblyn construed the transaction as a “gift” and wrote that it was “a common phenomenon in the conditions of that time.”<sup>164</sup> What was it in fact?

First of all, it is highly unlikely that yesterday’s Zaporozhian captive, lacking substantial means and wealthy kin, could have bribed the powerful favourite. Moreover, he did not yet control the hetman’s coffers. Gordon describes the situation quite vividly:

was the former hetman estate brought in consideration, about which some hesitation was. Yet the Generaliss. [Golitsyn] after his wonted and natural alacrity told them that albiet all what belonged to the traitour by the law was forfeited to the tzaars, yet he would, with the hazard of the tzaars displeasure, take upon him that the Cosakish army sould have the one-half of the traitours substance, and the other halfe to be brought in to the tzaars treasury (wherewt all were content.)<sup>165</sup>

From official sources it is known that immediately after the Kolomak Council, Mazepa and the officers “asked humbly” that “the belongings of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych and his children, the former Chernihiv and Starodub colonels, be given to them for the army’s stores.”<sup>166</sup> In response, the “great sovereigns directed and the boyars

resolved” to give [one half] to the army’s supply of goods as payment for the mercenary regiments and the other half to “the treasury of the great sovereigns.”<sup>167</sup>

Enormous sums flowed into the army’s coffers from Samoilovych. According to the officers’ calculations, the total was in the millions of roubles.<sup>168</sup> Besides estates and rich farmlands, many precious stones, weapons, utensils, items of clothing, and other items were seized.<sup>169</sup> This treasure became an object of desire for many Russian nobles and, above all, for Golitsyn himself. In October 1689 the Hadiach colonel accused Leontii Nepliev of appropriating a silver service that had belonged to Samoilovych.<sup>170</sup>

The accusation against Nepliev was not by chance. A document indicating that he engaged in distributing Samoilovych’s “goods” has survived.<sup>171</sup> In total, the treasury took in 2,458 *chervontsy*, 23,725 foreign silver coins (thalers), 1,145 *levki* (lion thalers), 1,907 rubles in small coins, silver dishes weighing 15 *poods* (*pood* = approx. 16 kilograms), 28 pounds, 7 *zlotniks* (!) (*zlotnik* = approx. 4 grams), and a gold chain weighing 21 *zlotniks*.<sup>172</sup>

The looting began even at the confiscation. For example, *dumnyi dvorianin* (council nobleman) and *voevoda* Vasili Miasnoi took items “himself without other people [present]” and of course did not enter them in the inventory.<sup>173</sup> Consequently, only 5,650 silver coins (thalers) reached the Foreign Office.<sup>174</sup>

According to the French ambassador, de la Neville, upon the confiscation of Golitsyn’s property “100,000 *chervontsy* in a chest” were found, thought to have been taken “from the belongings of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych.”<sup>175</sup> According to the Expenditures Department of the Little Russian Office, some of the silver vessels confiscated from Samoilovych and his children were sold. Silver tankards were given to courtiers Venedikt Zmeev and Leontii Nepliev, council nobleman (*dumnyi dvorianin*) Fedor Shaklovityi, and conciliar secretary Emel’ian Ukrainsev. One such tankard was presented to the great sovereigns. Nepliev received 2,009 *chervontsi* for the vessels that were sold, which went to repay the debt to the Polish Commonwealth (for the preservation of Kyiv) as part of the Eternal Peace.<sup>176</sup>

Gennadii Sanin writes: “Having betrayed V.V. Golitsyn and Sophia, Mazepa could not deny himself the pleasure of kicking the fallen lion. During an audience with Peter, he straightaway presented a petition accusing Golitsyn of extortion, in that he forced Mazepa to give him a bribe of not less than 21 thousand rubles

upon his election as hetman.”<sup>177</sup> There is simply no evidence for the “betrayal” of the regent and her favourite (at a time when Mazepa swore fidelity to the “tsars”). Mazepa did not make any complaints against Golitsyn at his meeting with Peter in the summer of 1689.

In November 1689, several months after the Naryshkins’ coup, an inquiry was launched concerning Samoilovych’s wealth. This was held simultaneously with the confiscation of Golitsyn’s belongings and investigations into Sophia’s supporters. In particular, Nepliev (who had fallen from grace) was ordered to send the entire remaining treasure from Sevsk to the Military Service Office (*Razriadnyi prikaz*).<sup>178</sup> The investigation’s files contain a remarkable document, which Kostomarov later freely interpreted. It is identified as “a list of the things which at various times were given by me, Ivan Mazepa, hetman, from the beginning of my hetmanship and throughout it, to Prince Vasili Golitsyn.” The list was sent on 24 December 1689 with Mazepa’s house steward Roman Vysots’kyi. It records many valuables, including 11,000 rubles.<sup>179</sup> Nowhere does the document state that these gifts were a bribe to procure the hetmanship; it does, however, note that “they were given more against my will than willingly, upon the instigation of and with ceaseless threats from Leontii Nepliev.” Mazepa also remarked that “the items mentioned above and others were from the goods of the former hetman [Samoilovych], while others were from my property” (Mazepa was able to dissemble remarkably well).<sup>180</sup> But where here is the “kicking” of Golitsyn? The hetman was simply justifying himself so as to avoid trouble.

Yet another document exists in Nikolai Ustrialov’s works: a letter from Mazepa to Golitsyn in which he informs Golitsyn that he has sent 5,800 ducats (*chervontsy zolotye*), 3,000 rubles in kopecks, and 1,200 rubles in [*thalers byti*], totalling 10,000 rubles.<sup>181</sup> “Deign, Your Princely Highness, to accept my gift graciously and to hold me in your merciful, fatherly, and beneficent embrace and actions.”

This fragment of a document, held at RGADA, is a strange one, with no beginning or end, no address or signature. It is written in Ukrainian script in the hand of a secretary (*pysar*). On its reverse side there is no text, no address, no label (which is very strange and not typically the case in Mazepa’s letters). The fragment is preserved together with letters from Sophia to Golitsyn in the collection “Correspondence of royal persons with private individuals,” but this in no way illuminates the situation.<sup>182</sup>

Quite simply, this document is highly controversial and of doubtful provenance, having been torn from its context and lacking any dates. One cannot draw any conclusions on the basis of it. The “gifts” in themselves are not at all surprising; Mazepa would later present gifts to other Russian officials besides, including Menshikov and Sheremetev.<sup>183</sup> This was common practice at the time. Officials never thought of bribes as something unusual. For example, Gordon gave Shaklovityi “a pair of sables worth 5 libs. Sterl.” during the Crimean campaign.<sup>184</sup>

Of course, it will never be known who tried to extort money from Mazepa: Nepliev or Golitsyn. There is no doubt that Mazepa was compelled to give lavish gifts to Golitsyn. But he did not become hetman because of this money: the prince would have required it from any candidate. Here one may recall the testimony of Ivan Zheliabuzhskii that when at the conclusion of the Eternal Peace the tsarist treasury gave 200,000 rubles to the Polish legates, “Prince Vasilii Vasilevich Golitsyn divided [this sum] in half with the Polish legates.”<sup>185</sup> Bribery and the embezzlement of state funds were common occurrences in Rus' (and indeed later). But Mazepa did not write denunciations against the disgraced favourite.

The election of Mazepa, the man whom Sophia's favourite had nominated, must have been an unpleasant surprise for the chief authors of the denunciation, first and foremost for Vasyl' Kochubei. A hidden struggle for the hetman's mace (*bulava*) between Mazepa and Kochubei would continue for twenty years, up to 1708; Mazepa himself wrote of it.<sup>186</sup> It is likely that many other officers were discontented as well, especially the “old” and the “wealthy.” Hence Mazepa faced numerous conspiracies early in his rule. But at the time, in 1687, the Cossack elite consoled themselves by believing that Mazepa was a temporary figure who had been chosen to please Sophia's favourite.

The fate of Samoilovych was decided the moment he began openly to oppose Golitsyn's foreign policy. Had Mazepa not become the new hetman, another representative of the Cossack leadership would have. Samiilo Velychko, an apologist for Samoilovych, writes reproachfully that Mazepa became an enemy of the hetman, “his own benefactor.”<sup>187</sup> But in fact the Ukrainian Hetmanate had gained a very fine administrator who over the twenty years of his hetmanship secured the economic prosperity and cultural flourishing of his country. Notwithstanding his utter dependence on Golitsyn in

the first years of his rule (see below), Mazepa sought to continue in spirit the policies of his predecessor. And at the first opportunity (which arose during the Naryshkins' coup), he moved quickly to take advantage and achieved very broad autonomy.



## Ivan Mazepa, Vasili Golitsyn, and the Naryshkins

Golitsyn's policy toward the Ukrainian Hetmanate reflected the understandable ambition of Russia's ruler to further centralize the state and to deprive its autonomous regions of any independence. However paradoxical it may sound, the fierce opponent of the regent Sophia and her favourite – Peter I – would embrace this same ambition during the Northern War and would begin the reforms that Golitsyn himself had planned and tried to implement. In 1687 Mazepa patiently accepted the onerous conditions of the game and then for twenty years successfully sought to change them; by 1707, however, he no longer had sufficient psychological or physical strength to fight. Abandoning everything, he escaped to Charles XII. But in 1689, his career as hetman had only just begun.

The “Kolomak Articles” that Golitsyn presented to the Cossack leadership before the election of the hetman are the most complete account available of the favourite's policy toward the Ukrainian Hetmanate.<sup>1</sup>

Most notably, the “Kolomak Articles” included the traditional references to the “Articles of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi” – that is, to those conditions that Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich approved after the Pereiaslav Council in March 1654. These references were maintained right up to the end of the Ukrainian Hetmanate's existence in the late eighteenth century. These allusions to the Articles of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi had no real basis but were a beautiful myth (at one time, in correspondence with Polish kings, the Cossacks also referred to certain “liberties” ostensibly granted by previous kings).

For example, the Kolomak Articles stated that Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi had requested that Russian *voevodas* be sent “to

Pereiaslav, Nizhyn, and Chernihiv.”<sup>2</sup> In fact, the articles that Samiilo Bohdanovych-Zarudnyi and Pavlo Teteria – Khmel'nyts'kyi's envoys in 1654 – brought to Moscow expressed the request that “their own people” rather than Russian *voevodas* be appointed.<sup>3</sup> Naturally, Moscow did not agree to this but did agree to retain locals as town constables and tax collectors; and during Khmel'nyts'kyi's lifetime a Russian *voevoda* was appointed only in Kyiv.

Golitsyn sharply curtailed the foundations of Cossack democracy: peasants could no longer become Registered Cossacks,<sup>4</sup> and the hetman could not be elected or removed without a decree from the tsar.<sup>5</sup> The constriction of the social framework of Cossack life contributed to the strengthening of the Ukrainian Hetmanate and to the stabilization of its social system, besides impeding the spread of Cossackdom by anarcho-radical elements. Many hetmans, grasping the danger of a radical rabble (*chern'*), favoured the creation of a strict registry. Mazepa himself would steer his own policy in exactly this direction during the Petrine period.

The article stating that all “fugitives” were to be surrendered to the Russian authorities had a completely different impact.<sup>6</sup> Essentially, this violated a fundamental principle of the Cossack way of life. (The revolt of Kondratii Bulavin began because of Peter's abolition of the law “no extradition from the Don.”)

Moreover, the Kolomak Articles turned the hetman into an utterly powerless figure. The articles prohibited him from “changing the general Cossack leadership” without a decree from the tsars.<sup>7</sup> This deprived him of leverage over the central figures in his own administration and made him essentially a hostage to the will of the Cossack officers. The articles enjoined officers and Cossacks to monitor the hetman, to inform on him, and, if they doubted the rightness of the hetman's actions, to disobey them.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, the tenth article established and encouraged a system of denunciation against the hetman. In addition, under the Kolomak Articles, a Muscovite musketeers regiment was to be stationed in Baturyn with the hetman, ostensibly “for [his] protection and safety.”<sup>9</sup>

The Cossack leadership's efforts to obtain permission to receive dispatches from the rulers of surrounding states met with a categorical refusal.<sup>10</sup> All diplomatic and other foreign contacts were prohibited,<sup>11</sup> even while Sophia's government continuously took advantage of information from the Hetmanate's “spies” in neighbouring countries. This violated the Kolomak Articles and prepared

the ground for reprisals against Mazepa, should Moscow desire to launch any.

Having deprived the hetman of the levers of administrative rule and of the possibility of foreign contacts, Golitsyn set out to end the Ukrainian Hetmanate's economic independence. The Kolomak Articles abolished the leasehold system (*orendy*) and left ambiguous how mercenary regiments were to be financed, thereby making a deep dent in the Hetmanate's budget.<sup>12</sup>

Capping off all these reforms, Golitsyn included in the articles a clause that marked the beginning of the end of autonomy for the Ukrainian Hetmanate, that is, the end of the Hetmanate's special position. The hetman was ordered "to unite the Little Russian people with the Great Russian people by all possible measures and means." He was not to tolerate "the voices that say" that Ukraine was not simply part of "The state of Their Tsarist the Most Illustrious Majesty." By the same token, the inhabitants of Ukraine were to receive the free right to settle in Great Russia.<sup>13</sup>

Obvious for the first time in these articles' provisions was the tsarist government's project to turn Ukraine into an *oblast'* (province), with the typical rights of a part of the Russian state. That being said, the mere fact of the clause's appearance signified beyond question that the actual state of affairs was quite different.

The only benefit the Cossack leaders acquired in the Kolomak Articles was the guarantee of military protection. This positive development should be emphasized. The articles stated that in the event of an attack by hostile forces or armies from beyond the Dnipro, the tsars were required to send aid. The articles especially stressed this, lest it happen as it had earlier that the Zaporozhian Host write requesting urgent help, while in the meantime their enemies brought Ukraine "to utter destruction and misery." The Cossack officers' request was granted, and the tsar promised in the sixteenth article "to hold the Zaporozhian Host and the Little Russian people in the favour of the sovereign and to render them every defence from the enemy."<sup>14</sup>

But this was a spoonful of honey in a barrel of tar. As a result of Golitsyn's machinations, Mazepa was a ruler without money, surrounded by internal spies and controlled by Russian troops. Golitsyn had no scruples over this. On 11 August 1687 the Scottish military expert Patrick Gordon wrote: "My sonne in law sent to the hetman with orders to stay by him for some time, and bring a true relation how matters were catyed."<sup>15</sup>

Golitsyn did not conceal his intention to exert complete control over the hetman's every step and the entire situation in Ukraine. Already at the Kolomak Council he had ordered Mazepa to report on all matters (except for "dubious and trivial ones").<sup>16</sup> Any foreign contacts were expressly discouraged.

The following episode demonstrates how strictly one had to adhere to these rules of the game: Mazepa had the temerity to write "by my customary love and friendship" to Nepliev, asking the latter whether Golitsyn was angry at him for some reason ("since man is not an angel and may sin in some respect"). Prince Vasili was furious that the hetman dared to do anything without his knowledge. Mazepa had to abase himself with apologies ("earnestly and repeatedly I beg forgiveness"). He justified himself by saying that all this had come about because in his "burdensome position as hetman" he feared that he had "angered your princely favour" in some way.<sup>17</sup>

Within the scope of this study I cannot cover all aspects of Mazepa's relations with representatives of the Russian government. But it is very interesting to examine the role allotted to the hetman during Sophia's rule in terms of Russia's foreign policy and military strategy. Looking ahead, one should note that in the Petrine era Mazepa's role would prove radically different.

At the end of March 1688 the Sevska *voevoda* Leontii Nepliev, along with the *d'iak* Mikhail Zhedenov, travelled to Mazepa. They discussed the continuation of the war that year and decided to send their opinion that the war in the south should begin with an attack on the Ottoman fortress of Kyzy-Kermen. Gordon writes that they sent this "opinion" to the "tsars," and the question thus arises: was the Scotsman mistaken or did they really go over Golitsyn's head? Mazepa and Nepliev went further: they requested that Gordon be sent on this campaign and that he command the Belgorod regiments.<sup>18</sup>

On 6 April in Moscow the general judge Mykhailo Vuiakhevych arrived, sent by Mazepa (they had served together earlier under Petro Doroshenko),<sup>19</sup> together with Zhedenov, who had also insistently proposed an attack on Kyzy-Kermen. After a few days, having spoken with the visiting officers, Gordon concluded that the campaign against Kyzy-Kermen was unlikely to take place.<sup>20</sup> On 18 April, Vuiakhevych was dismissed, and the matter of the campaign was thus resolved – it would not occur.<sup>21</sup>

Mazepa was severely reprimanded for his sensible proposal to replace a futile Crimean campaign with an assault on Kyzy-Kermen. Golitsyn regarded the hetman's words as criticism of his own plan for the Crimean campaign. Mazepa had to assure him that in mentioning Kyzy-Kermen he was in no way suggesting that the campaign against Crimea be abandoned.<sup>22</sup> He implored Golitsyn not to "charge me with thoughtlessness" because of what he had heard and not to take it as "reluctance" to participate in the Crimean war, in which he was prepared to shed his "last drop of blood."<sup>23</sup>

Mazepa defended himself and dissembled. Those who berated him were doing so completely unnecessarily. But in the event, the campaign in Crimea in 1689 proved a failure, as was to be expected. And it was the attacks on Kyzy-Kermen led by Mazepa during the Azov campaigns of 1695 that brought brilliant results.

Golitsyn most certainly did not forget the hetman's "willfulness," and gradually, clouds began to gather over him. Gordon wrote in his diary that general judge Vuiakhevych came to him and told him some secrets about Ukraine's affairs. In particular, he reported that dissension was rising among the Cossacks, who "were not too happy" with Mazepa.<sup>24</sup>

Subsequent events would confirm this. The Pereiaslav colonel, Dmytrashko-Raicha, who had participated in the overthrow of Samoilovych and who was Mazepa's foe, arrived in Moscow. The hetman asked that the colonel be detained in Moscow in order to prevent unrest. Raicha paid a bribe, however, and was released. Moreover, those around Sophia decided it would be very useful to have as many "independent" Cossack colonels as possible and not to permit Mazepa "to attain such power and greatness as the former hetman had."<sup>25</sup>

At the end of September the decision was made in Moscow to send Shaklovityi, the conciliar secretary, head of the Musketeers Office (*Streletskii prikaz*), and the closest confidante of Sophia and Golitsyn, "to consult about the future expedition, and bring his advice."<sup>26</sup> He arrived in Baturyn around 20 October.<sup>27</sup> The hetman wrote to Prince Vasili that he had spoken with Shaklovityi about "the affairs of the monarchy."

Unfortunately, scholars of the Petrine era typically dismiss the Golitsyn period, while conversely Mazepa's biographers have no desire to delve into Russian history. As a result, the fascinating episode of Shaklovityi's negotiations with the hetman has never been

properly assessed. Andrei Bogdanov viewed it as a secret meeting to discuss military plans and attributed to Mazepa (whom he describes as a “passionate person”) plans for the capture of Constantinople.<sup>28</sup>

In evaluating this incident, Ustrialov, Solov'ev, and Kostomarov used a less than accurate German translation of Gordon.<sup>29</sup> Aleksandr Vostokov, on the contrary, did not read Gordon and instead introduced Shaklovityi's report into the scholarly literature. Unable to compare Shaklovityi's official report with the Scottish general's diary, all four historians reached many mistaken conclusions (as did I).<sup>30</sup>

For example, Vostokov categorically rejected the version that Shaklovityi “was to reconnoiter secretly to what degree it was possible to rely on the Cossacks and on Mazepa himself.” He argued that the council nobleman (*dumnyi dvorianin*) “was too prominent a figure ... Where could he engage in espionage?” “And besides, why would the Muscovite government send such conspicuous individuals to gather intelligence,” when they received reports from the *voivodes* and denunciations from the Cossack leadership?<sup>31</sup>

Vostokov read the German translation of Gordon's diary too uncritically. Shaklovityi was not going to spy. The Scotsman wrote that he had been sent to Mazepa for three reasons. First of all, there was the matter of obtaining advice before the coming Crimean campaign. Second, he was to assess the mood of the Cossacks and their desire (or lack thereof) to participate in the war. Third and finally, his task included forming his own opinion “of the loyalty of the hetman.”<sup>32</sup>

In my view, the appearance in Ukraine of the regent Sophia's closest confidante is entirely unsurprising. On the threshold of the second Crimean campaign, the position of the Cossacks and of the hetman personally had become critical to the fate of Golitsyn and Sophia.

In meeting with the hetman, Shaklovityi made use of his own expertise in southern affairs. At issue was a missive received in Moscow from a Wallachian *voivode* (*hospodar*) and Iakovos, Patriarch of Constantinople, and delivered by Archimandrite Isaiah. Isaiah, the Greek Archimandrite of a Monastery at Mount Athos, arrived in Ukraine in August 1688. After consulting with Nepliev (at Golitsyn's insistence), Mazepa let him go on to Moscow,<sup>33</sup> having notified officials that the Greek had a message from the entire Greek Eastern Orthodox Church – they would be asking for help, he said.<sup>34</sup>

The Orthodox believers of the Balkans were proposing a plan for their liberation from Turkish rule. In their view, the Russian troops' campaign in the Constantinople region would amount to a victory

parade: they would find themselves met by enthusiastic Orthodox believers. The same missive emphasized that should the Turks be driven out by imperial and Venetian forces, Orthodox Christians would fall “into a greater and worse captivity,” that is, under the rule of “*papazhniki*” (papists, ie, Catholics). A curious fact: it was this danger from the Catholic world that seemed most on the minds of the petitioners. Life was hard under the Turkish yoke, but with respect to faith, there was no oppression and coercion. The Wallachian *hospodar* even expressed a seemingly delusional notion: “And besides, the Turks, who live among them, will surrender to them, the great sovereigns, more easily than to the Germans, since they were all born of Serbs, Bulgarians, and other Greek peoples.”<sup>35</sup>

Oddly enough, Golitsyn and Sophia became passionately interested in the idea of liberating the Balkans, believing that a work pleasing to God would be a great excuse to strengthen their power and to declare Sophia – the liberator of Orthodoxy – autocratrix.

In this instance Mazepa refrained from his usual way of “speaking without saying anything.” He was probably somewhat stunned by the ambition of his high patrons – and by their incompetence.

Mazepa’s answers read like a teacher’s moralizing to his weak disciples. He began by explaining that Patriarch Iakovos, who had signed the appeal to the Russian tsars as the “patriarch of Constantinople,” had already been removed from office. In addition, the hetman categorically rejected the “easy, unopposed road” from Ukraine to the Balkans. He explained that if one took the Dnipro-Danube route, formidable Turkish fortresses would be an obstacle. If they bypassed the fortresses and went up the Danube from the sea, the way would be difficult, slow, and dangerous. It would be possible to reach the Southern Buh, but where would they get the river boats to sail farther along it? They could not bring boats with them, and they could not build them on site. Travel over dry land from the Southern Buh would be difficult – it was treeless and waterless. Here, the hetman was referring to his own experience of those places.<sup>36</sup>

In addition to all these difficulties, the campaign would lead the Russian and Ukrainian troops into a confrontation with the Akkerman Horde, which, as Mazepa explained, was many times superior to the Crimean one. He concluded that if they set out on such an adventure, they would not help the *hospodar* Sherban, and they themselves would not return – he recalled Jan Sobieski’s recent campaign in Moldavia, which had ended in utter failure.

Indeed, Mazepa had very unflattering information about the *hospodar* himself – for example, concerning the status of a protectorate the Holy Roman Emperor had already extended to him and the extermination of the Turks in Bucharest and other cities. Also, supposedly Sherban's true purpose was to obtain the Greek kingdom. And, the hetman wondered, was it proper for the tsars to protect the emperor's vassal?<sup>37</sup>

Aleksandr Vostokov, who published this report, quite rightly pointed out that Mazepa was much better informed about the situation of neighbouring powers than the Moscow government, and therefore "in international affairs he was always a valuable and useful adviser to Moscow."<sup>38</sup>

It was not by chance that Mazepa, contrary to his wont, poured cold water so bluntly and unequivocally on Shaklovityi. He knew that should the second campaign fail, Golitsyn would not hesitate to sacrifice him (Mazepa), as he had Samoilovych after the failure of the first. So Mazepa convinced Shaklovityi that the campaign in the Crimea should start early, "as the snow falls", as a sudden blow to prevent a possible attack of the Tatars on Ukrainian towns. Then Crimea might fall and become "like the hordes of Kazan and Astrakhan."<sup>39</sup>

Apparently, on this occasion Mazepa was heeded. A decree was issued to the boyars to gather for a campaign in February (though nothing came of this).

As for remaining matters, the hetman asked permission to travel to Moscow "to see the sovereign's eyes;" this was not granted.<sup>40</sup> However, he was allowed to see his son-in-law Andrii Voinarovs'kyi from the Commonwealth. Mazepa's nephew (his sister's son) Ivan Obydovs'kyi was granted the court rank of master of the table (*stol'nik*).<sup>41</sup>

As it turns out, all of these "kindnesses" were for show. In fact, Shaklovityi drew completely different, far-reaching conclusions that were quite unflattering to the hetman.

According to Gordon, although Shaklovityi on his return to Moscow had given an on the whole favourable report about the hetman, he also harboured some suspicions related to his close ties with the Right Bank. Regarding Mazepa's reliability, he thought that question was "fit to be delayed till after this expedition."<sup>42</sup>

Turning to the question of why Shaklovityi came personally to Ukraine, one finds it difficult to agree with Vostokov that this was in preparation for the Crimean campaign, in which,



incidentally, he himself was not going to participate. Rather, the future commander-in-chief – Golitsyn or at least Nepliev – would determine the military strategy. So there was another reason for the visit. No one has yet drawn attention to the secret aspect of Shaklovityi's mission, which was unknown even to Gordon. It concerned matters of the highest political importance.

Golitsyn and Sophia's closest supporters had ambitious plans for the arrival of Isaiah – plans that became known after the fall of Golitsyn. Two years later, the Greek archimandrite himself related the following: while on leave from Moscow, Prince Golitsyn had invited him to his house for "secret business." Upon taking his leave of Patriarch Ioakim, Isaiah hinted to him about this conversation with the favourite. The patriarch declared that he knew what it concerned: "that the Ecumenical Patriarchs send a blessed letter so that the Tsarevna Sophia could wear the royal crown and be mentioned together with the great sovereigns in all prayers." The patriarch of Moscow "by the judgment of God with an oath" forbade Isaiah to become involved and to petition the Ecumenical Patriarchs.

But on his way back from Moscow, Isaiah encountered Nepliev, who conveyed the request of the tsarevna Sophia and Golitsyn that he obtain by petition a letter from Their Holinesses the Ecumenical Patriarchs, that Sophia be able to wear the royal crown and be remembered along with the tsars in church rites. Isaiah promised to relay the request but doubted it would succeed, because all the "Moscow affairs," in his words, were directed by Ioakim, Patriarch of Moscow. To this Nepliev declared: "Spit on him."<sup>43</sup>

Another extremely important and delicate matter, in which Mazepa was also involved, was closely connected with Isaiah's mission.

The young Tsar Peter Alekseevich was steadily nearing his majority (he already had whiskers); meanwhile, Tsar Ivan Alekseevich was in failing health. As Evgenii Shmurlo correctly surmised, the question of coronation had become for Sophia a matter of life and death.<sup>44</sup> After the Eternal Peace was concluded, all government documents began to mention Sophia along with the names of both tsars. She was now appearing at official ceremonies, thus accustoming the people to her person. This was an utterly unprecedented phenomenon for a "girl" in Muscovite Rus'. Golitsyn actively supported the regent's (*pravitel'nitsa*) pretensions. De la Neville writes that Golitsyn was even going to marry Sophia, and to that end had forced his wife to enter a monastery.<sup>45</sup> It is difficult to say to what extent the favourite was

truly ready to take such a step, but clearly, he was striving to find a loophole to proclaim the tsarevna the autocratix. Sophia had already ordered for herself a copy of the “coronation rite of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich” and was mentally preparing to become tsarina.<sup>46</sup>

#### UKRAINIANS AND GOLITSYN’S “PROPAGANDA”

One of Golitsyn’s main “propaganda” moves was the production of portraits of Sofia with specific content. In Moscow there were no experts with either the relevant artistic training or the corresponding knowledge of panegyric symbolism and allegory. Therefore, Golitsyn’s turn to Ukrainians seems very natural here.

Surprisingly, scholars of the history of Ukraine have never addressed this key episode in Sophia’s reign, one that is closely linked with the Ukrainian Hetmanate.<sup>47</sup> The production of portraits of Sophia became almost the only evidence of the “guilt” of Shaklovityi and Golitsyn, for which the first was executed and the second exiled. The roles played by Ukrainians and thus by Mazepa in these events are indisputable and raise many questions.

After the Crimean campaign, Ivan Perekrest, the colonel of the Okhtyrka Regiment (in Sloboda Ukraine), arrived in Moscow with his children and their tutor, Ivan Bohdanovs'kyi (most likely a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). While visiting the “great sovereigns,” they read a panegyric in greeting. This interested Shaklovityi, who asked whether they could recite a similar panegyric in honour of the tsarevna Sophia. They did not have one prepared, of course, but after four days the panegyric was ready, and Perekrest, with his children, was admitted into Sophia’s presence.

Shaklovityi ordered a panegyric glorifying the tsarevna’s achievements even more. Bohdanovs'kyi explained that he could write such a eulogy, but he could not produce an appropriate engraving. It was suggested that he “try to do this.” Bohdanovs'kyi went to Kyiv, but the printing house there was busy. From there he was sent to Chernihiv, to the renowned master Leontii Tarasevych, who along with his brother had studied in the engraving workshop of the Kilians in Augsburg. At Bohdanovs'kyi’s request Tarasevych made a copperplate engraving (he made it at Perekrest’s residence in Okhtyrka), and together with a colleague<sup>48</sup> he personally delivered it to Moscow.<sup>49</sup>

In the capital, Tarasevych and Bohdanovs'kyi were hosted in Shaklovityi’s residence. The two copperplates they had brought

depicted the great sovereigns Ivan and Peter together with the tsarevna Sophia. Above the image of the tsars “was written ‘Fatherland,’” and above the tsarevna “the outpouring of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit” (Reason, Piety, Generosity, Goodness, Divine Hope, Truth, Chastity).<sup>50</sup>

Trial copies were printed from the plates on atlas (satin), taffeta, and paper and presented to Sophia and Golitsyn. Ivan Perekrest then went home, while Tarasevych and his associate remained.<sup>51</sup>

On the whole the portrait pleased Sophia and Golitsyn, but the decision was made to modify it, first of all by removing the image of the tsars. Shaklovityi brought the printed image to Silvestr Medvedev. The latter, well-versed in Baroque symbolism, was (in his words) shocked that “all praise and honour to the great empress were writ large, and the seven gifts were written concerning her alone.” But Medvedev decided not to say this aloud to Shaklovityi.<sup>52</sup> He was ordered to write under the image the “full wording of the title” as well as laudatory Latin verses, which he did.<sup>53</sup>

After that, two more copperplates were produced, at Shaklovityi’s country residence near Novodevichii Monastery. They bore a portrait of the tsarevna Sophia, placed “in the eagle.” Shaklovityi had borrowed the idea from a depiction of the Holy Roman Emperor: also in an eagle, with seven electors. Here, the electors had been replaced by the seven virtues (gifts). The portrait of Sofia was printed on atlas (satin), taffeta, and folios and distributed to a number of boyars and “to people of all ranks without concealment.”<sup>54</sup> In addition, the secretary Andrei Vinius, at Shaklovityi’s behest, sent one such leaf to Holland, where additional copies were made.<sup>55</sup> In total, more than one hundred copies of the portrait were produced on atlas (satin), taffeta, and paper.

These engravings were subsequently destroyed. However, individual copies were preserved, thanks to which it is known that Sophia was depicted wearing a crown, with the orb and sceptre in her hands, surrounded by the seven virtues (Wisdom, Chastity, Justice, Meekness, Piety, Mercy, Strength). The inscription read: “Sophia Alekseevna, by the Grace of God the Most Pious and Omnipotent Great Empress, Tsarevna, and Grand Duchess ... Of her fathers’ heritage [*Otechestvennykh dedichestv*]<sup>56</sup> Empress, Heiress, and Possessor.”<sup>57</sup> The portrait itself had been designed according to the principles of the tsars’ coronation portraits found in registers of those bearing noble titles and in the “Coronation rite,” which was well-known to Muscovites.<sup>58</sup>

Tarasevych remained in Moscow throughout the spring and summer, the guest of Shaklovityi, after which he was given leave to depart and was generously rewarded along with Bohdanovs'kyi: "one hundred rubles, and moire, and atlas [satin], and two pairs of pieces of cloth, and two pairs of sable pelts."<sup>59</sup>

The Ukrainian masters' fulfillment of this extremely important political commission from Sophia's supporters is very significant. But still more notable is the long "Ukrainian history" of panegyrics in honour of Sophia. In 1683 the same printing house in Chernihiv had published the panegyric "Grace and Truth" by order of the Bishop of Chernihiv Lazar Baranovych, the founder of the printing house, a prominent Ukrainian religious and political figure and, as already noted, Mazepa's teacher. Along with its praise of the "tsars," the eulogy compared Sophia with St Sophia, who personified Wisdom.

According to Bogdanov, Baranovych attached a twofold significance to his engraving: formally the tsars occupied the central place in the composition, but in fact they were included in the sphere of influence of Sophia – the Wisdom of God. Nevertheless, he had not conferred on her the attributes of the autocratrix.<sup>60</sup>

Lazar Baranovych then commissioned a ceremonial portrait of Vasili Golitsyn himself, with a coat of arms, title, and verses celebrating the prince's glorious victories. Perhaps the purpose was to repair relations with the all-powerful favourite, which had soured after the election of Hedeon Chetvertyns'kyi, the candidate and protégé of Ivan Samoilovych, as Metropolitan of Kyiv. Baranovych, the *locum tenens* of the Kyiv metropolis since 1670, may well have felt offended at this apparent slight. This version of the impetus behind the portrait of Golitsyn finds indirect confirmation in a royal charter to the Chernihiv archbishop Lazar Baranovych dated June 1688, which I discovered in RGADA in Moscow. According to this charter, the Archdiocese of Chernihiv had been transferred so as to be directly subordinated to the Patriarch of Moscow, bypassing the Metropolitan of Kyiv.<sup>61</sup> This bending of the usual lines of authority was deliberate. And the active part played by the Ukrainian spiritual elite in the political games of the Russian leadership is indisputable.

Bogdanov did not address the emergence in those same years of another Ukrainian work glorifying Sophia Alekseevna in a very similar manner. It belonged to Varlaam Iasyns'kyi, then Archimandrite of the Kyiv Caves Monastery, and was titled "Three Prayerful Crowns." This eulogy called Sophia "the crown of wisdom and prudence."

The panegyric ascribed seven gifts to her – wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, right conduct (*vveden'e*), piety, and fear (*strakh*), as well as five talents – faith, hope, love, grace, and glory.<sup>62</sup>

In other words, special allegorical glorification of Sophia was characteristic of all the leading Ukrainian writers.

It is inconceivable that Mazepa had nothing to do with this whole story, in which Ukrainian engravers and writers played the leading role. He had warm, friendly feelings toward Baranovych. As noted earlier, he was also in regular contact with Silvestr Medvedev. It was on Medvedev that the hetman pinned his hopes for enlightenment, which was so valued and important in Ukrainian Orthodoxy. He engaged in official “conferences” with Shaklovityi, as we have seen, as well as in secret correspondence (see below).

Yet neither Mazepa nor any of the other Ukrainian participants in the production of the portraits were caught up in the investigation of Shaklovityi (and neither were Tarasevych and Bohdanovych). I shall return to this astonishing fact.

Meanwhile, dark clouds were beginning to gather over the Ukrainian clergy. Conservative forces led by Patriarch Ioakim had united against Silvestr Medvedev.

Earlier, in the autumn of 1687, a book had been published that called Medvedev a “Jesuit or Uniate,” and all Ukrainian works, beginning with the catechism of Petro Mohyla,<sup>63</sup> had been declared heretical. Greeks such as the brothers Leichoudes, whom the patriarch of Moscow had involved, didn’t trouble themselves by appealing to primary theological sources, arguing that “the people here are unschooled, and uneducated people will honour untruth as truth, if one adorns it with flowers of eloquence and the arguments of philosophy.”<sup>64</sup>

Medvedev did not yield and in his struggle sought to rely upon the Ukrainian clergy. In 1687 he published “The Manna of the Bread of Life” (*Kniga o manne khleba zhivotnogo*), exquisitely designed according to the norms of the Baroque aesthetic, embellished with verses, epigraphs, and allegorical illustrations, and containing a detailed analysis of the writings of the Church fathers. He endeavoured to demonstrate that the “enemies of wisdom” (*mudrobortsy*) were hindering the development of science in Russia, prohibiting people from “amusing themselves with physics and philosophy.”<sup>65</sup>

Of course, his ideas were familiar in Ukrainian Orthodoxy in general and to Mazepa, as a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, in particular. The accusation of “heresy” affected them as well. The

hegumen of St Cyril's Monastery in Kyiv, Innokentii Monastyr's'kyi, wrote to the hetman that the work of the Leichoudes brothers "has neither truth, nor wisdom in it."<sup>66</sup>

In August 1688, Mazepa wrote to Golitsyn that he had learned of the theological debate occurring in Moscow. He suggested that he send him "those disputed writings," and he would summon "to himself the religious people most skilled in intellect and in theology in the metropolis of Kyiv and the archdiocese of Chernihiv" to judge these works and give their opinion about them.<sup>67</sup>

In December 1688, Mazepa received a secret letter from Fedor Shaklovityi, which makes it clear that he had sent the hetman a book by Medvedev. But the hetman noted that the work was already known by this time in Kyiv and Chernihiv. Mazepa conveyed the words of Innokentii Monastyr's'kyi that he himself and "all clergy" could affirm not only that Medvedev had written the truth, and the Leichoudes a lie, but also that "they are ready to die" for this.<sup>68</sup> The hetman also informed Shaklovityi that Innokentii Monastyr's'kyi had an answer prepared to one of the Greeks' books. Indeed, in early 1689 Mazepa sent Golitsyn a book by Monastyr's'kyi against the "enemies of wisdom."

Innokentii Monastyr's'kyi did not conceal his feelings. In a letter to Silvestr Medvedev, he called him "an exceedingly kind brother" and added that in his missive concerning "the progenitors of falsehood," the Leichoudes, he referred to him only as "Medvedev – your sun," who "illuminates your insane pride and the dismal ignorance that rails against the power of divine words."<sup>69</sup>

The answer to the question "Does Little Russia accept the Council of Florence and what is its opinion concerning the interpretation of the Holy Sacraments?" was sent to the hetman from the Archimandrite of the Kyiv Caves Monastery Varlaam Iasyn's'kyi. Due to the illness of the latter, the letter was written by the hand of the hegumen of the Baturyn Monastery, Dymytrii Tuptalo (of Rostov).<sup>70</sup>

Thus, Mazepa intervened personally in this bitter theological dispute. By involving himself in the pressing and delicate problems of the Golitsyn court, Mazepa risked much. It had been just this sort of proactive stance that had cost Samoilovych the mace and his life. Who knows whether Mazepa knew of the unflattering opinion forming of him among those in Golitsyn's circle? It was probably no coincidence that he tried to obtain information about the favourite's attitude from Nepliev. If even Gordon knew about the displeasure

in Moscow, then this fact was sufficiently well-known at the “top,” where Mazepa had many friends.

It is quite likely that the attack on Medvedev and the way that Golitsyn and Sophia practically threw him into the fight with the patriarch at a moment that was most difficult for him should have been for Mazepa a very serious and unpleasant signal. Although Sophia was very much indebted to Medvedev, she had not hesitated to sacrifice him in her own self-interest.

The facts reveal that Mazepa gained patrons beforehand also in the other camp that was hostile to the regent Sophia. Perhaps that is why Golitsyn did not permit Mazepa to come to Moscow. Meanwhile, Mazepa, well-educated, an unconventional thinker, and extremely well-versed in foreign affairs, must have been of great interest to many progressive boyars. It was not by chance that the conciliar secretary Larion Ivanov had spoken so openly with him earlier, in 1679.

As early as 1688 a denunciation had been written against Mazepa. In itself, this was a common occurrence in the Ukrainian Hetmanate. But it is interesting that in this situation the hetman turned for protection to Petr Prozorovskii, the tutor of Tsar Ivan, and to Boris Golitsyn, the most active supporter of Natal'ia Naryshkin[a], the tsar's widow, and her son.<sup>71</sup> Consequently, he had good relations with these two representatives of the Naryshkin camp.

But this is not all. Petr Prozorovskii and the Naryshkins were considered opponents of the Eternal Peace and supporters of Ivan Samoilovych. As noted earlier, the boyar opposition supported Samoilovych in his foreign policy. It was the Naryshkins who tried to have Samoilovych brought to Moscow after his overthrow, where he would be able to deny accusations against him regarding the failure of the Crimean campaign.<sup>72</sup> But it was really Mazepa who defended Samoilovych's opinion in Moscow concerning the danger of an alliance with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. That is, in his foreign policy sympathies, he was closer to the Naryshkins than to Golitsyn.

On 27 January 1689, Peter Alekseevich married Evdokia Lopukhina at the insistence of his mother. In early February, Peter issued letters and sent an embassy, led by the courtier (*stol'nik*) Ivan Nikitich Tarakanov, to Hetman Mazepa, the Kyiv Metropolitan, and the Archimandrite of Kyiv Caves Monastery, to inform them of this joyous and momentous event.<sup>73</sup> Having married off her son, Natal'ia Naryshkin[a] sought to demonstrate, above all to Sophia, that Peter was of age and no longer needed the services “of the regent.”



The hetman was also sent food and drink from the “festive table.” The independent actions of the Naryshkin party on Peter’s behalf (without mention of the second tsar, Ivan, in the official letter) are unusual and relevant. Remarkably, this document was not included in the *Collection of State Charters and Treaties*, unlike the 1684 letter to Ivan Samoilovych (sent in the names of both tsars) concerning Ivan’s marriage.<sup>74</sup>

These contacts did not cease and apparently caused Golitsyn great concern. In any event, when Mazepa gave Peter two dwarfs, Golitsyn appropriated them.<sup>75</sup> This was seemingly an utterly insignificant event, but the favourite clearly did not want the strengthening of friendly contacts between the hetman and the Naryshkins.

During the second Crimean campaign, Mazepa had the audacity to write directly to Patriarch Ioakim, reporting on the difficulties of the campaign and the circumstances of the retreat from Perekop. His missive was markedly different from those that Golitsyn sent to Ioakim around the same time.<sup>76</sup> And Mazepa did not just write to the patriarch. Evgenii Shmurlo noted: “One may well think that the Naryshkins had the opportunity to obtain more accurate information about the course of military operations from the transport [*oboz*].”<sup>77</sup> The sources confirm this conjecture. The Danish representative (*rezident*) Heinrich Butenant von Rosenbusch reported that during a meeting with Golitsyn, Peter reproached him that the army had accomplished nothing, had lost more men than the Tatars, and had fought no major battle, “and that it could have taken Perekop, as Mazepa and some of the Russian generals advised.”<sup>78</sup> This means that Peter was aware of Mazepa’s advice.

So, in the early summer of 1689 Golitsyn embarked on the second Crimean campaign, in which the Zaporozhian Host led by Mazepa took part along with Russian forces. After a long, gruelling trek without food and water, subjected to constant attacks by the enemy, the armies approached Perekop. After spending the night near the fortress, on 21 May 1689 Golitsyn ordered a retreat, to the astonishment of the Tatars. The difficult journey home began, during which the Tatars set fire to the steppe and relentlessly attacked the rear-guard. On 24 June, the Russian and Ukrainian troops dispersed “to their homes.”

The campaign’s failure placed Sofia’s government in an extremely difficult position. She had to act quickly to rescue her favourite – as well as herself. Two years earlier, in 1687, all blame had been



placed on the former hetman Ivan Samoilovych, who was accused of treason. Of course, it was possible to do the same now, especially since Mazepa was not popular among the Cossacks, Shaklovityi had doubts as to his reliability, and Golitsyn had postponed the matter until the conclusion of the campaign. Yet it would have been difficult for Sophia to accuse Mazepa of treason while leaving her favourite untouched. Everyone knew about the part Golitsyn had played at the Kolomak Council.

In the files of the Military Service Office (*Razriadnyi prikaz*), buried in the Golitsyn correspondence, I found a remarkable document. On 19 June 1689 – that is, before the dismissal of the regiments – a decree had been issued to the nearest high-ranking boyar (*okol'nichii*), Vasiliï Savich Narbekov, the governor of Pereiaslav, commanding him to go “with a gracious word” to hetman Ivan Mazepa.<sup>79</sup> Having visited Golitsyn, the courtier was to meet personally with the hetman, asking about his health, promising “an emolument in pure gold,” and assuring him that “Their Tsarist Majesties’ favour would never be withdrawn from him the hetman.”<sup>80</sup>

Clearly, Sophia was extending special favour toward Mazepa. Perhaps this was part of an effort to cast the Crimean campaign as a victory in the public eye. She met the troops at the Serpukhov Gate beyond the city’s fortifications, extended her hand to the prince and his comrades, and then, accompanied by icons and prayer chants, triumphantly proceeded to the Kremlin, where Tsar Ivan and the patriarch awaited them.<sup>81</sup>

All of the Russian *voevodas* who participated in the campaign were generously rewarded. “Particular royal favours and rewards” were proclaimed for Golitsyn.<sup>82</sup> There was a telling incident during the bestowal of the prince’s award. The young Tsar Peter refused to sign the diploma, and although he eventually yielded, he did not allow Golitsyn to approach him.<sup>83</sup> This took place on 27 July. De la Neville writes that only “the mediation of the tsarevna brought the tsar to suffer him to kiss his hand. But he showered him with bitter reproaches and did not want to hear his excuses.”<sup>84</sup> As noted above, Peter was aware of the information received from Mazepa.

On 21 July 1689, during these tense days for the entourage of the tsarevna Sophia, Mazepa on Golitsyn’s order left Baturyn for Moscow.<sup>85</sup> It would seem that he could expect nothing good from this journey. Rumours circulating in Ukraine spoke of this very revealingly, albeit indirectly. The hetman even had to write personally to

Zaporizhia, assuring his jubilant detractors that he was setting off on the road not by compulsion, “as some distort the truth about this,” but voluntarily.<sup>86</sup>

Upon his departure, Mazepa named one of the few men on whom he could rely – general judge Mykhailo Vuiakhevych – as acting hetman. He assigned a second confidant – cavalry colonel Illia Novits'kyi – the task of keeping order. Almost all the rest of the Cossack leaders went to Moscow: general quartermaster Vasyli' Borkovs'kyi, general judge Sava Prokopovych, general chancellor Vasyli' Kochubei, general aide-de-camp Andrii Hamaliia, general standard bearer (*bunchuzhnyi*) Iukhym Lyzohub, and regimental colonels Iakiv Lyzohub of Chernihiv, Fedir Zhuchenko of Poltava, Stepan Zabila of Nizhyn, Danylo Apostol of Myrhorod, and Leontii Svichka of Lubny. In addition, Notable Fellows (*znatni tovaryshi*), Junior Fellows (*molodshi tovaryshi*), secretaries (*pysari*), *shliakhta*, servants, dragoons, musicians, chefs, and coachmen all travelled to the Russian capital.<sup>87</sup> Mazepa also brought with him two fathers-superior: Innokentii Monastyr's'kyi, an open opponent of the “enemies of wisdom,” and Dymytrii, whose published books on the lives of the saints met with the sharp displeasure of Patriarch Ioakim of Moscow.<sup>88</sup>

There can be no doubt that this impressive delegation of Cossack leaders travelled to Moscow at the behest of Golitsyn (Sofia), since preparations for receiving that number of guests had been made in the capital.

How should one interpret the significance of this splendid retinue? Did Moscow want to ensure a quorum of Cossack officers in the event that a new hetman was elected? Or did Golitsyn wish to reward his faithful ally? The latter is doubtful, given that Mazepa's personal enemies and rivals were travelling with him: Vasyli' Kochubei, Fedir Zhuchenko, Rodion Dmytrashko-Raicha. So, did Golitsyn have other plans for the Zaporozhian Host?

An eyewitness to the events, de la Neville, wrote frankly that the order to Mazepa to come to Moscow had been given “with quite different intentions.” Incidentally, anonymous letters to the hetman (albeit written later) would claim unanimously that he had been summoned to Moscow on Golitsyn's orders to participate in a state coup.<sup>89</sup> Samiilo Velychko, the author of the famous chronicle and a contemporary of these events, wrote that Golitsyn sent a decree to Mazepa to come to Moscow without the tsars' knowledge (in

particular, without Peter's knowledge), having planned by this time to depose Peter Alekseevich and elevate Sophia to the throne. Also, that it was upon learning of Mazepa's arrival in the capital that Peter realized there was a plot against him and fled to the Trinity Monastery of St Sergius (Trinity-Sergius Monastery).<sup>90</sup>

Most likely, Mazepa himself did not know why he was going to Moscow and what awaited him there. He sent his confidant, his steward, Roman Vysots'kyi, ahead to the capital, ostensibly to purchase items he needed.<sup>91</sup> One can only guess what instructions the hetman actually gave his steward and to whom he sent him.

#### MAZEPA AND THE NARYSHKINS' COUP

Mazepa rode into Moscow on 10 August 1689.<sup>92</sup> Sophia arranged an unusually grand reception for the hetman. The secretary of the Foreign Office, Vasili Bobinin (an old acquaintance of Mazepa's, who was also present at the Kolomak Council), met him outside the Spassky Gate, accompanied by six companies of musketeers under the command of Colonel Ivan Tsikler and two deputy secretaries (*pod'iachie*) from different chancelleries.<sup>93</sup> The hetman took his seat in a "very expensive" (as Mazepa himself wrote to Novyts'kyi) royal carriage sent for him, drawn by six horses,<sup>94</sup> and drove through Moscow to the Great Ambassadorial Court in Kitaigorod (China Town), where rooms had been prepared for him.

Mazepa was surprised at the scale of the welcome. This was his first visit to Moscow as hetman, and nothing similar had ever been arranged for Samoilovych. Along the way he asked Bobinin about the coach sent to meet him – "It is obvious that it is of vintage German workmanship."<sup>95</sup> The secretary explained that a special carriage had been sent to meet the hetman, in which "they always receive great and plenipotentiary ambassadors for a meeting."<sup>96</sup> The intent, of course, was to emphasize the importance Sophia attached to the reception of the hetman.

Seizing the moment, Mazepa (who seated only the quartermaster Vasil' Borkovs'kyi, an ally, with him in the carriage) began asking about the prevailing mood in Moscow. He enlarged on the theme that victory over the Crimean Tatars had been secured "through Golitsyn's efforts."<sup>97</sup> As for the fact that owing to the lack of fodder and water the Perekop ramparts and towers had not been destroyed, this was because "to do so was difficult." Singing like a nightingale, Mazepa in

his justification of the failure at Perekop gave an example from an old chronicle he had read – how Darius tried to seize the Crimea, but he “only lost his own troops at Crimea ... and with great shame retreated with difficulty from Perekop with his remaining forces.”<sup>98</sup>

Bobinin’s answers to the hetman’s honeyed words are unknown. But as soon as Mazepa arrived at the Ambassadorial Court, Prince Aleksei Golitsyn (the son of the favourite), the Sevska *voevoda* boyar Leontii Nepliev, the high-ranking boyar (*okol’nichyi*) Venedikt Zmeev, the council nobleman (*dumnyi dvorianin*) Grigorii Kosagov, and conciliar secretary Emel’ian Ukraintsev approached him.<sup>99</sup> A more impressive delegation is difficult to imagine. All of these men oversaw Ukrainian affairs under Sophia’s rule. Moreover, except for Ukraintsev, all of them would be implicated in the musketeers’ revolt of 1689. The meeting ran late, and they stayed for lunch with the hetman.

One can only speculate as to what was discussed. When they entered Moscow, Mazepa and his entourage still did not know that on the night of 8 August, Tsar Peter Alekseevich had fled from the village of Preobrazhenskoe to the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. The events of the coup that brought the Naryshkins to power had begun. Was this malign fate? Or a fateful confluence of events? Or was it no coincidence at all?

The Naryshkins’ coup – the flight of Peter Alekseevich to the Trinity-Sergius Monastery and the removal of tsarevna Sophia from power – is one of the central episodes in Russian history and has always fascinated historians. Moreover, Ivan Mazepa’s visit to Moscow in the summer of 1689 is one of the most dramatic events in the life of this hetman and a key event in the history of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Yet historians of Russia traditionally underestimate the Ukrainian element of the Naryshkin coup, while historians of Ukraine do not delve into the details of Russian events.

On 11 August, the day after his arrival and at the height of these dramatic events, Mazepa, accompanied by his officers and clergy, was invited to the palace “to see the tsars’ eyes.” He saw only Sophia and Ivan, however. As Dymytrii of Rostov wrote, “Tsar Peter Alekseevich was not at home; he was somewhere on campaign.”<sup>100</sup>

The reception had been arranged with panache. Ukraintsev himself presented Mazepa and “asked about his health.” With respect to the Crimean campaign, it was declared officially on behalf of the “tsars” that the Tatars had been conquered by the tsarist troops, as

had never happened before, and the sovereigns' favour toward the hetman for his service was proclaimed.<sup>101</sup> Mazepa stood near Sophia and Ivan and gave gifts: a silver basin and gold Turkish belt set with stones for Ivan, and a life-giving cross of pure gold with diamonds for Sophia.<sup>102</sup> On the same day, Mazepa, the Cossack officers, and the clergy visited Patriarch Ioakim.<sup>103</sup>

The welcome given by the regent dispelled all fears of possible disgrace or removal from the hetmanship. The next day, 12 August, Mazepa wrote to his close friend, cavalry colonel Illia Novits'kyi, that the tsars and the grand tsarevna had "praised him for his service" and promised to keep him in their favour. He did not elaborate, however, on Peter Alekseevich's absence from Moscow, instead ordering Novits'kyi to proclaim this news urgently and to arrest "volatile, dastardly heads ... that disturb the national peace."<sup>104</sup> He was referring here to those in Ukraine who clearly anticipated his removal because of the failure of the Crimean campaign.

Meanwhile, Sophia was at a loss. It seemed that she still held power, but the musketeers were hesitant, and it did not seem possible to send them marching against the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. In these circumstances, the 50,000-man Cossack army gathered on the river Sozh<sup>105</sup> was a formidable, enticing weapon. Contrary to custom, the Cossack forces that had returned from the campaign were being kept intact until Mazepa's return from Moscow – "until Holy Intercession" (that is, until the feast of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin).

Knowing full well the importance of the Cossack army, Sophia and Golitsyn held further meetings with Mazepa. On 13 August, Swedish representative (*rezident*) Christopher von Kokhen reported that "Sofia and Golitsyn were cultivating Mazepa, Golitsyn even taking him to his estate."<sup>106</sup> Their martial qualities having been tested during the Crimean campaign, Mazepa's well-armed infantry mercenaries (*serdiuky*) and light cavalry (*kompaniitsi*) could make a rapid march from Kolomak to Moscow and radically change the balance of power. Both camps in Moscow understood this.

Perhaps Golitsyn considered asking the Polish king for help, who had been his ally in the Holy League following the peace – as a result of which he had quarrelled with many boyars. The Poles were not unaware of the situation. A secret agent who introduced himself as representing the Polish king, de la Neville, dressed as a servant, made his way to Mazepa and assured him of the "patronage" of

Jan Sobieski.<sup>107</sup> Here again, the position of the Ukrainian hetman was pivotal. How the quick-tempered, forceful Sophia must have hated Mazepa as she listened to his sugary phrases while he carefully avoided saying “yes” or “no.” How Golitsyn must have cursed himself for his choice. Nevertheless, Golitsyn showed himself to be unprepared for an open fight, and the whole burden of difficult decisions fell on the tsarevna.

Why did Mazepa not take Golitsyn’s side? The reason is obvious. Golitsyn and Sophia had embraced a foreign policy that Mazepa (like Samoilovych before him) did not at all share: peace with the Commonwealth and the return to it of the Right Bank, and the war in Crimea. None of these policies aligned with the interests of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Also, Golitsyn (in Sophia’s name) was working quite openly to curtail the autonomy of the Hetmanate by ending leasehold (*orendy*), protecting informers, striking an ambivalent attitude toward the peasants, promoting “russification” (*rusofikatsiia*), and so on. Even in the troubled days of the coup, they refused to meet the demands that Mazepa had set forth in his “Articles” (unfortunately, the materials of the Little Russian Office do not permit one to determine the exact date on which the hetman had his petitions denied, but obviously this occurred during the interval between his arrival and the fall of Sophia). Note that these same articles would be immediately satisfied by the Naryshkins. Why then would Mazepa have supported the regent and not the rightful tsar, to whom, incidentally, he had sworn an oath? Perhaps it was the refusal to satisfy the requests set out in the articles that sealed the hetman’s decision.

Sophia and her government decided not to replace Mazepa immediately with a new hetman who would help them. At a time when everything was collapsing around them, to launch the revolt against Mazepa would have been too risky. Besides, the hetman had left people in Ukraine who were loyal to him, and all his potential opponents were with him here, in Moscow, and thus had no way to send troops quickly.

Sophia stalled for time. On 16 August, Petr Prozorovskii set out for the Trinity-Sergius Monastery to negotiate with Peter. The choice was unfortunate, for the boyar was already on the Naryshkins’ side in spirit.<sup>108</sup> On 19 August the patriarch visited Peter.<sup>109</sup> But he too had already made his choice, and it was not in favour of Sophia. The tsarevna waited and hoped for two weeks more. She tried to persuade the musketeers and Mazepa to support her. It was all in vain.

On 29 August, in desperation, she set off herself for Trinity-Sergius. But while she was on her way there, Peter's order that she return to Moscow reached her. The mood of the musketeers now shifted, and most of the colonels visited Peter at Trinity to offer their services. Von Kokhen expected Mazepa to go there,<sup>110</sup> and on 30 August, Shaklovityi personally signed a permission for him to travel to the Trinity-Sergius Monastery.<sup>111</sup> But the hetman delayed. His hour had not yet come.

On 3 September, a session of the Duma decided to give up Shaklovityi. It was the end of the regent. It now made no sense for Peter's secret supporters to remain in Moscow. On 4 September, the Germans departed, led by Gordon. On 6 September, von Kokhen noted in his report that Mazepa "is still in Moscow."<sup>112</sup> Evidently, this surprised him.

On 7 September, Shaklovityi was brought to Trinity Monastery and was immediately subjected to torture. On the same day, Vasiliï Golitsyn, Leontii Nepliuiev, Venedikt Zmeev, Grigorii Kosagov, and Emel'ian Ukraintsev came to Peter. But Golitsyn was not permitted to see the tsar, and his sentence was read out to him: he was to be deprived of a boyar's privileges and exiled to Kargopol.<sup>113</sup> The same fate befell Nepliuiev. Zmeev, whose brothers were relatives of Natal'ia Naryshkin[a], Peter's mother, escaped with exile to his village. General Grigorii Kosagov, who was renowned for his joint campaigns with the Zaporozhians, and conciliar secretary Ukraintsev, a well-known diplomat, received pardons.

Now Mazepa, too, went to Trinity-Sergius Monastery, accompanied by the secretary Vasiliï Bobinin.<sup>114</sup> It was not by chance that he had delayed – he had been waiting for the completion of the interrogations and tortures. Mazepa's appearance at Trinity was to be the triumph of his political game.

Few in Ukraine guessed Mazepa's actual role in the events taking place, or rather the impact of his non-interference in those events and of his contacts with the Naryshkins. After the fall of Golitsyn, many expected Mazepa to be punished. Kochubei had probably already tried out the mace. But they celebrated too soon. To Peter's supporters the hetman's merits were obvious: they knew that the stance taken by the Cossack troops during the coup had been decisive.

Mazepa's first official meeting with Peter took place in the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. Conciliar secretary Emel'ian I. Ukraintsev



presented him. He spoke of the participation of the hetman, his officers, and the Cossacks in the Crimean campaign, the difficult river crossing, the “diligent effort” and “courage” manifested in the battles with the enemy. On behalf of Peter (without mention of Ivan and Sophia), it was announced that “for your faithful and diligent service and for active participation in the campaign the tsar rewards and praises you.”<sup>115</sup> Contrast here the disfavour toward Golitsyn, the leader of the campaign, with the favour shown the hetman and the Zaporozhian Host, who had executed the campaign. Several times more during the audience, Ukraintsev as well as Peter himself personally emphasized the favour toward the hetman and the Cossack officers.<sup>116</sup> “They called [him] to [the tsar’s] hand,” he sat “among the boyars on the bench,” and so on.

In response, Mazepa drew expensive gifts from his stores: for Peter, a gold cross, studded with jewels on a gold chain, a sabre in a gold case with diamonds (with 77 on the hilt and 114 on the sheath),<sup>117</sup> and ten *arshin* (1 *arshin* = approx. 0.7 m) of gold samite silk; for the tsarina Natalia Naryshkin[a], a gold necklace with diamonds and a silver pitcher (*kungan*, a pitcher with a lid, a kind of basin); and for Tsarina Evdokiia, gold necklaces with diamonds.<sup>118</sup> It appears that Mazepa was prepared for such a meeting, as if everything was unfurling as he had anticipated. The gifts were not bribes, nor were they meant to flatter; rather, they were part of a generally accepted political ritual. Mazepa’s speech was brief, “because he was ill.” Mazepa asked the tsar to be gracious to him, the hetman, the officers, the Zaporozhian Host, and the “Little Russian people.” For his part he promised to serve the great sovereign “faithfully to the last drop of his own blood.”<sup>119</sup>

Ohloblyn’s biography of Mazepa devotes a brief paragraph to the Naryshkin coup. Nikolai Kostomarov reduced all of its events to the cliché that Mazepa charmed and fascinated Peter during their meeting. Hence Kostomarov’s vivid story of the trembling Mazepa waiting under the walls of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery for Peter’s decision. But a tent for the hetman’s reception had already been raised at Trinity, and the commendatory speech had been delivered even before the hetman said a word. Indeed, is it really possible to believe that Peter not only spared Mazepa, but also showered him with rewards, simply because he had succumbed to the hetman’s ability to “seduce”? It is well-known and recognized by all that Mazepa in 1687 had received the mace from the hand of Golitsyn, Sophia’s favorite, hated by Peter,



who now himself escaped execution only thanks to the intercession of his brother – Boris Golitsyn, an influential figure in the Naryshkin party. The hetman himself never concealed Golitsyn's role in his own fate. He also wrote to Golitsyn (perhaps exaggerating somewhat) that all the royal favour poured out upon him came solely through the petition and influence of the prince.<sup>120</sup> Mazepa had been deeply involved in the production of the “royal” portraits of Sophia, which cost Golitsyn and Nepliev their positions. Mazepa was directly connected with the Ukrainian clergy, who had openly supported Silvestr Medvedev in his struggle with Patriarch Ioakim. Compelling arguments are needed to ignore these facts. A lampoon stated: “Some were executed, others banished, while he was rewarded. You want him to carry out his evil design?”<sup>121</sup>

After the momentous meeting at the Trinity-Sergius Monastery, Peter personally ordered Mazepa to go to the Patriarch.<sup>122</sup> Dymytrii of Rostov wrote in his diary: “At that time the patriarch, whom we often visited, was also at the same monastery [Trinity-Sergius – T.Ia.]”<sup>123</sup> As a result, Patriarch Ioakim blessed Dymytrii “to continue writing the *Lives of the Saints* and gave me as a blessing the image of the Blessed Virgin for a cover for the Gospels.”<sup>124</sup>

At the meeting with Peter, Mazepa so impressed the young tsar that he sent a decree to the Siberian Office for an additional number of sables to be given to the hetman and officers (in addition to the rich gifts prepared for the hetman by Sophia's decree).<sup>125</sup> Lopukhin was personally ordered to prepare five hundred carts for the hetman's departure home.<sup>126</sup> Before journeying back to Baturyn, the hetman ordered the general judge and the general flagbearer (*heneral'nyi khorunzhyi*) to notify the major towns that he had left the great sovereigns enjoying their favour.<sup>127</sup>

On 12 September, near the walls of the Trinity-Sergius Monastery, Shaklovityi and his confederates were executed.<sup>128</sup> On 14 September, Mazepa met with the conciliar secretary Emel'ian Ukraintsev, his old friend, who gave him new articles.<sup>129</sup> After a long conversation, the articles had finally been altered (discussed below).

The hetman took his leave from the young Peter on 16 September.<sup>130</sup> He was given a gold caftan of sable, a gold cup,<sup>131</sup> gold moire (watered silk), silk brocade, velvet, and sables.<sup>132</sup> Peter assured Mazepa that he would “keep the Zaporozhian Host and the Little Russian people in his sovereign favour and defence” and that his “faithful and diligent ... service ... would never be forgotten.”<sup>133</sup> At the hetman's request,

charters were issued confirming the possessions of the officers, including those of general aide-de-camp Mykhailo Myklashevs'kyi, general chancellor Vasyl' Kochubei, general quartermaster Vasyl' Borkovs'kyi, general flagbearer Ivan Lomykovs'kyi, Distinguished Military Fellows Kostiantyn Solonyna, Hryhorii Hamaliia, Oleksii Turans'kyi, Colonel Danylo Apostol of the Myrhorod regiment, and others.<sup>134</sup> This was necessary to secure the officers' support in the coming years of the hetmanship.

On 19 September, Mazepa took his leave in Moscow from Tsar Ivan.<sup>135</sup> On 20 September the Foreign Office sent new Moscow articles, which "secretary Vasili Bobinin secured" (i.e., sealed),<sup>136</sup> and on 22 September the hetman left for Baturyn.<sup>137</sup> By 5 October he was back home<sup>138</sup> (Tuptalo wrote that he returned on 10 October).<sup>139</sup>

Meanwhile, Silvestr Medvedev had been seized, deprived of Church immunity, and subjected to terrible torture. He was forced to confess to heresy, tortured again, and finally executed. An appalling fate. But why did such a fate not touch Mazepa? After all, the elderly man had stated during the questioning that he had sent his book "The Manna of the Bread of Life" to the hetman, to Mazepa, and in response in Ukraine "a book concerning Greek untruth" was written "by all the Kyivan Church," that is, in defence of Medvedev.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, Mazepa had given the book personally to Golitsyn, and the latter had given it to Medvedev.

But almost no further investigations of this "Ukrainian element" in the case of Medvedev and the repressions followed.<sup>141</sup> To be sure, the deputy secretary (*pod'iachii*) Ivan Gerasimov was sent as a courier to Mazepa with a letter. The document he carried stated that during "questioning" Medvedev had said: "in Moscow he had given some books and his thievish writings into the hands of the hegumen of Kyiv's St Cyril Monastery Innokentii Monastyr'skyi." Mazepa was ordered personally "to inquire into" this matter.<sup>142</sup>

This all took place in October, during the return trip from Moscow (where the abbot of St Cyril's Monastery, the hegumen Innokentii Monastyr'skyi, had also gone).<sup>143</sup> A few days later Monastyr'skyi wrote in fear to clear himself with Mazepa, that having arrived in Moscow, he took from Medvedev three books of the *Kyiv Book of Prayers (Trebnyk)*, which he needed "for the rules of bringing priests to the sacrament." And he did not leave these books with anyone in Moscow "out of the confusion and horror" that seized him when he heard "of Medvedev's villainy." Dymytrii of Rostov (who was also

present on this trip to Moscow) while still on the road advised him to tell the hetman everything immediately.

Innokentii Monastyr's'kyi had gone to Mazepa, but on the way to the inn (where Mazepa spent the night), in his dismay and sorrow, he forgot why he had come, while the hetman himself did not ask about the ill-fated books.<sup>144</sup> The hegumen swore that “Medvedev had not given him any writings, either good or evil,” but Mazepa demanded that he give up any writings, if he had any.<sup>145</sup> The hetman wrote to Moscow that “he had sternly ordered the hegumen” to surrender books and writings, but the latter swore that “he had not accepted any evil [malicious] writings from Medvedev and took only four books,” which Mazepa had ordered to be found (they had already been sent to Kyiv) and by order of the tsars were sent to the patriarch in Moscow.<sup>146</sup>

With this, oddly enough, the entire matter ended. This despite the fact that Medvedev himself after terrible torture was beheaded! And Innokentii, as if nothing had happened, remained hegumen of St Cyril's Monastery.<sup>147</sup> There can be little doubt that not the patriarch's goodwill but the strong position of the new authority lay behind this outcome. It is known that Patriarch Ioakim belonged to those servants of the Church who placed earthly power above theological disputes. When Aleksei Mikhailovich instructed Ioakim to elucidate his beliefs, he replied: “I do not know the old beliefs, nor the new, but that which rulers command, that I am ready to do and to obey them in everything.”<sup>148</sup>

The investigation of the Golitsyn/Shaklovityi case continued throughout the autumn and winter. A “denunciation” (*izvet*) was received from Filipp Sapogov that Golitsyn had retreated from Perekop after receiving a bribe from the khan. New interrogations began. They established exactly how the decision was made to retreat from Perekop. Tinbaev, a Tatar in Golitsyn's service, indicated that on the night of the council (which lasted three hours), in addition to Golitsyn, Aleksei Shein, Boris Sheremetev, Vladimir Dolgorukov, Leontii Neplievev, Venedikt Zmeev, and “Hetman Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa” were present.<sup>149</sup> Zmeev, in exile in Kostroma, was also questioned. He related that on Golitsyn's orders he went personally to Mazepa to consult with him about whether a retreat was necessary.<sup>150</sup> On 8 January 1690 a decree was issued to take written statements from all the boyars and conciliar secretaries present at the negotiations. The list included more than twenty people,

including those who were already in Peter's service by that time: Vasili Sheremetev, Grigorii Kosagov, Emel'ian Ukraintsev, and others. But Mazepa was not questioned.<sup>151</sup> Meanwhile, upon repeated questioning, Golitsyn, retracing the circumstances of the negotiations with the Crimean khan, stated that when letters with an offer of peace from the Tatar had been received, he considered it "with all his colleagues and the hetman."<sup>152</sup>

In other words, the hetman's name ran like a red thread through the investigations that cost all of the other participants their heads, their titles, or at least serious difficulty, while Mazepa in absolutely incredible fashion came out unscathed. The quick-tempered young tsar, who hated everything associated with his sister and her favourite, must have had a very powerful reason to become Mazepa's guardian angel.

Surprisingly, no historian of Mazepa and his times has posed these questions. All have blindly followed Nikolai Kostomarov, ignoring the obvious. Because many of the most valuable sources concerning this coup (for example, the memoirs of Andrei Matveev) were written in the early eighteenth century, after Mazepa went over to the Swedish side, the problem of recovering the course of events increases. There is no mention of his name in descriptions of the events at the Trinity-Sergius Monastery. Yet virtually all the foreigners who were in Moscow emphasized the role of the Ukrainian hetman.

Golitsyn, already in exile and having had sufficient time to ponder the events, understood the role of Mazepa well. Rage, especially strong because of his awareness of its futility, choked the former favourite. In his testimony in February 1690, he repeatedly evoked the hetman's name. He said it was he who asked Mazepa "to speak with the clergy of Kyiv ... to take quotations from books about the Holy Eucharist." And when this had been done, the prince "took those writings from the hetman" and "sent [them] to the great Grand Sovereign."<sup>153</sup> But such direct involvement in the main charges against the supporters of Sophia Alekseevna could no longer damage Mazepa.

Mazepa was equally hated in the other camp of enemies he had deceived: in Warsaw. Jan Sobieski always considered Mazepa an undesirable hetman – he was too clever and knowledgeable. As Mazepa himself wrote, the Poles were concerned that he, after his service at court, knew "all their secrets," and he surmised that they would prefer a "simple man" as hetman.<sup>154</sup> And now he was indirectly implicated in the fall of Golitsyn, a loyal admirer of "Polish culture" and the Holy

League. The fruit of this hatred would surface already in early 1690, when a barrage of denunciations against the hetman poured in from the Polish side and the famous “Solomon affair” began.<sup>155</sup>

But intrigues like these no longer frightened the Hetman. His position after the Naryshkin coup had improved radically. No longer was he a mere puppet, obliged at all times to justify himself to Golitsyn; he had emerged as a powerful political figure and the real ruler of the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

Rich gifts and gracious words were not the only rewards Mazepa received for his role in the Naryshkin coup.<sup>156</sup> In October, at Mazepa’s request, the Zaporozhian Host received a new charter on gold vellum, sealed with the state seal, in a gilded reliquary with an embossed coat of arms.<sup>157</sup> When Mazepa was first elected hetman, no such charter had been given. The document confirmed his hetmanship (which obviously was especially important after the fall of Golitsyn and the change of power in Moscow) and declared that the hetman with the whole Zaporozhian Host retained “the same rights and liberties.”<sup>158</sup>

Mazepa took full advantage of this situation. He told Ukraintsev that on receiving the charter, he ordered “first the common people in the towns to read it, and then during the Christmas congress, he ordered the officers and the colonels to read it to themselves and in Baturyn,” so that everyone would hear of the sovereign’s favour.<sup>159</sup> Once he returned, he ordered all the cities of Ukraine to read this letter “confirming the rights and liberties given to all the Zaporozhian Host and the Little Russian common people,”<sup>160</sup> and demonstrating the special favour toward them of the “tsars” themselves and of Peter Alekseevich above all. This enabled Mazepa to strengthen his power; it also reduced the likelihood of fresh conspiracies among the officers.

The hetman’s relations with the Russian *voevodas* changed even more drastically. The new *voevoda* of Sevsk, Ivan Leont'ev (who had replaced Nepliev), received a previously unheard-of decree: to attend to the hetman on demand.<sup>161</sup> And should the hetman write to the *voevoda* concerning an attack by an enemy, “you will ... go to him, the hetman, to join him in the place that he will demand, with all speed.”<sup>162</sup>

Essentially, Russian troops on the territory of the Hetmanate had been transferred to Mazepa’s direct command, and the duties of the *voevodas* had been reduced to exclusively military ones. This

was especially important after the huge controlling role the former *voevoda*, Leontii Nepliuiev, had played. The charter also said: “and to command the Great Russian troops of those cities under *voevodas*.”<sup>163</sup>

The resolution of the highly fraught question of what to do with those Zaporozhians who had signed a truce with the Crimean khan was also made a matter for the hetman to decide – “for you, our subject, to proceed as you see fit.”<sup>164</sup>

Mazepa’s greatest achievement was to attain approval for new Moscow articles (as noted earlier, Sophia had denied Mazepa’s petition). Those new articles overturned several of the key items in the Kolomak agreement of 1687 (imposed on Mazepa by Golitsyn upon his accession to the hetmanship). The Moscow articles would govern the Hetmanate’s relations with Russia for the duration of Mazepa’s hetmanship in the Petrine period.

This was a fundamentally new document, obtained by the hetman after difficult negotiations with the secretaries of the Foreign Office. In particular, it provided for the restoration of the “leasehold system” (*orendy*) abolished by Golitsyn, which generated the main revenues for the hetman’s government, thus allowing its economic independence. I will examine later how Mazepa, relying on the Moscow articles, succeeded in recovering this economic instrument. With these funds Mazepa supported his mercenary troops, built the famous churches of the Ukrainian Baroque, and developed education and culture throughout the entire Petrine period of his hetmanship.

The Moscow articles strengthened the hetman’s power and the autonomy of the Hetmanate (for example, the hetman received the exclusive right to make land grants in Ukraine).

The circumstances in which the hetman achieved the revision of the Kolomak Articles of 1687 had been very auspicious for him. They included his own active role in the coup, the Naryshkins’ desire to secure a reliable rearguard in Ukraine, the extreme weakening of the central Russian authorities, and so on. Seizing the moment, Mazepa tenaciously and insistently defended the new Moscow Articles, including those provisions that in his view bore decisive significance. Having achieved acceptance of the changed conditions, Mazepa began to implement his new domestic policy.

The Naryshkin government dramatically changed Vasili Golitsyn’s hard-line policy of reducing the Hetmanate’s autonomy; it also gave near *carte blanche* to Mazepa to resolve many acute internal

problems. For the first time since the Pereiaslav Council, Moscow had decided to rely on the power of a strong hetman and not on a multitude of anarchic oppositionists. Peter and the Naryshkin party needed a strong military ally, one with unlimited powers and authority.<sup>165</sup> In this respect, the results of the Naryshkin coup were highly beneficial for Mazepa.

A decade began that passed under the banner of the struggle against the Ottoman Empire, in which the Ukrainian Cossacks took the most active part. Mazepa, contrary to widespread historiographical assumptions, was Peter's chief strategic and military consultant. Mazepa's role in the coup and the rewards he received from Peter also laid a foundation for fruitful cooperation with Russia that in no way fits the portrait of the "hetman-traitor" or the "hetman-patriot."<sup>166</sup>

## Mazepa's Domestic Policy

I have already noted that many of the hetman's activities have yet to be adequately explained. In particular, we have only a weak grasp of his internal policy, his administrative and economic management, and his relations with various social strata of society.

Closely examining these matters will allow us to understand why Mazepa was so unpopular in various strata of Ukrainian society. It is no less interesting to see how the hetman's policies harmonized with the tsars' demands, in particular with the plans and decisions of Peter.

When studying these issues, the paucity of sources is a significant problem. The part of the Baturyn archive that dealt with the Hetmanate's internal affairs was destroyed long ago, after being deemed to be of no interest to Peter and Menshikov. Documents from the Military Office of this period have not survived. The Little Russian Office was excluded from the management of economic issues in Ukraine and contains no data on taxes, or on the Hetmanate's revenues. So it was necessary to collect material literally bit by bit for this study.

The prevailing opinion among historians is not very flattering toward Mazepa. Soviet historiography often presented the hetman as a cruel feudal lord who sought to intensify the exploitation of the working masses, and modern Russian scholarship tends to concur with this. The pre-revolutionary historian Mikhail Plokhinskii depicted Mazepa as a talented, forward-looking economic strategist who was significantly ahead of his time.<sup>1</sup> But he has been the only one to do so.

The roots of this negative view go as far back as the propaganda campaign of Peter I, who declared in a manifesto to the Ukrainian



people that Mazepa “without our decree, imposed rents and many taxes on the Little Russian people, in the guise of payment to the army, but actually for his own enrichment.”<sup>2</sup> There was not a word of truth in this statement. In this chapter I examine the leasehold system and show that the tsar’s attempt to present himself as uninvolved in its introduction is contradicted by the data. Moreover, the rents did not even go “to the hetman,” and if they were heavy for some, then it was only for drunkards (that is, for consumers of *horilka* [vodka], given out for “rent”). It is also surprising that such a populist slogan about the hetman’s enrichment from the “rent” (albeit a very skillful one, like all of Peter’s propaganda) continues to this day to exert its influence, even on respected historians.

It is strange, too, that none of the scholars of Mazepa have used the work of the best specialists in the socio-economic history of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, although these works provide extremely valuable materials about the period that is not reflected in the field of Mazepa studies.

In this chapter I examine the principal trends in Mazepa’s economic policy and the social situation in the Ukrainian Hetmanate during his administration. It is important to understand what the priorities of the hetman’s policy were (his ideals, if you will), but even more important to relate that policy to the ones that prevailed in the Ukrainian Hetmanate before and after Mazepa.

As noted several times earlier, Ukraine under the rule of Ivan Samoilovych was only beginning to emerge from political and economic ruin. The main factor here was, of course, the cessation of hostilities on its territory (although Tatar raids continued), as well as the end of the civil war and the multi-Hetmanate (although opposition from Cossack officers persisted, and denunciations continued to pour into Moscow). This made possible the beginning of an economic boom and simultaneous cultural flourishing. Mazepa’s rule began and continued (at least until the beginning of the Northern War) in very favourable circumstances, which he, as ruler (to his credit), did not hesitate to put to good use.

#### THE MOSCOW ARTICLES

The so-called Moscow Articles<sup>3</sup> – that is, the agreement the hetman concluded with Peter in the autumn of 1689, immediately after the Naryshkin coup – give a sense of the vision of Ivan Mazepa

himself regarding the ideal internal structure of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. After the coup, on 14 September 1689 – two days after Fedor L. Shaklovityi was executed – conciliar secretary Emel'ian Ukraintsev arrived at the Trinity-Sergius Monastery on Peter's personal order and conducted lengthy negotiations with Mazepa about the articles he had submitted.<sup>4</sup>

This was almost the first occasion since the time of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi that the tsarist government had granted a request for changes to previously approved articles. The deputations and requests of Andrii Odynets' (in 1660), Dem'ian Mnohohrishnyi, and many others had all failed. The procedure itself was unique. The conciliar secretary proposed first listening to the draft articles offered by the Russian side and then considering whether this formulation would bring “any burdens or indignities” to the Zaporozhian Host and the entire people. Only after such discussion were the articles finally approved.<sup>5</sup>

A few weeks before the meeting between Mazepa and Emel'ian Ukraintsev, while Sophia still ruled, strongly negative answers to Mazepa's articles had been prepared and written – hence the unusual formulation of the question.

Now the political situation had changed, and the Naryshkins were ready to reconsider their relations with Ukraine. Even so, it was far from easy for the hetman to gain concessions. Materials preserved in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA) make it possible to glean the argument the hetman presented to Ukraintsev.

After heated debate, on 20 September 1689, Mazepa came to Moscow again, having received “leave” from Peter in the Trinity-Sergius Monastery, and there he received at last the final “Moscow Articles.”

It is indisputable that there was social unrest during Ivan Mazepa's hetmanship, including more and more frequent peasant uprisings. Most of the latter, which date back as far as the establishment of the Ukrainian Cossack system, involved demands by peasants that they be extended the same rights and liberties as Cossacks.

The still legendary hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi first encountered this problem acutely in the early seventeenth century, especially after the Moscow campaigns of the Time of Troubles. At the time of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising, Cossackization (*pokozachuvannia*) had become a mass phenomenon involving tens if not hundreds of thousands of people. All attempts to damp down that

phenomenon amid the ongoing war were doomed to failure. But as soon as peace came there was an eruption, a series of revolts even during Khmel'nyts'kyi's lifetime.<sup>6</sup>

From the beginning of Ivan Vyhovs'kyi's hetmanship, the problem of *pokozachuvannia* acquired special significance as the main cause of the Ruin. The multitudes who had become Cossacks (and the Zaporozhians who supported them) destabilized the Ukrainian Hetmanate and were the main participants in civic unrest. Ivan Briukhovets'kyi obtained his hetmanship by capitalizing on the wave of these demonstrations.

Moscow could not but see the need to resolve this problem, especially after Briukhovets'kyi's "treason." But at the same time, the cessation of internal unrest would contribute to the strengthening of the hetman's administration, something the tsarist government absolutely did not want.

Upon the election of Mazepa as hetman in the Kolomak Council, the matter of the *pokozachuvannia* (those who had become Cossacks) was raised again. The third paragraph of the Kolomak Articles addressed the establishment of a register of thirty thousand Cossacks but did not restrict the possibility of registering townsmen and peasants (*pospolyti*) as Cossacks.<sup>7</sup> This must have generated social tensions and internal instability in the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

Thus, the articles submitted by Mazepa in 1689 stated that in the Ukrainian Hetmanate enormous problems were arising among both Cossacks and peasants with regard to the performance of their proper duties. This problem stemmed largely from the frequent unauthorized registration of *pospolyti* (peasants) as Cossacks. When peasants became Cossacks, this generated serious difficulties in obtaining transport and in the fulfillment of various duties. At the same time, unauthorized exits from the Cossack register were spawning "disorder and revolts" in the Cossack army.<sup>8</sup> Mazepa proposed that a review and census be conducted in all regiments, to be followed by a decree of the utmost strictness that every true Cossack must not move into the peasantry. Conversely, *muzhyky* (male peasants) were to be forbidden to register as Cossacks.<sup>9</sup> Sofia's government responded negatively to this proposal and simply repeated the wording of the Kolomak Articles, avoiding the essence of the problem.<sup>10</sup>

Neither giving in nor giving up, Mazepa convinced Ukraintsev that inspections would not be a burden for the Cossacks, since the

colonels themselves – who from time to time conducted reviews of their own regiments – would carry them out.<sup>11</sup> The hetman emphasized that once the registry was compiled, it would be impossible for a Cossack to withdraw from the registry or for a peasant to register as a Cossack.<sup>12</sup>

With this, the hetman secured the completion of the reforms initiated during the Khmel'nyts'kyi uprising. The Cossacks would now become the social elite, formally eligible to participate in elections for the hetman and other Cossack leaders, and would enjoy numerous tax and judicial benefits besides. As the preceding years had demonstrated, any other arrangement could only lead to anarchy and jeopardize the administrative functions of the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

As a result of Mazepa's persistence, the fourth paragraph of the Moscow Articles now stated that "all regiments of Cossacks should conduct an inspection and a census, and it should be firmly decided who is a Cossack, and those who are Cossacks should not leave their status to join the list of peasants, while a *muzhuk* should not style himself as a Cossack." It was proposed that the hetman himself, with his colonels, decide how to achieve this, at their discretion – but it would have to be done in a way that did not overburden the Cossacks and peasants, much less arouse any discontent.<sup>13</sup>

In the years that followed, this law was repeatedly violated. Cossack privileges ("liberties") were attractive to many peasants. In the sources there are instances of Cossacks being recorded in the registers of peasants owing labour or tax obligations to monasteries,<sup>14</sup> or in registries of taxpaying fellow villagers.<sup>15</sup> Also, peasants from private estates were still being recorded in the Cossack registry in 1703.<sup>16</sup> The hetman's administration struggled vigorously against such phenomena. When the privileges of the "old" Cossacks were breached, the administration actively took their side.<sup>17</sup>

Mazepa also requested that a paragraph be included in the Moscow Articles to the effect that any land grants in Ukraine were the exclusive prerogative of the hetman. After Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising, vast tracts of land became the property of the "Zaporozhian Host." The hetman was the supreme administrator of all these lands. The right to distribute free lands belonged to him as the head of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. From the Hetmanate's earliest years, hetmans had used this right to reward the services of individual Cossack officers and Military Fellows.<sup>18</sup> The practice of the tsar confirming the hetman's awards dates to the same time.

Only once, during the reign of Hetman Briukhovets'kyi, was this established order violated. Hoping to curry favour with Aleksei Mikhailovich, Briukhovets'kyi conceived the idea of “giving” Ukraine to him with all its cities and villages.<sup>19</sup> After this, the tsar made rich grants to Briukhovets'kyi and the Cossack officers, distributing villages and hamlets with their peasants. Simultaneously, in accordance with the idea of the transfer of Ukraine to Moscow’s direct control, the Kyiv *voevoda* Petr Sheremetev began to issue documents granting possession of estates in the Ukrainian Hetmanate.<sup>20</sup> The uprising that broke out in 1668 on the Left Bank, during which the residents physically assaulted the Russian garrisons and the *voevodas*, put an end to this practice.

The Hlukhiv Articles adopted by hetman Dem'ian Mnohohrishnyi in 1669 stated that the hetman and the Cossack officers would issue proclamations (*universaly*) concerning villages and mills, while the tsar would confirm these grants with his own charters.<sup>21</sup>

At the Kolomak Council, the officers requested that the tsar confirm only the grants made by the hetman and officers to others. But Vasili Golitsyn avoided committing to this, and the Kolomak Articles spoke vaguely of the grants that would be given by the tsar(s).<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to say whether this was Golitsyn’s deliberate policy. After all, a mere two years later he readily abandoned this monopoly on the distribution of land and mills in the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

In 1689, Mazepa submitted a petition requesting that no one have the right to ask the tsar for grants of villages and mills without an appropriate proclamation (*universaly*) from the hetman.<sup>23</sup> He explained that many came to Moscow to ask the tsar for a land grant, and then received the relevant charter from the tsar. Such charters caused great confusion in the Hetmanate’s landownership system, for officials in Moscow did not know who owned these properties, who had long-standing ancestral rights to them, and so forth. The former legal owners would submit complaints to the Hetmanate’s judicial authorities, proving the legitimacy of their claims; those who had received the tsar’s charter without the Hetmanate’s authorization would in turn demand their rights.<sup>24</sup>

Golitsyn did not oppose this article in 1689. This greatly strengthened the hetman’s power in Ukraine, for it provided him with an important tool of economic influence, thereby raising him above the Cossack officers and Russian *voevodas*. Sophia’s government discerned nothing dangerous to itself in this request. The answer given

to Mazepa was completely satisfactory and categorical: “[Land grants] have not been given and will not be given from now on.”<sup>25</sup> Perhaps Sophia's simple desire to bribe the Hetman or to secure his loyalty at a difficult time for her lay behind this response.

After the removal of Sophia, this provision was included in the Moscow Articles without debate or discussion. “And the great sovereigns ... order that no grant-charters for villages and mills shall be given to any of the inhabitants of the Little Russian cities without letters from the hetman.”<sup>26</sup>

This provision, which emphasized and strengthened the autonomous status of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, remained in effect until the end of Mazepa's rule.<sup>27</sup> One finds among the officers' accounts confirmation that the hetman was in charge of distributing awards. During the fierce disputes in Bendery in 1709 – the officers were fighting over the wealth of the deceased Mazepa – those among the Mazepists insisted that it was not the tsar who disposed of free land; the hetman granted it, and the tsar merely approved the grant.<sup>28</sup> The right to dispose of lands in Ukraine passed to the tsar during the rule of Hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyi.

But the burning social and economic issue during Mazepa's hetmanship was undoubtedly the leasehold system. It was leaseholds that generated the revenues for the Ukrainian Hetmanate, laying the groundwork for the prosperity of cities and towns besides creating a foundation for broad patronage.

To better understand this issue, one must refer to the history of taxation in the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Here we turn to the brilliant work of Ivan Kryp'iakevych.<sup>29</sup>

#### THE TAXATION SYSTEM OF THE UKRAINIAN HETMANATE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ORENDY

When developing the taxation system of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and his inner circle adopted much of what had existed under Polish rule – in particular, the leasehold system and chimney-money.<sup>30</sup> Leaseholds retained the form they had taken earlier, under the Poles. Various trades were leased to individuals. These included milling, distilling at taverns,<sup>31</sup> and the brewing of beer and mead. One can be sure, however, that after the destruction or expulsion of the Jewish and Polish populations, the composition of leaseholders in Ukraine after 1648 changed radically.

Furthermore, under Khmel'nyts'kyi, import (*indukta*) and export (*evecta*) duties continued to exist. So did the *myto*, the *pohrebel'na*, the *mostovshchyna*, and the *pokazanshchyna*.<sup>32</sup> Ivan Kryp'iakevych estimates the total revenue to the Ukrainian treasury under Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi at 600,000 Polish *zloty* (leases constituted half this amount).<sup>33</sup>

After 1654, serious problems developed for the hetman's treasury. To pay the full salaries of 60,000 Registered Cossacks (and this figure, with a fixed salary, had been secured in agreements with Moscow), the treasury would have to spend nearly 2 million *zloty*. A huge budget deficit arose.<sup>34</sup> In addition to this, the hetman had imprudently promised the Russian *voevodas* at Pereiaslav that he would give some of the revenue from leases to the tsar.<sup>35</sup> As a consequence, no money remained for paying the troops.

So it was necessary either to abandon the system of paying Registered Cossacks (which violated the very basis of the Ukrainian Hetmanate) or to seek new revenues. As Viktor Barvins'kyi rightly noted, however, this paragraph in Khmel'nyts'kyi's articles was "very vaguely drafted: in providing the Moscow government the right to receive income from the inhabitants of an affiliated country, the treaty articles did not indicate precisely which segments of the population should bear the tax burden and what the principles of taxation were."<sup>36</sup> As a result, the army was not paid and money was not sent to Moscow. By the end of Khmel'nyts'kyi's hetmanship a severe socio-economic situation had arisen, largely associated with the lack of a means of livelihood for the "Cossacks" (or those who considered themselves such). It was largely this social crisis that brought about the Ruin.<sup>37</sup>

At a time of civil war and the multi-hetmanship (*mногогетманство*), there was no possibility of a centralized tax system or a balanced budget. Indeed, the tsar's treasury received no money from Ukraine until 1722 (the year the Little Russian Collegium was created).<sup>38</sup> Several attempts by Russian *voevodas* (and by Hetman Briukhovets'kyi) to introduce a taxation system to Ukraine led to uprisings (for example, the uprising on the Left Bank that began as a result of the attempted census in 1666). In the end, Moscow gave up hope of receiving income from Ukrainian lands and forbade Russian *voevodas* to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

A new stage in the formation of the hetman's treasury began under Ivan Samoilovych – that is, once economic recovery began and political stability returned.

As noted earlier, Ivan Samoilovych restored the leasehold system in 1678, under which sales of vodka "grain wine" (*khlibne vyno*), tar (pitch), tobacco, and milled products were farmed out to leaseholders, along with the brewing of beer and the selling of liquor (*horilka*), and the money from the leases was used to maintain the mercenary regiments.<sup>39</sup> At the end of Samoilovych's hetmanship, however, despite the huge revenues the leases produced, Vasilii Golitsyn ordered the abolition of the leasehold system.

The Kolomak Articles confirmed the abolition of leaseholding ("in order to relieve the burdens in the Little Russian region there were no leaseholds"),<sup>40</sup> and this ended the hetman's financial independence. How the mercenary troops, the most battleworthy part of the Zaporozhian Host, would be paid was left up in the air.<sup>41</sup>

The mercenary regiments fought brilliantly during the second Crimean campaign. This enabled the hetman to solve the problem of the old Cossack regiments' lack of combat effectiveness. Privileged, headstrong, and eternally dissatisfied, the latter had become increasingly obsolete, as well as a serious threat to the hetman's power (in a sense, the situation was comparable to that of the Russian musketeers).

Mazepa understood the importance of the leasehold system for strengthening the Ukrainian Hetmanate's autonomy and consolidating its administrative power, so he doggedly pursued its restoration. His efforts to do so are well-known, although it is generally not appreciated how long that struggle lasted. Nor has anyone noted that he introduced a fundamental reform to the leasehold system that his predecessors had introduced.

The hetman apparently began considering the restoration of the leasehold system immediately after he came to power (perhaps he had thought about it even before this, during Samoilovych's reign). In 1688 he wrote to Golitsyn that because leasing had been cancelled, "we have no income, and we constantly have expenses."<sup>42</sup>

In the articles submitted by Mazepa in 1689, the very first paragraph concerned leases. The hetman made a strong case for addressing the critical problem of funding the mercenary force. He stressed the importance of the *kompaniis'ki* (cavalry) and *serdiuts'ki* (infantry) troops for Ukraine's defence and the need to pay their wages. Yet there was nowhere to obtain the money. Mazepa complained that without the leasehold system, the military treasury had been scraped bare due to payments to the mercenary troops.<sup>43</sup>



Turning to the history of the leasehold system in the Ukrainian Hetmanate, Mazepa wrote that “in all of Little Russia leases were held under both Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and Samoilov [*sic*].” In addition, he stressed that the people themselves had chosen the system of leases: by decree of Ivan Samoilovych, the Cossack officers had sent special representatives to ask the peasants (*pospolyti*) whether they wanted to pay monetary taxes or leases.<sup>44</sup>

According to Mazepa, leases provided very substantial revenue: as much as 100,000 Polish *zloty*. Moreover, the introduction of leases for liquor did not prevent Cossacks or peasants from keeping beer, mead, and small beer taverns without any fees or taxes.<sup>45</sup>

Despite all the arguments and the real need to solve the issue of maintaining the mercenary troops, the government of Sophia firmly rejected the hetman's request, repeating the wording of the Kolomak Articles.<sup>46</sup>

After the Naryshkins' accession to power, during the above-mentioned meeting with Ukraintsev in September 1689, Mazepa once more raised leaseholds as the first issue to address. Together with the “Cossack officers, the colonels, the troops, and the people,” he was asking about the abolition of leaseholds because all were unhappy with the use of monetary levies to pay the salaries of the mercenary troops. A lease would seem much easier for town residents and peasants to bear than the existing exactions.<sup>47</sup> Mazepa noted that “this lease would have been introduced long ago, only he, the hetman, dared not do it without the will and decree of the tsars.”<sup>48</sup>

Mazepa had a specific plan prepared for introducing leaseholds without conflict: a council of the Cossack officers would be held during the Christmas holidays, where they would discuss the matter of leases and levies. In addition, the hetman would circulate proclamations (*universaly*) in advance to all the towns, ordering that the “peasant people” be asked which would be better for them: leases or monetary collections. Having conducted this survey, the officers would make a decision and sign it. This way, there would be no discontent from the people toward them.<sup>49</sup>

At Mazepa's insistence, a second article was included in the Moscow Articles that set out the hetman's plan virtually in full. The article commanded the hetman to gather the officers, colonels, and Distinguished Military Fellows (*znatni viis'kovi tovaryshi*) in Baturyn at Christmas for a council<sup>50</sup> to discuss the matter of leaseholds, including whether the system would violate previous rights of

the people and inflict burdens. Before the council the officers were to conduct the aforementioned survey to inform their final decision.<sup>51</sup>

Mazepa was in such a hurry to resolve the question of leases that immediately after his return to Baturyn from Moscow, on 27 October 1689, he sent proclamations (*universally*) to the colonels and officers.<sup>52</sup> The proclamations justified at length the need for mercenary regiments to protect Ukraine from Tatar raids.<sup>53</sup> The same statement addressed the depleted treasury (our military treasury has not received income) as well as the disbursement of all the money, gold, and silver from the half of Ivan Samoilovych's property that remained in the military treasury (as noted above, the other half had been sent to Moscow) for the maintenance of the mercenary regiments and Zaporozhians.<sup>54</sup> Mazepa, referring to the decision agreed upon in the Moscow Articles, ordered a meeting to be held "with all the officers and officials, with townsmen and peasants" – on the matter of whether to impose levies on the peasants or to renew the leasehold system for wine taverns ("for the protection of poor people"). Other taverns – mead, beer, and small-beer taverns – were to remain "free trades." The discussion was to be concluded by the annual Christmas congress of the officers in Baturyn.<sup>55</sup>

In the meantime, Mazepa continued to complain about the lack of money.<sup>56</sup> By the deadline, letters had arrived from the colonels reporting on the meetings held in all the territories under their jurisdiction. Opinion was unanimous in favour of the leasehold system.<sup>57</sup> At Christmas 1690, a meeting of the officers was held at which they made the decision to cancel monetary levies and to establish leaseholds. All of the colonels, captains (*sotnyky*), and village headmen (*viity*) submitted a petition to the sovereign tsars requesting the abolition of levies and the establishment of leaseholds.<sup>58</sup> The council's decision emphasized that the leases would entail no "burdens" since only those who wished to engage in a trade for the sake of commercial profit would pay them.<sup>59</sup>

General Judge Mykhailo Vuiakhevych was sent to Moscow with this decision in February 1690.<sup>60</sup> On 7 March, Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseevich issued a decree, and the boyars "resolved" to introduce leaseholds.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, all of the details of those leases (including which towns to introduce them in, and how much money to collect through them) would be left to the hetman and officers.<sup>62</sup> The decree did include a warning to Mazepa to be careful to ensure that "there

would be no great burdens or grumbling among the peasant people because of the leasehold system.”

It has long been thought that the Little Russian Office maintained ledgers of the Hetmanate’s income and expenditures,<sup>63</sup> but I have not discovered such items there. It is known, however, that Mazepa personally presented to Fedor Golovin the lease “registries” “for the information of His Tsarist Majesty.”<sup>64</sup> In addition, the persistent questioning of “Mazepists” by Peter’s inner circle in 1708–09 concerning the amount of the lease income confirms the lack of information about this in Moscow.

Historians have repeated the negative assessment of leaseholds from Peter’s proclamation (*universal*) of 1708, which claimed that leases led to “hardships” for the people; but they have not delved into the essence of this tax. Meanwhile, the hetman’s proclamations (*universaly*) provide a complete picture of the leasehold system as a very progressive economic measure aimed at the development of towns and villages.

In fact, the policy established a state monopoly on the production of tobacco and *horilka* – a reasonable and highly effective measure from an economic point of view. The introduction of leaseholds meant a ban on the production of *samohon* (moonshine) “by domestic means.” Clearly, only drunkards and idlers would have objected to this. From another perspective, the entire population was freed from the need to pay taxes to fund the mercenary forces. To make the reform even more attractive, Mazepa from the start allowed the production of “domestic” *horilka* for events such as weddings and christenings.

The hetman went even further than this, by turning leasehold into an innovative and effective tool, ahead of its time. At the regular Easter Council of Officers in 1690, it was decided to grant the leases (for both liquor and tobacco) not to individual lessees, but to towns and villages – that is, to the *bromada* (the community of citizens). A portion of the resulting rents would go to the military treasury, and the rest to fund the general needs of the Cossacks and the community at large. For example, from these funds it was proposed to aid poor Cossacks by providing them with gunpowder and lead. Individually leased taverns were subject to inspections and to the mandatory payment of both the lease and levies “for your needs.” Also, a mechanism was put in place to allow buy-back of these taverns “for the

*bromada*" for 1,200 Polish *zloty*. The terms of individual leases were reckoned from the Feast of the Ascension.<sup>65</sup>

Thus, *bromada* controlled the production of liquor (*horilka*) and tobacco and regulated the expenditure of incoming funds. The idea certainly did not come to Mazepa out of nowhere. There is something in it of the system of Orthodox brotherhoods, possibly supplemented by Mazepa's impressions from his experiences in Europe as a youth.

In any event, these communal leaseholds enjoyed great success in the Ukrainian Hetmanate, where there was no serfdom and entrepreneurship flourished. The tobacco lease allowed Mazepa to issue a universal in October 1692 that released priests and Cossacks from the tobacco tithe.<sup>66</sup>

Yet the howls of mob anarchy continued to resound in Ukraine. The new system of leaseholds was not easy to establish. As early as January 1691, Mazepa was forced to publish a strict universal that prohibited the Cossacks of the city of Kyiv from keeping liquor taverns without authorization and selling liquor without paying leases. In doing so they were violating the rights and interests of the city magistrates, who had a monopoly on taverns in Kyiv and who used lease revenues to maintain the city walls, for example.<sup>67</sup>

This question arose especially acutely during the uprising led by the office clerk (*kantseliaryst*) Petryk against Mazepa and the Russian authorities in 1691. Petryk, having secured the support of Crimea and the voices of the rabble (*chern'*), posed a serious threat to the Ukrainian Hetmanate. It is possible that the secret instigator of the revolt was Mazepa's rival, general chancellor Vasyl' Kochubei (so the hetman himself intimated).

The rebels targeted two economic policies: the leasehold system, and the distribution of estates to officers. In Petryk's view, it was these that inflicted the greatest harm on the Cossacks. In the Zaporozhian Host it was suggested that as soon as the khan returned from the Hungarian lands, the Zaporozhians along with the Tatars would flock to the Muscovite lands. Then, it was said, the poor people of Ukraine, without the Zaporozhians' help, would beat the *serdiuky* (infantry, or the hetman's bodyguards), the leaseholders, and the officers.<sup>68</sup> Petryk himself called for "thrashing leaseholders and the *pany* [nobles or landowners]."<sup>69</sup>

In August 1692, Mazepa was forced to issue a universal regulating leases in the Hadiach Regiment. At issue was the leaseholders'

prohibition of the domestic production of liquor for christenings and weddings (a prohibition that violated the original decree), with fines levied for infractions. The universal threatened these lessees with punishment and forbade them to do anything “to aggravate the mob.” In addition, local officers were strictly enjoined to monitor the “wine” (evidently, *horilka*) to ensure that it was undiluted and of appropriate quality. Doubts had been raised as to where the proceeds from the leases had gone, and the proclamation instructed officers “to ask municipal officials about this and to inform us.”<sup>70</sup>

Clearly, the “leasing” of distillation irritated the principal consumers of liquor: drunkards, be they Zaporozhians or part of the mob.

Alarmed by Petryk’s uprising, Peter’s government, fearing the collapse of its foreign policy in the south, turned to the hetman for advice. Would it be possible, they asked, to neutralize the accusations, which “produce clamour and bickering among the peasant people, and especially from the Zaporozhians voices are heard, prone to revolt.”<sup>71</sup> Above all, abolition of the leasehold system was at issue. It was suggested that the hetman consult with the officers and consider whether to preserve leasehold or to find some other way to collect funds to maintain the mercenary regiments.

In October 1692, at a meeting with the council noblemen (*dumnyi dvorianin*) Semen Iazykov and secretary Bobinin, the hetman explained that leasehold in Ukraine evoked so much enmity not because of the severity of the burden but because of the tax’s history. In the days before Khmel’nyts’kyi’s uprising, when Ukraine was part of the Commonwealth, most often it was Jews who became leaseholders, and they had imposed many “burdens” on the local people.<sup>72</sup> (Of course, they had not given away liquor for free!) Hence, there was also hatred of the Jews, and there were numerous pogroms against them during that time. Indeed, Jewish lessees were the first to be slaughtered.<sup>73</sup>

Mazepa told Iazykov and Bobinin that he had already conferred repeatedly with the officers on how to proceed with leaseholds. He had also sent proclamations stating that colonels were to make sure the leases did not “become a provocation to people.” In addition, he again confirmed the right of every resident to free, duty-free distilling for christenings or weddings.

The hetman also promised that he together with “the officers, colonels, and all the military officials” who had knowledge of the ordinary people “would think of a different way of collecting money

to pay the above-mentioned troops.” He intended to send messengers at once to all the regiments, to poll the population as to what kind of tax (leases or levies) they preferred (this would be the second time he did this!). But in the meantime, until the end of the year, Mazepa asked to retain the old state of affairs, because over this period money for leases would already “have been given to the military treasury.”<sup>74</sup>

During Easter week in May 1693 in Baturyn, the traditional assembly of all the colonels was held. The colonels were ordered to bring with them all the regimental officers, town officials, Distinguished Military Fellows, and townsmen “to a council of the capable.” The congress discussed the same issue of leasehold: Should it continue or not? And if not, what should replace it? “Many people of all ranks” gathered. Some made sensible arguments that leases harmed no one except tavernkeepers and in fact generated large revenues for the treasury – revenues that not only covered current expenses but also permitted “in some places money of a thousand or two in gold” to be placed “in reserve.”

But it was the populists who won out with their claim that “leaseholds have long been hated.” They insisted that the leasehold system aroused discontent. Supposedly, it was leaseholds that inspired the Zaporozhians “to shout and organize rebellions and tumult.” The congress decided to replace leases with collections from tavernkeepers and from those who made wine “in their own distilleries” and sold it at fairs. The congress participants proposed to gauge the result of these new fees after a year and then make a final decision.<sup>75</sup> The leasehold system was thus cancelled temporarily as an experiment.

Reports soon began to arrive that disputes were arising when money was collected from taverns. In the end, the shortfall resulting from the new system was very significant when compared to the revenue from leases. At the traditional Christmas Assembly of the officers in 1694, Mazepa announced that the experiment had failed and asked for advice on how to proceed. It was suggested that he ask the tsar in Moscow to send his own funds to support the mercenary troops and for other military expenses, as had been done during the Chyhyryn campaigns before the leasehold system. Mazepa did not argue against this and wrote to Lev Naryshkin. No official answer followed, but it was hinted to him that so long as all the taxes in Ukraine were going to the hetman's administration and Moscow received no revenue, he should not be asking for money to maintain mercenary forces.<sup>76</sup>

At Easter, Mazepa reported this answer to the officers. After reflecting, they decided to implement leaseholds again. The lease system raised more revenue for the hetman's treasury and did not affect all people. Mazepa made a show of opposing this, saying that the Cossacks would again begin to cry out that the hetman's government was oppressing the common people. The officers pointed out in response that in Zaporizhia itself the commander-in-chief of the Host (*koshovyi otaman*) and the unit commanders (*kurinni otamany*) took one third of the revenue from wine. But Mazepa still insisted that they hold discussions in all the regiments about which method to pursue – taxes or leases. Unanimous opinion favoured leaseholds. So stated the petition the hetman submitted to the tsar.<sup>77</sup> The leasehold system was restored.

Mazepa now insisted on implementing the leasehold system in the form he intended – “for the community” (*bromada*).<sup>78</sup> This was given the form of law. In 1697 it was decided to issue leases in cities and towns not to individual people but “to all the residents.” For example, Pryluky obtained the distillery and tobacco leases for 1,500 *zloty* per year. A captain (*sotnyk*), commander (*otaman*), village reeve (*viit*), or someone commissioned by the town oversaw the operations.<sup>79</sup> In 1701, after the diocese of Pereiaslav was reconstituted, Mazepa passed oversight of the distillery lease in the villages belonging to the diocese to Bishop Zakhariia Korniylovych “to support the local newly established holy monastery.”<sup>80</sup> In this case, then, part of the proceeds from the lease went to the diocese.

Some local monasteries took distillery and tobacco leases in villages (for example, the Novhorod monastery paid one hundred *zloty* to the Ukrainian Hetmanate's treasury for leases in two villages).<sup>81</sup> Even in their own villages, monasteries had no right to set up taverns without a “lease”; also, they had to comply with all the other rules of the lease, including with regard to christenings and weddings.<sup>82</sup>

By 1701 Mazepa was able to declare in his proclamations that there were no unauthorized taverns anywhere in the Ukrainian Hetmanate; instead, there were leaseholds everywhere. Only in Kyiv did the colonel choose to violate this law, for which he was sternly reprimanded.<sup>83</sup>

Thus, the leasehold system introduced by Mazepa was radically different from that of his predecessors. Not individuals but communities obtained the right to leases (the result of a community lease was essentially a joint stock company). As early as 1693, the officers

noted that in addition to providing revenue for the treasury, "in many towns large profits were notable, of several thousands of *zolytykh*." The townspeople used this money to meet all sorts of needs. They no longer had to collect levies from the peasants in order to buy bells, build churches, strengthen the towns' defences, acquire cannons, and stock up on gunpowder.<sup>84</sup> Leases were limited to liquor, tobacco, and tar;<sup>85</sup> the production of mead and beer remained free.

What amounts were involved here? There are no exact statistics, but the fragmentary data paint a very impressive picture. Evidence from the officers of Mazepa's inner circle has been preserved, showing that as of 1708 leases had brought in 180,000 *zolyty* per year. By comparison, the *myto* tax raised 60,000 *zolyty* annually. Leases for the Starodub Regiment alone contributed 9,000 florins per year to the treasury and 1,500 ducats (1 ducat = approx. 8 *zolyty*) to the hetman personally.<sup>86</sup>

An army clerk, captured after the Battle of Poltava in 1709, gave the following evidence on the revenue from leaseholds:

Regiment	Revenue in <i>zolyty</i>
Starodub	9,000
Kyiv	6,000
Lubny	11,000
Pryluky	5,500 <sup>87</sup>
Myrhorod	7,400
Poltava	9,600
Hadiach	30,000 (with special payments)
Pereiaslav	6,500
Chernihiv	8,000
Nizhyn	4,500
Total	97,500 <sup>88</sup>

In addition, company-level (*sotenni*) towns and the Right Bank paid leases. For example, in Konotop the captain (*sotnyk*) and two distinguished fellows (*znatni tovaryshi*) held distillery, tobacco, and tar leaseholds. For these leases they paid 1,500 *zolyty* a year to the treasury and the same amount to the town hall, that is, to the town



government.<sup>89</sup> From the Right Bank, 20,000 *zloty* were collected (after 1704).<sup>90</sup> Leases were also held on glass factories, for 100 *kopas* (6,000 *zloty*; 1 *kopa* = 60 *zloty*).<sup>91</sup>

Finally, there was the system of special payments (*rukovychni*) that leaseholders made at the beginning of the year so that their lease would not be transferred to others. This amount ranged from 200 *chervintsi* in the Pryluky Regiment to 2,000 in the Starodub Regiment.<sup>92</sup> Bantysh-Kamens'kyi gives the total amount of special payments as 6,360 *chervintsi* – obviously this is not accurate data.<sup>93</sup>

Under Mazepa the production of liquor reached industrial levels so that it became an important article of export. Leases provided more than half the total revenue of the hetman's treasury. Vasyl' Kochubei's statement that it would have been better if the revenue from leases went "to the great sovereign's treasury for military people"<sup>94</sup> sounds obviously hypocritical.

The treasury's second-greatest income generator was the *indikaturnyi* levy on imports – 50,000 *zloty*.<sup>95</sup> The *indukta*, a tax on imports, and the *eksaktsiia*, a levy on exports for the army's treasury, were collected on Ukrainian, foreign, and Russian [*sic!*] goods.<sup>96</sup> The existence of these customs fees underscores the very high degree of economic autonomy enjoyed by the Ukrainian Hetmanate. A typical example: in 1701 Mazepa asked Peter to allow him to bring goods he had purchased in the capital "for my own use" from Moscow to Ukraine duty-free.<sup>97</sup> Customs on the border of Ukraine and Russia existed until the 1750s, when they were abolished by Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovs'kyi.

There were also lesser taxes: the *pohrebel'ne* tax (on mills),<sup>98</sup> the *spenshchyna* tax (on the preparation of tar),<sup>99</sup> and the *medova danyna* (tax on honey production),<sup>100</sup> as well as the *strilets'ka* (hunters duty; *strelets'ka*) placed on the shooting of animals living in the forests "for the regimental kitchen."<sup>101</sup> Traditional tributes existed as well: to the captains, "wedding martens"; to the colonels, "*ralets*" (a present); and so forth.<sup>102</sup> The peasants also paid the *statsii* (a special tax of foodstuffs for the hetman) and stockpiled hay and wood for the hetman's court. The peasants faced similar labour duties (*robotyzny*) for regimental officers.<sup>103</sup>

Regarding the *statsii*, the General Survey of Landholdings (*Heneral'ne slidstvo pro maietnosti*) conducted under hetman Danylo Apostol contain the following information: this tax was collected once a year, in the amount of 0.40 to 1.59 rubles from wealthy town residents and 5 to 15 kopecks from the homes of the poor.<sup>104</sup>

The hetman's treasury inspectors (*skarbovi dozortsi*) collected all taxes. Mazepa also used village elders (*starosty*). Oleksandr Ohloblyn has researched the people in charge of economic affairs on Mazepa's staff.<sup>105</sup> There were representatives of noble officer families (for example, a former colonel of the Bratslav regiment, Ivan Lysytsia) as well as people with a high education (for example, Oleksii Turans'kyi astonished the Danish Ambassador Poul Heins with his erudition). Prominent merchants (Maksym Vasyl'kovs'kyi, Spirydon Shyrai) often carried out economic and financial commissions for the hetman. It has been little remarked in Russian historiography that the Bosnian merchant Savva Raguzinskii (the famous future Petrine diplomat) leased an *indukta* (import tax) from Mazepa and carried out many of his trade commissions.<sup>106</sup>

In the autumn of 1708, after Mazepa went over to the Swedes, Peter began a propaganda campaign against the hetman, and some royal proclamations spoke of cancelling the leasehold system. This brought about great discontent among Ukrainian townsmen and merchants. By Peter's decree, the leasehold system was replaced by a tobacco tithe, a tar obligation, and a sales tax on tar, as well as the *pokazanna* (per cauldron, that is, a duty on each distillery vessel) and *pokukhovna* (a duty on each cask of *horilka*).<sup>107</sup>

In addition, in 1722, after the Northern War, Peter placed all levies in Ukraine under the jurisdiction of the Little Russian Collegium. Monetary and in-kind collections were now imposed on the entire population, including Cossacks, officers, and clergy (along with peasants and townsmen). Moreover, officials began to collect taxes that "had never been levied on anyone."<sup>108</sup> The situation reached such a point under Anna Ivanovna that all these levies had to be abolished – it was the eve of the Russo-Turkish War, and the authorities feared a mass explosion of discontent in Ukraine. In short, the Petrine government's references to its desire to save the Ukrainian people from the heavy levies imposed on them by Mazepa look like obvious hypocrisy prompted by immediate political objectives.

#### THE PLACE OF PEASANTS IN THE UKRANIAN HETMANATE

We now examine the peasants' situation in the Ukrainian Hetmanate during Mazepa's administration. Remember that after Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising, almost all private property, including villages and towns

(*mistechka*), were turned into “free military lands.” Of the former owners, only the Orthodox monasteries retained land. Peasants who had settled in the “free military” villages, having escaped private dependencies, were “under the authority of a captain [*sotnyk*] and that of the regimental and hetman’s administrations.”<sup>109</sup> Serfdom in the Ukrainian Hetmanate had been utterly destroyed.

Moreover, a system developed in which even “possessory peasants,” that is, peasants owned by landowners, believed they had an indisputable right to their plots of land (“the land of their ancestors, on which they sit”) and could even keep these lands for themselves, having escaped the power of the estate owners.<sup>110</sup> The peasants who lived in these landowners’ manors now owned their own parcels and could not only transfer them through inheritance but also mortgage them, sell them, and so on.

To be sure, these rights had not been secured for them by any legislative act. As Venedikt Miakotin wrote, they “relied only on custom created from the whole course of things, from the weakness of the surviving estate owners in the country and from the power of the peasantry’s newly won, spectacular victory.”<sup>111</sup> That said, the Lithuanian Statute – that is, the code of laws that remained in effect in the Ukrainian Hetmanate until the end of the eighteenth century – said something entirely different.

To better imagine Mazepa’s own view of the peasantry, one must turn to his private commercial activities. After all, in his actions as hetman he was often constrained by tradition or by pressure from his officers.

Mazepa’s activities as a “Great Russian landowner” are among the least-known aspects of his years as “hetman of both sides of the Dnipro.” An excellent study by Mikhail Plokhinskii, written in the late nineteenth century, suggests that Mazepa was a prudent and successful entrepreneur, but this does not fit the traditional portrait of him, which has been accepted by his apologists and critics alike. Mazepa’s economic activities are still little-known, even though this aspect of his life makes it possible to understand distinctive aspects of his character and outlook.

In the late 1690s, when the Russian-Turkish war was nearing its end after the successful Azov campaigns, Mazepa, who possessed substantial personal funds, began acquiring land in the Rylsk and Putivl districts of Russia along the river Seim in the Svapskoe police district (now Kursk *oblast’* of the Russian Federation), bordering the

Hetmanate. According to Plokhinskii, Mazepa first purchased land in Rylsk district in 1699.<sup>112</sup> The hetman's nephew Ivan Obydovs'kyi, his closest relative, had purchased land there three years earlier.<sup>113</sup>

Why did Mazepa seek land in that area? And why did he acquire Great Russian lands. Apparently, Mazepa's reasons were economic. The land he had acquired was linked with Baturyn and with the hetman's own estate of Honcharivka by the most convenient and cost-effective transport artery at that time, the river Seim (and its tributaries the Obesta and Amon'ka). This made the transfer of needed goods and materials simpler and less expensive; it also linked him to an excellent market for manufactured goods in the rapidly growing capital of the Hetmanate.

He bought up the vacant land of Russian landowners, who for various reasons were in no position to manage their estates effectively and were in desperate need of money owing to the burden of their service to the sovereign. Basically, as the landowners themselves testified, they exchanged their lands "for debts."

Having acquired these lands, Mazepa joined to them the empty territory of the Wild Fields: "a thousand *chetverti*" (1 *chetvert'* = approx. 1.5 hectares). He then built villages and free citizens' settlements (*slobody*), and populated these with free people from various regions, including Ukraine. In this way the *slobody* of Old and New Ivanovskaia, Guzomoisk, the Lower and Upper Villages (Nizhnie and Vyshnie Dereven'ki), Koz'i Gony, and Amon' were constructed. The hetman released the settlers from taxes for five years, although they would still have to fulfill labour obligations (*panshchyna*) to the landowner. The latter, however, were not burdensome, and the free settlements (*slobody*) developed rapidly and grew in population. One village alone, Ivanovskoe, added more than five hundred homes within five years (from 187 to 697).<sup>114</sup> The village had three churches and held fairs twice a year. It had ten shops, a coach inn (*kharchevnia*), two public baths, and seven tap houses (*shynky*). None of these establishments (the "small businesses" of their era) were subject to taxes, and this created excellent conditions for their development. One of the churches had a school. Mazepa's other "Russian" free settlements were built in similar fashion as this village.

In Mazepa's villages the settlers engaged in farming, distilling, and the harvesting of hay on the Seim flood plains (water meadows). There were many water mills for grinding grain. Steppe areas

focused on cattle farming. Fulling mills processed wool, and there were also creameries. And beekeeping was not the least of the occupations; peasants gave the owner every tenth hive.

In short, within nine years Mazepa's management had achieved so much that surrounding landlords became bitterly envious and thus the hetman's enemies. Settlers, by contrast, sought him out by the thousands. Moreover, most of the settlers were Russian, and very few were Ukrainian. As Plokhinskii wrote, Mazepa managed his huge property with love, energy, and remarkable talent, spending much time and money on it. Avraam Motsars'kyi worked as Mazepa's steward (*prykazchyk*) during these years.<sup>115</sup>

At least in principle, the practice of exempting free settlements' residents from taxes for the first years after their construction was also in effect at that time in the Ukrainian Hetmanate.<sup>116</sup> But in all other matters, Mazepa far exceeded established tradition in his policies.

In general, Mazepa as a manager held views that were well ahead of his time. Dmytro Doroshenko cited an interesting document (later lost) – the hetman's order to his “inspector” (*dozoret's*) of the Iampil' forests, that makes clear that Mazepa sought to preserve the green areas of the Ukrainian Hetmanate.<sup>117</sup>

To secure his acquisitions, Mazepa requested from Peter a charter for the lands he had purchased in 1699.<sup>118</sup> In June 1703, Mazepa again asked for a grant, this one for “Krupets township (*volost'*), with its villages and with all its land parcels and mills,” as well as for the Ivanovsk free settlement and its villages.<sup>119</sup> Tikhon Streshnev, the head of the Military Service Office, and chancellor Fedor Golovin, personally handled this matter,<sup>120</sup> with the mediation of Aleksei Kurbatov.<sup>121</sup> Mazepa received this charter only on 13 December 1703. Plokhinskii explained the delay by noting that such a request was “new.” In fact, it seems more likely that complicated bureaucratic disputes and the opposition of local landowners were to blame.

As early as 1700, Mazepa submitted a petition to the Main Office (Razriad) after Rylsk landowner Aleksandr Polianskii and his friends committed murders and assaults in the free citizens' settlements (*slobodkyi*) in the Obchie Kolodezi district. Even the list of those “killed and maimed” has been preserved. Mazepa complained to the courtier (*stol'nik*; master of the table) Afanasii Touzakov, who was assigned to conduct the investigation. But Touzakov dragged his feet, claiming that Mazepa lacked the a right to acquire these lands.<sup>122</sup> Using his special relationship with Peter and other personal connections

at court, Mazepa overcame the Russian bureaucratic machine. The Little Russian Office issued a reply that the acquisition of lands from the Rylsk landowners was not prohibited by law. The estates of the courtier Touzakov were confiscated "in the name of the sovereign" as punishment for his "avoidance of conducting an investigation,"<sup>123</sup> and the investigation was entrusted to the courtier Ivan Shchepotev. Golovin, who personally supervised all of these events, wrote the hetman that the Rylsk landowners Aleksandr Polianskii and his friends had been detained "in Moscow on Mazepa's request."<sup>124</sup>

Ultimately, Mazepa received not only a charter confirming all the estates he had acquired, but also a second charter, by which he was granted the Krupets township – for "faithful, diligently zealous, and distinguished service in many military campaigns." This grant was a sign of Peter's very great favour toward Mazepa and was a significant addition to the Order of St Andrew the First-Called, awarded in 1700. The tsar's awards turned Mazepa into a powerful Great Russian landowner.

In his work, Plokhinskii used copies of Peter's charters to Mazepa from the family archive of the princes Baratianskii.<sup>125</sup> I have found the original charters, which Mazepa kept at one time and now are located in the Ancient Repository of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow. These charters are unique examples of the miniature art of the early eighteenth century. Ornamented in gold, they depict the coat of arms of the Russian Empire. In the opinion of archivists they are exceptionally beautiful examples of the genre.

More will be said later about the complicated history associated with the sale of these estates. But now let us pose the question of how the policy of Mazepa the landowner related to the processes under way at that time on the Left Bank.

Even Mazepa's supporters, officers from the hetman's inner circle who went over to the Swedes with him, spoke of him as an autocratic ruler who violated the "democratic traditions" of the Zaporozhian Host.<sup>126</sup> Such conversations took place after Mazepa's death, however, when the division of his inheritance was at issue.

There is a popular thesis in the historical literature regarding "the strengthening of feudal oppression" during Mazepa's rule. When one consults the statistics on universals issued during Mazepa's hetmanship, one finds that the number of awards of villages to officers and monasteries was undoubtedly considerable, albeit quite comparable to what was done during Khmel'nyts'kyi's rule. More than

half the universals issued under Mazepa regarding property matters were confirmations of ancient rights derived from the *antetsesory*, that is, predecessors (for example, under Khmel'nyts'kyi confirmations comprised around 40 percent of all universals; and under Vyhovs'kyi, 70 percent).<sup>127</sup> Ohloblyn and Petrovs'kyi estimated that the distribution of estates under Mazepa (compared to the time of Samoilovych's administration) roughly doubled.<sup>128</sup>

In a related matter, by the end of the seventeenth century, officers were becoming – or at least attempting to become – the actual owners of their own properties. It is well-known that when, in August 1657, the Pereiaslav colonel Pavlo Teteria during his embassy to Moscow requested for himself the large Vyhovs'kyi's estates in Belarus, he was told that “large towns and estates” had already been granted to the Cossack officers in Ukraine “and they could live off these without need.” Teteria then explained that “they do not own anything, for fear of the Zaporozhian Host.”<sup>129</sup>

The trend toward turning officers into property owners began long before Mazepa. Attempts at population censuses, the purpose of which was to establish rigid social boundaries and to consolidate private property, were made by the Russian *voevodas* during the reigns of Vyhovs'kyi and Briukhovets'kyi. On each attempt, however, the population rose up en masse. But the emergence of the Ukrainian Hetmanate from the Ruin in the early 1680s, accompanied by the strengthening of the hetman's administration, led inevitably to an increased role for private ownership.

Even so, many “free military” villages existed in the Ukrainian Hetmanate that offered much lighter terms regarding the inhabitants' obligations; there were also “free citizens' settlements” (*slobody*), whose residents enjoyed significant tax exemptions for three to five years. The distribution of estates to Cossack officers reduced the number of free military villages and free peasants and greatly increased the number of possessory peasants.

The Chernihiv and Pereiaslav colonels – under Mazepa, Iakiv Lyzohub, Rodion Dmytrashko-Raicha, Ivan Myrovych, and Leontii Polubotok – engaged in the distribution of “free military villages,” vacant land, and abandoned homes.<sup>130</sup> As a regimental *hospodar'* and “guardian of military property,” a colonel did not need the hetman's permission to do this, although the latter could annul such an order.<sup>131</sup>

Properties were distributed “to ranks,” that is, to those occupying certain military positions. Possessions held by rank were not



private property and were passed from one officer to the next along with the position. Personal possessions were not private property either in the full sense of the term. Venedikt Miakotin distinguishes three types of personal ownership: "peaceful and unhindered possession" (*v spokoinoe i besprepiatstvennoe vladenie*), that is, perpetual possession; "to please the military" (*do lasky voiskovoi*), that is, until a decree was issued; and "to support a household for a time" (*na vspart'e domu*).<sup>132</sup> But in fact, there were no strict distinctions. As Miakotin writes, estates held by rank could after a time move into private ownership, and vice versa.<sup>133</sup>

Of course, external factors, practices in neighbouring jurisdictions, and historical memory greatly influenced land tenure in the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Both the gentry (*szlachta*; Ukr. *shliakhta*) and officers remembered well that under Polish rule, estates in Ukraine had been distributed with full ownership attached. The persistence of this practice on the Right Bank (which had remained part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) naturally aroused among landowners on the Left Bank the desire to have the same rights extended to their own estates, to have conditional possession made unconditional, and to turn properties into hereditary, "perpetual" ones. But after 1654, Russia's tradition of hereditary (*votchina*) landownership exerted no less influence. In the Russian *oblasts* bordering the Ukrainian Hetmanate, tenure by a landlord (*pomeshchich'e*) was the rule, as was serfdom. The prospect of becoming a Russian landowner was highly attractive to many Cossack officers.

Thus, at the end of the seventeenth century in the Ukrainian Hetmanate the drift from personal, conditional possession of estates toward hereditary ownership gradually strengthened. This transition gradually entered into the region's mores and began to seem natural. More and more officers were leaving instructions in their wills concerning manors and landholdings. To be sure, such wills included a clause stating that the hetman would have to approve the instructions.<sup>134</sup> But when one considers the influence of the Cossack elite and the hetmans' heavy dependence on them, in many instances the conversion of estates into hereditary possessions was recognized and permitted.

That said, as Venedikt Miakotin wrote, the Cossack leadership's possessive instincts grew ever stronger and soon gained support from the tsarist government. Royal charters securing colonels' and hetmans' universals about estates and decrees of the tsar's



government limiting the rights of the hetman supported the officers' desire to treat their estates as hereditary.<sup>135</sup> The process of transforming Ukrainian officers into landowners and then into Russian nobles also proceeded smoothly throughout the eighteenth century and would do much to bring about the bloodless liquidation of the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

It was during Mazepa's rule that the term "*vechistoi possesii*" – that is, eternal possession – appeared for the first time. Under the administration of his successor, Ivan Skoropads'kyi, from being the exception the term would become the rule.<sup>136</sup>

By the time Mazepa occupied the hetman's post, possessory estates had become so entrenched that the social situation deteriorated dramatically. After the overthrow of Ivan Samoilovych, peasant unrest erupted in many regiments, directed against the officers as the chief landholders. The year 1692 saw the beginning of Petryk's uprising, which declared a struggle against the officers through its slogan promising that "the poor" "would crush those damned lords [*pany*]." <sup>137</sup> This rebellion during the Petrine period of Mazepa's rule was closely linked to the Zaporozhians and to opposition officers. Petryk himself, a relative of Vasyl' Kochubei, is a mysterious figure. Some historians have compared him with Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (in my opinion quite undeservedly), while others have advanced a fantastical tale of a secret alliance between the hetman and the rebels. This uprising merits a serious in-depth analysis that is beyond the scope of the present study.

The events of Petryk's revolt compelled the hetman to take steps to reduce social tensions. As already noted, the officers' desire to receive their estates as private property was supported by a sympathetic tsarist government. Officially, however, for the time being the government did not intervene, adhering to the provisions of the Moscow Articles. Shaken by Petryk's uprising, however, the Petrine government asked the hetman for advice, wondering whether it was possible to neutralize the circumstances that had led to "outcry and strife ... among the peasant people."<sup>138</sup> Mazepa hastened to exploit the situation to his benefit. He announced that a review of the distributed estates would be made and that they would be taken from those officers who had lost their ranks through various circumstances. Of course, officers opposed to the hetman were at the top of this list.

It would be an exaggeration, however, to view Peter as opposing the expansion of private landownership in Ukraine. Indeed,

at the end of 1709 a massive land distribution began that benefited those officers who had not favoured Mazepa. Thus, Pavlo Polubotok and Skoropads'kyi received munificent awards from the tsar. The tsar became the administrator of the land resources of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, and for the first time Great Russians received these Ukrainian lands. Petr Shafirov, Boris Sheremetev, Johann von Weisbach, Raguzinskii, Iakov Dolgorukov, and Gavriil Golovkin received vast tracts in this period, although these did not compare with the Ukrainian possessions that Menshikov received. He even sought to obtain not only peasants but also local Cossacks in "subjection" (*poddanstvo*).<sup>139</sup>

Thus, in the early years of his rule, Mazepa faced rising social tensions caused by the transfer of rank and free lands to private hands. He took a series of steps to reduce the antagonism this caused, but in this he was opposed by the officers, who as Venedikt Miakotin correctly notes were bound by kinship, friendship, and common interests.<sup>140</sup>

The land tenure situation in the Ukrainian Hetmanate was not identical throughout the territory. In the south (Pryluky, Lubny, Pereiaslav, Myrhorod, Hadiach, and Poltava regiments), which had been settled late and rapidly, the population was dispersed. Settlement was especially rare in the southern regions of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, first and foremost in Poltava. Agriculture here was not yet well-developed, and fishing, trade, and cattle grazing dominated the economy. The opposition of the Poltava officer class to "immigrants from the Right Bank" explains this situation. In the other regions of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, by contrast, the problem was the flight of the population to the Right Bank.<sup>141</sup>

In the north (Starodub, Chernihiv, and Kyiv regiments) the land had been settled long before Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising. Here the *siabryns'ka* (joint) form of land tenure was strongly prevalent, and there were many local landowning families, "boyars," and "*zemiany*" (landholders) who owned their lands on a cost-sharing (*paiova*) basis.

A new phase now began. Members of landowning groups sought to divide those lands that were held in common so that individual families would own separate parcels. Elite Cossack families engaged in this practice with particular zeal. In an effort to expand their landholdings, and already possessed of substantial means, they bought up jointly held lands energetically and persistently. For example, in the 1690s the Chernihiv colonel Leontii Polubotok embraced this tactic.<sup>142</sup>

Mazepa's widely known universal of 28 November 1701, so often used as proof of his harsh economic policy, in fact forbade *panshchyna* (labour obligations) that consumed more than two days a week.<sup>143</sup> Through that universal the hetman prohibited the Nizhyn colonel, the captain of the Verkiivka company within the regiment, and his officials from extracting "large and intolerable" duties from the peasants. A general court was held at which it was decreed that the captain could demand only two days of labour per week from the residents of the villages belonging to him. On all other days the peasants were entitled to work for themselves.<sup>144</sup>

Surprisingly, historians use this document today as evidence of Mazepa's "exploitative" policy. If one compared the two-days-per-week *panshchyna* of Ukrainian peasants in the early eighteenth century with the position of peasants in Russia, the Polish Commonwealth, and most countries in Western Europe, the difference would be striking. Here one might recall Guillaume de Beauplan, who in the early seventeenth century, before Khmel'nyts'kyi's revolt, wrote that Ukrainian peasants were "compelled to expend their own efforts three days a week using their own horses on behalf of their seigneur."<sup>145</sup>

Mazepa did not introduce *panshchyna* with his universal; on the contrary, that universal forbade officers to use it more than twice a week and thereby alter the established economic relations in the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Given the opposition he faced from his officers, the hetman at times had to limit by force the power of the colonels. For example, in 1707 he ordered that one Iurka, who had built a dam without the hetman's permission, be fastened in the stocks. The punishment was meant to ensure that the colonels and general officers did not dare build mills and dams "without our permission and funding."<sup>146</sup>

A universal of 20 November 1691 issued to Kyiv colonel K. Mokiievs'kyi, officers, and townsmen provides an even more complete picture of Mazepa's policy. It stated that some clergy and secular persons were acting unjustly against the residents of their estates and were ignoring local Ukrainian customs: they were oppressing their tax-paying tenants and were even trying to compel Cossacks to pay taxes. But the practice that most annoyed the hetman was that these landowners were ascertaining the lords' old grounds, fields, and hay meadows that in "Polish times" had been part of their estates and that during Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising had passed into Cossack possession. The hetman categorically opposed

confiscating anything from the Cossacks, for these lands had been taken “by the daring of the knighthood of the Zaporozhian Host.”<sup>147</sup> Since the uprising had been conducted under the slogans “for the Holy faith” and “the liberties of the army,” all that had been conquered “by blood and sword” should remain in the hands of the new owners or their descendants and no one – be they clergy or secular individuals – had the right to infringe on Cossack freedoms. Mazepa reiterated that all who were registered were tax-exempt; also, he prohibited the placing of “peasant tax-paying [*tiabli*] people” (*tiablyi* = “paying tax”) on the register.<sup>148</sup>

The need to protect “Cossack freedoms” confronted Mazepa especially acutely during the Paliivshchyna, a revolt led by Semen Palii in Right Bank Ukraine. I shall later address in more detail the hetman's policy in relation to Right Bank Ukraine. Here I simply note this important moment when peasant flight to the Right Bank gathered momentum during the years of the Northern War.

As early as May 1702, Mazepa had published a universal to the hegumen of the Vydubychi Monastery in Kyiv regarding a ban on transporting people to the Right Bank. He wrote that in the Kyiv region, people were illegally crossing over to the Right Bank, thus reducing the population in towns and villages.<sup>149</sup>

In December 1702, Peter ordered Mazepa to place “strong and frequent sentries” along the Dnipro so that no one could run off to join Palii. In early 1703, the hetman published the corresponding universals.<sup>150</sup> But halting the process was impossible, and in April 1704 the hetman wrote again – this time to the Pereiaslav colonel – concerning the ban on crossing over to the Right Bank. Mazepa noted that in previous years “an innumerable multitude” of people had crossed over in this way.<sup>151</sup>

After the Ukrainian Hetmanate annexed the Right Bank, Mazepa's policy changed, but this did not end the severe social tension or the officers' discontent. The peasant uprisings that began in 1708, which I discuss below, provide vivid evidence of this. Mazepa's policy of compromise, and of restraining the appetites of new landowners as much as possible, could not satisfy any of the parties – hence the hatred toward him among the peasants and the “mob” and the significant opposition among the officers.

A picture of Mazepa's internal policy and an understanding of the social problems in the Ukrainian Hetmanate would be incomplete if it did not address the hetman's relations with the Zaporozhian Cossacks.

The history of these relations has never been directly examined, yet it is important for explaining and evaluating the unexpected alliance that emerged between the hetman and Zaporizhia in 1709.

#### MAZEPA AND ZAPORIZHIA

As a hereditary Right Bank Cossack, Mazepa could not have friendly relations with Zaporizhia. During his service with Petro Doroshenko, Mazepa had repeatedly seen examples of the inconstancy and lack of principle of the Zaporozhians, whose behaviour under their commander-in-chief (*koshovyi otaman*) Ivan Sirko had done much to cost Doroshenko the mace (*bulava*). Then his own captivity (Mazepa fell into the hands of the Zaporozhians in 1674) and his “close” communication with the free knights added vivid personal experiences.

Having become hetman a year after Zaporizhia passed from joint Russo-Polish possession into direct subordination to Russia (according to the conditions of the Eternal Peace), Mazepa was forced to take on himself the entire difficult process of restraining the “lower army” (the “lower army” refers to Zaporizhia). At first these troops constantly solicited money, coming to Baturyn with “their talk,” and to send them back “without having rewarded them” was impossible.<sup>152</sup> By decree of the tsar the hetman was supplying Zaporizhia with grain reserves – *boroshnoe* (flour) – yet the Zaporozhians, Mazepa noted with annoyance, did not even want to send wagons to pick up the grain.<sup>153</sup>

Moreover, the Cossacks were constantly dissatisfied, and sent messengers to the hetman, uttering “obscene words and rebukes.”<sup>154</sup> Mazepa paid them back in the same coin, and in his letters he excoriated the free knights: they are fickle, he wrote, and they talk a lot, but there is almost nothing sincere in their words.<sup>155</sup>

The building of a fortress on the Samara (Novobohorodyts'ka)<sup>156</sup> was a new cause of discord. It had been planned as a staging ground for campaigns in Crimea, but it would also be a means of controlling the movements of the Zaporozhians. Mazepa personally chose the site, which had “access for ships, and a supply of firewood and grass.” The Sich, meanwhile, took offence at the project.<sup>157</sup> Some Zaporozhians “shouted in their madness” at messengers from Mazepa and the *voevoda* Grigorii Kosagov that the building of the fortress was causing them large losses.<sup>158</sup> Rumours about discontent “among the rabble” in Samara circulated throughout the summer of

1688 while the work went on.<sup>159</sup> On 14 July 1688 the regent Sophia on behalf of her ruling brothers was compelled to send a charter to the Sich commander (*koshovyi otaman*) Hryhorii Sahaidachnyi that the town being built on the Samara was meant simply as a resting place for military troops and a warehouse for supplies, and that no rights and liberties of the Zaporozhians would be violated.<sup>160</sup>

During the preparations for the second Crimean campaign, the Zaporozhians did not provide any useful information to the Russo-Ukrainian army.<sup>161</sup> For that reason, the hetman did not trust them and was highly suspicious of the Zaporozhians' inquiries concerning the intentions of Russian troops.<sup>162</sup>

These doubts about the reliability of the lower army were soon justified. The Zaporozhians detained the captains sent by Mazepa, placed them in custody ("as bandits"), and did not allow them to set fire to dry grasses in the Wild Fields (as had been planned in preparation for the campaign). Moreover, they never did anything without "many abusive words." The hetman's scouts reported that the Zaporozhians intended to make peace with the khan.<sup>163</sup> By the summer a peace treaty with the khan had been negotiated by the Zaporozhians, with the parties exchanging mutual oaths (in other words, the negotiations had been conducted almost simultaneously with the Crimean campaign).

In response, by agreement with Vasilii Golitsyn, Mazepa circulated proclamations (*universalny*) that on pain of death forbade colonels and officers to allow Zaporozhians "into the towns," or into Zaporizhia from Ukraine.<sup>164</sup> In his letters to the "Zaporozhian Cossacks of the Lower Dnipro," Mazepa explained the positioning of forces on the Samara and the Orel rivers and at Perevolochna by the need to "repel the enemy"; he added that Zaporizhia had been isolated on account of a plague in Crimea. In addition, he slyly wrote that rumour had it that the Zaporozhians "have made peace with the enemies of the holy cross to harm the fatherland; we absolutely do not believe this, however."<sup>165</sup> At the same time he informed Moscow of the news he had received "that the unstable Zaporozhians have made peace with the Crimeans."<sup>166</sup>

After the Naryshkin coup, Mazepa's policy toward Zaporizhia changed. Several days after returning from Moscow to Baturyn, the hetman lifted the blockade of Zaporizhia and promised to send money and grain reserves there.<sup>167</sup> At the same time, he appealed to them to abandon the truce with Crimea and take up "military matters."<sup>168</sup>

I am inclined to think that a direct decree from Moscow “to make peace with Zaporizhia” did not cause this change; rather, the mission of making war against the Ottoman Empire had been set before Mazepa. He had long before crafted plan for this (which included attacking the Dnipro fortresses of Ochakiv and Kyzy-Kermen), so he enthusiastically embarked on the matter. But to wage war with the Ottoman Empire without having secured the support of the Cossacks would be foolish (both Anna Ivanovna and Potemkin would later grasp this). Thus Mazepa was forced to make overtures to the free knights, who were so alien to him.

The Zaporozhians balked, answering the proposal of cooperation “not only stubbornly but obscenely.” They refused to break the truce with the khan and demanded that Mazepa send them (even more) money and supplies. Mazepa wrote to the tsars with ill-concealed irritation that because of the truce between the Zaporozhians and the Tatars, the Horde was going unhindered to Bila Tserkva (besides being an important fortress, it was Mazepa’s birthplace), to Hungary (to help the Ottomans fight the Habsburgs), and to Poland-Lithuania as far as Polissia. Furthermore, the Cossacks did not at all recognize their guilt in the shedding of Christian blood in Zaporizhia.<sup>169</sup>

Many of those who were dissatisfied with Mazepa, and who wrote denunciations against him to Moscow, were closely connected with Zaporizhia.<sup>170</sup> Ongoing dispatches to the Sich from the Poles, with promises of royal favour, aggravated the already difficult relationship.<sup>171</sup> For example, Mazepa learned through his agents – a Kyiv merchant and a Zaporozhian chancellor (*pysar*) – that in November 1689 the *koshovyi* otaman Ivan Husak had sent envoys to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Prokip Lazuk with two companions).<sup>172</sup> Although under the terms of the Eternal Peace the Poles had no right to interfere in Zaporozhian affairs, the king received the messengers graciously, gave them 200 *chervintsi*, and promised protection. This information, reported by Mazepa to Moscow, aligned fully with a report by the secretary (*d’iak*) Ivan Volkov, the Russian plenipotentiary (*rezident*) in Warsaw, that King Jan Sobieski would be glad to see a quarrel between the Zaporozhians and the town Cossacks.<sup>173</sup> The Zaporozhians’ contacts with the Poles, bypassing Mazepa and Moscow, posed a particular danger at a time when the Sejm had decided to maintain the truce with the khan and to take up the return of Ukraine.<sup>174</sup>



Mazepa consulted with the tsars, and it was decided jointly not to send money and supplies to the Zaporozhians until they broke the truce.<sup>175</sup> In May 1690, on the advice of Moscow, two "reasonable people" were sent to the Zaporozhians, offering them money and persuading them to abandon the truce with the Poles. Mazepa sent his trusted Cossack from Baturyn, Sydir Horbachenko. During their conversation, the Cossacks vaguely promised to break the truce but insisted on being paid money and *boroshno* (flour) and on Ukrainian merchants being permitted to travel to the Cossacks' camp (*kish*) (that is, on the lifting of the economic blockade of Zaporizhia).<sup>176</sup>

But when Mazepa sent them money and rye flour in June, they did not admit his messengers to the camp; instead, citing the plague, they conducted the exchange at the tomb of Ivan Sirko. Angered at such "hospitality," the hetman ordered that they not allow a "living soul" across the Dnipro, and placed outposts and sentries.<sup>177</sup>

The Zaporozhians constantly raised obstacles to the military operations that were under way in the south. For example, in April 1691, when a distinguished fellow of the Poltava Regiment, Antin Rudyi, conducted a raid on the Kyzy-Kermen road, routing the Tatar detachments and capturing the "pagans,"<sup>178</sup> the Zaporozhians took one of the Muslims away from him and threatened to execute Rudyi. Mazepa was bewildered by their behaviour, writing that they should have praised Rudyi and "you berate him."<sup>179</sup> On the eve of the Azov campaigns, Mazepa tried nevertheless to establish contacts with Zaporizhia. But to reach agreement with the contentious "knighthood" was not so simple. When in April the courtier Afanasii Chubarov and the official Vonifatii Parfent'ev Parfen'ev presented the Cossacks with a regular stipend, they declared the next day that the cloth they had been given was "defective." The Russians demanded that they show the defect. At this the Zaporozhians excused themselves, saying that it was impossible to bring the cloth to the yard (there would be a fight among the rabble), and the treasury (*skarbnitsia*) (that is, the storeroom) was too crowded.<sup>180</sup>

In the same vein, the Cossacks wrote accusatory articles, to which the hetman gave an official reply, justifying himself and explaining his actions. Most of the points concerned Mazepa's economic policies: the distribution of estates to town officers, the construction of mills in Poltava Regiment (competition for their industry), the irregular payment of wages (this despite the fact that the Zaporozhians not only did not join the campaign against the Tatars but had concluded



a truce with Crimea), and so forth. The hetman patiently vindicated himself but also warned that such unjust claims could breach their “common love and affection.”<sup>181</sup>

These socio-economic demands brought the Zaporozhians closer to Petryk, which posed a great danger to the hetman’s administration. To prevent his enemies from forging an alliance, Mazepa made a number of efforts to appease the Zaporozhians. In particular, he wrote to the Novobohorodyts’k *vovoda* to provide dugout canoes to the lower Cossacks. He himself sent them resin and iron; he even allocated funds for the building of a church in Zaporizhia (“please accept this in love”).<sup>182</sup>

The refusal of the Cossacks to join with Petryk and the khan and their participation in the Azov campaigns was an undisputed success of the hetman’s policy.

But peace with the Ottoman Empire (in the next chapter on Mazepa’s foreign policy I will detail the circumstances surrounding the conclusion of the Treaty of Constantinople) and the arduous campaigns of the Northern War that yielded no gains, led to a new worsening of Mazepa’s relations with Zaporizhia.

In 1701, on their march toward Pskov, the Cossacks advanced so slowly they never reached the battlefield. Along the way, however, they plundered the inhabitants of Ukraine and Russia right up to Smolensk.

The summer of that same year, a group of Zaporozhians attacked Greek merchants travelling from Constantinople (Tsar’grad) to Baturyn. The Sultan demanded of Mazepa that the goods be returned immediately. For Moscow, this was extremely disagreeable – it could not afford to add a war with the Ottoman Empire to the Swedish one. Peter sent an interpreter from the Foreign Office to the Zaporozhian camp commander Petro Sorochyns’kyi to investigate the circumstances of this incident.<sup>183</sup>

Golovin wrote to Mazepa asking his advice on what to do about the Zaporozhians. Mazepa did not want to give a direct answer. “Your lordship has an outstanding mind,” he replied. “You can easily decide how to punish the Cossacks without my advice.” Then, much more candidly, he added: “I would long ago have compelled them to obey [*pryter nosy*] and stopped their wild willfulness ... if I had not been afraid of bringing them to final desperation and distancing them” from the tsar.<sup>184</sup> Golovin was angry that the hetman was fobbing him off with compliments, but the latter adamantly did

not want to take responsibility for the decision “so that no suspicion would fall on me that I acted from my personal spite toward the Zaporozhians.”

Perhaps Mazepa's behaviour can be explained by the way his original advice regarding the Zaporozhians (located near Pskov) was not heeded, which had “released them all here into Ukraine to make trouble.” The hetman wrote to Golovin in November: “Much needs to be said about this, which is impossible to describe with a pen – how to lead this willfulness and these unbridled brigands to complete obedience.”<sup>185</sup>

The sultan sent the governor of Silistra, Ibrahim Agha, to Baturyn to investigate the incident with the Cossacks.<sup>186</sup> Golovin sent Mazepa an order to lure the ringleaders to Baturyn, arrest them, and either send them to Moscow or keep them himself under guard.<sup>187</sup> But the Zaporozhians were cunning. During the interrogation conducted by the hetman in Baturyn, they stated that they had collectively made the decision to attack the merchants, and that there were no “instigators.”

In early 1702 in Moscow, Zaporozhian messengers led by Herasym Krysa, who had come to receive their annual wages, were detained. Moscow sent a decree to Zaporizhia to return the stolen goods, otherwise the detainees would be executed, and the payment of salaries and additional gifts would be terminated.<sup>188</sup>

This issue was discussed personally with Mazepa during his stay in Moscow in January and February of 1702. The tsar's decree declared that in the presence of governor of Silistra, Agha Ibrahim, “as many [Cossacks] as he wishes” would be executed, “so that henceforth they and their other brethren would have no desire to do such a thing.” The tsar also ordered the salaries owed the Zaporozhians to be given as compensation to the Greek merchants.<sup>189</sup>

At this, a riot broke out, and the Cossacks appealed to the khan.<sup>190</sup> Many began to side with the Swedes. Those who had been sent that summer to the front in the Northern War were sent urgently by the decree of Boris Sheremetev to Ladoga to build a canal.<sup>191</sup> To settle the matter with the governor of Silistra Agha Ibrahim, Mazepa paid him from the Zaporozhians' salaries, adding something from his own funds.<sup>192</sup>

Kurbatov came to Mazepa to discuss further actions. The hetman advised sending reinforcements immediately to the Kam'iany Zaton fortress, then under construction near Zaporizhia, in case the

Cossacks joined with the khan, but Mazepa considered it impossible to destroy the Sich. First, in order to reach the Cossacks one had to move on them with a large force – the Belgorod units would not be sufficient for this. Second, the Cossacks would receive assistance from the khan. And third, they might leave the Sich altogether, withdrawing to the lower Dnipro or the Black Sea, whence they could wreak even worse havoc with the blessing of the Turks.<sup>193</sup>

Meanwhile, in Zaporizhia, Kost' Hordiienko, who had accused his predecessor, Sorochyns'kyi, of unwisely involving them in the affair with the merchants, was chosen as the new camp commander. In November 1702, Fedor Apraksin informed Peter that the khan was going to Ukraine with the Zaporozhians, according to information from the Belgorod *voevoda*.<sup>194</sup> Mazepa now wrote to Golovin that a council had taken place in Zaporizhia in the presence of an envoy from the Crimean khan and that the Zaporozhians had sworn allegiance to him.<sup>195</sup> On 1 December, Apraksin reported that the Crimean khan intended to attack Russia with the Akkerman Horde and the Zaporozhians.<sup>196</sup>

In December of that same year, the Cossacks burned all the mills on the Samara, apparently in defiance of the fortress and the hetman's patrols (*dozortsi*).<sup>197</sup> Mazepa wrote to Golovin to complain about "those infernal Zaporozhians" who "detain envoys in the Sich and bind them in shackles."<sup>198</sup>

External events, however, did not favour the Zaporozhians' plan. In the Ottoman Empire, the grand vizier Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha, who sought to break the peace with Russia, was strangled, and Rami Mehmed Pasha took his place. The new vizier followed a much more restrained policy. He immediately made every effort to confirm a peace treaty with the European powers. He also sent a secret message to Moscow in which he assured the Russians that he would pacify the Tatars by all possible means (that is, by money and "cunning").<sup>199</sup>

In March of 1703 the courtier Fedor Protasov was sent to Zaporizhia to the commander Kost' Hordiienko to administer to the Cossacks an oath of allegiance to the tsar.<sup>200</sup> The *sichovyky* (the inhabitants of the Sich) flatly refused to swear the oath, declaring that earlier they had kissed the cross for the tsar and from that time on had not betrayed him. They had negotiated with the khan strictly in order to learn what he had agreed upon with Moscow and the hetman, since neither had informed the Cossacks of this. And they specified the destruction of the Kam'iany Zaton fortress

as a precondition for any oath. Mazepa was furious and wrote to Golovin: "I see that until that cursed dog, the camp commander Kost' Hordiienko, is no more, until that time we cannot rely on the unwavering, wholehearted loyalty of the Zaporozhians. I do not know what other method to devise so that not only" would Hordiienko be overthrown from the position of camp commander but that he would even be deprived of his life.<sup>201</sup>

In April, Mazepa wrote to Golovin about the possible oath of fealty to the tsar, that although it could be "false," as happens with frivolous and fickle people, it could help prevent war with the Ottoman empire.<sup>202</sup>

Meanwhile, since the beginning of the Northern War the position of Ottoman Empire, which had so far remained neutral, was causing Peter increasing concern. In June 1703 a memorandum was issued to the Foreign Office enjoining strict compliance with the terms of the peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire. Golovin was instructed "about all this based on what had been decided with Hetman Ivan Mazepa."<sup>203</sup>

In the summer of 1703 alarming news continued to arrive from the Sich that the Zaporozhians, having joined with the Horde, intended to march on Mazepa.<sup>204</sup> Tatars had arrived in the camp from the Akkerman Horde and had asked whether the Zaporozhians wanted to remain under the Muscovite tsar or were seeking for themselves a more influential master. The camp commander addressed this question to the council, in which for the time being the "loyalists" prevailed.<sup>205</sup> But then around June, Cossacks in the Belgorod region attacked a Russian patrol, beat the musketeers (*stril'tsi*), and stole their horses.<sup>206</sup>

Mazepa sent Peter detailed articles in which he presented his view of the Zaporozhian problem. The hetman wanted to solve the problem "gently" (by setting up ambushes along the Dnipro using the mercenary regiments, so as not to let anyone into the Sich, and by besieging the Kodak fortress).<sup>207</sup> If absolutely necessary, however (that is, if the Cossacks rejected a peaceful resolution), Mazepa proposed firing "several dozen bombs" into Zaporizhia.<sup>208</sup>

In July, Mazepa could report to Golovin: "Glory to God! Through my exertions and tireless efforts that infernal dog Kostia the *koshovyi*, if he does not give up his damned soul, at least they will throw him out of the camp in shame."<sup>209</sup> Then in August 1703, the Zaporozhians, in Kurbatov's words, "were barred from their evil intentions."<sup>210</sup> They wrote a letter asking the tsar to change his anger

to mercy and to release their envoys. The Cossacks assured him that they had already returned the expensive goods to the Greeks. After being released from Moscow, Herasym Krysa became the new camp commander.<sup>211</sup> In November the Cossacks received a royal charter confirming the former liberties of Zaporizhia and that also required the punishment of the renegade Zaporozhians (those, who took part in the attack on the Greeks).<sup>212</sup>

Yet despite all of this, the Cossacks continued to “misbehave.” For example, while their envoys were in Moscow, they had proposed to lead the newly baptized Tatar captives who lived there by “back roads” to Crimea, demanding from each fifteen rubles for this.<sup>213</sup> Mazepa probably knew or had guessed that his eternal enemies had more nefarious designs. He wrote to Golovin: “The Zaporozhians render me neither obedience nor honour. What should I do with these dogs? And all this comes from that damned dog the *koshovyi* ... I have already searched for various ways to get revenge on him, so that he would be no more not only in the Sich but also in the world, but I cannot find one.”<sup>214</sup> Golovin in response offered to find a convenient way to physically remove camp commander Hordiienko, whom he and Mazepa considered the chief instigator.<sup>215</sup>

Some of the Cossacks were sent to labour on the new capital of Petersburg, then under construction (“sent to St Petersburgk [*sic*] for hard labour forever”).<sup>216</sup> Menshikov was the governor there, and after March 1705 Mazepa began to correspond with him about Zaporozhians who had left the building site without authorization. As is well known, working conditions in the cold, damp, marshy climate of the future northern capital were extremely difficult, especially for immigrants from the southern steppe. This was apparently a serious problem, for Golovin was also writing to Mazepa about Cossacks fleeing from Petersburg.<sup>217</sup> For the hetman this became a recurrent headache. He could catch the fugitives, but how could he return them to Petersburg? Mazepa explained in his letter to Menshikov that it was impossible to send Zaporozhians with Ukrainian convoys – the latter would allow them to escape anyway, for “a raven will not pluck out the eyes of a crow.”<sup>218</sup>

In Zaporizhia that summer there was again talk of an alliance with Crimea.<sup>219</sup> To be sure, Mazepa did not believe that a campaign by the Tatars and the Cossacks was likely. With a hint of contempt, he wrote to Menshikov that “having talked a lot of nonsense,” the Zaporozhians would actually do nothing. His informants in Zaporizhia told him

much the same: "With us what is discussed in councils is not always what happens, and nothing will come of this now, as nearly the whole army has already dispersed from the Sich, with some going for salt, and some for fishing."<sup>220</sup> However soothing these statements, in fact the Crimean khan and the Turkish sultan intended to march on Ukrainian towns together with the Zaporozhians and were engaged in open preparations on Ukraine's border.<sup>221</sup>

In addition, in July 1705, camp commander Kost' Hordiienko (whom Mazepa and Golovin dreamed of destroying) expressed the Zaporozhians' desire to have the border between Russia and the Ottoman Empire not along the Dnipro but along the Buh (this was the subject of Ukraintsev's negotiations in Constantinople).<sup>222</sup> Ukraintsev, who headed the Russian delegation at the negotiations with the Ottoman Empire, wrote personally to Kost' Hordiienko, expressing hope that the boundary commission would help consolidate peace.<sup>223</sup>

But when deputy secretary (*pod'iachii*) F. Borisov arrived in the Sich, the Cossacks objected angrily to the drawing of the border "on this side of the river Buh" and instead proposed a boundary "from Ochakiv on the other side of the Buh." They believed that in those places "a border would be for nothing," for it would constrain them "in fishing and hunting." At the close of this boisterous council, Hordiienko hinted darkly that "we often marched to Moscow" and declared that "you have started to come to us instead of to the Tatars."<sup>224</sup>

When a week later a Cossack from the Okhtyrka Regiment, F. Pododnia, approached the Zaporozhians on Ukraintsev's behalf, the Cossacks were furious. They shouted that they would not let Ukraintsev go to Kyzy-Kermen ("watch out for your health") – let him, they said, cross the Buh and make a border there. "And they would not pay attention to letters from the hetman as well as from his commissar" – let them send the points from the tsar himself. They declared that whoever would obtain their Zaporozhian land, he was the one whom they, the Zaporozhians, would serve." A brawl then broke out, "and they fought from after mass even till midday." In the end, they went so far as to send three hundred mounted Cossacks onto the steppe with plans to hinder or harm Ukraintsev.<sup>225</sup>

In June 1705, Ukraintsev wrote Golovin that he was very afraid that the Cossacks might "secretly by night, in their usual bandit-like way, steal the horses we have and thereby stop us."<sup>226</sup>

A royal charter was sent to Zaporizhia to "the *koshovyi* Kostia Hordienko and to all the common people," stating that

the demarcation of lands along the Dnipro was not for the purpose of “oppressing” them. The same document commanded that the Zaporozhians do nothing to impede the work of the boundary commission.<sup>227</sup>

Mazepa’s envoy arrived in the Sich in June 1705 with this letter, to convince the Zaporozhians that the establishment of the border with the Ottoman Empire was solely “for their own good and that of the entire Little Russian people.” In response, the camp commander Hordiienko beat him “almost to death with his own hands with a mace.”<sup>228</sup>

Kost' Hordiienko’s letter of 27 June 1705 to Ukraintsev contained a direct threat. The *kish otaman* wrote that the Cossacks prohibited the placement of any borders along the Dnipro: “We advise your lordship not to go near any villages with this border.” If Ukraintsev did not heed this warning, Hordiienko promised, “everyone from the greatest to the least” would hunt him down.<sup>229</sup> The Zaporozhians’ council demanded that Ukraintsev use the services of “a knowledgeable Cossack” who could point out the “old signs” beyond the Buh that “in the old days” had marked the border between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire.<sup>230</sup>

In early July, Ukraintsev wrote to Golovin in utter desperation that the Cossacks were insisting on a border along Ochakiv and the Black Sea, and that they were threatening to arrive at the negotiations with their entire army. The old diplomat angrily observed: “It seems they have forgotten how right beside them on the Dnipro the four Turkish towns of Kyzy-Kermen and others stood, and these towns barred the Cossacks from everything, blocking off the Dnipro with chains.” Ukraintsev saw only one way out of this situation – for the tsar to write a threatening letter to the Zaporozhians, commanding them to rely on the tsar’s commissars in everything involving the delineation of borders.<sup>231</sup> Apparently in response to Ukraintsev’s message, Golovin wrote to Mazepa that the Zaporozhians “are creating a very large obstacle for him in the work of the commission and want the boundary to go by Ochakiv from the Polish border following the river Buh” and that they wanted to control Ochakiv and the Black Sea.<sup>232</sup>

All of this was especially unfortunate, given that Ukraintsev was making every effort in the negotiations with the Ottoman Empire to leave the Right Bank territory to the Ukrainian Hetmanate from the Tiasmyn between the Dnipro and the Buh.<sup>233</sup> Golovin ordered

the completion of the land survey as soon as possible, "so as not to oppress the Little Russian land."<sup>234</sup> Mazepa also reassured Golovin that the Zaporozhians would simply prattle on and do nothing – most of them had already dispersed from the Sich for fishing.<sup>235</sup> His prediction proved true.

Meanwhile, however, the Zaporozhians were continuing to flee the fields of the Northern War.<sup>236</sup> Mazepa wrote of them that "he would rather send them to the bottom of hell than see them here in the Little Russian land."<sup>237</sup> Soon enough, in early 1706, fugitive Cossacks began appearing in Ukraine, settling on the lower Dnipro between the Sich and Kodak. They attacked foreign merchants and prevented the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Hetmanate from hunting or fishing. One of these bands even infiltrated the outskirts of Poltava and made off with a thousand horses.<sup>238</sup>

And this was not all. Mazepa informed the tsar that the Zaporozhians intended to forge an alliance with the Crimean khan and march on Ukraine. Peter sent a letter to the camp commander on 29 August 1706, with orders to send Cossacks to the Russian army, located in the Commonwealth.<sup>239</sup> On 15 September 1706, camp commander Luk'ian Tymofienko informed Peter that a detachment of Zaporozhians had been dispatched under Colonel Hnat Halahan against the Swedes. He also wrote that any recalcitrants had been punished, and he asked the tsar to release Zaporozhians from hard labour.<sup>240</sup> At the end of October, Mazepa met with the colonel, and the latter demanded a salary for the Zaporozhians sent into service.<sup>241</sup> While waiting for the money, the Cossacks engaged in brigandage and mayhem. They sent impudent, threatening letters to the *voevodas* of Kam'iany Zaton on the border. Only in mid-December did Mazepa announce the cessation of turmoil in Zaporizhia and that the possible alliance with Crimea would not happen.<sup>242</sup>

In May 1707, Mazepa reported to Golovkin that the Poltava colonel had defeated a detachment of Zaporozhians and captured their commander Lebedyn – "a bloodsucker, a thieving and villainous leader," who at one time had plundered Greek merchants. The hetman also sent two cavalry regiments against Kost' Hordiienko – "the main enemy and the leading rebel chief and troublemaker."<sup>243</sup>

The campaign launched by Kondratti Bulavin and his supporters ("So that Rus' will not be master over us and our shared Cossack glory will not be a laughingstock") found a warm response among the Zaporozhians and among many other Ukrainians.<sup>244</sup> Mazepa



reported to Peter that the Zaporozhians wanted to join Bulavin.<sup>245</sup> By Shrovetide in 1708, Bulavin was in Zaporizhia with Kost' Hordiienko “and between themselves they took counsel and their souls set the task, so that all of you with them, the Don Cossacks, would be united and would devote yourselves to each other with one accord.”<sup>246</sup> On 21 March, G. Volkonskii wrote that seventeen thousand Cossacks were with Bulavin (the figure is clearly excessive, but it confirms the alliance of the Zaporozhian Cossacks with the rebel Don Cossacks).<sup>247</sup> In May 1708, Dmitrii Golitsyn wrote that amid Bulavin’s rebellion, “it will be very difficult for us to hold onto Ukraine.”<sup>248</sup> In June it was reported that there were “fifteen hundred or more Zaporozhians with colonels and officers ... they were still expecting Zaporozhians to come to them to help, with another one thousand people.”<sup>249</sup>

Against the background of peasant unrest that had begun in 1708 in Ukraine, Mazepa was in an extremely difficult situation. His firm administrative policies had embittered some, while economic prosperity had corrupted others. The hetman was very much alone.

## Mazepa and the Foreign Policy of Peter the Great

Mazepa's participation in Russia's foreign policy amounts to one of the most successful examples of the hetman's cooperation with Peter.<sup>1</sup> I share the opinion of Dariusz Kołodziejczyk that these were years of Ukraine's re-emergence.<sup>2</sup> The materials of the Baturyn archive and the *Posol'skii prikaz* reveal the scale and depth of the hetman's cooperation with Peter, compelling one to evaluate anew the relations between the two. The aim of this chapter is to examine not Russia's foreign policy (in either its Polish or Turkish aspects) but rather Mazepa's role in Russian diplomacy. The hetman since 1687 served as a first-rate expert for the Russian government on West Bank Ukrainian, Polish, Moldavian, Wallachian, and Crimean affairs, actively strengthening Russia on its southwestern frontiers."<sup>3</sup>

Diplomatic skills and a gift for foreign policy were among Mazepa's strongest qualities. In his youth he had carried out important commissions for the Polish king Jan Casimir; later, he essentially took charge of Petro Doroshenko's contacts with Crimea and the Ottomans. This gave him a deep knowledge and experience of the region. Having ended up against his will on the Left Bank, Mazepa quickly became Samoilovych's closest adviser, and soon he was overseeing his foreign policy. This decade-long experience completed the development of Mazepa the diplomat. As noted earlier, Mazepa tried to apply his knowledge even under Sophia Alekseevna's rule, but Vasiliï Golitsyn with his typical arrogance did not heed the hetman's sensible advice. The young Peter responded to the hetman's counsel quite differently.

During his very first meeting with Mazepa, the tsar was struck by his thorough knowledge of affairs in the Polish-Lithuanian

Commonwealth, the Ottoman Empire, and the Danube principalities. Conciliar secretary Emel'ian Ukraintsev likely shared this opinion. Many Russian diplomats from the Foreign Office placed high value on the hetman's knowledge and advice. When Fedor Golovin was named to lead the Foreign Office, he became Mazepa's closest friend and ally (see below).

The Kolomak Articles prohibited the hetman from engaging in any foreign policy contacts. Peter not only ignored this provision but directly violated it, giving Mazepa instructions to conduct diplomatic correspondence.

From the documents in the Baturyn archive and the Little Russian and Foreign Offices, one can conclude that Mazepa's close, fruitful cooperation with the Russian government's foreign policy proceeded in several directions:

- In complex and one could even say crucial situations, the government sent secretaries (*d'iaki*) to the hetman “for advice.”
- With Moscow's knowledge often by its direct order, the hetman maintained a network of agents, who supplied him with information from Ukraine's many neighbouring regions.
- The hetman constantly sent “reports” of news he had received to the tsar and the Foreign Office.

Mazepa did not create his diplomacy from scratch. Long before, Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi had built a broad network of foreign policy contacts, which involved the exchange of ambassadors and ongoing diplomatic correspondence. A wide-ranging intelligence network had also been established during his rule. The interpreter for the grand vizier Sefer Chazi-Agha and the secretary of the Polish king Jan Casimir were among Khmel'nyts'kyi's agents. Greeks and Serbs who relayed information on events in Moldavia, the Ottoman Empire, and Hungary served as intelligence sources. Khmel'nyts'kyi ran agents in all the major cities of the Polish Commonwealth, including Warsaw, Kraków, Lviv, and Kam'ianets-Podilskyi.<sup>4</sup> Under Ivan Samoilovych there were also many informants, and Mazepa inherited those contacts.

As Andrzej Kamiński wrote, “hetmans could and did use their reports to influence Moscow's foreign policy for their own benefit.”<sup>5</sup> But they never did so in ways that harmed the Russian Empire. And in Mazepa's time, the Hetmanate's contributions to Russia's foreign policy continued to increase.

## CONSULTATIONS WITH RUSSIAN DIPLOMATS

Following are some examples of Mazepa's consultations with Russian diplomats. In August 1690, secretary Vasilii Postnikov met with the hetman in Hlukhiv. At issue was the glaring question of Russia's foreign policy at that time – relations with the Crimean khan. Postnikov had been given secret instructions (*nakaz*), sealed with the tsars' seal, which he was to open in the hetman's presence and read aloud to him.<sup>6</sup> Going out into a "special hut," Mazepa unsealed the decree, listened to it, and grasped the whole matter. The tsarist court feared that despite the peace agreement with Poland and the "Christian friendship" and "customary brotherly concord" enjoyed with the Holy Roman Emperor, the Poles wanted to conclude a peace treaty with the Turkish sultan and the Crimean khan. Moscow had received this information from secretary Ivan Volkov, the Russian plenipotentiary (*rezident*) in Warsaw (and did not delay in informing Mazepa of this in detail). Postnikov also gave the hetman a copy of the articles submitted by Turkish envoys to the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>7</sup> Mazepa for his part pointed out that he, too, had reported secret negotiations between the Poles and the Crimean khan.

In view of this, Moscow proposed that the hetman "demonstrate true, devoted service and zeal" and secretly send to Crimea a capable, trustworthy person. At this Mazepa expressed concern that if he sent such a person "the Muslims [*busurmany*] would become proud" and inform the Polish king of it, which could damage the Eternal Peace with Poland. So the hetman advised against sending a special envoy to Crimea. He related at length news concerning the attitudes among the ruling Tatar elite,<sup>8</sup> and he mentioned a certain captive slave whom he thought might be used for the mission required by Moscow. Mazepa explained in detail precisely what words he would use to convey to this slave a secret message for the khan.<sup>9</sup> This was the way he thought most reliable and secure: "And if my words should reach Poland, the Poles will still not have cause to violate the peace agreement because of them, since there is nothing in these words that would be contrary to the peace treaty or the allies' agreement."<sup>10</sup> Mazepa judged that after hearing these statements, the khan "would keep them in mind," and if by that time a peace treaty had still not been finalized with the Polish Commonwealth, he would want to send envoys to Moscow.<sup>11</sup> The hetman surmised

that Crimea and the Ottomans had no claims against Russia that were serious enough to peace. Moreover, in his view during the last truce “the Crimean people received great benefit” from trade, and hence now should desire peace.<sup>12</sup> In his opinion the constant raids carried out by Registered Cossacks and “valiant free people” were a no less important incentive for the Ottoman Empire and Crimea to desire peace with Russia. For example, in the summer of 1690, Cossacks had utterly defeated Tatar detachments, inflicting heavy losses on them. He noted that the Polish side never engaged in similar actions.<sup>13</sup> Only a strongly biased observer could regard Mazepa’s advice and actions as cunning, much less treasonous.

This document contains many notable expressions that vividly characterize the hetman. For example, a subtle disdain for people of limited intellectual capacity: “But they could not learn anything more from his interpreter because of his stupidity and inferior mind.”<sup>14</sup> Also, his apt description of Kam'ianets-Podilskyi as a fortress that could be called the gates of Europe<sup>15</sup> – here he preceded Aleksandr Pushkin himself with his “window on Europe.”

Another example of a consultation, found in the materials of the Little Russian Office, pertains to January 1694, during the lead-up to the Azov campaigns. The courtier (*stol'nik*) Ivan Tarakanov came to Mazepa. Their discussion centred on the actions of the Poles. The hetman had learned from the tsars’ decree that a change of plenipotentiaries was to take place: the Polish representative had already left Moscow, while the Russian envoy, Boris Mikhailov, remained for the time being at the Polish court. Against this background, Mazepa presented the information he had – that the Poles were not delaying the sending of a new plenipotentiary by chance. In the hetman’s view, this delay was linked to the Polish king’s desire to make peace with the Ottoman Empire. He therefore strongly advised keeping the Russian representative at the Polish court – at least until a joint peace with the Ottomans had been concluded – so that all the Polish plans and actions would be known to him. Otherwise the threat of a separate peace would increase sharply. Mazepa advised that should Mikhailov’s term of stay in Warsaw expire, he should be replaced with another *rezident*.<sup>16</sup> The constant references to Mazepa are remarkable: “as he, the hetman, has news from many people.”

Mazepa demonstrated a surprisingly deep knowledge of the situation in the region. For example, he reported that the Polish envoy to Crimea had died on the way to Moldavia.<sup>17</sup> Regarding the possible

peace agreement between the Commonwealth and Crimea, the hetman referred to the situation during the Chyhyryn campaigns, when the Poles had a truce with the Tatars but the former gave the latter no help. Hence Mazepa believed that peace between the Commonwealth and the Muslims (*busurmany*) without a pledge of military assistance would not be dangerous for Moscow, especially since the Holy Roman Emperor and the Venetians were at war with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>18</sup>

Even then, in 1694 (despite the uprising of Petryk, who had joined the Tatars and opposed the Russian tsars and Mazepa), the Petrine government expressed full confidence in Mazepa. After the arrival in Moscow of the hetman's messenger-interpreter Peter, who had come from Crimea with the latest news, the "great sovereigns" issued a decree to the hetman to consult with the officers and decide whether it would be possible on the basis of the khan's desire, relayed through this Peter, to send envoys for peace negotiations. The tsars also asked Mazepa whether they should "suspend" some of the articles communicated earlier to Crimea.<sup>19</sup>

The hetman did not hesitate to give advice. For example, Mazepa learned of the long speech delivered in Bakhchysarai by the *kaimakan* (governor), in which the Tatar attributed the detention of the Russian messenger (*gonets*) Vasilii Aitemirov in Crimea and the cessation of peace negotiations not to the schemes of the rebel Petryk but to the arrest of the messenger Mehmet Agha in Moscow.<sup>20</sup> The hetman urgently advised Tarakanov to let the Crimean courier and the Tatar mullah in Moscow go at once to Crimea.

An even more striking example: Mazepa reported that the General Military Chancellery had translated a Tatar treaty document (*shertnaia gramota*),<sup>21</sup> which khan Murad Giray had given to the Russian envoys, courtier (*stol'nik*) Vasilii Tiapkin and secretary Nikita Zotov. The translation made it clear that the khan had given the treaty charter to the Russian realm (that is, he had declared Russia his subject); moreover, he had addressed Russia as a superior would a lesser.<sup>22</sup> From this one could conclude, first, that the official treaty charter had been relayed by the Russian envoys (of course, at Moscow's decree) to the Ukrainian hetman for comment; and second, that the translators from the Tatar language in the General Military Chancellery were more precise and experienced than those in the Foreign Office.

With respect to the treaty charter, Mazepa also pointed out to Tarakanov that in the charter the Tatars indicated a border with the Russian state along the Dnipro. The Treaty of Bakhchysarai of 1681

had stipulated the creation of an unpopulated buffer zone. The treaty charter's attempt to change the status quo was not accidental, for Mazepa reported that the Tatars had begun to besiege free settlements (*slobody*) in Chyhyryn, Korsun, Kaniv, and Lysianets' (old Cossack towns, standing empty), and to attack Ukrainian towns from them.<sup>23</sup>

The hetman demonstrated no less familiarity with affairs in the Polish Commonwealth. For example, he disclosed that Lithuanian and crown senators had met in Warsaw. The Lithuanians expressed their displeasure that in Poland there had been violence against Orthodox churches as well as forced conversions to the Uniate Church. The senators from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania stressed that these actions ran counter to the Eternal Peace with Russia. These allegations (according to Mazepa's testimony) provoked fierce protest from the Polish senators, who declared that Moscow's wishes could not prevent admission to the Uniate Church. As a result, a scandal flared up and the parties left having accomplished nothing.<sup>24</sup>

#### MAZEPA'S NETWORK OF SPIES

Regarding the Ukrainian hetman's espionage network, there is abundant and diverse evidence. Mazepa had sources of information of every conceivable type. He maintained a wide range of regular informants in Poland who sent him enciphered reports. Four detailed reports from agents have been preserved.<sup>25</sup> In addition to his agents, Polish high officials who evidently had some kind of special relationship with Mazepa supplied him with important information: the commandant of Slutsk wrote to him that "the Swedes and the wife of the palatine of Vilno [Vilnius] have come to Warsaw"; the palatine of Kalisz described "how the Swedish king promised to receive Polish ambassadors in Kovno [Kaunas]"; and so forth.<sup>26</sup>

The "guard [*dozorets'*] patrolling the ford of the Dnipro at Perevolochna," who was a customs officer, also served as a regular intelligence agent for Mazepa. He reported "on the preparations of the Turkish sultan, the Crimean khan, and the Zaporozhians for a campaign against Little Russian towns" and generally kept Mazepa up to date on all the news in the country's south.<sup>27</sup> This kind of intelligence network must have required large expenditures, but as noted earlier, Mazepa had money.

Fedor Golovin, for his part, disclosed to Mazepa the reports of Russian agents. For example, in April 1700 he informed the hetman

in detail of Polish reports received from Liubim Sudeikin, Moscow's *rezident* in Poland.<sup>28</sup>

Tellingly, after Peter began his secret negotiations with the Danes, enlisting their support against the Swedes, he held his second meeting with the Danish envoy Heins at Mazepa's residence in Moscow on 8 February 1700.<sup>29</sup> Mikhail Bogoslovskii believes that during this reception, Peter personally informed Mazepa that he had been awarded the Order of St Andrew the First-Called, and he placed the order on him with his own hand.<sup>30</sup>

There is extensive evidence that almost all of the Foreign Office's correspondence with the Ottomans and Crimea was carried out through Mazepa as well. Kołodziejczyk has found in the Moscow Archive a number of Ottoman Turkish documents from the archive of the Ukrainian hetmanate. Some of these letters are addressed to Mazepa, which shows how highly the Turkish side appreciated its relations with the hetman.<sup>31</sup>

As early as 1690, Constantin Cantemir's envoy Ivan Belevich "could see for himself that Mazepa was privy to the innermost secrets of the Kremlin."<sup>32</sup> In October 1697, Peter instructed Mazepa to question the envoy (to the Russian tsar) from the Moldavian ruler (*hospodar*) and to report everything back to Moscow, in writing.<sup>33</sup> In 1699, Peter's official letters to the Turkish Sultan and the Crimean khan were sent through the hetman with the announcement that a Russian extraordinary envoy was to be expected.<sup>34</sup> In February 1700, Peter sent Emel'ian Ukraintsev (in Constantinople) new instructions, once again through Mazepa, who was at that time in Moscow with the hetman's clerk (*kantseliaryst*) Ivan Chernysh.<sup>35</sup> Ukraintsev's letters from Constantinople have survived; he informed Mazepa of everything that was happening there and asked him to forward his reports to Moscow.<sup>36</sup> Ukraintsev's entire correspondence (while he was in Constantinople) occurred almost exclusively through the Wallachian plenipotentiaries, and thence through Mazepa's people to the Russian government.<sup>37</sup>

Mazepa's people carried out various assignments for the tsar. For example, in March 1698, Mazepa informed Peter that upon his decree he had sent someone to Moldavia and Wallachia "to find good shelters and calm waters" on the Black Sea coast. The messenger returned and described where they were located from the neck (bend) of the Dnipro to the estuary of the river itself, as well as where there were suitable camps and places to spend the night along



the land route through all of Budzhak to the lands of Moldavia (*zemlia Volos'ka*) and Wallachia (*zemlia Multians'ka*). Mazepa's messenger also obtained from the Moldavian ruler an individual who was skilled and knowledgeable in everything relating to maritime matters.<sup>38</sup>

Documents have preserved some of the names of Mazepa's spies in the southern region. For example, in 1697, Mazepa sent the Cossack Iats'ko Tsykhovs'kyi to the Turkish lands, to the town of Smyrna, to his brother, who in 1678 had been captured by the Turks at Chyhyryn. He had adopted Islam and was now a military clerk in the Turkish service. The hetman instructed this Iats'ko to scout out the Turks' intentions as he travelled through Istanbul and to inspect the town's fortifications.<sup>39</sup>

One of Mazepa's most important agents was the Greek Zhur Ustynovych (later a distinguished fellow, *znatnyi tovarysh*). Mazepa sent him to Constantinople, and he often carried reports to Moscow.<sup>40</sup> Zgur had his own informants in the Danube principalities and possessed information on events in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>41</sup> In December 1699, Zgur was sent to the Wallachian ruler (*hospodar*).<sup>42</sup> Petro Paraskeva, who was sent to the Ottoman Empire especially to hire people "capable of seafaring," was another Greek intelligence agent.<sup>43</sup> Paraskeva repeatedly travelled to Moscow with news from Turkey.<sup>44</sup> Savva (Raguzinskii), of whom there is more below, also began his career as one of Mazepa's agents.

A fruitful correspondence connected the hetman with many representatives of the Greek higher clergy (see below). Kyiv's dioceses, located on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, were an important part of Mazepa's foreign policy interests. Part but by no means all of that correspondence focused on relations with the Patriarchs of Orthodox Churches. For example, the patriarch of Jerusalem asked Mazepa "to make it possible for David the courier [*chaush*] to leave<sup>45</sup> Moscow for many dangerous reasons."<sup>46</sup>

Naturally, the area to the south had always been one of Mazepa's priorities. The realities of the Ukrainian Hetmanate's geographical position dictated this. The constant Tatar raids on Ukrainian towns ceased only after the Azov campaigns, in which Ukrainian Cossacks participated actively and successfully under Mazepa's leadership. The hetman received news of the conclusion of the Treaty of Constantinople with the Ottoman Empire with no little enthusiasm.

In November 1700 Mazepa welcomed Ukraintsev upon his return from signing the peace agreements. The Ukrainian hetman arranged a grand reception for the Russian diplomat in Kyiv. He personally met him beyond the river Lybid with the general staff, colonels, and distinguished fellows. Ukraintsev rode in the hetman's carriage. Then Mazepa's friends, the Ukrainian higher clergy – Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi and Varlaam Iasyns'kyi – joined the ceremony. There were solemn speeches, worship services, and banquets.<sup>47</sup>

After the Treaty of Constantinople was concluded, the hetman's participation in the southern aspects of Russia's foreign policy did not cease.

In the summer of 1700, against the background of the events of the Great Northern War, the question of Moldavia's affiliation with Russia was again raised. Evidently, Peter's inner circle had placed their hopes in this. Mazepa wrote in June 1700 to Fedor Golovin that at one time the Moldavian *hospodar* had promised to submit to the tsar, provided that Russian forces started a war with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>48</sup> Mazepa – most likely with Peter's blessing – wrote a letter to the *hospodar* asking “what willingness and capability he had for this matter,” whether he was ready according to his promise, in the event of war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, to throw off “the Muslim [*busurman*] yoke” and take military action against the Turks. The *hospodar*'s reply, written in code, convinced the hetman that the former had “now no readiness or desire for this.” Mazepa commented that the Moldavians had made promises, thus spurring Russia to launch a new war with the Ottoman Empire when they themselves were in danger. But now that there were peace accords, an alliance of Moldavia with Russia was not necessary and thus they answered his letter slowly and reluctantly.<sup>49</sup>

Even so, Mazepa continued to monitor closely the situation in the Danube principalities. In December 1702 he informed Golovin that the Wallachian *hospodar* had sent him a bundle of letters from Vienna, which he forwarded.<sup>50</sup> He also maintained a constant correspondence with Petr Tolstoi in Constantinople, who sent Mazepa detailed information about events there.<sup>51</sup>

Russia's correspondence with many leading Greek hierarchs was conducted through Mazepa. For example, through an official letter from Dositheos, the patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 20 June 1704, it is known that he had contact with Moscow through Mazepa.<sup>52</sup>

THE NORTHERN WAR AND RELATIONS  
WITH THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

As will become apparent in the chapter on Mazepa's relations with the "nestlings of Peter's nest," Golovin trusted Mazepa completely and often relied on his opinion. In February 1703 he wrote to Peter: "And now, it seems, the hetman's news, if it is genuine, will prove very useful."<sup>53</sup> In April of the same year the chancellor observed in a letter to Mazepa that "the autocrat has repeatedly decreed that very important matters be left to your own judgment."<sup>54</sup>

In February 1705, Peter sent Mazepa a decree "to conduct a written correspondence with the present Crimean khan, Selim Giray, and to send his own messengers to him to ascertain the khan's actions and behaviour and, having selected a suitable time, to send the khan a gift secretly through someone reliable, as if it were from the hetman, a gift of two by forty sables." The sables were to be taken from the Foreign Office.<sup>55</sup>

In early 1702 the delicate task of resolving the conflict with the Ottoman Empire in connection with the Zaporozhians' attack on Greek merchants (discussed in the previous chapter) was entrusted to Mazepa. In the wake of this incident, the Silistran governor Ibrahim Agha had come to Baturyn. Mazepa was instructed to declare to the agha that Russia would adhere scrupulously to the peace treaties with the Porte and would not permit conflicts between its own subjects and those of the sultan.<sup>56</sup> The difficult matter of smoothing over the conflict was entrusted to Mazepa, who dealt with it very successfully, paying the Turks out of his own pocket.<sup>57</sup>

The next major challenge placed before the hetman was the resolution of the border dispute between Russia and the Ottoman Empire after the treaty of 1700.<sup>58</sup> Mazepa was again informed of all of the Foreign Office's plans – even letters to Petr Tolstoi in Constantinople were sent by Golovin through Mazepa.<sup>59</sup> Golovin sent him copies of official Turkish proposals, as well as Tolstoi's reports.<sup>60</sup>

In September 1705 the hetman sent Ukraintsev instructions regarding inviolable terms to place in front of the Turks during negotiations for demarcating the borders with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>61</sup> The hetman did so in his own characteristic way, coyly protesting that Ukraintsev, "thanks to his God-given intellect, being skilled and wonderfully knowledgeable himself concerning all the *basurmanskie* [Muslim] trickery," needed no advice.<sup>62</sup> "By virtue of my position,"

he continued, “I suggest that Your Excellency try first and foremost to obtain a written promise from the Turks as follows: that they not undertake anything from now on that would be contrary to the peace agreements, that they keep secret the land surveying completed at their request, and during the present war with the Swedes they refrain for at least two years from building fortresses on the Kyzy-Kermen and Tavan lands.<sup>63</sup> This was very practical and sensible advice, at a time when Russia’s position in the Northern War depended so much on the stance the Porte would take. In November the demarcation of the borders with the Porte took place, and Ukraintsev quickly informed Mazepa of this.<sup>64</sup>

Mazepa played a significant role in Russia’s foreign policy during the Great Northern War – a role not at all treacherous but indeed very useful to Peter.<sup>65</sup> He received the French ambassador, the elector’s (*kurfürst*’s) emissary, and the Turkish ambassador in Baturyn during the Northern War.<sup>66</sup>

Another meeting with Petrine diplomats related specifically to this question. In March, conciliar secretary Boris Mikhailov came to see the hetman in Baturyn. During their private meeting he secretly disclosed “his tsarist Majesty’s secret affairs” and asked for advice. Mazepa’s meeting with Mikhailov highlights how great Peter’s confidence in the hetman was, as well as the significant role Mazepa played in the Russian state. Mikhailov gave Mazepa lists of all the agreements concluded between Peter and Augustus II. The hetman received them with gratitude and asked permission to keep those lists so as “to read them quietly to himself in private.”

These agreements informed Mazepa of the serious efforts Golovin had been making to persuade Polish magnates to enter the war against Sweden and to obtain the corresponding decision from the Sejm. In particular, the plan entailed offering bribes. The Polish deputy chancellor to vice-chancellor Szczuka recommended that Golovin make a series of promises in the tsar’s name, which would be received favourably in the Polish Commonwealth. These promises related to Right Bank Ukraine. Mazepa carefully read the agreements between Peter and Augustus and found them ill-advised. Under their terms, Russia would have to provide the Polish Commonwealth with money (“treasury”) and troops. The obligations on the Polish side were not at all clearly stipulated in the articles, and Mazepa was quick to notice this. The hetman sensibly suggested that in relations with Augustus, Russia be content with a promise of either money or

troops. And certainly in the event of a huge concession (a promise of both), Russia should insist on the proviso “in an important matter.” Mazepa remarked that in general he expected nothing good from the Poles. His list of reasons why is evidence of his thorough knowledge of Russo-Polish relations. Specifically, he maintained that the Polish Commonwealth, having obtained large territorial concessions (Right Bank Ukraine) and monetary compensation for Kyiv under the terms of the Eternal Peace, had never ratified this treaty through its Sejm (Diet); nor had it recorded the treaty in the constitution (i.e., law) issued by the Polish-Lithuanian Diet. Mazepa enumerated a long list of grievances against the Poles and their patronage of Uniates in Right Bank Ukraine. For example, in 1700 the Poles had given the Uniates the main Orthodox cathedral in Lviv (this happened after the conversion of its bishop Iosyf Shumlians'kyi). Also, during the recent military operations the hetman had observed the Poles' insincerity: they had retreated from Riga, thereby placing Russian troops at risk. So Mazepa advised giving the Poles Terekhtemyriv, Staiky, and Trypillia as the maximum possible concession, but only if the Sejm first entered its confirmation of the Eternal Peace into the commonwealth's constitution.<sup>67</sup>

To summarize, Mazepa opposed an alliance with Augustus II from the very beginning. Time proved him right. But to evaluate the hetman's role in Russia's foreign policy during the Great Northern War – and, it follows, to understand also his position in this period – it is essential to consider the Porte's non-involvement in a military alliance with the Swedes.

The mere possibility of such an alliance posed a grave threat to Peter. Recall the disastrous outcome of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1710–11 (the Prut River campaign), even though by that time Charles XII had been routed, Peter had a powerful, victorious army, and the Ottoman's Ukrainian ally – Pylyp Orlyk – was significantly inferior to Mazepa both in influence and in opportunities.

The Swedes through their ally Stanisław Leszczyński were making considerable efforts to persuade the Ottomans to act. Mazepa followed the situation closely and corresponded constantly with the *serasker* himself, Yusuf Pasha.<sup>68</sup> As early as April 1704, Mazepa relayed a warning from the Wallachian *hospodar* that the war with the Swedes must be concluded by any means possible – otherwise the Turks and Tatars would not remain neutral but would attack Russia with the support of the Poles.<sup>69</sup>

In May 1705, Mazepa reported information from the *serasker* that the Porte had strictly forbidden Crimea from helping Poland.<sup>70</sup> That summer the situation deteriorated after the Zaporozhians concluded an agreement with Crimea. On 25 July, Mazepa forwarded a letter from his patrol at the Perevolochna ford about the preparations being made by the Turkish sultan, the Crimean khan, and the Zaporozhians to march against Little Russian towns.<sup>71</sup>

The hetman, concerned about this, continued to dispatch his informants to Bendery and the Ottoman Empire. By the end of July 1705 he was able to send Peter a fully detailed report. In particular, Mazepa informed him that there were ten thousand men with the *serasker* Yusuf Pasha at Bendery. They were working to restore the old stone castle and beginning the construction of a large new wooden fortress. Yusuf Pasha told Mazepa (“his friend”) frankly: let them decide the border at once, if they want to live in peace with us.<sup>72</sup> The hetman’s envoy also learned that the *serasker* had already written twice to the Kyiv palatine (voivode) Józef Potocki.<sup>73</sup>

But negotiations with Leszczyński’s supporters could not but give pause. In February 1706, Mazepa communicated to Menshikov information he had received from the *serasker*’s messenger that the Tatars had arrived in Bendery to construct a fortress. Two Wallachians and Savva Raguzinskii (“who knows local affairs”) confirmed this.<sup>74</sup>

Intelligence concerning negotiations with Leszczyński was much more alarming. In February 1706, Mazepa wrote to Menshikov about the arrival in Bendery “from the Swedes and Leszczyński” of an envoy named Adam Tarło, pantler of the Crown (*stolnik koronny*) and palatine (*wojewoda*) of Lublin. He came to the *serasker* with hopes of “the promised alliance.”<sup>75</sup> The *serasker* sent Reis Efendi to obtain a resolution from the Porte.<sup>76</sup>

In June 1706 an envoy from the *serasker* arrived in Baturyn expressing friendship, but Mazepa thought that the visit was more for the purpose of gathering intelligence, as was that of an emissary from the Wallachian *hospodar*.<sup>77</sup>

The Russians continued to inform Mazepa regularly of news they received. Gavriil Golovkin wrote in October 1706 about the arrival of an envoy from the Moldavian *hospodar*.<sup>78</sup> By winter, the situation was even more disturbing. As early as December 1706, Mazepa wrote to Menshikov that he should be wary of the actions of the Poles, Leszczyński, the Tatars, and the Turks. The Turks were not sending envoys to Leszczyński for some reason, and they had

secretly ordered all the Tatars to feed their horses (i.e., to get ready for the march).<sup>79</sup>

In May, Mazepa informed Golovkin that Yusuf, the *serasker* of Silistra, had arrived with his forces in Bendery to strengthen the fortress. This was a hostile act. To be sure, it was reassuring that neither of the *hospodars* (the Moldavian or the Wallachian) had sent their armies (the hetman specified that they had managed to avoid doing so not by asking leave but by buying their way out of coming).<sup>80</sup>

At the end of November 1707, Mazepa sent Gavriil Golovkin a full report on the situation in the Ottoman Empire. He related that a new vizier had come to power there, who had through his intrigues killed the Belgorod pasha (“who was the most distinguished, intelligent man in the Turkish state, revered by all”). According to the hetman, this vizier was now exiling or executing all of the worthy ministers, seeking to eradicate his predecessors. Mazepa also conveyed that according to the Moldavian *hospodar*, the Turks were making no preparations for war. Mazepa himself was surprised by this, for he had news from “a reliable and friendly” Moldavian that “the Porte definitely wants to start a war with his Tsarist Majesty.” The patriarch of Jerusalem also spoke of this to Mazepa’s courier. But the hetman was confident that the *hospodar*, had he known about war preparations, would have let him know of them “out of his old love and friendship.”<sup>81</sup>

In November 1707 a Turkish envoy arrived in the Swedish camp “to congratulate Leszczyński [and] to salute Charles XII.” The audience was held at Marshal Carl Piper’s residence in the presence of all the members of the council. The envoy announced that the glory of the Swedish king had reached the sultan and that the latter had sent his minister to propose their friendship. In the name of the sultan the envoy also stated that the Ottoman ruler was delighted with the king’s success and that as a sign of friendship he had freed more than one hundred Swedes who had been taken captive by the Kalmyks and sold into slavery in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>82</sup> With this, negotiations ended.<sup>83</sup>

Evidently, Mazepa was unaware of these details. He wrote to Tolstoi in November 1707 that the Porte intended to start a war with Russia “either this coming winter through the Tatars or clearly by themselves in the spring.” According to his information, the Porte “had given no reply in writing to Leszczyński” but had tried to learn whether there had been a truce between the tsar and the Swedish king.<sup>84</sup>



On 13 December, Golovkin reported to Peter that he was writing regularly to hetman Mazepa “to ascertain Turkish intentions.”<sup>85</sup> The hetman’s information was viewed as so solid that in December Aleksandr Kikin was sent to him to clarify the specifics of the agha’s trip to the Swedes and Leszczyński.<sup>86</sup> Charles Whitworth, the British ambassador to the Russian court, thought the trip was connected to the news of the Ottoman Porte’s intention to declare war against Russia, as well as to the Turkish envoy’s visit with Leszczyński.<sup>87</sup> In January 1708 the English ambassador wrote: “Hetman Mazepa once again imparted the Turks’ intention to declare their break from Russia.”<sup>88</sup>

Concerning the Porte’s plans, Tolstoi expressly declared to Golovkin on 29 January 1708 that “the state of local affairs may be better known to the Hetman builder and gentleman Mazepa.”<sup>89</sup>

Mazepa paid no less attention to the situation in Crimea and the Ottoman Empire in 1708. In April he wrote to the crown hetman Adam Sieniawski (an ally of Peter) that he did not share his correspondent’s equanimity regarding the East and that the Tatars’ movements were especially dangerous. Although in his view the Ottoman Porte itself would not be ready for war until the following year, orders had been given to the Tatars to be prepared for such a possibility. Dziaun Murza with the Budjak Nogai had crossed the Dniester and built camps for themselves between the Dniester and the Buh, near the Ukrainian border. Mazepa reported on the internal situation in the Khanate, as well on the uprising of the Circassians.<sup>90</sup> On 27 May the Ukrainian hetman informed Sieniawski that the envoy had returned from the *serasker*. According to his information, Reis Effendi, who had recently served as the sultan’s ambassador to the Swedes, had been sent to the *serasker* to discuss merging their armies.<sup>91</sup> Also in May, Mazepa wrote to Menshikov that Leszczyński’s envoy, Crown *Kuchmistrz* Tarlo, had now been the *serasker*’s guest for more than four weeks, awaiting the promised Belgorod Horde.<sup>92</sup>

Mazepa remained Russia’s most important expert on foreign policy in the southern region almost to the last moment. The Russians not only trusted him but also largely followed his advice. Mazepa possessed a vast network of contacts and excellent personal relations with many of the most influential people in the region, beginning with the *serasker* Yusuf Pasha, a key figure in Turkish politics. When one considers the Porte’s vacillation over what position to take in the Russo-Swedish War and the numerous proposals from Leszczyński,



there is no doubt that Mazepa could have been able to exert substantial influence on the Ottoman Empire's decision regarding entry into the war. But as it turns out, he did not.

As T.K. Krylova has written, referring to Petr A. Tolstoi's account, the news of Mazepa's move to the Swedish side evoked "joyous exhilaration among Constantinople's ruling circles."<sup>93</sup> The Porte never engaged in active hostilities in 1709; but one must not forget that Mazepa fled after the Battle of Poltava to the *serasker* in Bendery, and it was there he found safe haven. Despite Peter's four personal missives to the sultan,<sup>94</sup> and despite general-major Grigorii Volkonskii's efforts<sup>95</sup> – he inundated Yusuf Pasha with letters – the Turks did not turn Mazepa over to the Russians and instead rejected all their offers of substantial monetary rewards.

There is no evidence that Mazepa took any steps before the autumn of 1708 that might have prompted the Porte to join the war against Russia, although he certainly had opportunities to do so. On the contrary, his advice and actions were aimed at neutralizing the Turko-Tatar danger.

## Mazepa and Right Bank Ukraine

Ivan Mazepa's policy toward Right Bank Ukraine remains obscure.<sup>1</sup> Yet we know that the Right Bank (including his struggle for it) was a key focus of Mazepa's policies, domestic as well as foreign. This question is no less significant for the analysis of the Ukrainian Hetmanate's relations with the emerging Russian Empire and of the causes of the conflict that broke out in 1708.

For a full understanding of the situation one must turn to what first caused it to develop. The early history of the Ukrainian Cossacks is closely linked to the Right Bank, first and foremost to the Cherkasy region (*Cherkashchyna*). This was the site of Trakhtemyriv Castle,<sup>2</sup> decreed by the Polish king Stefan Batory to be given into the possession of the Registered Cossack forces. Trakhtemyriv Monastery, also founded there, had a hospital for wounded Cossacks.

### RIGHT BANK UKRAINE AND THE COSSACKS

The territory of the borderland Bratslav palatinate was developed largely thanks to the Cossacks or at least in close cooperation with them. The Cossacks – both Registered and Zaporozhian – played a very important role in the colonization of the lands to the southeast of the Polish Commonwealth – lands that were uninhabited after the Mongol-Tatar invasion. It was they who founded Chyhyryn and many other towns in the region. The Chyhyryn *podstarosta* (vice-*starosta*), the nobleman-Cossack Mykhailo Khmel'nyts'kyi (Bohdan's father), also made an enormous contribution to the development of this region.

Even Ukrainian territories farther west, such as Volhynia, lay within the Cossacks' area of influence. All of the initial Cossack uprisings, starting with those led by Kryshtof Kosyns'kyi and Severyn Nalyvaiko, broke out on the Right Bank – in Volhynia and Bratslavshchyna (the Bratslav region), often encompassing Podolia as well. Under the terms of the Kurukove Agreement of 1625, Registered Cossacks gained the right to live in the towns of Chyhyryn, Cherkasy, Korsun', Bila Tserkva, and Pereiaslav. These became regimental towns, that is, the centres of the six registered regiments, on territory where the Cossacks exerted great influence. Five of these towns were on the Right Bank – only Pereiaslav was just over the border, in the Left Bank.

It is not surprising that this region became a focus of the Cossacks' struggle during Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising as well. When the autonomy of the Ukrainian Cossack state was formulated *de facto* under the terms of the Treaty of Zboriv,<sup>3</sup> its territory consisted of sixteen regiments. Nine of them (that is, more than half) were Right Bank regiments (Chyhyryn, Cherkasy, Kaniv, Korsun, Bila Tserkva, Uman, Bratslav, Kalnyk, and Kyiv).<sup>4</sup> The role of the Right Bank was also quantitatively significant: 25,538 Cossacks out of a registry of 40,000.<sup>5</sup>

In 1654 the Right Bank regiments of the Ukrainian Hetmanate accepted the “high hand” of the Russian tsar. Subsequently, for a number of years, Bratslav palatinate remained a zone of ferocious battles with the Poles, during which the local Cossacks displayed fierce resistance.

The beginning of the Ruin – a period of civil strife, strong factionalism among the Cossack elite, active foreign interference, and rising destructive anarchy among the Cossacks – led to the emergence of the multi-hetmanship (several hetmans at one time), and, as a consequence, the division of Ukraine. The first division of the Ukrainian Hetmanate took place after the election of Ivan Briukhovets'kyi as hetman of the Left Bank (which in fact only formalized a practice that had begun at the end of 1660, when the Left and Right Banks found themselves subject to two different hetmans). Patriotic officers sought to end the schism. The Treaty of Andrusovo of 1667 between Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth altered the situation dramatically, however. Under its terms, Ukraine was divided between the two powers along the Dniπρο, with the Right Bank remaining in the Commonwealth. For this region, it meant

the return of the Polish nobility, the dominance of the Catholic and Uniate Churches, and the oppression and even extermination of the Cossacks (especially during the pre-Sobieski period).

No one wanted to accept this on the Right Bank, and a difficult balancing act between Russia and the Ottoman Empire began. The coming years saw forces in Moscow ready to renounce the agreement with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and take the Right Bank back “under its hand.” In March 1674, Ivan Samoilovych, the hetman of Left Bank Ukraine (which was subject to the tsar), was elected hetman of the Right Bank by all of the Right Bank colonels at a council in Pereiaslav. It seems that the capitulation of Petro Doroshenko further contributed to the eventual unification of the Ukrainian Hetmanate under the rule of the tsar.

But external forces intervened. The Chyhyryn campaigns began, during which Russo-Ukrainian troops fought back against Ottoman aggression. Ultimately, the Russian command decided to leave Chyhyryn and blew up its fortifications. In the spring of 1679, the forces of the Left Bank regiments, led by Ivan Samoilovych, carried out the resettlement of the inhabitants of the towns along the Dnipro (Kaniv, Korsun, and others). This is known in history as “the great eviction.” Twenty thousand families were forcibly moved to the Left Bank, to Sloboda Ukraine. As Samoilovych reported to Moscow, “all the inhabitants of Rzhyshchiv, Kaniv, Korsun, Starobor, Moshny, Drabiv, Bilozer, Tahankiv, and Cherkasy were driven to this side and removed from the enemy, and the towns and their villages, small towns, and hamlets where they formerly lived on that side were all burned down.”<sup>6</sup>

In early 1681, Russia and the Ottoman Empire concluded the Treaty of Bakhchysarai. According to its provisions, the territory between the Buh and the Dnipro (and from Kyiv to Chyhyryn) was to remain an uninhabited buffer zone.

For a time, Samoilovych hoped that his resonant title “hetman of both banks of the Dnipro,” would take root in reality. Unafraid of Golitsyn’s wrath, Samoilovych even launched overt military operations against the Poles. In the summer and autumn of 1684, he positioned a detachment of seven hundred Cossacks in the region of the Sozh River; the peasants had rebelled and appointed a new administration in the persons of *sotnyky* and *otamany* (Cossack commanders). The local Orthodox nobility gladly joined the Cossacks. In this way a significant part of the Mstislav palatinate of

Lithuania came under the control of Samoilovych. Justifying himself to Golitsyn, Samoilovych wrote that “the local inhabitants, the *pospolitye liudi* [peasants] ... were very happy with this arrival.”<sup>7</sup> The hetman publicly declared that he would not relinquish these villages, no matter what decrees were issued to him.<sup>8</sup>

However, Golitsyn’s stance in the negotiations with the Polish Commonwealth put an end to these plans. Under the terms of the Eternal Peace, the Right Bank remained under the Commonwealth. “Concerning those ruined towns and small towns along the river Tiasmyn from the little town of Staek below the Dnipro river, namely Rzhyschiv, Trakhtemyriv, Kaniv, Moshny, Sokolnia, Cherkasy, Borovytsia, Buzhyn, Voron’kiv, Kryliv, and Chyhyryn (all the old Cossack towns) ... they reached an agreement and decided that those places should remain empty, as they are now.”<sup>9</sup>

The subsequent fate of the Cossacks on the Right Bank was tragic. By the early 1680s, only scattered mercenary detachments of Cossacks remained. However, in response to the threat from the Ottoman Empire (and possibly impressed by the Cossacks’ valour in the Battle of Vienna), the Polish king Jan Sobieski re-established the Zaporozhian Host in 1684 with seven regiments and an acting hetman in Nemyriv. The Polish Sejm confirmed the Cossacks’ rights and liberties.

One of the most active colonels was Semen, nicknamed “Palii.” Samiilo Velychko in his chronicle described the situation vividly: Palii lived in Khvastiv (Fastiv), where he flirted with both the Russian and Polish rulers, receiving favour and respect from both. Meanwhile he was able to settle many uninhabited towns and villages with Ukrainians.<sup>10</sup> This “folk hero” will be discussed in greater detail below.

The region began to revive. But before long the Polish nobility extended their reach into the Right Bank and serfdom (*panshchyna*) was re-established. The lords were reluctant to learn from past Cossack wars. Catholic churches and monasteries received vast landholdings on the Right Bank, as did the Kyiv Uniate metropolia. Old conflicts erupted with renewed force.

It appears that in reviving the Right-Bank Cossacks, Jan Sobieski hoped to recover the Left Bank as well (not surprising, since, according to legend, he had signed the Eternal Peace in tears). Thus, Samoilovych was not popular with Sobieski, and neither was Mazepa after him, given that both hetmans focused on building a strong, united Ukrainian Hetmanate “on both banks.”

## MAZEPA AND RIGHT BANK UKRAINE

Mazepa, like Samoilovych, was not indifferent to the idea of a unified Ukraine. At the time, he was a close comrade of Petro Doroshenko, who had devoted his entire life to the goal of a unified Hetmanate. Family ties also influenced Mazepa's attitude toward the Right Bank: he was born there and had grown up there. His father was a captain (*sotnyk*) in the Bila Tserkva Regiment in Khmel'nyts'kyi's army.

Mazepa's piety also played a significant role – he participated actively in theological disputes (his education made this possible). It was his efforts after the transfer of the Kyiv metropolia to the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarch that confirmed the rights of the Kyiv Caves Monastery as a stauropegion and its rights to its own printing house.<sup>11</sup> He personally presented Golitsyn with the *Lives of the Saints*, written by the then unknown Dymytrii Tuptalo (of Rostov),<sup>12</sup> and had them published in the printing house of the Kyiv Caves Monastery.<sup>13</sup> Mazepa defended Tuptalo and Archimandrite Varlaam Iasyns'kyi when the wrath of Patriarch Ioakim descended on them.<sup>14</sup> The hetman also petitioned for another future saint, Theodosius Uhlyts'kyi, securing the Bishopric of Chernihiv for him.<sup>15</sup>

As a staunch defender of Orthodoxy, Mazepa could not help but worry about the repressions that had been launched on the Right Bank. Violations of the interests of Ukrainian merchants also disturbed him. He reported to Peter in 1700 that “in the Polish state they do not cease to plunder the merchants of Little Russian towns.” For example, in the Lubomirski landholdings “from a man from Kyiv ... two hundred oxen were stolen in Polone, and now twice they robbed Nizhyn and Konotop merchants there.”<sup>16</sup>

Finally, it is impossible to discount the pragmatic interest of a strong leader in having all of the Ukrainian Cossacks under his control, spreading his influence and authority among the residents of the “other bank,” the hetman of which he still was, according to his title. The existence of a Right Bank alternative created the threat of migration there among those who were dissatisfied with Mazepa's policy of centralizing and strengthening the Ukrainian Hetmanate. To all this was soon added personal rivalry with the leader of the Right Bank Cossacks, Palii.

This combination of religiosity and ambition, as well as a desire to strengthen the state's power and his own, prompted Mazepa to write to Golitsyn in the first years of his hetmanship about the oppression

of Orthodox residents in the Polish possessions. He even requested that an embassy be sent concerning this to the Hrodna (Grodno) Sejm.<sup>17</sup> I noted earlier that he supported the idea of resubordinating the Kyiv metropolia to the Moscow Patriarch in large part because he hoped to protect the Right Bank population from attacks by Catholics. Mazepa not only provided material assistance and shelter to Right Bank fugitives but also spoke openly before the Polish authorities in defence of the oppressed.<sup>18</sup>

The hetman's relations with the Poles were closely tied with the Right Bank. The story of his sister serves as a vivid example here. Oleksandra Voinarovs'ka decided to leave her husband, a Catholic, and enter an Orthodox monastery, taking vows as a nun. She went to Kyiv with her son, Andrii Voinarovs'kyi – Mazepa's beloved nephew. Her mother, Mariia Mahdalena, the hetman's overbearing mother, lived in Kyiv. Mariia Mahdalena was the hegumene of two women's monasteries, in one of which Mrs Voinarovs'ka settled.

The Poles regarded this as interference in their affairs on Mazepa's part. Active pressure on the hetman began. Besides Voinarovs'kyi himself (his sister's husband), Grand Lithuanian Hetman Kazimierz Sapieha, the Lithuanian field hetman Józef Bogusław Służka, and the grand crown hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski wrote to Mazepa. All of them asked him “to return the children,” “not to destroy the family,” and to compel his sister to do her conjugal duty.<sup>19</sup> But the hetman supported his sister's decision and showered his nephew with favours. Returning them to the Polish Commonwealth was out of the question. Mrs Voinarovs'ka died soon after, and her son, Andrii, became a favourite of Mazepa, and – after the death of Ivan Obydovs'kyi – also the hetman's heir.

Under the pretext of concern for the Orthodox, Mazepa continued to interfere in Right Bank affairs during the Petrine period. In 1694 he submitted a report to Peter “about the affliction and persecution of religious and secular people of the Orthodox Greco-Russian faith in Poland and Lithuania.” As a consequence, the king instructed his representative (*rezident*) in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to present a corresponding report to the Sejm.<sup>20</sup> In 1699, in response to a universal from the crown hetman barring the Cossacks from settling on the Right Bank, Mazepa accused the Poles “of hypocrisy.” He claimed that the Polish nobility had already created *slobodkyi* (free settlements) in the buffer zone, which was supposed to remain uninhabited, and he made a clear threat: “none of the Polish nobility

or lords will decide to build towns and villages five miles from the Dnipro, otherwise soon they will be forced out [whether they are] happy or not ... [forced] to surrender.”<sup>21</sup>

Mazepa expressed great concern that in 1700 Bishop Iosyf Shumlians'kyi had converted Orthodox churches into Uniate ones and, in particular, had given the Uniates the main Orthodox cathedral in Lviv.<sup>22</sup>

A struggle now began for the Bishopric of Lutsk. To preserve Orthodoxy there, Mazepa and the Metropolitan of Kyiv personally petitioned Moscow Patriarch Adrian to ordain Dionysius Zhabokryts'kyi. They rightly believed that with his position and influence he would be able to reverse the onslaught of the Uniates. But Adrian, under the pretext that Dionysius was once married to a widow, forbade the ordination. Despite Mazepa's insistent requests, the position of the Moscow Patriarchate remained unshakeable. Mazepa also wrote to Peter, explaining that “a great persecution of the Orthodox Greco-Russian faith and the saints of God's Church has begun in the Polish state” (that is, on the Right Bank). He blamed this on Iosyf Shumlians'kyi, Bishop of Lviv, who had accepted the Uniate faith.<sup>23</sup> Lutsk diocesans in their letter called Mazepa “a special guardian and benefactor.”<sup>24</sup>

Ultimately, in 1702, Dionysius, not having been ordained as a bishop and lacking support, moved to the Uniates, and Volhynia was thus deprived of an Orthodox episcopate for centuries.<sup>25</sup>

Mazepa's “spiritual” expansion in the part of the Right Bank that remained empty under the provisions of the Eternal Peace was much more successful. This region was important and sacred to any Cossack – the roots of Ukrainian military glory grew from here. With the hetman's petition of September 1700, the bishop's throne of Pereiaslav was re-established.

This process entailed a difficult struggle with Patriarch Adrian. In March 1695, Mazepa wrote to the patriarch, asking him on behalf of the Kyiv Metropolitan Varlaam Iasyns'kyi to appoint an archbishop, to be called the Bishop of Pereiaslav, “as an aid to his strength, frail from old age.” In the thinking of Mazepa and Iasyns'kyi, the new bishop would become the chief assistant to the metropolitan. They suggested Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi, the rector of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, for this position.<sup>26</sup> But this petition did not meet with support from the patriarch. Only just before his death was the Pereiaslav bishopric finally confirmed.



In his universal the hetman stressed that since the creation of the Kyiv metropolia, the Pereiaslav bishopric had always been the primary tool for spreading the Orthodox faith, but because of the many wars over the centuries it had fallen “into disrepair.” Zakharii Kornylovych, a close friend of Mazepa, hegumen of St Michael’s Zolotoverkhyi (Golden-Domed) Monastery in Kyiv, was ordained as the new bishop.<sup>27</sup> Mazepa carried out this plan in close cooperation with the Kyiv Metropolitan Varlaam Iasyns’kyi, who urged Peter not to send Zakharii Kornylovych as bishop to Siberia.<sup>28</sup>

In February 1701 the restored bishopric was granted large land-holdings “along both sides of the Dnipro”;<sup>29</sup> it was also awarded mills on the river Trubizh.<sup>30</sup> Next the hetman revived the Right Bank Trakhtemyriv Monastery, which had been abandoned for decades – the place where in the sixteenth century the Registered Cossacks began and where the first official residence of the hetman was located. According to Mazepa’s universal of 7 April 1701, the monastery was now included in the diocese of Pereiaslav, and Zakharii Kornylovych was entrusted with its restoration.<sup>31</sup> Kaniv Monastery was also included in the Pereiaslav diocese.<sup>32</sup> As a true son of the Ukrainian Baroque era, Mazepa placed great importance on symbols and external attributes. The revival of Trakhtemyriv was truly a landmark event for the Ukrainian Cossacks in general and for the Right Bank in particular.

With the strengthening of Mazepa’s rule as hetman, the effort to subjugate the Right Bank acquired a special significance, for both the domestic policy and the foreign goals of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Unfriendly relations with the Poles prompted the aspiration to make the borders of Ukraine more secure. At the same time, the Paliivshchyna (the area under Semen Palii’s control) was a breeding ground for assertive, self-willed actions by Mazepa against Palii, which greatly complicated the challenges of state-building. This problem would have to be solved somehow.<sup>33</sup>

#### MAZEPA AND THE PALIIVSHCHYNA

Mazepa’s policy concerning the Right Bank had two dimensions: his relations with Palii and his struggle to include the Right Bank as part of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Here I focus on the second dimension; first, though, I provide a brief history of the Paliivshchyna, without which the situation cannot be fully understood.<sup>34</sup>

It is known that Semen, nicknamed Palii, was born in Borzna and first lived as a Cossack in the Nizhyn Regiment. Later, having become widowed, he lived in Zaporizhia. When Jan Sobieski re-established the Cossacks on the Right Bank, Palii actively joined in this process: he entered royal service, brought together agitators from Moldavia and Transdnistria, and settled with them in Fastiv, having received the title of colonel from the king. Taking advantage of Jan Sobieski's support, as did other leaders of the Right Bank Cossacks, he actively engaged in the settlement of uninhabited territories.<sup>35</sup>

The "Paliivshchyna" was taking root. It encompassed the territory from Polissia to the Wild Fields, which Palii now effectively controlled in accordance with the "Cossack law" he had established. The Polish nobility who had returned to this region came up against fierce resistance from the peasants, who had "gone Cossack" (*pokozachuvalys'*) and had stopped paying taxes or fulfilling their labour obligations on the lords' estates.

Palii and his Cossacks often occupied the holdings of the neighbouring Polish gentry. Many of his people with his direct complicity simply turned bandit, that is, led the lives of "free Cossacks." The Paliivshchyna became an ideal for proponents of anarcho-radical ideas, who did not recognize any administrative authority or discipline. Peasants flocked to Palii's territory from all over the Right Bank, and often as well from the Left Bank, where Mazepa's strict policies, aimed at establishing state order, were unpopular with many.

Realizing how much of an irritant he was to the Polish authorities, Palii approached the tsars in 1688 with a request that he be allowed to move to the Muscovite state.<sup>36</sup> Golitsyn surmised that protecting the Right Bank Cossacks would jeopardize peace with the Commonwealth; Mazepa did not disagree, regarding the Right Bank freebooters with great suspicion.

Meanwhile, significant troubles arose for Palii with the authorities, and he was even imprisoned.<sup>37</sup> While he was in prison, Uniates appeared in Fastiv and tried to take over the Orthodox Church built by Semen. When Palii returned, he beheaded the Uniates, an action that, of course, could not go unpunished. In late May 1690, Palii wrote to Mazepa that the Polish army had been sent to Fastiv to force him into submission.<sup>38</sup> Apparently, this circumstance compelled Palii and his men to join Mazepa's Cossacks;<sup>39</sup> soon after, they took part in a successful attack on Kyzy-Kermen.<sup>40</sup> Around this time, Palii began to petition vigorously to be placed "under the tsar's hand."

Thereafter, Mazepa became the mediator in relations between Moscow and Palii. It is difficult to say what motivated the hetman. In any event, he clearly sought to control the situation somehow and to not to leave things to chance. So after the campaign, Mazepa was unstinting in his praise of the Right Bank Cossack leader's courage. Mazepa filed a petition in Moscow, which eventually decided to support Palii.

This was a shining political victory for Ivan Mazepa. After all, Golitsyn's government had been categorically opposed to any discussion of the Right Bank; all it wanted was peace with the Polish Commonwealth, and any flirtation with Palii might lead to conflict with the Poles. In achieving his goal, Mazepa most likely relied on old friends from the boyar faction that opposed the Eternal Peace.

In early 1691, Mazepa sent to Palii a man conveying the tsar's decree, which included the admonition to remain faithful to the tsar. Fearing Polish spies, the hetman did not put this message in a letter, instead ordering his envoy to convey it verbally.<sup>41</sup> Meanwhile, Palii showered Baturyn with requests for permission to move to Left Bank Ukraine. That scenario obviously did not suit Mazepa. Then Moscow rejected Palii's proposal that he move to Zaporizhia and from there after a time to the Left Bank. However, fearful of alienating Palii completely, the hetman arranged a secret shipment of velvet and sables to him. It is significant that Mazepa turned for support in this affair to his good friend, the tsar's most influential relative, Lev Kirillovich Naryshkin.

In March 1692, Palii participated with the Left Bank Cossacks in a campaign against Ochakiv.<sup>42</sup> That campaign brought him unprecedented fame: his men succeeded in razing the town, and they gained rich booty. This was a turning point in the Cossacks' relations with Palii: they saw in him an ideal leader, someone bold and successful – and a supporter of “ancient liberties,” the implication being that under him there would be no taxes, no laws, and no administrators (unlike in the Ukrainian Hetmanate). The word went around in Zaporizhia: “If Palii were hetman, he would be able to handle all the officers [*nachal'na starshyna*] ... and things would be under him as they were under Khmel'nyts'kyi.”<sup>43</sup> Palii enjoyed particular respect in Zaporizhia. According to legend, he acquired his nickname from the Zaporozhians because he had “burned the devil.”<sup>44</sup>

Palii also attracted interest in Crimea, where he was compared to the legendary Ivan Sirko, who had in his day terrified the Tatars. In

the khan's circle, there were plans to recruit Palii to the Tatar cause, just as they once had done with Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (who at one time had forged a military alliance with Crimea). The Tatars' flattery and the Cossacks' enthusiastic support began little by little to turn Semen's head. At a personal meeting with Mazepa, he even declared that if the tsar did not take him immediately into service, he would find someone who would. The hetman wrote again and again to Moscow, warning of the disaster that would follow if Palii shifted his support to the Tatars, since the Zaporozhians would follow him.

Mazepa was also well aware of how dangerous it would be for him to have Palii as a rival for the mace. Even so, being a cunning diplomat and politician, he used the Right Bank leader from time to time for his own interests. It would be possible to involve Palii in the Azov campaigns, which by then were under way, as well as in fighting the Tatars. Moreover, as long as Palii was an ally of Ivan Mazepa, the Zaporozhians refused to support Petryk – a breakaway *otaman* who had rebelled against the hetman and Moscow and was taking his cues from Crimea. This danger seemed very real, and besides, the propaganda slogans of the supporters of anarchic liberty – Palii and Petryk – were virtually identical.

By flirting with Palii, Mazepa achieved an important success: in January 1692, when a forty-thousand-strong horde led by Nuraddin Sultan, together with the remnants of Petryk's band, approached the Zaporozhian Sich, offering to join the Cossacks to their enterprise, the *kish* (the Zaporozhian camp) turned them down.

The hetman even managed to use Palii's forces against Petryk and the Tatars, which was key to defeating this uprising as well as other unrest. In later years, Palii would take part in campaigns against Ochakiv and Kyzy-Kermen, but by then Mazepa trusted him less.

With the conclusion of the Azov campaigns, a new period of Mazepa's hetmanship began during which his power increased. A few short years of stability and well-being ensued. His confrontation with Palii now entered a new stage. The latter, his erstwhile ally, became a rival, and the hetman responded by undercutting the Fastiv colonel in Moscow.

In October 1696, Mazepa wrote to Peter concerning the news that the Lithuanian hetman Sapieha was sending frequent dispatches to Semen Palii. Sapieha allegedly tipped off Palii about this, with the result that Palii no longer trusted Mazepa and did not come to him in Baturyn. Mazepa sent his representatives (*rezydenty*) to Fastiv, to

try to ferret out Paliĭ's plans – in particular, whether he was gathering people for a military operation. In his messages to the tsar, Mazepa stressed that Paliĭ no longer treated him as “cordially” as before; for example, he no longer forwarded (to Mazepa) the letters he received from the Poles. Mazepa advised that he not be admitted with armed men into Kyiv, although he himself had quite recently purchased for Paliĭ a residence there “with his own money,” “giving [him] a taste” for the tsar's service. It soon became known that the Polish king (Augustus II) had sent Paliĭ 4,000 *złoti chervintsi* to hire Cossacks.

The representatives (*rezydenty*) reported from Fastiv that many of Paliĭ's men spoke in favour of serving the new king “rich in money,” rather than “two sides” as before. Paliĭ went on a drinking binge and in his revelry alternately drank to the health of first the king and then the tsar.<sup>45</sup>

In 1699, after the Polish Commonwealth concluded a peace with the Ottoman Empire, the Polish Sejm decided to eliminate the Cossacks on the Right Bank. Hetman Samus', the colonels Paliĭ and Iskra, and other Right Bank Cossack officers were ordered to dismiss their Cossacks and to leave all private and royal possessions. Crown Hetman Jabłonowski was assigned to oversee the execution of this order.

Paliĭ refused to comply. Holed up in Fastiv, he repelled an attack of Polish troops. Thereafter the Bratslav and Kyiv palatinates were effectively in Paliĭ's hands. Yet even while loudly defying the Polish king, Paliĭ refused to enter the tsar's service, citing various difficulties.<sup>46</sup>

#### PREPARING FOR THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR

In the midst of all this, the Great Northern War was about to break out. By now it had become obvious that Mazepa's desire to extend his rule to the Right Bank was closely linked to his desire to eliminate a dangerous rival whose support came mainly from the anarchic rabble.<sup>47</sup>

There is no question that, having acquired the Right Bank, Mazepa would have incorporated it into the Russian Empire. No other options were even considered. The Right Bank was Orthodox and within the Moscow patriarch's formal sphere of influence. In bringing about that unification, Russia would simply have been returning

to its position of 1654, when it took “under its high hand” the Ukrainian Hetmanate “of both banks.” The return of territories lost during the Ruin would clearly have been quite good for Moscow, for it would have weakened the Polish Commonwealth and made it possible to establishing a launching ground for an attack on the south. (I will return to this topic, listing Mazepa’s arguments.)

Soon, however, Peter’s quite different plans were revealed. As early as 1701, the secretary (*d’iak*) Boris Mikhailov, in connection with Peter’s agreement with Augustus II, told Mazepa about the plans to return Trakhtemyriv, Staiky, Trypillia, and many villages of the Starodub Regiment to the Commonwealth, and perhaps resettle Chyhyryn and the surrounding area. The Poles wanted to acquire the Cossacks’ native lands: the old hetman’s capital of Chyhyryn and the Cossack Trakhtemyriv Monastery.

During the official negotiations, the Poles’ request was denied.<sup>48</sup> Mikhailov now asked Mazepa for advice: would it be possible to cede those areas to the Poles so that they would join the war against Sweden? He even considered the option of merely pretending to do so – that is, pretending to agree to give the Poles those lands, and then “having found much Polish inconstancy, for this reason refuse them.”

Ivan Mazepa stated that it would be possible to cede Trakhtemyriv, Staiky, and Trypillia to the Poles without particular loss. But to give away Chyhyryn, Kaniv, and Cherkasy (which stood empty) was not at all possible. Mazepa feared that many Left Bank residents (apparently, first and foremost those who not so long ago had suffered Ivan Samoilovych’s violent “eviction”) would move to the Chyhyryn region. These areas, which could be settled quickly, would attract all the discontented, including Zaporozhians, thus complicating the governance of the Ukrainian Hetmanate’s border areas. Moreover, Kyiv would be left the sole tsarist possession on the Right Bank.

As for the Starodub Regiment, Mazepa pointed out that there the border with the Poles followed the river Sozh. The hetman had no possessions on the right bank of the Sozh, and the Poles regarded the left as not “suitable for settlement.” Therefore, according to Mazepa, it was impossible to give them anything in the Starodub Regiment.<sup>49</sup>

The Russians listened attentively to Mazepa, yet he harboured reservations about them. Perhaps he had learned from his informants (possibly from Ukraintsev himself) that during the Russo-Ottoman peace negotiations in Constantinople the Polish ambassador Leszczyński had arrived<sup>50</sup> and asked the Turks not to make peace

with Russia but rather to help the Poles retake Kyiv and Left Bank Ukraine.<sup>51</sup> That being so, the Polish side's proposal that the Russians give away part of the Starodub Regiment was no coincidence. Aware of these proposals from the Poles, Mazepa, almost immediately after speaking to Mikhailov, began to devote considerable efforts to restore the Trakhtemyriv Monastery, as noted earlier.

Despite all his reservations, the first stage of the Great Northern War boded well for Mazepa. The weakening of the Polish Commonwealth during the war with Sweden opened the tempting prospect of making his title of hetman "of both banks" a reality. And at the same time, he could finally deal with a long-time adversary – Pali. Very soon, at the request of Peter's ally King Augustus, the hetman intervened with his forces in the events on the Right Bank, or rather in the struggle Pali was waging there. This intervention proceeded not quite as the Poles expected.

In the summer of 1702, a mass uprising gripped the Podolia and Bratslav palatinates. Peasants burned homes, killed Poles, and went over to the Cossack Regiments of Samus' and Iskra. The situation became especially complicated amid the attack on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by the Swedes. In August 1702, Samus' asked Mazepa for help against the Swedish forces.<sup>52</sup> In September 1702, Samus' issued a universal in which he announced that he had taken an oath to Peter and Mazepa. He wrote that he would "not violate [this oath] and [would] serve faithfully until death in the service of the monarch and the hetman for all the Orthodox people of Ukraine."<sup>53</sup>

By autumn the Polish nobility had been driven all the way back to Lviv. On 10 November 1702, after a seven-week siege, Samus' and Pali captured Bila Tserkva.<sup>54</sup> After that, Polish rule in Volhynia came to an end. The Poles sentenced the peasants to quartering simply for "boasting of annihilating Poles and Jews" – an indication of the depth of the parties' bitterness.<sup>55</sup>

The Poles were so terrified that, as Mazepa reported, they were ready to recognize a hetman of Right Bank Ukraine. Samus' would not agree to this, for he wanted to slaughter all the *Liakhs* (Poles), and Pali (in Mazepa's view) hesitated.<sup>56</sup>

The position of the hetman and the Russian government was precarious. The uprising against the Poles was extremely popular on the Left Bank. Hundreds of people crossed over to the Right Bank, to say nothing of the Zaporozhians. In December 1702, Peter



ordered Mazepa to post “strong and closely placed guards” on the Dnipro so that no one could flee to join Pali, a subject of the Polish Commonwealth and its king. In January and February 1703, Peter repeatedly sent similar letters to Mazepa, upon which the hetman issued the corresponding universals.<sup>57</sup>

But many Cossacks considered Pali and Samus' the new Khmel'nyts'kyis and heroes of Ukraine. The Orthodox nobility also supported them – the Arkhiv Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii (Arkhiv IuZR, Archive of Southwestern Russia) is full of examples of their participation in the uprising. One of the most colourful figures was Danylo Bratkovs'kyi, a deputy cupbearer of Wenden (*podczaszy wendeński*) in Polish Livonia, accused of involvement in the Cossack rebellion. Having contacts with Pali and Samus', he wrote appeals for the defence of the Orthodox religion. In his will, drawn up on the eve of his execution, Bratkovs'kyi – a member of the Lutsk brotherhood – declared to his descendants that he had done this for the sole purpose of defending the Orthodox Church.<sup>58</sup>

Mazepa, fearing that he would lose all authority on the Right Bank, even sent gunpowder to the rebels. But he also knew very well that a real opportunity had arisen to regain the Right Bank. In a letter to his friend and colleague, the chancellor Fedor Golovin, he wrote expressively and vividly: the right time had come, which usually required long waiting or great, bloody efforts. Now it was possible to checkmate the Poles.<sup>59</sup>

As typically happens in such cases, rumours circulated throughout the Right Bank that the tsar himself supported the rebels. In November 1702, Grigorii Dolgorukov warned Mazepa that the Swedish king, at the instigation of his Polish supporters, was spreading the rumour that the Ukrainian hetman with 20,000 Cossacks had crossed the Dnipro in support of Samus', who was styling himself the acting hetman of His Tsarist Majesty. Dolgorukov urged Mazepa to write to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, refuting these rumours.<sup>60</sup> Peter himself was forced to write to King Augustus personally that all of Pali's statements – “ostensibly made with the consent of Our Tsarist Majesty” – were a lie.<sup>61</sup>

The Poles turned to Peter with a request that he send Mazepa with the Cossacks to help them against the Swedes. At the same time, they wanted Pali and his people to submit to the king. The tsar's letter to Pali was composed in the same tone with which he had condemned the taking of Bila Tserkva by storm and the killing of the nobility



and the Jews.<sup>62</sup> On Golovin's orders, Mazepa activated his correspondence with the Polish hetmans. In the spring of 1703 he sent his man (apparently the Nizhyn regimental chancellor [*polkovyi pysar*]) to Bila Tserkva (to Palii) as his representative (*rezident*) and as a "mediator" in relations with the Poles.<sup>63</sup>

Mazepa told Grand Crown Hetman Adam Sieniawski that he had relayed to Palii the order to return the Bila Tserkva fortress to the Commonwealth. Yet in the same letter, he expressed significant doubts about whether this order would be followed: "It is difficult to soften him and to lead him to implement my advice, as he is a fool, physically ill, with a mind befogged through daily drunkenness; every moment he has a new fantasy, crazy calculations, and advice. There is no resolution or way to frighten and subdue such a carouser."<sup>64</sup>

A delegation from the Polish hetmans headed by Stefan Petrowski (Petrovs'kyi), the treasurer in Vilno, was sent to Mazepa that same year. Their instructions were to state that amid the war with the Swedes, the Poles sought "undivided love and concord" with Mazepa.<sup>65</sup> The Poles appealed to the Ukrainian hetman's "love" for the Commonwealth. At the same time, the hetman wrote to Peter through his courier, the Hlukhiv captain Oleksii Turianskyi, about the need to strengthen the fortress at the town of Oster,<sup>66</sup> "which is very necessary because of the close neighbours the Poles."<sup>67</sup> Such love!

The Poles claimed that the "Ukrainian riots," which required Polish troops to respond, were the only obstacle to moving against the Swedes. Were it not for the Right Bank Cossacks, the Swedes would have already been destroyed. They also expressed the suspicion, spread by the Swedes, that Peter himself was the cause of these revolts.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the challenges raised by the Great Northern War, Augustus II was determined to put an end to the Cossacks on the Right Bank. The uprising in Podolia and Bratslav palatinates was suppressed. Some Cossacks fled to Moldavia, others to join Palii, who hastily fortified Bila Tserkva and declared that he did not intend to surrender to the Poles. Mazepa adopted a wait-and-see attitude, which was probably why, in October 1703, Augustus II bestowed on Mazepa the Order of the White Eagle – the highest award in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>69</sup>

Moscow could no longer delay its decision on Right Bank Ukraine. In August 1703, Peter wrote the following resolution regarding a report from Golovin: "I think it is possible to do something about Bila Tserkva, [in gratitude] for our hetman's service, but without

seeing him it is difficult to encourage him very much.”<sup>70</sup> In late August 1703, Golovin told Vasiliĭ Dolgorukov that Mazepa was to come to Moscow in October to resolve the matter of Bila Tserkva and Palii.<sup>71</sup> Golovin wrote: “Please declare concerning Bila Tserkva that His Tsarist Majesty is very concerned about how to seize [it] from this rebel and give it to the Poles ... for which reason Hetman Mazepa has now been ordered to Moscow to give his best advice concerning this matter, how it might be possible to take it from Palii without bloodshed and other damage.”<sup>72</sup>

In November 1703, Mazepa was indeed in Moscow. An Austrian newspaper offered remarkable details of his meeting with the tsar. Peter arranged a triumphal entry into the capital on the occasion of his victory. The tsar “went on foot into Moscow ... and on the way had a long conversation with Mazepa, who presented him with a sword decorated with diamonds and paid for drinks for the entire company.”<sup>73</sup>

While in Moscow, Mazepa complained to the undersecretary (*pod'iachii*) Ill'ia Nikiforov that the “violent, untruthful” Poles were blaming him, the hetman, for all the troubles with Samus' and Palii (with which he had nothing to do); they even wanted him given over to them for execution.<sup>74</sup> Mazepa surely exaggerated, but the situation on the Right Bank made the Poles extremely angry indeed.

After the negotiations in Moscow, Mazepa dropped his neutrality and began to participate in events involving the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Chancellor Golovin remained his main ally and comrade-in-arms. Mazepa sent him letters in which he declared the hostile intentions of Samus', who was violating the peace between Peter and Augustus. Mazepa wrote to Golovin concerning Palii's dealings with the Lubomirskis (supporters of the Swedes) and his decision to declare his allegiance to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>75</sup> This information was highly alarming, because the Poles were ever more insistently calling for an end to the alliance with Peter, reconciliation with the Swedes, and an alliance with them against Moscow.

Mazepa insisted that the tsar give him clear instructions regarding how to behave with Samus' and Palii should they again write to him – whether to continue to correspond with them, whether to treat them ingratiatingly, and so forth.

At the very beginning of 1704, Samus' and Iskra crossed over to the Left Bank (Mazepa reported this to Golovin on 4 January [O.S.]).

Samus' personally surrendered his hetman's regalia (*kleinody*) to Mazepa. The hetman wrote of him: "He speaks with me very courteously, and he absolutely does not trust Palii and Iskra."<sup>76</sup> Moscow was not particularly happy about this, however. On 13 January 1704, Golovin wrote to Mazepa that Peter "ordered me to write immediately to Your Grace, that this is very harmful at the present time." The tsar and the chancellor were particularly disturbed that "this simpleton [Samus'] so unmistakably clearly" announced the return of the regalia (*kleinody*), at a time when this should have been done secretly. After all, the very fact of the Right Bank hetman's allegiance to Peter violated the "peace treaty between the high crowns." Hence, Mazepa was ordered to send Samus' away quickly and to keep the regalia in "a secret place," so that few would "know about this."<sup>77</sup>

#### MAZEPA'S CAMPAIGN IN RIGHT BANK UKRAINE (1704)

In February, Peter sent an official letter to Palii ordering him to return Bila Tserkva to the Poles; he threatened to use force otherwise.<sup>78</sup> Then the situation changed dramatically. At the end of March, Golovin informed Mazepa that the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, on the initiative of the supporters of the Swedish party, was preparing for the election of a new king. Mazepa was ordered to keep all his regiments in readiness.<sup>79</sup>

In March 1704, the crown hetmans once again defected from Augustus to the hostile pro-Swedish faction. Golovin together with Mazepa decided to use Palii. The chancellor asked Mazepa to incite Palii by any possible means against the Poles, so that the crown hetmans would have a problem on the Right Bank (as he put it, "[some] amusement").<sup>80</sup> He was worried about the rumour that Palii was going to declare his allegiance to the Poles ("from the incitement and private messages of Liubomirsky and others").<sup>81</sup> Golovin also suggested to Mazepa that he himself depart for Kyiv.<sup>82</sup> If he did not, the Paliivshchyna threatened to become a powerful tool for the Poles to use against the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

In April 1704, a decree followed ordering Mazepa to set out for the Polish border with Cossack forces. This decision was to be announced publicly everywhere, especially in Lithuania and Poland.<sup>83</sup> On 7 May, Peter wrote that "Lord Hetman Mazepa has been ordered [to intervene] with all the Cossack army at the

appropriate time against the Poles opposing His Royal Majesty ... and with fire and sword to bring them to obedience.”<sup>84</sup>

By early May, the hetman and his regiments – three Registered Cossack regiments and one mercenary regiment – had crossed the Dnipro and reached the Polish border.<sup>85</sup> Interestingly, the Poles – in particular Crown Guard (*strżnik koronny*) Potocki – asked that the Myrhorod colonel Danylo Apostol be appointed commander of the Cossack troops. Mazepa made some telling comments: Apostol’s in-law (his wife’s brother), Iskryts'kyi, had long been living at Potocki’s residence. He added that there was no need to describe what sort of person Iskryts'kyi’s late father had been – the Little Russian Office was stuffed with letters about his inconstancy.<sup>86</sup> That the Poles preferred to deal with Apostol and not with Mazepa was understandable. Their fears about the hetman’s designs on the Right Bank were well-founded. Mazepa for his part did not miss an opportunity to speak contemptuously of the “faint-hearted and fickle” *Liakhs* (Poles).<sup>87</sup>

Although a fuller analysis of Mazepa’s reports to Moscow is needed, the documents I have consulted show that he consistently conveyed his negative opinion of Palii. For example, he wrote to Fedor Golovin of the flight from Bila Tserkva of an office clerk (*kantselyarist*) who could no longer endure the “abuse and dishonour” inflicted by the drunken Palii and his entourage. They almost tossed him out of Bila Tserkva by his neck, saying that they did not need the hetman’s representatives (*rezidenty*). Mazepa reported that “Palii had succumbed completely to the protection of the Lubomirskis,” and he gave evidence of this.<sup>88</sup>

Samus' too had a low opinion of Palii. After arriving in Mazepa’s supply convoy, “in private conversation” he reported that Palii did not wish any good to the tsar or the king and had sworn allegiance to the Lubomirskis, having received from them rich gifts. He “promis[ed] to serve them benevolently and faithfully” and constantly exchanged secret messengers with them.<sup>89</sup> According to Samus', Palii held a council at which “he boasted and announced to all” that the Lubomirskis “took him with his whole army ... for their defence.”<sup>90</sup>

In view of all this, Mazepa wrote to Golovin concerning Palii: “I will still tolerate him until the time when the Lord God grants that we intercept letters sent either from the Lubomirskis to him, or from him to the Lubomirskis, or other genuine evidence of his inconstancy and blatant treason appears, and when there are grounds,

then I shall have him arrested and arrange *another order between them*" (emphasis mine).<sup>91</sup>

Soon a letter from Lubomirski to Palii came into Mazepa's hands, containing these words: "I declare my affectionate friendship, making my request by our long-standing and present love." To be sure, the request was rather innocent: to provide Cossacks to protect his estates.<sup>92</sup>

It should not be forgotten that while Mazepa was working to blacken Moscow's opinion of Palii, Golovin's intelligence network was reporting on the Right Bank leader's contacts with Lubomirski. Palii was an undesirable neighbour for Russia just as much as for Mazepa. Several decades later, Russian emperors would deal with the Haidamaks as they had with Palii. Thus the attempt by a number of Russian nobles in 1708 to shift all responsibility for Palii's arrest onto Mazepa seems completely groundless. Dolgorukov, while arranging Palii's return from Siberia, set him against Mazepa, stating that "all his misfortune and his exile stemmed from this traitor."<sup>93</sup> The Kyiv *voevoda* Dmitrii Golitsyn claimed that Palii had been sent to Siberia "for nothing other than warning of his agreement with the Poles"<sup>94</sup> – that is, the Right Bank leader had accused Mazepa of contacts with the Poles. This was an outright lie, for Palii never made such allegations; indeed, Mazepa had accused *him* of contacts with the Liubomirskis. And indeed, Dolgorukov himself once spoke of Palii very negatively, referring to him as "scatterbrained" (*legkomyslennyi*) and noting that "he loved this sort of self-willed behaviour."<sup>95</sup> In any case, as will be seen below, Peter and his entourage were just as responsible as Mazepa for Palii's arrest. Moreover, this action was completely justified in terms of political expediency, both for Peter and for Mazepa.

In June 1704, in accordance with the tsar's decree, Mazepa at the head of the Cossack forces crossed the border of the Ukrainian Hetmanate established by the Eternal Peace and entered the territory of the Kyiv palatinate. The universal he circulated in July 1704 said he does so not to breach the peace between Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and not to violate the gentry's rights, much less to support or provoke riots against the lords (*pany*), but for the sole purpose of aiding the Poles against the Swedish king. He offered the nobility the opportunity to stay peacefully on their estates and strictly ordered the peasants to end their rioting and to submit to the established order.<sup>96</sup>

In July, King Augustus sent a letter to Peter with a request that the lands and incomes seized by Palii be returned to the palatine Jablonowski.<sup>97</sup> At the same time he wrote to Mazepa, that the latter, “being within the Polish borders, await his royal decrees and go no farther.”<sup>98</sup>

In mid-June, Palii arrived at Mazepa’s camp near Pavoloch. From there, he accompanied him on his march west. The time was passed in conversation, banquets, and drinking bouts. The hetman colourfully portrayed the situation in his next report to Golovin:

Here it is the sixth day of Palii sitting in my supply wagons. He is dead drunk and seems to have already drunk away what mind he had left. This is a man without conscience [who] keeps around him followers as debauched as himself: they recognize neither the tsar’s nor the king’s rule over them and are always chomping at the bit for robbery and brigandage. Palii himself does not even remember what he says. I proposed he go to Moscow; he refused. A few days later I began to reproach him for it, and he told me that he did not remember anything, because he was drunk then.<sup>99</sup>

Mazepa conducted himself as a warm and generous host. At the same time, he wrote Golovin, he was making every effort “to turn him [Palii] against the Lubomirskis.” But Palii, “being filled with the spirit and gifts of the Lubomirskis,” pleaded now illness, now other reasons for not wanting to fight against the Lubomirskis. For four weeks Palii was in Mazepa’s supply convoy, “always drunk day and night and I never once saw him sober.” Indeed, his companions “were full of the same spirit of the Lubomirskis.”<sup>100</sup>

At the end of July, near Berdychiv, without waiting for the tsar’s instructions, Mazepa decided the fate of the “people’s hero”: “I shall arrest Palii for his bad actions and having returned, I shall command that he be brought after me to Baturyn.”<sup>101</sup> Palii was arrested and held for some time in the supply wagons “under guard.”<sup>102</sup> This event would be recounted in a large number of Cossack *dumy* (folk ballads) on the theme of “Mazepa and Palii,” in which Palii comes to a banquet with the hetman, who arrests him there. The authors of the *dumy*, notwithstanding Palii’s “drunkenness,” sympathized solely with the Fastiv colonel.<sup>103</sup>

In a universal to the inhabitants of Fastiv dated 10 August 1704, Mazepa appointed as colonel in Palii’s place Mykhailo

Omel'ianchenko, a regimental judge (*polkovyi suddia*),<sup>104</sup> “a responsible and prudent” man.<sup>105</sup>

After arresting Palii, Mazepa continued to collect evidence against him, claiming that he had shown himself to be “a traitor and a person malevolent toward His Tsarist Majesty.” In particular, he sent Golovin the testimony of a Jewish leaseholder from Fastiv, Palii’s secretary, whom Palii had sent repeatedly to Lubomirski, the Crown subchamberlain (*podkomorzy koronnyi*).<sup>106</sup> According to this tenant, he had gone to Lubomirski twice and personally heard from the Pole about the mutual oath he had taken with “my brother Lord Palii.” Lubomirski also relayed through this Jew an order to Palii to lure the cavalry regiments and the infantry (*kompaniis'ki polky* and *serdiuky*) “from that side of the Dnipro, as he promised to do,” asked for information about the defences of the Pechers’k fortress, and pledged to transfer money as soon as he received it from the Swedish king.<sup>107</sup> The Jew did not know the kind of information Palii passed along, because the message was sealed.

The arrest of the “people’s hero” went quite smoothly. On 4 August the hetman wrote to Fedor Golovin: “Almost everyone curses Palii, because they have had enough of him due to his constant drunkenness and abuse; thank God, the revolt has already subsided and all has become peaceful.”<sup>108</sup> In a letter dated 11 August, Mazepa offered Golovin all the interesting details of the capture of Bila Tserkva, which was carried out “not without difficulty.” “Palii’s carousers” were stubborn and did not want to leave the fortress until they had seen “Father Palii.” But under pressure from the local townsmen (who declared that they bowed only to “Lord Hetman”), they surrendered in the end.<sup>109</sup> Mazepa even had to resort to the ruse of sending in two hundred of Samus’s men and one hundred Cossacks of the Pereiaslav regiment “whom he ordered also to call themselves *Samusivtsi* [Samus’s troops].” Everything had to look as if it were the seizure of the fortress by Samus’, as his revenge against Palii for the latter’s intention to betray him “to the Poles to perish.”<sup>110</sup>

Fedir Shpak, Zakhar Iskra, Antin Tans’kyi (Palii’s son-in-law), and other Right Bank leaders acknowledged Mazepa’s rule as hetman. After that, just as the Ukrainian hetman had promised the Poles, the rioting began to subside. Mazepa wrote as early as August that the robberies and murders committed by “Palii’s revellers” had ceased and that the nobility had returned to their towns and villages.<sup>111</sup> In

October the gentry of the Kyiv palatinate at a regional diet (*sejmik*) expressed their gratitude to Mazepa for restoring order.

On 15 August, Mazepa reported that he “had already sent away this crazy drunk, Palii, under guard to Baturyn and ordered him held under strong guard in the local castle.” At the last moment, Palii’s plan to escape had been discovered; he had intended to flee to Zaporizhia. Interestingly, it was an Uman captain (*sotnyk*), that is, a Right Bank officer, who had uncovered the plan.<sup>112</sup>

On 21 September 1704, Fedor Golovin wrote to Dolgorukov: “Palii is already sitting in Baturyn under guard, and the hetman has fortified Bila Tserkva with reliable people; do not announce to the Poles that this was so easy, however, but state that there will be many difficulties in obtaining this fortress and that Palii’s adherents still want to defend it.”<sup>113</sup>

To conclude this discussion of Palii, Mazepa’s role in his fate has not been fully clarified. Was Palii a cunning politician who had toyed with the Poles, or simply a good-for-nothing drunkard and a supporter of “Cossack liberties”? I suspect that the latter was the reason for Palii’s popularity among the common people. Dmitrii Golitsyn wrote along similar lines in November 1708: “the local people are very favourably disposed toward him and constantly remember him.”<sup>114</sup>

Meanwhile, in the summer of 1704, the hetman was deeply concerned about the tsar’s plans with respect to the Right Bank. He wrote to Golovin: “If it please Your Princely Grace, ask the great sovereign His Serene Tsarist Majesty, whether he would permit me to capture Bila Tserkva from Palii? And having taken it – shall I give it to His Royal Majesty or keep it in my possession until a future decree from the monarch?”<sup>115</sup> According to the fourth article of the alliance treaty with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth dated 19 August 1704, Peter pledged to make efforts to see that Palii, “without any opposition, as soon as possible,” gave all the fortresses to the Poles “whether for good or ill” (*khot' po dobru, khot' po zlu*).<sup>116</sup> It is difficult to say whether Mazepa knew of this agreement – most likely he did. But perhaps – and not without reason – he believed that the reality might prove quite different from the written commitments. Presumably, Peter’s words also made the hetman think this.

In his many letters, Mazepa emphasized that the Poles themselves were unable to quell the riots on the Right Bank and return the subjects to obedience. He also cautiously hinted that the subjects themselves were no longer willing to tolerate “the heavy *liadt'skyi*



[Polish] yoke” over them, and he reported that representatives of four Right Bank towns had already come to him, asking him to expel the Polish administration and to deliver them from their “intolerable plundering.”<sup>117</sup>

Augustus II sent a letter to Mazepa in which he demanded the return of the Bila Tserkva and Nemyriv fortresses, which were occupied by Pali. Crown Hetman Jabłonowski wrote to him with the same demand.<sup>118</sup> These messages were ignored.

Interestingly, the Poles themselves were compelled to recognize Mazepa’s rule, if only *de facto*. For example, Augustus sent Mazepa numerous letters asking him to protect the estates of his supporters and deter the Cossacks from looting.<sup>119</sup> The nobility of the Kyiv palatinate sent ambassadors to the hetman expressing friendship and concord and asking for “affection and protection” – that is, for Mazepa’s troops to conduct themselves “decently” on the Right Bank.<sup>120</sup>

Thus, after Pali’s arrest, Mazepa became the *actual* ruler of the Right Bank, thereby realizing the title of “Hetman of both banks of the Dnipro” and fulfilling the long-standing dream of the patriotic Cossack officer elite. Mazepa’s universal to the Right Bank mercenary infantry colonel Denys, dated 11 October 1704, shows that this is exactly how he assessed the situation. In it, he harshly censured the looting of livestock and provisions and stressed that the region was no longer under “Pali’s power.”<sup>121</sup>

By now, a new king had been elected in the Commonwealth – Stanisław Leszczyński, a protégé of the Swedes. This meant it was necessary to go to the aid of Augustus. On 24 August, Mazepa received an order to destroy the estates of the Lubomirskis and the Potockis. In effect, this provided him with the legal basis for remaining in the Right Bank.<sup>122</sup> In addition to this, letters arrived from Augustus and the palatines of Kyiv concerning Bila Tserkva, asking him “to take it from Pali, station his own people [there], and, until the end of the war, cede it to no one but retain it in his power.”<sup>123</sup>

Mazepa could now see himself the master of the Right Bank. He permitted the palatine of Belz, Adam Sieniawski, to station his troops in winter quarters in Vinnytsia, Ladyzhyn, and Bratslav, but at the same time strongly advised him not to enter into conflict with the people of Samus’ who were based there.<sup>124</sup>

What position did the Russian authorities take with respect to the Right Bank? Certainly, Mazepa could not have decided independently to extend his power to the Right Bank. For this he must

have had Peter's secret consent. Indeed, in August 1704, Fedor Golovin informed him of Peter's secret wish that Bila Tserkva remain under Mazepa.<sup>125</sup> Right up until the critical year of 1707, the Russian authorities would hold to this scenario: the spread of the hetman's power on the Right Bank amid civil war in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. From the perspective of military and political strategy, Peter regarded Ukraine as the launching pad for a future war with the Ottoman Empire. In addition, he found it highly expedient to deprive the Poles of the opportunity to intervene in Ukrainian affairs and to provoke conflicts with Crimea.

Peter commanded that the old brass cannons in Bila Tserkva be replaced immediately with cast-iron ones from Kyiv.<sup>126</sup> Undoubtedly, the point of this was to underscore for Mazepa the seriousness of Peter's plans regarding the future of Right Bank Ukraine.

In December, Fedor Golovin extended permission to place Palii's Cossacks in quarters in the Kyiv palatinate. It was left to Mazepa to decide where to position Lubomirski's Polish forces "so as to be more useful for the integrity of Ukraine."<sup>127</sup> Mazepa's title of hetman "of both banks" was becoming increasingly secure.

#### RE-ESTABLISHING THE UKRAINIAN COSSACK STATE ON RIGHT BANK UKRAINE

Having received secret *carte blanche* to do so, Mazepa went about re-establishing the borders of the Ukrainian Cossack state from the time of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. He preserved the existing regimental organization there (the Bila Tserkva, Korsun, Chyhyryn, Uman, Bratslav, Cherkasy, and Kaniv Regiments) and added a new territorial subdivision: the Bohuslav Regiment.<sup>128</sup>

Vasyl' Kochubei later reported angrily: "But the regiments on that bank had long ago sworn an oath to him; therefore he settled them there."<sup>129</sup> In addition, Mazepa appointed stewards (*ekonomy*) and prefects (*starosty*) in the Bila Tserkva, Chyhyryn, and Bratslav Regiments, and there they collected all the revenues from leases. A document exists reporting the presence of Mazepa's "inspector" (*dozortsa*) – that is, his manager – in Chyhyryn.<sup>130</sup> And on the Right Bank the rent was paid not in *chekhy*,<sup>131</sup> but in a stronger currency: ducats.<sup>132</sup> The sums were large: from Fastiv – 2,000 *zloty*, and from Korsunshchyna, Chyhyrynshchyna, and Kanivshchyna (the regions around Korsun, Chyhyryn, and Kaniv respectively), around 15,000

*zloty*. Rents from the Right Bank regiments were being collected as early as 1704.<sup>133</sup> Other taxes were introduced as well. Bila Tserkva colonel Mykhailo Omel'chenko mentioned the cauldron tax (*pokazanshchyna*, a tax on each cauldron used for distilling *horilka*), the tithe, and labour dues (*panshchyna*).<sup>134</sup> To be sure, Kochubei was writing after Mazepa went over to the Swedes, and accordingly he was trying to paint a black picture. But there is no doubt that the hetman was seeking to establish the same administrative and economic regime on the Right Bank as existed on the Left Bank. This again underscores the fundamental difference between Mazepa and Pali, between the state approach and the anarchic approach.

In accordance with this economic policy, Mazepa also made grants in the newly acquired regions. The cavalry colonel Tans'kyi received the villages of Iakhny and Mykytyntsi in Korsun district (*povit*) in December 1706.<sup>135</sup> Pali's nephew (Karlo Chasnyk) received the village of Kryve and an apiary in Uman.<sup>136</sup> Oleksandr Ohloblyn provides information about Mazepa's universal of 1706–07, in which the Bratslav colonel Hryhorii Ivanenko was awarded "the deserted little town [*mistechko*] of Borky in Chyhyryn district [*uezd*]." Ohloblyn adds that by Mazepa's decree, Vasyl' Lukoms'kyi, the father of the famous historian Stepan Lukoms'kyi became a "settler" (*osadchyi*) in Uman district and revived Uman, Ladyzhyn, Monastyrshche, Borky, and other small towns.<sup>137</sup>

Even more interesting is Ivan Mazepa's universal of 2 August 1708 giving Andrii, Iakiv, and Semen Lyzohub residences in Chyhyryn itself, as well as farms (*khutory*) and apiaries near the town, on the Tiasmyn and Ros' rivers. It is also noteworthy that this Chyhyryn property previously belonged to Hetman Petro Doroshenko, whose daughter was married to Iukhyn Lyzohub (son of the hero of Azov, Chernihiv colonel Iakiv), the father of the three brothers named in the universal.<sup>138</sup> In this way, Mazepa revived the famous hetman's residence Chyhyryn, which had been abandoned by Russian and Ukrainian forces after the tragic events of 1678.

The Poles had reason, therefore, to complain to Peter in February 1707 that Mazepa was settling Cossacks on territories that were supposed to remain uninhabited, according to the Eternal Peace.<sup>139</sup> Dmitrii Golitsyn, governor of Kyiv, later wrote that "many small towns, villages, and hamlets from Kyiv on down to the Buh and the Dniester" had been populated, including "old towns [*mistechka*] that existed under the Poles." "And Mazepa's servants the Poles have been

planted in them, and all praise him.” In total, according to the Kyiv governor, Mazepa settled fifty thousand people on the Right Bank.<sup>140</sup> This figure may have been exaggerated, but given that Golitsyn sent this information to Aleksandr Menshikov, he was very unlikely to have falsified the information significantly. That being so, a definitive picture of the resettlement emerges (recall that the population of the hetman’s capital Baturyn numbered around fifteen thousand).

An interesting fact provided by Vasyl' Kochubei concerns the activity of Mazepa’s mother, Mariia Mahdalena, the hegumene of a Kyiv monastery, who by that time was ninety years old.<sup>141</sup> Despite her venerable age, Mariia established free settlements (*slobody*) on the Right Bank, populating them with “people of this bank.” Kochubei complained that large numbers of people had settled in all the deserted towns and villages of the Right Bank under Mazepa’s protection (data from Golitsyn confirm this). Kochubei, a very wealthy landowner, was incensed that the population had decreased on the Left Bank (evidently, mainly thanks to the peasants, who migrated in response to their dissatisfaction with conditions on the Cossack elite’s estates).<sup>142</sup> It seems that geopolitical and state objectives did not concern Kochubei.

The general aide-de-camp (*heneral'nyi osaul*) Andrii Hamaliia was assigned to Bila Tserkva, which was to become the capital of the new region. Mazepa may have been planning an even rosier future for this town, which was near the Mazepa-Koledyns'kyi family’s ancestral home.

Meanwhile, the foreign policy situation was coming to a head. Mazepa understood better than anyone in Peter’s circle the complexities of the alliance with Augustus. His supporters among the Polish magnates demanded that Peter and Mazepa return Bila Tserkva to them and pacify the Right Bank’s inhabitants. As early as February 1705, Crown Hetman Lubomirski was complaining that Samus' had occupied the Bohuslav starosta district (*starostvo*, an estate awarded to a Polish nobleman).<sup>143</sup> At the end of March 1705, Michael Stefan Radziewski, who insisted on the Right Bank’s return, came to Mazepa from Lubomirski.<sup>144</sup> As per Golovin’s instructions of 10 April 1705,<sup>145</sup> the hetman pleaded the difficulties of wartime and pointed out that the local Ukrainian population would riot again if Bila Tserkva were returned, especially now, when the situation was so volatile in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the king was on campaign.<sup>146</sup>

In June 1705, Peter gave his personal decree to Mazepa to proceed with thirty thousand Cossacks to Lviv, to “pressure the estates of the opponents of His Royal Majesty of Poland Augustus – the Potockis and others - ‘with large exactions [*kontrybutsii*] (looting, payment requirements).” Mazepa was also ordered to threaten with ruin all “who [would] dare to go to confirm the election or to the coronation of Stanisław Leszczyński.”<sup>147</sup>

The victorious campaign on the Right Bank undertaken by Mazepa in the autumn of 1705 on the tsar’s orders (under the pretext of destroying the estates of Augustus II’s opponents) must have convinced the hetman of the need to keep the Right Bank under his control. That campaign’s route followed the one Khmel’nyts’kyi had blazed in his time. Along the way, Mazepa made note of how much the Ukrainian peasants and townsmen hated the Polish gentry and how enthusiastically they greeted him. As he wrote, “at once all the governors and Jews fled ignominiously into the depths of Poland,” having learned that he had crossed the Dnipro and was going to the Right Bank.<sup>148</sup> Lviv voluntarily “placed itself under the hetman’s protection.”<sup>149</sup>

The march itself was arranged in accordance with the sonorous title “hetman of both banks.” An anonymous Polish newspaper conveyed a remarkable description of the Right Bank regiments’ participation in Mazepa’s campaign:

First comes the regiment of Mykhailov of Fastiv; he also chooses a place for the camp and forms the vanguard. Then come the regiments of the army of cavalry and hired infantry [*serdiuky*]. Then comes His Most Illustrious Grace, the Lord Hetman. The mace is carried before him, the standard [*bunchuk*] over him with a substantial, proper escort. Then come the regiments of registered Cossacks in the line and on the flanks. The infantry of the Moscow regiments, as well as a regiment of hired infantry [*serdiuky*] on foot come with the cannons, ammunition, and the camp; the two regiments of Samus’ and Iskra come in reserve, and stand thus in reserve ... The appearance of the Most Illustrious Lord Hetman, the canopies, the silver vessels – in every respect they equal those of kings.<sup>150</sup>

Peter’s directives emphasized still more Mazepa’s status as the ruler of the Right Bank. He was ordered to send twenty to thirty thousand cavalry with light guns to administer the palatinate of Belz, and the

lands of Kholm and Lviv, and to procure provisions. Should supplies be few, they had permission to cross into the Volhynian palatinate. "He is to gather provisions from the people, no matter what their excuses, but the collection is to take place decently and without plunder."<sup>151</sup>

With two competing kings and terrible internal turmoil tearing apart the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Mazepa thought it possible and indeed opportune to insist on the unification of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. But those in Peter's circle espoused a different opinion.

In November 1705, from near Zamość, Mazepa (apparently on "request") sent his thoughts on the Right Bank to Golovin: "It pleased you to desire me to inform you of my opinion about conceding this side of Ukraine to the Poles." The hetman, as usual, declared his willingness to rely on the will of the sovereign, but he also warned that the return of the Right Bank would generate a host of challenges and difficulties. He believed that the main danger was that the Poles would thereby gain proximity to Crimea and Zaporizhia. It is interesting that Mazepa referred to the terms of the Eternal Peace, the articles of which "specified the sending of reciprocal commissioners for the final demarcation of the towns on this side of the Dnipro: Kaniv, Cherkasy, Korsun, Chyhyryn, Kryliv, and others, with their lands." The hetman thought that these towns should by all means remain under Peter, "for if they pass into the Polish domain, then, in addition to many other difficulties, all the Little Russians will cross over to this side of the Dnipro to avoid duties, especially from the border regiments: from Pereiaslav, Lubny, and Myrhorod, whose inhabitants have many ancient fields and agricultural lands on this side."<sup>152</sup>

At around the same time, in November 1705, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Karol Radziwiłł and Field Hetman of Lithuania (*Hetman Polny*) Stanisław Denhoff submitted a memorandum to Golovin, in which they insisted specifically on the return of Bila Tserkva and other Right Bank fortresses. In their reply, the Russian deputies consented to this, "despite the numerous losses to the Little Russian region because of this return."<sup>153</sup>

In the same vein, Peter signed a secret resolution: "The sovereign agrees to give these fortresses away, despite the extreme Little Russian loss, but the local residents must first be pardoned."<sup>154</sup> On this matter of amnesty, the position of the Russian and Polish sides diverged. The Poles insisted on expelling all the Cossacks to the Left Bank, while Peter wanted to ensure amnesty for the rebels.

## MAZEPA'S FIGHT FOR RIGHT BANK UKRAINE

It is difficult to say when and from whom Mazepa learned of the tsar's decision. In June 1705 he sent his nephew, Andrii Voinarovs'kyi, to the tsar.<sup>155</sup> Voinarovs'kyi arrived in Vilnius in July,<sup>156</sup> and thereafter, together with Ivan Chernysh, he was constantly at Peter's headquarters in Hrodna. Voinarovs'kyi would have learned – or at least guessed – through his informants what agreements had been signed with the Polish side.

A Polish archive contains a copy of Peter's letter to Mazepa of 14 November 1705. It describes a decree according to which the Poles were to be given the fortresses taken from Palii, provided that they declared an amnesty for the Right Bank Cossacks.<sup>157</sup> Apparently, that decree was sent, although no Russian copy of the tsar's letter has survived. At any rate, as early as 1 February 1706, Augustus II himself informed the Ukrainian hetman of a new alliance treaty with Peter, according to which the Right Bank was to be returned to the Poles. As proof, the Polish king cited this letter from the tsar.

That very day, Augustus appointed commissioners to deal with the Right Bank issue. They were instructed to negotiate with Mazepa regarding the handover of Fastiv, Bila Tserkva, Korsun, Nemyriv, and other towns conquered by Palii and other "Cossack rebels." The cannons, weapons, and all the ammunition found in the fortresses were also to be returned. There was no discussion of an amnesty, but the need to transfer all Cossacks to the Left Bank was mentioned.<sup>158</sup>

The Poles' rejection of an amnesty provided Mazepa with a reason to delay the transfer of the Right Bank. The move of some of the Polish and Lithuanian magnates to Leszczyński's side also facilitated this. Interestingly, in the midst of military action on the Right Bank, Mazepa made great efforts to ensure the security of the Pochaiv Monastery.<sup>159</sup>

At the end of 1706, Augustus II's refusal of the Polish crown and catastrophic developments (for Russia) in the Great Northern War changed Peter's position. He agreed to give the Poles the Right Bank in order to retain at least some of his Polish allies (at that moment he was ready to give anything to anyone). On 21 September 1706, Gavriil Golovkin and Grigorii Dolgorukov signed the tsar's "Response to the points of the Polish commissioners." In addition to military issues, this document discussed the Right Bank. Article 7 declared that the tsar "seized those towns from Palii and arrested him for no other reason than the

interests of the king and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth” and that he had already “ordered his monarchical decree to be sent to the Most Illustrious Hetman and Knight Commander Lord Mazepa, that he admit the forces of His Royal Majesty and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth into Bila Tserkva and give that fortress to the commissioners sent to receive it.”<sup>160</sup>

In mid-February 1707, an embassy from the Sejm comprising the palatine of Krakow Janusz Wiśniowiecki, the palatine of Mazovia Stanisław Chomętowski, and the Lithuanian marshal (*marszałek*) Marcjan Wołłowicz, arrived in Zhovkva. Right Bank Ukraine was once again discussed. Lengthy negotiations began. The ambassadors demanded the immediate return of the towns, the withdrawal of the garrisons, and the arrest of Samus' and Iskra. Tellingly, the very first point of their instructions read: “The immediate return of all Ukrainian fortresses, taken from the rebel Palii.”<sup>161</sup> A secret memorandum stated that “some Ukrainian fortresses, towns, and shtetls” were to be given “in fact and without delay.”<sup>162</sup>

The Poles insisted that Mazepa “not defend those rebels and not render them assistance.” They feared that the hetman would protect the lands he had already settled. Peter promised to send the hetman a decree on the return of the Right Bank, and, with regard to the colonels, that he would keep them from rebelling whenever possible.<sup>163</sup>

A resolution from Peter is preserved in the Poles' instructions concerning the Right Bank: “Return and designate a time frame.”<sup>164</sup> Interestingly, the official response of the Russian ministers contained a more vague formulation. It noted, in particular, that this was “very dangerous, lest new riots begin.”<sup>165</sup> They feared the emergence of a “new Palii.”

Golovkin's reply to the Poles was also quite elliptical and left room for delay. He wrote that Bila Tserkva and other towns in Paliivshchyna would be given back “when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth demands” (as if the Poles were not constantly demanding their return). It was promised that “a decree of His Tsarist Majesty would be issued concerning this to the Most Illustrious Lord Hetman Mazepa from the chancellery of His Tsarist Majesty.” As for Samus' and other Right Bank Cossacks, Golovkin's answer stated that “His Tsarist Majesty, for the sake of his affection toward the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, will be pleased to send his decrees to the Lord Hetman Mazepa to pacify these riots whenever possible.”<sup>166</sup>



From a later letter from Peter to Mazepa (in November 1707), we know that the tsar did send the hetman a decree to give the Poles Bila Tserkva and other fortresses in Right Bank Ukraine.<sup>167</sup> That decree stated that to preserve the alliance with the Polish Commonwealth, Mazepa was to release “Bila Tserkva and other towns acquired from the rebel Pali” from their garrisons and to transfer them to the Poles. The same decree enjoined him to do his utmost to keep Samus' and Iskra from fomenting new riots.<sup>168</sup>

All the hetman was able to obtain was the tsar's promise that before the Russo-Polish Commission began to act on the land transfer, he would be informed in advance, “so that I can warn the Ukrainian people in time” and give the Cossacks an opportunity to leave the Right Bank, as well as all those who do not wish to remain “under the Polish [*liatskoe*] yoke.”<sup>169</sup>

No matter what Peter's stance, Mazepa was not going to hand the Poles the Right Bank. This fact is very important for understanding the hetman's policy (as well as his views in general) and for assessing his negotiations with Leszczyński, which were conducted during this period.

Evidence of Mazepa's true plans at that time can be found in his letter of 18 July 1707 to crown vice-chancellor (*podkanclerzy koronny*) Jan Szembek.<sup>170</sup> In that missive, Mazepa rebuffed accusations that Cossack detachments had ravaged Szembek's estates along the Dniester. He noted that “freebooters” had gathered there from all over, and the amount of “carousing” (*gul'tiaistvo*) had increased, and therefore “it is difficult to stop the spinning wheels quickly and subdue the willful element.” The hetman also denied that people on Szembek's estates had been forcibly taken to the Cossack militia. He wrote mockingly: “Such an informer will surely be put to shame in due time, since there in fact have been and are no such violations, and if someone freely came to the Cossack militia, then such a person could hardly be compelled by force.” Moreover, he declared his intention to install a governor in the small town of Iagorlyk (at the confluence of the Iagorlyk and the Dniester), on the border of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with the Ottoman Porte. And this was not to gain income from it (“to which I have made no claim whatsoever and do not claim, which I have not had and do not have”), but because the owner of Iagorlyk, the crown quartermaster (*koronnyi oboznyi*), had joined the party of Stanisław Leszczyński (now “the enemy of His Tsarist Majesty”), so the presence of

Mazepa's man there was necessary. "And Iagorlyk belongs to the body [corpus] of Ukraine, which remains under my jurisdiction."<sup>171</sup> Is this not a comprehensive declaration of the rights of the Ukrainian Hetmanate to the Right Bank?

In a letter to Gavriil Golovkin dated 10 August 1707, the hetman reported on information he had received that the castellan (*kashtelian*) of Volhynia was gathering Polish forces, intending to force the return of the Ukrainian towns.<sup>172</sup> Mazepa reminded Golovkin of the promise made to him that if the commission for the return of the Right Bank to the Poles was convened, "Your Princely Grace will notify me beforehand."<sup>173</sup> Mazepa insisted that if the tsar's will was indeed to give Ukraine to the Poles during the summer commission, then he should know about it as soon as possible. Mazepa could then at least warn the population of the Right Bank in time. He expressed confidence that by no means all of the residents, especially Cossacks, would want to remain "under the Polish [*liatskoe*] yoke."<sup>174</sup>

A week later, Mazepa complained again to Golovkin that the Polish commissioners had made enormous difficulties for him, by informing the troops about plans to force the return of the Right Bank. Those troops were already positioned on the border, with the intent of marching straight to Bila Tserkva. The Poles demanded that the hetman go there, too. Mazepa asserted that he still had no decree from the tsar as to how he should proceed.<sup>175</sup> He pointed out to Golovkin that he had a moral responsibility to the people he had taken under his protection. "What troubles me most of all, and disturbs my conscience," was that he had promised to warn the Right Bank population in advance so that they would have time to relocate to the Left Bank. Otherwise, the local Cossacks would be subject to revenge for participating in the revolts together with Palii, Samus', and Iskra. Mazepa noted that the actions of the Right Bank population had driven the local Polish nobility, priests, and Jews to "uncontrollable rage." He again reminded Golovkin of the promise made to him to send the monarch's decree in time.<sup>176</sup> He tried to delay the decision to return the Right Bank, pleading that there "they had now harvested the grain, [and] stored [it] for the winter, [and it would be] very difficult to leave."<sup>177</sup>

On the same day, the hetman wrote to Shafirov asking that he petition for a decree from the tsar regarding how he should handle the commissioners who had arrived to take the Little Russian lands beyond the Dnipro (Trans-Dnipro) into Polish possession.<sup>178</sup>

The Poles for their part exerted strong pressure on the hetman – Primate Stanisław Szembek, Archbishop of Gniezno, Grand Crown Hetman Adam Sieniawski, and Stanisław Denhoff, the marshal (*marszałek*) of the general confederation created to support Augustus, all wrote to him. They all requested assistance in returning “Trans-Dnipro Ukraine” to the Commonwealth.<sup>179</sup> On 21 August 1707, the castellan of Volhynia, Wacław Wielhorski, asked Mazepa to specify when he would arrive at Bila Tserkva for the opening of the commission on the return of the Trans-Dnipro lands to the Commonwealth.<sup>180</sup>

But Mazepa’s efforts were not in vain. In late August he received an order from Golovkin to escort out of Ukraine the Polish commissioners who had arrived to transfer the Trans-Dnipro lands to the Polish domain.<sup>181</sup>

On 20 September 1707, the hetman, dissembling, wrote to Volhynia castellan Wielhorski that he could not meet with them to hold the commission until he had received written confirmation on this subject from Peter.<sup>182</sup> He wrote the same to Hetman Adam Sieniawski, announcing rather mockingly that the tsar’s decree on the return of Ukraine to the Polish Commonwealth’s possession was already outdated (*jest dawny*) and that he required a new one, with Peter’s personal signature.<sup>183</sup>

A new directive from Golovkin, received in early October, suggested that he take a similar line with the Poles.<sup>184</sup> Mazepa wrote with satisfaction that he now understood Peter’s will completely and knew how to send the Polish commissioners away without having carried out the business that had been entrusted to them. In his letter, Golovkin apparently also proposed that he claim it impossible to return the Right Bank to the Poles without a written order from Peter.<sup>185</sup>

At this time a secret letter from the tsar arrived. In it, the tsar stressed that the Poles wanted to subject the whole of Ukraine to their rule; then, however, he referred to the “mutual recognition that neither under the current circumstances, nor after the war with the Swedes, would we be able to give Ukraine to the Poles.”

Peter noted that one problem that would have arisen with the return of the Ukrainian lands was that “all correspondence and negotiations with our closest friends would be completely cut off.” As an example, he noted how the Poles had opened and inspected one of the diplomatic parcels and confiscated the most important letters from allies, which were later returned only through Mazepa’s

“persistence and faithfulness” (evidently, he did not miss an opportunity to demonstrate the “falseness” of allies).

The tsar stated further that “after the war with the Swedes, we, in accordance with our resolution, will have to declare war on the Turks.” And for this it would be necessary to enter Wallachia through the Right Bank. If this were Polish, the tsar would have to ask permission from the Poles, and they would never give it, for they had concluded a peace treaty with the Porte. Then, practically repeating Mazepa’s old arguments, Peter said that returning the Right Bank would give the Poles “a convenient opportunity to organize a conspiracy and establish correspondence with the Turks and Tatars to our detriment.” Here he cited the example of “the old rascal Potocki,” the crown guard (*strażnik koronny*), who had passed the Ottomans some information.

He ordered Mazepa to write to the Polish commissioners that he (Mazepa) could give the Poles neither Bila Tserkva nor the rest of the Right Bank until he had received a written decree from the tsar.<sup>186</sup> Sieniawski wrote to Peter as well: “The Lord Hetman Mazepa does not want to give Ukraine to the commissioners of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth without a decree signed by the hand of Your Tsarist Majesty.”<sup>187</sup>

On 29 September, Golovin wrote to Peter that he had decided, along with Menshikov,

to send Emel'ian Ukraintsev alone to the crown army without money but just with a letter to Hetman Mazepa, to comfort him, ostensibly for the return of Ukraine; and although, sovereign, we shall send such a letter, we wrote to him secretly, to the hetman, through a courier, so that he does not transfer [the land] according to the letter, and retains [the land] in any way possible, and drags out the time.<sup>188</sup>

Peter wrote on 12 October 1707 to Golovkin: “You wrote to me in Vilna [Vilnius] that the General Council answered the Poles about the return of Ukraine, gaining time; I think it would be better to answer them that without my special decree you cannot do this.” He further ordered “that you declare to Hetman Sieniawski (if he begins to demand [an answer], but while he is silent, you be silent), that you received a message from me in response to your letters that I myself will talk about this with the hetman.”<sup>189</sup>

To reinforce Peter's attitude toward the Right Bank, the hetman applied all his skills of persuasion. In a lengthy letter to Golovkin on 23 October 1707, the hetman outlined "my advice on Bila Tserkva, and other places on this bank of Ukraine."<sup>190</sup> Clever diplomat and politician that he was, Mazepa said he had the very difficult task of giving advice, being at a great distance and not knowing what underlay Peter's intentions,<sup>191</sup> whether or not the return of Bila Tserkva to the Poles was to the tsar's advantage, what Russia's actual military situation was, and whether friendship with the Poles (*priiazn' liatskaia*) was necessary. But everything private must yield to the public good and benefit, and as the heart of "God's anointed one" (*bogopomazannik*) decides, and as Golovkin with his prudent judgment recommends, so be it.<sup>192</sup>

Next, however, Mazepa offered evidence of the strategic importance of the Right Bank for Russia. He suggested that as the Poles drew near the Dniester, riots and rebellions would increase along the Dnipro, for, having direct access to Crimea, Zaporizhia, and the *serasker* pasha<sup>193</sup> (based in Bendery), they would be able to send their people to those places and incite their inhabitants to hostile attacks. The hetman reminded his reader of the situation that had arisen in the 1690s, when the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth intensified its contacts with the Zaporozhians, spurring them to act against the hetman. The constant dispatches (of spies) to the Left Bank, and the slanders and denunciations they brought with them, likewise created problems. Naturally, to maintain stability in the Ukrainian Hetmanate, Mazepa wanted to push back the border and make such "dispatches" more difficult. The same applied to the southern border. Free access to Crimea and Zaporizhia could help the Polish authorities send envoys to the *serasker* pasha, the khan, and the Zaporozhians, who could then seduce the Tatars, the Turks, and, most of all, "the cowardly and mercurial Zaporozhians."<sup>194</sup>

Mazepa gave an interesting example: across the Dniester, five miles from Bendery (the residence of the *serasker* pasha), was the village of Iahorlyk, formerly the possession of Jerzy Aleksander Lubomirski, the crown quartermaster (*obożny koronny*). After gaining possession of the Right Bank, Mazepa kept his man in Iahorlyk "instead of the governor" to gather any news of the Turks and Tatars and to prevent the free passage of various spies. As a result, hostile infiltrations into Ukraine by Poles and Tatars had been stopped.<sup>195</sup> Mazepa warned that if Polish power were restored

again in Iahorlyk, the Poles would have free access to both the *serasker* pasha and the Tatars.<sup>196</sup>

The Poles' intention to enter Right Bank Ukraine with their forces and station them there in winter quarters, based on Peter's decree signed in Zhovkva, also caused Mazepa much anxiety. Knowing the mood of the local Ukrainian population, the hetman warned that this "cannot be managed without bloodshed." In addition, he explained that he himself would be unable to repulse the Polish troops, "because the people subordinate to me are split and divided into many parts" along the fronts of the Great Northern War. Some were with Voinarovs'kyi under Peter, others in Kazan, a third group in Bykhaw, and a fourth in Polonne. And as for those troops who were at the disposal of Mazepa himself, with them it would be, in his words, "impossible to go against fewer forces than the Poles have, unless [we] shut ourselves up in a fortress somewhere, but to stand in the field is impossible."<sup>197</sup>

His efforts brought results. On 8 November 1707, Peter wrote to Gavriil Golovkin: "I'm very surprised that you ordered Ukraintsev to give the Poles a letter about the transfer of Ukraine ... It would be better to make excuses (as I also wrote previously) that the first delay in returning Ukraine happened due to [Michał Serwacy] Wiśniowiecki's retreat with almost the entire army of Lithuania, and now because of my departure, you do not have a new decree concerning this."<sup>198</sup> While the hetman may not have put much faith in these statements by Peter (at the conclusion of the Great Northern War, Peter would give the Right Bank to the Poles), at least he could put them to use.

The Polish magnates were angry and inundated Mazepa with complaints that he was not complying with the tsar's decree concerning the transfer of Right Bank Ukraine.<sup>199</sup> The field crown hetman Rzewuski and the castellan of Volhynia, Waclaw Wielhorski, declared that Mazepa alone, for his own personal gain, was stubbornly resisting the transfer and opposing the decree of his monarch.<sup>200</sup> The Poles were correct that the hetman had blocked the Right Bank from being returned to them. They also believed, however, that Peter had ordered the return of the Right Bank and had issued the corresponding decrees.<sup>201</sup>

Mazepa's letters to the Poles continued to take a mocking tone. For example, the hetman wrote to the Belsk palatine Adam Sieniawski: "For me there is nothing impossible that I would not do for the sake of the goodwill of Your Grace My Gracious Lord [*pan*]." And then:

“The palatinates of Bratslav, Kyiv, and Podolia are under the rule of my hetman’s mace.” Also, “The letter of His Most Illustrious Tsar His Grace to Your Grace, Gracious Lord ... contains the clear will of His Tsarist Majesty: until his monarchical return he leaves Ukraine under my control.” Mazepa thought this state of affairs was completely equitable, because “nearly everywhere in the Bratslav, Kyiv, and Podolia palatinates along the lower reaches of the Dnipro and the Buh the Cossacks live [and] have their colonels and captains and are settled there in their winter quarters.”<sup>202</sup>

In November 1707 the Volhynian castellan Wielhorski wrote again to Mazepa, complaining about the non-performance of the tsar’s decrees concerning the demarcation of the Trans-Dnipro Ukrainian lands.<sup>203</sup> Dated the same month is a letter from the Polish hetman Sieniawski to Mazepa complaining of the delay in returning the Trans-Dnipro lands to the Commonwealth and with news of his entry into the palatinates of Podolia and Bratslav.<sup>204</sup>

The Poles’ requests and demands were in vain. Peter suggested that Mazepa deploy his troops on the Right Bank, putting them in quarters, “and use that as an excuse with the Poles, that your people are stationed there.” With regard to the decree issued in Zhovkva to return the Right Bank lands, the tsar explained that after Wiśniowiecki’s betrayal “another decree had been sent, ordering [the first] to be withheld until it was time.” Peter suggested to the hetman: “Use this as an excuse.”<sup>205</sup>

The course of the Northern War did not favour Mazepa, however. In late December, Crown Hetman Sieniawski and Field Hetman Denhoff sent Peter a memorandum in which they expressed their fears that Charles would move with all his forces from Lithuania to Russia or, leaving one corps with Leszczyński, join with Adam Lewenhaupt and Lithuanian Great Hetman Wiśniowiecki and march on Kyiv. As a condition of military assistance to Peter in these circumstances, they proposed the transfer of the Right Bank.<sup>206</sup>

In January 1708, Aleksei Dashkov brought replies from Peter to Minsk. The replies stated that the tsar had sent Mazepa a decree written in his own hand that “ordered [him] to transfer Bila Tserkva to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, upon the dispatch of a garrison from the Lord Grand Crown Hetman, and to remove the people of His Tsarist Majesty from the town; while other places would also be returned to the domain of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as soon as the present offensive of the enemy would allow.”<sup>207</sup>

On 20 January 1708, Peter wrote to Mazepa: “because of the current situation, we allowed the Poles to put their garrison in Bila Tserkva; and when they write to you about this and you carry out [the order], continue to hold on to the rest of Ukraine.”<sup>208</sup> Mazepa was forced to reply that he would allow the Polish garrison into Bila Tserkva and would “keep [the rest of Ukraine] and not give it into the possession of the Poles.”<sup>209</sup>

But the magnates were demanding that they return *all* of the Right Bank to them: all or nothing.

The Poles wanted all the towns; Mazepa stated that the decree mentioned only Bila Tserkva.<sup>210</sup> He wrote at the end of March to Hetman Sieniawski that he could not speak of the return of “all of Ukraine belonging to Bila Tserkva” without the relevant order from His Tsarist Majesty. Also, the copy of the tsar’s decree that the Poles had sent him apparently differed entirely from the original, which Mazepa had.<sup>211</sup> The Ukrainian hetman advised Sieniawski to hurry with the tsar’s decree, and not accuse him, Mazepa, of violating orders.<sup>212</sup>

On 5 April, Sieniawski wrote to Peter:

We see no danger now from the enemy in Ukraine, which belongs to us, so I ask on behalf of the Commonwealth, that all [of it] be given in accordance with the treaty, for the Bila Tserkva fortress alone without [its] districts cannot satisfy the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The garrison in the fortress, if the district is not returned, will need to bring provisions from afar; besides, the garrison cannot do without the cavalry, which I do not know where to put.<sup>213</sup>

In the spring of 1708, Mazepa arrived in Bila Tserkva. On 7 April, a parade took place, accompanied by a gun salute.<sup>214</sup> This was a clear demonstration to the Poles of his presence on the Right Bank. A regiment of hired infantry (*serdiuky*), numbering eight hundred men,<sup>215</sup> was stationed at Bila Tserkva. When Golitsyn captured Bila Tserkva in November 1708, he found there 200,000 imperials (Russian gold coins), a “cache” of jewels, table silver, sables, and the other items from the military treasury.<sup>216</sup>

In a conversation with Adam Sieniawski’s representative (*rezident*), Mazepa stated explicitly that Bratslav palatinate was no longer part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>217</sup> In a letter in early April



1708, Stanisław Szembek, Archbishop of Gniezno, and Stanisław Denhoff, Polish crown swordbearer (*miecznik*) and marshal of the confederation, expressed astonishment that “lord ministers” could give orders that contradicted the tsar’s decrees, that insulted the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and that broke treaty obligations.<sup>218</sup> The Poles threatened that they could not “be at Your Tsarist Majesty’s service” and demanded that a new decree be sent to Mazepa so that “not only the Bila Tserkva fortress with its district, but also all the other fortresses, cities, towns (*mistechka*), villages, and Ukrainian estates, historically belonging to the Kingdom of Poland according to the description in the recent eternal treaties ... be given without delay and procrastination.”<sup>219</sup>

On 11 April, Golovkin wrote to Peter:

Hetman de Sieniawski was very unhappy with the transfer of Bila Tserkva alone and wishes that you would return, if not all of Ukraine, then at least the whole district of Bila Tserkva into the Poles’ possession; and he, Hetman Mazepa ... reports that if the Poles move into the Bila Tserkva district, it will be impossible to prevent a civil war among the Cossack regiments of Bila Tserkva, Korsun, Uman, Bohuslav, Chyhyryn, Cherkasy, and Kaniv, and the Poles, and then most certainly war and bloodshed will begin.<sup>220</sup>

Mazepa understood that the situation with the Right Bank was highly precarious. In mid-April he sent Starodub colonel Ivan Skoropads'kyi to Peter to clarify the situation concerning Right Bank Ukraine. But the tsar was leaving for St Petersburg and did not have time to discuss this problem. Skoropads'kyi returned with nothing.<sup>221</sup> Franciszek Grabia, Sieniawski’s representative (*rezident*) suggested that Peter was not going to return the Right Bank voluntarily; on the contrary, he would claim the land right up to Lviv, especially if Mazepa would support him in this.<sup>222</sup>

Mazepa explained his delay to Sieniawski by noting that his troops would most likely have to take part in the suppression of the Bulavin uprising. In letters to Golovkin the hetman complained about Sieniawski that he was “dissatisfied with the return of Bila Tserkva alone, and wants [us] to give, if not the whole of Ukraine, then at least the whole district of Bila Tserkva, into Polish possession.”<sup>223</sup> Mazepa argued vigorously that it was impossible to return the Right Bank.<sup>224</sup>

In early May 1707, Golovkin in a letter to the tsar spoke again of ceding the land only after the return of the king (that is, Augustus).<sup>225</sup> Peter generally distanced himself from this problem and passed it to Golovkin to resolve. Golovkin, in turn, said that the matter was “impossible to comprehend in absentia” and ordered Mazepa to decide: if the transfer of Bila Tserkva district would not provoke “turmoil among the Little Russian people,” then give the district to the Poles; and if “there are any difficulties and dangers in doing so,” then write back about this.<sup>226</sup>

Peter himself wrote to Grand Crown Hetman Adam Sieniawski in July 1708 that because of the Swedish offensive it was impossible to return the Right Bank<sup>227</sup> and that he was postponing this question “until the happy conclusion, God grant, of this military campaign.”<sup>228</sup>

To the very last moment, until he transferred his allegiance to Charles XII, Mazepa did not permit the return of the Right Bank.

And here a vital question arises: How can anyone seriously suggest that Mazepa had been preparing for years for an alliance with Leszczyński and the Swedish king? If that were so, why did he defend the Cossacks of the Right Bank so fiercely and pursue the creation of a unified Ukrainian Hetmanate? How could this harmonize with plans to surrender all of those lands to the Polish Commonwealth later? After all, it would have been foolish to divide it into the Republic of Augustus and the Republic of Leszczyński. Multi-directional movements were occurring all the time in the Polish camp, and no one could predict which magnate would be where the next minute. And besides, in both camps there were those who wanted their Right Bank estates returned and to evict the Cossacks there. Pylyp Orlyk, in his letter to Iavors'kyi, mentioned Mazepa's view that Samus' and other Right Bank colonels would not support the idea of joining the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>229</sup> This means that the hetman was well aware that an alliance with Leszczyński could nullify his efforts to unite the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

The response on the Right Bank to Mazepa's move to Charles XII was varied. Contrary to the general view in the historiography, many Right Bank regiments supported the hetman. The Kyiv *voevoda* Dmitrii Golitsyn reported in the autumn of 1708 that Mazepa

sent Makiievs'kyi and the general aide-de-camp [*heneral'nyi osaul*] Hamaliia to this side of the Dnipro to Chyhyryn to raise a rebellion and to attract the local people, so as to arouse [*incite* to

insurrection] all those living on this side, and stirring them up, to gather them all to cross the Dnipro into Little Russian territory [the Left Bank] ... and he made Mokiievs'kyi the Chyhyryn colonel, and the latter incited many around Chyhyryn.<sup>230</sup>

In order to stop the Right Bank from going over to Mazepa's side, Golitsyn proposed "catching" the "treasonous wives." He also urged Menshikov "to send two cavalry regiments." The Kyiv *voevoda* warned:

And if there is no cavalry and the opposition party grows, there will be the danger that these, too, go to him, and if this fire of Mazepa's spreads on this side and everyone sides with him, it will be very difficult for us, and all the Little Russian people will remain on that side of the Dnipro [the Left Bank] against their will.<sup>231</sup>

Zaporizhia's move to Mazepa's side also provoked a sharp response on the Right Bank (as will be discussed in greater detail below). For example, a Chyhyryn captain (*sotnyk*) joined Mazepa as well. Golitsyn warned in the spring of 1709 that if Russian regiments went over to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the entire Right Bank population might revolt, because the people there were "very flighty."<sup>232</sup>

Many people loaded their property onto carts and fled. In August 1709, Grigorii Volkonskii wrote from Obodivka (now in the Vinnytsia *oblast*, then in the territory of Bratslav Regiment) that "we are standing in empty towns."<sup>233</sup>

In such a situation, there could be no discussion of pleasing the Polish allies by giving them the Right Bank. This would almost certainly cause an explosion and a massive shift of the Right Bank regiments to Mazepa's side.

So after great vacillation, most of the Right Bank regiments ultimately supported Peter. Of course, in supporting the tsar, the Right Bank Cossacks were counting on Russia's help. But that was a vain hope. From the very beginning, Peter's circle did not intend to leave the Right Bank under Russia. Tellingly, when Semen Palii was brought back from Siberia to attract the Right Bank Cossacks to Peter's side (although he died soon after his return), he was acting colonel of a "volunteer" regiment and not of the Bila Tserkva regiment as before. This was done so as not to anger from the very

beginning the Polish allies, to whom the Russians were going to give Right Bank Ukraine. For Peter, Livonia and the Finnish lands in the St Petersburg region were of much greater strategic importance than the Right Bank. This was reflected in Peter's agreement with the Ottoman Porte in 1712 and in the sultan's agreement with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1714, according to which Right Bank Ukraine would remain under the Poles.

The Russian Empire thereafter never considered the interests of the Right Bank Cossacks or the Orthodox Christians of this region in its policies. The empire did not support the struggle of the Haidamaks, and after the accession of Right Bank Ukraine as a result of the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, it defended the interests of the Polish nobility against their Ukrainian peasants right up until the uprising of 1830–31.

## The Cossack Elite of Mazepa's Time

It is impossible to understand the events in the Ukrainian Hetmanate during Ivan Mazepa's rule without an understanding of those who were around him. Who were they, and what ideals and aspirations did they have? How did the composition of the Cossack officer class (*starshyna*) change from the time Mazepa came to power to the time he transferred his allegiance to the Swedish side? And, finally, who became "Mazepists" (*mazepyntsi*), and why, and who remained on Peter's side?

It is necessary to examine the ideology of the *starshyna* and to note the different aspirations of particular Cossack officer factions, as well as compile a genealogy of the officer stratum and take note of when they were appointed. This is too complex a task to carry out here. The present chapter takes, therefore, a preliminary approach to a topic requiring a separate, in-depth investigation.

The formation of a ruling elite in the Ukrainian Cossack state began almost immediately after 1648.<sup>1</sup> Its composition was heterogeneous. The Ukrainian Orthodox nobility played a prominent role in the Cossack leadership. The Cossack *starshyna* rose to become the ruling elite even during Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising, replacing the Polish gentry and gaining control over the administrative, judicial, and military structures of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Power in the Hetmanate was not divided into spheres of government. That made *starshyna* extremely powerful. Who was included among that elite, and what social strata did its members represent?

At the time of the 1649 Treaty of Zboriv with the Commonwealth, which recognized the *de facto* complete autonomy of the Hetmanate as part of the Kyiv, Bratslav, and Chernihiv palatinates, six of the

sixteen colonels came from Ukrainian Orthodox gentry families (Mykhailo Hromyko, Danylo Nechai, Ivan Fedorovych-Bohun, Anton Zhdanovych, Fedir Loboda, Martyn Pushkar), six were “old Cossacks” (Fedir Iakubovych, Ias'ko Voronchenko, Semen Savych, Fylon Dzhezdzhalii, Tymish Nosach, Prokip Shumeiko), and two were of wealthy townsman origin (Matvii Hladkyi and Martyn Nebaba). The *starshyna* elite included no peasants who had become Cossacks, while among the general staff were the Ukrainian nobles Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, Ivan Vyhovs'kyi, and Samiilo Bohdanovych-Zarudnyi. Accordingly, it was a narrow group of gentry Cossack officers that established the Cossack state. In contrast, Zaporizhia and the “Cossack freemen” (*kozats'ka vol'nytsia*) opposed the rigid administrative system of the Ukrainian Hetmanate and served as a brake on the path toward statehood.<sup>2</sup>

With the signing of the Treaty of Zboriv, the *starshyna* acquired not only *de facto* military authority but also civil authority. For example, not just Cossacks were subject to the colonels – so was the entire civilian population. The Pereiaslav agreement with Moscow confirmed this state of affairs in 1654. This acquisition of unprecedented power to influence not only the internal situation in the country but also Ukraine's foreign policy, combined with the hetman's growing tendency to focus on the decisions of the Council of Officers (*rada starshyn*) rather than those of the General Council (*beneral'na rada*), transformed the Cossack officers into a highly influential elite. It is significant that in the list of those who took the oath to the tsar (*prysiazhni spysky*) of 1654, no one from the Ukrainian elite (with a few exceptions) identified himself as gentry; rather, they all identified themselves as *starshyna* or Cossacks.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in the mentality of the Ukrainian elite of the Cossack state it was much more important to belong to the Cossacks than to the gentry.

By the end of Khmel'nyts'kyi's life the composition of the *starshyna* had changed dramatically. The people whom the wave of uprisings had thrust into officers' positions had mostly either perished or died a natural death. Of the eighteen officers on the register in 1649, only four remained alive by the beginning of Ivan Vyhovs'kyi's hetmanship (besides Vyhovs'kyi himself) – Ivan Bohun-Fedorovych, Martyn Pushkar, Fylon Dzhezdzhalii, and Tymofii Nosach.

The new members of the Cossack elite were not drawn from the masses of “those who had become Cossacks” (*pokozachyvsia*), that is, new Cossacks, mainly from the peasantry, who had taken part

in Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising; the new *starshyna* had no connections with them, be it by origin or by joint participation in the battles.<sup>4</sup> Most members of new *starshyna* had acquired their positions through family connections (colonel's sons), or a good education (at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy), or they were from the nobility of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. By Samoilovych's time there existed in the Hetmanate a strong regional elite and clans closely connected by blood. Personal well-being and enrichment concerned them much more than the interests of the Cossacks, the Orthodoxy, or Ukraine.

In the late 1650s the Ukrainian Hetmanate descended into the abyss of the Ruin. Ukraine was divided, and the multi-hetmanship began, together with a struggle for power among various *starshyna* factions. Civil war, economic devastation, and open interference by foreign states in Ukraine's internal affairs accompanied all of this. The tragic years of the Ruin brought dramatic changes to the socio-political processes that had begun under Khmel'nyts'kyi. In particular, the formation of the ruling elite slowed.

Only in the late 1670s on the Left Bank did *starshyna* "clans" form, which were closely tied together by kinship, nepotism, and so on. Under Mazepa, members of just thirteen families held general staff positions (quartermaster [*oboznyi*], aide-de-camp [*osaul*], chancellor [*pysar*], judge [*suddia*], and standard bearer [*bunchuzhnyi*]), while the colonels came from twenty-eight families. Clans also included priests, burgers, and servants of different ranks. Within the *starshyna* there was an informal hierarchy, which didn't always coincide with the official one.

It is significant that marriages between children of the *starshyna* during this period were concluded only with the consent (or blessing) of the hetman.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps that is why Vasyl' Kochubei in his denunciation accused Mazepa of blocking marriages to Russians, despite the Kolomak Articles. There is not a single known case during Mazepa's hetmanship of a marriage between a member of a *starshyna* family and someone from the Russian elite. It was Aleksandr Menshikov himself, however, who cancelled the planned marriage of his sister to the hetman's nephew Andrii Voinarovs'kyi.

Cossack officers were becoming the elite, with their own traditions, culture, and educational system. This is especially clear from the ceremonial portraits, household items, panegyrics, wills, and personal correspondence of members of *starshyna* families. The chapter devoted to the Ukrainian Baroque will address this topic in greater depth.

As discussed in a preceding chapter, by the end of the seventeenth century private property in land had begun to emerge and the *starshyna* had begun to fight for the formation of hereditary landholdings. The emergence of extensive landownership by Cossack officers did much to strengthen the economic influence of the Ukrainian ruling elite.

The role of the *starshyna* expanded as the general council (*heneral'na rada*) (that is, the council in which representatives from all regiments participated) lost its real significance. Power was shifting increasingly to the Council of Officers (*rada starshyn* or *starshyns'ka rada* [Ukrainian]). These congresses of the general staff (*heneral'na starshyna*) – colonels, captains (*sotnyky*), and Distinguished Fellows (*znatne tovarystvo*) – were held twice a year, at Christmas and Easter. At them were discussed the most important affairs of domestic and foreign policy, legal quarrels, and so forth. In this way, the hetman's power, liberated from the pressure of the rabble (*chern'*), came under the direct influence of a relatively small circle of people.<sup>6</sup>

Over time the election of colonels passed increasingly into the hands of the regimental officers and distinguished fellows (*znatne tovarystvo*).<sup>7</sup> Often, appointment directly replaced election.

In addition, the Cossack officers along with the hetman had the right to dispose of free land in the possession of the Zaporozhian Host. Captains (*sotnyky*) could distribute small land parcels on the territory of their companies (*sotni*). Colonels had much broader prerogatives. A colonel could distribute large tracts of free land on the territory of his regiment. He also assigned the right to build mills.<sup>8</sup>

A special rank, “distinguished fellow” (*znatne tovarystvo*), appeared among the *starshyna*. This category included old Cossack families who were distinguished by their economic independence and their influence in the army. Later, a number of individuals and families were added who had made their mark during the war. This group also included remnants of the gentry. Together these elements, similar in their economic position, formed a special, higher stratum of Cossacks. This was not a closed group; indeed, its composition was constantly changing.<sup>9</sup> Gradually the *starshyna* and the distinguished fellows evolved into a group of estate owners (*derzhavtsi maietnostei*). The peasants did not fall into dependence; however, they were required to perform “customary duties” on behalf of the landowner. Yet the peasants remained personally free, and had the right to leave an estate and to retain property. This included the right



of ownership of land that had been passed to them by inheritance or purchase.<sup>10</sup> In this respect their situation was fundamentally different from that of the Russian peasantry.

#### THE IDEALS OF THE COSSACK ELITES

I begin this survey with the question of the Cossack elite's ideals in the Mazepa era, which were tightly linked to the quest for acceptable forms of statehood or autonomy – a quest that proceeded tortuously in Ukraine in this period. Since it is generally believed that the Cossack officer class lacked a sense of national identity, it is necessary to examine the fundamental concept of “fatherland” (*otchyzna*).

Appeals to the “fatherland,” not in the context of the Polish Commonwealth but strictly in that of Ukraine, appear for the first time after Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising. In the 1670s and '80s the term “otchyzna” spread widely among the *starshyna*. Not only “town” Cossack officers used it, but also Zaporozhians, and they and others did so with a similar understanding, that is, in relation to Ukraine, and not to the Kish (the Zaporozhian Cossack camp). For example, the famous camp commander (*koshovyi otaman*) Ivan Sirko in a letter dated 26 November 1667 spoke of “our lamented fatherland.” Petryk, the leader of the Cossack anti-Russian uprising of Mazepa's time, wrote of “the dear fatherland of Ukraine.”<sup>11</sup> The *koshovyi otaman* of the Zaporozhian Sich, Kost' Hordiienko, wrote in his letter to Mazepa of 24 November 1708 of “the Fatherland, our mother.” He also expressed concern over Moscow's plans to take possession of Ukraine, to settle Ukraine's towns with its own people, and to inflict unbearable injury and pillage on the Ukrainian people for the purpose of driving them into perpetual, grievous slavery in the Muscovite state.<sup>12</sup> That is, the term “fatherland” in Kost' Hordiienko's view combined such concepts as “Ukrainian towns” and “the Little Russian people.”

This use of the terms “Little Russian” and “Ukrainian” as synonyms (appearing first around the 1650s) was widespread. For example, Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi wrote on 13 March 1660 in a letter to the Metropolitan of Kyiv about “Ukraine and other Little Russian towns.”<sup>13</sup> And indeed Mazepa himself in conversation with secretary Borys Mikhailov on 28 March 1701 used the terms “the Little Russian region [*krai*]” and “Ukraine” as synonyms.<sup>14</sup> And when the discussion concerned only the Right Bank, Mazepa used exclusively the term “Ukraine on this bank.”<sup>15</sup>

The *stars'hyna's* somewhat incomplete understanding of the term is not so important. Far more important is the utter absence by then of any association of the concept "fatherland" in this period with the "Muscovite state," much less the "Russian Empire." The presence of such an understanding even in the "pre-Mazepa" period clearly reflects the article of the Kolomak treaty that directed

the Little Russian people by all possible means and methods to unite with the Great Russian people in indissoluble, strong agreement to result in matrimony and other actions, so that under the one State of their Tsarist Illustrious Majesties they would be united, as of one Christian Faith, so that no one would speak of the Little Russian region under the hetman's administration, but every place would be referred to as their Tsarist Illustrious Majesties' Autocratic State.<sup>16</sup>

That is, there was a struggle specifically over the understanding of Ukraine, and not Russia, as the "fatherland."

The presence of a clear division in the conceptions of Cossack officers between the "fatherland" (Little Russia or Ukraine) and the Muscovite state was reflected as well in the idea of the "Rus' principality." This idea formed the basis of Ivan Vyhovs'kyi's famous Treaty of Hadiach with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1658,<sup>17</sup> a treaty very popular among the Cossack elite of Mazepa's day (see below).

A rather confused recollection of the times of the Kyivan princes underlay the term "Rus' principality" (contained within the borders of the Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav palatinates, sometimes with the addition of Volhynia and Podolia).<sup>18</sup> Even Khmel'nyts'kyi styled himself "Prince of Kyiv and Rus',"<sup>19</sup> as well as "Sole Ruler and Autocrat of Rus'."<sup>20</sup> Like him, Ivan Vyhovs'kyi as early as March 1658 declared his desire to become "Grand Prince of Ukraine and neighbouring *oblasts*."<sup>21</sup>

Confusion and vagueness with regard to the continuity of the Kyivan princes even among the ranks of the higher Ukrainian *stars'hyna* indicates that this desire reflected an attempt to establish a legal foundation for an autonomous Ukrainian Cossack state. During the early seventeenth century, in the midst of the struggle to preserve the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, the ideology of the Cossacks had harnessed the idea of the Muscovite tsar, "the heir to Vladimir's cause," in order to defend Orthodoxy. In much the

same way now, references to the same Kyivan princes were made to serve new political realities. Undoubtedly, the education that Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, Ivan Vyhovs'kyi, and Iurii Nemyrych (a author of the Treaty of Hadiach) received made it possible for them to understand that if they wanted to claim to be the legitimate leaders of a lawfully established (reconstituted) state, they would have to find a plausible legal explanation for the emergence of a Ukrainian Cossack state and their leadership of it. This justification, which was necessary to give legal force to negotiations with foreign powers, would facilitate a path to recognition by those same friendly states.

At the same time, the idea of the Polish Commonwealth as a “triune state,” which, according to the initial version of the Hadiach Treaty, would include the Rus' Principality “as an equal among equals,” along with Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, represented an attempt to find the most acceptable form of autonomy for Ukraine. On the whole, the leadership of the Hetmanate in September 1658 approached the issue of changing its “allegiance” in a sophisticated way. The Zaporozhian Host wrote the famous universal “to a foreign ruler,” in which the Zaporozhians argued for the need to withdraw from “Moscovia” and transfer to the patronage of the Polish Commonwealth. Again, a clear division between the concepts of the Rus' Principality and the Muscovite state is apparent.

The idea of a Principality of Rus' did not materialize during the Ruin. Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi renounced the idea in 1660 (the Treaty of Chudniv with the Commonwealth did not include the term Rus' Principality). The challenges of overcoming division and civil war were at the forefront at that time. However, in the 1670s the title “prince of Rus'” was given to Iurii Khmel'nyts'kyi during the lead-up to the Chyhyryn campaigns.

The concept of “fatherland” was much more fully realized under Mazepa, especially in the later years of his hetmanship, when his title “hetman of both sides of the Dnipro” became a reality. Mazepa constantly emphasized in his universals of the early eighteenth century that he was concerned about “our Little Russian fatherland.”<sup>22</sup> Referring to his authority in “our Little Russian fatherland and in all the Zaporozhian Host,” Mazepa devoted the bulk of his attention to the restoration of the hetman's administration in the Right Bank.<sup>23</sup> Thus he separated his conception of the interests of Ukraine from those of Russia, and he did not consider himself obliged to attend to

the general imperial interests. This view, which fell perfectly under the general European concept of the "sovereign" in the early modern period, would serve as the basis of all of his policies.

Mazepa's attempt to transform Ukraine and Russia along Western European lines is curious and telling. In his official missive to the Holy Roman Emperor in September 1707 (on the occasion of receiving the title of prince), Mazepa calls himself "the privy councilor and general of his Tsarist Majesty, knight of the Muscovite Order of St Andrew, Hetman and Leader of the Zaporozhian Cossacks." In the letter's text he says he commands a Cossack army of more than forty thousand troops and "the provinces belonging to them."<sup>24</sup>

The expressions one finds in a letter to Mazepa from the Chernihiv bishop Lazar Baranovych, one of the main ideologists of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, prove no less interesting. He speaks of "the Little Russian state entrusted by the Lord God to you" (note that it was entrusted by God, not by the tsar or the Cossacks, that is, this clearly parallels the "anointed of God").<sup>25</sup> And Mazepa himself extends this train of thought in a letter to Golovkin in May 1707, in which he writes that he is going to his residence in Baturyn "to govern, which was given to me to do by God."<sup>26</sup>

Few Ukrainian documents have been preserved that permit an evaluation of the views of the intellectual and ruling elite of the Ukrainian Cossack state. But the available fragmentary evidence testifies to the presence of very definite ideas and attitudes.

For example, in 1704 at solemn assemblies at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, the rector and professors styled Mazepa the "Grand Duke of Rus' (Duci Magno Rossiae)."<sup>27</sup> The academy was the most prestigious higher educational institution in the Ukrainian Hetmanate and shaped the mentality of the entire local elite.

The Right Bank hetman Samus' wrote in his universal about taking the oath to Peter and Mazepa and declaring himself "in the monarch's *and hetman's* service for the entire Orthodox [*pravovernyi*] Ukrainian people."<sup>28</sup>

Mazepa wrote of "our Little Russian Fatherland" even in his famous universal of 30 October 1708 to Ivan Skoropads'kyi, after he had already gone over to the Swedes, when he was trying to explain his actions.<sup>29</sup> At the same time he sent universals to the towns and the *starshyna*, assuring them "that he had accepted the protection of the Swedish king not for his private benefit but for the common good of the entire Fatherland and the Zaporozhian Host."<sup>30</sup>

Pylyp Orlyk writes that the hetman also spoke these words on the memorable night when he disclosed his plans to the general chancellor (*heneral'nyi pysar*): “for the common good of my mother, poor Ukraine, of the whole Zaporozhian Host, and the Little Russian people.”<sup>31</sup>

Defence of the “fatherland” (*otchyzna*; Rus. *otechestvo*) from external threat also appears in a letter dated 16 November 1708 from Paul Apostol to the captains (*sotnyky*) and quartermaster (*oboznyi*) of his own regiment: they had joined with the Swedes “for the defence of our fatherland from Muscovite attack.”<sup>32</sup> Orlyk subsequently gave a broader explanation for the acceptance of Swedish protection: it was based on the desire “to defend the rights of our Fatherland.”<sup>33</sup>

Most of what is known about the views of the Cossack elite comes from Orlyk (a graduate of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). He made a strong contribution to the development of terminology and to the substantiation of the distinctiveness of the “Cossack people.” In the celebrated “Constitution” of 1710,<sup>34</sup> it is clear that Orlyk deliberately avoided the terms “Ruthenian” and “Principality of Rus'.” On the contrary, the concepts of “fatherland,” “the Zaporozhian Host,” and even “the integrity of borders” run like a red thread through the entire constitution, although one also encounters “Ukraine” and “Ukrainian towns.”

In the “preamble” to that document, Orlyk puts forward a startling version of the origins of the Cossack people – that they descended from the Khazars. Furthermore, he plainly identifies “Khazar” with the population of Kyivan Rus', writing that “the Cossack people during at the time of the Khazar khans' [*kagany*] dominion was baptized in the apostolic capital of Constantinople ... to the holy Orthodox faith of the Eastern confession.”<sup>35</sup> The origin of this version is unclear, as one encounters nothing of the sort in the work of Feodosii Safonovych, nor in the *Synopsis*, nor in the *Hustynia Chronicle*, nor in early Cossack chronicles. His apparent purpose was to leave not the slightest hint that Russians and Ukrainians had common origins.

In relation to Russia, Orlyk uses the term “Muscovite state.” With reference to the Treaty of Zboriv of 1649, he insists on a border with the Polish Commonwealth at the river Sluch and declares that “every state is founded and established in inviolable integrity.”<sup>36</sup> Referring to the example of “autocratic states,” Orlyk defends the concept of

a “praiseworthy social order that will be useful in this situation,” in which hetmans will not appropriate unlimited power to themselves. His conceptions of the “fatherland” and its ideal form, documented in the constitution, are logical continuations of those ideas that had developed among the elite Ukrainian Cossack *starshyna* during the time of the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

#### THE COMPOSITION OF THE STARSHYNA

The question of the composition of the *starshyna* at the time of Mazepa's hetmanship, how that composition changed, and whether the officers were alike in their aspirations and interests, is a complicated one.

At the end of the seventeenth century, relations among the elite of the Ukrainian Hetmanate were extremely strained. The period of the Ruin was strongly marked by struggles between different *starshyna* factions, with the leader of each faction claiming the hetman's power. Since the time of Ivan Briukhovets'kyi, denunciations sent to Moscow had been a reliable means of acquiring the cherished mace (*bulava*). In this way Dem'ian Mnohohrishnyi had been replaced, and then Ivan Samoilovych as well.

One of Samoilovych's great mistakes was that he argued with many influential officers. In particular, he was in conflict with the Poltava officer corps, one of the most influential on the Left Bank. He even publicly reproached them that during the Chyhyryn campaign, “they had fled to this side of the Dnipro, taking cover under their carts, lying on the sand.”<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile, Ivan Iskra – an influential Poltava resident and a descendant of hetman Ivan Ostrianytsa – had married the daughter of the Poltava colonel Fedir Zhuchenko, Praskoviia, and Vasyl' Kochubei had married her sister Liubov. Interesting details have survived in documents concerning the methods of administration used by Iskra, who abused his power both against the peasants and in the distribution of town lands.<sup>38</sup> The five colonels whom Samoilovych dismissed – Kostiantyn Solonyna, Iakiv Lyzohub, Rodion Dmytrashko-Raicha, Hryhorii Hamaliia, and Stepan Zabyla – were the most active participants in the plot against him, along with Vasyl' Kochubei, who was desperate for power. All of these men acquired a colonel's mace at Kolomak. Table 1 shows the composition of the *starshyna* for 1687–89.<sup>39</sup>

When Mazepa became hetman, he was very much hostage to the will of the *starshyna*, especially during the first two years of his rule.

So he willingly and generously distributed estates and other awards to its members. But despite all his cunning and political skills, conflicts arose even among his inner circle.

Having strengthened his position after the Naryshkins came to power, Mazepa embarked on an open struggle against oppositionist officers. I only touch on this question in my biography of Mazepa.<sup>40</sup> The hetman's struggle with the Cossack elite in the 1690s requires a separate investigation.

Prominent opponents of Mazepa at this time were Dmytrashko-Raicha, Kostiantyn Solonyna, Fedir Zhuchenko, Mykhailo Halyts'kyi (Ivan Samoilovych's nephew), and the Polubotoks, father and son (Pavlo Polybotok's wife was Iefymiia Samoilovych). It is probable that many of them were dissatisfied with the outcome of the Kolomak Council, in which they had played such an important part.

Mazepa's complicated position was partly a consequence of his having been born on the Right Bank and his close ties with the "Doroshenkovites." Mazepa's wife was the widow of Samiilo Frydrykevych, the general aide-de-camp to hetman Stepan Opara and later Petro Doroshenko's general quartermaster. Frydrykevych had been a member of the gentry and a Cossack colonel under Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and then the Bila Tserkva colonel. The fathers of the future Mazepist colonels Pavlo Apostol, M. Zelens'kyi, and general quartermaster Vasyl' Dunin-Borkovs'kyi had been "Doroshenkovites." The daughter of Petro Doroshenko from his first marriage had married Iukhym Lyzohub (Iakiv's son), the general flag-bearer (*heneral'nyi khorunzhyi*) and later the Chernihiv colonel.

The Serb Dmytrashko-Raicha was a colonel under Vasyl' Drozd, a famous adventurer and Petro Doroshenko's opponent. Raicha had married the widow of Vasyl' Zolotarenko (Khmel'nyts'kyi's brother-in-law and a claimant to the hetman's mace during the Ruin) and had designs on the hetmanship.<sup>41</sup>

In January 1698, an event occurred that went far to reconcile the old Left Bank elite to Mazepa's hetmanship: his beloved nephew Ivan Obydovs'kyi married Vasyl' Kochubei's daughter, Hanna. Stefan Iavorsk'kyi himself married them.<sup>42</sup> Given that Obydovs'kyi had been preparing to inherit the mace, that marriage signified a great deal.

The Left Bank elite did not like Obydovs'kyi. The fact that Mazepa's nephew was highly gifted and fully deserved his position as Nizhyn colonel ruffled many feathers. Obydovs'kyi, born on the Right Bank, was highly educated and had the manners of

a nobleman, which could not but gall the "native" Cossacks. He and Mazepa's other highly placed relative, Kyiv colonel Kostiantyn Mokiiivs'kyi, feuded constantly. At official banquets, matters degenerated into open insults between them and drove them to reach for their swords.<sup>43</sup>

This state of affairs was of course very unpleasant for the hetman, who, in addition to all his other problems, now had to keep the peace between his own relatives. Moreover, Mokiiivs'kyi was in a dispute with Kochubei. Vasyl' Kochubei's wife, who would later play a tragic role in the denunciation, especially annoyed him. Liubov was the daughter of the Poltava colonel Fedir Zhuchenko and had authoritarian tendencies. Documents from the time recount colourful scenes that marvellously describe the Cossack officers' mores and the discord that reigned among them. For example, Vasyl' Kochubei invited Mokiiivs'kyi to his home for Easter week. But, as the Kyiv colonel described it, Liubov's servant girl "so dishonoured me with swear-words" that he did not recall how he left the house.<sup>44</sup>

Russian dignitaries (*vel'mozhi*) were well aware of the squabbles among the Cossack officers and enjoyed provoking them. When in 1696 Mokiiivs'kyi arrived in Moscow along with the Hadiach colonel, an argument flared up between them. The Hadiach colonel Mykhailo Borokovych gave the Foreign Office instructions from Mazepa and declared: "What can we, peasants [*muzhyky*], add to this?" Mokiiivs'kyi at once objected: "You may be a peasant, but I am a Cossack." Borokovych replied: "You are a nobleman [*shliakhtych*], and not a Cossack." "And you are a newly baptized son of a Jew." Lev Kirillovich Naryshkin, who was present at this altercation, took advantage of the situation and asked Mokiiivs'kyi why the lord hetman (*pan het'man*) was ungracious to him, and wrote not in his own name but in Borokovych's. "We always heard of your knightly bravery and service," he said, "and to us you were always first in the articles." Emel'ian Ukraintsev echoed Naryshkin's tone: "They did not write Mokiiivs'kyi first, because he was the hetman's relative." Lev Kirillovich again, cunningly: "And why did you not take the property they gave you in Moscow?" Mokiiivs'kyi answered firmly that without the knowledge of His Excellency the Lord Hetman (*vel'mozhnyi pan het'man*), he did not dare take anything. Naryshkin replied: "We heard that you took some marvellous armour from the Lord Hetman. He asked you to return it, yes, and never questioned you." And, turning, he struck Mokiiivs'kyi on the



shoulder, all in fun, saying with laughter: “Others they beat, they break,<sup>45</sup> but you are such a thief, that the Lord Hetman did nothing to you; even about the armour he did not dare say anything.”<sup>46</sup>

On occasion the discord among the Cossack elite suited Mazepa, since it impeded them from uniting to oppose his rule. That said, it could not but disquiet him that Moscow was inciting the officers to inform against him. At every convenient and inconvenient opportunity, envoys in the Foreign Office were asked all kinds of questions, and it was impossible for the hetman to be certain that all of his envoys were completely loyal to him or would not say too much while they were drunk. In addition to all that, bribes ruled the day in Moscow. Ukraintsev told Mokiiiev's'kyi without shame that Mykhailo Halyts'kyi had promised him a great deal of money for the mace (*bulava*). Peter's firm resolve not to heed denunciations against Mazepa undoubtedly helped the hetman strengthen his power.

Mazepa emerged victorious from confrontations with Mykhailo Halyts'kyi, Dmytrashko-Raicha, and Leontii Polubotok (all three were relieved of their posts as colonels), but he still faced a threat from the Left Bank clan of the Kochubeis/Zhuks/Iskras. In 1708 it became clear that throughout his rule Mazepa had been well-informed of the secret intrigues of his rivals – in particular, of Vasyl' Kochubei's role in Petryk's uprising. He confined himself to suspending Ivan Iskra, Kochubei's relative by marriage, from his position as Poltava colonel in 1700 by agreement with Peter, for dealing with the Tatars.<sup>47</sup>

As a counterweight to all this scheming, Mazepa created an officer clan that was devoted to him, besides being closely linked among themselves by familial ties. Mazepa's nephew, Stefan Troshchyns'kyi, married the daughter of the cavalry colonel (*kompaniis'kyi polkovnyk*) Illia Novyts'kyi in 1690.<sup>48</sup>

Almost the entire general staff and all the colonels of Mazepa's era had family or property connections;<sup>49</sup> moreover, many “oppositionists” would eventually join the clan that was friendly to Mazepa. The list of the blood ties of the *starshyna* in Mazepa's time (see note 49) is far from complete. In addition, godparents, courtship ties, and matchmaking activities were all highly valued in the Ukrainian Hetmanate, and these also bound people together and were always noted in personal correspondence (for example, Danylo Apostol called Vasyl' Kochubei “father-in-law”).<sup>50</sup> This tradition of honouring any and all kinship ties had undoubtedly

travelled to Ukraine from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The clan system had even greater significance for the Cossack officers, because through it they were able to obtain power, land grants, protections in court, and so forth. In many regiments the practice of transferring the colonel's power from father to son or son-in-law (the Lyzohub in the Chernihiv regiment, the Horlenkos in Pryluky, the Apostols in Myrhorod) had become established.

Thus by the early eighteenth century a tight ruling elite had taken root whose members were closely linked by kinship. In the chapter about the culture of the Ukrainian Baroque I will show that the Cossack officer class was highly educated and enlightened and took a lively interest in the achievements of Western civilization.

By the end of Mazepa's rule, however, the composition of the higher *starshyna* had begun to change dramatically. The death of the hetman's old comrades-in-arms, and the harsh realities of the Great Northern War, among other reasons, contributed to this change.

In November 1690, general judge Mykhailo Vuiakhevych chose the spiritual path and became the Archimandrite of Kyiv Caves Monastery.<sup>51</sup> On 2 March 1702, general quartermaster Vasyl' Dunin-Borkovs'kyi died. In July 1698, the hero of Azov, the Chernihiv colonel Iakiv Lyzohub, died, and in 1704 his son, Iefym, died, having replaced his father as colonel. In November of that same year, the Hadiach colonel Mykhailo Borokovych died. In 1701, at Pskov, Mazepa's nephew, the Nizhyn colonel Ivan Obydovs'kyi, died. In 1706, Mazepa's closest comrades, the Pereiaslav colonel Ivan Myrovych and the Starodub colonel Mykhailo Myklashevs'kyi, were killed in battle in the Great Northern War.

By October 1708, only the following remained of the old general staff and colonels in the Ukrainian Cossack state: Ivan Lomykovs'kyi (general quartermaster), Vasyl' Chuikevych (general judge), Dmytro Maksymovych (general aide-de-camp), Kostiantyn Mokiiivs'kyi (the Kyiv colonel), Dmytro Zelens'kyi (the Lubny colonel), Ivan Skoropads'kyi (the Starodub colonel), Ivan Levenets' (the Poltava colonel), Luk'ian Zhurakovs'kyi (the Nizhyn colonel), Danylo Apostol (the Myrhorod colonel), and Dmytro Horlenko (the Pryluky colonel). Of these, only Ivan Skoropads'kyi did not follow Mazepa, while Danylo Apostol soon went to Peter under mysterious circumstances (though later, after becoming hetman, he would try to defend Mazepa's ideas regarding the autonomy of the Ukrainian Hetmanate).<sup>52</sup> All the others shared Mazepa's fate.

“Common wisdom” has it that most Cossacks and officers did not support Mazepa after his “defection” to Peter and did not go over to the Swedes with him in 1708. I will show later that in fact there was no one at hand to go with him, for the regiments had all been dispersed to different sectors in the Great Northern War, far from Ukraine. The position of the population was very ambiguous.

On 25 November 1708 – that is, after the destruction of Baturyn and the pronouncement of the Church’s anathema – Brigadier Fedor Shidlovskii informed Gavriil Golovkin that the inhabitants of Poltava and the local Cossack elite had gone over to Mazepa’s side. Someone from the rabble (*chern'*) had fomented a riot against the Mazepists and killed the town hall clerk, but the Poltava colonel Levenets' had sided with the “Mazepists” and driven the mob from the city. He then barred up Poltava and the villages “out of caution.”<sup>53</sup>

When on 31 October Russian troops entered Hlukhiv, the local officers received them with extreme reluctance, and reported concerning the local captain (*sotnyk*) that “he was very much of Mazepa’s party ... and it is said of Chetvertyns'kyi, that he is of those same people.”<sup>54</sup>

The situation among the higher officers was more complicated.<sup>55</sup> The fact is that the following all sided with Mazepa: the Apostols, the Bystryts'kyis, the Bolobots, the Volkovyts'kyis, the Halahans, the Hamaliias, the Hertsyks, the Horbanenkos, the Horlenkos, the Dovhopols, the Zelens'kyis, the Kandybs, the Karpenkos, the Kozhukhovs'kyis, the Krasnoperyches, the Lyzohubs, the Lomykovs'kyis, the Maksymovyches, the Malams, the Myrovyches, the Mokiievs'kyis, the Nakhymovs'kyis, the Novyts'kyis, the Orlyks, the Pokotylos, the Ruzanovyches, the Sulyms, the Serhiiienkos, the Tret'iaks, the Kharevyches, the Chechels, the Chuikevyches, the Iankovs'kyis, and the Iasnopol's'kyis.<sup>56</sup>

The entire general staff followed the hetman. Of the ten Left Bank colonels, only four did not side with Mazepa: Luk'ian Zhurakovs'kyi of Nizhyn, Pavlo Polubotok of Chernihiv, Stepan Tomara of Pereiaslav,<sup>57</sup> and Ivan Skoropads'kyi of Chernihiv. Ivan Skoropads'kyi and Pavlo Polubotok expressed sympathy for Mazepa’s ideas. Subsequently, during the time of Pylyp Orlyk, Skoropads'kyi intended to destroy the Russian forces in his vicinity: “what befell us at Baturyn would happen to them.”<sup>58</sup> And he declared, “let us rely on our old Lord Orlyk, who is the hetman.”<sup>59</sup> Pavlo Polubotok perished at the Petropavlovsk Fortress in 1725, having been arrested for fighting for the autonomy of the Ukrainian Cossack state.

But more important here is that the four colonels who did not join Mazepa *could not* have done so, for they were situated with Russian regiments – the Nizhyn and Pereiaslav regiments at Smolensk, while the Chernihiv and Starodub regiments at Propoisk.<sup>60</sup>

The general clerks (*kantseliaryst*) followed Mazepa, including the renowned Samiilo Velychko.<sup>61</sup> In January 1709 an extreme shortage of scribes (*pysari*) was observed in the general chancellery, “inasmuch as Mazepa in his treachery took the entire chancellery with him to his side.”<sup>62</sup>

An entirely new wave of Cossack officers appeared and gathered strength in the Ukrainian Hetmanate after Mazepa. These were outsiders who lacked “Cossack” roots: the Myloradovyches (descendants of the Serb Mykhailo Myloradovych), the Markovyches (descendants of the Jewish convert Mark Avramovych), the Kryzhanivskiyis (descendants of the convert Moshko), and the Afendyks (descendants of Semen, an immigrant from Moldavia). The lack of Cossack roots likely was one reason why ideas about autonomy became less and less popular among the *starshyna* and why little by little the officers willingly transformed themselves into Russian landowners.

## Mazepa's Baroque

A flowering of culture and art marked the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the Ukrainian Hetmanate. The conclusion of peace treaties with the Polish Commonwealth and the Ottoman Empire, and the end of internal turmoil and civil war, led to a gradual emergence from the difficult decades of the Ruin. The favourable Ukrainian soil quickly produced economic prosperity, soon followed by the blossoming of the Ukrainian Baroque. Indeed, intellectual Westernization came to Russia largely through Ukraine.

This term “Baroque” was used by the famous Russian (*sic!*) art historian Igor Grabar, who wrote that “in Ukraine, they created their own Baroque, took from the West all the composite forms of it, but reworked them in their own way; it turned out something new, not found in this form in the West, something unconditional[ly] original.” During the hetmanship of Ivan Mazepa, Baroque stone architecture flourished in Ukraine. Detractors, of course, may attribute Mazepa's support of these projects to his vanity, but the architectural monuments he funded, and the paintings and literary works that were created during his time, do not become less beautiful because of this.

Some will contend that it is easy to patronize the arts when one has the financial means to do so. But Mazepa could have used his resources to play at soldiers instead of supporting the arts and education; or he could have spent the treasury on his own amusements (Mazepa's contemporaries, such as Charles XII, come to mind). Moreover, as we saw earlier, Mazepa was the first hetman under whose rule the Ukrainian Hetmanate's budget achieved a solid surplus. Thus, he himself laid the material foundations for his patronage efforts.

The activities of the hetman-patron did not come out of thin air, nor were they unprecedented in Ukraine. His patronage had its roots in traditions dating back to the Ukrainian spiritual renewal of the mid-sixteenth century. A forerunner was the Volhynian magnate Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi, who provided all the funds to establish a scientific centre and the first higher educational institution in Ukraine (the Ostrih Academy) in his capital, Ostrih. Through Ostroz'kyi's financial backing, his institutions attracted leading scientists and printed books (including the famous Ostrih Bible).

Patronage of the arts and sciences was closely tied to the founding and flourishing of Ukrainian Orthodox brotherhoods. The members of these fraternities were lay persons (quite often, women) who cared about the development of Orthodoxy. But a principal task of the brotherhoods was education. The brotherhoods opened schools and printing houses and printed books. By that time, patronage of the arts and voluntary donations to culture were already common in Ukrainian society. For example, Hanna Khodkevych donated the land and money that laid the foundation for the Kyiv brotherhood and the Brothers' School (the future Kyiv-Mohyla Academy). The Kyiv Metropolitans Iov Borets'kyi and Petro Mohyla and Hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi donated vast sums for libraries and student scholarships.

Culture had been neglected during the Ruin. At most, the Cossack elite donated funds for church construction. Only during Mazepa's rule did a broad approach to education and the arts once again prevail.

Orthodox tradition lay at the heart of Mazepa's patronage and the activities of the brotherhoods. Family piety also played no small role. Mazepa's family was closely connected to Ukrainian Orthodoxy. His mother Mariia Mahdalena (pre-monastic name Maryna Mazepa) was a member of the Lutsk Orthodox Brotherhood<sup>1</sup> and later became the prioress of two women's monasteries, including the Kyiv Ascension Monastery.

Mazepa maintained close ties to Greek hierarchs and monasteries. He was in constant correspondence with Dositheos, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The latter expressed his gratitude to the hetman for "the establishment of churches" and requested that he send him various items: an altar, a paten, chalices. Chrysanthos, the Metropolitan of Caesarea (Kayseri), wrote to the hetman thanking him for gifts he had received. The monks of Holy Mount Athos turned to the hetman seeking charity, as did the Archimandrite of Mount Sinai. A letter from

the Greek archimandrite Chrysanthos has been preserved in which he comforts Mazepa on the death of his nephew Ivan Obydovs'kyi.<sup>2</sup>

The hetman had close personal contacts with Ukrainian hierarchs that went far beyond formalities – for example, with Dymytrii Tuptalo (the future St Dymytrii of Rostov), who after 1679 served in the hetman's church in Baturyn.<sup>3</sup> The father of this eminent churchman, Sava Tuptalo, was a captain (*sotnyk*) in the Kyiv Regiment and had been known to Mazepa since the time of Petro Doroshenko. During Mazepa's hetmanship, Dymytrii Tuptalo began to publish his famous *Lives of the Saints (Minei)* with the hetman's direct support and participation.

Friendship linked Mazepa with the Archimandrite of the Kyiv Caves Monastery, Varlaam Iasyns'kyi, his former professor at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Mazepa later recalled him as “father, pastor, and my great benefactor.” On becoming hetman, Mazepa exerted direct influence on the election of Iasyns'kyi as Metropolitan of Kyiv, recommending him to Peter as “a man skilled as an interpreter of divine Scripture and in right living.”<sup>4</sup>

The hetman also petitioned on behalf of the future saint, Feodosii Uhlyts'kyi, securing for him the Bishopric of Chernihiv.<sup>5</sup> The hetman referred to Uhlyts'kyi in letters as “father and friend,” emphasizing their informal relations.<sup>6</sup>

Mazepa also interceded before Peter for the then unknown “teacher of school sciences [at Kyiv Academy],” Hieromonk Stefan Iavors'kyi, future Moscow patriarchal *locumtenens*.<sup>7</sup> Such a friendship becomes especially understandable when one considers that Ukrainian scholar-theologians in the best tradition of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy were people of broad education, who wrote verses as well as plays for staging in the academy's theatre. They esteemed and valued the hetman's support and his exceptional attention to education, culture, and art. Mazepa himself wrote poetry and *dumy*, enjoyed classical literature, and knew Horace and Ovid by heart. Among his personal belongings, “torbany” have been preserved (a musical instrument similar to a zither [*tsytra*]).<sup>8</sup> One of them is made of rosewood trimmed with ivory, and the instrument's handle bears the hetman's coat of arms in inlaid ivory.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that the hetman himself played music (which was not unusual among the Cossack elite – Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi loved to “thrum a little” on the zither).<sup>10</sup>

Most of the early Ukrainian Baroque works (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) were written in Polish. This was partly because

the Polish language predominated in the Polish Commonwealth, which included Ukraine. Works in Polish continued to appear in Mazepa's era. The hetman himself authored short verses written in Polish.<sup>11</sup> Pylyp Orlyk wrote his famous panegyrics in a mixture of Polish and Latin. The Archimandrite of Kyiv Caves Monastery, Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi (the future Metropolitan of Kyiv) used the Polish language in his personal correspondence with the general aide-de-camp (*heneral'nyi osaul*) Ivan Lomykovs'kyi.<sup>12</sup>

But in the early seventeenth century, literary works in Old Ukrainian (or "simple language")<sup>13</sup> began to appear alongside those in Polish. Within the walls of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, "verses" were written for the funeral of hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi (1622). Kasiian Sakovych, Petro Mohyla, Innokentii Gizel', Ioanykii Haliatovs'kyi, Feodosii Sofonovych, Lazar Baranovych, and others wrote many of their works in Old Ukrainian. The famous "Cossack chronicles" of Samovydets', Samiilo Velychko, and others were also written in that language. The Ukrainian poetry of Stefan Iavors'kyi (for example, "A Tearful Farewell to Books")<sup>14</sup> has been preserved from Mazepa's time. Feofan Prokopovych, too, wrote in this language – and not only poetic works but also prose. The famous historical drama *The Favour of God*, dedicated to Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, was written in Old Ukrainian.<sup>15</sup>

The enlightened Ukrainian clergy did not neglect their benefactor and praised Mazepa in their works. For example, Dymytrii Tuptalo (of Rostov) dedicated his book *The Bedewed Fleece* to him.<sup>16</sup> Stefan Iavors'kyi wrote the book *The Vine of Christ* in his honour, calling the hetman "the most excellent, greatest, most merciful, most militant, most glorious, most steadfast, all-conquering ruler." Antonii Stakhovs'kyi dedicated a number of his works to Mazepa, such as *The Mirror of Divine Scripture* and "A Prayer for Hetman Mazepa."<sup>17</sup> In the best tradition of Baroque, triumphal arches, pyramids and obelisks, capitols, colossi, glories, and labyrinths were constructed on which were inscribed words in honour of the hetman. The epilogues of Orthodox publications of the time noted that they had been printed under the tsars Ivan and Peter "under the happy rule of the most illustrious Lord [*Pan*] Ivan Mazepa."<sup>18</sup> It is no accident that the hetman was compared to Minerva as patron of the arts, sciences, crafts, and war.

Of course, when it comes to relations between subordinates and their ruler, it is difficult to separate sincere gratitude from craven



servility. Most characteristic here is the famous collection *A Mirror from Divine Scripture*, published in 1705 under the editorship of Antonii Stakhovs'kyi (who at that time was the *locum tenens* of the Bishopric of Chernihiv and prefect of the Chernihiv Collegium, and later was Metropolitan of Tobolsk and Siberia). It included texts in Church Slavonic, Polish, and Latin.<sup>19</sup> Mazepa was presented in them as “Lord of the Little Russian land,” patron, and benefactor. They glorified him for his military service and religious virtues, his care for church construction, and his victories over enemies.

Not only theologians but also well-known Ukrainian poets of the time praised Mazepa – the nobleman (*shliakhtych*) Samuil Mokriievych, Ivan Ornovs'kyi (Jan Ornowski), native of Chernihiv and participant in the Chyhyryn and Crimean campaigns, and others.<sup>20</sup> They wrote of him in poetry and prose, in Church Slavonic and Old Ukrainian, in Polish and Latin, in Greek and even Arabic. Regarding the latter, in 1708 was published, in the Syrian city of Haleb, through Mazepa's efforts and with his money, a luxurious gospel in Arabic.<sup>21</sup> The preface to this edition, written by Patriarch Athanasius of Antioch, praised Mazepa for his generosity and wisdom and called on Orthodox priests and laymen of the Arab lands to pray for the hetman.<sup>22</sup>

Feofan Prokopovych dedicated his historical drama (*p'esa*) *Vladimir* to Mazepa. In the prologue he wrote: “See yourself in Vladimir ... your courage, your glory.” On behalf of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy he called Mazepa “most illustrious lord, donor of churches, and our benefactor.”<sup>23</sup> Of course, Feofan Prokopovych was known for his skill in praising the strong of this world, but his dithyrambs (like all his other works) had a serious basis. Antonii Stakhovs'kyi, the future Metropolitan of Tobolsk and Siberia, wrote of Mazepa that his like had not been before and never would be again.<sup>24</sup>

In Chernihiv, Mazepa founded a paper mill that supplied paper for all Ukrainian printing houses.<sup>25</sup>

It was under Mazepa's rule, thanks to his ceaseless care and financial support, that the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium reached its prime. In 1693, Mazepa received a charter from Peter and Ivan that officially permitted the teaching of philosophy and theology, including in Greek and Latin, within the walls of the Collegium.

Having distinguished himself in the Azov campaigns, Mazepa was named a knight of the order of St Andrew the First-Called. Soon after, he was granted an audience by Peter in Moscow and showered

with awards. He took advantage of the moment for the benefit of his alma mater, by obtaining a charter from Peter that legally recongized Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium as an academy (the Kyiv Collegium had been granted the same status by the Polish Commonwealth under the terms of the Treaty of Hadiach in 1658). This placed the institution on a par with the major educational centres of Europe and gave it the right to confer the highest degree – doctor of theology.

Mazepa noted in his universals granting villages to the Brotherhood Monastery (in which the academy was located) that there “the sciences are studied with much effort for the benefit and needs of the Church of God and our Little Russian homeland.”<sup>26</sup> The hetman’s treasury annually allocated 200 rubles to the academy.<sup>27</sup> Mazepa funded the purchase of books for the library, the acquisition and presentation of rare manuscripts, and scholarships.<sup>28</sup>

More than two thousand students studied at the academy during this period. A full course of study lasted twelve years. It included grammar, poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology classes. The academy taught the Greek, Polish, German, French, Hebrew, and Russian languages, history and geography, mathematics (including algebra and geometry), physics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, civil and church architecture, mechanics, music and church singing, drawing, higher eloquence, economics, and medicine.<sup>29</sup> Stefan Iavors'kyi, Feofan Prokopovych, and Varlaam Iasyn's'kyi headed the professorial staff.

In 1693, with the hetman’s funding, the cornerstone was laid for a new stone Church of the Epiphany, to replace the older wooden one. In addition, a new “Mazepa” building was constructed for the academy. The hetman personally visited his alma mater and attended lectures there, and he often joined students in learned discussions in Latin. In 1704, a year significant in itself, during “monthly disputations,” Mazepa was present at a solemn assembly at the academy together with Metropolitan Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi, Pereiaslav Bishop Zakharii Kornilyovych, Bulgarian Metropolitan Efrem, and numerous spiritual and secular individuals. Senior students of the academy – among them the hetman’s nephew Andrii Voinarovs'kyi and the younger son of the general quartermaster Volodymyr Lomykovs'kyi – gave speeches.<sup>30</sup>

Maintaining the prestige of the academy, Mazepa sent there his beloved nephews, Obydovs'kyi and Voinarovs'kyi. The children of colonels and the general staff studied there. Future hetmans Pylyp Orlyk and Pavlo Polubotok emerged from within the academy’s

walls.<sup>31</sup> At the beginning of the eighteenth century the name “Mohyla-Mazepa Academy” entered everyday use, appearing in official documents; contemporaries viewed this as entirely fitting.<sup>32</sup>

Under Mazepa’s rule a whole galaxy of outstanding Ukrainian writers developed. They included Dymytrii of Rostov (Tuptalo), Stefan Iavors'kyi, Feofan Prokopovych, Antonii Stakhovs'kyi, Ioann Maksymovych, and Ivan Velychkovs'kyi. All of them were graduates of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and achieved outstanding success in their careers thanks to the direct assistance and support of the hetman. For example, to help with the writing of the second book of *Lives of the Saints*, on which Dymytrii of Rostov worked, Mazepa ordered and purchased in Gdańsk the Dutch edition of John Bolland (for one hundred thalers and forty *zloty*). This gift was invaluable to Tuptalo, as Bolland’s book became the main source for his work.<sup>33</sup>

Construction of new buildings reached a frenzy under Mazepa’s rule. With Mazepa’s direct participation, Kyiv Caves Monastery (in particular, the Dormition Cathedral or the Gate Church of the Trinity), Kyiv’s St Nicolas (Pustynno-Mykil's'kyi), Epiphany Brotherhood (Brats'kyi), St Cyril’s, St Michael’s Golden-Domed, and Mezhyhir'ia monasteries were reconstructed or expanded. So were Trinity Monastery of St Elia in Chernihiv, Mhar Monastery in Lubny, Hustynia in Pryluky, Krupyts'kyi in Baturyn, Sts Peter and Paul Monastery in Hlukhiv, Kam'ians'kyi Dormition Monastery, and the monasteries in Domnysia, Makoshyne, and Bakhmach. Through Mazepa’s efforts, Kyiv’s St Sofia Cathedral acquired the appearance familiar to us now. He gilded the domes of the Kyiv Lavra’s Dormition Cathedral. He also rebuilt the cathedrals of Pereiaslav, Chernihiv, Baturyn, and Rylsk. Churches in Vilnius and Palestine received his financial assistance. A church in Zaporizhia was built with his funds.

Mazepa was certainly not devoid of vanity – all the churches he built contained his noble coat of arms, to remind posterity whose efforts had erected them. Coats of arms also adorned magnificent covers for the Gospel, which Mazepa donated to the churches of Ukraine, and even the royal gates of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Sts Borys and Hlib in Chernihiv.<sup>34</sup>

In 1705, Ivan Myhura produced the engraving “The Apotheosis of Mazepa,” in which he included the image of the five main churches the hetman built. These were the Church of the Epiphany of the Brotherhood Monastery, the St Nicolas Military Cathedral, the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv Caves Monastery, and the

All Saints Church above the Ekonomichni Gates of the same monastery. The Epiphany Cathedral of the Brotherhood Monastery and the St Nicolas Military Cathedral were clearly masterpieces of Ukrainian Baroque.<sup>35</sup> The art historian Igor Grabar wrote of them that “we must give our ancestors their due ... They had excellent artistic taste – the exterior decorations of these two churches bear clear witness to this, as do other examples of Kyivan Baroque. The masters achieved astonishing effects and very beautiful combinations in their decorations.”<sup>36</sup>

For the construction of the Epiphany and St Nicolas Military cathedrals, Mazepa brought in the leading Moscow architect Iosyp Starov. The hetman paid him 5,000 rubles, as well as rye flour and salt beef.<sup>37</sup> Describing these buildings, Igor Grabar notes that “the Muscovite architect Iosyp Starov only sometimes, only in the details of a certain portal, seems to be a Muscovite; in most of his works, he gives the impression of being a Ukrainian, brought up on Polish traditions.” Grabar explains that “undoubtedly there was control [over Starov], constraining him significantly” – that is, his Ukrainian clients made certain these buildings were built in the style they wanted.<sup>38</sup>

The raising of so many cathedrals greatly spurred the development of the Ukrainian Baroque. It was at this time that the first stone bell towers appeared – for example, the world-famous bell tower of Kyiv's St Sofia Cathedral.

Mazepa's era attained the highest level in architecture, stone carving, painting, engraving, and so on. Wood construction virtually ceased. Luxurious stone cathedrals and churches were lavishly decorated with carvings and mouldings. Artists painted portraits of their patrons – the hetman and the Cossack officer elite. Engravers embellished panegyrics and literary works in their honour.

Works of the decorative and applied arts also bore luxurious Baroque ornamentation: Cossack weapons, cups, bowls, platters, and tiles (decorating the stoves in the homes of the *starshyna*), as well as religious paraphernalia – crosses, tabernacles, candelabra, Gospel covers, bells, and the royal gates of iconostases. In women's monasteries, especially in Kyiv, which Mazepa's mother, the mother superior Mariia Mahdalena, headed, embroidery with silver, gold, and silks reached a high state of development.<sup>39</sup>

Magnificent portraits of the hetman and the Cossack elite, produced by Ukrainian masters, have come down to our day. These portrayed not only the hetman, colonels, and officers, but also their

wives and mothers. The tradition of family portraits and picture galleries entered the homes of the *starshyna*, along with images of the tsar (portraits of foreign rulers, too, hung in Mazepa's home). For example, in the Skoropads'kyis' residence there were portraits of the Ukrainian hetmans.<sup>40</sup>

Engravers achieved special success. They did not confine themselves to the simple embellishment of panegyrics and "theses" but created masterpieces of Baroque art. The printing houses of Kyiv and Chernihiv became the main centres of engraving. For example, the famous master Leontii Tarasevych worked in a printing house. Innokentii Shchyr's'kyi and Ilarion Myhura (the hegumen of the Krupyt's'kyi Monastery in Baturyn) were also celebrated engravers.

Artists in Russia drew on the skills of Ukrainian masters. For example, in February 1701, by Peter's decree, "standard-bearer [*znamenshchik*] Mikhail Dmitriev" was sent from the Office of Printing Affairs to the printing houses of Kyiv and Chernihiv "to study book printing, the formulation of ink, and all manner of book matters."<sup>41</sup>

The hetman by no means focused solely on Kyiv and Baturyn. In the St Elia's Monastery (*Illins'kyi*) in Chernihiv, he adorned the image of the Mother of God with a silver icon case. In the Sts Borys and Hlib Monastery he built a stone bell tower (whose bell was cast at the hetman's expense) and the Church of St John the Baptist. To the Cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, he gave a silver salver (105 x 85 cm) depicting the shroud of Christ, which on especially solemn occasions was placed on the altar table under the chalice with the Holy Gifts.<sup>42</sup> On the salver was an inscription in Ukrainian and Latin: "A gift of His Most Illustrious Grace, Lord Ivan Mazepa, Hetman of Rus' [Rossiiskago hetmana]."<sup>43</sup> This salver or platter was preserved until at least the mid-nineteenth century.

In addition to all this, features of Western art were increasingly disseminated in the Ukraine of Mazepa's time. The Trinity Cathedral in Chernihiv and the Mhar Monastery in Lubny were built to the plans of the architect from Krakow Johann-Baptist Zaor (Pl. *Jan Zaor*). This involvement of foreign architects in the Ukrainian Hetmanate was a precursor to Peter's activities in St Petersburg.

The hetman spent vast sums on church construction – more than a million *zloty* on the Kyiv Caves Monastery alone. He donated innumerable icons, crosses, chalices, mitres, vestments, bells, and priceless Gospels to monasteries and churches. He engaged in civic construction. During his rule, the Kyiv city hall and the famous fortress walls

of the Caves Monastery with their gates and towers were built.

Contemporaries were struck by his three-storey stone palace in Honcharivka (a suburb of Baturyn), 15 by 20 metres in size, built in the Western (not Ukrainian) Baroque style, which Peter would later use when building St Petersburg. The building was decorated with ceramic rosettes (often found on cathedrals of the Ukrainian Baroque era); the floors were of figured terracotta and glazed ceramic in blue, green, and red. The stoves were decorated with tiles, some of which depicted Mazepa's coat of arms. The use of family crests to decorate household items and home furnishings was characteristic of Western Baroque but not yet prevalent in Russia in the early eighteenth century.<sup>44</sup>

The French ambassador to Ukraine in 1704, Jean de Baluze, left vivid recollections of the Baturyn court, which astonished him with its simultaneous Eastern luxury and Western Enlightenment. He noted that the hetman, spoke in German with his doctors and in Italian with his architects and sprinkled his speech with Latin quotations.<sup>45</sup>

Objects of Western decorative art adorned the hetman's home. Mazepa's library, numbering thousands of publications, was considered one of the best of its time. "Priceless frames with the hetman's coat of arms, the best Kyiv editions, German and Latin incunabula, many richly illustrated ancient manuscripts" – so Orlyk described it in his memoirs.

Descriptions of the court at Baturyn provide a very vivid account of the everyday lives of the Cossack elite of Mazepa's era. The hetman's home was far more luxurious than the extremely modest one of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi in Subotiv. Mazepa had his own "musical capella."<sup>46</sup> His personal belongings still survived at the end of the nineteenth century – his spoon, made of silver, was gilded with relief work and decorated with thirty-one rubies. The tip of the handle unscrewed to reveal a toothpick and two brushes. Mazepa's crest was carved into the spoon.<sup>47</sup> His silver tankard was decorated with embossing. His coat of arms and the letters I.M.H.W.Z. (Ivan Mazepa Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host) were placed beneath the handle on the tankard's medallion.<sup>48</sup> Mazepa's colonels had similar household items with family crests.<sup>49</sup>

Among the Ukrainian gentry and *starshyna* of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there were many highly educated wives and daughters. The freedom enjoyed by Ukrainian women, largely based on Western traditions, partly adopted from

the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and in some ways preserved from the times of Kyivan Rus', radically distinguished them from the Russian tsarinas and tsarevnas, who were generally locked up in towers. Sofia was an exception to this.

Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, many Ukrainian women were actively involved in fraternities. Most likely, many were literate. Mariia Mahdalena, Mazepa's mother, was the most influential female church figure in the second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Official documents from the Cave's Monastery of Ascension (Voznesen's'kyi) in Kyiv, signed by the hand of this powerful and energetic woman, have come down to our day.<sup>50</sup>

There is only very fragmentary documentation about the education of the wives and daughters of the Cossack elite. One of the few well-known examples of correspondence with a Ukrainian woman is Mazepa's "love" letters to Motria Kochubei. The letters are so personal that there is no doubt they were intended for the eyes of the young lady herself, which means that she at least knew how to read.<sup>51</sup> In these letters there is mention of an expensive gift from Mazepa – "little books."<sup>52</sup> Such a gift makes sense only if one assumes that Motria was sufficiently educated to be interested in literature.

I found a letter from Hanna Kochubei to her mother, Liubov Kochubei, in the collection of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts.<sup>53</sup> It is a unique example of personal correspondence among female members of the Left Bank Ukrainian Cossack elite of the early eighteenth century. Hanna relates in the letter that a "*pan*" (lord) wants to marry her, and she asks her mother to support her and bless her.

The Ukrainian Baroque, which reached its apogee under Mazepa, could not but exert considerable influence on Russia. Its successes did not remain unnoticed by Peter himself. In April 1698, Peter sent rich gifts to the Archimandrite of Kyiv Caves Monastery, a friend of Mazepa, Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi (the future metropolitan of Kyiv), for "printed works" and in particular for a Psalter with interpretation.<sup>54</sup> In 1699 (after his European trip), speaking with the patriarch, the tsar expressed dissatisfaction with the lack of education among the Russian clergy and went on to criticize the existing school. "Priests," said Peter, "are placed in their positions illiterate. They need to be trained and then to be raised to that rank." He proposed "to send ten people to the Kyiv schools" for such an education. Regarding Moscow's Latin-Greek-Slavonic academy, the tsar expressed regret



that there was no one to look after it. According to Peter, only an eminent, wealthy man who supported students could fill this role.<sup>55</sup> The tsar clearly had the image of Mazepa in mind. A year after the patriarch's death, Peter again said bitterly that many in Russia "want to teach their children the free sciences" – that is, the subjects that were taught at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.<sup>56</sup>

In turning to the role of the Ukrainian clergy in the Petrine era, it is necessary to recall the complex history of Russian Orthodoxy's perception of Ukrainian Orthodoxy. After the Time of Troubles, Moscow perceived Ukraine as part of a world of another faith.<sup>57</sup> At the end of the 1620s the first Romanov, Mikhail Fedorovich, and his father, Patriarch Filaret, instituted a ban on the importation of and trade in Ukrainian books on the territory of the Muscovite state; they followed this with a total confiscation in districts bordering on the Commonwealth.<sup>58</sup> In the 1640s, however, consciousness of the need for religious enlightenment arose in the Russian Church. Patriarch Nikon, who in his reforms relied strongly on the example of Kyiv Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, played a special role in instilling Kyivan Church ways. Under Nikon, Kyivan part-singing began to spread in Moscow; also around this time, under Ukrainian influence, Western Baroque elements began appearing in church architecture in Russia.

Ukraine's inclusion as part of Russia and the end of the Belarusian diocese's subordination to the Kyiv Metropolitan in the 1650s placed relations between the two churches on a new level. The situation became strained after 1686 (when the Kyiv Metropolia was subordinated to the patriarch of Moscow), and especially during Sophia's rule, when Orthodox Ukrainians (Hedeon Chetvertyns'kyi, Lazar Baranovych, Varlaam Iasyns'kyi) supported Silvestr Medvedev in his theological dispute with Patriarch Ioakim. The outcome was nearly tragic.

Patriarch Ioakim took Peter's side in this conflict, speaking out against Sophia's support of foreigners and Western culture. As a prize for loyalty, Ioakim got Medvedev. Having come out on top in this dispute, Ioakim naturally set out to defeat his opponents in Ukraine as well. A church council (*sobor*) condemned the principal works of Kyivan theological scholarship – essays by Petro Mohyla, Innokentii Gizel', Ioanykii Haliatovs'kyi, Antonii Radyvylovs'kyi, Lazar Baranovych, Kyrylo Stavrovets'kyi-Trankvilion, Sylvestr Kosiv, and others – as "having the same ideas as those of the pope and the Western [Catholic] church (*kostel*)."<sup>59</sup> The Russian Orthodox



Church badly miscalculated, however, in believing that Peter would reject Sophia's Western orientation.

As early as 1690, Peter had obtained an exemption "from the archbishop's promise of instructions concerning interaction with the non-Orthodox," and in 1692 he organized an All-Joking, All-Drunken Sobor, headed by the patriarch. Viktor Zhivov regarded this council not as drunken entertainment but as "a blasphemous ceremony, designed to discredit Church tradition in general and the patriarchate in particular." The triumphal celebrations after the capture of Azov in 1696 were even more flagrant, as well as more public. The ceremony of the triumphal entry and the triumphal gates themselves were arranged following Baroque models, with extensive use of imperial Roman trappings and ancient mythological images. Baroque symbols were in widespread use in Ukraine at that time, including among the Ukrainian clergy of Mazepa's era.

On his return from the Grand Embassy, Peter declared to Patriarch Adrian (who had succeeded Ioakim in 1690) that priests must henceforth be trained in Kyiv, and he began to name Ukrainians as archbishops. Apparently knowing Peter's wishes, even during the construction of Shlisselburg Fortress, Menshikov asked Mazepa to seek out "a good priest and a learned preacher to preach the Word of God, yes, and a *d'iakon* [deacon]." <sup>60</sup>

Mazepa hastened to exploit the situation by advancing his own protégés to higher spiritual positions. This did not always coincide with their personal desires. For example, Stefan Iavors'kyi, who had made a strong impression on Peter with his sermon at the funeral of Aleksei Shein in February 1700 (this sermon amazed even the Swedish envoy Thomas Knipper, categorically did not want to leave Ukraine.<sup>61</sup> The tsar ordered the dying patriarch not to allow Iavors'kyi to go home, but to consecrate him as an archbishop in a diocese not far from Moscow.<sup>62</sup>

In December 1700, Adrian, the patriarch of Moscow, died. This was something of a gift to Peter, for his death made it easier for him to disrupt the old system and to take control of the church's administrative and judicial functions. In the above-mentioned decree from the tsar to Stefan Iavors'kyi, the latter was instructed to deal with religious matters, and the Monastery Bureau was re-established to oversee church administration.

Peter's main goal was, of course, to assert autocracy; but he also welcomed the spread of education. Ukrainians could become "the

natural agents of Westernization and modernization in the Church sphere.”<sup>63</sup> They set off for Moscow hoping to provide enlightenment, without expecting the swift disappointment that awaited them.

The role of the Ukrainian clergy in Peter's reforms is quite well-known.<sup>64</sup> Having been put forward by Mazepa for high positions in the Russian Empire, these clergy were expected to break the old system and to take control of the administrative and judicial activities of church bodies.

Modern research has revealed new details, however. The question has arisen: Did Peter think the Ukrainian clergy would prove to be more submissive? Evidently, there were many mutual misunderstandings and false expectations; furthermore, a certain ambiguity entered into Peter's intentions.<sup>65</sup>

The Ukrainian clergy was better educated than the Muscovite clergy, and the former linked their summons to Moscow to this fact. The clergy believed the tsar wanted to harness their knowledge for the religious enlightenment of Russia, following the example of the Nikonian reforms. This created a deceptive illusion of continuity, which led to a tragic mutual misunderstanding between Peter and the Ukrainian religious figures.

How sincerely did Peter support education? One must not forget that he remained a man of his time. Even while he was founding new educational centres and recruiting Ukrainian scholars, he was introducing measures to prosecute witchcraft<sup>66</sup> and to extend his control over monastic writings. He confiscated and managed church income and property, disbursing these resources for military purposes and to finance the construction of a theatre.

Thus, Iavors'kyi headed the Greek-Slavonic Academy in Moscow, which since the time of Vasiliï Golitsyn had been under the influence of the conservative Greeks, the Leichoudes (in Russian, the Likhudi). The academy was quickly remade in the image of Kyiv-Mohyla, with the involvement of a contingent of professors from Ukraine. In 1700, another of Mazepa's nominees – Dymytrii Tuptalo – became the Metropolitan of Riazan. Tuptalo opened a school in his metropolia and began to train clergy. Iavors'kyi wielded his authority to advance representatives of the Ukrainian educated clergy to key positions in the Russian Empire. By the end of Peter's reign, 70 percent of the bishops in Russia were of Ukrainian origin. Ukrainian clergy opened schools, disseminated the works of their teachers, and promoted education and science.

Iavors'kyi stayed in close contact with Mazepa, often turning to him with requests for patronage of this or that individual.<sup>67</sup> The hetman could not but perceive this as a triumph of his own policy as an enlightened patron.

The fate of Mikhail Lomonosov was directly linked to Ukrainian educators. The great scientist began his studies in a Kholmohory school founded by Bishop V. Volstkovs'kyi, a graduate of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. The teachers who acquainted Lomonosov with Meletii Smotryts'kyi's "grammar" and Leontii Mahnyts'kyi's "arithmetic" were also Kyivans. On leaving Kholmohory, Mikhail found himself in Moscow under the patronage of yet another former professor at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, Feofan Prokopovych.

The conclusions that contemporary scholars of the Petrine era have reached concerning the mutual misunderstanding between Peter and the Ukrainian clergy are interesting in a wider context as well. Mazepa, too, actively and enthusiastically embraced the ideas of the tsar-reformer and became his energetic supporter in the 1690s. But mutual misunderstanding followed, resulting in a tragic breach. Likewise, swift disappointment awaited the Ukrainian archbishops. Dymytrii Tuptalo (of Rostov) serves as an example: he opened a school in Rostov but found himself without means for its support. Symbolically, this future saint died at the end of October (Old Style) 1709, surviving Mazepa by only a month.

Clearly, Peter was unable to appreciate the Ukrainian point of view. The profound shock he experienced when he learned that Mazepa had gone over to the Swedes is a vivid example of this.

There are many parallels between the fates of Mazepa and Iavors'kyi. The *locum tenens* of the patriarchal throne was too devoted to clerical values to support Peter's Europeanization plans unreservedly; at the same time, Peter was not suited to the role of defender of "old native custom," for Muscovite values were alien to this product of the Ukrainian Baroque. In addition, a fully fleshed-out position is evident in Iavors'kyi's activities; throughout his career, he adhered to quite consistent views and politics. Iavors'kyi was not going to reform Orthodoxy (unlike Feofan Prokopovych, who brought it closer to Protestantism); he only sought to apply in Russia the religious system he had inherited from his Kyivan teachers. He regarded Moscow's religious culture as full of ignorance, and his project – one that he shared with his closest friend, Dymytrii of Rostov – was to spread enlightenment in Russia.

Similarly, Mazepa sincerely supported many of Peter's initiatives. From the perspective of Muscovite Rus', Mazepa was an educated and progressive person. But the hetman could not embrace the tsar's desire to subordinate the church and the education system to his own will, for he had been brought up on traditional Orthodox values. He could not approve of the taxes Peter levied on monasteries for the needs of the war, or for impious whims.

The historiography – largely the Russian historiography – has stubbornly held that the Ukrainian clergy, even those who had friendly relations with Mazepa, unanimously condemned his shift of allegiance to the Swedes and supported Peter's decree of anathema. Recent research on the actions of Ukrainian church leaders and especially of Stefan Iavors'kyi refutes this view. As for the anathema itself, it had clearly been proclaimed by Peter (“Please publicly in the Cathedral Church commit him to damnation for this his deed”)<sup>68</sup>, and there was simply no time for a serious theological explanation.

In the materials in RGADA from the secret investigation collection there is fascinating evidence that the Ukrainian clergy were dissatisfied. In 1724 a former archpriest from Lokhvytsia, during the announcement of the anathema in one of the churches, declared: “Our Mazpa [*sic*] is a saint and will be in heaven, but your sovereign is not [a saint].”<sup>69</sup> In 1727 a native of Ukraine, the hieromonk Harvasii, in Solovki Monastery, during the anathema uttered something still more radical: “Our Mazepa is a saint, but your *moskal'* [= Muscovite] is a son without honour.”<sup>70</sup> Yet another characteristic example: a priest in a church near Kyiv (built at Mazepa's expense), at a time when all reminders of the hetman were being destroyed, hid an engraving by Danylo Haliakhovs'kyi. The engraving had been made in honour of Mazepa and included his portrait. The priest placed the engraving under a canvas that (very symbolically) depicted the Crucifixion.<sup>71</sup>

Similarly, previously unknown sermons by Stefan Iavors'kyi strongly suggest that the hierarchy actively rejected Peter's actions. A published sermon by Iavors'kyi speaks “of King Balthasar, drinking from church vessels,” hinting unmistakably at Peter's impious assemblies and (in the language of the biblical prophesies) predicting the wrath of God that would fall on Russia for the sins of its ruler.<sup>72</sup>

This sermon was written on 13 November 1708, the day after Peter had forced Iavors'kyi to declare a church anathema against Mazepa. The sermon was not delivered, of course, but as Viktor Zhivov

correctly notes, Iavors'kyi “evidently, could not [refrain from protest] – it is hard to imagine a more eloquent testimony of his secret hatred of Peter.”<sup>73</sup> This sermon makes it possible to reconsider the attitude toward Mazepa’s deed among the higher Ukrainian clergy.

Giovanna Brogi Bercoff has produced a brilliant textual analysis of Iavors'kyi’s sermon in which he proclaimed the anathema against Mazepa, demonstrating that it was composed in Aesopian language. The core of the sermon enumerates the hetman’s accomplishments through the twenty years of his activity. Mazepa is compared with an olive tree. Only after this is the curse put on Mazepa. But the art of rhetoric allowed Iavors'kyi to construct his text in such a way that even as he fulfilled Peter’s order and consigned Mazepa to anathema, he focused the listener’s attention on the hetman’s merits.<sup>74</sup>

In December 1708, Iavors'kyi crafted another accusatory speech in which he opposed Peter’s policy. In it he wrote “of wives forcibly tonsured and loose women living with the divorced husbands,” which all contemporaries of course would have associated with Peter, Evdokiia Lopukhina, and Ekaterina (Marta Skavronskaia). But Iavors'kyi made the sermon, exquisite in its Baroque style, with its condemnation of hair-cutting (*bradobreistvo*), only on paper.<sup>75</sup>

Of course, Iavors'kyi could not have halted the machine of young Peter’s empire on his own. Instead of incriminating speeches, he soon had to pronounce panegyrics on the occasion of the victory at Poltava. Nevertheless, matters did not proceed as easily and smoothly for Peter as is often portrayed in historical works.

It became clear to Peter that many of the Ukrainian hierarchs who had moved into important positions in the Russian Church by his will did not agree with his reforms. So for help, Peter turned to Feofan Prokopovych, who would soon become Peter’s most important ideologue. Prokopovych was also a Ukrainian, but one significantly more willing to serve as “ideological make-up artist” for the reforms Peter thought necessary.

Iavors'kyi continued to resist: he rebelled against the ordination of Feofan Prokopovych to the episcopate. Furthermore, recent research has shown that the Ukrainian clergy were closely connected with the case of Tsarevich Aleksei, in the course of which Russian opposition to Peter’s reforms manifested itself.

On 17 March 1712, Iavors'kyi delivered a sermon in which “he attacked those who put away their wives and did not observe all the Orthodox fasts, a group that included the tsar himself. At the end, he

called on St Alexius ... not to forget his namesake, the tsarevich.”<sup>76</sup> Aleksei maintained close ties with the new Archimandrite of Kyiv Caves Monastery, Ioanykii Seniutovych.<sup>77</sup> Charles XII offered Aleksei the Swedish army<sup>78</sup> (and this clearly would not have happened without the influence of the “Mazepist” Orlyk). When in January 1718 the tsarevich returned to Russia, Peter immediately accused Iavors'kyi of supporting Aleksei, calling the metropolitan's speeches “the language of Mazepa.”<sup>79</sup> After this, Iavors'kyi took to his bed.

The Metropolitan of Kyiv, Ioasaf Krokovs'kyi, Archimandrite Ioannykii Seniutovych, and Iavors'kyi himself were all implicated in the case of the tsarevich.<sup>80</sup> Aleksei even “admitted that he had written to Metropolitan Ioasaf in Kyiv, asking him to start a rebellion in Ukraine.”<sup>81</sup> Among those under suspicion was yet another old friend of Mazepa, Boris Sheremetev.<sup>82</sup>

Thus, an examination of the realities of the Petrine era reveals that the conflict between the Ukrainian Hetmanate and the nascent empire was complex and many-sided. To reduce this to the personal qualities of Mazepa the hetman is to oversimplify matters. For Ukraine, Mazepa's era was a time of unprecedented flourishing in culture and the arts, and to deny this is to sin against the truth.

The flourishing of Ukrainian Mazepist Baroque was overshadowed by the tragic events of 1708, after which the suppression of this era's significance began. Mazepa's crest was removed from the churches he had built, his name was blacked out in books, and his portraits were destroyed and painted over.

Even so, the memory of this patron of the arts survives. Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, an adjutant to Emperor Nicholas II, noted in his memoirs that “they laughed at the absurdity that simultaneously in Kyiv they pronounce an anathema against Mazepa in St Sophia's Cathedral, and in the St Michael's monastery they lift up prayers for the repose of his soul for him, as the founder of the church.”<sup>83</sup> There is also a curious legend about Emperor Nicholas I's visit to Kyiv. He stopped at St Nickolas's Cathedral, and, admiring its architecture, asked: “Who built this church?” “Mazepa,” answered the hegumen in a voice trembling with fear. “And what about him, do you pray for him?” asked the emperor. “We pray for him when by the rite of the Church we say ‘for the founders and benefactors of this church,’” said the priest more boldly, seeing that the emperor was not angry. “Pray, pray,” said the emperor with a slight sigh, and soon left the church.<sup>84</sup>

## Mazepa and the “Birds of Peter’s Nest”<sup>1</sup>

This chapter discusses Mazepa’s personal and business relations with many Russian political figures of the Petrine era. On this topic, too, many clichés exist, behind which the essence is often lost. This applies, for example, to the hackneyed thesis concerning the hostility between Mazepa and Aleksandr Menshikov, though there is no doubt there was hostility.

But the list of true companions and even friends of Mazepa among the first-rank dignitaries of the nascent empire was much longer than that of his enemies. This is important for understanding and assessing the activities of Mazepa the hetman during his long reign. The facts persistently show that throughout the years of his rule he firmly linked his own future and the future of his native land to Peter’s reforms. In his difficult work he relied on close contacts with leading political and military figures of Peter’s era. These longtime contacts often outgrew the bounds of business and became personal.

Materials from the Baturyn archive, as well as materials from RGADA and some other sources, give a good sense of the nature and scope of Mazepa’s cooperation with the Russian nobility. Mazepa corresponded with almost all the leading political figures of Russia: Tikhon Streshnev, Mikhail Cherkasskii, Ivan Troekurov, Lev Naryshkin, Iakov Dolgorukov, Dmitrii Golitsyn, Ivan Golovin, Nikita Zotov, Petr Shafirov, Iakov Brius, Ivan Kol'tsov-Masal'skii, Emel'ian Ukraintsev, Andrei Vinius, Petr Tolsto, Aleksei Kurbatov, Sava Raguzinskii, Karion Istomin, *d'iaks* Boris Mikhailov and Vasilii Postnikov, Aleksandr Kikin, V. P. Stepanov, D. Kovnev, Mikhail Rtishchev. These documents irrefutably negate both the thesis of “elemental treason” and the theory that the hetman from

the first years of his rule had been planning an uprising against Moscow.

One should not oversimplify the situation, however. Passionate intrigues always burned among those close to the tsar. People competed desperately for power and wealth, as well as for influence over the foremost person in the state. Envy and rivalry prevailed, too, among the “birds of Peter’s nest,” that is, the close circle of the court. Yet Mazepa maintained very friendly relations with members of hostile factions for many years. He followed the Russian tradition of “gifts.” For example, he sent wine to the conciliar secretary Emel’ian Ukraintsev, to the secretaries of the Foreign Office, and to the under-secretary of the Little Russian Office.<sup>2</sup> Examples are numerous, and will be described in more detail below.

Mazepa’s political agility helped him maintain friendly relations with many Russian politicians, as did the detached position he occupied as the leader of an autonomous entity. Mazepa almost never participated in Peter’s entertainments, perhaps for reasons of piety (the “All-Joking, All-Drunken Sobor [Synod]” had to have shocked him), perhaps owing to his frequent illnesses. This can hardly be explained by the age difference, for, as is well-known, Peter’s “senior” dignitaries and Mazepa’s peers were forced to become drunks and play the jester in order to please the tsar. In any event, the hetman kept his distance. Peter called Mazepa “Lord Hetman,” while Mazepa addressed the tsar solely as “Sovereign” and not familiarly as “Lord Colonel,” “*Bombardir*” (bombardier),” or “*Mein Herz.*” It may be that Mazepa thought it safer to keep his distance from the volatile tsar. In November 1703, during Peter’s triumph (the tsar was entering Moscow on foot), Mazepa walked with him, gave him a jewelled sword, and “paid for drinks for the whole company.”<sup>3</sup>

Business activities linked Mazepa to many nobles. His correspondence with Petr A. Tolstoi was an example. The two men discussed foreign policy, and Tolstoi once sent the hetman a gold medallion (*kleinot*) from Peter with the tsar’s portrait.<sup>4</sup>

Mazepa had close, informal relations especially with the older generation of “Peter’s birds” – with the head of the Foreign Office Fedor Golovin, the conciliar secretary Ukraintsev, field marshal Boris Sheremetev, secretary Andrei Vinius, and others.

Let us begin with Fedor Golovin, the Chancellor of Russia, First Cavalier of the Order of St Andrew the First-Called, a boyar of the highest rank (*blizhnyi boiarin*), a count, a general, and an admiral.



Peter became acquainted with his diplomatic skills during the Grand Embassy. After 18 February 1700, Golovin headed the Foreign Office, replacing Lev Naryshkin.<sup>5</sup> Foreign policy, the fleet, the staff of the state armoury, the border fortresses, the garrisons at Pskov and Smolensk, and so forth, all fell under his purview. To stay on top of these responsibilities was not easy. Golovin clearly disapproved of the way of life that Peter had taken up under the influence of his young favourites. For example, the chancellor complained of the time Peter lost in the “gaiety of Venus.”<sup>6</sup>

In this he was clearly in solidarity with Mazepa, whom he considered a reliable assistant and a talented diplomat. In the Baturyn archive alone, 114 letters from Golovin to the hetman dated between 1700 and 1706 have been preserved. Many copies of these letters are held at RGADA, which also holds Mazepa’s letters to the chancellor. Leaving a routine question to Mazepa to resolve (to his “wise deliberation”), Golovin wrote, “And I do not doubt that your Excellency will please to do as will be best for his Tsarist Majesty.”<sup>7</sup> Golovin trusted Mazepa and relied on his opinion. Here is a characteristic greeting: on 20 March 1706, the chancellor asked the hetman “about *dumnyi dvorianin* [council nobleman] Semen Nepliev and the courtier [*stol’nik*] Mikhail Rtishchev, and which of them it would please Mazepa to be with him and to report back.”<sup>8</sup> In April 1703, Golovin assured him that the question of “sending a gentleman courtier [*gospodin stol’nik*] to Zaporizhia [has been left] to your discretion [*rassuzhdenie*].”<sup>9</sup>

This correspondence went far beyond the usual business relations. The chancellor wrote to the hetman: “Do not be angry with me, as my true benefactor; I write this out of my indispensable service to your person.”<sup>10</sup>

This chapter will repeatedly touch on the Mazepa–Golovin correspondence, in particular, when it addresses the hetman’s role in Russia’s foreign policy. Over many years, the two men jointly developed and implemented far-reaching foreign policy plans. It will be seen that the chancellor initiated him into many secret matters of Russian diplomacy. Mazepa had the keys to the secret reports from diplomatic representatives (*rezidenty*); he practically headed the entire southern sphere of foreign policy, conducted negotiations with Moldavia and Wallachia, exerted control over events in the Ottoman Empire and Crimea, and had contacts with Greek hierarchs.<sup>11</sup> Golovin valued his services very much and noted the

hetman’s “wit.”<sup>12</sup> And Mazepa saw in the chancellor a person on whom it was possible to rely at critical moments. It is to Golovin that the hetman would write when serious problems developed in the relations between the Russian government and the Ukrainian Hetmanate in 1706. And Golovin would do everything possible to resolve the conflict. Evidence has survived that in autumn 1705, Golovin confidentially warned Mazepa that Peter might be dissatisfied with the large wagon train the hetman had taken on campaign (“As a faithful friend, I report confidentially that I think it will be very displeasing to his Tsarist Majesty when he hears you have such a large encampment”).<sup>13</sup>

A personal characteristic that the two experienced politician-diplomats, Mazepa and Golovin, shared was maternal reverence. Mazepa’s relationship with Mariia Mahdalena, a highly influential but very elderly woman (she died in 1707 at the age of ninety), has been mentioned. For her part, Mariia Mahdalena sent her beloved son, the hetman, fresh vegetables from her own monastery garden.<sup>14</sup> Golovin for his part was heartbroken when his mother died in 1705, upon which Peter wrote to him: “I hear that you are very sad about the death of your mother. For the sake of God, please consider that she was an old person and had been ill for a very long time.”<sup>15</sup> Incidentally, like Mazepa, Golovin suffered from attacks of gout.<sup>16</sup>

In assessing the degree of friendliness in Mazepa’s correspondence with Golovin, one must take into account that the former always used the courtly, gracious forms of the Ukrainian Baroque. Moreover, he was a born diplomat, an experienced courtier, and a deft politician. This is not to suggest insincerity. Many expressions and turns of phrase in the correspondence between Mazepa and Golovin testify to a high degree of mutual trust, understanding, and openness. For example, here is Golovin’s answer to news of Palii’s words: “it pleased you to write to me about the *snorting of a fool* [emphasis added]; please follow this; perhaps he himself, too, does not know what he says; he has now become a fool.”<sup>17</sup> In another letter, promising to look after Mazepa’s nephew Andrii Voinarovs'kyi, Golovin wrote that he acted out of true friendship, always with desire and willingness.<sup>18</sup> The chancellor addressed the hetman as “*ty*” (the familiar form of “you”) in personal postscripts.

Mazepa comes across as a sardonic intellectual in his correspondence with Golovin. Aphorisms, figurative turns of phrase, and occasional sarcasm are characteristic of him. He spoke of

the Zaporozhians: “a peasant black as a crow and cunning as the devil.”<sup>19</sup> One may assume that Mazepa was quite familiar with chess and that he played it with Fedor Alekseevich, for he wrote to him that the time had come to make the Poles “check or mate.”<sup>20</sup> Mazepa permitted himself candid, sharp, harsh characterizations of his enemies – Semen Palii and Kost' Hordiienko – in his correspondence with Golovin. He called Palii “a crazy drunk,”<sup>21</sup> and with respect to Hordiienko agreed with Golovin on a plan for his physical elimination.<sup>22</sup>

One never finds the refined flattery and courtly frills in Mazepa's letters to Golovin that are encountered in almost all his missives to Menshikov. Indeed, he signed his letters to Golovin “a friend wishing all good to your lordship” rather than “brother and servant by my own hand.” The difference in sincerity is palpable.

The rise of Menshikov, who abruptly became influential after 1703, irritated many nobles, who were annoyed with him and sometimes envious. In January 1704, Menshikov betrothed his sister to Golovin's son – Aleksei Fedorovich<sup>23</sup> – but later changed his mind, which could not but affect the attitude of the nobles.

On the basis of reports from foreign agents, Paul Bushkovitch concludes that one of those displeased with Menshikov (besides Boris Sheremetev) was Fedor Golovin. In Bushkovitch's view,

part of the foreign minister's discontent came from overwork, for he was almost solely responsible for the conduct of ever more complex foreign affairs, assisted only by Shafirov, as well as the ever-expanding fleet of which he was the admiral. He found Peter's wild parties with Menshikov and others increasingly tiresome, and eventually, he lost patience and begins to become rather irritable from jealousy of the great power of the favorite and his therefore increasing insolence.

For although Count Golovin carries the name of Prime Minister and Chief President of Foreign Affairs, his power is so very limited by the uncommonly great ascendancy which the favorite Alexander Danilovich Menshikov has attained over the tsar's mind, that he is able to execute and decide little or almost nothing without the foreknowledge and agreement of the latter [Menshikov], and because therefore the Prime Minister, who has repeatedly but every time in vain begged the tsar very actively to take the management of affairs of state from him, only works

unwillingly, and in all these things has no assistance other than from the privy translator and state secretary Shafirov, and besides [Golovin] is extremely occupied with marine affairs as admiral of the tsar’s fleet, so that all foreign correspondence goes so slowly and badly that the foreign envoys receive no or very late resolutions on their memoranda, and the Prime Minister often shoves it off on the favorite, and the latter back to the former, so that most of the time they remain true *opposita penes se posita* [opposites placed together].<sup>24</sup>

Golovin’s irritation with Menshikov is significant, and Sheremetev and Mazepa himself shared this hostility toward the young favorite. For many contemporaries, the nature of the tsar’s special passion for the favorite was no secret, and this hardly improved Mazepa’s attitude toward Menshikov.<sup>25</sup> The influence of generational, cultural, and moral differences was an obvious factor. This conflict would have very far-reaching consequences for Ukraine.

In the summer of 1706, in an atmosphere of turmoil, Peter made preparations to visit Kyiv. But on 31 July 1706, in a little hamlet 130 miles from Kyiv, Fedor Golovin died of fever. As his contemporaries said, he “alone handled all the most important affairs.”<sup>26</sup> This was a grievous personal loss for Mazepa. As will be seen below, the meeting in Kyiv with Peter and Menshikov quickly turned into a tragedy for the hetman.

Golovin died at the age of fifty-six. By the end of his life he was a sick old man who, even so, was constantly being ordered to dash around the empire’s vast expanses. Peter had taken into account neither his age nor his poor health. Before Golovin’s death, he had been compelled to go to Saint Petersburg.<sup>27</sup> When in November 1690 Vuiakhevych was elected Archimandrite of the Kyiv Caves Monastery, he was “very terrified by that great journey.”<sup>28</sup> This was something for Mazepa himself to ponder. The machine of the empire squeezed all the juices out of talented old men and discarded them. No one was going to take their health into consideration.

Another person from the older generation of “Peter’s birds” with whom Mazepa had a special relationship was Boris Petrovich Sheremetev. Incidentally, the field marshal’s daughter was married to Golovin’s son.<sup>29</sup>

As Paul Bushkovitch has noted, almost no one has paid attention to the relationship between Peter’s famous field marshal and

Mazepa. Sheremetev was more than simply the hetman's comrade-in-arms during the Azov campaigns; he was also a person close to Ukrainian culture. Moreover, he shared Mazepa's guarded attitude toward "the young generation" of Peter's favourites.

The literature very often presents Sheremetev as a boyar from an old, illustrious family, an oppositionist of a sort, and a grumpy old man, albeit also a participant in Peter's reforms. He is typically contrasted to the young "new" generation of "Peter's birds," such as Menshikov, Shafirov, and Raguzinskii. The genius of Aleksei Tolstoi, who produced a vivid image of Sheremetev but not one that corresponds to the truth, largely facilitated this stereotype.

In fact, the boyar family of the Sheremetevs was one of the most progressive, if not pro-Western, in Russia, and that was well before the Petrine reforms. Furthermore, and significantly, the Sheremetevs had long been involved in "Ukrainian affairs" and were closely connected to them.

Boris Sheremetev's grandfather, Vasiliï Petrovich, conciliar *boiarin* and a steward (*dvoretskii*), participated in the Russo-Polish War of 1654–55 and led the capture of Vitebsk, after which he was remembered for sparing all the local gentry – and for infuriating Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich in doing so.<sup>30</sup> Vasiliï Petrovich was a literate man who understood the significance of education. A characteristic example: when the *Sobornoe Ulozhenie* (Council Code) was published in Moscow in 1649 – the first law code ever published in Russia – the boyar obtained two copies for himself at the printing house.<sup>31</sup>

The son of Vasiliï Petrovich Sheremetev, Matvei, shaved off his beard<sup>32</sup> – a unique phenomenon in pre-Petrine Russia, for a beard was viewed as a sign of Orthodoxy. Another son, Petr Vasil'evich (the father of Boris Sheremetev), married Anna Fedorovna Volynskaia, and in 1652 Boris Petrovich was born to them. In 1658, Petr Vasil'evich participated in the negotiations at Vilnius,<sup>33</sup> and in the years 1664 to 1668 he served as the Kyiv *voevoda*. These were very difficult years in Russo-Ukrainian relations, with an anti-Russian uprising on the Left Bank, the massacre of the Russian garrisons, and so on.

Petr Vasil'evich Sheremetev proved himself during this difficult time. He was able to establish good relations with the Ukrainian elite, which prevented catastrophe during the uprising. In addition, he showed himself to be an admirer of Ukrainian culture. A portrait by a Ukrainian master depicted Petr Vasil'evich without a beard and in Polish dress.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, the *voevoda* categorically opposed the

closing of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, even though the Kyiv colonel Vasyli' Dvoret's'kyi and the highly influential Bishop Mefodii had insisted this be done.<sup>35</sup> The Kyiv *voevoda*'s opposition to the opinion of two powerful “pro-Russian” figures in the Ukrainian Hetmanate shows that the fate of the academy was not a matter of indifference to him. Clearly, he had an accurate conception of the essence of this institution and its role in Ukrainian society, or he would not have left it open.

A. Barkusov assumed that Petr Vasil'evich's son, Boris Sheremetev, who was fifteen years old during his father's time in Kyiv, studied at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy.<sup>36</sup> It is noteworthy that Dymytrii Tuptalo (the future St Dymytrii of Rostov) studied there at the same time as Boris. The two were almost the same age.<sup>37</sup>

Petr Sheremetev, unlike many of his Russian colleagues, had close and even friendly relations with foreigners. Patrick Gordon often dined with him. As the Scotsman himself acknowledged, he received letters “full of love and friendship” from the boyar.<sup>38</sup>

Boris Sheremetev himself was closely linked to Kyivan culture. As his biographer wrote, his stay in Kyiv was perhaps the most powerful influence on his moral development: “Kyiv left a deep, indelible impression on his soul.”<sup>39</sup> Even family life began for him in Ukraine. In 1669, at the age of seventeen, Boris Petrovich courted Evdokiia Alekseevna, the daughter of the Pereiaslav *voevoda* Aleksei Panteleevych Chirikov. They met in Kyiv, where Chirikov, having fallen ill, had come with his family. The Pereiaslav *voevoda* died in Kyiv, and Petr Vasil'evich Sheremetev took upon himself the care of his family.<sup>40</sup> The Archimandrite of Kyiv Caves Monastery I. Gizel' and the Pereiaslav colonel Dmytrashko-Raicha wanted to seize Chirikov's property, but Petr Vasil'evich defended the interests of his future daughter-in-law.

Boris Sheremetev returned to Kyiv later on official business. In 1679, he and his father led the troops that defended Kyiv from the Tatars.<sup>41</sup> In 1681, Petr Vasil'evich became the *voevoda* in Kyiv for the second time; he was there with his middle son Fedor Petrovich. This brother of Boris Sheremetev became acquainted in Ukraine with the daughter of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych and married her. This marriage made the Sheremetevs' ties with Ukraine even closer.

Boris Sheremetev repeatedly took part in military operations on Ukraine's territory. On 17 June 1679, when he was just twenty-seven years old, holding the rank of courtier (*stol'nik*), he was appointed

a fellow (*tovarysh*) to the *voevoda* of a large regiment, the boyar Prince Mikhail Alekukovich Cherkasskii.<sup>42</sup>

During Sophia's rule, Petr Vasil'evich and Boris Petrovich were considered supporters of Tsarina Natal'ia.<sup>43</sup> This did not prevent Sheremetev the younger from successfully conducting Russo-Polish negotiations and heading the Russian delegation to Warsaw for the ratification of the Eternal Peace. During celebrations in Lviv upon the conclusion of the peace, Boris Petrovich garnered particular praise "in the dance" for his "grace and ease."<sup>44</sup> In 1689, Boris Sheremetev took part in the second Crimean campaign.

During this period, Sheremetev could not but have known Mazepa, who not only participated in the preparations for the second Crimean campaign but also personally led it. A passion for Ukrainian theological culture, and a common alma mater – these things must have prepared the ground for spiritual affinity.

The beginning of Peter's rule opened new prospects for Boris Sheremetev. He participated in the Azov campaigns, and in 1695 he and Mazepa took Kyzy-Kermen. In the years 1697 to 1699, Boris Sheremetev was in Italy and Malta on Peter's orders. He returned to Russia with the title of Knight of Malta.<sup>45</sup> To be sure, some said that to receive the Maltese cross. Boris Petrovich must not have regretted the "large outlays." Even so, the secretary of the Holy Roman Empire's embassy, Johann Korb, described him as "a sensible boyar, a valiant warrior, the terror of the Tatars, and the chief ornament of Russia."<sup>46</sup> At the same time, Sheremetev showed himself a man of broad views, clearly outstripping his fellow boyars in that regard. For example, Boris Petrovich attended an audience with the pope in Rome, which in Moscow was regarded almost as apostasy from the Orthodox faith. In Rome it was even thought that he would accept Catholicism, but Sheremetev stood firm.<sup>47</sup>

Although direct evidence of the nature of the relationship between Mazepa and Sheremetev has not survived, much suggests that they were close. In a letter from Boris Petrovich to the hetman that has been preserved in the Baturyn archive, the following appears: "And on some of the cases he ordered an oral report [by his men]; you should believe that."<sup>48</sup>

With the beginning of the Great Northern War and after the rise of Menshikov, Sheremetev's position and mood changed. He fell into the same situation as Golovin and Mazepa. The first foreign sources confirming the conflict between Sheremetev and Menshikov refer to

1704, when Boris Sheremetev set off on campaign to Livonia. The Prussian envoy Johann Georg von Keyserling wrote on 9 April 1704:

Two weeks ago the field marshal Sheremetev left from here completely discontented, since the favorite Aleksander Danilovich at his own pleasure not only sought out the best and most experienced officers from his [Sheremetev’s] whole army and engaged them with his regiment, but also recently took the best dragoon regiments, which are supposed to remain under his command the whole time in Ingria, about which the field marshal himself, who tried to oppose the order brought by his majesty the tsar in person with some representations, had to swallow some very hard words.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, the Danish ambassador Georg Grund wrote in late 1705 that Sheremetev aroused the sympathy of the boyars “because he is a great general and his father and grandfather were already their commanders, and thus he is in all respects the most distinguished among them.”<sup>50</sup> Mazepa had similar feelings for Boris Sheremetev. If one is to believe Pylyp Orlyk (and there is no reason not to believe him), Mazepa was indignant that Menshikov had been appointed over him and said he would not have been insulted if he had been placed under the command of Sheremetev or some other man “with a glorious name and the achievements of his ancestors.” In early 1705 the rivalry between Sheremetev and Menshikov continued.<sup>51</sup> The correspondence between Sheremetev and Golovin has information about this rivalry.<sup>52</sup>

The foreign sources confirming the serious disagreements between Sheremetev and Menshikov are significant in view of other interesting evidence from Pylyp Orlyk (which has yet to be confirmed). He wrote that in 1707 a letter was sent to Mazepa from Princess Anna Dolska, who described a scene that had taken place in Lviv during a christening. The princess was a godparent together with Boris Sheremetev and was sitting at the festive table between him and Karl Ewald von Rönne. The former spoke of Mazepa with praise. At this, Carl Ewald von Rönne himself praised the hetman and added: “May God have mercy on this good, wise Ivan [Mazepa]! The poor man does not know that Prince Alexander Danilovich [Menshikov] is digging a pit under him and having pushed him aside, wants to be hetman himself in Ukraine.” At this, Dolska reportedly turned,



surprised, to Sheremetev. But the latter confirmed what von Rönne had said. Then Dolska asked why none of “[his] good friends” would warn Mazepa that Menshikov had such plans. Sheremetev explained that this was impossible, “we ourselves also put up with a lot but are compelled to remain silent.”

In August 1707 a great row between Peter and Menshikov erupted in view of all the foreigners. The occasion was Menshikov’s attempt to besmirch Sheremetev in the eyes of the tsar.<sup>53</sup> According to information from the Prussian ambassador Johann Georg baron von Keyserling, the quarrel between Sheremetev and Menshikov did not subside until the end of 1707.<sup>54</sup> In February 1708 the British envoy Charles Whitworth reported: “The discord between the tsar’s favourite and the field marshal increased to the point that Sheremetev announced to the whole military council that he was prepared to relinquish his post, for ruin threatened both his reputation and the sovereign’s army itself, if the prince would not be removed from command over the cavalry.”<sup>55</sup> Moreover, there is evidence from Stanisław Leszczyński that he had secret talks with Boris Sheremetev to induce him “to take a decisive step,” for which the king “promised the swift and vigorous support of the Swedish king.”<sup>56</sup> Sheremetev did not inform Peter of these contacts.

Thus in 1706 and 1707, something of an opposition group emerged among the older generation of Peter’s associates. It included Golovin, Sheremetev, and Mazepa, all of whom were negatively disposed toward Menshikov. How far the discontent of each of them went is another question. There is an interesting piece of evidence from the Prussian envoy von Keyserling, who wrote of Menshikov that “all the great of this country are also very discontented and it is a matter of concern that if the King of Sweden with his army came just to this border and gave a little air to the discontented, then probably a general revolt would follow.”<sup>57</sup>

Golovin died, Mazepa rebelled, and Sheremetev concealed his discontent, as did many other like-minded people. He had no choice but to lead the madcap life so beloved by Peter. In his field diary for January 1709 he wrote: “They all ate at his Highness the prince’s place and sat there till evening, and in the evening his Tsarist Majesty and the lord generals all celebrated at the Lord General Lieutenant Brius’s residence and sat there for an hour; then in Sumy fireworks were set off on a shield and they lit rockets. They left three hours before midnight.” The next day, “Field Marshal Sheremetev, his

Highness the prince, and other lord generals attended a liturgy in the church and ate and celebrated at his Tsarist Majesty’s apartment in the residence of the Sumy colonel, then at Lord Admiral Apraksin’s home; they left after seven in the morning.”<sup>58</sup>

This lifestyle clearly burdened Sheremetev, who in 1715 asked Peter for permission to enter a monastery. He dreamed of spending his last days in the Kyiv Caves Monastery. Instead, the tsar forced Sheremetev to marry his aunt, Anna Naryshkina (*née* Saltykova), the young widow of Lev Naryshkina, who was only thirty-eight.

As Paul Bushkovitch has established, Sheremetev soon found himself caught up in the affair of the tsarevich Aleksei. He spent late 1717 and early 1718 in Moscow, gravely ill, abandoned by all, and tormented with fears and doubts. Peter ordered him to travel to Saint Petersburg, where the investigation into Aleksei was under way. The field marshal tried to decline by every possible means. He wrote to Aleksandr Menshikov: “I can neither stand nor walk, and the swelling in my feet has become such that it is strange to see and comes up to my belly.”<sup>59</sup>

In his will dated 28 March 1718, Boris Sheremetev requested that he be buried at Kyiv Caves Monastery (“I wish to rest at the end of my life where I did not receive a dwelling place during my life”). This will was witnessed by the well-known Ukrainian spiritual figure Ioasaf Krokov's'kyi, the Metropolitan of Kyiv.<sup>60</sup> Krokov's'kyi, himself seriously ill, had also been brought to Moscow in connection with the case of tsarevich Aleksei.<sup>61</sup> On 17 February 1719, Sheremetev passed away. His last wish was not fulfilled. Mazepa’s old friend would remain apart from Ukraine after his death as well.

Key to understanding the tragic events of 1707–08 is Mazepa’s personal relationships within Peter’s circle. Two things destroyed almost twenty years of strong bonds between Peter’s court and the hetman and brought about a tragic misunderstanding. These were the death of Golovin (on 2 February 1699, when Mazepa was in Moscow)<sup>62</sup> and the strengthening of the “new wave” – people like Menshikov and Shafirov, who were without “family and clan,” who knew no moral boundaries, and who toadied up relentlessly to Peter.

There is fragmentary but convincing evidence of Mazepa’s good informal relations with other members of the older Petrine nobility. For example, he exchanged courtesies with the conciliar secretary Andrei Vinius. Mazepa sent him “wine and wild boar.”<sup>63</sup> Vinius was a highly educated man – for example, he had been rewarded for his

translation of a book on “horse training”<sup>64</sup> – and it is known that Peter valued his humour and intelligence.<sup>65</sup> But in 1703 Vinius fell into disfavour and was stripped of his posts. His fall coincided with the rise of Menshikov.

Mazepa conducted a very active correspondence with the legendary prince-pope Nikita Zotov. In 1700 Zotov asked Mazepa for his protection and care in connection with him sending his son “for education in Kyiv.”<sup>66</sup> Two months later Zotov thanked Mazepa “for love toward my son.”<sup>67</sup> Soon after, Zotov’s son thanked the hetman “for his love,” and thereafter he would regularly send him Christmas greetings.<sup>68</sup> Later, Mazepa continued his patronage of Zotov’s son: he helped him go to Moscow for holidays and provided a refuge in Baturyn when there was danger from the Zaporozhians.<sup>69</sup> Tellingly, when Mazepa was ordered to return to Ukraine from the Livonian campaign in 1701, which the hetman took as an insult, he turned to Nikita Zotov, evidently to complain and request an explanation. Zotov answered, “Do not worry, for this was done by the order of his Tsarist Majesty for the safety and security of the Little Russian region [*krai*].” At the same time, he again thanked him “for love toward my son.”<sup>70</sup> Mazepa in turn sent Zotov a large wild animal (*zverina*).<sup>71</sup>

Mazepa addressed the boyar Tikhon Nikitich Streshnev as his “very kind friend.”<sup>72</sup> It is entirely likely that Tikhon Nikitich was one of Mazepa’s confidential informants, of whom more below. Streshnev, who had headed the Military Service (*Razriadnyi*) and Military (*Voennyi*) Offices, was unhappy with Peter’s new policy. When the campaign to shave off beards began, Peter spared Streshnev. But at the end of 1702, von Keyserling described the following unpleasant scene:

During the same evening the General Military Commissar here, Tikhon Nikitich [Streshnev], who is not too well taken by his Tsar’s Majesty on account of his malice, even though the tsar gives him his best countenance, had the honor to have his beautiful white beard shortened by his tsarist majesty’s own hand, at which he made a pleasant and friendly appearance (though he feared that the shears would go into the flesh), as if the greatest favor had come to him.<sup>73</sup>

Remember here that in 1711 Peter abolished the Civil Service (*Razriad*) after the Little Russian Office, and Streshnev became the

governor of Moscow, a city then out of favour. Later, having become a senator, he would oppose Menshikov. Tsarevich Aleksei placed his hopes on Streshnev whom he referred to as “the loving old fellow.”<sup>74</sup>

A long, fruitful collaboration (ever since the time of Sophia’s rule) linked Mazepa with Emel’ian Ignat’evich Ukraintsev, the conciliar secretary of the Foreign Office. He was another representative of the educated wing of the old nobility. Ukraintsev “grew up in the field of state activity,” was ambassador to many governments, and “everywhere left behind traces of his distinctive good sense.”<sup>75</sup> Mazepa collaborated extensively and successfully with him on foreign policy matters, especially on peace negotiations with the Ottoman Empire. Numerous letters from Ukraintsev to the hetman have been preserved in the Baturyn archive, in which, besides discussing business matters, the former expressed “gratitude for the letters and for every kindness toward him and his continued affection [for Mazepa].”<sup>76</sup>

Ukraintsev was not among those who were dissatisfied with Peter’s policies; even so, he was not always spared the tsar’s displeasure. A report has survived that in August 1704, Ukraintsev “was beaten with a club at Preobrazhenskoe.”<sup>77</sup> Ukraintsev died in 1708 during an embassy to Hungary and did not live to see the tragic events that soon followed.

The diary of Pylyp Orlyk offers unique evidence of Mazepa’s trusting relationship with Grigorii Fedorovich Dolgorukov. When in December 1720 Dolgorukov attempted to arrest Orlyk in the Commonwealth, the latter sent him a letter reminding him of a missive “of eleven points,” once sent by the prince to Mazepa. Apparently, being a *pysar* and a trusted secretary, Orlyk had read this message, in which Dolgorukov expressed sentiments “quite mockingly about the tsar and about Prince Menshikov.” Most likely, Dolgorukov took this as a warning from Orlyk and, choosing not to repeat these statements on Peter’s rack, allowed the emigré to elude Russian agents.<sup>78</sup>

One can say, then, that many in Peter’s circle were dissatisfied with the tsar and Menshikov, and that all of them were close to Mazepa.

I turn next to the figure who was despised by many of Peter’s companions. Alexander Menshikov was one of the most prominent Russians during the Petrine era. But fate also allotted him a very important role in Ukrainian history – during the tragic years at the end of Ivan Mazepa’s hetmanship, as well as much later, during the restoration of the office of hetman under Danylo Apostol.

Mazepa and Menshikov. The clash of these two men has drawn the attention of many historians. Both enjoyed the tsar's abiding favour, and both distinguished themselves in military campaigns. There, however, the similarity ends. Mazepa – a born gentleman, a man of the Baroque era, who had received an excellent education, was fluent in many languages, was fond of classical authors, wrote excellent poetry and prose, and owned a huge library. And Menshikov – scholars argue to this day whether he could even read and write, and his contemporaries had no doubt about his dark origins; yet he was endowed with animal cunning, with phenomenal abilities and fragments of systematic knowledge.<sup>79</sup>

There are many available clues to explain the conflict between these two men in 1707–08; yet scholars usually limit the narrative of that conflict to a series of clichés, which are repeated from book to book and are based on a very narrow range of sources – primarily on Pylyp Orlyk's famous letter to Stefan Iavors'kyi, which conveyed the personal relationship between Mazepa and Menshikov.

Orlyk, who by the end of Mazepa's rule was the general chancellor (*heneral'nyi pysar*), a renowned poet, and the favourite of the hetman, was more than a passive witness to the unfolding drama. His letter was written vividly and with talent, in beautiful literary language.

Orlyk was writing to his confessor and teacher (Iavors'kyi was a professor at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy when Orlyk studied there), which suggests that his letter was frank and sincere. But, that said, the purpose of the letter was to obtain amnesty from Peter I and permission to return to Ukraine. Accordingly, one can expect that Orlyk was constrained in what he said by his instinct for self-preservation. More importantly, the letter was composed in 1721, fourteen to sixteen years after the events it described. Orlyk was likely to remember only their basic outlines, and in conveying the conversations and describing the emotions in play, he was probably guided by his literary skills.

Thus, while there is no reason not to trust the facts as Orlyk set them out, we should not blindly accept the accuracy of the words he heard the participants say. Yet that is what all historians have done, from Nikolai Kostomarov and Sergei M. Solov'ev to Serhii Pavlenko and Orest Subtelny. I will try to add new sources to the general chancellor's evidence – in particular, I will turn to the correspondence between Mazepa and Menshikov.<sup>80</sup>

On the basis of Orlyk’s letters, one can safely conclude that relations between Mazepa and Menshikov in the years 1706 and 1707 were already far from ideal. What led to this?

Menshikov is to this day a shadowy figure. Further study of archival materials may shed some light on the origins of this all-powerful prince.

The first reliable information on Alexander Danilovich Menshikov (then “Aleksashka”) dates to 1694, when he was part of the tsar’s circle in Arkhangelsk. There is also no doubt that Menshikov participated in the “Grand Embassy,” during which he studied and attended receptions.<sup>81</sup> Later, he participated in the suppression of the Streltsy uprising.

In the years 1698 and 1699, foreigners at Peter’s court noted in their diaries the growing influence of the young favourite.<sup>82</sup> A handwritten letter from Peter to Menshikov dated 13 February 1700 has been preserved: “Mein Herz. When you receive this letter, please inspect my residence and order that it be cleaned everywhere and repaired ... I herewith commend you into the keeping of God, the guardian of all.” The tsar then gave orders to his favourite on changing the floors, procuring ice, and constructing a cellar.<sup>83</sup> Nikolai Pavlenko, Menshikov’s biographer, believes that at this point, Menshikov was an orderly (an officer’s servant, a *denshchik*), carrying out household instructions.

That Menshikov was still an orderly in 1700 is quite strange, especially given that in Holland, Aleksashka had received a diploma as a maritime master. Besides (and this is indisputable), Menshikov was listed in the elite Preobrazhensky Regiment. Another biographer, Iurii Bespiatykh, defines Menshikov’s social status more precisely on the eve of the Great Northern War, but wonders when exactly he received the rank of lieutenant (*poruchik*) in that regiment.<sup>84</sup>

This question can now be answered with complete certainty: it was in 1700. Documents I have found disclose a curious and hitherto unknown stage in the favourite’s rise to power.<sup>85</sup>

Documents preserved in the Moscow Bureau (*stol*) of the Civil Service (*Razriad*) (RGADA) offer a vivid picture of the activities Menshikov engaged in on his return to Russia from travels in Europe. His time at the Dutch school of shipbuilding and trade had not been wasted. With all the energy and skills that were so intrinsic to this extraordinary (to say the least) man, he proceeded to change the foundations of Moscow society, all the while accumulating his own capital.<sup>86</sup>

Menshikov was well acquainted with the tsar's plan to rebuild the hated capital (and to change the entire way of life in Moscow), and perhaps he also knew that war with Sweden was looming. He built a sawmill on the Moscow River near the All Saints Stone Bridge. Peter not only instructed his favourite to tidy up his residence, but also gave him a monopoly on supplying the wood to build the "Pokrovskoe and Preobrazhenskoe villages."<sup>87</sup> But Menshikov would probably never have become his Highness the Prince had it ended with this. He also received a monopoly from the tsar to provide *all* the lumber in the capital.

On 9 March 1700, Peter signed a decree that all lumber sold in Riazan district (*uezd*) be sourced from "the sawmill of the Preobrazhensky Regiment lieutenant Aleksandr Menshikov, which was built in Moscow at the All Saints Stone Bridge." Moreover, it was to be sold at the price of previous years, without an increase.<sup>88</sup> Remarkably, in the draft version of this decree, Menshikov's rank ("lieutenant of the Preobrazhensky regiment") is written in above.<sup>89</sup> In other words, to the clerks at the Moscow Bureau of the Civil Service, Menshikov was an unknown man. One can assume, too, that he had just become a lieutenant – that is, no later than March 1700.

On 22 March 1700 (Old Style), one reads: "by the specific decree of the great sovereign ... do not ship planks and boards from the outer towns to Moscow."<sup>90</sup> In addition, according to a decree of 31 March (O.S.), it was ordered "[concerning] hewn planks and boards ... not to finish [them] for sale anywhere and not to transport [them] to Moscow nor run [them] on the river." Instead, it was ruled that "sellers [were to] bring and to run on the river all logs suitable for different types of construction for planks and boards, and, having bought those logs, to bring them to the sawmill, on the Moscow River at the All Saints Bridge."<sup>91</sup>

In other words, Menshikov had received from Peter a complete monopoly on all the lumber in Moscow. It was forbidden to bring in finished planks and boards; it was even forbidden to prepare them in Moscow. Furthermore, all raw materials had to come exclusively to the mill (this was not expressed figuratively) of Alexander Danilovich. When one considers that all building in the capital was done in wood at that time, this was a licence to print money. One wonders why Peter thought Menshikov worthy of it.

Naturally, all the merchants of Russia were very upset and worried. The *Razriad* received information that "the industrial people

and builders and sellers of white logs for sawing into planks and boards do not bring [them] and do not run [them] on the river to that mill, but buy [them] at the markets and sell the hewn boards to people of all ranks ... and therefore that mill is standing idle.”<sup>92</sup>

To circumvent the new monopoly, people used all manner of methods. For example, boards were presented as having been made before the decree. The industrialist Aleksei Lysen sold round timber near Menshikov’s mill.<sup>93</sup> Estate stewards tried to circumvent the favourite’s monopoly – for example, the mayor (*burgomistr*) Ivan Petrov bought “under-the-counter” materials for work in Pokrovskoe and excused himself by saying that he had bought them at a market to accelerate construction.<sup>94</sup>

Strict measures were taken to combat violations of the decrees. Merchants were warned that illegally imported “hewn planks and boards would be seized for the great sovereign without compensation, and the sellers punished.”<sup>95</sup>

Menshikov apparently took his enterprise seriously and personally monitored how things were going at the mill. At his insistence, secretary Fedor Efimtsev was “ordered [to make a copy] of the decrees on the sawing of boards.” And indeed, “a copy [was] brought to Alexander Danilovich Menshikov.”<sup>96</sup>

This was done on 18 October 1700 (O.S.). But the decree did not stand. On 30 November a battle was fought near Narva. Menshikov now had other things to concern him besides the mill.<sup>97</sup>

Menshikov had an amazing gift for combining public affairs and service to the tsar with his own personal interests. I will permit myself to express the subversive idea that this knack for adapting quickly to new situations and extracting all the benefits from them suggests that his Highness the prince had humble origins. But whoever his parents were, and whoever his ancestors, it does not in the slightest diminish his accomplishments or render him less admirable as a self-made man.

It is not known precisely when Mazepa and Menshikov first came into contact, but as early as 1701 a regular correspondence had sprung up between them.<sup>98</sup> Mazepa closely followed events in Moscow and stayed aware of who had influence over the tsar. So the rise of the new favourite would not have passed unnoticed by the hetman.

Menshikov had achieved a special position by 1703, when he first distinguished himself in the military profession and received



(along with Peter himself) the order of St Andrew the First-Called. It is unknown how the first two knights of the order, Golovin and Mazepa, reacted to his receiving this award, but they could not have been particularly happy. Then in December 1703, Peter staged a magnificent celebration in honour of Menshikov's name day, which was attended by the entire court. The custom of celebrating Menshikov's name day would be maintained to the end of Peter's life.<sup>99</sup>

After 1704, the hetman's correspondence with Menshikov consisted of regular reports, which Mazepa sent to him as well as to Fedor I. Golovin. That correspondence ran to dozens of letters each month.

Mazepa's attitude toward Menshikov – indeed, that of the Cossack officer elite – would have been closely related to the question of Menshikov's origins. According to several historians, Menshikov

came from the noble Polish family of the Menzhikovs, not included among the magnates, from the family's Belarusian branch. His father Daniil Menzhyk [Menzhik] was captured in 1664 by the troops of Prince Ivan Prozorovskii near Mahilioŭ as a “fellow [*tovarysh*]” – a gentleman [*shliakhtich*] hired for the duration of hostilities. Daniil Menzhyk entered the Russian service, was granted the rank of groom [*stremiannyi*] in the tsar's stables, participated in the Crimean campaigns of 1687 and 1689, served in the garrison of Belgorod, and died at Azov in 1695.<sup>100</sup>

Note that Ivan Golikov presents a completely contradictory account of Menshikov – that he was not captured, but moved to Russia by his own will; “that his family name is from Poland; that his father was a Lithuanian gentleman [*shliakhtich*], who, being of the Greek law [Orthodox], during the persecution of the Orthodox resettled in Russia.”<sup>101</sup>

A well-known German work by an anonymous author describing the achievements of Aleksandr Menshikov states that in August 1664, Prince Ivan Prozorovskii won a convincing victory over the *voivode* (palatine) of Smolensk and the Lithuanian Field Hetman Michał Pac between Mahilioŭ and Bykhaw, captured many Poles and Lithuanians, and sent them to Moscow. Iurii Bespiatykh adds utterly fantastic details to this description: “More specifically, in 1664 the Russians took the city of Hlukhiv, while the Polish army of King Jan Casimir and Hetman Pavlo Teteria, retreating to the north, linked

up with the Lithuanian forces commanded by the palatines Pac and Dymitr Połubiński ... A major battle that took place near Novhorod-Sivers'kyi brought the Russians another victory.”<sup>102</sup> Having studied in detail the events of Jan Casimir’s campaign of 1663–64,<sup>103</sup> I am able to demonstrate that the information given about Menshikov’s father is stuffed with inaccuracies.

First, the Russians did not take Hlukhiv. On the contrary, during the Poles’ campaign, Left Bank Cossacks together with Russian units defended it and, thanks to the actions of Ivan Bohun, repulsed the Poles’ attacks.<sup>104</sup> Pavlo Teteria did not even go on the campaign, remaining in Right Bank Ukraine, and I. Bohun filled the role of acting hetman. There were no “major battles” near Novhorod-Sivers'kyi, and the Polish-Lithuanian army decided to return because of the Cossack uprising that had begun in Right Bank Ukraine.

The Poles’ campaign actually ended in early March 1664. On 9 March (New Style), the army dispersed: the Lithuanian army set off for its own borders, the crown troops to their borders.<sup>105</sup> The Polish king Jan Casimir went to Lithuania.<sup>106</sup> Stefan Czarniecki took command of the crown troops, while Lithuanians from Sosnytsia set out for Starodub, where they took leave of the Polish king Jan Casimir with several regiments of the Lithuanian deputy chancellor Połubiński (but not of the palatine).<sup>107</sup> A detachment from Prozorovskii attempted to attack the king near Karachev but was repulsed and went to Prince Cherkasskii.<sup>108</sup> On 13 April (N.S.) Jan Casimir arrived in Mahilioŭ, where he celebrated Easter, and then at the beginning of May he was in Vilnius.<sup>109</sup>

That is, there could not have been any battles near Mahilioŭ in August 1664. Neither Prozorovskii nor Pac was there.

The diaries of high-ranking Lithuanians – Jan Antoni Chrapowicki, Jan Poczobutt-Odlanicki, Kazimierz Obuchowicz – describe this campaign in great detail. So does the diary of the Scotsman Patrick Gordon. They all scrupulously note the loss of troops – including officers and “fellows” (*tovaryshi*) by name. None of them mention the capture of any *tovaryshi*, much less of Danila Menzhik (a member “of an ancient and noble Lithuanian family”). Also, an official charter (*diploma*) of Joseph I, Holy Roman Emperor, speaks of “an ancient and most noble family in all Lithuania,”<sup>110</sup> the captivity of a member of which would not have passed unnoticed by his colleagues. There is also no Danila Menzhik recorded as a member of the Lithuanian army in 1662, as given in Stefan Medeksza’s work.<sup>111</sup>

According to the official genealogy of Aleksandr Menshikov, this legendary Daniil Menzhik after his captivity served in Russia as a corporal (*kapral*) or company officer (*ober-ofitser*) and perished at Azov in 1695 or 1696.<sup>112</sup> The Archive of the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences holds a list of the dead and wounded near Azov.<sup>113</sup> No Menshikovs (Menzhiks) are on that list. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine that if Daniil Menshikov had participated in two Crimean and Azov campaigns with the rank of officer in all those campaigns in which Mazepa played a major role, this would not have surfaced later in Mazepa's subsequent correspondence with Menshikov the younger (in fact, highlighting such old connections was customary).

The newly minted "Lithuanian nobleman" Aleksandr Menshikov was assigned the coat of arms, the "Wieniawa," belonging to the family of the Menzhiks – including by the anonymous compiler of Menshikov's genealogy in 1726.<sup>114</sup> But Menshikov himself never used this coat of arms. In particular, on his princely coat of arms there is no hint of "Wieniawa," but only the use of the colours of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which, if Aleksandr Danilovich really was a descendant of the Menzhiks, from the point of view of heraldry is complete nonsense. The author of an anonymous German work actually wrote that Daniil Menshikov refused the family coat of arms "since the head of an ox 'once' adorned the coat of arms of Pskov." Iurii N. Bespiatykh himself comments on this explanation as an "error," having no basis.<sup>115</sup>

But how can one believe that a Polish gentleman (*szlachcic*), even (or rather especially) one in captivity, would renounce his ancestral coat of arms because of some legendary story? This would have been unthinkable for a nobleman of the Commonwealth. Alternatively, as Jan Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz has quite rightly written, "admission to a coat of arms" of some gentleman newly raised to the nobility, not connected by kinship ties, as well as unauthorized use of a coat of arms, would have been simply impossible.<sup>116</sup>

Recall here that in the second half of 1707, Mazepa received the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Accordingly, he acquired a princely coat of arms. Mazepa's hereditary crest formed its basis<sup>117</sup> (on a dark red field a likeness of a silver inverted letter T, with a crescent on one side and a star on the other), to which only a silver cuirass was added, besides a princely mantle (*porfira*) and a prince's

crown.<sup>118</sup> In other words, a hereditary nobleman, having become a prince, used his family coat of arms.

All these discrepancies taken separately might mean nothing, but taken as a whole they strongly suggest that Meshikov was *not* of gentry origins, especially since the arguments that he was are controversial.

For example, Menshikov signed his letters to Iu. Menzhik as “brother” – a common figure of speech in that era (everyone signed himself “brother and servant” – hence also the concept of “brotherly familiarity [*pamibratstvo*]”), and it is entirely unclear on what basis Iurii Bespiatykh writes that in this particular case this form of address “must presumably be understood literally.”<sup>119</sup> In the Polish and Ukrainian tradition it was always customary to emphasize any kinship ties, even very distant ones. People signed letters “god-parent” (godfather = *kum*; godmother = *kuma*), “brother-in-law” (= *shurin*), and so on. Kinship had tremendous importance – it did not matter whether one member of this family branch became a magnate, while another was a poor gentleman.

Another important point: It was mentioned earlier that if one believes Orlyk, Mazepa resented that he had been placed under Menshikov’s command and not that of Sheremetev or some other person “with a glorious name and the merits of his ancestors.” Orlyk wrote this in 1721, and it seems he did not fear Menshikov’s wrath in doing so. Among his contemporaries, then, Menshikov’s lowly origins seemed not worth mentioning, rather than something to be concealed.

The opinion of Valentin Gritskevich that Menshikov’s purchase of land in eastern Belarus points to his Lithuanian origins (supposedly he wanted to “confirm his Belarusian origin” with this purchase) does not stand up to criticism.<sup>120</sup> How then does one explain Menshikov’s acquisition of all of Mazepa’s estates? Following this logic, Menshikov must have considered himself a relative (or son?) of the late hetman.

If Menshikov’s father had participated in the Ukrainian campaign of 1663 and had come from “the Lithuanian gentry,” this would have affected the Ukrainian Cossack officers’ attitude toward him. Especially if, according to one of the versions presented by Ivan Golikov, Menshikov’s father was “a Lithuanian nobleman, who, being Orthodox, during the persecution of the Orthodox moved to Russia.”<sup>121</sup> As a defender of the Orthodox on the Right Bank,

Mazepa could not but have mentioned in his flowery Baroque letters such merits of Menshikov's father. If, having become a favourite, Menshikov no longer remembered his past, his persistent attempts to obtain confirmation of his pedigree from the Poles are inexplicable.

Almost the only real proof of Menshikov's kinship with the Menzhiks is a table of works and a list of privates first class (*bombardiry*) of the 1680s and 1690s, presented by Iurii Bespiatykh. The esteemed historian thought that the list mentioned "Menzhikof" and considered this fact proof of his hypothesis that initially the Menshikovs had not acquired a Russified version of their surname.<sup>122</sup> Unfortunately, detailed paleographic analysis refutes this view. In the surname Menshikov a careless letter "ш" (sh) was written and not "ж" (zh), which in the same list (in the surname Buzheninof) is written entirely differently (see figure).

Finally, there is an act concerning the Lithuanian nobility, that is, a document in which Aleksandr Menshikov is acknowledged as the descendant of the Menzhiks.<sup>123</sup> I cannot agree with Gritskevich that "the magnates of that period were not the poor gentry of the late eighteenth century, who were easy to bribe." In calling for a better understanding of the political realities of the eighteenth century, he himself distorts the truth. Bribery can involve far more than just money. In 1706–07, the Lithuanian gentry found itself in a very complicated political situation owing to the dual power of the Polish Commonwealth, the defeat of the Saxon army, and the offensive by the Swedes. In addition, the Lithuanian gentry were stubbornly insisting on the return of Right Bank Ukraine (under the conditions of the Eternal Peace, the Right Bank was part of the Commonwealth). So it was easy for Menshikov to "bribe" them. Moreover, even the "Act" itself refers to the obligation of the "Prince" to fulfill the agreement with the Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

So then, Menshikov, whatever his origins, rose to the peak of his power. Mazepa's relations with him remained diplomatically correct. But behind these external courtesies lay a dislike that soon developed into a rivalry. Moreover, having become acquainted with the flourishing Ukrainian Hetmanate for the first time during the Great Northern War, Menshikov in his tireless pursuit of gain turned his attention toward the Cossack state.

Around 1705, according to Orlyk, Menshikov began proposing to Peter that he destroy the Cossack officer elite and, with it, the entire

administrative structure of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. This proposition was particularly significant given that Mazepa was already nearly seventy. The hetman had worn himself out through arduous campaigning and was constantly ill; he had ceased to seem an eternal figure. In 1701, the sudden death of his nephew, Ivan Obydovs'kyi,<sup>124</sup> who had been viewed as the favourite to receive the mace, made the Ukrainian Hetmanate even more vulnerable to the machinations of others. Menshikov was clearly preparing to take a very active part in the partition of the inheritance. At the very beginning of his advancement, he had betrothed his sister to Mazepa’s nephew Voinarovs'kyi. It was no accident that at this time, now that his situation had changed, he haughtily refused the hetman, declaring that “his Tsarist Majesty himself wants his sister ... to marry her.”<sup>125</sup> Mazepa, it should be noted, considered this a personal insult. And indeed, Mazepa could not listen with indifference to talk of “the Principality of Chernihiv,” on which Mazepa allegedly had set his sights – though the idea referred to a future, “post-Mazepist” period.

At this time the address in the hetman’s letters to the favourite was standard: “My lord and most gracious brother Aleksandr Danilovich.”<sup>126</sup> This wording, with minor variations, persisted throughout 1704–05. In February 1706 he added to this “benefactor” and “prince.”<sup>127</sup> Incidentally, this was the earliest instance of him addressing Menshikov as prince (Menshikov had received his first princely title on 10/21 January 1706).<sup>128</sup>

The historian Grigorii Georgievskii was the first to draw attention to Mazepa’s way of addressing Menshikov and to how it changed.<sup>129</sup> He believed that the change occurred at the end of 1707 and the beginning of 1708. “Remembering Menshikov’s origins, taking pride in his own gentry status before a plebeian-favourite, and resenting at the same time his own subordinate position in relation to Menshikov, Mazepa sought to hide his true intentions with a cascade of flattery, to ingratiate himself with the ambitious Menshikov, and to ward off any possibility of suspicion and mistrust.”<sup>130</sup>

In fact, Mazepa’s form of address for Menshikov changed dramatically in May 1706: “the most Excellent Prince of the Holy Roman state, my most gracious brother and dearest benefactor.”<sup>131</sup> And after March 1708, Prince of Ingria was added to this (“Your Highness and the most highly honoured Prince of Ingria of the Holy Roman and Russian states, my lord and my gracious brother”).<sup>132</sup> Around the same time (in February), the following epithets were added to the

address: “defender, patron, and protector,” “the foremost and closest minister of his Tsarist Majesty my all-merciful tsar and sovereign.”<sup>133</sup>

But it is an error to highlight the significance of these phrases. In fact, Mazepa himself did not write the address in the letters; this was done by his *pysar* (in the period at hand, that was most often Orlyk, but the handwriting of two others is also present). The changes can be attributed to the *pysar* simply writing out the current title of the addressee and adding to it the usual florid phrases of the Ukrainian literary Baroque. Mazepa himself wrote only his signature, which was always identical in letters to Menshikov, unchanged after all those years: “brother and servant Hetman Ivan Mazepa in his own hand.” The only time the hetman changed this formulation, he had added the word “humble” in his most recent letter to Menshikov, dated 21 October 1708 (!).<sup>134</sup> That said, as we know from Orlyk, the hetman always personally read and corrected all his outgoing documents. And the increasing number of grandiose phrases could hardly have occurred without his direct instructions.

Even so, one should not exaggerate the hidden significance of altered phrases in letters. For example, Count Fedor A. Golovin addressed Mazepa: “Most illustrious and Your Excellency lord, my true benefactor.”<sup>135</sup> And sincere friendship, not flattery, linked him to the hetman.

Mazepa himself, however, never signed his name as a prince, although he, too, received this title on 1 September 1707. In this, of course, the tradition of the nobility of the Polish Commonwealth, as adopted by the Ukrainian elite, is noteworthy. Family origins and ancestors’ merits were valued and respected by them much more highly than granted and transitory titles. Once, when in 1665 the hetman Ivan Briukhovets'kyi, who started his career as a servant, procured for himself in Moscow the title of boyar, Colonel Danylo Iarmolenko, dining with the Russians, declared to all the leaders – the Russian nobility: “I do not need nobility. I am a Cossack of old.”<sup>136</sup> Petro Doroshenko also took pride in and boasted of his “native” (*iskonnyi*) Cossack origins. Thus, in the Ukrainian Hetmanate knowledge of one’s ancestors – whether Cossack or gentry – and those ancestors’ achievements were valued above all. So a born nobleman’s mockery of a “prince from the mud” shows through in these titles written out in letters to Menshikov.

And undoubtedly, there was anger and irritation toward Aleksandr Menshikov, who all the more aggressively and presumptuously



interfered in Ukrainian affairs. Evidently, the transition to a very formal address in May 1706 was no accident after all.

It was then that the simmering conflict boiled over for the first time. Peter expressed his desire to come personally to Kyiv. The reason was the growing military threat from the Swedes and the setback in the Great Northern War, but as it was the first visit by the tsar to Ukraine, Mazepa considered it a great honour for himself. As often happens in life, high hopes turned into great disappointment.

Even before the arrival of the tsar, Menshikov rushed to Kyiv and, without consulting the hetman, conducted an inspection of the city’s fortifications. Mazepa, who dreamed of meeting the tsar “at the very border of Little Russia,”<sup>137</sup> found himself in the role of an extra, who was not even apprised of the plans of the main actors (more on this in the chapter “A Sick Old Man”).

The death of Golovin coincided with the arrival of the tsar in Kyiv. Now there was no one to restrain Menshikov’s ambitions. Golovin’s death further strengthened his position.

Orlyk’s famous notes on the whole series of conflicts between Mazepa and Menshikov relate to the time of the meeting with Peter in Kyiv.

Historians have referred to Mazepa’s subordination to Menshikov solely on the basis of Orlyk’s letter. Ivan Golikov’s documentary work has direct confirmation of this, however. He writes that on 4 August 1706, Peter gave the order to Mazepa to leave four to five thousand troops in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with a good commander, “having ordered him to obey Menshikov or whomever would be appointed commander by him; and for himself to be in Kyiv with other forces.”<sup>138</sup>

The hetman could only regard this whole series of events as an insult on Menshikov’s part. Hence phrases appeared in his letters: “The writings of your princely Serene Highness, always coveted by me ... I received with the attention proper to the high dignity of your princely Serene Highness.” To some, this sounds like mockery, but the ambitious “prince” would have taken it as pleasant flattery.<sup>139</sup>

As the following chapters will show, Menshikov did not limit himself to drunken conversation. In 1707 a series of reforms were indeed implemented, violating the Kolomak Articles and severely curtailing Ukrainian autonomy.

Despite all this, throughout the years 1707 and 1708, which were extremely difficult from a military point of view, Menshikov



continued to receive gifts from Mazepa. In connection with the Kochubei case alone, Mazepa gave him 1,000 ducats and six large silver flasks.<sup>140</sup> The hetman knew the favourite's weaknesses very well and was not averse to offering "his Highness" expensive gifts. He even bought his house in Moscow from him for 3,000 ducats.<sup>141</sup> In addition, Mazepa sent Menshikov such trifles as horses and Hungarian (Tokai) wine.<sup>142</sup>

It was at this time that the tone of the hetman's letters to the all-powerful Menshikov changed. Mazepa now found it possible to use unconcealed flattery ("Your Highness and highly honoured Prince of Ingria of the Roman and Russian states, my lord, my gracious brother and special benefactor"), knowing how much the newly minted prince was partial to pompous titles and flattery. Most likely, this flattery (*lest'*) concealed an already barely controllable resentment.

Unlike Menshikov, Mazepa was not delighted with the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, which he received from the emperor on 1 September 1707 on Peter's recommendation.<sup>143</sup> After reading Dolska's letter, Mazepa said to Orlyk,

I myself know very well what they are thinking about you [that is, about the Cossack elite] and about me. They want to satisfy me with a principality of the Roman state, and seize the hetmanship, remove all the Cossack officers, confiscate the towns under the hetman's administration, and place a *voevoda* or governor in them. And if we resist, they will drive us beyond the Volga and settle Ukraine with their own people.<sup>144</sup>

(It should be noted that the provincial reforms had already begun by this time.) It is possible that Menshikov was not going to become hetman, but he was clearly not averse to receiving Ukraine as his patrimonial possession. This makes plain how eager Menshikov was to acquire the property of the disgraced Mazepa – on which more below.

Materials from the Baturyn archive reveal previously unknown aspects of Mazepa's relations with a few more of the "birds of Peter's nest," including some among the "new wave."

One of these figures was Savva Raguzinskii. Between 1703 and 1708, Savva served as Mazepa's secret representative (*rezident*) in the Ottoman Empire. In the guise of a merchant, he travelled constantly between Constantinople and Kyiv.<sup>145</sup> In particular, Mazepa

used Raguzinskii as a liaison with the ambassador during negotiations with the Ottoman Empire in Constantinople.<sup>146</sup> He also reported to Mazepa information about the Tatars’ plans.<sup>147</sup>

While carrying out one of these secret assignments (the export of canvas), Raguzinskii was captured at Kerch by a *kapudan pasha* (Ottoman grand admiral), who sent him to Istanbul. There Savva was thrown into a prison for slaves; meanwhile, the people with him, including ship masters, were “sent to galleys.”<sup>148</sup> This misfortune, however, soon ended happily: Mazepa received information that the vizier had released Raguzinskii, although the latter still spent several weeks at “captain’s hard labour,” that is, in the galleys.<sup>149</sup>

A copy of another unique document has been preserved in the Baturyn archive. It reveals an unknown aspect of Mazepa’s relations with Chief Procurator Aleksei Kurbatov. On 9 June 1708 (the date is very important), Mazepa sold all his extensive, beloved Great Russian estates to Kurbatov “by our goodwill and special friendship toward his Tsarist Most Illustrious [*presvetlyi*] Majesty’s chief inspector.” The estates were transferred “in full possession ... of himself his Grace, Chief Inspector Lord Aleksei Aleksandrovich, as well as of all his descendants.” The purchase amount was “for two thousand rubles,” which were transferred by Kurbatov to Mazepa during his stay in Moscow.<sup>150</sup> Mazepa had been in Moscow in February and March 1705, where he had participated in “conferences with ministers and senior officials.”<sup>151</sup> Evidently that was when Kurbatov gave him “credit” (most likely, from public funds), which Mazepa covered with his estates. Perhaps the hetman used the money to bribe Russian officials, including Menshikov.

This fact is interesting for many reasons. First, it allows us to determine when Mazepa ceased to link his future to that of Peter and Russia. Second, raises the question of why Kurbatov did not suspect anything and did not inform Peter of the details of the transaction. After all, historians suspect that many nobles did not trust Mazepa in the months before he defected to the Swedes. Third, and this is especially remarkable, Kurbatov never chose to use the acquired estates, and in the autumn of 1708, Menshikov took control of them.

Kurbatov had at one time been a servant of Boris Sheremetev, but then Kurbatov converted to Catholicism. We have Kurbatov’s first letter to Mazepa from 13 May 1703, in which he expressed to the hetman “gratitude for the letters and for all his benefactions to

him.”<sup>152</sup> In August of that same year, 1703, the hetman gave him a horse.<sup>153</sup> In March 1704, Kurbatov again exacted horses from the hetman, as well as wine.<sup>154</sup> In 1709 he opposed the liquidation of the offices (or chancelleries, *prikazy*) and the introduction of provinces.<sup>155</sup> In 1715 he was charged with embezzling enormous sums. It would be interesting to know what portion of these funds had gone to the purchase of Mazepa’s Great Russian estates, which Kurbatov never got. Kurbatov died before his trial was concluded.

Almost all of Peter’s closest associates (including Menshikov) ended their lives either in exile or on the scaffold. Even the all-powerful Petr Tolstoi, as a consequence of his feud with Menshikov, was exiled to the Solovki Monastery in 1727, where he lived for a short time.

One of those associates of Peter was Petr Shafirov, who was involved in the transfer of Ukrainian towns to the Civil Service (*Razriad*) and in the transfer of the Novobohorodys’k fortress.<sup>156</sup> (Another associate was Tikhon Streshnev, the head of the Military Service Office [*Razriadnyi prikaz*].) Regular correspondence linked him, too, with Mazepa. The Baturyn archive holds a number of his letters to the hetman, which contained very detailed information about Peter’s travels (even “about his home”), the course of hostilities, European news, and Peter’s negotiations with Augustus II.<sup>157</sup> It is difficult to say to whether this information was given by order of the head of the Foreign Office, Fedor Golovin, or whether Shafirov did it for other reasons having to do with his special relationship with the hetman. In 1723, Shafirov was stripped of his ranks, title, and estates and sentenced to death, which Peter commuted to exile in Siberia.

Shafirov’s relationship with the hetman is especially interesting when one recalls that some of Mazepa’s documents, written after his turn to the Swedes, suggest that he had received warnings from well-wishers in Moscow about upcoming reforms of the Ukrainian Hetmanate: “having secret warnings from benevolent friends,”<sup>158</sup> “had warnings from benevolent friends close to the court and advisors to the tsar.”<sup>159</sup> To be sure, Orlyk swore that “none of the ministers knew of Mazepa’s treason, nor did they warn him of anything.”<sup>160</sup> But, as is well-known, Mazepa did not apprise even Orlyk of his clandestine contacts, and he especially could not disclose to him his most important correspondents in Moscow.

For some reason, no one has posed the question of who these friends were who warned Mazepa. I suggest that at least two people did so: Streshnev, who had personally carried out the reform of the

Little Russian civil office and was dissatisfied with the “violation of ancient customs [*starina*]”; and Kurbatov, who was clearly linked to Mazepa by “commercial interest.” It is possible that Shafirov was also one of them.

To summarize, an account of Mazepa’s relations with the “birds of Peter’s nest” – be they friendly, businesslike, or hostile – allows us to take a fresh look at this era, although only the surface of this vast network of cooperation, woven by Ivan Mazepa over more than three decades, is visible.

To conclude, I quote a postscript written by the secretary of the Foreign Office, Stepanov (who in his official capacity was evidently in constant contact with the hetman), in a letter to Mazepa: “With this I, your most recent servant, bow. Secretary Stepanov. I wish you, most illustrious lord [*vashu iasnovel’mozhnost’*] a Happy New Year. May you spend it happily in good health.”<sup>161</sup> The document bears the date “3 January.” The year 1708 had begun.

## A Sick Old Man

Whatever else a political figure may be, he remains a human being, with his own personal habits, problems, and afflictions. Thanks to the surviving sources, we know much more about Ivan Mazepa as a person than we do about many other Ukrainian hetmans. Meagre sources convey some details of his daily life and habits. It is known that he wrote poetry, played music and chess,<sup>1</sup> was fond of classical poetry, collected paintings, and developed a library.

Oddly enough, neither his supporters nor those who see him as a fiend from hell have ever looked hard at Mazepa's health problems, even though credible sources tell us that he was seriously ill throughout his hetmanship. And illness leaves a strong imprint on all human behaviour.<sup>2</sup>

From what disease did Mazepa suffer? He certainly had gout (*podagra* – literally, from the Greek “leg in a trap”), one of the oldest ailments described in medicine. Gout afflicts people who lead lives of luxury, hence it has at various times been called the royal disease, the lords' malady (*panskaia khvoroba*), and an aristocrat's disease. Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Carl the Great, Ivan the Terrible, Oliver Cromwell – that is only a short list of those who suffered this illness. Gout is caused by diet (too much meat, smoked foods, and fatty fish), alcohol consumption, and stress. In medical terms, it is the build-up of uric acid salts in the tissues of the body, most often in the joints and kidneys.

Uric acid is chemically similar to caffeine and stimulates mental activity. Some scientists believe that a patient with gout is likely to be a genius. Mazepa himself had a very high opinion of his intellect and abilities.<sup>3</sup>

How does gout usually progress? A painting by Leonardo da Vinci depicts a big toe engulfed in flames. Sodium urate crystals, sharp as needles, deposited in the joint cavities, cause local inflammation. An attack occurs suddenly, most often at night, and consists of intense pain, redness, and swelling of the joint; often the body temperature rises. Very soon the pain becomes unbearable – the slightest touch of the affected joint is agonizing. An attack can last all night and can even stretch over several days. Even with today’s medical advances, gout can only be controlled, not cured.

Especially dangerous is that gout can lead to nephritis and urolithiasis. Reduced kidney function then leads to increased blood pressure. Because the disruption of the metabolism affects the blood vessels – usually those of the kidneys and heart – sclerotic changes in those vessels occur. Symptoms like these plagued Mazepa in the last years of his life. Indeed, he died specifically from a stroke. His gout was of the most severe form, in that it affected not only his big toes but also (as is known for certain) the joints of his hands.

Stress and hypothermia typically provoke gout attacks. There was more than enough of the former in the hetman’s life, and constant campaigning involved frequent exposure to excessive cold.

In the literature, one often reads that Mazepa was “play-acting” in October 1708 when he pretended to be on his deathbed, refusing to leave it to go to Peter’s headquarters and then jumping up to set off for Charles XII. The hetman’s ability to act is not in doubt (he may have taken part in student performances at the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in his youth). More important is whether he truly was ill at the time and how seriously.

When all that we know about gout is combined with what we know about Mazepa’s experience of it, a striking picture emerges.

The first of Mazepa’s gout attacks that we know about happened in September 1689 at the Trinity-Sergius Monastery, during an important meeting between him and Peter – probably their first: “The hetman gave a short speech because he was ill.”<sup>4</sup> Evidently, the doctor Roman Nikolaev was sent to him with medicines, as Mazepa wrote, “to help my poor health.” In December 1690, the hetman requested that the same doctor be sent from Moscow “now, because I very much need this doctor.”<sup>5</sup>

The next major attack for which evidence survives was in January 1694. The courtier (*stol’nik*) Ivan Nikitich Tarakanov was sent to the hetman “with a gracious word and a reward.”<sup>6</sup> The courtier could not

meet with Mazepa right away. His courier, deputy secretary from the Foreign Office, A. Protopopov, having travelled to Baturyn, “could not see the hetman because he was ill.”<sup>7</sup> On the same day the general aide-de-camp (*heneral'nyi osaul*) Andrii Hamaliia came to Ivan Tarakanov and said that “the hetman Ivan Stepanovich ... is very ill with the foot disease of podagra, and because of that ailment he, the hetman, cannot receive the courtier this day, but he had ordered him to announce that he would receive him tomorrow, on 30 January.”<sup>8</sup>

On the appointed day, all of the Cossack officers (*starshyna*) met the courtier at the Baturyn palace. Mazepa was already waiting for Tarakanov in the front room. “He greeted him and went with the courtier to the reception room.” However, he was so weak that “two men of the house supported the hetman.”<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, Tarakanov had arrived with praise for the successes achieved by the hetman in the Azov campaigns and in the struggle against the rebel Petryk.<sup>10</sup> But Mazepa’s health was so poor that he could look upon the rich gifts from the “tsars” only from his room, “having opened a window.”<sup>11</sup> During the subsequent ceremony, “Hetman Ivan Stepanovich stood leaning against the bench because his feet were diseased.”<sup>12</sup> During dinner, when those present drank to the health of the tsars, “the hetman removed his cap and arose, and said that he could not stand up.”<sup>13</sup>

Apparently, the attack was so serious and the hetman’s health so important to Peter that Tarakanov was troubled, and suggested that perhaps someone had poisoned the hetman. To this Mazepa answered that “he is now very ill, but ill not from an enemy, but because there is no doctor with the hetman now (no one poisoned him), and his disease is gout, from which disease the hetman is very weak.”<sup>14</sup> Mazepa asked the master of the table (*stol'nik*) to send Dr Comnenos (Ivan Komnin), “who had been with the hetman before.”<sup>15</sup>

The request was sent, and on 23 February the tsars gave a decree to the Bureau of the Apothecary’s Chamber “on the petition of Ivan Stepanovich Mazepa, Hetman of the Zaporozhian Hetmanate on both sides of the Dnipro, to send to the hetman the Greek doctor Ivan Komnin to relieve his diseases.”<sup>16</sup>

Materials in the Little Russian Office indicate that Mazepa had previously availed himself of this doctor’s services. As early as May 1691, he thanked the tsars that they “had sent us the Greek doctor Ivan Komnin with the appropriate medicines.” The hetman noted both the Greek’s high professional qualities and his gentle manner.<sup>17</sup>

In 1695, Mazepa led a military campaign that captured Kyzy-Kermen. A “copy of a letter from Hetman Ivan Mazepa with an account concerning the purchase of medicines and a list” for that year has been preserved in the Little Russian Office.<sup>18</sup> On the same occasion, “two written orders were produced for sending a reward to Hetman Mazepa with an apothecary with a list of medicines.”<sup>19</sup>

Mazepa made extensive use of the services of the Apothecary Bureau in Moscow. In January 1692, medicine was sent to him from the tsars’ apothecary.<sup>20</sup> The materials of the Apothecary Bureau contain “a report certificate on the disbursing of money for the purchase of medicines for Hetman Ivan Mazepa” dated November 1694.<sup>21</sup>

Mazepa experienced another attack in Moscow, in February 1700, while he was being awarded the order of St Andrew the First-Called. According to Golovin, “the hetman left Moscow on 24 February; he was delayed only because of his illness.”<sup>22</sup>

Travel from Baturyn to Moscow in the early eighteenth century was not an easy undertaking, and the hetman had to make such trips almost every year. Recall here that in 1690 the newly elected Archimandrite of the Kyiv Caves Monastery, Vuiakhevych, did not want to go to Moscow, explaining that he (a very elderly man) “was quite terrified of that long journey.”<sup>23</sup>

It is likely that over the following years the disease abated somewhat. Then during his visit to Moscow in January 1702 there was an apothecary in Mazepa’s entourage.<sup>24</sup> In April 1702, Mazepa wrote to Fedor Golovin “that he sent away to the great sovereign in Moscow the apothecary Danil Gurchenin, who by the great sovereign’s decree had been with him, the hetman, for treatment because of his illness.”<sup>25</sup> According to the testimony of the French ambassador Jean de Baluze, the hetman had two German doctors in his household.<sup>26</sup> Pylyp Orlyk mentions a “German-apothecary” in the hetman’s circle.<sup>27</sup>

The great successes Mazepa enjoyed during this period – the acquiring of the Right Bank, military victories – would have contributed to an improvement in his health, so much so that he even decided to marry Motria Kochubei. But then the quarrel with Kochubei, another trip to Moscow, the annual campaign on the Right Bank, the protracted autumn siege of Zamość, major setbacks in the Great Northern War, the beginning of the Cossack officer elite’s discontent – all of these things brought about an exacerbation of his illness.

From Zamość, Mazepa wrote again to Menshikov about his gout: “Indeed, standing with the supply wagons under the open



sky, I confess to your Grace, the podagra and cheiragra trouble me because of the cold and the constant bad weather.”<sup>28</sup> In the following years, the disease would only intensify; ultimately, it would bring Mazepa to his grave.

The hetman made heroic efforts to cope with this ailment. Being a very wealthy man, he spared no expense at seeking relief – which characterized him as an enlightened man of his time.

One of Mazepa’s chief doctors at this time was Danil Gurchenin (the tsar’s physician, of Polish origin). The materials of the Baturyn archive include prescriptions from Gurchenin concerning how to take the medicines he had sent, “which are good for gout.” The hetman believed “he benefited from his medicines” but sought other remedies as well. A list has survived “from the royal apothecary, of what medicines Mazepa took.” At Mazepa’s order, the “apothecary Schendel” from Gdańsk sent him medicines. He also turned to other leading specialists of his time. A “Doctor Lavrentii” sent the hetman his instructions “on medicines, how to take them,” as did the Polish king’s doctor, Vartez.<sup>29</sup>

Mazepa assigned the task of finding the best doctors and medicines to Savva Raguzinskii. The latter learned of a certain “Dr Platsiius, who lives in Moscow,” who also sent the hetman medication.<sup>30</sup>

The above account reflects only a few of the documents related to the hetman’s efforts to cure his gout. They certainly indicate that he was seriously ill, which had to have affected his mood, behaviour, and perception of events. Eventually, his efforts stopped providing perceptible benefits. After late 1705, there is steady evidence of new gout attacks.

On 11 February 1706, Mazepa informed Peter that he was going to Lithuania from Dubno to serve the tsar “although I still feel little relief from my gout.”<sup>31</sup> And from a letter to Menshikov on 18 February 1706, we learn that the hetman could not immediately go on campaign because he had the disease “podagra, which left him bedridden for two weeks.”<sup>32</sup>

At the end of May of the same year, Mazepa complained that he was returning “home from Lithuania after his year-long service to the tsar, barely alive from many labours, troubles, and sorrow, and from the illness that had befallen him.”<sup>33</sup> In the summer of 1706, as Orlyk recalled, Mazepa used to lie in bed while listening to the reading of letters.<sup>34</sup>

For some time in the documents there is no mention of the hetman's gout (allowing that few of his letters have survived from this period). Then in November 1707, after much hard work on the construction of the Pechers'k fortress, and depressed by the mortal illness of his mother, Mazepa wrote to Menshikov: "I inform your Grace that until now [my] gout [*podagra*] has detained me in Kyiv, and although I have not yet fully recovered from this, on 22 November I shall nevertheless set out on the journey to Baturyn."<sup>35</sup>

In 1707 a doctor was sent from Moscow to the hetman.<sup>36</sup> He could not help, and the attacks continued. In January 1708, Mazepa's nephew Andrii Voinarovs'kyi wrote a letter on Mazepa's behalf to the Polish grand crown hetman Adam Sieniawski, because "the cheiragra in his hand does not permit [the hetman himself] to write."<sup>37</sup> In February, Mazepa wrote to Menshikov that "illness and sorrows surround me on every side."<sup>38</sup>

Outside observers made note of Mazepa's illness. Adam Sieniawski's representative (*rezident*), Franciszek Grabia, wrote on 16 April 1708 concerning the hetman's cheiragra that he had recovered somewhat before suffering a relapse.<sup>39</sup>

In June and July of 1708, Mazepa wrote repeatedly to Menshikov about his illness, at times hinting that it might be terminal. In one letter he said he had forgotten the day before to report some information "about my present cheiragra and the illness in my head."<sup>40</sup> In another he complained: "I am already extremely weak and close to death."<sup>41</sup>

On 21 October 1708, he sent Menshikov his last message: "I am probably already performing my last bow to your princely Serene Highness, because in addition to my serious podagra and cheiragra ... there is dizziness." Mazepa declared that he no longer placed his hopes in doctors and medicines but was "expecting death rather than life."<sup>42</sup> Even so, his personal signature on this letter was very precise. He may have been exaggerating the danger that threatened him at that moment. He was not yet terminally ill. He wrote to Menshikov: "not only can I not travel or walk over to the room, but I cannot move from my bed." Mazepa received the rite of anointing of the sick (*eleosveshchenie*) from the Metropolitan of Kyiv, refused medicines, "and placed [his] hope on the one omnipotent God, the physician of souls and body."<sup>43</sup>

Two days later, Mazepa leaped from his bed and galloped off at the head of his Cossacks to Charles XII. The question remains: How

much of his account was pretence? The evidence cited above indicates that during the years 1706 to 1708 Mazepa's gout attacks worsened. He had likely begun to suffer from urolithiasis and high blood pressure as well. Hence, perhaps, the irascibility and arrogance that were becoming evident in someone who had always been self-possessed, diplomatic, and wily. There is evidence from around this time that he clashed sharply with the Cossack officer elite (*starshyna*). In the spring and summer of 1708 the gout attacks continued, but probably they were not yet as life-threatening as Mazepa made them out to be. Being a man of strong will, he had been able at a decisive moment to get out of bed and set off down the road.

But very soon, the disease made itself felt again. In December 1708, the otaman of Lokhvytsia company [*sotnia*] Kyrylo Serhieiev reported that Mazepa "is lying in bed, surrounded with pillows, and it is said that he is sick."<sup>44</sup> After the conclusion of an alliance with the Cossacks in March 1709, the hetman lay quite ill.<sup>45</sup>

When someone is ill and experiences frequent painful attacks, he undoubtedly begins to look at the world differently; his values inevitably change. And indeed, he cannot govern a large country, especially one that is at war, to his full potential.

To assert that in these circumstances, venal ambition drove Mazepa to ally himself with the Swedes in 1708 is simply naive. He had long wanted much more to lie on a comfortable bed at his luxurious estate of Honcharivka near Baturyn than to chase a prince's crown (which Peter had already given him, in 1707).

Meanwhile, the world was changing, indeed crumbling, around him, and familiar foundations and precious traditions were being subjected to ruthless incursions. Like many Ukrainian *starshyna* and Russian nobles of the older generation, Mazepa must have felt angry and disappointed. We will see in the next chapter that throughout 1707 and 1708, Peter conceived and implemented a series of major administrative reforms that changed the structure and status of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. And in addition to this, the events of the Great Northern War had triggered many large and small conflicts between the Petrine administration and the military command on the one hand, and the Cossack elite, rank-and-file Cossacks, and the Ukrainian people on the other.

From the very beginning, Mazepa feared that the Great Northern War would impose severe hardship on Ukraine. Self-preservation aside, he felt responsible for Ukrainians as their ruler. (It should be

noted that Peter was never concerned about the possible discontent of his subjects, for he had grown up in an atmosphere of absolute power.) Thus in March 1700 Mazepa filed a complaint that Russian regiments were oppressing Ukrainians. At issue was the need to supply Russian troops with grain. The hetman, citing a poor harvest, believed it would be difficult for residents “to provide food to the warriors of your Tsarist Highness Your Majesty.” In addition, the Hetmanate was supplying the *serdiuk* regiment (a mercenary regiment) stationed at Tavan, the town regiments in Kyzy-Kermen, and the Zaporozhian Sich (“five hundred barrels of flour”) with bread every year.<sup>46</sup>

In 1703 the Cossacks and peasants (*pospolyti*) of the village of Ks'ondzivka (in the territory of the Nizhyn Regiment) complained to the hetman that many Russians, as they passed through the village on affairs of state, and sometimes on their own without travelling papers, were demanding food and carts. The hetman, citing the recent decree from the tsar based on similar circumstances, issued a personal proclamation declaring that none of the Russians should dare to “leave a village without showing courtesy.”<sup>47</sup>

Many historians, following Orlyk, repeat the story that in 1705, while wintering in Dubno, Mazepa received a complaint from the acting hetman (who was in charge of the campaign) colonel Dmytro Horlenko, “a letter spread over several pages, which contained many offences, insults, humiliations, annoyances, the theft of horses, and the beating of Cossacks by Great Russian officers.” Horlenko allegedly wrote that they had pulled him from his horse and taken away his carts. At the same time, an order supposedly came to send the Pryluky and Kyiv Regiments to Prussia “for training and their transformation into regular dragoon regiments.”<sup>48</sup> Historians have not attempted to verify Orlyk’s account, especially his statement that the hetman did not file a complaint after Dmitrii Golitsyn warned him that it would “not please” Peter.<sup>49</sup>

As the present study has shown, around this time colonels did file complaints. In November 1704, Colonel Ivan Myrovych of the Pereiaslav Regiment wrote to the hetman that the main reason for the retreat from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – besides hunger and cold – was the unbearable treatment meted out to them by General Johann Patkul, “who, having our Ukrainian army under his command, first took away the horses from the whole company [*tovarystvo*], and then ordered his officers to train the infantry in

German and placed [them] in the ranks with muskets; he ordered those who were not soon trained, to be beaten with sticks, terrorizing [them] also with the death penalty.”<sup>50</sup>

In September 1705, the Pryluky regimental colonel Dmytro Horlenko wrote to Fedor Golovin about the needs of the Cossacks in Livonia, who were under the command of General Carl von Rönne (which confirms Orlyk’s assertion regarding Horlenko’s complaints to Mazepa – although the letter itself has not survived). For example, the dragoons did not allow the Cossacks to stay in the villages; they had to stay in the open fields and to kill their horses, for the Cossacks had taken only a two-week supply of feed and provisions on the campaign.<sup>51</sup> The “junior and senior *tovarystvo*” of the Pryluky and Kyiv regiments wrote of this same matter to Golovin.<sup>52</sup>

Mazepa must have been upset. According to Orlyk, it was after Horlenko’s complaints that he said: “Who would be such a fool as I, still not to have gone over to the other side given such offers as those that Stanisław Leszczyński sent me?”<sup>53</sup>

The situation worsened. In the spring of 1706, Ukrainian troops suffered heavy losses. Colonel Ivan Myrovych died in Swedish captivity and Mykhailo Myklashevs'kyi died in battle. Mazepa wrote to his friend Fedor Golovin on 1 April 1706, describing the army’s hardships and expressing hope for its return. He stressed that he was not worried about himself – “I am ready for a second year, too, of not being at home, in the service of the great sovereign” – but about the army.<sup>54</sup> This detail also deserves attention: Mazepa mentioned the Cossacks’ accusations against him, that he supposedly had not made adequate preparations for the campaign. Thus, the discontent in the Cossack ranks was turned against the hetman, who, in fact, was simply following Peter’s orders.

To be sure, while Fedor A. Golovin was alive (and while the Great Northern War had not taken a bad turn for Peter), the Russian authorities were still willing to respond to Mazepa’s complaints. In March 1703, Golovin wrote to Mazepa “about sending decrees to Kyiv and to other cities with confirmation so that there would not be a burden on the Little Russian land [*krai*] from the army supply; and about the punishment of Ushakov for his crime.”<sup>55</sup>

But the behaviour of a number of Peter’s favourites – first and foremost Aleksandr Menshikov – no longer followed the usual norms. This chapter has discussed the personal conflict between Mazepa and Menshikov. But there was also a political conflict between the

hetman and the other favourites. In 1706, for the first time in his career, Mazepa ceased to feel himself the all-powerful ruler of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. It is difficult to say whether this was deliberate on the Russians' part or whether the circumstances of the war and Menshikov's personality simply coincided. Probably both played a role. The favourite and other "birds of Peter's nest" were tempted by Ukraine's wealth and saw an opportunity to enhance their own fortunes (just as Polish magnates had done in the past).

Interestingly, before March 1706 Mazepa had received all orders regarding military movements personally from Peter (or in parallel with letters from Fedor Golovin); after that month, the situation changed dramatically. Between 1 March to 5 July, Peter did not write a single letter to the hetman, and Menshikov managed everything. According to scholars of the Petrine era, this signified the tsar's disfavour. Or perhaps Peter simply lost interest in the hetman and Ukraine, having realized that the Cossack army was not in a position to oppose the Swedish regular units (in contrast to the situation in the Azov campaigns).

A striking manifestation of the clash of interests between the favourite and the hetman, and of their mutual misunderstanding, involved Peter's arrival in Kyiv in the summer of 1706 (we have mentioned it in a previous chapter). It was then that the conflict, having ripened internally, broke into the open for the first time. This was the first time the tsar had visited Ukraine since Ukraine's accession to Russia, so the hetman and the Cossack officer elite saw this visit as a special honour. Moreover, Mazepa had reason to believe that the tsar must be pleased with the Cossacks. In the autumn of 1705, on Peter's orders, they had advanced deep into the Right Bank and taken Zamość. In the spring of 1706, Mazepa had been tasked with building bridges for the Hrodna forces' retreat, providing fodder, attacking the Swedish soldiers' billets, and so forth. As Golikov noted, "the hetman had performed all these tasks meticulously."<sup>56</sup> Peter himself wrote to Repnin in the spring of 1706 that "he hoped soon to join with the hetman, to give them [the troops] a good rest."<sup>57</sup>

In March, Peter in fact met with Mazepa in Minsk, to which the hetman had hurriedly sent his troops.<sup>58</sup> Subsequent events took quite a different turn.

First of all, Mazepa received the news of the tsar's trip to Kyiv not from Peter himself but from Menshikov,<sup>59</sup> which in itself was rather offensive. Moreover, this was done just a few days before the

expected event: on 27 June 1706 Mazepa wrote to Menshikov about receiving an order from him to meet Peter on 30 June in Kyiv. The hetman (it is difficult to say what he might have been feeling – anger, irritation, bewilderment, anxiety, apprehension?) explained that “it would in no way be possible to accomplish this in so short a time,” for many regiments were far from Kyiv (forty to fifty miles away), and Mazepa himself would have to come from Baturyn “with the cavalry and with the registered [Cossacks].”<sup>60</sup>

Nothing happened the way Mazepa wanted. He was forced to humiliate himself, to ask Menshikov to “instruct” him where exactly he was to meet with the tsar, and in what company – with the colonels, with a large retinue, or just “with a small [one].”<sup>61</sup> His frustration burst forth: “It is my duty to render my obsequious devotion to the supreme personage of the great sovereign at the very border of Little Russia, and I can in no way find out by what road the great sovereign will travel from Chernihiv ... nor how soon he will hasten there.” He was forced to ask again and again: “and, please, truly inform me of this, your princely Grace, I very much ask your princely Grace.”<sup>62</sup>

On 8 July, Mazepa wrote with regret to his friend Fedor Golovin:

His Majesty was pleased to arrive happily in Kyiv on 4 July. Although I wanted to honour so great and unprecedented a guest, who had never before in the person of the tsar been in Little Russia, with a reception at the border of the Chernihiv regiment, his authoritative monarchical decree prevented my desire, so that I, not going to Chernihiv, hurried with the entire Zaporozhian Host to Kyiv.<sup>63</sup>

In Kyiv, Peter together with Mazepa attended a review of the regiments.<sup>64</sup> The ancient capital did not make a particularly strong impression on the energetic tsar, however. According to Golikov, the great sovereign inspected the Kyiv fortress and, considering its location not to be ideal, determined to build a new one near the Kyiv Caves Monastery. He himself measured it off and, on the holy day of Dormition, at the spiritual rite, he solemnly laid the foundation with his own hands, for he was himself its engineer. He had at the same time appointed the Ukrainian army and some soldiers under Hetman Mazepa’s command for its construction and had given him the help of Colonel Geisen, and he ordered the hetman

not to go away except for a short time until the construction was finished». In addition, Peter ordered the hetman “to confer on all matters” with Gavriil Golovkin.<sup>65</sup>

A famous scene, described by Orlyk, occurred during the reception Mazepa gave in Kyiv in honour of the tsar’s arrival. At this dinner, Menshikov, “being rather loud and strong,” took the hetman arm in arm, sat down with him on a bench, and said in his ear in a loud whisper, so that the Cossack officers standing nearby could hear: “Hetman Ivan Stepanovych, it’s time now to take on these enemies.” Mazepa, stopping with his hand the officers who were tactfully moving away, on purpose answered loudly in Menshikov’s ear: “It’s not the time.” Menshikov persisted: “There can be no better time than now, when his Tsarist Majesty himself is here with his main army.” Mazepa objected: “It would be dangerous, not having finished one war with an enemy, to begin another internal one.” Menshikov: “Should we fear and spare these enemies? What use are they to his Tsarist Majesty? You yourself are loyal to his Tsarist Majesty. But you need to show proof of this loyalty and leave the memory of yourself for all time, so that henceforth future rulers will know and bless your name that once was such a faithful hetman, Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa, who brought such benefit to the Russian state.”<sup>66</sup>

Peter, who was just leaving, interrupted this conversation. Mazepa escorted the tsar out and returned to the officers, asking whether they had heard the prince’s words. And he added: “They always sing this song to me, both in Moscow and everywhere else. God, just do not let them do what they are thinking of doing.” Orlyk wrote that “these words frightened those who heard them.” Grumbling began among the colonels. They got together, conferred, and expressed their indignation at the long and arduous campaigns that had devastated their Cossacks, campaigns on which they had been sent by the tsar’s decree. And it was not just that no favour was being shown toward them for all the losses and hardships they had suffered – in addition, “they abuse and humiliate us and call us idlers, and they do not consider our faithful service worth even a single penny, and now they are planning our destruction.”<sup>67</sup>

From this moment on, the opposition of the Cossack officers grew among those who opposed any restrictions on the autonomy of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Vasyl’ Kochubei refers to the autumn of 1706: during a banquet with the officers, when they drank to his health, the hetman sighed: “Thank you for your love! But what joy



would I have if I live, never being sure of my safety, never at ease, like an ox awaiting the blow.”<sup>68</sup>

The question arises: Mazepa had to see and understand what was happening. Why did he not do something? If he was dissatisfied with Peter’s policy, if he opposed it internally, why did he continue to follow all of the tsar’s orders? It will be seen below that he continued to do the tsar’s will right up to the summer of 1708, making his own move to the Swedes in the autumn of that same year almost impossible and dooming it to failure. Was he too ill to resist? Did he not trust the officers, or did his habit of always relying only on himself have an effect (“By the grace of God I have more intelligence than all of you”)?<sup>69</sup> The facts paint a picture utterly at odds with the traditional image of a “long-planned betrayal” and with a “carefully thought-out plan for an uprising.”

The situation worsened, discontent grew. Complaints poured in from everywhere, but only a small fraction of them have been preserved in the depths of the Little Russian Office. In September 1706 the Chernihiv colonel Pavlo Polubotok forwarded a letter from the Horodnia captain (*sotnyk*) Andrii Stakhovych concerning violence and offences committed in the Horodnia company (*sotnia*) by Major Daniil Evstrat'evich and Captain Dmitrii Iakovlevich.<sup>70</sup> In October 1706 the appointed Kyiv colonel Illia Zhyla wrote to Mazepa with a complaint against the Russian troops.<sup>71</sup> In November the Pochep captain (*sotnyk*) Luk'ian Roslavets' informed the hetman of the willfulness and violence perpetrated in Pochep by Sergeant Tikhon Ignat'evich Toropov.<sup>72</sup> In December the acting mercenary cavalry (*kompaniis'kyi*) regiment colonel Marko Leonovych wrote of the hardships endured by the Cossacks in the tsar’s service.<sup>73</sup>

Mazepa himself was not silent and continued to complain. Before the meeting with Peter in Kyiv, he wrote on 22 May 1706 with respect to the decree he had received concerning a new military campaign: “I will not be found wanting (if I should [still] be alive), but after year-round military service my troops are worn out, deprived of their horses, and impoverished – some were beyond the Vistula, others were with the Great Russian forces in Hrodna, some found themselves at the defeat at Kletsk, others in Minsk.”<sup>74</sup>

After the death of Fedor Golovin, however, the responses to Mazepa’s complaints diminished. There were also egregious incidents. On 30 September 1706, Mazepa informed Gavriil Golovkin that at Peter’s decree (while he was travelling from Chernihiv to

St Petersburg), the Chernihiv colonel had been ordered to organize postal service in the village of Krasne, in Chernihiv, in Sedniv, and in the village of Stara Rudnia, and farther toward Hors'k and Starodub, on the Smolensk highway. This order was carried out to the letter. The creation of a postal service entailed considerable expense – the construction of post stations, supplying them with horses, and so forth. But in September 1706, “a certain Leontii Dashkov” came from St Petersburg to Kyiv and ordered, referring to the tsar, the placement of twenty postal horses on another route – through Volynka, Mena, Stol'ne, Divytsia, and Orlivka, and from there to Olyshivka, all the way to Kyiv itself. Mazepa implored Golovkin to show “merciful care toward the poor people,” who were facing destitution because of the constant construction of new post stations. The hetman wrote that some, having been deprived of their horses, could not gather the harvest from the fields in the summer, while others still, in winter, had not begun “to plough and sow the land.” Mazepa asked where they were to place the postal route: where Peter had personally ordered it “from his own mouth” or where “Mr Dashkov” had ordered.<sup>75</sup> Recall that in March 1703 Peter had issued a decree on the creation of another postal service in Ukraine – not through Baturyn, but through Novhorod-Sivers'kyi.<sup>76</sup>

In the same letter to Golovkin of 30 September 1706, Mazepa complained about the behaviour of the Russian troops under the command of Daniil Evstrat'ev and Dimitrii Iakovlevich, who had come from Polatsk through Horodnia. Local residents had suffered not only “ruin, insults, and beatings, but also murders” at their hands. According to the Chernihiv colonel, Russian soldiers had “been deadly beating” the local captain [*sotnyk*], and took a “horse from a youth,” it was not known where, and also shot a man with a flintlock musket in the village of Khorobrychi. Mazepa requested that “the innocent blood of the murdered man” be avenged by a just court and that Golovkin “take pity on the weeping, lamentations, cries, and tears of the poor people” and please “curb this willfulness of the Great Russian troops, and liberate my people from further depredations and beatings.”<sup>77</sup>

Orlyk wrote that when the construction of the Pechers'k fortress began, the Cossack elite often complained to Mazepa and threatened that they would curse him forever “if you leave us during your hetmanship in such slavery after your death.” Mazepa allegedly replied, “I have already written often and repeatedly to the court

of his Tsarist Majesty of these insults and ravages”; he also offered to send Dmytro Horlenko with Pylyp Orlyk to the tsar. He subsequently changed his mind, however, after learning from Dmitrii Golitsyn “that this will not please his Tsarist Majesty, and if you send [them], you will make trouble for yourself and destroy them.”<sup>78</sup>

Mazepa, then, did not send his officers to Peter; nevertheless, he submitted complaints to him. On 23 September 1706, he wrote to Peter: “Seeing in Kyiv that your Tsarist Majesty was encumbered and burdened with many affairs, I did not dare to inform your Tsarist Majesty about my troops and to ask Your Majesty about that decree.” Now, when the ramparts had already been constructed, and the rains and cold had begun, Mazepa asked permission to let the Cossacks go home, for “my troops, exhausted from the construction, deprived of their stocks of flour, and having worn out their horses with the daily hauling of turf ... will not be capable of any service to your Tsarist Majesty this winter.”<sup>79</sup>

They were dismissed in October,<sup>80</sup> but in late 1706 Peter ordered all the Ukrainian regiments to be ready for a new campaign. Mazepa “ordered the colonels and all the officers to prepare for a military campaign.” In December, he warned Menshikov that part of the army had just returned at the end of November from constructing the Pechers'k fortress “exhausted, with their horses barely alive.” Others had “returned on foot” from the Commonwealth in December and had not yet really rested. The hetman wrote of “the rumour among the people” – that if another distant campaign was launched, “then all will scatter; I alone with the colonels and officers will remain.”<sup>81</sup>

The discontent was serious. In December 1706, not only the old registered regiments but also the volunteer regiment, led by Marko Leonovych, wrote to the hetman of the hardships and abuses they faced.<sup>82</sup>

The Great Northern War brought severe hardships to the troops of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. They were hungry and ill-treated and had suffered irreplaceable losses. Though deeply frustrated by the lack of response, the hetman – perhaps from inertia – continued to complain. In November 1707, he again wrote to Gavriil Golovkin with a complaint. His nephew Andrii Voinarovs'kyi had informed him that the registered regiments and cavalry on campaign in Polonne “suffer great privation from hunger, having no food for themselves or provender for their horses”; they were in a wilderness, and their Polish allies categorically forbade them to take provisions from the

surrounding small towns. The Cossacks and cavalry “tearfully” begged Mazepa to let them return home from Polonne, but he could not do so without the tsar’s decree and the consent of Golovkin. There was no point in them remaining where they were, as they were already “naked and barefoot.”<sup>83</sup>

In December, Peter sent Kikin to the hetman with gifts for the officers and a sable coat for Mazepa. Officially this was a reward “for their work on the construction of the Pechers'k fortress.” But the decree to Kikin said frankly: “all this has been done, so that they will not worry.”<sup>84</sup>

As the Great Northern War approached the borders of Ukraine, it placed a heavy burden not only on the Ukrainian troops but also on the civilian population. In April 1708, Mazepa wrote to Menshikov of the difficulties encountered in gathering supplies in the Chernihiv Regiment for the Lithuanian allies, “for His Honour Lord [Grzegorz] Ogiński, Hetman of Lithuania, headman of Zhmud’.” The hetman warned that although the population was to be paid for the provisions (a thousand rubles), Chernihiv did not have the necessary reserves; these would have to be collected from all over the regiment, “and I expect that this collection of provisions will be difficult.”<sup>85</sup> Complicating the situation was the encampment of the Don Cossack colonel with the Kalmyks on the territory of the Chernihiv Regiment, “inflicting great ruin on the local people.” The hetman through Menshikov requested a decree from the tsar to the Don Cossack colonel, “that he with his company and the Kalmyks there in the Chernihiv regiment ... treat [the people] well, not causing the people of the Chernihiv regiment any hardship.” Mazepa expressed concern that if the Don Cossacks and the Kalmyks did not stop “causing harm and devastation, all the people would leave [the territory of] the Chernihiv regiment.”<sup>86</sup>

Other unpleasant events occurred in Chernihiv. There was not enough stone for the construction of the Chernihiv fortress, so the Russian forces that were building it tore down the house of Semen Lyzohub. His wife (the daughter of Ivan Skoropads'kyi) had to go to Pereiaslav.<sup>87</sup>

In August 1708 the Polish representative (*rezident*) Grabia reported that Mazepa had left the Hadiach Regiment in Kyiv, “with Moscow breaking up the regiment and drilling it daily in its own way.”<sup>88</sup>

Military losses and looting by billeted troops were not the only serious issues: the war also had serious economic consequences. In 1701,

Peter banned the export of Ukrainian hemp to Riga and Königsberg – from now on it would have to go through Arkhangelsk.<sup>89</sup> At a time when Ukrainian merchants' usual trade routes through Silesia or Gdańsk were badly compromised, this decree was a grievous blow to trade.<sup>90</sup>

In 1700, Peter banned the sale of saltpetre from Ukraine (one of its principal exports) – from now on, it could only be sold to the Artillery Office. But the Russian treasury did not have enough money to purchase it, and in any case, it could not use all the saltpetre produced in Ukraine.<sup>91</sup> Earlier, in 1698, under an agreement with England, a prohibition had been placed on trading any but English tobacco in Russia (except in Ukraine, reflecting the Hetmanate's special status). That included supplying it to the army.<sup>92</sup> Tobacco being a very important item for them, Ukrainian merchants continued to trade it secretly (although they faced the death penalty if caught).<sup>93</sup>

A few examples of the direct economic consequences of the war: In a letter to Fedor Golovin on 19 May 1704, Mazepa mentioned the tsar's decree to collect 30,000 rubles in Ukraine – half in Czech coins (*chekhi*), half in quarter pieces (*chetvertki*) – and asked whether he should collect these funds only from the commoners (*pospolyti*).<sup>94</sup> In January 1705, Grigorii Dolgorukov was ordered to take five thousand horses from the hetman in order to transport the infantry and for the supply train.<sup>95</sup> In December 1707, General von Rönne took provisions from the Chernihiv Regiment.<sup>96</sup> Most likely, there were many more incidents like these. As Otto Pleyer wrote, “the Cossacks were very unhappy that Alexander Menshikov took 6,000 horses from them,”<sup>97</sup> and “money and valuables from churches in Ukraine reach Moscow, so that the Chief Leader Mazepa has even complained about this to the tsar.”<sup>98</sup> Foreigners wrote of the strong discontent arising from the favourite (Menshikov) taking control of all fishing, even in Ukraine.<sup>99</sup>

Vasyl' Kochubei stated (in his accusation) that Mazepa “very much ... grieved and tearfully wept [to the Serbian bishop] that he was burdened by the great sovereign with the provision of horses and did not know what to do from now on.”<sup>100</sup> Ivan Iskra wrote quite unjustly in his denunciation that the hetman was collecting onerous exactions from the Cossacks: “he does this by decree of the great sovereign.”<sup>101</sup> These collections were indeed made by the tsar's decree.

One should acknowledge, however, that the Great Northern War and Peter's reforms had so far harmed Ukraine much less than

Russia itself. For example, all the regions of the Russian Empire except Siberia, Astrakhan, and Ukraine were supplying workers for the construction of Saint Petersburg.<sup>102</sup> And in the Belsk district, funds were being collected for the maintenance of the workers who were building the new capital.<sup>103</sup>

But the few levies that *were* introduced had not been stipulated by the terms of the Kolomak Articles. On the contrary, the articles spoke of *not* burdening the Cossacks and the population with the requirement to provide carts for the tsar's ambassadors and couriers, or in the event of the tsar's troops entering Ukraine.<sup>104</sup> One should not forget that since 1654, all attempts by the Russian government to impose taxes on the Ukrainian Hetmanate had met with sharp resistance, open disobedience, and even revolts (including bloody massacres of Russian *voevodas*).<sup>105</sup> In this context, the observation of the Prussian envoy von Keyserling is very interesting. According to him, Menshikov supported introducing new taxes, for he expected that doing so would bring him a new rank.<sup>106</sup>

This chapter has deliberately omitted the reforms Peter carried out with respect to the Ukrainian Hetmanate in the years 1706 to 1708 – these will be discussed in detail later. Continuing the theme of the discontent of the hetman, the officers, the Cossacks, and the civilian population, I now turn to the issue of the “scorched earth” policy.

Anticipating a Swedish offensive in the spring of 1707, the military council at Zhovkva adopted a “scorched earth” plan as the centerpiece of the coming military campaign. From Pskov to northern Ukraine there was to be a “dead zone” for a distance of 200 *versts* (roughly 132 miles), from which the population would be evacuated; grain was to be hidden in pits and everything else “burned without a trace.”<sup>107</sup> The doctrine called for the strengthening of the Pechers'k fortress by all possible means and mandated a retreat beyond the Dnipro during the Swedish offensive, leaving only a garrison for the defence of Pechers'k. In addition, it was proposed that “old Kyiv” be “left empty.”<sup>108</sup> Sofia, the Brats'kyi (Brotherhood) Monastery, the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, and other places sacred to many Ukrainians would all be abandoned. In May 1708, Dmitrii Golitsyn wrote to Peter: “the old Kyiv fortress is very weak, Chernihiv and Pereiaslav are weak, too; it is impossible to repel the enemy.”<sup>109</sup>

Many authors have repeated Orlyk's story that at Zhovkva, Mazepa asked for at least ten thousand Russian troops to be placed at his disposal for the defence of Ukraine (given that the Ukrainian

Hetmanate's main forces had been dispersed along the fronts of the Great Northern War). Peter allegedly responded: "Not only ten thousand, but even ten men I cannot give. Defend yourself as you are able."<sup>110</sup> Orest Subtelny believes this was a blow to Mazepa and that the hetman saw in this a betrayal of the vassal relationship, which obliges a sovereign to protect his vassal<sup>111</sup> – note, his *faithful* vassal. Orlyk's testimony to this effect is confirmed in Kochubei's denunciation. He, too, quoted Mazepa: "And when, he says, I asked the great sovereign for troops to help me defend Kyiv and all Ukraine, he refused me."<sup>112</sup>

It is likely that Mazepa and many of the officers were deeply unhappy with Peter's refusal to defend the Ukrainian lands. Indeed, this was a direct violation of the Kolomak Articles, which explicitly obliged Russia to protect Ukraine from military threats.<sup>113</sup> From the perspective of the political elite of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, it was the Polish king's violations of his obligations that had caused them to renounce their oath to him in 1648. They had proceeded in exactly the same way during the Ruin, when they thought that commitments had been violated by the tsar. The official document submitted by Vasyl' Kochubei on behalf of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych in 1684 serves as vivid evidence of this. There, with regard to Ukraine's borders, it was stated specifically: "where Kyiv and Zaporizhia will be, there also the whole Zaporozhian Host will unwaveringly remain"<sup>114</sup> – distinctly and clearly, without illusions about "eternal allegiance."

The "scorched earth" policy drew sharp protest from the Cossack officers. Some Russian historians deny that Peter had formulated such a plan.<sup>115</sup> Petro Tolochko writes that it is impossible to compare the actions of the Russian army with those of the Swedish aggressor.<sup>116</sup> That aside, the Ukrainian peasant would hardly have noticed a fundamental difference in who robbed him – Orthodox Russian troops, Swedish Protestants, or Polish Catholics. Now to the "scorched earth" plan itself, and, more importantly, the measures for its implementation.

Peter's instruction to all corps commanders, issued at their request in early 1708, is a most interesting source for this. I.I. Golikov, who later published this order, believed that the copy he had found had been sent to Grigorii Dolgorukov.

The commanders of the Russian army asked the tsar a direct question: "If the enemy enters the Great Russian region [*krai*], shall

we all go after him or shall we leave someone to protect Ukraine?” At this, Peter issued a resolution: “Go after the enemy, and do any damage with God’s help, depending on the mood of the people.” The commanders had doubts about the mood of the Ukrainian inhabitants, and they asked: “If, God save us, there should be an uprising in the Little Russian region, because it is unsafe there, what shall we do in this case?” Peter responded: “[To go] either to the main army, or to Kyiv, but better to the army.” The commanders responded with this question: “If there is any vacillation among the chief people, what shall we do with them?” Peter did not hesitate: “Place them under arrest and report [them].”

The scorched-earth policy announced by Peter at the military council in Zhovkva in the spring of 1707 remained for some time only a terrible threat, but in late August 1708 it became a fearsome reality. On 23 August, Mazepa read to Grabia, the representative (*rezident*) of Grand Crown Hetman Adam Sieniawski, the decrees from the Kyiv *voevoda* Dmitrii Golitsyn, in which it was ordered to burn the land (“our own state [Moscow] already decided to burn [the land], with no regard for any resistance”).<sup>117</sup> On 29 August, Grabia wrote again about the order he had received to burn the region that the enemy had to enter, to destroy the mills, and to submerge the mill wheels. When the hetman sent troops to the tsar, some of the colonels refused to go and instead declared that “we want to die here rather than go to our death there.”<sup>118</sup>

Russian documents confirm this Polish evidence. On 10 August 1708, Gavriil Golovkin wrote to the Starodub Colonel Skoropads'kyi that the peasants and Cossacks in his “district” should hide grain in pits in the forests and prepare places for themselves and their livestock in the forests, so that the enemy “could obtain no food for himself.” Golovkin gave the same order to the Chernihiv colonel. He also recounted the tsar’s personal decree

that your Lordship, when it will be known exactly that the enemy is going to Starodub, order your regiment in all the towns, villages, and hamlets to take the millstones and rigging from the mills into the woods and bury them in the ground, or submerge them somewhere in deep water, or destroy them. Also, whoever among the Cossacks and peasantry has a handmill in his home – order them to sink it, or to bury it in the ground, so that it will not fall to the enemy for the preparation of bread.<sup>119</sup>



On 24 September, Menshikov gave this order to Ivan Skoropads'kyi: "If the enemy comes to you, then please ... burn the provisions and fodder before the enemy without a trace."<sup>120</sup>

On 16 October, brigadier Volkonskii, at Starodub on the Chernihiv highway, wrote to Menshikov: "I have now been ordered by your Princely Serene Highness's decree to monitor the enemy's movements, should he come by our road, so as to burn the forage and villages before him." In addition, he noted that "the villages around here produce grain, and there is a lot of hay in the fields and in the villages."<sup>121</sup>

Peter's personal decree to General-Major Ifflant on 9 August 1708 seems even more cruel and explicit. If the Swedes entered Ukraine, his forces were to burn the grain in the fields and in the barns, as well as buildings, bridges, and mills, and drive the inhabitants into the forest. If they met resistance, they were to "burn the villages." Any peasant who sold provisions to the Swedes should be hanged.<sup>122</sup> Peter's decree of 1 September to Rodion Baur stated no less harshly: "Burn not only grain and fodder but also structures, so that at this cold time the enemy will have nothing useful for himself."<sup>123</sup>

In September 1708 the tsar issued decrees to the Pochev captain (*sotnyk*) (Pochev was a company [*sotenne*] town in the Starodub regiment),<sup>124</sup> the officers, and all the inhabitants "to move them from their homes to Little Russian and Great Russian towns because of the Swedish advance into their region [*krai*] and to receive them with their belongings." Under this decree, the residents of Pochev were to leave "with their wives and children [for] Little Russian and Great Russian towns, wherever they wanted." There was no clear organization concerning this, and it was only vaguely stipulated that such refugees were to be given homes (*dvory*) in Russian towns.<sup>125</sup>

It is little wonder that in November 1708, Mazepa wrote bitterly to the Poltava colonel regarding the actions of the Russian command: "Such is their valour, any devoted son of the Little Russian fatherland can understand about this, that Moscow is not protecting us; [Moscow] has prepared to destroy the whole region and uproot the Little Russian people."<sup>126</sup>

It should be emphasized that all of this especially related to the Starodub Regiment, where no military operations had taken place since the anti-Russian uprising of 1668. Residents were now being asked to destroy voluntarily the fruits of their many years of labour, without any hope of recouping them. This prospect did not inspire the Ukrainian peasantry any more than the prospect of being brought

to ruin by Swedish soldiers. As for the goals Peter set for himself in the Great Northern War – access to the Baltic Sea and trade with Europe through the Baltic – these offered no economic benefit to any part of Ukrainian society.

A letter to Menshikov from an unnamed officer evidently serving with the Russian forces in the autumn of 1708 offers striking evidence of how both peasants and Cossacks felt about the order to “burn” the land. He wrote that “the enemy is approaching our homes” and requested that he and his army be sent for the defence of the region – “while we are just here and provoke only hatred from the inhabitants of the Little Russian region, that standing here we will burn them and steal their grain.” These words are also noteworthy: “and our own people in the regiments mourn deeply that now all our towns are empty. Not only from the enemy, but also from our own troops there will be great damage.”<sup>127</sup>

The secretary to the Lithuanian deputy treasurer Sapieha and French agent Philippe Groffé wrote on 22 October 1708: “The Muscovite Tsar ordered Mazepa to burn everything to the ground where the Swedes will pass through. But the Cossacks did not agree to this.”<sup>128</sup>

Of course, in these circumstances, the people’s discontent grew more and more. Not only Cossacks but peasants, too, took up arms. In May 1708, Mazepa described an incident in which the peasants of a village in the Chernihiv Regiment (“since the Cossacks are not at home now but on campaign”) fought against the Kalmyks who were returning from a campaign in Lithuania and were plundering indiscriminately. The “hetman’s warden of Baturyn” joined in the struggle against the Kalmyks when the looters appeared two miles beyond Baturyn, near the village of Ksendzivka.<sup>129</sup> The Cossacks were actively disposed to taking Don otaman Kondratii, leader of the rebellion on Bulavin’s side. In April 1708, Peter was compelled to issue a decree to Vasiliï Dolgorukov: “We received from you the news that the Zaporozhians are going to join Bulavin ... Monitor this closely, so as not to let them connect, but with God’s help go to some of them, that is, to the Don Cossacks, or the Zaporozhians.”<sup>130</sup>

The population blamed the hetman for all its troubles. After all, the hetman’s (that is, Mazepa’s) administration was carrying out Peter’s decrees. Few knew about Mazepa’s complaints and protests, and to the Cossacks and the civilian residents of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, Mazepa represented absolute power. Here it is necessary to quote from an interesting criminal investigation from 1700,

found by Andrii Bovhyria in the Russian State Archive of Ancients Acts (RGADA). A servant (*cheliadnyk*) of the Kyiv colonel Kostiantyn Mokiiivs'kyi shouted to soldiers of the Russian garrison: "I don't know your tsar; we have our own tsar. As you obey your tsar, so we obey our own Lord Hetman; he is our second tsar. Your tsar has an army, and our tsar will have an army that's just as good."<sup>131</sup>

In the spring of 1707, Mazepa wrote to Golovkin:

According to a report, the officers in all the towns and regiments grumble against me: as if I often visited the sovereign only for my own affairs and made no defence of the people, which is what the Zaporozhians accuse me of most of all. In such difficult circumstances, I cannot even hope for the protection of Great Russian troops: for those with Nepliev, they all have staffs, not guns, and look more like shepherds than soldiers.<sup>132</sup>

On 17 September 1708, the well-informed English ambassador Charles Whitworth wrote of the approach of the Swedes toward Ukraine, in the towns of which "lives a free people, which is not so supportive of the current government that it would tolerate complete destruction for the government's sake." If that should happen, "old General Mazepa would have a great deal of trouble to keep the population loyal and in fulfillment of its obligations."<sup>133</sup>

As is well-known, Peter cared little about his subjects' burdens. Thus he wrote to Menshikov with surprise that the hetman, "it is not known why," sent Nepliev to Liakhovychi, "where they suffered some damage from the enemy."<sup>134</sup> Meanwhile, in Liakhovychi, one of Mazepa's most gifted colonels, Ivan Myrovych, had been surrounded and captured. The hetman, explaining his action, wrote to Fedor Golovin that he had no one to send to the rescue, as five thousand troops "fresh from Little Russian towns" had been sent with Menshikov to Brest-Litovsk.<sup>135</sup>

Two letters (*gramoty*) received from Peter were the sole result of the hetman's complaints. The tsar sent the first, dated 24 June 1707, in response to complaints made by Mazepa, "being at our court in Zhovkva," that "no small burdens have been inflicted ... upon our Zaporozhian Host, from the present incessant, difficult services and campaigns, [and] especially to inhabitants of Little Russia from the passing through of our forces." Peter expressed regret about this but added that "because of the war with the Swedes it is impossible to

manage without this, and therefore you should, for the overall benefit of the state ... endure it.” And “upon the conclusion of this war, these hardships and losses you have suffered ... will be rewarded.”<sup>136</sup> On 29 December 1707 the tsar sent a second official letter to Mazepa, in which he wrote that he knew “of the faithful services” and “considerable efforts” in the years 1706 and 1707 during the construction of the Pechers’k fortress, “as well as in other hardships of this war.” Therefore, the tsar “favoured and graciously praised” the hetman, the entire Zaporozhian Host, “and especially the General Staff, the colonels, and other senior officers [*vysshsie uriadniki*],” and promised them “the highest favour.”<sup>137</sup>

But clearly this was not enough. In the autumn of 1708 a wave of riots swept through Ukraine. On 6 October 1708, Mazepa wrote to Golovkin: “In all the towns and villages internal turmoil is beginning to spread among the people, who are volatile because of idlers and drunkards, who go about the taverns in large groups with a gun, forcibly take wine, chop up barrels, and beat people.” The hetman described a number of incidents. For example, in Lubny “vagabonds who had gotten drunk on wine they had taken by force beat a leaseholder and a churchwarden to death, and would have run through some Cossack officers if they had not saved themselves by fleeing.” The same happened in the Poltava, Hadiach, Lubny, Myrhorod, Pryluky, and Pereiaslav Regiments. But what especially disturbed Mazepa was that similar phenomena were arising in the “most submissive regiments” – Chernihiv, Starodub, and Nizhyn. Moreover, the Cossacks, who were at the front with General Boer in Livonia, were inciting the inhabitants to riot – “they fled, and having arrived in the towns, spread the word everywhere, as if the enemy had defeated not only them, but also all the Great Russian forces.” The situation reached the point that in Hadiach, “loafers and drunks gathered in crowds, attacked the castle, and wanted to kill my master of the castle, and to plunder the possessions, which are mine there, and they would have carried out their evil intention if the Hadiach townsmen had not driven those idlers away, and my castle warden shot from the castle.”<sup>138</sup>

Riots also arose in the Lubny Regiment: in the village of Horodyshche (the estate of the Lubny regimental aide-de-camp [*osaul*] Andrii Petrovs'kyi) and in the holdings of Lubny’s Mhar Monastery – Lozovky and Budyshchi. In Poltava the *pysar* Roman Lozyns'kyi was killed. In the Myrhorod Regiment the peasants of the village

of Avramivka, which belonged to the nephew of Danylo Apostol, ceased to obey. Riots also broke out in a number of villages of the Starodub Regiment (Chekhivka, Karbivka, and Savostiany).<sup>139</sup>

Mazepa wrote to Menshikov that “an internal fire of rioting of vagabonds, drunks, and peasants [*muzhiki*]” – who went about in large groups “with staffs and weapons” and were beating leaseholders, taking vodka, and getting drunk – was beginning to burn in Ukraine. He gave new examples: in Mhlyn a captain (*sotnyk*) was cut down with scythes, and the son of the general quartermaster (*oboznyi*) barely escaped with his wife by fleeing from Sosnytsia. Mazepa named as the instigators of these attacks Cossacks who had been defeated by the Swedes at Kadin. They were spreading the rumour that Russian troops “were burning and pillaging” in the Starodub Regiment, whereas supposedly the Swedes “left no destruction.” And with these words they raised “rebellion and grumbling” “in the common people.” Mazepa named Perebyinis and Molodets’ as the leaders of the riots. Many people were under their command, including Russians and Don Cossacks – two thousand people in all. These bands “rambled” (*shatalis’*) along the Dnipro in the fields and beat people.<sup>140</sup>

In response to Mazepa’s account of the uprisings, Sheremetev and Golovkin decided on 12 October 1708 that the Kyiv *vovoda* Dmitrii Golitsyn along with regiments from the Sevsk and Belgorod divisions (*razriady*) would go to Nizhyn. In addition, the “hetman Lord Mazepa [was] ordered to choose a distinguished, faithful individual as the acting hetman, to send with several Little Russian contingents.” Should “commotions” arise, Golitsyn and the appointed hetman were to “subdue [them] properly.”<sup>141</sup>

Evgenii Tarle tried to show that Mazepa exaggerated the scale of the uprisings; he described them as a “class struggle.”<sup>142</sup> In fact, this movement had no political undercurrent. It had begun under Mazepa as an explosion of discontent over the hardships of the Great Northern War, and it would continue under Ivan Skoropads'kyi. This movement was neither anti-Russian nor anti-Swedish, and its participants were not supporters of either Mazepa or Skoropads'kyi. They looted and killed indiscriminately.

Ivan Skoropads'kyi’s universal of 13 December 1708, which stated that the secretary (*pysar*) of the Starodub Regiment, fleeing the Swedish advance, had taken his wife across the Desna, serves as vivid evidence. And in the village of Chekhivka the inhabitants together

with the peasants of the villages of Karbivs'ke and Sevast'ianivs'ke plundered like bandits and “all but beat [people] to death.”<sup>143</sup>

Over the summer of 1708, Mazepa gradually realized there was no turning back. In May 1708, he purchased land from Russian landowners in the Rylsk district;<sup>144</sup> then in June he sold all his beloved Russian estates to Aleksei Kurbatov.<sup>145</sup> On 27 September 1708, while in a supply train at Bykov, he gave his personal mills on the river Bilytsia to the Chernihiv archdiocese “for perpetual prayer for my soul.”<sup>146</sup> Mazepa had to make an extremely difficult choice.

## The Reforms of 1707

In the previous chapters we noted the intensifying conflict between Mazepa and Peter's entourage, especially with Aleksandr Menshikov, and the growing dissatisfaction among the *starshyny*, Cossacks, and peasants amid the conditions of the Great Northern War. The confiscation of food, the constant demands for carts and horses, additional taxes, and other issues provoked mass opposition against the hetman, who was the personification of power in the Ukrainian Hetmanate, and led to the rise of serious discontent among the *starshyny*. Still, all the offences and oppression discussed earlier in this book were merely the "foam" on the crest of the wave of reforms Peter had planned and was beginning to carry out in 1707.

Historiographical clichés regarding Mazepa have usually taken one of two forms. One point of view has it that Mazepa was dissatisfied with the curtailment of the rights of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Adherents of this position usually cite the fascinating letter written at a later date by Pylyp Orlyk to Stefan Iavors'kyi, which can be accepted only with reservations. The other point of view rejects the notion that Russia was "oppressing" Ukrainian autonomy and accuses Mazepa of avarice and the pursuit of personal gain.

It is surprising that, while arguing about whether there was any "oppression" by Russian authorities during Mazepa's rule, no adherents of either of these positions look at later actions and events, specifically at the reforms undertaken by Peter immediately after the Great Northern War during the rule of the faithful and obedient hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyi. These reforms saw the introduction of "residents" (essentially observers) under the auspices of the hetman, the establishment of the Little Russian College (*Malorossiiskaia*

*kollegia*), which essentially replaced the hetman's administration, the introduction of the office of brigadier, a new tax system, and, finally, the prohibition on electing a new hetman after the death of Skoropads'kyi. True, Kostomarov wrote that during Skoropads'kyi's rule, the tsar adopted "a range of measures that clearly leaned toward imposing on Little Russia the same burden that the entire Russian state had suffered under Peter's iron hand."<sup>1</sup> Still, he did not link any of these events to the preceding history.

On the other hand, one cannot assert that Mazepa's actions, especially his defection to the Swedes, alone led to Peter's reforms of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. The curtailment of Ukrainian autonomy fit naturally with the idea of creating an empire with common laws and structures. It was this idea that Peter actively implemented in the early eighteenth century, relying largely upon the methods of his predecessors.

In general, studies of the events of 1707 are characterized by emotionally charged commentary, largely borrowed from Orlyk's letter to Iavors'kyi. However, no scholar has attempted to confirm the information presented in the letter. So in addressing the question of the conflict of 1707, it is necessary to incorporate new evidence that helps reveal the issues that truly lay at the heart of the conflict.

To sort through the issues at hand, we must first review the peculiarities of the Ukrainian Hetmanate's governmental structure. This structure did not suddenly emerge during the years of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's uprising. Rather, it took shape over time, incorporating many elements of the regimental organization of the Registered Ukrainian Cossacks, power structures of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and long-standing Ukrainian traditions.

The Ukrainian Hetmanate was reasonably democratic. Here, "democratic" implies not the unruliness of Zaporizhia but rather the fairly effective governmental structures at each level of administration. At the base of the Ukrainian Hetmanate lay the self-governing *bromadas* (communities) of the villages and towns. If there were both Cossacks and *pospolyti* (a term encompassing both peasants and townspeople), then a *bromada* for the *pospolyti* and a Cossack fellowship (*tovarystvo*) were formed. The *bromada* was headed by a *viit*, who was elected by its members, saw to all the organization's administrative affairs, and handled all matters of litigation. The Cossacks of the village, in turn, chose an otaman, who, from an administrative perspective, fulfilled all the same duties as the



*viit*. Both the Cossack and *pospolyti* governmental organizations (*uriady*) cooperated in all administrative matters that concerned the whole village and the courts.

Several villages were united together under a larger administrative and judicial district called a company (*sotnia*). In some cases, the companies directly replaced a *volost'* that had existed under Polish rule, while in other cases they were entirely new organizations. In the company seat, the townspeople would elect a town administration known as a *ratusha*, which was headed by a *viit*. The *ratusha* was charged with overseeing all administrative affairs affecting the *pospolyti* throughout the company. The *ratusha* itself was subordinate to the Cossack company administration, chiefly to the company captain (*sotnyk*), who, acting as the direct supervisor of the *ratusha*, took part in its decision-making and court proceedings. Still, the election of the captain (*sotnyk*) was open not only to Cossacks but also to the townspeople and peasants.

In addition to the captain, the company administration included the company otaman, the aide-de-camp (*osaul*), the secretary (*pysar*), and the flag-bearer (*khorunzhyi*). All of them were also elected and carried out various military and administrative duties. Court cases were resolved jointly by representatives of the Cossack and municipal administrations: the captain (*sotnyk*), municipal otoman, *viit*, and town leaders (*burmistry*). It was not uncommon to have distinguished military fellows (*znatni viis'kovi tovaryshi*), townspeople, and, in certain cases, the entire *bromada* take part in the courts.

The companies in turn were organized into even larger administrative units known as regiments. Regimental governments were similar to company governments. At the head of each regiment was an elected colonel and an elected Cossack regimental staff (*starsbyna*). Besides the regimental aide-de-camp (*osaul*), secretary (*pysar*), and flag-bearer (*khorunzhyi*), each of the regimental administration included the offices of quartermaster (*oboznyi*) and judge (*suddia*). As with the company administration, regimental staff positions combined military and administrative responsibilities, and both Cossacks and *pospolyti* were subject to the authority of the colonel. Even the townspeople of larger cities within the territory of the regiment, including those granted Magdeburg rights, were subject to his authority.

Captains were under the command of the colonels and were judged by them; the colonels, in turn, were subordinate to the hetman. The hetman was elected by the General Military Council (*Heneral'na*

*viis'kova rada*) and wielded executive, legislative, and judicial power. The supreme legislative authority was the General Military Council, which any Cossack could attend. In fact, that council was attended by representatives from each regiment and the whole of the General Staff. The council passed laws, ratified treaties with foreign powers, and fulfilled other duties. Over time, the General Council was increasingly replaced by the Council of Officers (*Rada starshyn*), which made all major decisions.

The highest executive body was the General Chancellery (*Heneral'na kantseliariia*), which resolved all major military and administrative issues. The supreme judicial body was the General Military Court. To govern, the hetman relied on the most important officials of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, namely, the General Staff (*Heneral'na starshyna*), comprised of the general quartermaster, the general secretary, general judges, and general aides-de-camp. These officials were responsible for key areas of activity in the administrative/judicial system. Together, they jointly led both the military and the entire country.

According to the democratic laws of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, any official, from an otaman to the hetman, could be “expelled from government.” However, over time this possibility became more of a formality, and the Russian government began to control the election of the hetman and appoint members of the General Staff. Even so, during Mazepa’s rule, rank-and-file Cossacks as well as the *pospolyti* could still influence the election of many officials, including colonels. As Venedikt Miakotin accurately wrote, this system “was not established by any decree or any general legislative act, but rather developed under the almost continuous ring of weaponry along the path that was both gradual and yet fairly quick to adapt the country to new conditions of life.”<sup>2</sup> Though by the end of the seventeenth century most of the cities were under full control of Cossack *starshyna*. Republicanism was inherent in only one class: the Cossacks. More precisely, at the top of that class – the *starshyna*. In much the same way, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a republic only for nobility (*szlachta*).

Ukrainian territories were administered by the Little Russian Office (*Malorosiiskii prikaz*), which was part of the Foreign Office (*Posol'skii prikaz*). During Mazepa’s rule, a single official, Fedor Golovin, headed both departments. The departments used the same clerks: Emel'ian Ukraintsev of the Boyar’s Council as well as Petr

Postnikov, Boris Mikhailov, Mikhail Rodostamov, and Ivan Volkov. The Little Russian Office was distinguished from the other department solely by the fact that it had its own staff and its own separate offices.<sup>3</sup> For its part, the Foreign Office was closely linked to six other offices (*prikazy*): the Great Russian Office, the Office of the Principality of Smolensk, and the Novgorod, Galich, Vladimir, and Ustiug offices. The Great Russian and Vladimir Offices were abolished in 1699–1700.<sup>4</sup>

As Mikhail Bogoslovskii correctly notes, those who had been appointed by 1689 (before the overthrow of Sofia) to head the chancelleries formed a sort of cabinet. They were headed by a prime minister (so he was referred to by foreigners), Lev Naryshkin. The cabinet organization endured in this form for an entire decade until 1699.<sup>5</sup>

The purview of the Little Russian Office was regulated by a set of articles. This is important to remember when assessing the events at hand. The Ukrainian Hetmanate from the very beginning did not simply yield to the “high hand of the tsar”; rather, it did so under certain conditions as specified in the articles. On the election of each new hetman, or each time the Ukrainian Hetmanate returned to the control of the “tsar’s hand,” either the old articles were reaffirmed or new articles were ratified. This practice continued down to the time of Mazepa; only under Skoropads'kyi would this rule be violated. This explains why the Cossack General Staff repeatedly emphasized that they “were not taken by the sword” but rather had voluntarily sworn allegiance to the tsar, on the condition that the tsar agreed to uphold the commitments he had made to them. Hence the famous lines from Mazepa’s “Duma”: “May our glory endure forever, for by the sword it is our right!”<sup>6</sup> Orlyk also attributed the following words to Mazepa: “Just as we freely bowed to his royal majesty the great sovereign’s hand for the sake of the Orthodox eastern common faith, so do we now, being a free people, freely depart.”<sup>7</sup> Even if Mazepa never spoke these words, the idea they expressed was widely held among the Cossack leadership. This attitude in some ways mirrored that of the *szlachta* of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which embraced Western standards of vassalage. Orest Subtelny has written in greater detail on this subject, drawing analogies with Western European traditions.<sup>8</sup>

All of this goes far to explain why the accusation that the tsar had violated his commitments is so clearly expressed in declarations

made by Mazepa and his supporters. In a proclamation (*universal*) issued on 30 October 1708 to Ivan Skoropads'kyi, then colonel in the Starodub Regiment, the hetman stated that the Muscovite authorities had long ago made it their goal to eliminate the rights and liberties of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Without the consent of the Hetmanate's authorities, the Muscovites had begun to incorporate Ukrainian cities into their own domain and occupy them with their own troops. Mazepa wrote that he had received secret warnings from "benevolent associates" and that he knew first-hand that certain individuals wanted "to seize control" of him, the General Staff, the colonels, and the whole of the Zaporozhian Host, as well as erase the title of Cossack and turn those who held it into regular dragoons and soldiers, all the while enslaving the Ukrainian people. Mazepa stressed that such actions had taken place not only in the Starodub, Chernihiv, and Nizhyn Regiments, which were under the immediate threat of Swedish invasion, but also in the Poltava Regiment.<sup>9</sup>

In another proclamation, this one issued to Ivan Levenets', colonel in the Poltava Regiment, on 20 November 1708, Mazepa appealed to the colonel's desire to defend his homeland from "the tyrannical yoke of Moscow" by evoking the example of the colonel's late father,<sup>10</sup> who had always courageously stood up for Cossack liberties and the integrity of his homeland. The hetman promised to send out a "general proclamation" in which he would lay out the difficulties caused by the Muscovite authorities, their plans to wreak devastation on Ukraine (evidently referring to the "scorched earth" strategy), and their intent to yoke "our free Little Russian people" to their tyrannical government.<sup>11</sup>

Jöran Andersson Nordberg, a participant in and historian of these events and a biographer of the Swedish king Charles XII, wrote that Mazepa defected to the Swedes mainly because if the Russians won the war, the tsar planned to annul all agreements with the Hetmanate and deprive the Cossacks of their privileges.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, the Austrian diplomat Leopold von Thalmann, in Istanbul, reported on 18 July 1709: "In his general epistle, Mazepa apologetically presented the causes that had forced him to abandon the side of Moscow, namely that the Muscovite tsar had repeatedly violated the privileges and liberties of the Cossacks, and that he, Mazepa, and his subjects were no longer able to bear the Muscovite yoke."<sup>13</sup> Daniel Krman, a Slovakian pastor who accompanied Charles XII, recalled other "offences," such as the deployment of Russian forces to Cossack

fortresses, the constant demand for horses, the refusal to pay the Cossacks their salaries, and the return of Cossack territory to the Poles (likely referring to the Right Bank).<sup>14</sup> Finally, Orlyk, in his famous Constitution of 1710, composed in the immediate aftermath of the events in question,<sup>15</sup> wrote that instead of showing gratitude and respect for many years of faithful service, the Muscovite state “of a certainty wanted to turn the Cossacks into a regular army, take the cities for its own territory, crush the Host’s rights and liberties, and eradicate the Lower Zaporozhian Host.”<sup>16</sup>

Historians have failed to determine whether the claims of Mazepa and his supporters were mere propaganda or based on firm facts. Recently discovered documents in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA) reveal that in 1707 four of Peter’s reforms began parallel to one another: (1) a departmental reform, which included the transfer of the Little Russian Office to the jurisdiction of the Department of Military Affairs, more commonly referred to as the *Razriad*; (2) a territorial reform (the creation of *gubernias*); (3) the formation of Cossack companies (*kompanii*); and (4) the transfer of military fortifications to Russian control. While the latter two reform projects were closely connected with the events of the Great Northern War, the first two were part of Peter’s larger plan to reorganize the Russian Empire with a central administration. Although these reforms initiated by the tsar hold great significance for the history of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, historians of Mazepa’s rule have not taken them into account.

Indeed, a combination of ignorance of the specifics of Ukraine on the part of historians of the Russian Empire, and a poor understanding of the affairs of Petrine Russia on the part of Ukrainian historians, has prevailed. There have been dozens of historical studies devoted to Peter I’s territorial or provincial reforms, but such works have received scant attention from historians focused on Mazepa since this reform effort began in 1709. Meanwhile, Russia experienced a departmental reform, which did not remain solely on paper. Let us begin with this reform.

On 29 January 1707 (O.S.), Peter issued a decree to Tikhon Streshnev, the boyar who headed the *razriad*. In it, Peter instructed:

Assign Kyiv, as well as the other castles in Cherkasian cities where our *voevody* are present, to Belgorod, and let Prince Dmitrii [Golitsyn], having reviewed them, arrive by spring in

Kyiv where many corrections are required; thus should he govern the Belgorod district [*razriad*] from there. I have sent a decree regarding the same to him and this letter also.<sup>17</sup>

On 1 February 1707, Peter dispatched a letter “from the military campaign in Zhovkva.” The letter indicated that it was “commanded that the blessed city of Kyiv, as well as the other castles in Cherkasian cities where Russian *voevoda* and foreigners are present with the leave of the Little Russian Chancellery, be assigned to Belgorod and that city Kyiv with the other Cherkasian castles be included as part of the *razriad*.”<sup>18</sup>

Thus, a number of Ukrainian cities were combined with the Russian city of Belgorod in the governing administrative system and together were entrusted to the oversight of the nobleman and *voevoda* Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn, who received the title *voevoda* of Kyiv in addition to the traditional title of *voevoda* of Belgorod.<sup>19</sup> Golitsyn was to come from Belgorod “by spring to Kyiv where much governance is required.”<sup>20</sup>

On 28 February, in accordance with Peter’s decree, privy secretary Petr Shafirov gave instructions for

the Belgorodian city of Kyiv and other Cherkasian castles to send from the Little Russian Office to the boyar Tikhon Nikitich Streshnev in the *Razriad* the yearbooks and registers of those cities and city fortresses, and [their] cannons [*nariad*], artillery reserves, provisions, and men of arms and civilians, and all files and records of those cities which were kept, and the *pysary* who kept the chronicles of those cities with their clerks’ wages.<sup>21</sup>

Shafirov also sent news of this action to the tsar, who was away on his campaign. This indicates that the transfer of the cities to the auspices of the *Razriad* was under Peter’s control.

Peter wrote to Streshnev again on 1 March:

Have Prince Dmitrii [Golitsyn] be called *voevoda* of Kyiv, and not Belgorod, in honor of the city Kyiv; while he shall still be charged with Belgorod and the whole of its administration [*razriad*], and take Kyiv with the other Cherkassian castles into the *razriad*; have the cities of the Sevsk and Belgorod *razriady* send reports here without delay.<sup>22</sup>

However, as often happened in the Russian bureaucracy, the transfer of documents was delayed. A decree dated 19 March indicated that not all the documents had been sent from the Little Russian Chancellery to the *Razriad*. Still, it gave instructions to inform “the governor in Kyiv and the other castles” about “the handover of those cities.”

Implementation of this territorial reform truly began in January 1707, yet Mazepa was officially informed of it only on 19 March of that year. Only then did the tsar issue a decree: “the hetman and cavalier Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa is informed to send his charters from the great sovereign from the Office of Little Russia.”<sup>23</sup> The timing indicates that Mazepa was one of the last to be informed. Most likely, given the date the decree was issued, he first learned of the reform in Zhovkva, to which he had been summoned by Peter to attend a war council.

The council was held at the end of April 1707, immediately after Easter during the week of St Thomas. Orlyk, in his letter to Stefan Iavors'kyi, wrote that after the council, the hetman did not attend dinner with Peter, returned to his own quarters upset, and did not eat anything the whole day. When the General Staff came to him the same day, the hetman was very angry and only said, “If I had served God as faithfully and pleasingly, then I would have received a greater reward – I would have been changed into an angel at least and then I could not receive any thanks for my service and faithfulness!” Then he ordered the staff to return to their homes.<sup>24</sup> It was then, after Zhovkva, that Mazepa began his negotiations with Leszczyński’s supporters, which will be discussed in more detail later.

Kostomarov and the historians who follow him interpret this episode as a manifestation of Mazepa’s dissatisfaction with Peter’s decision to organize the Cossacks into professional companies (*kompanii*).<sup>25</sup> In an earlier work on Mazepa, I suggested that the cause of the conflict in Zhovkva was the plan for administrative reforms as voiced by the tsar.<sup>26</sup> The evidence shows that at the end of March the Little Russian and Foreign Offices received instructions regarding the transfer “of the city of Kyiv and other Little Russian cities” from the Little Russian Office to the Department of Military Affairs (*Razriad*). However, the implementation of this decree was delayed “until the arrival of the hetman and cavalier Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa at Zhovkva.”<sup>27</sup> All of this supports the conclusion that Peter had decided to make a significant portion of the Ukrainian Hetmanate part of Russia on the same terms as governed

other parts and that he announced this decision to Mazepa in April 1707 in Zhovkva. This outline of events explains the reaction of the hetman, who was being deprived of any real power as a result of the Ukrainian Hetmanate losing its autonomy.

Newly discovered documents support this conjecture. The reform truly did play a part in these unfolding events. On 14 May 1707, the transfer of files to the *Razriad* began. The files included “the registers of the city of Kyiv and the other Cherkasian castles of Chernihiv, Nyzhin, Pereiaslav, Novobohorodyts'k on the Samara River, and the city fortresses, guard, artillery reserves, provisions, and men of arms and civilians of those cities, and all files and records kept in those cities.”<sup>28</sup> Boyar Tikhon Streshnev also received “a report with an authentic description in accounting books” from the Little Russian Office.<sup>29</sup>

The list of cities transferred indicates that the discussion encompassed all of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. The *razriad* received a “trunk” of files kept by the Kyiv desk (*povyťe*). It contained files for Kyiv, Chernihiv, Nizhyn, and other cities.<sup>30</sup> The inventory for 1707 of the Little Russian Office archival collection includes this note: “Cities: Kyiv, Chernihiv, Nizhyn, Pereiaslav, and others. And all file books, as well as the staff and clerks who preserved the files in the Department of Little Russia, Ivan Petrov and his colleagues, were sent by order of the great sovereign’s decree from the Foreign Office to the *razriad*.”<sup>31</sup> Note that the cities listed here were either regimental centres or the capitals of corresponding regiments and the residences of the colonels. All government on the regimental level, including military, administrative, and judicial authority, was concentrated in these very cities, which thus served as the foundation of the entire administrative system of the Hetmanate.

All the essential staff of the Little Russian Office were also transferred to the *razriad* in 1707. However, it soon became apparent that the Little Russian Office had its share of staffing issues:

Secretary Ivan Petrov managed that same department ... And with him were junior undersecretary Timofei Khokhlov and Vasilei Mechkovskii. But the Kyiv desk [*povyťe*] had only two junior clerks: Afonasei Inekhov and Kondrat Fedorov. Afonasei was taken to [work in] the Chamber of Appeals, while Kondrat had been ill for many years, and Ilia Nikiforov from the Pereiaslav desk was taken to [work for] the campaign’s Foreign Office.<sup>32</sup>



The reform continued in 1708. Among the documents is a record of the establishment of cash salaries for the senior and junior scribes transferred from the Little Russian Office to the Department of Military Affairs (*Razriad*).<sup>33</sup> Dmitrii Serov, the great specialist on the reforms of Peter I, notes that after 1707 the Little Russian Office never again fully functioned; lacking a full staff, it quietly died.

What did the transfer of jurisdiction of a range of Ukrainian cities to the *razriad* from the Little Russian Office, a part of the Foreign Office, mean? It meant the transformation of Ukraine from a “foreign,” autonomous state into a Russian province like all others. The significance of this should not be underestimated. The meaning of the reassignment was obvious to contemporaries. This is why, later, in 1722 and 1734, when the campaigns to reduce the autonomy of the Ukrainian Hetmanate were launched, the Hetmanate was twice transferred from the jurisdiction of the College of Foreign Affairs to the Senate, and why the change was later reversed, during the period of the thaw under Peter II and Elizabeth.

And the departmental reorganization of 1707 – revolutionary in its own right – was not the only step Peter took. He also undertook a large-scale territorial or provincial reform that would encompass all of Russia, including the Ukrainian Hetmanate. Historians understandably and correctly judge that this reform significantly streamlined local governance. It also helped lay the foundation for further ambitious reforms by Peter. Yet there is confusion in the historiography on the period, because of the parallel implementation of the departmental reform (the transfer to the jurisdiction of the *Razriad*), the provincial reform (the creation of *gubernias*), and the transfer of military fortresses to Russian control in 1707.

Only Pavel Miliukov has devoted attention to the Ukrainian side of the Petrine reforms, noting the transfer of the Pechers’k fortress of the city of Kyiv to Golitsyn’s control. However, Miliukov views this action solely as an effort to centralize administration of the military.<sup>34</sup> Oleksii Sokyрко has approached the issue from the same perspective – military reform.<sup>35</sup> While searching for non-existent traces of the reorganization of Cossack troops into companies (*kompanii*), he overlooked the administrative side of the reforms then being carried out. He writes: “The governor-general was charged with the basic functions of managing supply warehouses and stores, as well as arsenals and fortresses, but also the mobilization resources of the Sevsk and Belgorod military districts [*razriady*]

and the troops stationed in the territory of the Hetmanate.”<sup>36</sup> His assertion that a decree was issued directly from the tsar’s military campaign chancellery because “the register of the Little Russian Office contains no information regarding the sending of messengers to the hetman with instructions from the tsar” is completely unfounded.<sup>37</sup> Rather, no. 102, inventory 2, of the Little Russian Office at RGADA – the archival source that Sokyрко references – contains merely a “record book of the arrival of messengers and runners from Hetman Mazepa.” Likewise no. 103 of the same collection simply contains an ordinary 1707 record book that is, notably, incomplete and is not indicative of all courier dispatches.<sup>38</sup>

Paul Bushkovitch has dug much deeper into these events. He writes: “Peter’s fundamental revision of Russia’s governmental structure began in December 1707.”<sup>39</sup> However, even he concentrates on the developments of 1709 and underplays the Ukrainian aspects of the reforms. He notes that as a result of the changes, the Kyiv province was established, that the governors received greater power than the earlier *voevody*, and that they gained partial financial control over their respective districts (*uezdy*) by dispatching tax collectors, who took the place of the Muscovite offices (*prikazy*). Power essentially shifted from the *ratusha* and its network of local merchants to the governor. Of course, this did not go smoothly, for Aleksei Kurbatov, head of the Moscow *ratusha*, dragged the matter out. Bushkovitch believes that the authority of Dmitrii Golitsyn, governor of Kyiv, “was limited by the autonomy of the Ukrainian hetmanate, which limited him to a largely military role.”<sup>40</sup>

The territorial reform was rushed. It was also carried out during the years of the Great Northern War, and as a consequence, there are few traces of it in archival records. “Unfortunately,” writes Miliukov, “we do not know precisely when the cities were divided into provinces.”<sup>41</sup>

However, some traces survived. Specialists on Peter’s reforms who had not set out to examine the Ukrainian aspects of those reforms nevertheless uncovered materials that allow us to observe how events unfolded. On 18 December 1707, Peter issued a decree to the Privy Chancellery (*Blizhniaia kantseliaria*) to assign cities to the jurisdictions of Azov, Arkhangelsk, Kazan, Kyiv, Moscow, Smolensk, and so on – in other words, to divide them into provinces. Immediately after the decree was issued, at the end of December, Kyiv governor Golitsyn presented a list of the cities of the Kyiv province. Final

approval of the lists was given by Peter in February 1709, after the events of interest here.<sup>42</sup>

The Privy Chancellery discussed the first draft of the reform proposal in late 1707 and early 1708 with input from Kyiv *voevoda* Golitsyn and Kazan commandant Nikita Kudriavtsev. Both these men reported directly to the tsar and the Privy Chancellery. After their departure, a second draft of the reform proposal was prepared around 10 January 1708; it was later passed up to Peter.<sup>43</sup> What cities, then, were to become part of the Kyiv *gubernia*? The list included Pereiaslav, Chernihiv, Novobohorodyts'k, Okhtyrka, Bohodukhiv, Murafa, Sinne, Bolkhov, Sumy, Lebedyn, Krasnopillia, Vysokopillia, Mezhyrichi, Ol'shanka, Vodolaha, Mtsensk, Chern, Putyvl', Karachev, Kromy, Nizhyn, Serhiïvs'k, Kam'iany Zaton, Buromlia, Rublivka, Merefá, Horodnia, Bilhorod, Sudzha, Myropil', Bilopillia, the village of Vena, Zolochiv, Vovchans'k, Kursk, Novosil', Sevsk, Rylysk, Briansk, and Orel. In total, forty-one cities. Note that voevody from the Little Russian Office were assigned to Kyiv, Pereiaslav, Nizhyn, Chernihiv, Novobohorodyts'k, Serhiïvs'k on the Samara, and Orel-Gorodok.<sup>45</sup> Azov had been under the supervision of the *razriad* since 1700, along with all of the Russian south.<sup>46</sup>

Golitsyn introduced significant changes to the proposal. Specifically, he proposed to assign Vovchans'k (Volchi Vody), Vysokopillia, Vodolaha, Nova Perekop, Mezhyrichi, and Chern to Voronezh (the Azov *gubernia*). He also proposed moving Aleshnia, Vol'noi, Khotmyzhsk, Karpov, and Krasnyi Kut to the Kyiv *gubernia* from the Azov *gubernia*. His reason for these changes had to do with these cities' remoteness from Kyiv and Azov, respectively.<sup>47</sup> Using this same argument, Golitsyn also assigned to the Smolensk *gubernia* "Odoev from the Kyiv province instead of Trubchevsk, for the distance from there to Kyiv is 820 *versts*, but to Smolensk it is 200 *versts*."<sup>48</sup> The Kyiv *gubernia* took in almost all the cities of the Sevsk district [*razriad*], but the primary fortresses of Sloboda Ukraine became part of the Azov *gubernia*. Clearly, the process of drawing the boundaries of the *gubernias* took into account only the distances of towns from the provincial centres. The former administrative boundaries of the Ukrainian Hetmanate were completely ignored.

The position of *voevoda* of Kyiv was created not in addition to but in place of the office of *voevoda* of Belgorod, the administrative figure who had overseen the buffer zone between Russia and Ukraine.

Indeed, the reform of 1707 spelled the end of the old Little Russian Office and prepared the ground for the Little Russian Collegium (*Malorossiiskaia kollegia*), a completely new entity constructed around an entirely different conceptualization. Here the provincial reform clearly paralleled the transfer of Little Russia from the jurisdiction of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs to the Senate, a measure initiated by Peter in 1724. Thus, the reforms of 1707 served as a step toward the elimination (in practice) of Ukrainian autonomy.

The establishment of the voivodship of Kyiv did not solely involve matters of military affairs, as is customarily believed. In August the *Razriad* commanded the Little Russian Office to provide “information about the salary of the Metropolitan of Kyiv and the monasteries.”<sup>49</sup> The Little Russian Office formally replied that “the Kyiv desk [*povyťe*] has record of the Metropolitan of Kyiv, the Archbishop of Chernihiv, the monasteries of Kyiv and other Little Russian cities, and Zaporizhia.”

Golitsyn’s powers were not clearly specified, but in many ways they overlapped those of the hetman. For example, on 2 May 1707, Peter wrote to the governor: “The Lord Hetman Mazepa has been informed of many cases that ought to be readdressed to the current company, and so on, and of all points assigned to him by us; for this cause you ought to labor jointly with him as much as possible, especially to readdress those cases that belong to you, for which you ought to arrive in Kyiv as soon as possible.”<sup>50</sup> More followed. On 11 May, Peter wrote to Golitsyn regarding the construction of the Pechers’k fortress, “which to complete greatly requires workers whom the lord hetman himself promised [to send], however, none of those whom he sent will be adequate; for this reason, you ought to take [workers] from Ukraine and those cities which are in your charge, for this work, and that which is needed redirect in advance with the consent of the lord hetman.”<sup>51</sup>

Over time, the nature of this system of dual power became more apparent. In June 1708, Golitsyn wrote to the tsar to inform him that additional workers were needed to complete the fortifications in Kyiv. Peter had ordered him to take them from Mazepa. Golitsyn complained that the hetman had sent too few and was delaying sending the rest. To apply pressure on Mazepa, he asked the tsar for a letter he could use to twist the hetman’s arm.<sup>52</sup>

Another instance of Golitsyn’s interference in Mazepa’s management of the Ukrainian Hetmanate arouses even greater interest.

On 27 May 1708, the hetman was forced to justify his actions to Menshikov after a complaint was filed against him by the Kyiv *voevoda*. Golitsyn had accused Mazepa of stirring up dissatisfaction among the inhabitants of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, supposedly by raising money to pay *serdiuky* and other “men of war”; the intended recipients “[had not received] a kopeck.” This angered Mazepa, who swore that no money-raising for *serdiuky* and hired company soldiers (*kompaniitsi*) had ever occurred and that their salaries were paid out of the income from rents. To show the tsar how much money had been gathered from rents, Mazepa presented registers to Fedor Golovin in Moscow. Only during winter quartering and during campaigns did the local population provide provisions and fodder to the professional hired (*okhotnyts’ki*) troops.<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, the Ukrainian Hetmanate had a well-established system for maintaining the *kompaniitsi*.<sup>54</sup> Golitsyn’s attempt to “protect” the population, bemoan their dissatisfaction, and interject himself into the tax system should be interpreted as an early attempt by the Kyiv *voevoda* to meddle strongly in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. There is little doubt that this was not the only instance of such interference.

These reforms, documented by records in the RGADA, correspond to the plans of Peter’s entourage mentioned by Orlyk – that is, to eliminate the Cossack officer staff (*starshyna*).<sup>55</sup> The departmental reform began a few months after the previously mentioned incident. And there is little doubt that after creating the position of *voevoda* of Kyiv, officials began drawing up plans to create a corresponding administrative structure that would replace the presumably hostile Cossack officers. The reforms to the Ukrainian Hetmanate that Peter undertook in the coming years support this assertion. No less telling is Peter’s May 1708 appointment of Vasilii Dolgorukov, major of the Preobrazhenskii Regiment, “to be commander of all Muscovites, *stol’niki*, *striapchie*, nobility [*dvoriane*], courtiers [*tsaredvortsy*], city nobility, and men of arms of every rank, and mounted dragoons, and infantrymen, and Sloboda Cherkassians, and regular troops, and the many regiments of the hetman in Ukraine.”<sup>56</sup>

It should be emphasized that Peter did not perceive these reforms as targeting Mazepa personally or the Ukrainian Hetmanate in particular. They were simply a continuation of the tsar’s general reform program and integral to his territorial reform, which was designed to divide Russia into provinces. The autonomy of the Ukrainian

Hetmanate no longer fit within the structure of the Russian Empire that had taken shape in the tsar's mind. And it fit even less well within the notions of the new generation in the tsar's entourage, especially Menshikov, Dolgorukov, and Golovkin. For them, the rich lands and cities of Ukraine were a pot of gold within their reach.

Historians have ignored the Ukrainian aspects of these crucial departmental and territorial reforms and devoted their attention to the transfer of the Pechers'k fortress, built in Kyiv by order of Peter, to Golitsyn's control. The transfer of the defence of Ukrainian religious sites to the control of Russian military commanders is especially revealing in the context of Peter's edict to abandon Kyiv itself. The tsar wrote, "Leave old Kyiv empty."<sup>57</sup> This meant that St Sofia and the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy would be left exposed, which obviously would not have pleased Ukrainians.

At least formally, the transfer took place by mutual consent. On 22 November 1707 (O.S.), Mazepa wrote to Gavriil Golovkin that "the newly constructed and completed Pechers'k Fortress we will hand over to his grace the most excellent prince Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn, his royal majesty's *voevoda* of Kyiv, in accordance with mutual counsel and consent with his grace." Still, he left there five hundred "reliable" men from the Starodub Regiment with an acting colonel, staff, and a supply of "flour," meaning provisions.<sup>58</sup>

Mazepa's exasperation with his now uncertain position comes through in this letter. Previously he had answered exclusively to the tsar himself. Recall that in 1689, Peter had even given him the right to command the *voevody* in the region when setting off on a military campaign. Even during the years of the Great Northern War, the governor of Kyiv, Andrei Gulits, wrote exclusively to Mazepa on matters of internal policy, in which the hetman played a prominent role.

The situation had completely changed. Mazepa noted bitterly that he would have left additional men, if it were necessary, but that he had not received any instructions from the tsar regarding how many men to leave at the Pechers'k fortress. Conversely, "the prince, his grace the Kyiv *voevoda*, did not require more than 500."<sup>59</sup> Essentially this meant that the tsar had redelegated to the "*voevoda* of Kyiv," meaning Golitsyn, all questions regarding the fortress, including the right to "require" troops from the hetman!

This dual management of Ukrainian affairs became more noticeable in the summer of 1708. The system according to which Mazepa answered exclusively to the tsar had been disrupted, and this led to

a very confusing situation that generated a range of inconsistencies. For example, on 17 June a decree was issued ordering Mazepa to “construct some bridges near Kyiv,” but simultaneously the same order was sent “to prince Dmitrii Mikhailovich Golitsyn.”<sup>60</sup> And during the summer, Mazepa was already receiving orders simultaneously from Golitsyn, Menshikov, and Golovkin. On 25 June the hetman wrote to Menshikov, informing him that on the day before he had received the latter’s instructions to take his forces to Prypiat. The next day, another order arrived from Golovin, instructing Mazepa to go to Kyiv.<sup>61</sup>

The transfer of the fortress of Novobohorodyts'k (Novobogoroditsk) on the Samara River to the *Razriad*’s authority was also of great significance. That transfer did not take place between the *Razriad* and the Little Russian Office, but rather between the *Razriad* and the hetman’s own administration. It is important to be aware of the history of that fortress. It had been built in 1688 at the suggestion of Mazepa and was meant to serve as a new line of defence against the Tatars. Moreover, Novobohorodyts'k would enable greater control over the unreliable Zaporozhians, which, given Mazepa’s relationship with them, was of huge importance to him.

The fortress was initially subordinate to Moscow. After Cossack forces led by Mazepa proved victorious at Azov in 1701, the hetman received various rewards, including the Order of St Andrew, innumerable valuable gifts, and estates. All of this was nothing, however, compared to the following decree of the tsar: “The great sovereign deigns to entrust the city of Novobohorodyts'k on Samara with its leading servitors [*sluzhilye liudi*] and local inhabitants, save the chief servitors [*nachal'nye sluzhilye liudi*], into the possession of his royal majesty’s subject the hetman and cavalier, and that he should accept the city into his possession and announce his intentions as to how the city should operate, as he advises.”<sup>62</sup> Mazepa discussed this matter in depth during his meeting with the secretary Boris Mikhailov. It was decided that from Novobohorodyts'k, the “servitors, who live there, are to be sent to live in other Little Russian cities.” The cannons were to be removed to Okhtyrka. The hetman had received the right to “hold that city under his power.”<sup>63</sup>

The tsar’s gesture had not been arbitrary. The fortress made it possible for the hetman to control Zaporizhia, and in addition, he now had informal authority over the independent-minded knights. The same decree testifies to the favour in which Peter held Mazepa; in



effect, the tsar was handing over to the hetman all matters relating to the defence of the southern borders.

Now, in 1707, the hetman's power was being taken away. On 24 June 1707, Peter wrote a note to Streshnev: "Samara Novobohorodyts'k and the towns that belong to it, which are in the purview of the Little Russian Office, you may take with Kyiv and the other Little Russian cities (of which were written to you previously) into the *Razriad*."<sup>64</sup> On 20 July 1707, the tsar issued a decree to Shafirov: "The city of Samara Novobohorodyts'k and the towns that belong to it, which are in the purview of the Little Russian Office, are to be taken from that chancellery into the *Razriad* to the boyar Tikhon Nikitich Streshnev and his colleagues with its files of former years." Simultaneously, the "senior and junior scribes of that desk," who had been responsible for Novobohorodyts'k, "with their salaries," were given over to the *Razriad*.<sup>65</sup>

The reform led to a number of problems. On 27 June (O.S.), Shafirov issued a decree to the Novobohorodyts'k *voevoda* who "as before [reports] to the Office of Little Russia and not the *Razriad* ... because the *Razriad* has no records of those cities of Samar and Serhiivs'k."<sup>66</sup> On 5 August, all "case files of former years" concerning the Novobohorodyts'k fortress and "those cases from that register" were sent to the *Razriad*. However, officials soon learned that there were no clerks in the Little Russian Office responsible for the Novobohorodyts'k fortress and that "those files were in the possession of the *pyrsary* of the hetman's desk [*povyrt'e*] and there are none to send them to the *razriad*."<sup>67</sup>

Once again it should be emphasized that even if Peter did not specifically intend these measures to reduce the autonomy of the Hetmanate, Mazepa and the Cossack General Staff could not help but be alarmed by the tsar's administrative reforms. Those reforms were reducing the status of Ukrainian fortresses, violating the administrative borders of the Hetmanate, stripping the hetman of control over border fortifications, and expanding the powers of the governor of Kyiv. These measures were especially alarming given the circumstances of the Great Northern War, a time when unprecedented demands were being made on the Hetmanate for resources, including horses and even church treasures, and when Peter's "fledglings" felt increasingly empowered to do whatever they pleased.

It was now that the question of forming "companies" out of the Cossack regiments arose. This reform, too, did not stay on paper. On



10 August 1707, the tsar wrote to Mazepa about “the companies,” ordering that he “complete a reorganization in all the Little Russian regiments to be finished during this Fall and Winter, and that they be ready for the future campaign.” The failed campaign of Mazepa’s nephew Voinarovs’kyi, who had lost five hundred Cossacks to desertion, only increased Peter’s determination: “For nothing good has come from the [un-paid] non-company men [*nekompaneiskie*] sent; if anything, they are worse, inasmuch as they do not have a determined salary, therefore they only plunder and immediately return home.”<sup>68</sup>

Outwardly, this was billed as a reform designed to improve battle readiness, in light of a threatened Swedish offensive. Mazepa himself had pinned his hopes on professional hired (*okhotnyts’ki*) troops, believing that the old registry system posed a threat to his power. The hetman understood that the Cossack regiments had outlived their military usefulness. Military reform in Ukraine was indeed needed. But Peter was not content with military reform only. The disruption to the structure of the Cossack regiments immediately dragged into the picture the entire administrative system of the Ukrainian Hetmanate.

In a letter to Peter dated 22 August, Mazepa promised that “concerning the arrangement of companies in my regiments, I will with all meticulous diligence strive.”<sup>69</sup> On the same day, however, in a letter to Golovkin, the hetman noted that the colonels “do not reject [the decree], but they expect only trouble” with the task of reorganizing the companies during the fall and winter. The regiments were to continue to build the Pechers’k Fortress, and “in the cold and the snow,” the task of “reselect[ing] the army: who will be fit and who will not be fit for company service,” was difficult. Thus, “It would be better to implement the command in the spring.”<sup>70</sup>

The points Mazepa made in his discussion of the reform are of considerable interest. Note that this part of the letter was not published in the *Letters and Papers of Peter the Great (Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo)*. The hetman urged that the reform be carried out gradually rather than “instantly” in order that “rumours not emerge among the people.” He also advised that to begin, companies be created in only one or two regiments, perhaps those of Starodub or Chernihiv. Those two regiments were more distant from Zaporizhia and the Right Bank, and “the people [there] are humble and obedient.” Only then should they gradually begin doing the same in other regiments. Mazepa feared that if companies were

created “instantly,” by force, in all the regiments, it would foment turmoil among the people instead of improving the situation, for “this is a new thing and unusual in the Zaporozhian Host.” The hetman also shared this interesting detail: the “colonels, though they promised to fulfill [the reforms], did so with downcast and sorrowful faces and with despondent hearts,” and among themselves they feared, because of the reform, “unanticipated mutiny and turmoil throughout the whole Little Russian People.” According to Mazepa, the colonels also expressed that they had been sent a charter (*bramota*) confirming their “ancient rights and liberties,” but now “a different decree has been sent.” And in their eyes the hetman was to blame for the whole situation.<sup>71</sup>

Such testimony coincides with Orlyk’s words that “there was frequent murmuring among the colonels ... and they spoke of nothing else except that the decision to [organize into] *piataki* was a step towards turning [them] into dragoons and soldiers.” In his memoir, Dmytro Horlenko, colonel of the Pryluky Regiment, wrote that he bluntly declared to the hetman, “we and our children for countless generations will curse your soul and bones, if you at your death leave us in such bondage.”<sup>72</sup> The General Staff even brought from the Pechers’k Library the articles of the Treaty of Hadiach made by hetman Ivan Vyhovs’kyi and carefully studied them.<sup>73</sup>

According to Kochubei’s denunciation, Mazepa offered to “disband his government” – that is, resign as hetman – in response to the colonels’ dissatisfaction with his apparent intention to name his nephew Andrii Voinarovs’kyi as his successor. The hetman put forward this condition: “If there is any among you who at this time could save our country, to him I will concede, but if this burden still rests upon me, then kindly hearken to me.” The colonels unanimously assured him that under no circumstances did they wish his resignation.<sup>74</sup> This hint that opposition to the hetman was brewing among the General Staff coincides with the testimony of Ivan Iskra that Kochubei, Danylo Apostol, and Vasyl’ Chuikevych (all relatives and in-laws of one another) counselled together regarding the overthrow of Mazepa and the election of Apostol as hetman.<sup>75</sup>

Thus, one may assume that in late 1707 Mazepa was hostage to the discontent of the Cossack officers who had spoken out against the reforms being carried out by Peter. It is no wonder, then, that eminent historians such as Mykhailo Hrushevs’kyi and Dmytro Doroshenko assumed that had the hetman not gone against Peter,

the General Staff would have risen up against the hetman himself. Given that Mazepa, in a move unprecedented in his twenty-year reign, would seek the extradition and execution of Kochubei and Iskra, it is likely that there were other hints of opposition among the officers of the General Staff. Mazepa was showing them there would be little tolerance for frivolous behaviour. On the other hand, he could not simply dismiss their discontent.

Kochubei wrote in his denunciation that Mazepa, in order to “lead the people into mischief and treason,” had spread the rumour that “his royal majesty would command his unit of Cossacks to be registered as soldiers and included in the ranks.”<sup>76</sup> But, as I showed above, the plan to alter the regiments and create “companies” actually existed. If it was not immediately implemented, the delay was probably due to resistance and caution on Mazepa’s part.

In short, in 1707 Peter launched and carried out a multifaceted reform of the administration of the Ukrainian Hetmanate that greatly reduced the hetman’s administrative authority and represented a step toward the end of autonomy. Essentially, real power to govern the cities in all matters, including military matters, had shifted to the *voevoda* of Kyiv, and the hetman had become a figurehead. Control of Zaporizhia was transferred to Golitsyn. There were also serious plans to reorganize the Cossack regiments, which gave rise to talk of turning the Cossacks into regular soldiers.

Mazepa could not help but consider himself wronged. All that he had attained through long and faithful service was being wiped away in an instant by Peter through no fault on Mazepa’s part. One should note that the hetman’s contacts with the Swedes began only after the council in Zhovkva, where he first learned “officially” of Peter’s plans. Before then he had heard about them only from his Muscovite informants and friends. Still, this was not a matter of the hetman’s personal merits or the tsar’s sympathies for him. This was part of a large-scale transformation of Russia into a unitary empire. The process had been triggered by the realities of the Great Northern War, and the Ukrainian Hetmanate had become a hostage to these events.

One could ask why, in these circumstances, Mazepa did not play for time – why he did not take any concrete steps to organize an uprising, and why he did not make allies among the officers of the General Staff. Was it because he was seriously ill and lacked the strength to destroy all that he had created through years of effort?

Or did he harbour hopes until the last minute that after the war Peter would rescind his reforms (something the tsar rarely did)? Indeed, after his conversation with Mazepa in Zhovkva, when the hetman had complained about the burdens placed on the inhabitants of Ukraine by war – primarily due to troop movements – Peter had sent a charter (*gramota*) in which he promised that “at the end of this war, those who suffered hardships and losses ... will be compensated.”<sup>77</sup> However, the behaviour of Peter’s favourites, especially Menshikov, rendered these hopes illusory. It was no coincidence that Peter’s grant of a princely title for Mazepa was viewed by his contemporaries as compensation for the hetman’s loss of power.

It is clear that Mazepa struggled with doubts to the last. As the next chapter will show, he saw no real alternative to the alliance with Russia. But Peter’s decree to turn the Starodub Regiment into “scorched earth” was a point of no return.<sup>78</sup> The decree was issued in September or October 1708. Mazepa did not believe it possible that his people could be compensated for the losses they would suffer by this, and he did not expect, if the decree were obeyed, any response except widespread revolt.<sup>79</sup>

Immediately after the Great Northern War, Peter would return to his reform of the administration of the Ukrainian Hetmanate. In 1722, by royal decree, the Little Russian Collegium was founded, consisting of six staff officers of Great Russian garrisons located in Ukraine and chaired by Brigadier Vel'iaminov. The collegium was to serve as the highest appellate court, monitor the administrative activities of the General Staff and the hetman himself, and ensure the collection of provisional and financial resources from the population, proper expenditures, and the quartering of standing regiments deployed in Ukraine. Skoropads'kyi’s protest and death resulted in the elimination of the post of hetman. In 1783, the Cossack regiments were discontinued.

## The Tragedy of Choice

Thus, by the autumn of 1708 the Ukrainian Hetmanate was in crisis: administrative reforms that drastically reduced the Hetmanate's autonomy, the discontent of Cossack officers, mob riots, growing interference by Russian officials in Ukraine's affairs, Swedish military aggression, the "scorched earth" policy. All of these things taken together, along with the worsening illness of the hetman and his personal troubles (the deaths of his nephew and mother, the conflict with Vasyli' Kochubei), generated enormous, dangerous tension, which could not but lead to an explosion.

Meanwhile, the foreign policy challenges Peter faced grew ever more complicated: the failed campaigns of the Great Northern War, the loss of a major ally after Augustus II abdicated the Polish throne and signed an agreement with Charles XII, the difficult quest for foreign alliances, the rebellion of the Don Cossacks led by Kondratii Bulavin.

Mazepa continued to serve as an obedient instrument of Peter's will. There is no evidence to support the persistent myth that the hetman had been "treasonous" long before the events of 1708. Although Mazepa's negotiations with Leszczyński and Charles XII have been thoroughly studied,<sup>1</sup> I feel it necessary to review the chronology of events and to assess what agreements were involved.

First of all, from the very outset Mazepa categorically opposed the Northern War and the alliance with Augustus II.<sup>2</sup> After reading the alliance agreement between Russia and the Polish Commonwealth in 1701, the hetman stated frankly that he expected nothing good from the Poles.<sup>3</sup> In 1703, he informed Peter that Charles XII was planning a campaign in Ukraine and had promised supporters of

Leszczyński to return all of Ukraine to Polish rule. Mazepa had no doubt that these plans of the Swedes inspired great enthusiasm in the Commonwealth.<sup>4</sup>

During the siege of Zamość in the late autumn of 1705, an envoy from Leszczyński, a nobleman (*szlachcic*) named Wolski, came to Mazepa for secret negotiations. The hetman arrested him, ordered him to be tortured, and commanded that the “interrogation minutes” and the instructions from Leszczyński be sent to the tsar.<sup>5</sup>

As is well-known, Pylyp Orlyk wrote of Mazepa’s secret negotiations with Princess Anna Dolska (Leszczyński’s aunt), which according to Orlyk took place after the visit of the Pryluky colonel Dmytro Horlenko with the hetman (that is, no earlier than December 1705). But what sort of “negotiations” were these in reality? Orlyk provides the condescending commentary of Mazepa himself, who explained that Dolska had been hoping to reconcile Leszczyński and Peter with his help.<sup>6</sup> What Dolska actually said, and what Mazepa relayed to Peter, one is unlikely ever to know. That being said, we cannot trust Kochubei’s contention that Mazepa personally told him that Dolska had promised to make him the prince of Chernihiv and to procure “liberties” for the Zaporozhian Host from Leszczyński.<sup>7</sup>

Given that in November 1705 Mazepa did not hesitate to forward letters from Leszczyński and the Swedish chancellor Piper to Moscow,<sup>8</sup> we can assume that his correspondence and friendship with Princess Anna Dolska were in fact, for the hetman, a means of collecting information. He was taking advantage of every opportunity to hold all the threads of the diplomatic game in his hands, and the influential woman in Leszczyński circle was a convenient informant.

But this is not to exclude the romantic nature of their relationship. For example, the princess sent Mazepa an expensive “bedding” (*postel'*) and musicians. In turn, at a dinner with the Cossack officers Mazepa drank to Dolska’s health, pronouncing a toast: “Let us drink to the health of the princess, Her Grace, a noble and intelligent lady, my darling [*holubka*]”.<sup>9</sup> Andrii Voinarovs'kyi later related that Dolska promised to marry Mazepa.<sup>10</sup> It is possible that Mazepa found solace in the princess after his failed romance with Motria.<sup>11</sup>

In the summer of 1706, Mazepa supposedly received a letter from Dolska in which she asked on Stanisław’s behalf “to begin the planned business,” promising to send “insurance” (*assekuratsiia*) from Leszczyński and a guarantee from the Swedish king. Orlyk related Mazepa’s heated reply from memory.<sup>12</sup> One could distrust

this source, but a year and a half later, as will be shown below, Mazepa would repeat his opinion of Dolska to Adam Sieniawski. Orlyk also asserted that the hetman ordered him to write to Dolska, demanding an end to the correspondence.<sup>13</sup>

Summing up the events of 1705–06, it is clear that Mazepa as yet had no thought of an alliance with the Swedes. The Swedes, for their part, did not view the hetman as a potential ally. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain why, being on the Right Bank, in close proximity to the Swedes, Mazepa not only did not attempt to connect with them (having at his disposal almost 30,000 Cossacks), but did not even begin negotiations with them, and, on the contrary, launched significant attacks on them. Again, when in the spring of 1706 Colonel Ivan Myrovych, a close friend of Mazepa, fell into the hands of the Swedes, the Swedes refused to return him, despite all the hetman's efforts.

Only under the pressure of the tragic events in Zhovkva in the spring of 1707 did Mazepa begin real negotiations with the supporters of Stanisław Leszczyński's camp, through a Jesuit named Zieleński ("In the meantime, the devil brought the Jesuit Zieleński from Lviv"), with whom he held talks alone behind closed doors.<sup>14</sup> At least, this is how Orlyk described the course of events.

But either Orlyk did not know everything or he was not entirely frank in his letter to S. Iavors'kyi (the first is more likely). In any event, a letter from Mazepa of May 1707 to Krzysztof Kazimierz Sienicki, general of the artillery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, contains these remarkable words: "Until then I shall still maintain secrecy, while the grass grows, but I assure you that soon, having joined with Your Grace my lord [*pan*], we shall come to Moscow. Tomorrow I shall send to Lewenhaupt Lord Krzyszpin, a field secretary, to establish relations; I shall send Mickiewicz to King Stanisław before long with an expression of my goodwill."<sup>15</sup>

This was the very Sienicki (who throughout 1706 did not allow Mazepa's troops into Bykhaw)<sup>16</sup> who in May 1707 arranged the massacre of Russian units in Belarus. Kochubei wrote in his denunciation that Mazepa rejoiced greatly at this news.<sup>17</sup>

Of course, such contacts were risky for the hetman. But what was behind this? It is entirely likely that Mazepa wanted to know better the plans and capabilities of Leszczyński's supporters. In any case, the matter did not go beyond words and promises on his part.

It was in this key that Mazepa also wrote to Hieronim Lubomirski, grand crown hetman and a supporter of Leszczyński: "I promise to

work hard if my advice can have an effect.” But in the same letter he spoke of Peter as his “Most Serene Monarch His Tsarist Majesty.”<sup>18</sup> As soon as the matter involved concrete steps in relation to the Poles, the hetman’s tone changed dramatically.

In September 1707, Mazepa received a message from Princess Dolska with a letter from Leszczyński, “to begin the intended matter.” The Poles had by then prepared a twelve-point agreement (which, however, they did not send to Mazepa).<sup>19</sup> The hetman did not “begin” anything. If one believes Orlyk, he sent an answer to Leszczyński, explaining that for a number of reasons he could not join him (he also referred to the hostile attitude of the Right Bank toward the Commonwealth and noted that “the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is still divided and at odds with itself”).<sup>20</sup> Mazepa was even going to send Leszczyński’s letter to the tsar and to Golovkin, but at his mother’s behest he did not do so.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, as will be seen below, he still sent some messages from the Pole to the tsar.

According to Orlyk, having received Leszczyński’s letter, Mazepa told him, “Without extreme, utmost need I will not change my loyalty to His Tsarist Majesty.”<sup>22</sup> Thus he initiated Orlyk into the secret of the negotiations with the Poles.

Historians have never set out to verify whether these words corresponded to the truth. Nor have they wondered what was really behind the negotiations. For at least another year and a half, Mazepa refused “to start the matter,” as Leszczyński and Dolska constantly asked him to do. In 1707, Russia’s position was worse than in the autumn of 1708, and Mazepa had more troops at his disposal. Moreover, if the decision had in fact been taken, he had eighteen months to prepare for the uprising. But Mazepa did not make any military preparations to act against Peter.

Thus, it seems Mazepa was not dissimulating. As I will show, his words reflected the essence of his policy at that time – a desperate search for the most favourable alliance that would allow him to save an economically flourishing Ukraine from the Swedes and at the same time preserve Ukraine’s autonomy.

A legend that has been preserved in Pereiaslav serves as striking evidence of Mazepa’s desperate efforts to solve the situation. It is said that in those difficult days the hetman was passing by the Church of the Intercession when the horse under him took a nasty fall. From the crowd a voice rang out: “This is not good, that our



nobleman fell!” The hetman went into the church, fell to his knees before the image of the Mother of God, and prayed for a long time. Tears flowed from his eyes, and when he kissed the image, a tear flowed from the eyes of the virgin, traces of which are visible to this day.<sup>23</sup> This tradition, passed down by an aged eyewitness, testifies to contemporaries’ awareness of the tragedy of the choice that faced Mazepa.

According to the Prussian ambassador, von Keyserling, in December 1707 Mazepa sent Peter the news that Leszczyński was urging him to abandon the tsar and to accept Polish rule.<sup>24</sup> Other evidence confirms this surprising fact. In January 1708, Charles Whitworth, the English ambassador to the Russian court, wrote:

Hetman Mazepa ... informs His Majesty that King Stanisław makes every effort to persuade the Cossacks to his side with lavish promises, and sent to them several trusted individuals, one of whom fell into the hands of the hetman. According to Mazepa, these intrigues completely swayed the chief Cossack officers, but he did not dare take violent measures against them, because of the importance and connections of these persons among the Cossacks; he promised, however, to do everything possible through lenience to persuade them again to the tsar’s side, as well as to keep the rest from shirking their duties.<sup>25</sup>

Even if one assumes that Mazepa did this for fear of Kochubei’s denunciation, one comes to believe once again that the hetman was playing a double game until the end. Moreover, according to Orlyk, Mazepa learned of Kochubei’s denunciation only in February 1708 – that is, after he informed Peter of Leszczyński’s letters.<sup>26</sup>

Mazepa was always so secretive that now, after three hundred years, it is almost impossible to say with certainty what was on his mind. In this context, the hetman’s contacts with the Polish magnate Adam Sieniawski provide very important material for consideration. Their correspondence makes it possible for us to completely reassess the events that preceded Mazepa’s final move to the Swedes.

Since 1704, on Peter’s orders, Mazepa and Grand Crown Hetman Adam Sieniawski had been conducting a correspondence, mainly for the purpose of coordinating military operations. By the end of 1707 the situation began to change dramatically. Sieniawski’s wife, Elizabeth, was a passionate admirer of Leszczyński and Charles XII

and sought by all possible means to influence her spouse to end his support for Peter and Augustus II.

At Christmas 1708, the Jesuit Zieleński, whom Mazepa had met with in Bakhmach and on his estate of Honcharivka, again visited the hetman. The Jesuit brought Leszczyński's universal of 22 November 1707, in which he promised to expand the rights and liberties of the Zaporozhian Host and urged the Cossacks to favour "their hereditary lord [*dedichnyi pan*]." <sup>27</sup> Mazepa did not respond. <sup>28</sup>

In January 1708, Peter ordered Mazepa to exchange representatives (*rezidenty*) with Sieniawski. Grabia was sent to Baturyn, which displeased the Ukrainian hetman, who obviously did not want to have a spy right under his nose. <sup>29</sup> But Mazepa and Sieniawski decided to exchange a special secret code, especially after it became clear that their previous correspondence had been monitored.

Orest Subtelny has shown that the two hetmans were well aware of each other's intrigues, especially about their contacts with Leszczyński. <sup>30</sup> At the same time, the two men assured each other to the contrary. For example, in a letter dated 27 January 1708 Mazepa declared that he "with the whole Zaporozhian Host was ready to die for the interests of my Monarch." <sup>31</sup> But his next letter on the same date is even more interesting. In it, the Ukrainian hetman wrote Sieniawski that "I would not trade my conscience, integrity, piety, and faith not only for Her Grace Princess Dolska, but for the whole world." <sup>32</sup> Mazepa stressed that he had also served Peter's father and brother and "only death itself" would free him from this oath. He gave examples of the valiant, tragic participation of Ukrainian Cossacks in the battles of the Great Northern War and called the whole matter "old wives' tales."

At the same time, in March 1708, Mazepa in his reports to Peter's entourage never ceased to complain about Sieniawski's demands that he send Cossack troops to join the Poles. He said that the grand crown hetman used expressions "of a sort that were inappropriate for me to tolerate from him." <sup>33</sup>

Mazepa expressed grave doubts whether it would be prudent to send a 6,000-man Cossack corps to Greater Poland and Prussia, and one under the command of the Poles at that. He was not certain which side the Poles favoured, especially the standing army (*wojsko kwarciane* in Polish), which was "by nature unfaithful." And while Mazepa surmised in one of his first March letters to Aleksandr Menshikov that Sieniawski for his own personal interests would

adhere to an alliance with Peter,<sup>34</sup> in a letter dated 9 March he expressed doubt concerning the Pole's true intentions.

The Ukrainian hetman's doubts were only reinforced when he heard of Sieniawski's talks with a representative from Leszczyński (a certain Crown *Kuchmistrz* Tarlo), as well as with Prince Czartoryski. He concluded that "there is nothing good or useful there for his Tsarist Majesty."<sup>35</sup> Mazepa provided very valuable information, which is in no way consistent with the idea that he was seeking an agreement with Leszczyński.

Mazepa's doubts also stemmed from the actions of Sieniawski's deputy (*regimentarii*), "a certain Sweniarski," who first won a major victory over the Swedes and then went over to their side, persuaded the palatine of Kyiv to join him, and attacked Seliunia. From this episode, the Ukrainian hetman drew conclusions about "Polish [*liashskoe*] constancy," adding that the Poles could not be on friendly terms with the Cossacks, toward whom "they have a primordial hostility." And as for Sieniawski himself, "only God sees the heart ... whether good or evil."<sup>36</sup>

Mazepa's intelligence network had highly detailed information about Sieniawski's activities. On 2 April 1708, Mazepa reported to Menshikov news he had received from his Lviv representative (*rezident*). Apparently, the crown subchamberlain (boundary dispute judge) Lubomirski and Sieniawski's wife had held long conferences in Warsaw with the French envoy and then gone to Iaroslavl, where Sieniawski himself also went. There he must have held talks with Lubomirski, who had instructions "from the opposing side." In particular, if Sieniawski consented to join Leszczyński's supporters, the palatine of Kyiv was ready to hand him the mace of the grand crown hetman. According to Mazepa, the French envoy and the papal nuncio had played an active role in recruiting Sieniawski.<sup>37</sup>

Besides reporting to Russian dignitaries about Sieniawski's contacts with supporters of Leszczyński, Mazepa expressed his distrust in letters to the Polish hetman himself.<sup>38</sup>

At the end of April the situation changed. Mazepa sent a courier to Sieniawski, who was to explain personally the difficulties of the existing situation.<sup>39</sup> At the same time Mazepa insisted that Grabia receive Sieniawski's secret code.<sup>40</sup>

Orlyk wrote that Mazepa had taken a secret oath at Bila Tserkva with the general quartermaster (*heneral'nyi oboznyi*) Ivan Lomykovs'kyi and the colonels Danylo Apostol, Dmytro Horlenko, and Dmytro

Zelens'kyi.<sup>41</sup> This was after Mazepa had received letters from Peter and Golovkin that they did not believe Kochubei's denunciation. So the oath must have been taken no earlier than April or May of 1708, most likely closer to June. It is then that one can observe major changes in the hetman's behaviour.

In June 1708, Charles XII launched his "Russian campaign." In Europe, no one doubted that it would end with the same success as Charles's ventures in Denmark, Saxony, and the Commonwealth. Mazepa, who had an extensive intelligence network in Europe, had to be aware of these sentiments. In the first battle at Holowczyn on 2 July 1708, the Russian army suffered defeat and retreated with severe difficulty. The belief in the omnipotence of the Swedes now grew even stronger.

That the Cossack elite was unhappy and even in October 1707 were reading the Treaty of Hadiach is known not only from Orlyk,<sup>42</sup> but, which is much more important, from Kochubei.<sup>43</sup> It is clear that Orlyk was not privy to all the details and that the circle of officers who knew about all this was wider than he described.<sup>44</sup> Recall another interesting case of the officers turning to the Treaty of Hadiach. In 1703 the Starodub Colonel Myklashevs'kyi had conducted secret negotiations through his secretary (*pysar*) with the castellan of Troki, Michał Kocielł. A version of the Treaty of Hadiach was again the topic of discussion: "The Ukrainian rights will be the same as those of the Commonwealth of Crown Poland and Lithuania, and one third of the Commonwealth will be Ukrainian." Furthermore, there would be the same representation of senators from Ukraine as from the Crown and Lithuania. (Myklashevs'kyi stressed that Mazepa had not been informed of these negotiations.)<sup>45</sup>

Subsequently, Ivan Skoropads'kyi told the son of Zakhar Patoka: "This is why he recalls the Swedish war and treason and that of Mazepa. We all knew about this betrayal before the arrival of the Swedish army."<sup>46</sup>

It was in June 1708, apparently, that Mazepa concluded his first agreement with the Swedes. The Lyzohub Chronicle reports that, while in Fastiv and Bila Tserkva, "the hetman also made an agreement with the Swede through a priest."<sup>47</sup> If one trusts this source, Iakiv Lyzohub went to the crown hetman on this mission.<sup>48</sup> At the same time, as noted earlier, Mazepa sold his beloved Great Russian estates.

To be sure, Piper contradicts this course of events: he said to Peter, "Mazepa was completely unknown to us until the moment when he

... sent us his ambassador [Bystryts'kyi] and through him suggested to His Royal Grace that he wanted to submit to His Royal Grace.” I share the opinion of Borys Krupnyts'kyi that one cannot believe this statement (“Who will believe Piper, that Mazepa was unknown to the Swedish leaders, and especially to Charles XII, all the way up to his arrival in Ukraine?”).<sup>49</sup> Moreover, the secretary of Charles XII’s field chancellery, Josias Cederhielm, wrote in November 1708: “Already over the course of several years secret negotiations had been conducted ... King Stanisław handled these matters personally through Princess Dolska, the mother of Prince Wiśniowiecki, who maintained and sent correspondence with Mazepa.”<sup>50</sup>

The question of with whom and about what Mazepa in fact negotiated was raised again by Dmytro Doroshenko.<sup>51</sup> This question is not as rhetorical as it may seem. After Peter’s propagandistic manifesto, the claim that Mazepa gave Ukraine to the Poles (“to subjugate the Little Russian land under Polish dominion as before”)<sup>52</sup> became a popular cliché.<sup>53</sup> In fact, there is no more truth to this statement than in the accusation that Mazepa intended to give to the Uniates “the [Orthodox] churches of God and the renowned monasteries.”

Swedish sources indicate that contacts by the Swedish side with the administration of the Ukrainian Hetmanate began only in the spring of 1708.<sup>54</sup> Before that, throughout 1707, Charles XII did not want to hear of Ukraine. Although during the negotiations the matter of coordinating Swedish, Polish, and Ukrainian troops in Charles XII’s summer operations against Russia was discussed, the Swedish king did not plan a campaign directly to Ukraine, and he turned from Belarus strictly because of problems supplying the army.<sup>55</sup>

As for negotiations with the Poles, Mazepa had no written agreement with them. As noted earlier, he did not respond to the universal that Leszczyński had sent and no longer communicated with him. In July 1708, Mazepa received “a libellous, tantalizing page” from Tarlo the *kukhmistr*, Leszczyński’s messenger. Without hesitation, Mazepa sent it to Peter and a copy to Menshikov.<sup>56</sup>

Leszczyński himself wrote in September 1708: “Mazepa sent me several messengers with confirmation of the promises given to me earlier; he asked for help, assuring me as before that upon my approach he would resume communication with me and use it to the benefit of his country. His Majesty the king of Sweden knows all that has happened in this regard.”<sup>57</sup> That is all. There is no talk

of any agreement. On the contrary, in September 1708 Leszczyński suggested that, having entered Ukraine, he would be forced “to fight with Mazepa in the event that he did not keep his word.”<sup>58</sup>

With respect to the agreement with the Swedes concluded in June 1708, several sources provide knowledge of its contents:

- 1 “Devolution of the rights of Ukraine,” compiled by Pylyp Orlyk in 1712. This work practically repeated the articles of Mazepa’s agreement with Charles XII, in particular, that Ukraine joined the Swedes “to better secure their liberty,” and the Swedish king pledged to defend it. The Ukrainian Hetmanate was declared a principality, and Mazepa the prince of Ukraine; moreover, the Swedish king had no right to arrogate to himself the coat of arms and title of prince of Ukraine. There was no mention of the Poles or of joining the Commonwealth.<sup>59</sup>
- 2 “The diary of the military operations of the Battle of Poltava.” From this it is known that Golovin and Shafirov found letters from Mazepa in the papers of Charles XII, in which it was indicated that Ukraine constituted a separate principality not subordinate to Moscow.<sup>60</sup>
- 3 Peter himself in his momentous speech before the Battle of Poltava said that Mazepa intended to tear Ukraine from Russia and make it a special principality under his rule.<sup>61</sup>
- 4 “A chronicle [*Letopisnoe povestvovaniie*] of Little Russia.” The author, Oleksandr Rihel'man, reported from the words of Colonel Hnat Halahan, with whom he had met personally in 1745 in Pryluky (the latter lived a long life), that Mazepa declared to the officers: “for us to leave Russia and to be under Mazepa’s rule, free from all monarchs.”<sup>62</sup> There is no reason to suppose that Halagan or Rigelman would have been protecting Mazepa.
- 5 Talman, an Austrian diplomat in Istanbul, reported in July 1709 that Mazepa had proposed to the Porte “that the Cossacks should be confirmed once again in their old rights and as a free people between Moscow and the Ottoman Empire thereby pose a strong barrier.”<sup>63</sup>

These sources convincingly refute the version articulated by an unnamed Swedish major that Mazepa supposedly was to become

Prince of Vitebsk and Polatsk (with the same rights as the Duchy of Courland). The Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Smolensk principalities would go to the Poles, and Sivershchyna (the region around Novhorod-Sivers'kyi) to the Swedes.<sup>64</sup> It is entirely unclear why Vladimir Artamonov blindly quotes this unreliable source, moreover attributing it to Gustaf Adlerfelt.<sup>65</sup>

Thus, Mazepa intended to create an independent principality (a return to the idea of “the principality of Rus”) with the help of the Swedes. There was no discussion of any subordination to the Poles. To what extent did the hetman believe in such a possibility? It is difficult to say. In any case, by forging an agreement with the Swedes, Mazepa was making a desperate attempt to use Adam Sieniawski and to replace Leszczyński, whom he evidently did not trust very much, with him.

At the end of July, F. Grabe, in the strictest secrecy, using secret code, reported to Sieniawski information he had received from the Ukrainian hetman. Mazepa had relayed the sensational news that King Augustus would not be returning to the Commonwealth, because he did not like Menshikov and did not trust the Russians. In view of this, Mazepa suggested that Sieniawski himself take the Polish crown.<sup>66</sup> Mazepa thought it logical that the Polish grand crown hetman become king and mentioned the example of Jan Sobieski, who had also received the crown at a critical moment for the Commonwealth.<sup>67</sup> Mazepa promised to support Sieniawski and hinted that when the Swedes went to Moscow, they both must be ready to act. Whatever Sieniawski decided, Mazepa was prepared to agree with him.<sup>68</sup>

This proposal to Sieniawski was a testing of the ground. At the same time, Mazepa hinted to the Pole that Peter also regarded him favourably and would support him in his plans to obtain the Polish crown. In fact (as Mazepa likely knew), offers of the crown had in fact been made to Sieniawski on Peter's behalf.

Thus, by the end of July 1708, even in secret negotiations with the Poles the Ukrainian hetman still did not declare a break with the tsar. But he clearly did not want to negotiate with Leszczyński, the Swedes' puppet, and was seeking an alternative to him.

It is entirely possible that the information Mazepa sent to Sieniawski prompted this behaviour. Since Sieniawski's letters have not survived, this news is known only from Mazepa's retelling in a letter to Menshikov on 12 July: “Lord Sieniawski, the grand crown hetman, now writes to me that if King Stanisław with part of the Swedish army

and with other forces from his own party should enter the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, then surely one could expect a new revolution of some sort in all the palatinates of the Polish crown.”<sup>69</sup>

The figure of Leszczyński always prompted a negative reaction from Mazepa. In a letter to Menshikov, Mazepa recounted the very remarkable case of a Cossack who fell into Swedish captivity. To escape, he presented himself as a native of Lviv, whence the Cossacks supposedly had taken him by force into their regiment as a barber. Everything would have been fine, but Leszczyński, also in the room, heard these words. He turned to the Swedish general and asked why he did not execute this “half-Pole” (*poluliakh*), adding that it was from such as these that the greatest trouble came, because they knew all the Polish customs and helped the Cossacks.<sup>70</sup> This story reflects the Polish magnate Leszczyński’s typical attitude toward the Cossacks in general and toward their supporters in particular, which could not but remind Mazepa of the difficult times of his youth. Also, he likely did not trust the Protestant Swedes, of whom there were extremely negative memories in the Commonwealth from the time of the Polish–Swedish wars (“the Deluge”). The Ukrainian hetman’s opinion of King Charles, whom he described to the French Ambassador Jean de Baluze as “too young,” is also known.<sup>71</sup> Finally, we have a secret message from an informant of Mazepa, which said “that the Poles hate the hetman more than Moscow loves him.”<sup>72</sup>

In August 1708, the Russians fought back against the Swedes at the villages of Dobre and Raïvka. There were reasons to think that the course of events might change in Peter’s favour. Meanwhile, in Europe, rumours about Leszczyński’s negotiations with Mazepa continued to spread (the blame for this lay with Leszczyński, who probably sought to highlight his achievements in bringing the Ukrainian Cossacks to Charles XII’s side). Orlyk wrote that in the Commonwealth, “Mazepa’s accord with Stanisław and [their] agreements became known everywhere.”<sup>73</sup> This situation did not at all suit the Ukrainian hetman, who for a long time had kept the negotiations secret. In view of the increased danger of exposure, the Ukrainian hetman insisted in correspondence with Adam Sieniawski on maintaining the secrecy of the information he reported.

In early August, Mazepa again hinted to Sieniawski that the Russians would never send troops into the Commonwealth, as an “important personage” in the tsar’s circle saw danger from both the Polish nobility and the Polish soldiers.<sup>74</sup> Evidently, he was referring to Menshikov.



The situation that had developed in the theatre of war by late August (Swedish troops were already in Mahilioŭ) put Mazepa in a corner, and he still did not see an acceptable solution. The tone of Mazepa's missives to the Polish hetman now changed dramatically. Again and again he implored Sieniawski and his representative (*rezident*) not to disseminate information known to them,<sup>75</sup> and he tried to obtain their oaths to keep secret the information they received from him. Sieniawski honoured this request. On 20 August, in a letter to the "tsarist ministers," the Polish hetman assured them (obviously falsely): "I am certain that Lord Hetman Mazepa maintains his loyal constancy and good will toward his sovereign."<sup>76</sup>

In a report dated 23 August 1708, Grabia depicted the situation in detail from Mazepa's words. The Ukrainian hetman repeated that it was impossible to trust the Russians, for they were focused solely on preserving their own country and gave no thought for the interests of Augustus and the Poles. Mazepa explained that the tsar had taken the best Cossack troops ("15,000 good troops") away from him, and that only 2,800 "youths without horses" remained at the hetman's disposal.<sup>77</sup>

The Ukrainian hetman repeated once more that in these circumstances Augustus would not return to the Commonwealth, and even if he did, he would not be able to oppose the Swedes, for the tsar in the present circumstances would offer him neither military nor monetary assistance. Besides which, Menshikov would undermine the interests of Augustus. Mazepa suggested, therefore, that Sieniawski decide whether or not to abandon his support for Augustus and inform him of his decision. If Sieniawski were to turn from Augustus, the hetman was ready to support him, using all the forces of Ukraine. He hoped to reclaim his troops that had been sent away and to join the Don Cossacks. Grabia noted that the discontent of Mazepa, the Cossack officers, and the Cossacks with the "Muscovite protectorate" was growing day by day.

At the same time, the Ukrainian hetman gave the Pole secret information from one of the Russian "ministers" that owing to the influence of the Lubomirskis, neither Peter nor Augustus trusted Sieniawski anymore. In particular, Mazepa cited information that Menshikov had ordered an announcement in the field church that peace would soon be concluded. None of the allies had been informed of this. Mazepa still preferred Sieniawski to Leszczyński and was angry at the indecision of the former. He even told the Polish representative

that if Sieniawski did not take advantage of the present opportunity, he would answer for it before the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and God. Grabia also made his personal observation that the Cossacks would be happy to throw off the Muscovite “yoke” and in this respect very much hoped for Sieniawski’s protection.<sup>78</sup>

Why did Sieniawski not act on Mazepa’s proposals? Most likely, a principal reason was Mazepa’s stance on the issue of Right Bank Ukraine: he categorically opposed the transfer of these lands to the Poles (see above). In addition, the Ukrainian hetman had been playing a complex game for a long time, reporting to Moscow secret information about Sieniawski’s negotiations, which did not help establish trust between them.

On 23 September, Mazepa informed Grabia that he had received a decree from the tsar not to trust Sieniawski.<sup>79</sup> He again insisted that Sieniawski make a decision. He said that the tsar knew that Sieniawski had a representative from the Swedish king (was it not from Mazepa himself that Peter knew this?). Grabia emphasized that he had no doubts concerning the hetman’s sincerity. He also reported that the colonels agreed with Mazepa, had major grievances against the tsar, and wanted to take advantage of this opportunity. (Thus, one sees once again that the circle of those informed of this matter was wider than Orlyk would try to portray it.)<sup>80</sup>

Apostol later claimed that he saw only Leszczyński’s “privilege” (apparently, the same universal mentioned above), which promised Ukraine the same liberties as those belonging to the Polish Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (that is, an analogue of the Treaty of Hadiach).<sup>81</sup> Orlyk wrote that Mazepa had already shown this universal to the officers in October 1708, when the order to burn the Starodub Regiment arrived.<sup>82</sup> But most likely this was the Cossack officers’ attempt to justify themselves in Peter’s eyes.

Mazepa himself vacillated until the last.<sup>83</sup> In fact, he did absolutely nothing to prepare for his transfer of allegiance to the Swedes, to create a pro-Swedish coalition, or to complicate the position of the Russian forces in Ukraine. Even in April 1708, he gave the order to supply the dragoons of the main Russian regiments with provisions.<sup>84</sup> On 25 June 1708 (that is, after he had come to secret agreements with the Swedes), the hetman sent “an order” (*ordynans*) to the Starodub and Chernihiv colonels, “so that they, joining with their own regiments, would go where it was more convenient to the Dnipro, and there search the roads, and find out carefully

about the enemy's movements."<sup>85</sup> At the same time, the General Chancellery (that is, on Mazepa's orders) drew up "roads" (routes) for the Russian dragoons, for them to use to enter Ukraine.<sup>86</sup> Von Keyserling noted in his report that just a few days before going over to the Swedes, Mazepa gave "good advice on how to situate the Muscovite army most advantageously and how best to attack and defeat its powerful and numerous enemy."<sup>87</sup>

It is not clear how these actions could be combined with a plan for a military alliance with the Swedes.

Hopes for the return of the regiments were not realized. Mazepa wrote to Menshikov that he had received an order from Golovkin to go to Starodub with all speed. The hetman explained that he could not counter the enemy, since he had only five thousand men at his disposal, including the town (Registered) Cossacks and the mercenary and Great Russian regiments. One regiment of hired infantry (*serdiuk* regiment) was at Bila Tserkva, as part of two Great Russian regiments in the Pechers'k fortress, having there replaced the Hadiach regiment that had been sent to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>88</sup>

On 10 August 1708, Mazepa dispatched the Nizhyn and Pereiaslav Regiments (two thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry) under the command of the main army.<sup>89</sup> Mazepa sent one thousand Cossacks (infantry) from the Starodub and Chernihiv Regiments to Bykhaw in August 1708, to reinforce the Russian garrison.<sup>90</sup> On 4 August, Peter ordered Mazepa: "as a party [detachment] with the Kyiv colonel was dispatched to Poland long ago, also send three or four thousand more to the same place. And now send a decree to the Kyiv colonel for him to go as soon as possible to the Polish hetman: this is very necessary."<sup>91</sup> Peter explained this by the need "to support friendly Poles."<sup>92</sup> On September 7, Peter wrote to Vasilii Dolgorukov: "Hetman Mazepa asked us about the Cossack troops who are on the Don under the command of the Poltava colonel and of the other cavalry colonel, that if they are now no longer needed, then to let them go to him, the hetman. And upon your receipt of this [letter] release these Cossack troops to the hetman, immediately, if they are not needed on the Don."<sup>93</sup>

Mazepa himself drew the complete picture of the disposition of Ukrainian forces in a dispatch to Peter on 10 August 1708. He reported that he had sent off 4,500 "select" Cossacks from the Registered Cossack regiments and 800 cavalry to Propoisk, and the Pereiaslav

and Nizhyn Regiments (3,000) to Smolensk. The Kyiv Regiment was in the Commonwealth with the Right Bank regiments, the Starodub and Chernihiv Regiments in Propoisk, the Poltava Regiment with the cavalry on the Don, and the Hadiach at the Pechers'k fortress. Only five Registered Cossack regiments remained with Mazepa himself, some "greenhorns" on inferior horses (2,800) and one company regiment.<sup>94</sup> What other explanation is needed as to why so few Cossacks followed Mazepa?

Obviously, the Swedes' march on Ukraine began without a prior agreement with Mazepa, and the hetman was entirely unprepared for it.

The approach of Swedish forces and Peter's decree to turn the Starodub Regiment into scorched earth left the Ukrainian hetman no choice. Orlyk wrote explicitly that the decree for Mazepa to join General Nikolai Iflant "to burn the small towns, villages, barns, and mills in the Starodub Regiment" was the turning point.<sup>95</sup> Summoning those officers who were privy to the matters at hand, Mazepa asked for advice on what to do. "They all unanimously refused to follow Peter's decree, so that he did not go, and they advised that he immediately send a petition for protection to the Swedish king."<sup>96</sup>

But even then Mazepa hesitated. He pretended to be deathly ill, thus avoiding a meeting with Menshikov. Upon the urging of the officers ("it was unknown why the delay"), the hetman said angrily that "that damned bald Lomykovs'kyi" had incited them, and declared: "You are not giving advice, you are only gossiping about me: damn you!" In Orlyk's words one can sense a hint of the officers' conspiracy against the hetman, should he decide not to join the Swedes.

It was at the officers' urging (so Orlyk claimed) that a letter was drafted to Count Piper in Latin, which Mazepa's apothecary translated into German. There was no signature or seal on it. Bystryts'kyi went with this letter to the Swedish king and returned with the oral communication that Charles XII was hurrying to join him.

On the whole, this evidence seems correct, although it does not account for certain details<sup>97</sup> (it is possible they were simply forgotten by Orlyk over the course of fourteen years). For example, according to Bystryts'kyi himself it is known that he was "sent twice with letters" to the Swedish king,<sup>98</sup> which Swedish sources have fully confirmed. Interestingly, when Bystryts'kyi went to the Swedes (presumably for the first time), he met with his friend, the local prefect (*viit*), in Sheptaky and "told him of his treason, that he

was going to the Swede and that the hetman also had changed sides, and wanted to join with the Swede.”<sup>99</sup>

Only after Andrii Voinarovs'kyi returned from Menshikov's headquarters with a premonition he had heard spoken by one of the officers – “God, have mercy on those people: tomorrow they will be in shackles” – did Mazepa rush to Charles XII. Orlyk commented on this episode as follows: whether Voinarovs'kyi really heard those words, or whether Mazepa had ordered him to say he had heard them, “to attract us [to his side] ... I still do not know.”<sup>100</sup> It seems to me that another option is possible – that in fact, Voinarovs'kyi had conspired with the officers to give Mazepa false news about Menshikov.

One might not trust Orlyk's account of the episode with Voinarovs'kyi at all. However, Daniel Krman, a Slovak Lutheran pastor who was with Charles XII, recounted a similar story. He wrote that Voinarovs'kyi, while at the tsarist court, heard that “the shackles were already prepared for him and for the palatine Mazepa and his supporters.” At that point, he said, Voinarovs'kyi fled under cover of night to the Swedes. On learning of this, Mazepa gathered his officers, and they decided to join Charles XII.<sup>101</sup> Krman could not possibly have read Orlyk's letter. Accordingly, the story that Voinarovs'kyi heard about Peter's intention to arrest Mazepa circulated widely in at least the Swedish camp. Kochegarov cites a quite improbable version of this incident – that Peter “ordered the torture of the hetman's nephew and only the intercession of one of the tsarist nobles, a certain prince, helped him escape to Mazepa.”<sup>102</sup> Andrii Voinarovs'kyi himself upon interrogation claimed that he knew nothing of this whatsoever, and that after his return from Menshikov Mazepa simply “took me with him to the Swedish king.”<sup>103</sup>

The secretary of Charles XII's Field Chancellery Cederhielm, wrote that Bystryts'kyi arrived the first time without any letters from Mazepa and asked in person that the Swedes go in the direction of Novhorod-Sivers'kyi (this is further proof that the incursion of the Swedes deep into Ukraine was not part of the hetman's plans). The second time (when Mazepa already knew about Menshikov's approach), Bystryts'kyi brought letters from the hetman to Charles XII and to Piper requesting that their armies quickly join forces.<sup>104</sup>

Thus, Bystryts'kyi was apparently sent the first time by Mazepa and the officers after receiving the order to burn the Starodub region. They sent him the second time after receiving the news from Voinarovs'kyi.

Orlyk contends that Mazepa was afraid to go to Peter for fear of being arrested. But what was actually in Mazepa's mind is not known. His soul was by then torn apart by fears and doubts. He crossed the Seim, came to Korop, and on the morning of the 24th crossed the Desna, arriving at night at the camp of the Swedish king.

Orlyk wrote that in the letter to Charles XII conveyed by Bystryts'kyi, Mazepa "requested protection for himself, the Zaporozhian Host, and all the people, and liberation from the heavy yoke of Moscow."<sup>105</sup> Orlyk claimed that Mazepa "did not want Christian bloodshed," was going to go to Baturyn together with Charles XII, and from there was going to write a letter to Peter, thanking him for his "protection," setting out all his grievances and the violations of rights and liberties, and expecting his complete liberation "under the protection of the Swedish king." He supposedly hoped to solve the matter "not through war" but through peace, by means of a "treaty (*traktat*)," having persuaded Charles XII also to make peace with Peter.<sup>106</sup>

Historians can argue about what really lay behind Mazepa's act. Was it ambition, the desire for princely power? He was seventy years old, sick, and alone, and he already possessed untold wealth, a princely title, and enormous power. Perhaps the desire to save his fatherland, to protect "wives and children," was really what drove him. None of us will ever be certain. Even the hetman's closest confidants, his Cossack officers, openly admitted after Mazepa's death that his "hidden thoughts and secret intentions" remained unknown to them.<sup>107</sup>

Jöran Nordberg, the Swedish historian and a participant in the events, recounted Mazepa's words, uttered by the hetman at a meeting with the Zaporozhian camp commander Kost' Hordiienko – that he, a widower with no children and already an old man, could go to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or to some other country, to live out his life in peace, but he was guided by a sense of honour and love for his homeland, which he had governed faithfully and honestly for many years and did not want to abandon to destruction. Thus he had chosen to go under Swedish protection.<sup>108</sup> This is quite consistent with the dramatic speech Orlyk put into Mazepa's mouth.<sup>109</sup> The Pryluky colonel Dmytro Horlenko stressed that Mazepa did not go over to the Swedes "for any personal end, but to preserve all [our] liberties."<sup>110</sup>

As for foreign contemporaries, they were lost in conjecture. Philippe Groffé, a French agent and the secretary to the Lithuanian deputy treasurer (*podskarbi*) Władysław Sapieha, explained what happened:

The Muscovite tsar ordered Mazepa to burn everything to the ground where the Swedes would pass through. But the Cossacks did not agree to this; on the contrary, they accepted the Swedish king's manifesto on the condition that there would be no more requisitions and that they themselves would bring provisions to the designated places.<sup>111</sup>

English ambassador Charles Whitworth related in his report that Mazepa went over

with all his family and wealth to the side of the Swedish king. The hetman – a man close to seventy – enjoyed the great respect and trust of the tsar, was childless except for one nephew, and long governed this rich country, where he had power slightly less than that of a sovereign prince and where he had amassed considerable property. Given all this, it is difficult for me to understand what disappointment or what hopes forced him to take such a step in a new stage of the war when already of such advanced age.<sup>112</sup>

An earlier chapter of this book touched on the question of who followed Mazepa and confirmed that all was not as straightforward as is usually thought. A telling fact: Boris P. Sheremetev reported to Peter at the end of February 1709 (!): “As I arrived here with the army, the Little Russian people, staying near these places, were very loyal.”<sup>113</sup>

Even after Mazepa went over to the Swedish king, the situation was unstable. The very first meeting with Charles was full of tension and showed how difficult it would be for Mazepa to find a common language with the self-confident young man who was not at all familiar with the situation in Eastern Europe.<sup>114</sup> The Swedes did not trust the Cossacks (a report from the Swedish field marshal Baron Nils Gyllenstierna, after meeting the Ukrainian hetman for the first time, vividly testifies to this).<sup>115</sup> Meanwhile, Peter had seized the military initiative. On 2 November, Menshikov captured the hetman's capital, Baturyn, and a great many defenders and residents of the city perished in the bloody massacre and ensuing fire.<sup>116</sup> On 12 November, the Church pronounced anathema against Mazepa. Confusion and panic seized the hetman's supporters. In these circumstances, Mazepa began negotiations with the Zaporozhians, Leszczyński, and ... Peter.

Mazepa's negotiations with Peter in the late autumn of 1708 have drawn the attention of many historians. Sergei M. Solov'ev wrote that "these relations had no result," thanks to Peter's interception of Mazepa's letter of 5 December to Leszczyński, which allegedly revealed the hetman's duplicity.<sup>117</sup> Nikolai Kostomarov also considered the interception of the letter to Leszczyński a key moment, and concluded that reconciliation with Peter "could never be sincere" on Mazepa's part.<sup>118</sup>

Most Ukrainian historians take a negative view of this episode. Oleksandr Ohloblyn did not mention it at all. Orest Subtelny writes that "we shall probably never know how serious Mazepa's proposal was."<sup>119</sup> A contemporary author, Serhii Pavlenko, believes that Golovkin's letter to Mazepa had been forged by the Russians to discredit Mazepa in the eyes of the Swedes.<sup>120</sup> In support of this, he points out that Apostol came to "his Sorochyntsi" and not to Skoropads'kyi and that he said nothing about Mazepa's proposal in the official denunciation.

The episode deserves more detailed study. I will reconstruct a picture of the events. Sorochyntsi was a town in the Myrhorod Regiment, under the command of D. Apostol. On 20 November 1708 (O.S.), Volkonskii's Russian detachment arrived there and met no resistance; on the contrary, he wrote to Menshikov, "the inhabitants received us gratefully."<sup>121</sup> Volkonskii also reported the following news in his note: "The Myrhorod colonel came to us from Hadiach to Sorochyntsi the day after my arrival and said that he had been with Mazepa against his will, and that Mazepa had gone to Romny now and he went behind him and [then] left him."<sup>122</sup> The following information from Volkonskii is very important for assessing the subsequent events: "The colonel said that Mazepa sent his servant Nakhymovs'kyi to Leszczyński, so that he would come with his army to him."<sup>123</sup>

In other words, Apostol came to Sorochyntsi *after* Russian forces had occupied it. Even if he had really wanted to be present at his daughter's funeral, as Pavlenko claims, one cannot suppose that an experienced combat colonel would fall into Russian hands "out of carelessness." Apparently, he had his own reasons to surrender specifically to Volkonskii, not to Skoropads'kyi, much less to Menshikov. That Apostol was disloyal to Moscow had been the general perception in Peter's circle since the time of the "Kochubei affair." Only Mazepa's intercession – he categorically refused to arrest him – had saved Apostol from the fate of Kochubei and Iskra.



On 28 November, Volkonskii informed Menshikov that he had sent Apostol to the tsar's headquarters.<sup>124</sup> Volkonskii noted at that time that Apostol "was afraid"<sup>125</sup> – that is, he realized the Russians did not trust him.

The letters published by Bantysh-Kamenskii, which Pavlenko considers "forgeries," are in the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RGADA), in the Little Russian Affairs collection, under the title: "Collection (*otpusk*) of letters to Mazepa, written after his treason by Count Golovkin and Myrhorod Colonel Apostol, urging Mazepa to accept allegiance to Russia."<sup>126</sup> A letter written by Golovkin to Mazepa (and published by Bantysh-Kamenskii) is dated 22 December, from Lebedyn. It says that his "report" "had been recounted by the Lord Colonel of Myrhorod to His Tsarist Majesty, who, seeing your good intention and return (under the authority of the tsar), received him graciously and commanded me to write to you with the strongest reassurance." In the name of the tsar, Golovkin promised Mazepa he would "receive his former position and his [the tsar's] favour." The tsar would even "augment" this favour. Golovkin also agreed to accept "the guarantees you desire."

What was Mazepa to have done (or rather, what did he propose to do)? The text published by D. Bantysh-Kamenskii states: "Your Grace should try, concerning a famous, very important person, according to your proposal, to try in the safest way."<sup>127</sup> In the original there is an addition (issued in the publication)<sup>128</sup>: "to capture and to send to His Majesty. Should it prove impossible [to capture] this very individual, then at least [General Carl] Rehnskiöld [could be captured]."<sup>129</sup> And further: "And it is possible for this to happen expeditiously since our troops are near there, in the little town of Vepryk, ready, where there can also be safe shelter for them with those individuals."<sup>130</sup> In the original there is a clarification, as well, later crossed out: "and we recognize that the most suitable way to do this would be to induce that person to go to Hadiach, ostensibly to inspect the place lightly (with a small detachment), and on the way to try to execute [the plan]."<sup>131</sup>

Clearly, there was a plan to capture Charles XII, developed by the Russians together with Mazepa. A large force under the command of General Karl von Rönne was in fact at Vepryk at that time.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps the suggestion that the plan be carried out during the move to Hadiach was later struck from the letter, since by 22 December, Charles was already in Hadiach, in contrast to the end of November, when Mazepa proposed the plan. After all, as has been shown, more

than a month had passed between Apostol's arrival to Volkonskii and the sending of the letters to Mazepa.

Apostol's letter to Mazepa in the Little Russian Affairs collection (at RGADA), and Golovkin's letter to the hetman, were preserved as copies – which is to be expected, since the originals had been sent to Mazepa. Apostol explained the delay in answering in his letter: “They did not believe me at first, and they held me under guard, and wrote to the Court of His Tsarist Majesty, but from there they received a Decree, and they let me go under guard to His Tsarist Majesty.” He wrote that Peter had given him a personal audience, “very secretly; and though he was pleased to accept this very benevolently and cheerfully, he doubted, however, whether I told the truth from Your Excellency, since nothing was said in writing from you to me. And after many of my proposals and affirmations of faith and an oath of loyalty, His Majesty commanded his most secret ministers to negotiate with me.”<sup>133</sup> Apostol was permitted to write to Mazepa, however, only after the arrival of Shyshkevych (the barber of Mazepa's nephew Voinarovs'kyi) with letters also from the mercenary colonel Halahan, who confirmed Mazepa's intentions.

Pavlenko argues that Golovkin's letters are counterfeit. First, he refers to the subscript on the last page of the copy of these documents held in Kyiv: “Letters written to Mazepa upon his treason are forgeries from the chancellor.” On the original copies from the eighteenth century in RGADA this subscript was made on the title of the file by an unknown person (the handwriting is most likely that of the late eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries). When N. Bantysh-Kamenskii produced an inventory of the file, he did not take this note into account, apparently considering it unreliable. So this subscript, made at an unknown time by an unknown person, cannot serve as an argument. Nothing is actually said about these plans in the interrogation of Apostol (also published by Bantysh-Kamenskii and held in the Little Russian Affairs collection). The document to which he refers, however, is not in fact an “interrogation” but rather a statement. It clearly says: “By the decree of our Most Serene monarch, His Tsarist Majesty, I the below named, what I saw and what I had the opportunity to hear during my stay with the traitor Mazepa in the Swedish army, that I report.”<sup>134</sup> There follows information about Leszczyński's “privilege” and the forces of the Swedes. This document was written in Apostol's handwriting, but it consists of some scattered sheets. For example, his signature is not at the end

of the text, as published in Bantysh-Kamenskii's work, but after the words "King Stanisław had to go with his army into the Sloboda regiments." The last two paragraphs are written on a separate sheet, in the same hand, but without any connection or signature. Perhaps there were more of these sheets initially. Apostol himself in his letter to Mazepa wrote that the negotiations concerning the hetman's plan proceeded "very secretly," that is, it is unlikely that he would give written evidence about them.

Golovkin in his letter wrote "Most Illustrious Lord" and "Your Grace," while Apostol used "Your Most Illustrious Grace" (*vasha iasnovel'mozhnost'*), "Your Grace," and "Your Illustrious Highness" (*vashe siatel'stvo*) (Mazepa had the title of prince), but nowhere did they write "hetman," for Peter had stripped Mazepa of this title and appointed Ivan Skoropads'kyi in his place. If the letters had been intended for the Swedes, such a detail, causing suspicion about the sincerity of the Russians' intentions, naturally would have been excluded.

But a document not published by Bantysh-Kamenskii is even more interesting: the original of Apostol's letter to Golovkin of 1 January 1709 from Bilotserkivka "about sending the known letters to Mazepa with Andrii Borysenko, and about his return from there and sending [him] to Prince Menshikov to report to his commission."<sup>135</sup> Apostol wrote the following:

According to the information and instructions given to me from His Tsarist Majesty, they sent this man Andrii Borysenko to the enemy side with a letter which Your Princely Grace had written to Mazepa at his Monarchical Tsarist Majesty's decree, and with mine written to him also by the monarch's decree, [and Borysenko] having fulfilled his business for which he was sent, as soon as he will have returned from there, I shall send him immediately for questioning to His Highness the Prince His Grace and to Your Princely Grace.<sup>136</sup>

There is no information about Borysenko's testimony in the archival records of the Little Russian Office. There are also no traces of Borysenko in Menshikov's field chancellery. But the original of Apostol's letter clearly could not be a "forgery."

It is impossible to argue (as Vladimir Artamonov does, quoting the work of Evgenii Tarle, commissioned by Joseph Stalin) that this was undertaken "with the sole purpose of trapping Mazepa."<sup>137</sup> It was

the Russian side that broke off the negotiations and that took no steps to implement Mazepa's plan, even just for appearances.

That Mazepa would attempt reconciliation is entirely consistent with his other political efforts of 1708. This would have been normal for a politician and diplomat seeking the best solution. After all, no one condemns Peter today for offering the Kyiv Principality to the Duke of Marlborough in exchange for English assistance in late 1706.<sup>138</sup>

It is difficult to tell how deeply Mazepa himself believed that reconciliation was possible – after Baturyn, the anathema, and other events, and knowing the hot-tempered, vindictive nature of Peter, who did not forgive even the people closest to him.

Mazepa's situation had changed significantly over the preceding six weeks. Whether it was because his correspondence had been intercepted by the Swedes, or whether there was a traitor, Charles had grave concerns about his ally's loyalty. In the second half of December, Mazepa was subjected to virtual house arrest. On 18 December 1708, Captain Istogov, released from Swedish captivity, mentioned in his testimony "that Mazepa is now in Hadiach, I heard from the Wallachians with whom he served, that Mazepa is under guard and it is impossible for him to go anywhere without their knowledge."<sup>139</sup> On 14 December, a captive Pole reported that "Mazepa always has a strong guard; they guard him more [for the following reason], so that he does not do anything to himself, and therefore Royal Dragoons live and go about with him."<sup>140</sup> On 13 December a priest named Ivan related that in the residence where Mazepa was staying "a large number of Swedes were with him and a strong guard was posted not only in the yard and near the house, but also in the front room where Swedes stood with swords, which began after the departure of the Myrhorod colonel."<sup>141</sup> On 17 January 1709, Andrei Ushakov wrote to Peter with the words of a certain priest, formerly with Mazepa: "The guard around him is very strong."<sup>142</sup>

All the foreign diplomats wrote of the arrest. On 5 December 1708, Prussian ambassador von Keyserling (whose informant was usually P.P. Shafirov) reported: "The Swedish king, not having received everything Mazepa promised him, is very dissatisfied, and keeps the hetman under arrest."<sup>143</sup> On 2 January, von Keyserling wrote again on the basis of a letter from "a good friend" from the Russian headquarters that "the hetman is under house arrest by the

Swedes.”<sup>144</sup> English ambassador Charles Whitworth also reported on 2 January 1709 that the Swedes “keep Mazepa and his adherents under strict supervision; they even placed a guard in the hetman’s bedchamber.”<sup>145</sup> The more informed Austrian ambassador Otto Pleyer relayed the following valuable information on 22 December: the tsar promised “Mazepa and his supporters amnesty if they would return. He [Mazepa] was seeking an opportunity to escape from the Swedes; once he had already run from them for seven miles, but they caught him again and placed him under arrest.”<sup>146</sup>

The military situation was developing in such a way that secret dealings with Mazepa and his return to grand Russian policy were no longer necessary for the tsar’s new entourage – first and foremost, for Menshikov. Charles was no longer even considering a march on Moscow, and his generals increasingly discussed the need to “get away beyond the Dniro.” Von Keyserling cited an abridged copy of a letter from Shafirov written in Lebedyn, which stated that Mazepa had very few troops.<sup>147</sup> Peter and Menshikov, in Lebedyn and Sumy, gave themselves up to feasting and excess.<sup>148</sup>

As for Menshikov, he probably sincerely believed that Peter no longer needed the services of the Ukrainian hetman, or of the Ukrainian Hetmanate and Cossackdom.<sup>149</sup> But there were also material considerations, besides political ones. For the capture of Baturyn, Menshikov had received at his request Mazepa’s “Great Russian” estates in Rylysk district – twelve villages, six free settlements (*slobody*) (2,320 homes in all); in Putivl district – four villages and one hamlet (*derevnia*) (1,057 homes); in Krupets – five villages, four hamlets (740 homes); more than 15,000 males and 12,250 females, and twenty-seven mills. It seems that Kurbatov had decided not to claim his rights to the estates he had purchased from Mazepa in June 1708.<sup>150</sup> Such lavish rewards made Aleksandr Danilovich the second landowner in the Russian Empire after Peter.<sup>151</sup> In 1709, Menshikov obtained Pochep, and in 1725, Baturyn.<sup>152</sup> Grigorii Dolgorukov also received Ukrainian estates.<sup>153</sup>

The division of the property of the disgraced hetman began as early as November 1708, when a decree was issued concerning the confiscation of all his property. Menshikov personally involved himself in the search for the disgraced hetman’s riches. The legend of the hetman’s fabulous wealth rested on strong grounds. Although when he went over to the Swedes, he had been able to take with him only a tiny fraction of his fortune, and although he had lost part of

it and had spent some of it in recent months, the amount he conveyed under the protection of Charles XII was impressive: 160,000 *chervintsi*. In the “Detailed report on the death of Cossack Hetman Mazepa, as well as by whom and how to dispose of the property of Mazepa after his death,” compiled by Gustaf von Soldan, who by order of Charles XII dealt with the inheritance of the deceased hetman, it was stated that he had a jewel box, two “barrels” full of ducats, and two travel bags in which were jewels and a large number of gold medals.<sup>154</sup> These possessions would become an object of dispute among his heirs.<sup>155</sup>

Some of the wealth remained in Ukraine. The Kyiv *voevoda* Golitsyn, who directed the search, acted under the strict control of Menshikov. Mazepa’s money (eight barrels of it) was discovered in the Kyiv Caves Monastery and was confiscated.<sup>156</sup> Golitsyn went to Bila Tserkva, where Colonel Havrylo Burliai had been posted with the hired infantry (*serdiuky*) and many of the hetman’s possessions were kept. Using, as he put it, Menshikov’s “science,” Golitsyn promised Burlai 100 rubles, with 40 for the captains (*sotnyky*) and 2 rubles for each Cossack. Bila Tserkva thereupon admitted Golitsyn’s detachment without a fight,<sup>157</sup> bringing the Russians rich spoils. This was arranged by Golitsyn, who on 21 November 1708 wrote to Menshikov that he “ordered [Mazepa’s] effects to be brought to Kyiv and I shall inform your Lordship how many of these belongings there will be.”<sup>158</sup> But a week passed, and this had not been done. This made Menshikov nervous, and he sent Golitsyn a decree: “if there is anything special – namely, silver tableware and soft articles [*miakhkoi rukhledi* or *mekha*] and other items, select them separately and ... send a list.”<sup>159</sup> Menshikov ordered him to sell the remaining things (where the money was to have gone is unclear). Golitsyn, justifying the delay, and knowing the weaknesses of His Holiness, noted in his letter that “I could have taken some of these belongings for myself, and no one would know, only, remembering my Christian conscience and Your Grace’s promised favour to me, I not only did not do this, but I did not even think of it.”<sup>160</sup>

Interestingly, in official dispatches to Peter, Dmitrii Golitsyn mentioned not a word of the transfer of Mazepa’s valuables to Menshikov.<sup>161</sup>

All of Mazepa’s property seized in Bila Tserkva was stored in carts under guard. But when the inventory was finally compiled, some of the things listed therein were already missing – for example, the

historical relics of the Zaporozhian Host, the mace, the standard (*bunchuk*), and Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi's military seal, received by him from Jan Casimir in 1649,<sup>162</sup> of which Golitsyn had written earlier to Menshikov. We do not know whether they reached His Highness the Prince. We can be certain that the following items of Mazepa's property went to Menshikov: silver tableware ("A case [*shkatula*] covered in leather, in it two dozen spoons and knives and forks, a pair of large silver knives, and a large table spoon"), sables ("Two blankets lined with sable, one with its satin top embroidered with silver Turkish work, the other top with golden embroidery; four golden kaftans, three lined with sable, one with bright glints of light [small diamonds], the fourth of sable fur ... one of woolen cloth lined with sable fur; two coats lined with sable and ermine; three sets of forty and eight pairs of sables, black fox"), gold Turkish curtains, carpets ("Gold dining room carpet; Turkish golden velvet dining room carpet, inlaid with taffeta stripes"), silver Turkish saddlecloths (*chapraki*), a sword of Greek workmanship ("Gold sword hilt with flashes of ruby and emerald"), money (including seventeen barrels of thalers and eleven barrels of silver rubles), and much more.<sup>163</sup> But all of this Golitsyn sent off to Menshikov only at the end of December, after another stern decree from the prince "to appraise and ... send sable furs and any other expensive items and silver tableware."<sup>164</sup> At the same time Golitsyn became aware that the hetman had sent "forty small chests" of his property to Tsargrad, "and now it is said that many of his belongings are in Gdańsk."<sup>165</sup>

Against the background of an improving military-political situation and the dividing up of Mazepa's wealth, in January 1709 Peter made a final decision. He circulated a universal in which he stated Mazepa's intention to surrender Ukraine to the "Polish yoke." In addition, he referred to Mazepa's intercepted letter to Leszczyński, "which disclosed his true intentions." In fact, this was all a bluff: the letter to Leszczyński had been intercepted in early December, and in November Apostol had reported Mazepa's negotiations with the Polish king; but at that time none of this impeded negotiations with the hetman. Now Mazepa's correspondence with Leszczyński was used as a pretext to break decisively with Mazepa. In mid-January an assassin was sent to kill him. He was caught and hanged.<sup>166</sup> Mazepa now issued a universal to the captains, the Cossack chieftains (*otamany*), and the prefects to come immediately to Hadiach.<sup>167</sup> There was no going back.



One can conclude, then, that both before and after the tragic move to the Swedish side Mazepa actively sought a political alliance that would preserve the Ukrainian Hetmanate's autonomy and prevent its devastation during the Great Northern War. In the circumstances, this was probably impossible.

The collapse of all his plans and hopes undoubtedly affected the health of the already ill Mazepa. On 18 December the Lohyvysia *otaman* Kyrylo Serhieiev reported that he had seen Mazepa a week before. He was lying in bed, "surrounded with pillows, and they say that he is sick."<sup>168</sup> Yet he still found the strength to forge his last political coalition – an alliance with the Zaporozhian Cossacks. This act, which has been little studied in the literature, was greatly unexpected and highly controversial and clearly went against Mazepa's entire policy throughout the long years of his rule.

Ivan Mazepa's relationship with the Zaporozhians had always been tense, from the moment when, as an envoy of Petro Doroshenko, he was captured by them and almost lost his life. Throughout his hetmanship he had been compelled to seek compromises in his relations with the Zaporozhian brigands and often to resort to threats and force. Repeatedly in his correspondence the hetman spoke of them in the harshest terms. But as fate would have it, it was the Cossacks who responded to Mazepa's call in the tragic autumn of 1708 and entered an alliance with Charles XII.

There is a document relating to the initial stage of Mazepa's negotiations with the Cossacks<sup>169</sup> – the camp commander Hordiienko's answer, written on 24 November 1708, to Mazepa's letters. In the letter, the Cossacks reported that they were ready to serve under the Swedish king, but they demanded that ambassadors be sent for the negotiations. A key condition the Cossacks put forward was the elimination of Kam'iany Zaton and Samara – fortresses conceived and realized with Mazepa's direct participation to prevent Tatar raids and to control restive Zaporizhia. This letter, which was intercepted by the Russians, gives a good indication of the Zaporozhians' arguments, their attitude toward Moscow, lofty matters (faith, liberty, and others), and their system of values. The letter clearly contradicts the report of the Okhtyrka Colonel Fedir Osypov that at a council in the Sich "they rejected Mazepa's dispatches" and called him "a crooked old rascal" (*kotiuha*).<sup>170</sup>

The struggle by correspondence for Zaporizhia between Mazepa and Peter continued throughout the winter of 1708–09. On 12



November 1708, Peter sent a directive to Kost' Hordiienko not to listen to Mazepa but to come to Hlukhiv to elect a new hetman.<sup>171</sup> The Cossacks did not obey. Ivan Skoropads'kyi's envoy, having notified the Sich of his election, was beaten half to death by the commander Hordiienko.<sup>172</sup> In January 1709, Peter expressed great concern about the arrival of the Zaporozhian cavalry to Novyi Kodak. He feared that, having joined with the infantry, they would draw near the Swedes through Perevolochna. Peter considered the camp commander and the judge "thieves," that is, supporters of Mazepa.<sup>173</sup>

Peter and Menshikov made great efforts to prevent the Zaporozhians from going over to Mazepa. On 21 February, Peter wrote bluntly to Menshikov that he concurred with Ivan Skoropads'kyi about the need "to change the *koshovyi*" ("And this [would be] very good, and we always said that it is necessary"). He offered to find a way urgently to do this – for example, with the help of Danila Apostol and money.<sup>174</sup> On Peter's instructions, an embassy of "good Cossacks" was prepared and supplied with significant sums. Apostol selected them personally.<sup>175</sup> The task of the envoys was to disperse among the Cossack units (a *kurin'*) and there "to commit sabotage," that is, to try to overthrow Hordiienko. The mission failed – the envoys were tied to cannons. But they miraculously managed to escape from the Sich.

By then, Palii had returned from exile in Siberia. It was now planned to use his former influence over the Right Bank and the Cossacks against Mazepa. Grigorii Dolgorukov wrote that Palii was just as "frivolous" as the Cossacks, but that with his help it would be possible to "create a diversion" – "because in such headstrong, assertive acts he had considerable love and trust."<sup>176</sup>

In mid-March, Boris Sheremetev informed Peter that letters had been sent to the Zaporozhians telling them not to join the Swedes. He noted that so far "opposition had not yet appeared" on the part of the Cossacks. Interesting here was Sheremetev's observation that it was impossible to force the Cossacks to take someone's side – they would come only if they wanted to be there – that was the sort of people they were.<sup>177</sup> That is, Sheremetev opposed a military solution to the question of Zaporizhia.

On 27 March, Golitsyn informed Golovkin that "the Cossacks have stayed on the opposing side and are located at the frontier towns from the Dnipro to Keleberda and Perevolochna."<sup>178</sup> In early April, Hordiienko was nonetheless replaced, and Petro Sorochyns'kyi

was elected camp commander. Menshikov delightedly notified Peter of this, believing that the new commander was a supporter of Moscow.<sup>179</sup> His enthusiasm was premature, however: Sorochyns'kyi did not change his relations with the Swedes; indeed, he himself went to Crimea to persuade the Tatars to oppose the Russians.

At the same time, Mazepa sent general chancellor Pylyp Orlyk to the Cossacks, followed by general judge Vasyl' Chuikevych, general standard bearer Fedir Myrovych, and the Chyhyryn colonel Kostiantyn Mokiievs'kyi – the best of the officers who remained with him. These efforts were successful. On 16 April 1709, Kost' Hordiienko wrote a letter to Charles XII in which he expressed willingness to work together against “evil-minded Moscow” and to send a thousand Zaporozhian infantry near Poltava.<sup>180</sup> A meeting between Hordiienko and Mazepa soon took place in Dykan'ka, and the following day they went together to Charles. The camp commander of the Cossacks was honoured with an audience, greeted the king, and swore allegiance to him.<sup>181</sup> An agreement was signed with Mazepa and Hordiienko on one side and the Swedish king on the other. Under this agreement, Zaporizhia joined the Swedish-Ukrainian alliance, and Charles made a commitment not to make peace with Peter without fulfilling his obligations to the alliance.<sup>182</sup> According to Russian sources, five thousand Cossacks came over to the Swedes from the Sich.<sup>183</sup>

The news of this new alliance had a powerful impact on the Ukrainian Hetmanate. The Poltava Regiment (where the influence of the Cossacks was always very strong), the Right Bank (especially the old Cossack regions, Chyhyryn), and even part of Sloboda Ukraine were seized with “confusion” (*smiatenie*). A Chyhyryn captain (*sotnyk*) killed an envoy from Skoropads'kyi and went to Zaporizhia. Peasants and Cossacks formed gangs, repeating the path that Petryk had taken in his day. In the Commonwealth, the pro-Russian party – Sieniawski in particular – was extremely alarmed by the news of the Cossacks' shift to Mazepa's side.

Golitsyn was greatly disturbed by the news of the Zaporozhians' move over to the Swedish side. He wrote to Golovkin that many Cossacks upon the “enticement” of the Zaporozhians would flee to them from the Left Bank. On the Right Bank the rabble called for the beating of officers and for crossing over to the Cossacks' side. Many of the “self-willed” joined together in bands and destroyed apiaries. Golitsyn warned that if Russian regiments

entered the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the entire population of the Right Bank might revolt, because people there were “very scatterbrained.”<sup>184</sup>

Having lost the battle by correspondence for Zaporizhia, Peter decided to destroy the Sich. Three infantry regiments and dragoons were sent there, led by Major-General Grigorii Volkonskii and Colonel Petr Iakovlev. They captured and burned Keleberda on 16 April. One thousand Zaporozhians and two thousand local residents had holed up in Perevolochna, and put up stubborn resistance. After a two-hour battle, the town was captured. As stated in a report, “they [the Russians] reached [the town] with great difficulty, assaulted it twice, and they were perched between the stones in the strongest place.”<sup>185</sup> On 24 April, Boris Sheremetev informed Peter that in Perevolochna, “the Cossacks and the inhabitants were cut down, and others were afraid, fled, and drowned in the Vorskla.”<sup>186</sup>

On 11 May, Iakovlev approached the Sich. The assault lasted three hours. As Menshikov reported to Peter, “the traitors, they fought desperately.” The first assault was repulsed; the Russians suffered around three hundred dead, including Colonel Urn. As the forces of Volkonskii and Colonel Hnat Halahan approached, the Cossacks thought mistakenly that this was the expected horde, and made a sortie. By the time they realized their mistake, it was too late. The Sich had been captured. All the Zaporozhians and the inhabitants were killed (only twelve people were captured alive), and the attackers burned and slaughtered the neighbouring units (*kurini*) as well. They hanged and beheaded Cossacks and officers and desecrated Zaporozhian graves. All the buildings were destroyed, as Menshikov wrote: “ruining all their villages, so that this treacherous nest would be completely eradicated.”<sup>187</sup> They sent the deputy camp commander’s (*koshovyi otaman*) head (as Petro Sorochnyns'kyi was still in Crimea) to Zaporizhia to terrorize them. The explanation for such a barbaric act: “because of this commander’s severe wounds it was impossible to transport [him].”<sup>188</sup>

On 17 May, Peter wrote an admonitory letter to the commander Kyryk Konelovs'kyi from his convoy near Poltava, not knowing that the Sich had already been taken.<sup>189</sup> Then on 23 May, Peter informed his son, Aleksei: “Colonel Iakovlev with the help of God took by storm the traitorous nest, the Zaporozhian Sich, and cut down all these cursed scoundrels, and so the entire root of their father, Mazepa, has been eradicated.”<sup>190</sup>

The crushing defeat of the Zaporozhian Cossacks had a serious impact on many Right Bank residents, but not at all the one Russian officers had expected. Boris Sheremetev informed Peter at the end of April that many residents of Novyi Kaidak had fled to the steppe. And those who did not flee joined the Zaporozhians.<sup>191</sup>

This was the sad end of Mazepa's alliance with the Cossacks. To be sure, some of them still got away to the Swedes, survived Poltava, crossed the Dnipro, and together with Mazepa and Hordiienko retreated to Bendery.<sup>192</sup>

A fascinating poem, "The Penitent Zaporozhian," by Feofan Prokopovych, has survived. The date of its composition is unknown; perhaps it was created later, when the return of the Cossacks was already being discussed. Prokopovych shifted all the blame for their action onto the "*otamany* and hetmans" and explained their deed as an act committed "without thinking, in a temper."<sup>193</sup> Of course, nothing was so simple. Nestulia, a defector from the Sich, testified that among the Cossacks there was "great hostility toward Russia."<sup>194</sup>

One is inclined to ask another question: Why did Mazepa decide to involve the Zaporozhian Cossacks? Why, when he already felt that the cause was lost, did he want to bring down those whom he had hated all his life and dreamed of destroying?

It should be noted that the fear that the Cossacks and the population would support Mazepa forced Peter's circle to change their tactics. The scorched earth plan was never put into effect, not even in the Starodub Regiment, where such a decree had first been given. The correspondence of the highest Russian dignitaries in the autumn of 1708 and the spring of 1709 offers clear evidence that they greatly feared an explosion of discontent in Ukraine. Menshikov's personal decree "on not causing offence," which described in detail how Russian troops entering Ukraine were to behave, serves as a characteristic example.<sup>195</sup> In particular, it was strictly forbidden for "higher" and "lower" officers and the rank and file to take provisions from the inhabitants without paying for them. For any robbery (even if it was just a chicken), the death penalty was to be imposed, regardless of rank.

After the defeat of the Swedes at Poltava (Karl did not allow Mazepa's Cossacks to participate in the battle), the hetman insisted on a retreat to the Ottoman Empire. Mazepa's knowledge of this land was now a salvation for himself and for Karl.

On 22 September 1709 (O.S.),<sup>196</sup> Mazepa died in Bendery, surrounded by a handful of his supporters – officers and Cossacks.

The hetman's wealth brought happiness to no one. His heir to the mace, Pylyp Orlyk, died in a foreign land. The hetman's nephew, Andrii Voinarovs'kyi, was kidnapped by Peter's agents in Hamburg in 1716 and died in Siberia.<sup>197</sup> Even more stunning, and for this reason also painful, was the fall of Menshikov himself, who ended his days in wretched Berezov. There he likely recalled many times his "kind brother" and archrival, the fabulously wealthy hetman Ivan Mazepa.

In the Russian Empire, Mazepa became a hated symbol of Ukrainian separatism; for supporters of the Ukrainian national idea, he was a freedom fighter. One would like to believe that the time has come to abandon these clichés – to learn from the tragedies and mistakes of our ancestors, and to listen to and understand one another.

# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

- 1 Andrzej S. Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy: Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 62.

## CHAPTER ONE

- 1 In a later chapter I argue the unorthodox view that on the eve of his downfall Mazepa tried to take the hated Zaporozhians down with him.
- 2 Samoil Velychko, *Letopis' sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XVII veke*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1864), 343.
- 3 *Akty, otносиashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (hereafter *Akty IuZR*) (St Petersburg, 1878), vol. 11, no. 156, 555.
- 4 Military Fellow (*viis'kovyi tovarysh*) was a rank in the Zaporozhian Host. *Akty IuZH*, vol. 12, no. 144, 490.
- 5 *Akty IuZH*, vol. 13, no. 3, 8.
- 6 *Akty IuZH*, vol. 13, nos. 22 and 24.
- 7 V.I. Buganov, “Kantsler’ predpetrovskoi pory,” *Voprosy istorii* no. 10 (1971), 145–6.
- 8 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 13, no. 119, 83.
- 9 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 13, no. 59, 230, “Pis'mo I. Samoilovicha I. Sirko” (letter from Ivan Samoilovych to Ivan Sirko).
- 10 Patrick Gordon, *Dnevnik 1677–1678* (Moscow, 2005), 28.
- 11 S.M. Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 14 (Moscow, 1991), 383.
- 12 S. Pavlenko, *Ivan Mazepa* (Kyiv, 2003), 61–2.

- 13 “[H]e had openly syded with the last.” *Diary of General Patrich Gordon of Auchleuchries 1635–1699*, vol. 34: 1684–1689, edited by Dmitry Fedosov (Aberdeen University Press, 2013), 181.
- 14 In 1688 Mazepa wrote to Golitsyn: “Your Royal Highness understood my being and disposition for a decade through your wise circumspection, knowing that there was no envy, that I would not encroach on someone else’s well-being or property.” *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, ed. V. Stanislavs’kyi, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2002), no. 87, 221.
- 15 *Rossia XV-XVII vv. glazami inostrantsev*, 490.
- 16 Letter of Jean Casimir de Baluze about Mazepa. In T. Mats’kiv, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidn’oevropeis’kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv–Poltava, 1995), 105.
- 17 A letter from I. Mazepa to V.V. Golitsyn, in *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 100, 242.
- 18 Chyhyryn was the capital of the Hetmanate from the time of Bohdan Khmel’nyts’kyi.
- 19 S.M. Solov’ev, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 13 (Moscow, 1991), 208–9.
- 20 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 141.
- 21 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 2.
- 22 In the file fragments of directives are mixed in with excerpts from “interrogation minutes” involving Mazepa.
- 23 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 37.
- 24 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 32.
- 25 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 46.
- 26 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, ll. 43–4.
- 27 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, ll. 59–60.
- 28 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 61.
- 29 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 62.
- 30 This means regiments from the soldier estate (*stroii*).
- 31 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 63.
- 32 *Mestnichestvo*: the feudal hierarchical system in Russia from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. *Mestnichestvo* was a complicated system of seniority that dictated which government posts a *boyar* could occupy. It was based on the individual’s seniority within an extended Russian aristocratic family on the one hand, and on the order of precedence of the families, on the other.
- 33 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 64.
- 34 P.V. Sedov, *Zakat Moskovskogo tsarstva. Tsarskii dvor kontsa XVII veka* (St Petersburg, 2006), 318–19.

- 35 Sedov, *Zakat Moskovskogo tsarstva*, 451.
- 36 *Knigi razriadnye*, vol. 2, 1152–3.
- 37 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, ll. 75–6.
- 38 Sedov, *Zakat Moskovskogo tsarstva*, 84.
- 39 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 141, l. 76.
- 40 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz [Military Service Office]), Kn. [Bk.] 13 (Stolbtsy Belgorodskogo stola [Columns of the Belgorod office]), no. 955.
- 41 *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, pt. 4, no. 164, 482–4.
- 42 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz), Kn. 13, st. Belgorodskogo stola (columns of the Belgorod office), no. 1139, l. 5.
- 43 RGADA, f. 210, *Stolbtsy Belgorodskogo stola* (columns of the Belgorod office), no. 1139.
- 44 *Khovanshchina*: the rebellion of Prince Ivan Khovanskii, the Old Believers, and the Muscovite musketeers against the regent Sofia Alekseyevna and the two young tsars Peter the Great and Ivan V. Alekseevich.
- 45 “Zapiski A. Matveeva,” in *Rozhdenie Imperii* (Moscow, 1997), 400.
- 46 Buganov, “‘Kantsler’ predpetrovskoi pory,” 149.
- 47 K.A. Kochegarov, *Rech’ Pospolitaia i Rossiia v 1680–1686 godakh. Zakliuchenie dogovora o Vechnom mire* (Moscow, 2008), 104.
- 48 Solov’ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 13, 289.
- 49 *Vosstanie v Moskve 1682 g.* (Moscow, 1976), no. 63, 82–3.
- 50 *Vosstanie v Moskve 1682 g.*, no. 63, 85.
- 51 *Vosstanie v Moskve 1682 g.*, no. 83, 128.
- 52 Solov’ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 14, 365–6.
- 53 V. Shcherbina, “Kievskie voevody, gubernatory i general-gubernatory ot 1654 po 1775 g.,” in *Chteniia v Istoricheskom obshchestve Nestoraletopistsa*, vol. 6 (Kyiv, 1892), 143.
- 54 Velichko, *Letopis’ sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, 3, 16–17.
- 55 Velychko, *Letopis’ sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, 3, 21.
- 56 Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba* (Kyiv-Toronto: Vyd. OChSU – Ligy Vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1960, reprinted 2001), 75.
- 57 For example, V.A. Artamonov, “Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Het’manshchinu v 1708 g. i Mazepa,” in V.A. Artamonov, K.A. Kochegarov, and I.V. Kurukin, eds., *Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Het’manshchinu v 1708 g. Obrazy i tragediia Het’mana Mazepy* (St Petersburg, 2008), 21.
- 58 Kochegarov, *Rech’ Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 108–9.
- 59 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 100, 241–3.
- 60 For more detail on the Solomon affair see T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, *Mazepa*, 1st ed. (Moscow, 2007), 89–95; and Andrzej S. Kamiński,



*Republic vs. Autocracy: Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

- 61 A.P. Bogdanov, *Pervye rossiiskie diplomaty* (Moscow, 1991), 50.
- 62 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 14, 366.
- 63 Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 208.
- 64 RGADA, f. 124, op. 2, no. 11, l. 4.
- 65 Patrick Gordon, *Dnevnik 1684–1689*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 2009), 15.
- 66 “The Hetman sent the Pereaslavish writer to the Cosakes in Nemirow to entice and perswade them to leave the Polls service with promise not only of pardon but of gratuities besides; they having, upon the letter sent to them, viven hopes of betraying their trust.” Gordon, *Diary*, 3:24.
- 67 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:24.
- 68 *Arkhiv IuZR*, Ch. 1, T. V, N XXX, S. 133 [pt. 1, vol. 5, no. 30, l. 133].
- 69 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 289–96.
- 70 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 5, no. 31, l. 135.
- 71 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 5, no. 33, l. 141.
- 72 Paul Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great: The Struggle for Power, 1671–1725* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 141.
- 73 *Arkhiv Kurakina*, vol. 1, 51–2. According to Kurakin, P. Prozorovskii, F.P. Saltykov, and other boyars opposed the peace in the Duma. During the Naryshkins' revolt, P.I. Prozorovskii was among those boyars who received rewards for their support of Peter.
- 74 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 148.
- 75 *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii*, vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 1830), 773–7.
- 76 RGADA, f. 124, op. 2, no. 11, l. 4.
- 77 Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 425–7.
- 78 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 3, no. 188.
- 79 Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 436.
- 80 Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 446.
- 81 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1687), no. 3, l. 120b.
- 82 The Akkerman Horde was at Budjak, near Akkerman (Belgorod-Dnestrovskii) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a vassal of the Crimean Khanate and Ottoman Empire. It had moved there from the Caspian steppes.
- 83 RGADA, f. 127 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1687), no. 3, l. 13.
- 84 Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 430.
- 85 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:179.
- 86 Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 360.

- 87 For more details see Oleksii Sokyрко, *Lytsari druhoho sortu: Naimane viis'ko Livoberezhnoi Het'manshchyny 1669–1726 rr.* (Kyiv, 2006).
- 88 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 13, no. 163:717–18.
- 89 According to Samoilovych's testimony, the leases from the Lubny regiment alone netted 17,000 *zloty* (*Akty IuZR*, vol. 5, no. 158, 189).
- 90 Sokyрко, *Lytsari druhoho sortu*, 93.
- 91 Gordon writes of “the earnest desires and solicitation of the hetman.” *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:91.
- 92 *Istoriia Ukrain's'koï kul'tury*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 2003), 578.
- 93 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1687), no. 3, l. 14.
- 94 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1687), no. 3, l. 15.
- 95 A.P. Bogdanov, “Sil'vestr Medvedev,” *Voprosy istorii*, no. 2 (February 1988), 87–9.
- 96 Ukrainian clergy would make the enlightenment of Russian Orthodoxy a reality with the direct support of Mazepa during Peter's reign in the early eighteenth century.
- 97 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 14:375.
- 98 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 449:465.
- 99 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 41, ch. [pt.] 2, l. 589.
- 100 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 1, no. 14:65–6.
- 101 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 14:374.
- 102 On the Ottoman–Russian negotiations of 1685–86, when the Porte tried at all costs to prevent Moscow from entering the Holy League, see Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, “The Orthodox Exarchate of Little Rus': A Few Remarks on the Ottoman Confessional Policy in the Late Seventeenth Century,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 33 (2016), 247–55.
- 103 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:4–7.
- 104 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 149.
- 105 Quoted in Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 150.
- 106 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:179.
- 107 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:183.
- 108 Ibid.
- 109 Gramota “tsarei” i pravitel'nitsy Sof'i ot 17 iulia 1687 g. (Letter from the “tsars” and the regent Sophia dated 17 July 1687). *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, pt. 4, no. 186, 542–3.
- 110 *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, pt. 4, no. 186, 542–3.
- 111 Velichko, *Letopis' sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XVII veke*, vol. 3, 14.
- 112 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:184–5.
- 113 RGADA, f. 229, Malorossiiskii prikaz, op. 1, no. 41, ch. [pt.] 2, l. 584.

- 114 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 321.
- 115 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 321.
- 116 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 305–19.
- 117 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 305.
- 118 Surprisingly, neither Solov'ev nor Kostomarov nor Ohloblyn, nor any other historian, even those who describe in detail the circumstances of the overthrow of Samoilovych, pays attention to this interesting fact. S.M. Solov'ev, *Sochineniia*. Bk. 7: *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 14 (Moscow, 1991), 387–8; N.I. Kostomarov, “Ruina,” in *Aktual'naia istoriia Rossii* (Moscow, 1995), 402–3; Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Het'man van Mazepa ta ioho doba* (Toronto: Vyd. OOChSU – Ligy Vyzolennia Ukrainy, 1960, reprinted 2001), 75.
- 119 It is telling that with the exception of Patrick Gordon, none of the foreign officers were aware of the details of the power shift that was under way. For example, Franz Lefort, a participant in the campaign, wrote the following: “They suspected the hetman of the Cossacks of conniving with the Tatar khan. This seemed just, and he was seized with his two sons. Several lost their heads, and they sent the hetman and his sons to Siberia. They appointed Mazepa hetman.” *Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Moscow, 2006), 93.
- 120 Velichko, *Letopis' sobytii*, 15; Gordon, *Diary*, 4:184; according to de la Neville, Raicha uttered this phrase. *Rossia XV-XVII vv. glazami inostrantsev* (Leningrad, 1986), 494.
- 121 Velichko, *Letopis' sobytii*, vol. 3 15.
- 122 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 41, ch. (pt.) 2, l. 585.
- 123 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 41, ch. (pt.) 2, l. 584.
- 124 Quoted in Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 153.
- 125 Their future fates unfolded tragically. Samoilovych died within the year, and after several months his son also died. Iakiv's widow long implored “the great sovereigns” to permit her to return from Siberia to her brothers. Eventually this was permitted, and she even married the Starodub colonel Mykhailo Myklashevs'kyi. RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 41, ch. [pt.] 2, l. 582.
- 126 Versions of this explanation can be found in the following: L. Hughes, *Tsarevna Sofia* (Grand, 2001), 256; Solov'ev, 14:382–3. The third explanation is that the Cossack leaders' actions were orchestrated by Golitsyn: see Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa*, 73.
- 127 Quoted in Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 150.
- 128 *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, 4:181.

- 129 Gordon speaks of “the conspirators (if they might be so called),” understanding perfectly the essence of what had happened. *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:186.
- 130 I. Borshchak, “Liudyna i istorychnyi diiach,” in *Ivan Mazepa* (Kyiv, 1992), 57. For example, G.A. Sanin writes that Mazepa “immediately accommodated himself” to the stance of Golitsyn and Sophia. Sanin, *Bogdan Khmel’nitskii i Ivan Mazepa*, 80.
- 131 Dmitrii N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii Maloi Rossii* vol. 1, (Moscow, 1858), 297–304.
- 132 Ohloblyn, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa*, 81.
- 133 T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, “Donos starshyny na I. Samoilovycha: Analiz pershodzherela,” *Ukrains’kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (hereafter UIZh), no. 4 (2006), 190–201.
- 134 Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii Maloi Rossii*, 1:304.
- 135 N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa* (Moscow, 1995), 400.
- 136 Ohloblyn, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa*, 75.
- 137 In *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov*, at pt. 4, no. 186, 542–3, to which Solov’ev refers, the document “Gramota tsarei i Sof’i,” dated 17 July, is published, in which it is said that in the wagon train at the river Kilchen the Cossack leaders presented a petition (and further on the document lists them, including Mazepa).
- 138 S.M. Solov’iev, *Sochineniia*. Bk. 7: *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 14 (Moscow, 1991), 384–6.
- 139 M.N. Petrovs’kyi, *Narysy istorii Ukraïny*, vol. 1, 117.
- 140 Instytut rukopysy Natsional’noi biblioteky Ukraïny im. V. Vernads’ koho (hereafter IR NBUV), f. 8, no. 223/96, l. 410.
- 141 RGADA, f. 124, op. 2, no. 11, l. 11.
- 142 RGADA, f. 124, op. 2, no. 11, ll. 28–28 verso.
- 143 RGADA, f. 124, op. 2, no. 11, l. 6 verso.
- 144 A. Lazarevs’kyi, “Zametki o Mazepe,” *Kievskaia starina* (March 1898), 480.
- 145 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:185.
- 146 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 306.
- 147 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 320.
- 148 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:180.
- 149 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:190. A. Lazarenko mistakenly thought that this appointment took place before the Council.
- 150 Gordon, *Dnevnik 1684–1690*, 4:223 (Pis'mo grafu Midltonu [Letter to Count Middleton]).

- 151 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:189–190.
- 152 A.S. Lavrov, “Novyi istochnik o pervom Krymskom pokhode,” *Vestnik SPbGU*, Ser. 2 (October 1994), no. 4, 17.
- 153 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 100, 242.
- 154 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:165.
- 155 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:189.
- 156 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 321.
- 157 For example, it was Mazepa who took charge of the funeral of Ivan Samoilovych’s daughter, the *boyarina* (daughter of boyar) Sheremetev, in 1685, when the hetman himself was ill (*Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:66–8). He was also involved in the delicate matter of collecting the things belonging to the *boyarina* and Samoilovych’s son. *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:71.
- 158 “Popovych” (priest’s son) was Ivan Samoilovych’s nickname.
- 159 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 306.
- 160 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:188.
- 161 A. Lazarevskii noted that at the beginning of his career on the Left Bank, Mazepa was even compelled to be “yoked together” with a wealthy Cossack to work his own farm. Lazarevskiy, “Zametki o Mazepe,” 475.
- 162 Solov’ev, *Sochineniia*. Bk. 7: *Istoriia Rossii*, 14:390.
- 163 Kostomarov, “Ruina,” 400.
- 164 Ohloblyn, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 83.
- 165 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:188.
- 166 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 329.
- 167 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 328.
- 168 The monetary sums alone transferred to the hetman’s treasury consisted of 2,458 *chervonnykh zolotykh*, 23,716 thalers, 1,143 *levki* (lion thalers), 1,907 rubles 6 *altyn* [3-kopeck pieces] in silver kopecks, 2 rubles 25 *altyn* in Turkish money by Russian reckoning, 2 half-thalers with a quarter-thaler, 4 half-*levkis*, 34 quarters with a half-quarter of 3 half-pennies, and 15,404 rubles 4 *altyn* in Czech coins. *Russkaia Istricheskaia Biblioteka, izdavaemaia Arkheograficheskoi komissiei* (hereafter *Rus. Ist. Bibl.*), vol. 8 (St Petersburg, 1884), 965–6.
- 169 Silver bowls with Samoilovych’s crest stayed in Mazepa’s possession until his flight to Bendery. Ohloblyn, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 84.
- 170 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 41, ch. [pt.] 2, l. 588.
- 171 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 327–32.
- 172 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 324. Even the transportation of money didn’t go easily. Gordon wrote: “29,000 r[eih]s dollars of the late hetmans goods having been ordered to be sent to Mosko and being

- brought so far as Koluga, upon the hetmans writing that the Cosakes were murmuring hereat, it was ordered to be stop and sent back; yet about the same tyme a particular great b[ribe?] to a g[reat?] person sent.”
- Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:202.
- 173 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 330.
- 174 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 326.
- 175 De la Neville, *Rossiiia XV-XVII vv. glazami inostrantsev*, 509.
- 176 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1, no. 39, ll. 123–39.
- 177 G.A. Sanin, *Bogdan Khmel’nitskii i Ivan Mazepa*, 81.
- 178 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 324.
- 179 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 326.
- 180 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 327.
- 181 N. Ustrialov, *Istoriia tasrstvovaniia Petra Velikogo*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1858), Appendix no. 8, 356.
- 182 RGADA, f. 5, no. 2, l. 5.
- 183 For example, Mazepa sent wine to the conciliar secretary E. Ukraintsev and the secretaries of the Ambassadorial Office. *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 121, 286. Bribes at the time of Kochubei’s denunciation will be discussed below.
- 184 *Diary of General Patrich Gordon*, 4:183.
- 185 *Rozhdenie imperii* (Moscow, 1997), 266–7.
- 186 Oleksandr Ohloblyn referred to a unique piece of evidence in his monograph: in 1942 he saw in a certain private collection in Kyiv a portrait of Vasyli’ Kochubei with the inscription “Hetman Vasyli’ Kochubei.” Ohloblyn, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 274.
- 187 Velichko, *Letopis’ sobytii*, 3:15.

## CHAPTER TWO

- 1 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 307–19.
- 2 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 308.
- 3 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 10, no. 8, 439–40.
- 4 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 310.
- 5 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 311.
- 6 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 313.
- 7 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 314.
- 8 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 314.
- 9 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 317.
- 10 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 312.
- 11 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 312.

- 12 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 319.
- 13 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 318.
- 14 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 316.
- 15 Patrick Gordon, *Diary of General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, 1635–1699*, vol. 4: 1684–1689 (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 2015), 192.
- 16 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 55, 167.
- 17 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 101, 245–6.
- 18 “The *okol’nychy* Leonty Romanowits Niepluiuf went to the hetman, where they consulted about the carrying on of the war this yeare, and concluded to send to their Tzaar. M[ajesties] with their opinions that it would be fit to attacque Kasa-Kirmien, which if approved, then they desired that I might be sent thither to have the command there, with the title of *Ischodny Towaris*, and to have the command of the Belagrods regiments who should be in the army.” Gordon, *Diary*, 4:209.
- 19 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 39, 141.
- 20 “Spoke with the Judge Generall of the Cosakes and the chancellor, by whom I understood that the business of Kasa-Kirmien was at a stand, and scarsely like to be concluded or reserved on.” Gordon, *Diary*, 4:210.
- 21 Gordon, *Diary*, 4:210.
- 22 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 120, 282.
- 23 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 120, 282.
- 24 “The Judge Generall of the Cosakes came and gave me a visit, and told me some secrets of the effaires of the Ukraina and regrated that some factions were arising among the Cosakes who were not well satisfied with the hetman.” Gordon, *Diary*, 4:210.
- 25 “The Colonell of Pereaslaw Dimitraska dismissed, against expectations, the hetman having written, that for avoiding and preventing of stirs in the Ukraina, he should under one pretence or another be detained here; but using the Court fashion, made way for his returne by [...] And here it is found convenient to make and have as many of the Cosake colonels as possible independent, in a way, of the hetman, and not to let any hetman grow to such authority and greatness as the former.” Gordon, *Diary*, 4:214.
- 26 Gordon, *Diary*, 4:222.
- 27 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 101, 245–7.
- 28 A.P. Bogdanov, *Pervye rossiiskie diplomaty* (Moscow, 1991), 57–8.
- 29 For example, Nikolai Kostomarov wrote concerning Shaklovityi’s trip: “Confidence in the hetman will not be shaken in Moscow from such news.” “Mazepa,” in *Aktual’na istoriia Rossii* (Moscow: Ruina, 1995), 424.

- 30 In my own monograph, I wrote that they listened to Mazepa and that Sophia's government trusted him. See Tatiana G. Tairova-Yakovleva, *Mazepa* (Moscow, 2007), 72.
- 31 A. Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo k Mazepe v 1688 g.," *Kievskaiia starina*, no. 5 (1890), 199–200.
- 32 "[H]aving been sent to the Cosakish hetman upon three acco-ts: first, to consult about the ensuing expedition; 2dly, to try and sound the Cosaken concerning the bearing of some burthen for the maintenace and defence of the Empire and them; the 3d, privately to search and learne of the fidelity of the hetman, the affection and inclination of the Cosakes, and the constitution of the effaires." Gordon, *Diary*, 4:227–8.
- 33 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 84:215–16.
- 34 Isaia arrived in Moscow on 18 August 1688 (Old Style). N.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Reestry grecheskim delam moskovs'kogo arkhiva kollegii inostrannykh del* (Moscow, 2001), 199.
- 35 Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo," 204.
- 36 Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo," 206.
- 37 Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo," 207.
- 38 Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo," 226.
- 39 Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo," 209.
- 40 Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo," 212.
- 41 Vostokov, "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo," 216.
- 42 Gordon, *Diary*, 4:228.
- 43 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom i ego soobshchnikakh*, vol. 3, 4–5 (St Petersburg, 1884–93).
- 44 E. Shmurlo, "Padenie tsarevny Sof'i," *Zhurhal ministerstva narodnogo prosveshcheniia*, no. 303 (January 1896), 62.
- 45 De la Neville, *Rossiiia XV-XVII vv. glazami inostratscev* (Leningrad, 1986), 513.
- 46 Shmurlo, "Padenie tsarevny Sof'i," 62.
- 47 Even *Istoriia ukrains'koï kul'tury* does not refer to the significance of portraits produced by L. Tarasevych. *Istoriia ukrains'koï kul'tury*, vol. 3: *Ukrains'ka kul'tura druhoï polovyny XVII–XVIII stolit'* (Kyiv, 2003), 914 et al.
- 48 D.A. Rovinskii thinks this friend was another Ukrainian engraver, Shchyr's'kyi. Rovinskii, *Podrobnyi slovar' russkikh graverov XVI–XIX vv.* vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 1895), col. 982.
- 49 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 1:659–60.
- 50 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 1:660.
- 51 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 1:657.



- 52 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 1:595.
- 53 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 1:596.
- 54 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 1:657–8.
- 55 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 1:655–6.
- 56 *Dedichestvo*: a form of patronymic, a name derived from the name of one's grandfather.
- 57 Rovinskii, *Podrobnyi slovar' russkikh graverov*, vol. 1, 982–3.
- 58 A.P. Bogdanov, "Politicheskaiia graviura v Rossii perioda regenstva Sof'i Alekseevny," in *Istochnikovedenie otechestvennoi istorii* (Moscow, 1982), 242.
- 59 M. Semenovskii, "Sovremennye portrety Sofii Alekseevny i V.V. Golitsyna," *Russkie slovo*, no. 12 (1859), 444.
- 60 Bogdanov, "Politicheskaiia graviura v Rossii," 232–3.
- 61 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 546. Baranovych asked about this as early as March 1688. *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 449, 465.
- 62 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy*, no. 480, 510–16.
- 63 He is now acknowledged as a saint.
- 64 A.P. Bogdanov, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," *Voprosy istorii* (1988), no. 2, 93–4.
- 65 Bogdanov, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," no. 2, 94.
- 66 Bogdanov, "Sil'vestr Medvedev," no. 2, 94.
- 67 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 87, 219.
- 68 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy*, no. 157, 135. The authors of this publication did not understand the subject under discussion and spelled "Monastyrskii" with a capital letter.
- 69 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy*, no. 453, 474.
- 70 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 2, no. 11b.
- 71 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, nos. 39 and 40.
- 72 Paul Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 153.
- 73 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 203, ll. 5–5ob.).
- 74 *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, khaniashchikhsia v Gosudarstvennoi kollegii inostrannykh del*, pt. 4 (Moscow, 1828), no. 162, 480.
- 75 Shmurlo, "Padenie tsarevny Sof'i," 51–2.
- 76 *Perepiska patriarkha Ioakima s voevodami, byvshikh v Krymskikh pokhodakh 1687 i 1689 godov*, ed. L. Saferov (Simferopol, 1906), no. 4, 22.
- 77 Shmurlo, "Padenie tsarevny Sof'i," 79.
- 78 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 159.
- 79 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz), bk. 11 (Moskovskii stol.), no. 725, l. 282.

- 80 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz), bk. 11 (Moskovskii stol.), no. 725, l. 610.
- 81 Shmurlo, “Padenie tsarevny Sof’i,” 82.
- 82 *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov, khaniashchikhsia v Gosudarstvennoi kollegii inostrannykh del*, pt. 4 (Moscow, 1822), no. 199, 601–10.
- 83 Shmurlo, “Padenie tsarevny Sof’i,” 83.
- 84 De la Neville, “Liubopytnye i novye izvestiia o Moskovii,” in *Rossii XV–XVII vv. glazami inostrantsev* (Leningrad, 1986), 502.
- 85 “Dnevnye zapiski sv. Dmitriia Rostovskogo,” in *Drevniaia rossiiskaia viuliofika*, pt. 6 (St Petersburg, 1774), December, 355.
- 86 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy* vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2003), no. 161, 349.
- 87 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 32–4.
- 88 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 158, 343 et al. For more on the strong opinions expressed by Patriarch Ioakim upon the publication of the *Lives of the Saints* by Dymytrii Tuptalo (the future St Dymytrii of Rostov) see *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 159, 347; *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 5, nos. 78–79, 276–84.
- 89 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 3.
- 90 S. Velychko, *Letopis’ sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XVII veke*, vol. 3m, 82.
- 91 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 162, 354.
- 92 This date is found in both the diary of Dymytrii of Rostov and the files of the Little Russian Office.
- 93 RGADA, no. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz) op. 2, no. 57, ll. 25, 52–8 ob.
- 94 *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannnye i izdannnye Arkhivnoi komissiei*, vol. 5 (St Petersburg, 1853), no. 191, 224–5.
- 95 RGADA, no. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz) op. 2, no. 57, l. 58.
- 96 RGADA, no. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz) op. 2, no. 57, l. 58.
- 97 RGADA, no. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz) op. 2, no. 57, l. 58 ob.
- 98 RGADA, no. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz) op. 2, no. 57, l. 59.
- 99 RGADA, no. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz) op. 2, no. 57, ll. 54–54 ob.
- 100 “Dnevnye zapiski sv. Dmitriia Rosovskogo,” 355.
- 101 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 65 ob., 69.
- 102 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 66.
- 103 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 70; “Dnevnye zapiski sv. Dmitriia Rostovskogo,” 355.
- 104 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 191, 224–5.
- 105 *Litopys Samovydtzia*, ed. Ia. I. Dzyra (Kyiv, 1972), 149.
- 106 Quoted in Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 163.

- 107 A superfluous argument, shattering the cliché about Mazepa’s “pro-Polish” sympathies.
- 108 A.S. Lavrov, *Regentstvo tsarevny Sof’i Alekseevny* (Moscow, 1999), 161–2.
- 109 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 163.
- 110 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 164.
- 111 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 115 ob.
- 112 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 166.
- 113 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, vol. 3, 2–3. On Nepliev, see *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, vol. 2, 533–4.
- 114 Nikolai Kostomarov wrote that Mazepa arrived on 9 September. He is responsible for the cliché depicting the hetman “awaiting Peter’s summons with fear. Von Kokhen wrote that Mazepa left on 7 September (Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 167). The decree on Mazepa’s leave to go to Trinity Monastery was given to Shaklovityi on 30 August (RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 115 ob.). According to Dymytrii of Rostov, the meeting with Peter occurred on 10 September; in a report in the Little Russian Office concerning the meeting the date is omitted.
- 115 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 75.
- 116 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 79.
- 117 *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1872):88.
- 118 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 76 ob.–77.
- 119 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 76–76 ob.
- 120 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 124, 289.
- 121 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 3.
- 122 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 79–79 ob.
- 123 “Dnevnye zapiski sv. Dmitriia Rostovskogo,” 355.
- 124 “Dnevnye zapiski sv. Dmitriia Rostovskogo,” 356.
- 125 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 83 ob.–84.
- 126 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 92.
- 127 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 258.
- 128 Gordon wrote that Peter wanted to give life “to all the malefactors” but, persuaded by the patriarch, agreed to execute three. *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, vol. 3, 6.
- 129 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 129 ob.
- 130 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 85 ob.
- 131 This goblet, weighing five *grivenki* [a *grivenka* was equal to 400 grams or approximately one pound), was specially obtained from the Treasury Office. *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom*, vol. 1, 91.

- 132 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 110 ob.
- 133 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 87 ob.–88.
- 134 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 206.
- 135 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 93.
- 136 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 116.
- 137 “Dnevnye zapiski sv. Dmitriia Rostovskogo,” 356.
- 138 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 165:359.
- 139 “Dnevnye zapiski sv. Dmitriia Rostovskogo,” 356.
- 140 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, vol. 1, 544–5.
- 141 Viktor Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo* (Moscow, 2004), 27–8.
- 142 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 168, 367.
- 143 Patrick Gordon wrote that the Monk (Monastyrsky) was a baptized Jew and perhaps therefore feared especially for his fate. Gordon, *Diary*, 3:70.
- 144 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 205, l. 20.
- 145 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 1, no. 205, l. 20.
- 146 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 168, 367–8.
- 147 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv-Lviv, 2002), no. 197, 243.
- 148 P.V. Sedov, *Zakat Moskovskogo tsarstva. Tsarskii dvor kontsa XVII veka* (St Petersburg, 2006), 160.
- 149 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 3[?]:950.
- 150 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 3[?]:990–1.
- 151 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 3[?]:1036.
- 152 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, 3:1209.
- 153 *Rozysknye dela o Fedore Shaklovitom*, vol. 1, no. 172, 375–6; vol. 3, 1172.
- 154 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 117, 266.
- 155 For more details concerning this see Andrzej S. Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy: Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 201–28. He believes the affair was inspired by Golitsyn.
- 156 Paul Bushkovitch mistakenly writes that Peter was “proposing to accommodate Mazepa’s desires for a revision of the articles of election that defined the hetman’s position.” Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 169.
- 157 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 225 ob.–226.
- 158 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 167.
- 159 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 130–130 ob.
- 160 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 167, 365.
- 161 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 154 ob.–155.
- 162 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, ll. 209–209 ob.

- 163 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 218.  
 164 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 258.  
 165 As early as November 1689, Peter again sent rich gifts to Mazepa and the officers. *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom*, vol. 1, 98–9.  
 166 For example, Serhii Pavlenko calls assessments of the results of Mazepa's meeting with Peter "a fantastic exaggeration." Pavlenko, *Ivan Mazepa* (Kyiv, 2003), 132.

## CHAPTER THREE

- 1 M.M. Plokhinskii, *Hetman Mazepa v roli velikorusskogo pomeshchika* (Khar'kov, 1892).  
 2 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii, sobrannye D. Bantysh-Kamenskim i izd. O. Bodianskim*, vol. 1, in *Chteniiia v Imperatorskom obshchestve Istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* (hereafter *ChO IDR*), bk. 2, s. 1 (Moscow, 1858), 173.  
 3 See T.G. Yakovleva, "Moskovs'ki statti het'mana Ivana Mazepy," *Ukrains'kyi arkhieografichnyi shchorichnyk*, vyp. 10/11 (Kyiv, 2006), 450–7.  
 4 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 129 ob.  
 5 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 130.  
 6 See T.G. Yakovleva, "Bohdan Khem'nyts'kyi i riadove kozatstvo," *UIZh*, no. 4 (1995), 56–67.  
 7 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy 1687–1709*, NTSh (Kyiv-Lviv, 2002), no. 1, 52–3.  
 8 <sup>9</sup> RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 119–119 ob.  
 9 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 119 ob.  
 10 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 119 ob.–120.  
 11 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 131 ob.  
 12 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 132.  
 13 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 140 ob.  
 14 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv-Lviv, 2002), no. 240, 287; *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv-Lviv, 2006), no. 214a, 256.  
 15 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv-Lviv, 2006), no. 88, 133.  
 16 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv-Lviv, 2006), no. 264, 304–5.  
 17 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv-Lviv, 2006), no. 131, 175.  
 18 Venedikt Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.* (Prague, 1924) vol. 1: 117.  
 19 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 5, no. 142, 309.  
 20 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.* vol. 2, (Prague, 1924), 24.

- 21 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 220.
- 22 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 310.
- 23 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 145 ob.–146.
- 24 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 125 ob.
- 25 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 126.
- 26 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 146.
- 27 Interestingly, Miakotin was not aware of this change introduced into the Moscow Articles and therefore believed that Mazepa had violated the established conditions. Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:77–9.
- 28 M. Vozniak, “Benders'ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, 122.
- 29 Ivan Krypiakevych, “Ukrains'kyi derzhavnyi skarb za Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho,” *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. T. Shevchenka* (hereafter ZNTSh), vol. 130 (Lviv, 1920), 73–106.
- 30 *Dym* (smoke) = *dom* (house) – thus, a tax levied on each house.
- 31 *Shynok* (tavern) = *kabak* (tavern). The former term was used more often in those parts of Ukraine that had been under Polish rule.
- 32 *Mito* – tax from mills; *pohrebel'na* – tax from each *dam* (mill); *mostovshchyna* – tax from each bridge (*mist*); *pokazanshchyna* – *horilka* (vodka) was prepared in a cauldron (*kazan*).
- 33 Ivan Krypiakevych, “Ukrains'kyi derzhavnyi skarb za Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho,” 98.
- 34 Ivan Krypiakevych, “Ukrains'kyi derzhavnyi skarb za Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho,” 99–101.
- 35 *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei*, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1953), no. 245, 561.
- 36 V.A. Barvynskiy, *Zametki po istorii finansovogo upravleniia v Het'manschine* (Khar'kov, 1914), 6.
- 37 T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, *Het'manschyna v drubii polovyni 50-kh rokiv XVII stolittia, prychny i pochatok ruiny* (Kyiv, 1998), 53–98.
- 38 Barvinskii, *Zametki po istorii finansovogo upravleniia v Het'manschine*, 8.
- 39 *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (hereafter, *Akty IuZR*) vol. 13 (St Petersburg, 1878), no. 163, 717–18.
- 40 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy 1687–1709*, no. 1, 61.
- 41 In this matter A. Lazarevs'kyi is entirely mistaken in thinking that Mazepa initiated the abolition of the leasehold system and that it was supposedly restored by the tsar's decree. A. Lazarevs'kyi, “Zametki o Mazepe,” *Kievskaiia starina* (April 1898), 146–7.
- 42 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 70, 188.
- 43 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 117.

- 44 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 117 ob.
- 45 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 118.
- 46 RGADA, f. (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 118–118 ob.
- 47 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 130 ob.
- 48 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, l. 130 ob.
- 49 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 131–131 ob.
- 50 The Council of Officers during Mazepa's hetmanship met twice a year: at Christmas and Easter.
- 51 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 57, ll. 139–139 ob.
- 52 These proclamations were not included in the two-volume *Universaly Ivana Mazepy*, published in Kyiv. I managed to find a copy of the proclamation sent to the Kyiv regiment. Undoubtedly those sent to other regions of the Ukrainian Hetmanate were similar.
- 53 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 205, ll. 73–4.
- 54 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 205, ll. 74–5.
- 55 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 205, ll. 75–80.
- 56 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 182, 392.
- 57 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 204, l. 86.
- 58 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 204, l. 104.
- 59 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 204, l. 104.
- 60 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 204, l. 110.
- 61 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 204, l. 105.
- 62 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 204, ll. 109–10.
- 63 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 204, l. 110.
- 64 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 58, l. 1 ob.
- 65 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 140, 190–1.
- 66 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 198, 243–4.
- 67 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 161, 213.
- 68 *Istochniki dlia istorii zaporozhskikh kazakov*, vol. 1, 324.
- 69 *Istochniki dlia istorii zaporozhskikh kazakov*, vol. 1, 408.
- 70 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii, sobrannye D. Bantysh-Kamenskim*, 2:8–9; *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 120, 164–5.
- 71 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, 2:5.
- 72 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, 2:5.
- 73 In Zaporizhia there was even a pikefish called “Sarah” – the free horsemen so hated female tavernkeepers.
- 74 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, 2:6.
- 75 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, 2:10–14.
- 76 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 14:506. Unfortunately, I have still not found in the files of RGADA the materials he cites.

- 77 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, 14:506.
- 78 V. Miakotin mistakenly wrote that this plan had not been realized. Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:136.
- 79 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 176, 220.
- 80 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 224, 265.
- 81 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 237, 267–77.
- 82 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 306, 351 et al.
- 83 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 232, 272.
- 84 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, 2:11.
- 85 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 46, 581.
- 86 M. Vozniak, *Benders'ka komisiiia po smerti Mazepy*," in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, *Pratsi ukrains'koho naukovoho instytutu*, no. 46 (Warsaw, 1938), 121.
- 87 According to other data, in 1708 the Pryluky regiment made 2,680 *zloty* per year. *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), nos. 499–500, 535.
- 88 According to D.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, 100,000.
- 89 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 286, 328.
- 90 Dmitrii N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii Maloi Rossii* (Moscow, 1858), 572.
- 91 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 104, 148.
- 92 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 579, 730–1.
- 93 Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii Maloi Rossii*, 572.
- 94 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii, sobrannye D. Bantysh-Kamenskim*, K. 2, 109.
- 95 Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii Maloi Rossii*, 572.
- 96 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 279, 321–2.
- 97 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 116.
- 98 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 199, 240.
- 99 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 95, 139.
- 100 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), nos. 488–9, 524.
- 101 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 89, 618.
- 102 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:110–11.
- 103 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:125.
- 104 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:16.
- 105 Oleksandr Ohloblyn, *Het'mana Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 104–9; Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi fabryki* (Kyiv, 1925).
- 106 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6 (St Petersburg, 1907), 447.
- 107 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:138.
- 108 V.A. Barvinskii, *Zametki po istorii finansovogo upravleniia v Het'manshchine*, 16.
- 109 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:124.



- 110 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:92.
- 111 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:94–5.
- 112 M. Plokhinskii, *Het'man Mazepa v roli velikoruskogo pomeshchika* (Khar'kov, 1892), 4.
- 113 RGADA, f. 135, pervyi otdel (first section [of the fond?]), rubrika (rubric) 4, no. 53.
- 114 Plokhinskii, *Het'man Mazepa v roli velikoruskogo pomeshchika*, 11.
- 115 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz [Military Service Office]), op. 11 (Moskovskii stol [Moscow bureau]), no. 1855, l. 3.
- 116 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:99.
- 117 D. Doroshenko, “Mazepa v istorychnii literaturi i v zhytti,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1:22.
- 118 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, no. 546:217.
- 119 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, no. 546:217.
- 120 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii Sankt-Peterburga*, vyp. 1 (St Petersburg, 2006), no. 110:56.
- 121 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 112:57.
- 122 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz [Military Service Office]), op. 11 (Moskovskii stol [Moscow Bureau]), no. 1855, ll. 10, 40, 43, 48, et al.
- 123 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz [Military Service Office]), op. 11 (Moskovskii stol [Moscow Bureau]), no. 1855, ll. 94–218, 321–7, 349–57, 375–8, et al.
- 124 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 129:68.
- 125 Plokhinskii, *Het'man Mazepa v roli velikoruskogo pomeshchika*, 5.
- 126 Here one may recall the officers' statements during the Bendery Commission of 1709. For example, I. Lomykovs'kyi, D. Horlenko, P. Orlyk, F. Myrovych, and K. Hordienko declared: “hitherto unknown to us were the hidden thoughts and secret intentions of the same hetman” (M. Vozniak, “Benders'ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, in *Pratsi ukrains'koho naukovooho instytutu*, vol. 46 [Warsaw, 1938], 115). P. Orlyk's *Konstyutsiia* also contains a hint of dissatisfaction with Mazepa's autocratic policies: “However, some of the hetmans of the Zaporozhye Troops seized unlimited power, completely defying equality and customs, and arbitrarily established the law: ‘I so wish – so I command’” (*Persha konstyutsiia Ukraïny het'mana Pylypa Orlyka* [Kyiv, 1994], 30).
- 127 T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, *Het'manshchyna v druhii polovyni 50-kh rokiv XVII stolittia, prychny i pochatok ruiny* (Kyiv, 1998), 411–18.
- 128 Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 111–12.

- 129 *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii Iuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoiu komissieiu*, vol. 11 (St Petersburg, 1879), 764.
- 130 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:28–30.
- 131 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:32.
- 132 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:45.
- 133 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:69.
- 134 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:81.
- 135 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:80.
- 136 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:74–5.
- 137 Evarnitskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii zaporozhskikh kazakov*. vol. 1 (Vladimir, 1908), no. 69, 324.
- 138 Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii Maloi Rossii*, 2:5.
- 139 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:161–78.
- 140 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:159.
- 141 Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 181.
- 142 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:151, 170–1.
- 143 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy 1687–1709* (NTSh: Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 343, 379.
- 144 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 343, 379.
- 145 G.L. Boplan [de Beauplan], *Opisanie Ukrainy* (Moscow, 2004), 159.
- 146 OR RNB, f. 293, op. 1, no. 453, l. 1.
- 147 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 105, 150.
- 148 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 105, 151.
- 149 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 345, 211.
- 150 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 437.
- 151 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 348, 214–15.
- 152 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 29, 128–9.
- 153 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 43, 146.
- 154 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 52, 161.
- 155 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 60, 173.
- 156 On the right bank of the river Samara, where it flows into the Dnipro.
- 157 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 78, 201.
- 158 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 94, 234.
- 159 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 107, 258.
- 160 Arkhiv IISPB RAN, f. 200, op. 3, no. 7.
- 161 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 111, 267.
- 162 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 139, 311–12.
- 163 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, nos. 146, 147, 150: 321, 323, 328.
- 164 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 157, 342–3.

- 165 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 161, 349–50
- 166 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 163, 356.
- 167 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 165, 360.
- 168 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 164, 358.
- 169 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 169, 368–9.
- 170 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 100, 243.
- 171 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 83, 213.
- 172 RGADA, Malorossiiskie dela, op. 3, no. 609.
- 173 Andrzej S. Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy: Poland-Lithuania and Russia, 1686–1697* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 201–28; S.M. Solov'ev, 14:472–3.
- 174 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 185, 399–400. For more details see Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy*; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman and Polish Diplomatic Relations (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> Century)* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne: Brill, 2000).
- 175 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 174, 378–9.
- 176 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 184, 398.
- 177 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 188, 406.
- 178 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 212, 443–4.
- 179 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 213, 444–5.
- 180 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 215, 449–50.
- 181 Evarnitskii, *istorii zaporozhskikh kazakov*, vol. 1, no. 56, 297–302.
- 182 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 214, 446–7.
- 183 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 47.
- 184 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 14, 614. I have not yet managed to find the original documents Solovyov used.
- 185 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1, no. 6, ll. 6 ob.–7.
- 186 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1702–1704), no. 12, l. 8.
- 187 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1, no. 6, l. 9.
- 188 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 364–5.
- 189 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1702–04), no. 12, ll. 9 ob., 11 ob.
- 190 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 364–5.
- 191 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 33, 22.
- 192 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 364–5.
- 193 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 15, 119.
- 194 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 43.
- 195 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1702), no. 4, l. 9.
- 196 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 446.
- 197 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 244, 207.
- 198 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 244, 207.

- 199 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 50, 31.  
200 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 51.  
201 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 15:120.  
202 RGADA, f. 124 (1703), no. 5, l. 53 ob.  
203 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709 (Moscow, 2009), no. 145, 171.  
204 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 85, 45–6.  
205 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 147, 173.  
206 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 90, 47–8.  
207 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 194.  
208 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, no. 546, 213.  
209 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 15:120.  
210 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 105, 54.  
211 RGADA, (Malorossiiskie dela), f. 124, op. 4, no. 53.  
212 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 115, 61–2.  
213 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 109, 55.  
214 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 15:121.  
215 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 121, 63.  
216 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 219, 106.  
217 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 217, 105.  
218 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 285, 132–3.  
219 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1412.  
220 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 13.  
221 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1420.  
222 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1413.  
223 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 786, 933.  
224 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 788, 936–7.  
225 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 790, 939–40.  
226 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 791, 941.  
227 *Arkhiv IISPB RAN*, f. 200, op. 3, no. 8.  
228 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 288, 135–6.  
229 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 794, 944.  
230 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 796, 947.  
231 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 797, 948.  
232 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 241, 116–17.  
233 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 800, 952–3.  
234 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 802, 954.  
235 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 292, 142.  
236 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 248, 119.

- 237 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobraniï*, 1: no. 286, 133.
- 238 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 39, ll. 1–2.
- 239 Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istochniki dlia istorii Maloi Rossii*, 2:54.
- 240 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1500.
- 241 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1512.
- 242 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, nos. 1520, 1524, et al.
- 243 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 73, ll. 1 ob.–2.
- 244 N. Pavlenko and V. Artamonov, 27 *iunia 1709* (Moscow, 1989), 164–5 et al.
- 245 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 697–8.
- 246 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 374, 331.
- 247 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 1, 599.
- 248 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 1, 562.
- 249 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 705.

## CHAPTER FOUR

- 1 Even Vladimir A. Artamonov, who can hardly be accused of great love for the hetman, writes: “It is indisputable that Mazepa possessed an intellect, diplomatic abilities, and a broad political outlook.” Vladimir A. Artamonov, *Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Het'manshchinu v 1708 g.* (St Petersburg, 2008), 7.
- 2 Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Century)* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2000), 151.
- 3 Andrzej S. Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy*, 106.
- 4 M. Kucherniuk, “Pidpil'nyi front Bohdana Khmel'nyc'kogo,” *Zhovten'*, no. 10 (1978), 134–42.
- 5 Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy*, 132.
- 6 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, l. 1 ob.
- 7 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, l. 4.
- 8 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688 P. 7 ob.–8.
- 9 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, p. 10–11.
- 10 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, p. 11.
- 11 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, p. 12.
- 12 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, p. 12 ob.
- 13 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, p. 13–14.
- 14 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, p. 7 ob.
- 15 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 688, p. 13.
- 16 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, pp. 30–2.
- 17 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, p. 33.

- 18 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, p. 55.
- 19 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, p. 49.
- 20 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, p. 56.
- 21 That is, a treaty or negotiated (*dogovornaia*) charter.
- 22 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, pp. 62–3.
- 23 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, p. 65.
- 24 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskie prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, no. 30, p. 33.
- 25 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 57 ob.; f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1422.
- 26 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 57. Mazepa wrote in September 1705 in one of his letters to G.F. Dolgoruky: “Yesterday, that is, 4 September, my people returned from Warsaw, whence they had departed on 1 September, whom I had sent there instead of spies to learn of any actions.” Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 66, p. 1–1 ob.
- 27 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1420 et al.
- 28 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 9, 15.
- 29 M.M. Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 2007), 354.
- 30 *Dvortsovye razriady*, vol. 4 (St Petersburg, 1855), 1146–7.
- 31 *Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi imperii* (hereafter AVPRI). Dariusz Kołodziejczyk: “A man, a woman and livestock crossing the borders of the *Dar al-Islam*. A glimpse into everyday life of the *sancak* of Hotin in the early eighteenth century,” (unpublished manuscript).
- 32 Kamiński, *Republic vs. Autocracy*, 247.
- 33 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 232, 195–6.
- 34 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:58.
- 35 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:380.
- 36 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: nos. 7 and 8, 15.
- 37 L.E. Semenova, *Kniazhestva Valakhii i Moldavii: konets XIV–nachalo XIX v. Ocherk vneshnepoliticheskoi istorii* (Moscow, 2006), 270.
- 38 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 235, 197.
- 39 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 2:189–90.
- 40 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 117, 62; no. 199, 99.
- 41 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 71. Zgur’s brother was also in Mazepa’s service. Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2919, l. 1 ob.
- 42 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 238, 199.
- 43 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 99, 52.

- 44 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, ll. 28–28 ob.
- 45 David Korbia, a Wallachian *chaush* (courier [gonets]) and continuous representative in Moscow.
- 46 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 71.
- 47 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 5:311–12.
- 48 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1216, l. 1. Evidently the issue under consideration concerned an alliance of all the Balkan peoples, which the Wallachian hospodar Constantin Brâncoveanu, Patriarch of Jerusalem Dionysius, and others had fostered. See Semenova, *Kniazhestva Valakhiia i Moldaviia*, 268–9.
- 49 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1216, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 50 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 244, 206.
- 51 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 50, 31.
- 52 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo* (St Petersburg, 1907), vol. 2, 341–9.
- 53 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 472.
- 54 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1703), no. 3, l. 2.
- 55 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1703), no. 3, l. 2.
- 56 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1702–1704), no. 12, p. 8 ob.–9.
- 57 T.K. Krylova completely ignores Mazepa's role in settling the conflict with the Greek merchants. Krylova, "Russkaia diplomatiia na Bosfore v nachale XVIII veka," *Istoricheskie zapiski* 65 (1959), 249–77.
- 58 See Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Between Universalistic Claims and Reality: Ottoman Frontiers in the Early Modern Period," in *The Ottoman World*, ed. Christine Woodhead (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), 211.
- 59 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, no. 761, 219; *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 54, 33. Even Peter's decree to Mazepa that the latter forward Tolstoi's letters from Constantinople to Moscow has been preserved. *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 39, 24–5.
- 60 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 108, 55; no. 116, 62.
- 61 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1447.
- 62 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1447, l. 1.
- 63 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1447, p. 1.
- 64 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 277, 127, 128.
- 65 It is curious that T.K. Krylova, in analyzing Russo-Turkish relations in the period of interest of the present study, mentions not a word concerning



Mazepa's role in these relations. This is attributable to censorship. She had to have known that a large part of P.A. Tolstoi's correspondence passed through the hetman's hands, for by Turkish tradition the Russian ambassador was officially forbidden to correspond with Moscow. Krylova, "Russkaia diplomatiia na Bosfore v nachale XVIII veka."

- 66 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 113, 57–9; no. 152, 77; no. 159, 82–3.
- 67 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 30–5.
- 68 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, ll. 55–70.
- 69 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 153, ll. 82–82 ob.
- 70 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 251, 214.
- 71 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1420.
- 72 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 292, 141.
- 73 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 292, 142.
- 74 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 35, l. 1.
- 75 T.K. Krylova mistakenly thought that Tarlo arrived for the first time only in the summer of 1708. Krylova, "Russkaia diplomatiia na Bosfore v nachale XVIII veka," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, 269.
- 76 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 33, l. 2.
- 77 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 40, ll. 1–2 ob.
- 78 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 47.
- 79 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 86, l. 3.
- 80 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 73, ll. 2–2 ob.
- 81 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 73, l. 8.
- 82 G. Adlerfelt, *The military history of Charles XII king of Sweden. To which is added an exact account of the battle of Poltava, with a journal of the king's retreat to Bender*, vol. 2 (London, 1740), 374.
- 83 Nikolai Kostomarov argued that these negotiations were an attempt at mediation by the Silistran pasha. L.E. Semenova writes: "Diplomats who were contemporaries of these events mistakenly thought Yusuf-pasha's agent, who had arrived at the Swedish headquarters in the autumn of 1707, was the Turkish ambassador." Semenova, *Kniazhestva Valakhii i Moldavii*, 276. In this case, she repeats the argument of T.K. Krylova, who relied on Swedish historiography and not on primary sources. In addition, she herself writes, "Yusuf Pasha's circle became the center of complex diplomatic intrigues." Krylova, "Russkaia diplomatiia na Bosfore v nachale XVIII veka," 263–4. And one should not separate the *serasker's* actions from the Porte's policy. In fact, in this instance Adlerfelt seems to



be quite a reliable source as the official historian of the Swedish king, who was in the camp during the negotiations.

- 84 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 494–5.
- 85 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 485.
- 86 I.I. Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, vol. 3, 274.
- 87 “Diplomaticheskaiia perepiska angliiskikh poslov i poslannikov pri russkom dvore,” *Sbornik imperatorskogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 39 (St Petersburg, 1884), 443–4.
- 88 “Diplomaticheskaiia perepiska angliiskikh poslov i poslannikov pri russkom dvore,” *Sbornik imperatorskogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 39 (St Petersburg, 1884), 445.
- 89 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 500.
- 90 Orest Subtelny and Oleksander P. Ohloblyn, eds., *On the Eve of Poltava: The Letters of Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniawski, 1704–1708* (New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, 1975), no. 37, 74–5.
- 91 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 44, 82.
- 92 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 57, ll. 1–2 ob.
- 93 Krylova, “Russkaia diplomatiia na Bosfore v nachale XVIII veka,” 272.
- 94 S.F. Oreshkova, *Russko-turetskie otnosheniia v nachale XVIII v.* (Moscow, 1971), 60.
- 95 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 3312, ll. 1–1 ob.; no. 3326, l. 1–1 ob.

#### CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 The recent work of V. Stanislavs'kyi on the relations between Ivan Mazepa and Semen Palii also concludes at the year 1700, that is, it is limited to the period before the extension of the hetman's rule to the Right Bank. V. Stanislavs'kyi, “Vzaiemnyy Ivana Mazepy z Semenom Paliem ta ukraïns'ko-pol's'ki stosunky na Pravoberezhnii Ukraïni za danymy neopublikovanykh dzherel,” *Ukraïna v Tsentral'no-Skhidnii Ievropi*, no. 8 (Kyiv, 2008), 316–36; Oleksander Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba* (Toronto: Vyd. OOChSU – Ligy Vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1960).
- 2 Trakhtemyriv [Trakhtemirov] (Terekhtemirov, Trekhtemirov) is a town on the Dnipro between Kaniv and Cherkasy.
- 3 For more detail on this see T. Yakovleva, *Het'manshchyna v drubhyi polovyni 50-kh rokiv XVII stolittia, prychny i pochatok ruiny* (Kyiv, 1998), 54–5.
- 4 *Reiestr Viis'ka Zaporoz'koho 1649 roku* (Kyiv, 1995).

- 5 *Reiestr Viis'ka Zaporoz'koho 1649 roku*, 500–3.
- 6 V.N. Zaruba, *Ukrainskoe kazatskoe voisko v bor'be s turetsko-tatarskoi agressiei (posledniaia chetvert' XVII veka* (Kharkiv, 1993), 78.
- 7 Kochegarov, *Rech' Pospolitaia i Rossiia*, 208.
- 8 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 2, no. 11, l. 4.
- 9 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 296–7.
- 10 Velichko, *Letopis' sobytii v Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, vol. 3, 125.
- 11 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, nos. 7 to 9, 92–8.
- 12 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 83, 213–14.
- 13 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 159, 347.
- 14 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 5, nos. 78 and 79, 276–84.
- 15 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 5, nos. 108 and 111, 348–9, 356–7.
- 16 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1190.
- 17 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 500.
- 18 J. Perdenia, *Stanowisko Rzeczypospolitey szlacheckiej wobec sprawy Ukrainy na przelomie XVII–XVIII w.* (Wroclaw, Warszawa, and Krakow, 1963), 44.
- 19 “Pis'ma k Het'manu Ivanu Mazepie ob ego sestre, gospozhe Voinarovskoi,” *ChOIDR* (Moscow, 1848), no. 5.
- 20 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, ll. 45–6.
- 21 “Pis'mo Mazepy o zaselenii Pravoberezhnogo prydneprov'ia v k. XVII v.,” *Kievskaia starina* 5 (1898), 52.
- 22 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 33.
- 23 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 240, 202.
- 24 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 240, 203.
- 25 For more details see Viktor Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo* (Moscow, 2004), 230–44.
- 26 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 222, 185.
- 27 *Universalny Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 325, 360–1.
- 28 “Pis'mo mitropolita kievskogo Varlaama Iasinskogo k Petru I o pereiaslavskom episkopstve,” *Kievskaia starina*, no. 9, 1901, 53–5.
- 29 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 334, 192–4.
- 30 *Universalny Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 230, 270. From the content of the universal it is not clear to whom the mills previously belonged. «отдати млини наши Воичанские [to give our Voichanskie mills]»; it is possible they belonged to Mazepa himself.
- 31 *Universalny Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 336, 195–6.
- 32 *Universalny Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), no. 338, 374–5; *Universalny Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006, no. 229, 269.

- 33 I do not at all share the opinion of some historians (such as M. Andrusiak) that there was no fundamental difference between the views of Palii and Mazepa and that they belonged to the same social class. Such statements seem simply an attempt to make Mazepa more attractive and more like a folk hero, which, of course, Palii was. On the contrary, I believe that the desire to introduce a strong state administration is much more worthy of respect than a policy based on anarchic, irresponsible, and, above all, completely unproductive slogans.
- 34 It should be noted that the overwhelming majority of works in the historiography on the Right Bank concerned specifically Mazepa's relations with Palii. These works include the studies by N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, M. Andrusiak, and others (M. Andrusiak, *Mazepa i Pravoberezhzhia* [Lviv, 1938]; N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Palii ta Mazepa* [Augsburg, 1949]). As for the history of the Right Bank's incorporation into the Ukrainian Hetmanate during the Great Northern War, Nikolai Kostomarov, M. Andrusiak, and V. Kordt touched on this issue only in part. V. Kordt, "Materiialy z Stokhol'm's'koho arkhivu do istorii Ukraïny p. XVII–pochatku XVIII vv.," *Ukraïns'kyi arkhieohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1930), 17–55. Oleksandr Ohloblyn in his monograph did not examine the accession of the Right Bank at all, although it remains a very important aspect for understanding the events of 1708.
- 35 Andrusiak, *Mazepa i Pravoberezhzhia*, 7–9.
- 36 *Lysty Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 106, 257.
- 37 *Lysty Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 180, 389.
- 38 *Lysty Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 184, 398–9.
- 39 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 5, no. 205, 233–5.
- 40 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2002), nos. 147–8, 196–200.
- 41 *Lysty Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 206, 436.
- 42 *Litopys Samovydtisia* (Kyiv, 1971), 152–3.
- 43 N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Istoriia Ukraïny* (Kyiv, 1995), 2:59.
- 44 N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *Palii ta Mazepa*, 6.
- 45 Solov'ev, *Istoriia Rossii*, vol. 14, 578.
- 46 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1251.
- 47 An interesting fact: in November 1700 Palii issued a universal concerning the defence of the property of Kyiv's Zlatoverkho-Mykhailovsky Monastery. Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 68, no. 155. Mazepa could see in this a move toward property rights.
- 48 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, bk. 2, 31.
- 49 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 32–3.
- 50 One wonders: was this about a future aspirant to the throne?

- 51 N.G. Ustrialov, *Istoriia tsarstvovaniia Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 1858), Appendix no. 7, 552.
- 52 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1298.
- 53 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 2, no. 150, 449–50.
- 54 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1702), no. 36 (“On the capture of Belaia Tserkov' by Russian arms”).
- 55 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 2, no. 172, 493–4.
- 56 RGADA, f. 124, (1702), no. 4, l. 3 ob.
- 57 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 437, 461.
- 58 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 2, no. 160, 464–5; no. 164, 470–4; no. 168, 483–4; no. 173, 494–5.
- 59 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1. (1702), no. 4, l. 1.
- 60 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 45, 29; *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 2, no. 174, 495.
- 61 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, no. 486, 122.
- 62 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 39–40.
- 63 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 66, 37.
- 64 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 249, 212. In the publication the document is incorrectly dated 1705.
- 65 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 [1703], no. 9, l. 1 ob.
- 66 On the Dnipro, above Kyiv.
- 67 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 2732, 316.
- 68 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1703), no. 9, ll. 2–2 ob.
- 69 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 41. Although some historians consider the date of the establishment of this order as 1705, the original of Augustus II's order in the Baturyn archive is dated 1703. RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1330.
- 70 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, no. 575, 238.
- 71 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 547–8.
- 72 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2, 646.
- 73 T. Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeiskykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv–Poltava, 1995), 85.
- 74 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 46.
- 75 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 165, 85.
- 76 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 91 ob.
- 77 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1704), no. 2, ll. 7–7 ob.
- 78 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 41.
- 79 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 169, 88.
- 80 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 165, 86.

- 81 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 165, 85.
- 82 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 40.
- 83 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 173, 89.
- 84 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, no. 650, 60.
- 85 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, ll. 78–78 ob.
- 86 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 89 ob.
- 87 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 78 ob.
- 88 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 91.
- 89 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, ll. 232–232 ob.
- 90 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 233.
- 91 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, ll. 233 ob.–234.
- 92 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 205.
- 93 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2966, l. 1 ob.
- 94 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2709, l. 1.
- 95 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2966, l. 1 ob.
- 96 *Universalny Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 290, 332–4.
- 97 RGADA, f. 79 (Snosheniia Rossii s Pol'shei), op. 4, no. 73.
- 98 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 169.
- 99 N.I. Kostomarov, *Ruina. Mazepa. Mazepintsy* (Moscow, 1995), 551–2. I have not yet found the original of this document, but in tone it is very close to extant letters from Mazepa to Golovin.
- 100 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, ll. 237–237 ob.
- 101 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 234.
- 102 RGADA, f. 124, op. 3, no. 1367.
- 103 *Istorychni pisni* (Kyiv, 1961), 310.
- 104 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 289 ob.
- 105 *Universalny Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 291, 335.
- 106 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 293.
- 107 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 299 ob.
- 108 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 289 ob.–290.
- 109 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, ll. 293–294.
- 110 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, ll. 294–294 ob.
- 111 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 289 ob.
- 112 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 331.
- 113 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, 680.
- 114 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, no. 2709, l. 1 ob.
- 115 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 234.
- 116 RGADA, f. 79 (Snosheniia Rossii s Pol'shei), op. 3, no. 162, l. 6.
- 117 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 297 ob.

- 118 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, nos. 1355, 1356.
- 119 Andrusiak, *Mazepa i Pravoberezhzhia*, 76, 105.
- 120 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 2, no. 245, 650–1.
- 121 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 238, op. 2, karton 130, no. 74, l. 3.
- 122 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 327.
- 123 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 330 ob.
- 124 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, eds., *On the Eve of Poltav*, no. 2, 37.
- 125 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 181, 94.
- 126 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 185, 95.
- 127 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 198, 99.
- 128 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 2 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1946), 709–10.
- 129 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 86.
- 130 *Vnov' naidennyi universal Het'mana Ivana Mazepy* (Izd. Khlopik P.F. Nezhin, 1912).
- 131 Chekhy were small Russian coins.
- 132 M. Vozniak, “Benders'ka komisiia,” 121.
- 133 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 579, 730.
- 134 Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 230.
- 135 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 2, no. 260, 698–9.
- 136 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 3, vol. 2, 172.
- 137 Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 231.
- 138 *Vnov' naidennyi universal Het'mana Ivana Mazepy* (Izd. Khlopik P.F. Nezhin, 1912), 3–6.
- 139 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 478.
- 140 *Arkhiv SPbII RAN*, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2711, ll. 3–3 ob.; *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 701, 835.
- 141 Here one may note that in 1692 Mariia Mahdalena still travelled to Moscow. *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom*, vol. 1, 314.
- 142 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 105–6.
- 143 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1388.
- 144 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1397.
- 145 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 226, 109.
- 146 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 226, 109.
- 147 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, no. 839, 364–5.
- 148 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 292, 140.
- 149 “Doneseniiz Ch. Vitvorta,” *Sbornik Imperatorskogo Rossiiskogo Istoricheskogo Obshchestva*, no. 39 (1884): 174–5.
- 150 *Siverians'kyi litopys*, nos. 5 and 6 (2003), document no. 10, 22.

- 151 Ivan I. Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii* vol. 3 (Moscow, 1837), 58.
- 152 D.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (Kyiv, 1993), 366–7; RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1467.
- 153 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, 1046.
- 154 D. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Biografii rossiiskikh generalissimusov i general-fel'dmarshalov*, pt. 1, 23.
- 155 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 287, 134.
- 156 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 243, 117.
- 157 Andrusiak, *Mazepa i Pravoberezhzhia*, 62. The reference is to the archive of the Czartoryskis.
- 158 Andrusiak, *Mazepa i Pravoberezhzhia*, 62–3.
- 159 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 26, 61.
- 160 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, Dz. Rosyjskie, Sig. 55b/20, ll. 117–18 ob.
- 161 Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, vol. 3, 206.
- 162 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 363.
- 163 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 477–8.
- 164 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, no. 1583, 82; Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, vol. 3, 206.
- 165 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 368.
- 166 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 496.
- 167 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, no. 2067, 158. I was able to find a Polish copy of Peter's personal decree, sent to Mazepa from Zholkva on 23 February 1707 (see Appendix), in the manuscript department of the Russian National Library.
- 168 OR RNB, f. 971 (P.P. Dubrovskogo), Avt. [Collection] 152, no. 92, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 169 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 103, l. 4.
- 170 A copy of this letter from the University of Warsaw library (No. 1231) has been preserved in the archive of the famous Ukrainian historian Ivan Kryp'iakevych; the original was evidently lost during the Second World War. The document is utterly unique and it is no surprise that it attracted the interest of Kryp'iakevich. There are no references to it by historians, and Kryp'iakevych himself, for obvious reasons, could neither publish nor use it during the years of Soviet power. I discovered this copy jointly with Iu.A. Mytsyk.
- 171 L'vivs'ka natsional'na naukova biblioteka Ukraïny imeni V. Stefanyka, Viddil rukopysiv, Fond I. Kryp'iakevycha, no. 296.

- 172 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 103, l. 2.
- 173 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 103, l. 2.
- 174 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 103, ll. 2–2 ob.
- 175 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 105, l. 1.
- 176 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 105, ll. 1 ob.–2.
- 177 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 105, l. 2 ob.
- 178 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 104.
- 179 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 106.
- 180 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 107.
- 181 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 114.
- 182 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 118.
- 183 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 28, 63–4.
- 184 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 125, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 185 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 125, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 186 The letter has been preserved only in Sweden in German translation and was published by V. Kordt. This document was not included in Peter's *Pis'ma i bumagi* (Letters and Papers). See Kordt, "Materialy z Stokhol'ms'koho arkhivu do istorii Ukraïny p. XVII–XVIII vv.," *Ukraïns'kyi arkhivohrafichnyi zbirnyk*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1930), 32–3.
- 187 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 397.
- 188 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 381.
- 189 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, no. 2034, 133.
- 190 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 130, l. 1.
- 191 Had he really still not received the tsar's letter by that time or had it been intercepted and therefore was in Sweden?
- 192 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 130, l. 1 ob.
- 193 The *serasker* (*seraskir*) was the commander-in-chief of Ottoman forces.
- 194 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 130, ll. 2–2ob.
- 195 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 130, ll. 2 ob.–3.
- 196 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 130, ll. 3–3 ob.
- 197 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 130, ll. 4–4 ob.
- 198 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, no. 2057 147.
- 199 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 132, 138, et al.
- 200 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 133, ll. 2 ob.–3.
- 201 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 133, l. 3.
- 202 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 267, 227–8.
- 203 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 132.
- 204 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 138.
- 205 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, no. 2067, 158.



- 206 Kordt, “Materialy z Stokhol'ms'koho arkhivu do istorii Ukraïny p. XVII-pochatku XVIII vv.,” 36.
- 207 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 1, 290.
- 208 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 1, no. 2164, 22–3.
- 209 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 1, 269.
- 210 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 771.
- 211 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 34, 70.
- 212 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 35, 71.
- 213 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 1, 377–8.
- 214 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, 97.
- 215 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2711, l. 1.
- 216 M. Vozniak, “Benders'ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, 117. See also T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, “A.D. Menshikov i Het'man I.S. Mazepa (Iz istorii vzaimootnoshenii),” *Menshikovskie chteniia* (St Petersburg, 2006), 94–104.
- 217 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 1, 93.
- 218 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 771.
- 219 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 772.
- 220 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 710.
- 221 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 2, 95.
- 222 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 2, 97.
- 223 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, nos. 34–7.
- 224 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 709.
- 225 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 772.
- 226 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, vyp. 2, 715.
- 227 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 1, no. 2499, 44.
- 228 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 1, no. 2499, 44.
- 229 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in *OrArkhiv SPbII RANest Subtel'nyi, Mazepyntsi. Ukraïns'kyi separatyzm na pochatku XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1994), 173.
- 230 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2711, ll. 3–3 ob.
- 231 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2711, l. 3.
- 232 *Severnaia voïna 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1, 1700–1709, no. 412, 453.
- 233 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 3348, l. 1. In the text this is written as “Obidovka,” but most likely this refers to “Obodovka [Obodivka].”

## CHAPTER SIX

- 1 I have examined a number of problems connected to the formation of the ruling elite: Tatiana G. Yakovleva, *Het'manshchyna v drubhyi polovyni 50-ky rokiv XVII stolittia, prychny i pochatok ruiny* (Kyiv, 1998).
- 2 For more detail concerning this see T.G. Yakovleva, “Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi i riadove kozatstvo,” *UIZh* 4 (1995), 56–67.
- 3 Yakovleva, *Het'manshchyna v drubhyi polovyni*, 427.
- 4 For more details on this see Yakovleva, *Het'manshchyna v drubhyi polovyni*.
- 5 A. Lazarevs'kyi, “Ivan Petrovich Zabela znatnyi voiskovoi tovarishch,” *Kievskaia starina* (July 1883), 514.
- 6 V. Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.* (Prague, 1924), vol. 1, 107.
- 7 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:108.
- 8 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:118.
- 9 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:96.
- 10 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:127–8.
- 11 *Istochniki dlia istorii zaporozhskikh kazakov*, vol. 1, 422.
- 12 RGADA, f. 127 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 [1708], no. 91, l. 1.
- 13 *Pamiatniki, izdannye Vremennoi Komissiei dlia razbora drevnikh aktov, vysochaishe utverzhdennoiu pri kievskom voennom, podol'skom i volynskom general gubernatore*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1898), no. 95, 434.
- 14 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 31.
- 15 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, nos. 105, 125, et al.
- 16 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 318.
- 17 T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, “Novye arkhivnye materialy i spornye voprosy gadiachskogo soglasheniia,” in *350-letcie unii Hadiatskoi (1658–2008)* (Warsaw, 2008), 551–64; T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, “Hadiats'ka uhoda – tekstolohichniy analiz,” in *Hadiats'ka unii 1658 roku* (Kyiv, 2008), 31–46.
- 18 The “Rus' Principality” in the *stars'hyna's* conception had nothing in common with “Russia” or with the “Muscovite state,” typically designated by them as “Moscow.”
- 19 *Dokumenty ob Osvoboditel'noi voine ukrainskogo naroda* (Kyiv, 1965), no. 17, 44.
- 20 *Vossoedinenie Ukrainy s Rossiei*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1953), no. 47, 18.
- 21 *Litterae Nuntiorum Apostolicorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantes*, vol. 9 (Rome, 1963), no. 4270, 89.
- 22 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 63, Kart. 1b, no. 167.

- 23 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 68, Kart. 2, no. 156, ll. 1–2.
- 24 T. Mats'kiiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv-Poltava, 1995), 241–2.
- 25 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 452, 471.
- 26 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 73, l. 2.
- 27 N.I. Petrov, ed., *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii, nakhodiashchikhsia v gorode Kieve*, vyp. 1 (Moscow, 1891), 280.
- 28 “na służbie monarszeńskiej i regimentarskiej za wszystkich naród prawowierny Ukrai'ski.” *Arkhiv IuRZ*, pt. 3, vol. 2, no. 150, 449–50.
- 29 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 173.
- 30 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” 181.
- 31 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” 169–70.
- 32 IR NBUV, f. 8, no. 2677, ll. 1–2.
- 33 Pylyp Orlyk, *Konstytutsiia, manifesty ta literaturna spadshchyna* (Kyiv: MAUP, 2006), 122.
- 34 Orlyk, *Konstytutsiia, manifesty ta literaturna spadshchyna*.
- 35 Orlyk, *Konstytutsiia, manifesty ta literaturna spadshchyna*, 77.
- 36 Orlyk, *Konstytutsiia, manifesty ta literaturna spadshchyna*, 78.
- 37 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:107–8.
- 38 Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 2:154–5.
- 39 Based on materials from RGADA, which permit one to be more precise concerning the composition of the colonels during this period when Mazepa's power became established, in particular during the removal of Fedor Zhuchenko from the position of Poltava colonel and Savva Prokopovych's move from the general chancellorship to the post of general judge. See also V.V. Kryvoshyia, *Ukrains'ka kozats'ka starshyna* (Kyiv, 1997), 7, 68. V. Kryvoshey's work does not provide the exact dates of these appointments. George Gajecy generally thinks that Herchyk was appointed only in 1692. Gajecy, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978), 519. Data concerning Savva Prokopovych's occupation of the post of general chancellor are also absent from his work (see p. 666).
- 40 T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, *Mazepa*, 91–5.
- 41 A. Storozhenko, “Rodion Grigor'evich Dmitrashko, polkovnik Pereiaslavskii,” *Kievskaia starina* (April 1893), 5.
- 42 SPbII RAN, f. 63, Kart. 1b, no. 147.
- 43 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 29.
- 44 In Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 377.
- 45 He is referring to Mazepa's reprisals against the opposition – Mykhailo Halatsky and others.

- 46 Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 377–8.
- 47 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 2 (St Petersburg, 1907), 197–8.
- 48 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 181, 155.
- 49 Pavlo Hertsyk, whose father, Hryhorii (a convert), was the Poltava colonel before Ivan Iskra, was the connecting figure. Pavlo Hertsyk's sister married Mazepa's protégé (*stavlennik*), General Chancellor Pylyp Orlyk. *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 582, 735. Pavlo's mother married a second time, to Ivan Zabila, a Distinguished Military Fellow. Their daughter from this marriage, Fedora, married Vasyl' Zhurakhivs'kyi (the son of the Nizhyn Colonel Iakiv Zhurakhivs'kyi). And their son Ivan Married the daughter of Vasyl' Borkovs'kyi, Anna. A. Lazarevs'kyi, “Liudi staroi Malorossii,” *Kievskaiia starina* (January 1882): 116. His brother Andrii married the daughter of the general aide-de-camp Mykhailo Myklashevs'kyi, Praskoviia [Praskov'ia], while the son of another Mazepist general aide-de-camp, A. Hamaliia, married his second daughter. A. Lazarevs'kyi, “Liudi staroi Malorossii,” *Kievskaiia starina* (August 1882): 244. The general aide-de-camp himself, Mykhailo Myklashevs'kyi, married for the second time, marrying Hanna, the widow of Iakiv Samoilovych (the son of the hetman), who had returned from Siberia. Lazarevs'kyi, “Liudi staroi Malorossii,” *Kievskaiia Starina* (August 1882): 247. The nieces of Mar'ia Holub, the widow of Hetman Ivan Samoilovych, married Dmytro Horlenko (Mar'ia) and Ivan Myrovych (Pelaheia). Lazarevs'kyi, “Liudi staroi Malorossii,” *Kievskaiia starina* (May 1885): 1. The daughter of Danylo Apostol married Ivan Skoropads'kyi's son, Mykhailo. *Katalog ukrainskikh drevnostei kollekt-sii V.V. Tarnovskogo* (Kyiv, 1898), 67. The son of Ivan Lomykovs'kyi, Ivan, married the daughter of Apostol, and her sister Mar'ia married Andrii Horlenko. A. Lazarevs'kyi, “Liudi staroi Malorossii,” *Kievskaiia Starina* (January 1886): 10. The sister of Apostol, Hanna, married L. Zhurakhovs'kyi, the Nizhyn colonel. A. Lazarevs'kyi, “Ocherki malorossiiskikh familii,” *Russkii arkhiv*, no. 1 (1875): 91. The *starshyna* also intermarried with Mazepa's “oppositionists.” The son of Sava Prokopovych married Polubotok's daughter. Fedir Myrovych married the sister of Pavlo Polubotok. V. Kryvoshyia, *Henealohiia ukrains'koho kozatstva. Narysy istorii kozats'kykh polkiv* (Kyiv, 2002), 280.
- 50 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), (1708), no. 20, l. 20.
- 51 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 201, 425–6.
- 52 For more detail on this see T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, *Het'many Ukrainy* (Moscow, 2010).

- 53 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 378, 421.
- 54 “Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period,” in *Trudy imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1909), 165–6.
- 55 When V.A. Moltusov refers to the “vacillation” of the *starshyna* who had left with Mazepa, he yields to the influence of his sources and seriously claims that, for example, D. Horlenko or D. Maksymovych were detained by the hetman “by force.” He bases this conclusion, however, on the testimony of the Cossack elite themselves, once they had fallen captive to the Russians; most likely, this is simply explained by their understandable desire to shield themselves and place all the responsibility on Mazepa. V.A. Moltusov, *Poltavskaia bitva: uroki voennoi istorii, 1709–2009* (Moscow, 2009), 147–8.
- 56 Kryvoshyia, *Henealohiia ukrains'koho kozatstva*, 279.
- 57 Stefan Tomara, the Pereiaslav colonel, son of the Greek Tomara who had engaged in trade in Ukraine, married the daughter of Iakiv Lyzohub. A. Lazarev's'kyi, “Liudi staroi Malorossii,” *Kievaskaia starina* (January 1882), 124; (May 1885), 16.
- 58 A. Bovhyria, “‘Mazepa umer, no mazepintsy zhivy...’: realii Het'manschyny pislia poltavs'koï porazky,” in *Ivan Mazepa: postat', otochennia, epokha* (Kyiv, 2008), 127.
- 59 Bovhyria, “‘Mazepa umer, no mazepintsy zhivy...,’” 127.
- 60 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 339, 385; *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 2, 526–7.
- 61 “K biografii avtora kazatskoi letopisi Samoila Velychko,” *Studia Slavica et Balcanica*, 2 (2016), 76–88.
- 62 Kryvoshyia, *Henealohiia ukrains'koho kozatstva*, 279.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

- 1 A. Lazarevski, “Zametki o Mazepe,” *Kievaska Starina* 6 (1898), 411.
- 2 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, ll. 70–71 ob.; f. 83, op. 2, book of copies (*kniga kopii*) no. 11, ll. 104–7.
- 3 *Istoriia Ukrains'koï kul'tury*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 2003), 578.
- 4 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 182, 392.
- 5 *Arkhiv IuZR*, pt. 1, vol. 5, nos. 108 and 111, 348–9 and 356–7.
- 6 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 224, 189.
- 7 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 211, 442–3.

- 8 *Ukraïna–kozats'ka derzhava* (Kyiv, 2007), 419.
- 9 *Katalog ukrainskikh drevnostei kollektzii V.V. Tarnovskogo* (Kyiv, 1898), 66.
- 10 K.Ia. Gil'debrant, "Putevye zapiski," *ZNTSh*, vol. 154 (1937), 58.
- 11 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 351, 218.
- 12 "Dokumenty, izvestiia, zametki," *Kievskaiia starina* (May 1894), 359–60.
- 13 Mazepa called the Old Ukrainian language "our dialect." G.P. Georgievskii, "Mazepa i Menshikov: Novye materialy," *Istoricheskii zhurnal* 12 (Moscow, 1940), 75. The "Order from Peter to all corps commanders" provides unique evidence of a clear understanding of differences of language among the Russian nobility. For example, they inquired: "Is a translator from the Little Russian and Polish languages necessary for correspondence in Poland and when letters are intercepted, so as to understand them in time?" Peter issued a resolution in reply: "The Ambassadorial Chancellery [Foreign Office]." I.I. Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, vol. 3, 296–7. That is, two languages were under discussion – Polish and Little Russian (Ukrainian) – as well as their differences from Russian and from each other, and Russian commanding officers' need for a translation to understand correspondence in these two languages. And such translators (this fact was widely known) existed in the Ambassadorial Office.
- 14 *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1983), 46.
- 15 *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1983), 307.
- 16 V. Shevchuk ed., *Ivan Mazepa* (Kyiv, 1992), 101.
- 17 *Ibid.*, 105.
- 18 L. Sazonova, "Hetman Mazepa kak obraz panegericheskii," in *Mazepa e il suo tempo. Storia, cultura, società = Mazepa and His Time*, ed. Giovanna Siedina (Allesandria, 2004), 465. The title reads "panowanie" in the original.
- 19 Mykola Andrusiak, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa iak kul'turnyi diiach* (Kyiv, 1991), 25.
- 20 Sazonova, "Hetman Mazepa kak obraz panegericheskii," 463. L. Sazonova, studying the literature legacy dedicated to Mazepa, notes that after 1708 a huge number of texts were destroyed, and in the best traditions of "authoritarian systems" the name of Mazepa was besmirched.
- 21 D.A. Morozov, "Arabskoe Evangelie Daniila," in *Arkhiv russkoi istorii*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1992), 193–4.
- 22 Andrusiak, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa iak kul'turnyi diiach*, 37.
- 23 *Ukraïns'ka literatura XVIII st.*, 258.

- 24 After 1709, when it was no longer possible to praise Mazepa, Ukrainian baroque authors shifted their praise toward Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi. See Frank Sysyn, “A Man Worthy of the Name Hetman,” in *Stories of Khmel'nyts'kyi: Competing Literary Legacies of the 1648 Ukrainian Cossack Uprising*, ed. Amelia Glaser (Stanford, 2016), 36–46.
- 25 Andrusiak, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa iak kul'turnyi diiach*, 26.
- 26 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv–Lviv, 2006), no. 254, 294.
- 27 Andrusiak, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa iak kul'turnyi diiach*, 24. A recent work on the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy names the sum as 1,000 zloty. Z.I. Khyzhniak and V.K. Man'kivs'kyi, *Istoriia Kyievo-Mohylians'koï akademii* (Kyiv, 2003), 65.
- 28 D.I. Doroshenko, *Ohliad ukrains'koï istoriografii* (Kyiv, 1996), 78.
- 29 Khyzhniak and Man'kivs'kyi, *Istoriia Kyievo-Mohylians'koï akademii*, 69.
- 30 N.I. Petrov, ed., *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii, nakhodiashchikhsia v gorode Kieve*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1891), 280.
- 31 Pylyp Orlyk was elected hetman by Mazepa's supporters after his death, and Pavlo Polubotok headed the Hetmanate after the death of Ivan Skoropadsky. Peter refused to recognize him officially as hetman and imprisoned him in the Petropavlovsk Fortress in St Petersburg, where he died in December 1724.
- 32 Petrov, ed., *Opisanie rukopisnykh sobranii, nakhodiashchikhsia v gorode Kieve*, 1:281.
- 33 M. Fedotova, “Biografia Mazepy i tvorcestvo D. Rostovskogo,” in *Mazepa e il suo tempo. Storia, cultura, società = Mazepa and His Time*, ed. Giovanna Siedina (Allesandria, 2004), ed. Siedina, 535.
- 34 O. Travkina, *Mazepina brama. Tsars'ki sribni vorota ikonostasu kolysn'oho kafedral'nogo Borysoblits'koho soboru m. Chernihova* (Chernihiv, 2007), 23. The Gospel cover is held in the Museum of Art in the city of Kyiv.
- 35 Both of these cathedrals were blown up by the Bolsheviks in the 1930s. Uspens'ky Sobor (the Dormition Cathedral) at Pechers'k Lavra and the Cathedral of St Dimitrius of St Michael's Zolotoverkhyi (Golden-Domed) Monastery, also destroyed, have been reconstructed in recent years.
- 36 I. Grabar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva* (Moscow, 1910), 399.
- 37 Grabar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, 397.
- 38 Grabar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva*, 399–400.
- 39 O. Tereshchuk, “Pamiatni rechi Mariï Mahdalyny v kolektsii Natsional'noho muzeiu istorii Ukraïny,” in *Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba: Istoriia, kul'tura, natsional'na pam'iat'* (Kyiv, 2008), 422–39.



- 40 Pavlo Skoropads'kyi, *Spohady* (Kyiv and Philadelphia, 1995), 14.
- 41 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 588, 752.
- 42 According to the testimony of M. Andrusiak, this salver was preserved in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at least until the 1930s.
- 43 A.V. Dabizha, “K risunku (dar Het'mana Mazepy Grobu Gospodniu),” *Kievskaia starina* (November 1893): 317. On this see also *Kievskaia starina* (1896), no. 7/8, 19.
- 44 I express my deep gratitude to V. Mezentsev, head of the archaeological excavations at Baturyn, who provided me with unique evidence from the latest report.
- 45 Published in T. Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv-Poltava, 1995), 105.
- 46 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 102.
- 47 *Katalog ukrainskikh drevnostei kolleksii V.V. Tarnovskogo* (Kyiv, 1898), 60.
- 48 *Katalog ukrainskikh drevnostei kolleksii V.V. Tarnovskogo* (Kyiv, 1898), 63.
- 49 *Katalog ukrainskikh drevnostei kolleksii V.V. Tarnovskogo* (Kyiv, 1898), 39.
- 50 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 349, 216.
- 51 I note that an opinion that has appeared recently in the literature, that Mazepa's alleged letters reflect simply a “Baroque pattern” used by him and widespread at that time, does not withstand criticism. Supporters of this theory need to read the letters. The letters refer to very specific twists and turns in the relations between Mazepa and Motria.
- 52 Tatiana G. Tairova-Yakovleva, *Mazepa* (Moscow, 2007), 266.
- 53 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), Opis' 1. 1708, no. 20, l. 15. For more detail on this see Tatiana G. Tairova-Yakovleva, “Do pytannia pro povsiakdenne zhyttia predstavnyts' kozats'ko-starshyns'kykh rodyn pochatku XVIII st.,” *UIZh*, no. 3 (2008), 202–8.
- 54 *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom*, vol. 1, 338.
- 55 M.M. Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 2007), 304.
- 56 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:305.
- 57 V. Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo* (Moscow, 2004), 23.
- 58 For more detail on this see A.A. Bulychev, *Istoriia odnoi politicheskoi kompanii XVII veka* (Moscow, 2004); M. Korzo, *Ukrainskaja I belorusskaja katehiticheskaja tradicija konca XVI-XVIII v.* (Moscow, 2007).
- 59 V. Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo* (Moscow, 2004), 25–7.



- 60 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 612, 35.
- 61 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 221.
- 62 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:341.
- 63 Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo*, 42–6.
- 64 In B.L. Fonkich's recent work on the Greco-Slavonic schools in Moscow the Ukrainian aspect is completely neglected. To be sure, it is possible that this was because the author considered this matter fully dealt with in the works of his predecessors. Boris L. Fonkich, *Greko-slavianskie shkoly v Moskve v XVII veke* (Moscow: Iazyki Slavianskikh Kultur, 2009).
- 65 Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo*, 42.
- 66 In particular, the military Code stipulated burning for "idolaters, practitioners of the black arts, the weapons of enchanters," and for other sorcerers who had contact with the devil. *Zakonodatel'stvo Petra* (Moscow, 1997), 753.
- 67 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: nos. 44 and 47, 29–30.
- 68 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo* (St Petersburg 1907), vol. 8, p. 1, no. 2795, 261.
- 69 A. Bovhyria, "'Mazepa umer, no mazepintsy zhivy ...' Realii Het'manshyny pislia poltavs'koi porazky," in *Ivan Mazepa: postat', otochennia, epokha* (Kyiv, 2008), 128.
- 70 Bovhyria, "'Mazepa umer, no mazepintsy zhivy ...,'" 128.
- 71 V. Sichyns'kyi, "Graviury Mazepy," in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 2, 148.
- 72 Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo*, 125.
- 73 Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo*, 126.
- 74 Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, "Poltava: A Turning Point in the History of Preaching," in *Poltava 1709: The Battle and the Myth*, edited by Serhii Plokhly (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012), 205–26.
- 75 Zhivov, *Iz tserkovnoi istorii vremen Petra Velikogo*, 126–7.
- 76 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 340.
- 77 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 342.
- 78 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 363.
- 79 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 384.
- 80 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 411.
- 81 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 418.
- 82 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 424.
- 83 P. Skoropads'kii, *Spohady*, 388.
- 84 I.Sv. Shliapkin, *Dimitrii Rostovskii i ego vremia* (St Petersburg, 1891), 50.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

- 1 “Birds of Peter’s Nest” – from the poem “Poltava” by Alexander Pushkin. He meant those close to the tsar: Sheremetev, Brus, Bauer, Repnin, Menshikov.
- 2 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2002), no. 121, 286.
- 3 The Austrian newspaper *Vinerishes Diarium*, cited in T. Mats’kiv, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoieuropeis’kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv–Poltava, 1995), 85.
- 4 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 86, 46–7.
- 5 M.M. Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 2007), 283.
- 6 Paul Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 222.
- 7 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo* (St Petersburg, 1907), vol. 3, 912–13.
- 8 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 28–28 ob.
- 9 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1703), no. 3, l. 2.
- 10 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1703), no. 3, l. 2.
- 11 See the correspondence of F.A. Golovin with I. Mazepa in *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1.
- 12 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, 901.
- 13 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, 3:911.
- 14 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 64.
- 15 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, no. 920, 441.
- 16 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 4, 928.
- 17 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 153, l. 40.
- 18 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, 913.
- 19 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1, no. 6, l. 8.
- 20 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1 (1702), no. 4, l. 3.
- 21 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 153, l. 331.
- 22 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 121, 63.
- 23 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 141, 74. A biographer of A.D. Menshikov indicates for some reason that Mariia Danilovna was married to Aleksei Fedorovich Golovin. N.I. Pavlenko, *Menshikov* (Moscow, 2005), 301.
- 24 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 384, 237.
- 25 Bushkovitch does not share the opinion of the erotic nature of the relationship between Peter and Menshikov, in contrast to R. Wittram and the chief Russian expert on Peter’s times, E. Anisimov.

- 26 “Diplomaticheskaia perepiska angliiskikh poslov i poslannikov pri russkom dvore,” in *Sbornik imperatorskogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 39 (St Petersburg, 1884), 297, 299.
- 27 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 44, l. 1.
- 28 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 201, 426.
- 29 *Perepiska fel’dmarshalov F.A. Golovina i B.P. Sheremeteva v 1705 i 1706 godakh* (Moscow, 1850), 10.
- 30 A. Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, vol. 5 (St Petersburg, 1888), 233.
- 31 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 5:234.
- 32 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 5:233.
- 33 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 5:262.
- 34 A.I. Zaozerskii, *Fel’dmarshal B.P. Sheremetev* (Moscow, 1989), 13.
- 35 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 6, no. 37, 93.
- 36 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 6:415.
- 37 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 6:416.
- 38 Peter Gordon, *Dnevnik 1684–1690* (Moscow, 2005), 62.
- 39 Zaozerskii, *Fel’dmarshal B.P. Sheremetev*, 13.
- 40 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 7:221.
- 41 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 8:306.
- 42 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 8:313–14.
- 43 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 8:474.
- 44 K.A. Kochegarov, *Rech’ Pospolitaia i Rossiia v 1680–1686 godakh: Zakliuchenie dogovora o vechnom mire* (Moscow, 2008), 455.
- 45 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:327.
- 46 I. Korb, “Dnevnik,” in *Rozhdenie imperii* (Moscow, 1997), 242.
- 47 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 203.
- 48 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 24, 19.
- 49 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 236.
- 50 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 248.
- 51 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 244.
- 52 *Perepiska fel’dmarshalov F.A. Golovina i B.P. Sheremeteva v 1705 i 1706 godakh* (Moscow, 1850), no. 27, 53.
- 53 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 66.
- 54 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 270.
- 55 “Diplomaticheskaia perepiska angliiskikh poslov i poslannikov pri russkom dvore,” in *Sbornik imperatorskogo russkogo istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 39 (St Petersburg, 1884), 457–8.
- 56 “Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period,” in *Trudy imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1909), 189.

- 57 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 236.
- 58 Arkhiv SPbII RAN. Collection 226, op. 1, no. 6, ll. 1–2.
- 59 Zaozerskii, *Fel'dmarshal B.P. Sheremetev*, 148.
- 60 Barsukov, *Rod Sheremetevy*, 6:416.
- 61 Zaozerskii, *Fel'dmarshal B.P. Sheremetev*, 148–9.
- 62 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:340.
- 63 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 47.
- 64 OR RNB, f. 532, op. 2, no. 2372.
- 65 Iu.V. Dreike, *Izrecheniia, obraznost' vyrazhenii i iumor Petra Velikogo* (St Petersburg, 2002), 8–9.
- 66 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 12, 16.
- 67 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 15, 17.
- 68 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, 58 ob.
- 69 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 60, 34.
- 70 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 31, 22.
- 71 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 53, 32.  
Konon Zotov continued his education in England in 1704.
- 72 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 246, 210.
- 73 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 233.
- 74 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 416.
- 75 I. Korb, “Dnevnik,” in *Rozhdenie imperii* (Moscow, 1997), 243.
- 76 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 19, 18; no. 92, 50; Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 47.
- 77 I.A. Zheliabuzhskii, “Dneval'nye zapiski,” in *Rozhdenie imperii*, 347.
- 78 *Dnevnik Orlika*, 231.
- 79 See Iu.N. Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov: mify i real'nost'* (St Petersburg, 2005).
- 80 Incoming correspondence from A.D. Menshikov to Mazepa has been preserved in part in the Baturyn archive. Mazepa's letters to Menshikov are scattered among several archives in St Petersburg and Moscow.
- 81 N.I. Pavlenko, *Menshikov: Poludierzhavnyi vlastelin* (Moscow, 2005), 35.
- 82 In the workskhop (Masterskaia Palata) books, however, Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov was still listed in September 1698 as “Men'shikov,” along with his relative, Gavril Menshikov. *Sbornik vypisok iz arkhivnykh bumag o Petre Velikom*, vol. 1, 339.
- 83 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 1, no. 292, 331.
- 84 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov*.
- 85 I published a brief report on this find in T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, “K biografii A.D. Menshikova,” in *Prospice sed respice, Problemy*

*slavianovedeniia i medievistiki. Sbornik nauchnykh statei v chest' 85-letiiia professora V.A. Iakubskogo* (St Petersburg, 2009), 175–80.

- 86 Modern officials and their relatives-oligarchs could learn a lot from clever Aleksashka.
- 87 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 50.
- 88 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 1.
- 89 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 5.
- 90 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 51.
- 91 RGADA, f. 210 (210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 51.
- 92 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 62.
- 93 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 59.
- 94 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 51.
- 95 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 73.
- 96 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriad [Civil Service], Stolbtsy Moskovskogo stola [Columns of the Moscow Bureau]), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 94.
- 97 RGADA, f. 210, (Razriad [Civil Service], Moskovskii stol (Moscow Bureau), no. 790, *stolbik* (column) 2, l. 50.
- 98 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 26, 20.
- 99 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 235.
- 100 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov*, 10.
- 101 I.I. Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1788), 204–5.
- 102 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov*, 118.  
The esteemed Iurii Nikolaevich cites *Essays on the History of the USSR*.
- 103 T.G. Yakovleva, *Ruina Het'manshchyny. Vid Pereiaslav's'koï rady-2 do Andrusivs'koï uhody (1659–1667 rr.* (Kyiv, 2003); T.G. Yakovleva, “Sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba na Ukraine v 60-e gody XVII veka. Vnutrennie i vneshnie faktory Ruiny” (*avtoreferat* [published summary] of dissertation for the degree of doctor of historical sciences, St Petersburg, 2004); T.G. Yakovleva, “Sotsial'no-politicheskaia bor'ba na Ukraine v

- 60-e gody XVII veka. Vnutrennie i vneshnie faktory Ruiny” (doctoral dissertation, St Petersburg, 2004, typescript).
- 104 “Zahybel' Ivana Bohuna,” *UIZh*, no. 5 (Kyiv, 1991), 139–42.
- 105 J.W. Poczobut-Odlanicki, “Pamietnik,” in *Biblioteka Ordynacii Krasinskiich*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1877), 84.
- 106 Poczobut-Odlanicki, “Pamietnik,” 84.
- 107 K.F. Obuchowicz, *Dyaryusz* (Vilnius, 1859), 125.
- 108 Obuchowicz, *Dyaryusz*, 125.
- 109 Obuchowicz, *Dyaryusz*, 127.
- 110 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 130.
- 111 [Medeksza], “Stefana Franciszka z Prszcza Medekszy, sekretarza Jana Kazimierza, sędziga zienskigo kowienskigo księga pamiętnicza wyderzen zaszlych na Litwie 1654 – 1668,” *Scriptum rerum Poloniae*, vol. 3 (Cracow, 1875).
- 112 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov: mify i real'nost'*, 166.
- 113 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 111 (N.A. Protasov), no. 46.
- 114 “The Menshikov coat of arms displays the black head of an ox with silver horns on a yellow or gold field; a ring of two willow branches woven together passes through the ox’s nostrils.” Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 188–91.
- 115 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 119, 150.
- 116 Ian Tokarzhevskiy-Karashevych, “Pokhodzhennia i herb het'mana Mazepy,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, 60.
- 117 This coat of arms belonged also to the princes Kurtsevich (Kurchi [the Kurches]) of the Gediminids. Therefore the Mazepas came either from the son or from the nephew of Mikhail Kurtsevich, the grandson of Prince Konstantin Kurch. Ian z Tokar Tokarzhevskiy Karashevych, “Pokhodzhennia i herb het'mana Mazepy,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, 53–63.
- 118 A.V. Dabizha, “Mazepa-kniaz' i ego shliakhetskii i kniazheskii gerby,” *Kievskaia starina*, vol. 13 (December 1885), 715–718; I. Grobar', *Istoriia russkogo iskusstva* (Moscow), vol. 2, 396. Mazepa’s noble coat of arms is notably depicted in the famous engraving by Ivan (Ilarion) Mihura, “The Apotheosis of Mazepa” (1706).
- 119 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 158.
- 120 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 86.
- 121 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 65–6.
- 122 Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 190–1.
- 123 I consider it necessary for researchers of the biography of A.D. Menshikov to look for traces of this act in Polish archives, including in the collections

(*fondy*) of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. I think such searches could bring new information about how a counterfeit genealogy of the future prince was created, especially since any act of recognition (or the new ennoblement) of a nobleman was necessarily passed by the diets (*sejmiki*) and the Sejm.

- 124 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 5, l. 1.
- 125 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Orest Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi: Ukraïns'kyi separatyzm na pochatku XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1994), 163.
- 126 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 5, l. 1.
- 127 OR RNB, f. 83, op. 1, no. 33, ll. 1–2.
- 128 According to Iurii N. Bespiatykh, only A.I. Repnin was addressed this way in January and February. Bespiatykh, *Aleksandr Danilovich Menshikov. Mify i real'nost'*, 128.
- 129 It should be noted that G.P. Georgievsky had at his disposal only Mazepa's letters that were kept in the Department of Manuscripts of the Lenin Library. But he did not use the complex of documents from the Archive of the St Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
- 130 G.P. Georgievskii, “Mazepa i Menshikov. Novye materialy,” *Istoricheskii zhurnal*, no. 12 (Moscow, 1940), 73–4.
- 131 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 38, l. 1.
- 132 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 49, l. 1.
- 133 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 47, l. 1.
- 134 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 71, ll. 1–2 ob.
- 135 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, collection no. 2, l. 1.
- 136 *Akty IuZR*, vol. 6, no. 41, 103.
- 137 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 44, l. 1 ob.
- 138 I.I. Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, vol. 3, 127. There is a similar decree in *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 4, no. 1311, 328.
- 139 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 51, l. 1.
- 140 Vozniak, “Benders'ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy,” 1:131.
- 141 Vozniak, “Benders'ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy,” 1:131.
- 142 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 52, l. 2.
- 143 T. Mackiw, “Mazepa's Title: Prince of the Holy Roman Empire,” *Nationalities Papers* 7 (1979), 95–100.
- 144 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 162.
- 145 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 61, 35; no. 104, 54.
- 146 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 53.
- 147 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 35, l. 1.
- 148 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 78, l. 1.

- 149 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 83, l. 1.  
 150 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 61, ll. 1–1 ob.  
 151 *Avstriiskaia gazeta* [Austrian newspaper] “Vinerishes Diarium,” quoted in T. Mats’kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeiskykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv-Poltava, 1995), 85.  
 152 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 80, 44.  
 153 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 105, 54.  
 154 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 161, 83.  
 155 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 273.  
 156 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, ll. 83, 184, et al.  
 157 *Getman Ivan Mazepa. Dokumenty iz arkhivnykh sobranii*, 1: no. 216, 105; no. 244, 118; no. 273, 126.  
 158 *Istochniki Malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 173–4.  
 159 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 74, l. 1.  
 160 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel’nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 182.  
 161 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 253.

## CHAPTER NINE

- 1 The author learned that Mazepa played chess from a letter from Ivan Mazepa to Fedor A. Golovin. RGADA, f. 124. Op.1. [1702], no. 4, l. 3.
- 2 The idea for this chapter was suggested to me by an excellent study by my St Petersburg colleague P.V. Sedov. Sedov, *Zakat Moskovskogo tsarstva. Tsarskii dvor kontsa XVII veka* (St Petersburg, 2006); the study, in my opinion, serves as the model for a professional, bold, and original view of well-known events.
- 3 That may explain why Mazepa loved to posture, especially in correspondence with Fedor Golovin, about his “small mind.”
- 4 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 57, l. 76.
- 5 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2002), no. 207, 437.
- 6 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 1.
- 7 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 4.
- 8 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 5.
- 9 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 8.
- 10 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 9.
- 11 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, ll. 7, 10, 11.
- 12 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 13.
- 13 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 17.
- 14 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 37.
- 15 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 38.



- 16 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 220, l. 176.
- 17 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 209, l. 257a.
- 18 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 71, l. 57.
- 19 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 71, l. 62.
- 20 RGADA, f. 143 (Aptekarskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 1446.
- 21 RGADA, f. 143 (Aptekarskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 1585.
- 22 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo* (St Petersburg, 1907), vol. 1, no. 296, 341.
- 23 *Lysty Ivana Mazepy*, vol. 1, no. 201, 426.
- 24 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, collection 41, no. 1154, l. 1.
- 25 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 86, l. 188.
- 26 T. Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv–Poltava, 1995), 105.
- 27 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 180.
- 28 *Het'man Ivan Mazepa*, vyp. 1, no. 300, 154.
- 29 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, ll. 55–69 ob.
- 30 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 52 ob.
- 31 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 575.
- 32 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 29, l. 1.
- 33 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 860.
- 34 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 161–2.
- 35 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 137, l. 1.
- 36 RGADA, f. 229, op. 2, no. 104.
- 37 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, eds., *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 30, 65–6.
- 38 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 47, l. 1.
- 39 “Grabia's reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 2, 95.
- 40 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 64, l. 1.
- 41 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 45, l. 1.
- 42 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 70, l. 1.
- 43 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 71, l. 1.
- 44 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 572, 719.
- 45 D. Krman, *Podorozhnii shchodennyk (Itinerarium 1708–1709)* (Kyiv, 1999), 69.
- 46 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1190, ll. 1–2.
- 47 V. Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.* (Prague, 1924), 2:108–9.
- 48 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 159.
- 49 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 165.

- 50 D.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (Kyiv, 1993), 565–6.
- 51 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1445.
- 52 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1473.
- 53 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel’nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 160.
- 54 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 249, 278–9.
- 55 *Het’man Ivan Mazepa*, vyp. 1, no. 64, 36.
- 56 I.I. Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatelii Rossii*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1788), 183–4.
- 57 Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatelii Rossii*, 2:188.
- 58 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1146, vol. 4, 151.
- 59 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 43, l. 1 ob.
- 60 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 43, l. 1 ob.–2.
- 61 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 43, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 62 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 44, ll. 1–2.
- 63 D.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (Kyiv, 1993), 569.
- 64 I.A. Zheliabuzhskii, “Dneval’nye zapiski,” 349.
- 65 Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatelii Rossii*, 2:236–8.
- 66 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel’nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 163–4.
- 67 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel’nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 164.
- 68 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, vol. 2, 104.
- 69 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel’nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 178.
- 70 RGADA, Malorossiiskie dela, op. 3, no. 1501.
- 71 RGADA, Malorossiiskie dela, op. 3, no. 1510.
- 72 RGADA, Malorossiiskie dela, op. 3, no. 1515.
- 73 RGADA, Malorossiiskie dela, op. 3, no. 1521.
- 74 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 4, pt. 2, 860–1.
- 75 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1505, ll. 1–2 ob.
- 76 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1. 1703, no. 3, ll. 6–9 ob.
- 77 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1505, ll. 1–3.
- 78 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel’nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 165.
- 79 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 4, 1022.
- 80 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, nos. 1511, 1512.
- 81 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 86, l. 3.
- 82 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1521.
- 83 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 4, no. 137, ll. 2 ob.–4.
- 84 *Pis’ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 490.
- 85 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 54, ll. 1–1ob.

- 86 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 54, l. 2.
- 87 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 578, 728.
- 88 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 4, 104.
- 89 Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 160. Ohloblyn cites D. Olianchyn’s very interesting work, based on materials from the Prussian Secret State Archives and published in Lviv in 1936 but unfortunately inaccessible to me.
- 90 Mazepa wrote earlier that “it is not possible for the local people to live without the trade.” RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 3, no. 1190, l. 2.
- 91 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 623, vol. 3, 10.
- 92 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, vol. 2, 379–80.
- 93 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 787, vol. 3, 289.
- 94 RGADA, f. 124, op. 4, no. 153, l. 154 ob.
- 95 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 764, vol. 3, 226.
- 96 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 86, l. 1 ob.
- 97 In June 1707 one thousand horses were rounded up from Mazepa for the needs of the Russian army. *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 706. Another 600 “of the hetman’s horses ... were ordered ... to be driven immediately to Prince Alexander Danilovich [Menshikov].” *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 753.
- 98 Mats’kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoevropeiskykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 89.
- 99 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 236.
- 100 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, vol. 2, 101.
- 101 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, vol. 2, 117.
- 102 Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, 3:262.
- 103 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, kolleksiia 238.I.69, no. 248/56
- 104 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 311, 313.
- 105 Suffice it to recall the events of spring 1658, 1666–68, and so forth.
- 106 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 236.
- 107 N. Pavlenko and V. Artamonov, *27 iun'ia 1709* (Moscow, 1989), 155ff.
- 108 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1680, vol. 5, 189.
- 109 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, pt. 1, 560.
- 110 “Pis'mo Orlika S. Iavorskomu,” in O. Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi. Ukraïns'kyi separatyzm na pochatku XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1994), 171.
- 111 Orest Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi. Ukraïns'kyi separatyzm na pochatku XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1994), 31.
- 112 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, vol. 2, 100.

- 113 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 316.
- 114 RGADA, f. 229, op. 1, no. 90, l. 23.
- 115 K.A. Kochegarov, “Politika russkogo pravitel'stva na Het'manshchine posle izmeny I.S. Mazepy,” in V.A. Artamonov, K.A. Kochegarov, and I.V. Kurukin, eds., *Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Het'manshchinu v 1708 g. Obrazy i tragediia Het'mana Mazepy* (St Petersburg, 2008), 113.
- 116 *Rodina*, no. 7 (2009).
- 117 “Grabia’s reports,” in *The Letters of Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniawski*, no. 4, 104.
- 118 “Grabia’s reports,” in *The Letters of Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniawski*, no. 5, 107.
- 119 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 661, 809–10.
- 120 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 665, 812.
- 121 “Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period,” in *Trudy Imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1909), 113.
- 122 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1 1700–1709, no. 338, 384–5; *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 2539, vol. 8, pt. 1, 72.
- 123 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 2599, vol. 8, pt. 1, 112.
- 124 George Gajecy, *The Cossack Administration of the Hetmanate*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 15.
- 125 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1, no. 47, l. 1.
- 126 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 75, ll. 1 ob.–2.
- 127 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 82, l. 1.
- 128 Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeisk'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 106.
- 129 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 55, ll. 1–2.
- 130 Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, 3:307.
- 131 A.M. Bovhyria, “‘Ia vashoho tsaria ne znaiu’: ukraintsi iak figuranty sudovykh sprav pro obrazu chesti monarkha,” *UIZh*, no. 5 (2008), 87–8.
- 132 D.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (Kyiv, 1993), 569.
- 133 Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeisk'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 127–8.
- 134 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1220, 249.
- 135 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 249, 278.
- 136 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 56–7.
- 137 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 524, ll. 1–3.
- 138 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 165–7.

- 139 Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba*, 270–1.  
 140 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 64, ll. 1 ob.–2 ob.  
 141 “Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period,” in *Trudy imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1909), 40.  
 142 E. Tarle, *Severnaia voina* (Moscow, 2009), 279–80 et al.  
 143 *Kievskaia starina* (December 1889), 645.  
 144 M.M. Plokhinskii, *Het'man Mazepa v roli velikoruskogo pomeschbika* (Kharkiv, 1892), 8.  
 145 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 61, ll. 1–1 ob.  
 146 *Universaly Ivana Mazepy* (Kyiv-Lviv, 2006), no. 358, 407.

## CHAPTER TEN

- 1 N. Kostomarov, *Pavel Polubotok*. Kazaki (Moscow, 1995), 343.  
 2 V. Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII-XVIII vv.* (Prague, 1924), vol. 1, 99–101.  
 3 M.M. Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii* (Moscow, 2007), vol. 4, 279.  
 4 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I. Materialy dlia biografii*, vol. 4, 292.  
 5 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I: Materialy dlia biografii*, vol. 4, 280.  
 6 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 110.  
 7 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 181.  
 8 Orest Subtelny, *The Domination of Eastern Europe: Native Nobilities and Foreign Absolutism, 1500–1715* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1986).  
 9 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 1, 173–4.  
 10 Referring to Poltava Colonel P. Levenets.  
 11 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 74, ll. 1–1 ob.  
 12 T. Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 150.  
 13 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 548, 685.  
 14 D. Krman, *Podorozhnyi shchodennyk (Itinerarium 1708–1709)* (Kyiv, 1999), 38.  
 15 Orlyk himself wrote “freshly now” (*svezho teper*).  
 16 Pylyp Orlyk, *Konstytutsiia, manifesty ta literaturna spadshchyna*, 75–6.  
 17 I.I. Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii* vol. 3 (Moscow, 1837), 224–5.  
 18 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 48.  
 19 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, ll. 48–48 ob.  
 20 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 48 ob.

- 21 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 48 ob.-49.
- 22 Golikov, *Deianiia Petra Velikogo, mudrogo preobrazovatel'ia Rossii*, vol. 3, 228.
- 23 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 83 ob.-84.
- 24 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in *Subtel'nyi, Mazepynsi*, 165–6.
- 25 N.I. Kostomarov, *Ruina. Mazepa. Mazepintsy* (Moscow, 1995), 580.
- 26 T. Tairova-Yakovleva, “Hetman v poiskah istoricheskoi ob'ektivnosti,” in *Novoe i Noveishee vremia*, no. 4 (July–August 2003), 45–63.
- 27 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, 581–2.
- 28 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 105 ob.
- 29 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 106.
- 30 *Opisanie dokumentov i bumag, hraniashchikhsia v moskovskom arhive ministerstva iustitsii*, vol. 5 (Moscow, 1888), 7.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 17.
- 32 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 52.
- 33 RGADA, f. 1476, op. 1. No. 13, l. 1708.
- 34 P. Miljukov *Gosudarstvennoe hoziaistvo Rossii v pervoi chetverti XVIII veka* (St Petersburg, 1905), 260–1.
- 35 O. Sokyrko, “Het'manshchyna pid tsars'kym skipetrom (viis'kove budivnytstvo v Ukraïni druhoï polovyny XVII–pochatku XVIII st.,” *Ukraïna ta Rosiia. Problemy politychnykh i sotsiokul'turnykh vidnosyn* (Kyiv, 2003), 318.
- 36 Там же. С. 318–319.
- 37 O. Sokyrko, “Shche raz pro peredumovy ta prychny povstannia Ivana Mazepy 1708 r.,” in *Het'man Ivan Mazepa. Postat', otochennia, epokha* (Kyiv, 2008), 91.
- 38 RGADA f. 229, op. 2, no. 103: book for 1707, Little Russian Office (*Malorossiiskii prikaz*), containing formal replies, decrees, charters, and registers about the collection of provisions; the punishment of convicts; the issuance of money for feeding prisoners; deserting soldiers; the sending of horses to regiments; the purchase of cloth; the issuance of salaries and meal money to men under arms; the issuance of travel charters; the deployment of soldiers and others to service; the issuance of carriages; the shipment of arms and other materials to regiments; the shipment of city construction supplies to Kyiv; the improvement of military facilities; the release of soldiers from Moscow and other similar files, as well as lists of servicemen.
- 39 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 273.

- 40 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 276.  
 41 Miljukov, *Gosudarstvennoe hoziaistvo Rossii v pervoi chetverti XVIII veka*, 273.  
 42 E. Avasharov and E.G. Avsharov, “K istorii oblastnoi reformy (1707–1709 gg.),” in *Russkii gorod. Issledovaniia i materialy* (Moscow, 1982), 94–5.  
 43 Avsharov, “K istorii oblastnoi reformy (1707–1709 gg.),” 94–5.  
 44 RGADA, f. 9, ОТД. II. book 89. l. 104  
 45 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I. Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:297.  
 46 Bogoslovskii, *Petr I. Materialy dlia biografii*, 4:300.  
 47 Distances (in versts)

	To Kyiv	To Azov
Aleshnia	305	655
Vol'noi	333	627
Khotmyzhsk	355	607
Karpov	373	600
Krasnyi Kut	295	665

- 48 RGADA, f. 9, op. II, bk 89, ll. 104–104 ob.  
 49 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 161.  
 50 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1706, vol. 5, 228–9.  
 51 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1737, vol. 5, 248.  
 52 *Severnaia voina 1700-1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709 (Moscow, 2009), no. 322, 348.  
 53 Arkhiv SPbII RAN. f. 83, op. 1, no. 58, ll. 1–2 ob.  
 54 Food for the hired (*okhotnyts'ki*) troops was provided by the *pospolyti*, who prepared hay for the military artillery for the winter. Miakotin, *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy XVII–XVIII vv.*, 1:125.  
 55 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in *Subtel'nyi, Mazepyntsi*, 163–4.  
 56 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 7, pt. 2, 681.  
 57 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1680, vol. 5, pt. 1, 189.  
 58 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 137, ll. 1–1 ob.  
 59 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 4, no. 137, l. 1 ob.  
 60 Arkhiv SPbII RAN. f. 83. op. 1, no. 62, ll. 1 ob.–2.  
 61 Arkhiv SPbII RAN. f. 83. op. 1, no 63, l. 1.  
 62 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 86. l. 118.

- 63 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 86. l. 119 ob.
- 64 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1829, vol. 5, 333.
- 65 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, ll. 184–184 ob.
- 66 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 160.
- 67 RGADA, f. 229 (Malorossiiskii prikaz), op. 2, no. 101, l. 198.
- 68 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 1901, vol. 6, 44.
- 69 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 287.
- 70 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 6, 288–9.
- 71 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), no. 5 (1703), ll. 113–113 ob.
- 72 “Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu,” in *Subtel'nyi, Mazepyntsi*, 164–5, 167.
- 73 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 102.
- 74 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 105.
- 75 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 121.
- 76 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 87.
- 77 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 56–7.
- 78 RGADA, f. 124 (Malorossiiskie dela), op. 1, no. 47.
- 79 Recall that as a result of the scare caused by Mazepa's defection to the Swedes, the edict regarding the implementation of a “scorched earth” policy in certain regions of Ukraine was never carried out.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

- 1 M. Andrusiak, “Zv'iazky Mazepy z Stanyslavom Lieshchyns'kym i Karlom XII,” *ZNTSh*, vol. 152 (Lviv, 1933), 35–61; V.F. Kulikova, “Politicheskaia situatsiia na Ukraine v nachale XVIII veka i ukrainskii pokhod Karla XII (1708–1709 gg.)” (dissertation, St Petersburg, 2009).
- 2 One should not forget that when the war with the Swedes began, Peter was ready to relinquish the gains of the Azov campaigns, agreeing to give the Ottomans the Dnipro fortresses. This, of course, contradicted the interests of the Ukrainian Hetmanate, as it again created a hotbed of tension in the south. Bogoslovskii, *Petr I. Materialy dlia biografii*, vol. 4 (Moscow, 2007), 378–80.
- 3 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 33.
- 4 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709 (Moscow, 2009), no. 138, 161.
- 5 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 48–51. Pylyp Orlyk writes that Mazepa sent Vol'sky to D.M. Golitsyn in Kyiv – but this is mistaken, since the latter was appointed *voevoda* of Kyiv only in 1707. *Pis'mo Orlika*, 159.



- 6 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 161.
- 7 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 100.
- 8 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 3, 1014.
- 9 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 100.
- 10 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 581, 732.
- 11 Anna Dolska (*née* Chodorowska) did not survive Mazepa for very long and died in May 1711, not having reached the age of fifty. O. Pritsak, "Ivan Mazepa i kniahynia Anna Dol'ska," in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1938), 106.
- 12 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 161.
- 13 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 162.
- 14 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 166–7. The negotiations with Zelensky are also known from Vasyl' Kochubei's denunciation. *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 88.
- 15 OR RNB, f. 971, Sobranie P.P. Dubrovskogo, Avt. [Collection] 152, no. 96, l. 1.
- 16 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 42, ll. 1–2 ob.
- 17 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 99–100.
- 18 OR RNB, f. 971, Dubrovskikh, Avt. 152, no. 87, l. 1.
- 19 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 169.
- 20 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 172–3.
- 21 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 171–2.
- 22 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 169–70.
- 23 A. Tverdokhlebov, "Pokrovskaia tserkov' v Pereiaslavle," *Kievskaiia starina*, no. 7 (1883), 590.
- 24 Bushkovitch, *Peter the Great*, 269.
- 25 "Diplomatičeskaia perepiska angliiskikh poslov i poslannikov pri russkom dvore," in *Sbornik Imperatorskogo istoričeskogo obščestva*, vol. 39 (St Petersburg, 1884), 445.
- 26 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 175.
- 27 *ChOIDR*, vol. 3, no. 1 (1848), pt. 3, "Materialy inostrannye," 20–1.
- 28 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 174–5.
- 29 "Grabia's reports," in Orest Subtelny and Oleksander P. Ohloblyn, eds., *On the Eve of Poltava: The Letters of Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniawski, 1704–1708* (New York: Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Unites States, 1975), 94.
- 30 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, 23.
- 31 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 29, 65.
- 32 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 30, 65–6.
- 33 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 49, ll. 2–2 ob.

- 34 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 49, l. 2 ob.
- 35 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 48, l. 2.
- 36 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 48, ll. 1–2.
- 37 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 51, ll. 2–3.
- 38 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 37, 74–5.
- 39 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 40, 78.
- 40 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 2, 97.
- 41 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 177.
- 42 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 167.
- 43 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 102.
- 44 In this case one need not believe the assertions of the captured officers V. Chuikevych, D. Maksymovych, D. Zelensky, and others that they knew nothing of the plans for going over to the Swedes until the arrival of Charles XII.
- 45 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 295, 266.
- 46 A. Bovhyria, “‘Mazepa umer, no mazepintsy zhivy ...’: realii Het'manshchyny pislia poltavs'koï porazky,” in *Ivan Mazepa: postat', otochennia, epokha* (Kyiv, 2008), 127.
- 47 *Letopisets ili opisanie kratkoe zhatneishikh deistv i sluchaev* (Kyiv, 1888), 47.
- 48 *Letopisets ili opisanie kratkoe*, 47.
- 49 B. Krupnyts'kyi, “Pliany Mazepy v zv'iazku z plianamy Karla XII pered ukrains'kym pokhodom shvediv,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, 99.
- 50 B. Krupnyts'kyi, “Mazepa i shvedy v 1708 r.,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 2, 4–5. B. Krupnyts'kyi used the published “notes of the Caroleans” in his article, which thus far have not been translated into Russian and are unknown to Russian historians.
- 51 D. Doroshenko, “Mazepa v istorychnii literaturi i v zhytti,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, 29.
- 52 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, vol. 2, 172. Peter’s decree of 28 October to the inhabitants of Little Russia stated that Mazepa’s agreement with Leszczyński “was to ... subjugate the Little Russian land under Polish dominion as before and to give the [Orthodox] churches of God and the holy monasteries to the Unia.” *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 1, no. 2767, 242). An official letter (*gramota*) to the Ukrainian people is dated 3 February 1709: that Charles “entered Ukraine, wanting to enslave the Little Russian people and, having torn [them] away from our state [from Russia], to put [the people] once again [under] the previously intolerable Polish yoke.” *Pis'mo i bumagi*, vol. 9, vyp. 1, no. 3029, 60.

- 53 A. Lazarevs'kyi, "Zametki o Mazepe," *Kievskaia starina* (June 1898), 200.
- 54 Kulikova, "Politicheskaia situatsiia na Ukraine v nachale XVIII veka i ukrainskii pokhod Karla XII (1708–1709 gg.)" (Kandidatskaia dissertatsiia [Candidate of historical sciences dissertation], St Petersburg, 2009, manuscript).
- 55 Kulikova, "Politicheskaia situatsiia na Ukraine v nachale XVIII veka."
- 56 G.P. Georgievskii, "Mazepa i Menshikov," *Istoricheskii zhurnal*, no. 12 (Moscow, 1940), 76.
- 57 "Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period," in *Trudy Imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1909), 189.
- 58 "Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period," 191.
- 59 Pylyp Orlyk, "Vyvid *imperatorskogo* prav Ukraïny," in *Konstytutsiia, manifesty ta literaturna spadshchyna. Vybrani tvory*, ed. Myroslav Trofymuk (Kyiv, 2006), 135–136.
- 60 "Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period," in *Trudy Imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 3 (St Petersburg, 1909), 314.
- 61 "Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period," in *Trudy imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva* (St Petersburg, 1909), vol. 3, 276.
- 62 A. Rigel'man, "Letopisnoe povestvovanie o Maloi Rossii," pt. 3, *ChOIDR* 1847, 52.
- 63 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 548, 685.
- 64 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh*, no. 548, 195–6.
- 65 V.A. Artamonov, *Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Get'manshchinu v 1708 g. i Mazepa*, 26–7.
- 66 "Grabia's reports," in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 4, 100–1.
- 67 Jan Sobieski, Grand Crown Hetman, was elected king of the Polish Commonwealth on 21 May 1674.
- 68 "Grabia's reports," in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 4, 100–1.
- 69 G.P. Georgievskii, "Mazepa i Menshikov: Novye materialy," *Istoricheskii zhurnal* (Moscow) 1940, no. 12, 78.
- 70 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 41, l. 2.
- 71 "Lyst Zhana Baliuza pro Mazepu," in *Ivan Mazepa* (Kyiv, 1992), 77.
- 72 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 1, l. 59.
- 73 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 179.
- 74 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 48, 86.

- 75 Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 50, 88.
- 76 *Poltavskaia bitva 27 iunna 1709 goda. Dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2011), no. 49, 86.
- 77 These figures and characteristics of his forces, given by Mazepa himself, are very useful for assessing his actual capabilities in October 1708, when he went over to the Swedes.
- 78 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 4, 102–5.
- 79 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 6, 108.
- 80 “Grabia’s reports,” in Subtelny and Ohloblyn, *On the Eve of Poltava*, no. 8, 110–12.
- 81 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 214.
- 82 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 179.
- 83 It is possible to agree with V.A. Moltusov that “right up the crossing of the Desna on the morning of the 25th Mazepa was in doubt.” V.A. Moltusov, *Poltavskaia bitva. Uroki voennoi istorii, 1709–2009* (Moscow, 2009), 146.
- 84 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 86, ll. 2–2 ob.
- 85 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 63, l. 1 ob.
- 86 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 87, ll. 1–2.
- 87 B. Krupnyts'kyi, “Mazepa i shvedy v 1708 r.,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 2, 26.
- 88 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 64, ll. 1–3.
- 89 “Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period,” in *Trudy imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1909), 45.
- 90 “Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period,” in *Trudy imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg, 1909), 95.
- 91 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 1, no. 2516, 55.
- 92 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 1, no. 2534, 70.
- 93 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 1, no. 2609, 121.
- 94 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 339, 385; *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 2, 526–7.
- 95 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 178.
- 96 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 178.
- 97 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 180.
- 98 This letter from Bystryts'kyi to Charles XII, dated 12 October 1717, has been preserved in the Swedish archive. It was published in the following article: N. Molchanovskii, “Neskol'ko dannykh o smerti i nasledstve Mazepy,” *Kievskaia starina* 1903 (January), 98.

- 99 D.N. Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (Kyiv, 1993), 575.
- 100 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 180.
- 101 D. Krman, *Podorozhnyi shchodennyk (Itinerarium 1708–1709)* (Kyiv, 1999), 38.
- 102 K.A. Kochegarov, "Politika russkogo pravitel'stva na Het'manshchine posle izmeny I.S. Mazepy," in V.A. Artamonov, K.A. Kochegarov, and I.V. Kurukin, eds., *Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Het'manshchinu v 1708 g. Obrazy i tragediia Het'mana Mazepy* (St Petersburg, 2008), 121.
- 103 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 581, 733.
- 104 B. Krupnyts'kyi, "Mazepa i shvedy v 1708 r.," in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 2, 4–5.
- 105 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 180.
- 106 *Pis'mo Orlika*, 181.
- 107 M. Vozniak, "Benders'ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy," in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1, 115.
- 108 T. Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoevropeis'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709* (Kyiv-Poltava, 1995), 153.
- 109 "Lyst Pylypa Orlyka Stefanu Iavorskomu," in Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi*, 170.
- 110 G.P. Georgievskii, "Mazepa i Menshikov. Novye materialy," *Istoricheskii zhurnal* (Moscow) 1940, no. 12, 81.
- 111 Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoevropeis'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 106.
- 112 Mats'kiv, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoevropeis'kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 128.
- 113 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 403, 444–5.
- 114 Krman, *Podorozhnyi shchodennyk (Itinerarium 1708–1709)*, 36–7.
- 115 B. Krupnyts'kyi, "Mazepa i shvedy v 1708 r.," in *Mazepa* (Warsaw, 1939), vol. 2, 8–10.
- 116 In recent times, the topic of the Baturyn tragedy has been extremely politicized. Such a valuable source on the capture of Baturyn as the letters of the secretary of Charles XII's field chancellery J. Cederhielm, published in Sweden in the early twentieth century, along with the Mogilev chronicle, have not been widely used by historians. In these letters it is said from the words of eyewitnesses that Menshikov was able to take Baturyn only after the arrival of D.M. Golitsyn with 5,000 troops, whereupon the defenders were outnumbered. Still, Alexander Menshikov lost almost three thousand men during the assault (evidently killed and wounded), and 1,000 Cossacks (who were on the ramparts) broke out and escaped.

- D.M. Golitsyn's presence at the capture of Baturyn is also confirmed by his own testimony. Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2711, l. 1.
- 117 S.M. Solov'ev, *Sochineniia*, bk. 8, *Istoriia Rossii s drevneishikh vremen*, vol. 15 (Moscow, 1993), 253.
- 118 N. Kostomarov, "Mazepa," in *Ruina. Mazepa. Mazepintsy* (Moscow, 1995), 673.
- 119 O. Subtel'nyi, *Mazepyntsi., Ukraïns'kyi separatyzm na pochatku XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1994), 44.
- 120 S. Pavlenko, *Mif pro Mazepu* (Chernihiv, 1998), 193.
- 121 SPbII RAN, f. 83, Karton 10, no. 2714, l. 1.
- 122 SPbII RAN, f. 83, Karton 10, no. 2714, l. 1 ob.
- 123 SPbII RAN, f. 83, Karton 10, no. 2714, l. 2.
- 124 G.P. Georgievskii, "Mazepa i Menshikov," *Istoricheskii zhurnal* (Moscow) 12 (1940), 82. Georgievskii published that part of Menshikov's archive that is held in Moscow at the Lenin Library, and this letter is entirely consistent with those held in the "Petersburg" part of Menshikov's archive.
- 125 Georgievskii, "Mazepa i Menshikov," 83.
- 126 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1708), no. 120.
- 127 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 212.
- 128 It should be noted that V.A. Artamonov, who analyzed this letter in his work, did not turn his attention to all the omissions. V.A. Artamonov, *Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Get'manshchinu v 1708 g. i Mazepa* (Moscow, 2008), 51–2.
- 129 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1708), no. 120, l. 1 ob.
- 130 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 212.
- 131 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1708), no. 120, l. 1 ob.
- 132 SPbII RAN, f. 83, Karton 10, no. 2856, ll. 1 ob.–2.
- 133 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 213; RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1708), no. 120.
- 134 *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii*, pt. 2, 214; RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1708), no. 126.
- 135 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1709), no. 7.
- 136 RGADA, f. 124, op. 1 (1709), no. 7.
- 137 Artamonov, *Vtorzhenie shvedskoi armii na Get'manshchinu v 1708 g. i Mazepa*, 51.
- 138 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 5, no. 1551, 60.
- 139 SPbII RAN, f. 83, Karton 10, no. 2856, ll. 1 ob.–2.
- 140 SPbII RAN, f. 83, Karton 10, no. 2822, l. 1.

- 141 *Poltavskaia bitva 27 iunia 1709 goda. Dokumenty i materialy* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2011), no. 177, 225.
- 142 “Dokumenty Severnoi voiny. Poltavskii period,” in *Trudy imperatorskogo russkogo voenno-istoricheskogo obshchestva*, vol. 3 (St Petersburg, 1909), 77.
- 143 Mats’kiv, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis’kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 75.
- 144 Mats’kiv, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis’kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 76.
- 145 Mats’kiv, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis’kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 131.
- 146 Mats’kiv, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis’kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 89.
- 147 Mats’kiv, *Het’man Ivan Mazepa v zakhidnoievropeis’kykh dzherelakh 1687–1709*, 76.
- 148 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, Kolleksiia 226, op. 1, no. 6, ll. 1–2.
- 149 The terrible failure of the Prut campaign showed that this opinion was mistaken. Without the knowledge and experience of the Ukrainian Cossacks, waging war in the south had no chance of success.
- 150 M.M. Plokhinskii, *Het’man Mazepa v roli velikorusskogo pomeschchika* (Khar’kov, 1892). V.A. Artamonov erroneously states that Menshikov did not receive any awards for the capture of Baturyn.
- 151 M.M. Plokhinskii, *Het’man Mazepa v roli velikorusskogo pomeschchika* (Khar’kov, 1892).
- 152 E.G. Avsharov, “K istorii oblastnoi reformy (1707–1709 gg.),” in *Russkii gorod. Issledovaniia i materialy* (Moscow, 1982), 99.
- 153 A. Lazarevs’kyi, “Ivan Petrovich Zabela znatnyi voiskovoi tovarishch,” *Kievskaia starina* 1883 (July), 536.
- 154 N. Molchanovskii, “Neskol’ko dannykh o smerti i nasledstve Mazepy,” *Kievskaia starina* 1903 (January), 94.
- 155 This story is very poorly known. The essence, however, concerns a serious quarrel between Voinarovs’kyi, who, as Mazepa’s nephew, considered himself his main heir, and Orlyk, who was elected hetman after Mazepa’s death.
- 156 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2830, l. 1.
- 157 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2711, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 158 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2711, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 159 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2791, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 160 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2791, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 161 RGADA, f. 210 (Razriadnyi prikaz), bk. 10 (Razriadnye viazki), no. 49, no. 7, l. 1.

- 162 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2791, ll. 1 ob.–2.
- 163 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2930, ll. 1–2 ob.
- 164 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2919, ll. 1–1 ob.
- 165 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2919, l. 1 ob.
- 166 Krman, *Podorozhnii shchodennyk (Itinerarium 1708–1709)*, 59.
- 167 IR Vernads'koho, f. 8, no. 2677, l. 3.
- 168 *Doba het'mana Ivana Mazepy v dokumentakh* (Kyiv, 2007), no. 572, 719.
- 169 T.G. Tairova-Yakovleva, “Lystuvannia zaporozhtsiv z Ivanom Mazepoiu voseny 1708 roku,” *Ukrains'kyi arkhheografichnyi shchorichnyk*, vyp. 12 (Kyiv, 2007), 385–8.
- 170 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 2, 904.
- 171 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 8, vyp. 1, no. 2845, 306–9.
- 172 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 9, vyp. 2, 609.
- 173 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 394, 437; *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 2995, vol. 9, pt. 1.
- 174 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 405, 446.
- 175 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2966, l. 2.
- 176 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 1, no. 2966, l. 1 ob.
- 177 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 410, 451.
- 178 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1, 1700–1709, no. 412, 453.
- 179 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, no. 3164, vol. 9, pt. 1, 153.
- 180 “Tri pis'ma koshevykh atamanov k shvedskim koroliam. Izd. N.Molchanovskii,” *Kievskaia starina* 1899 (January), 1–2.
- 181 Krman, *Podorozhnii shchodennyk (Itinerarium 1708–1709)*, 68.
- 182 Krman, *Podorozhnii shchodennyk (Itinerarium 1708–1709)*, 69.
- 183 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, kol. 226, op. 1, no. 6, l. 23 ob.
- 184 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 412, 453.
- 185 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, kol. 226, op. 1, no. 6, l. 35.
- 186 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 418, 460.
- 187 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 426, 469–70.
- 188 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, kol. 226, op. 1, no. 6, l. 35.
- 189 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 9, vyp. 1, no. 3194, 181–4.



- 190 *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, vol. 9, vyp. 1, no. 3204, 192.
- 191 *Severnaia voina 1700–1721 gg. Sbornik dokumentov*, vol. 1: 1700–1709, no. 419, 461.
- 192 There is evidence that after the crossing Mazepa gave the Zaporizhians several thousand *zolotykh*. M. Vozniak, “Benders'ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy,” in *Mazepa: Zbirnyk*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1938), 117.
- 193 *Ukrains'ka literatura XVIII st.* (Kyiv, 1983), 34.
- 194 A. Bovhyria, “‘Mazepa umer, no mazepintsy zhivy ...’: realii Het'manshchyny pislia poltavs'koï porazky,” in *Ivan Mazepa. postat', otochennia, epokha* (Kyiv, 2008), 124.
- 195 Arkhiv SPbII RAN, f. 83, op. 2, *Kniga kopii* [Book of copies] 4, ll. 423–5.
- 196 This is the date (2 October N.S.) Pylyp Orlyk gives in his diary – *The Diariusz podrożny of Pylyp Orlyk (1720–1726)* – in the Harvard Library of Early Ukrainian Literature: Texts, vol. 5 (1989), 593. N.I. Kostomarov and M.S. Hrushevs'kyi mistakenly gave the date of 22 August (O.S.).
- 197 *Sbornik statei i materialov po istorii Iugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, vol. 2, pt. 3 (Kyiv, 1916), 1–17.

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