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# Treatises

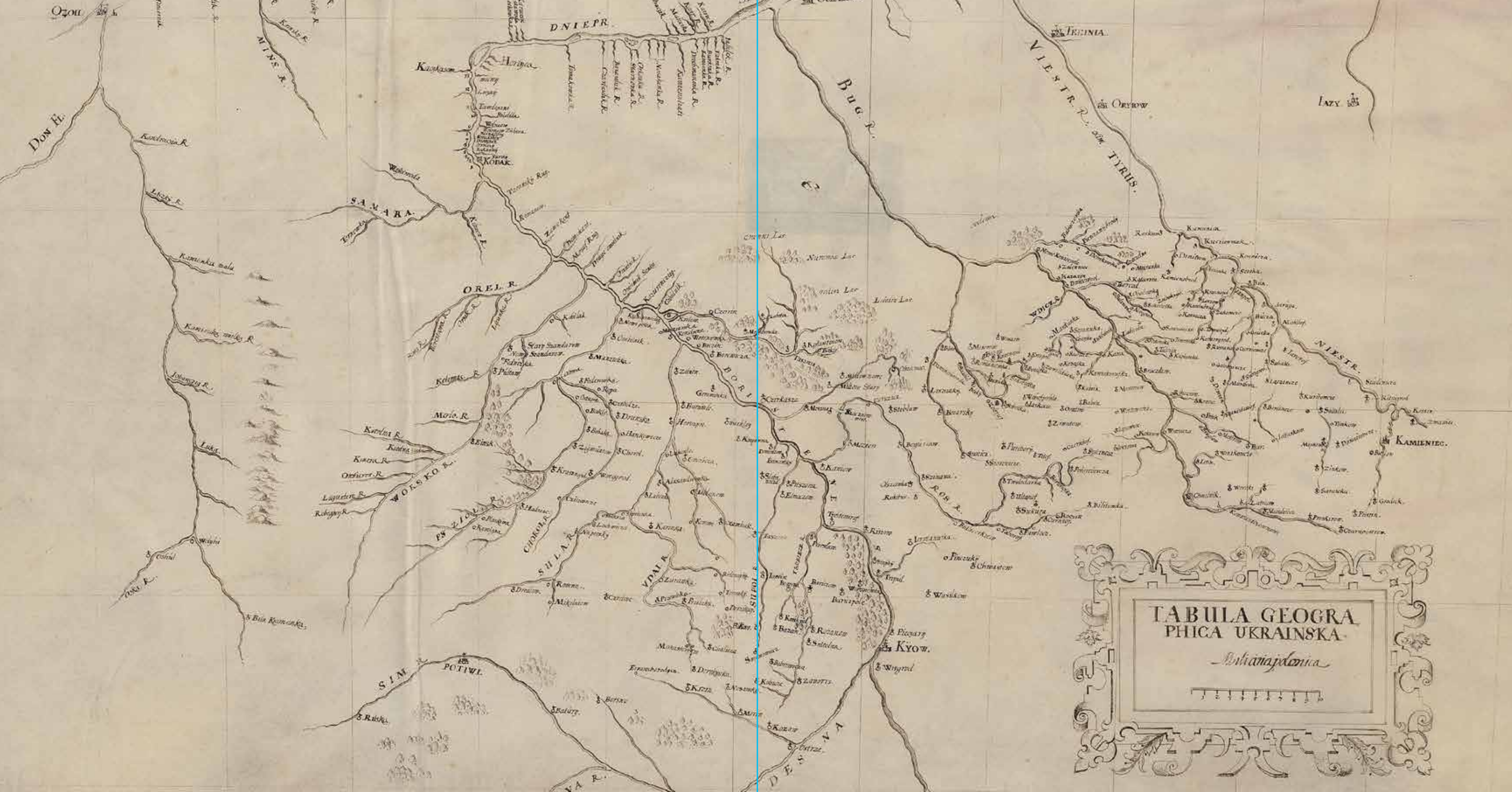
Compiler and Editor:  
Marina Trattner

FROM  
THE SWEDISH  
ARCHIVES

A Collection  
of Documents  
on History of Ukraine



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TABULA GEOGRAPHICA UKRAINSKA

Nicolaus Jankovic

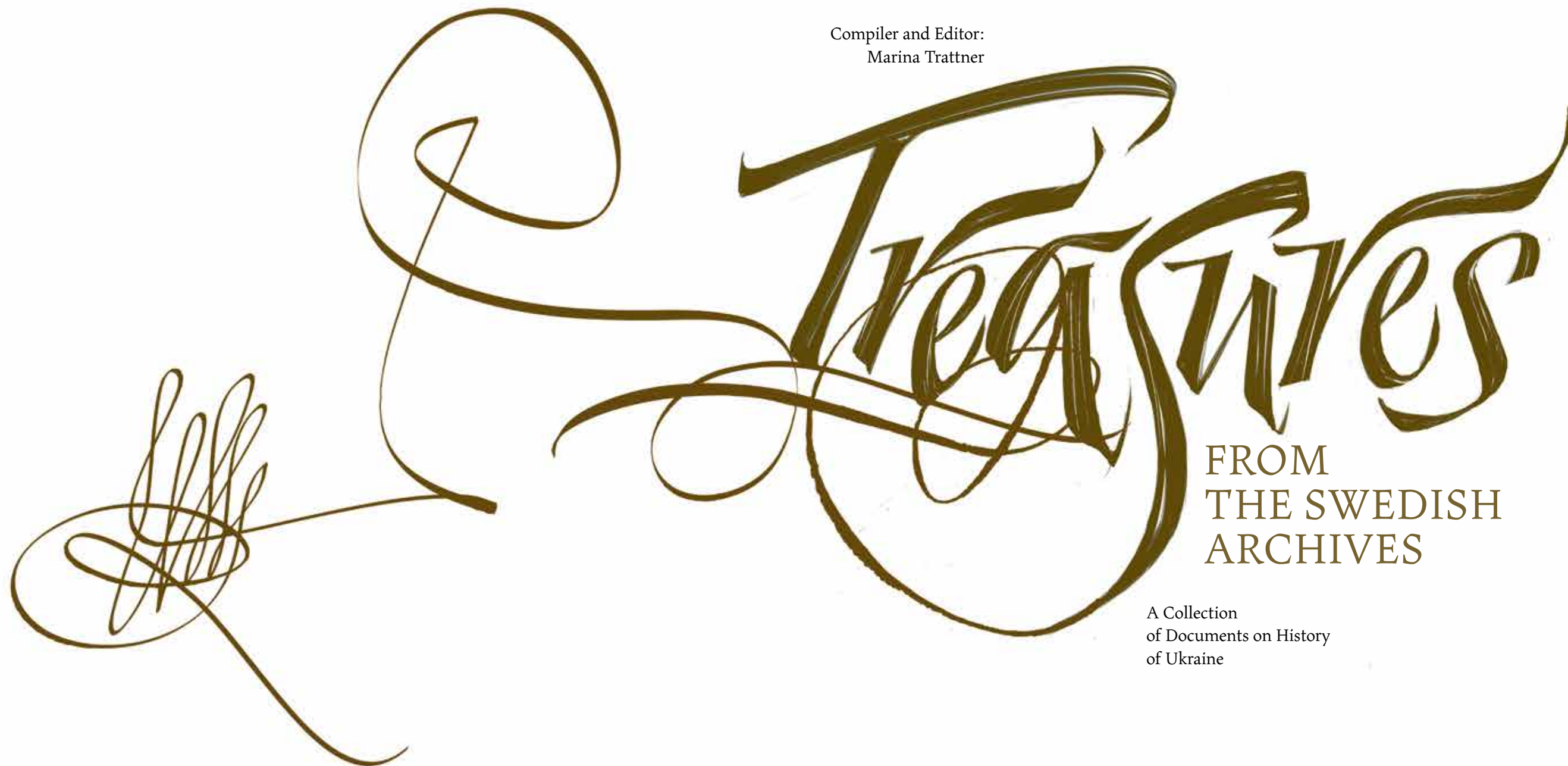




IN LOVING MEMORY  
OF MY PARENTS,  
YURIY KULBACHNYI  
AND VIRA KULBACHNA

*Thank you for everything  
you have done for me.*

Compiler and Editor:  
Marina Trattner



# Treasures

FROM  
THE SWEDISH  
ARCHIVES

A Collection  
of Documents on History  
of Ukraine

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# TREASURES FROM THE SWEDISH ARCHIVES

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The publication *Treasures from the Swedish Archives* provides a concise overview of various sections of Swedish archives that house documents related to Ukrainian history. For the first time, a number of sources pertaining to the history of Ukraine in the 16th–18th centuries are introduced into academic circulation. A special focus among these documents is given to the history of Swedish-Ukrainian relations during the Hetmanate of Ivan Mazepa and Pylyp Orlyk. The publication includes reproductions of little-known documents and an analysis of cartographic sources. The book is intended to engage historians, local researchers, educators, and students alike.



The compiler of this book and the team of authors extend their heartfelt gratitude to Inzhur — Ukraine's first Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT), which empowers Ukrainians to unite and invest in large-scale commercial real estate — for supporting our research. Thank you for believing in Ukraine and cherishing its true history.

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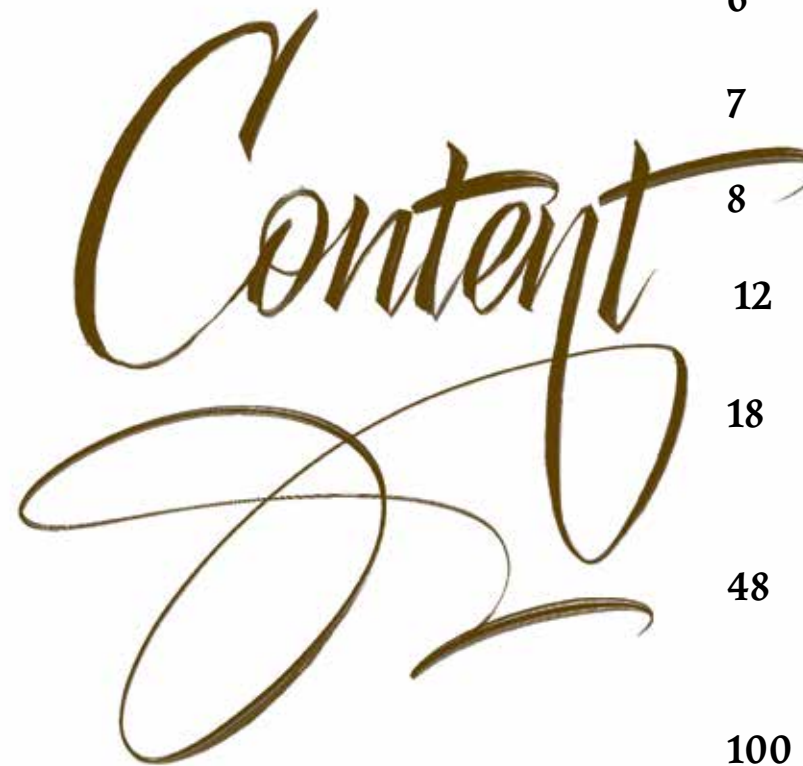
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# PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

Dear Reader,  
Welcome to the English edition of *Treasures from the Swedish Archives*, a unique exploration of Ukraine’s rich history as a significant European political, economic, and military actor, as revealed through medieval and early modern documents. Largely unknown or believed to have been lost over the centuries, many of these documents have survived. Thanks to the dedicated efforts of Ukrainian and Swedish historians, archivists, and researchers, they are now available to specialists and anyone interested in European history, particularly that of Ukraine.

Translating historical documents is always a challenge. Working with original material that sheds light on Ukrainian history, which has been obscured by Russian imperial narratives for more than three hundred years, proved to be a particularly delicate and exciting task. I approached this project with deep respect for the content and the languages involved. The collection of texts was diverse, ranging from contemporary articles by Ukrainian historians to excerpts from early modern European newspapers, French books, and even Latin poems. My primary objective was to maintain the integrity and spirit of this fascinating and dramatic period in Ukraine’s history while making it accessible and meaningful to an English-speaking audience.

As you read, you will notice a few Romanised terms, titles, and concepts. All of them carry deep historical significance, and by choosing to transliterate rather than directly translate, I aimed to preserve the cultural and political context essential for understanding Ukraine’s unique history. For instance, the word "colonel" referred not only to a military rank but also to the governor of a regimental district (a large administrative unit in the independent Cossack state). To reflect this distinction, I have translated the military title as ‘colonel (of the army)’ and transliterated the civilian position as ‘polkovnyk,’ preserving its historical specificity. Where necessary, I have included brief explanations of such terms to ensure clarity for readers without losing their original meaning and significance.

Many readers may know the Ukrainian Cossack state by its later and more conventional name, the Hetmanate. However, in its day, it was officially known as *Exercitus Zaporoviensis*. This stratocratic state, which emerged after the War of Liberation against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, was the legal successor to the Zaporozhian Sich, the Cossack polity and proto-state, and its army. I worked to clarify this distinction for English readers, and after much passionate discussion with the authors, we agreed that using its official Latin title, *Exercitus Zaporoviensis*, would be most appropriate. After all, Latin was the lingua franca of international relations in 17th-century Europe and one of the Cossack state’s official languages.

The title ‘kniaz’ and its feminine counterpart ‘kniahynia’ deserve particular attention. Historically, they were used to denote the sovereign rulers of Kyivan Rus and the medieval principalities, as well as aristocrats during the early modern period. While Ukrainians generally understand the differences in power and authority these titles represented across different historical periods, this distinction may not be immediately clear to English-speaking readers. At the authors’ request, I transliterated these titles; however, the challenge of conveying their historical nuance persisted. I found a solution by adopting the convention used in the translation of the name ‘Grand Duchy of Lithuania’. In instances where ‘kniaz’ referred to Ruthenian and Lithuanian princes of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, I translated it as "dukes" to reflect their socio-political status. For sovereign rulers, I retained the title "prince," derived from the Latin ‘princeps’. In each case, I have provided translations of the title in parentheses to clarify the role and status of the historical figure in question.

The accurate rendering of Ukrainian names posed its own challenges, as there are several Ukrainian-to-English transliteration standards. Wherever possible, I have used the spellings found in original Latinised documents (e.g., Konstanty Ostrogski, Grégoire Orlyk, Ivan Mirowicz). Some Ukrainian historical figures used both Ruthenian and Polish spellings of their names (such as Yuri Nemyrych, also known as Jerzy Niemirydz), and in these cases, I used the Ukrainian spelling as the basis while providing the Polish version in parentheses. Where no previous Latinised spelling existed, I transliterated Ukrainian names according to the current national standard of Cyrillic-Latin transliteration in Ukraine, which is widely accepted worldwide for the transliteration of modern and ancient Ukrainian texts.

For centuries, Ukrainian history has been presented through a Russian lens, often distorting or erasing aspects of Ukrainian identity. The Russian transliteration of Ukrainian names and places has become commonplace, yet for this translation, I have restored the original Ukrainian forms, such as Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Volodymyr, Kyiv, or Chyhyryn, to provide a clearer and more accurate view of Ukraine’s heritage and sovereignty.

As you embark on this journey through centuries of Ukraine’s unique and resilient history, I encourage you to reflect on these linguistic choices. They are part of a larger effort to reclaim and present Ukraine’s story as it truly happened, not as it has been altered to fit foreign narratives.

Thank you for joining me in exploring this fascinating chapter of Ukrainian and European history.

Inga Kononenko  
Kharkiv, Ukraine — Montreal, Canada

# DEAR FRIENDS!

Over the past two years, I’ve had the privilege of being part of an amazing team working to create a new intellectual space in Odesa — the Ukrainian Book Museum.

From the very beginning, we have positioned the Ukrainian Book Museum as the hub of contemporary Ukrainian culture and the main custodian of our unique literary heritage across time. At the same time, we work on addressing the subject of culture in a broader context and operating as an interdisciplinary platform. This approach allows our Museum to pursue another important mission: to explore and unveil previously unknown pages of Ukrainian history. After all, the world today still has a rich field of untapped opportunities for Ukrainian researchers yielding many interesting and unexpected discoveries for Ukrainians.

The book you are holding in your hands is a perfect proof of this. It is a unique guide to the Swedish archives that was compiled and edited by Marina Trattner, an ethnic Ukrainian now living in Sweden. Marina holds a master’s degree in European business law. She is an independent researcher, journalist, translator, and author of the blog *Наша історія МТ [Our History with Marina Trattner]*.

The Swedish archives boast 750 kilometres (or 466 miles) of bookshelves filled with historical records. About 130 million pages of those documents have already been digitised and are now available to the public. Meanwhile, not many Ukrainian researchers have sufficient knowledge of modern search systems and engines. Sadly, that precludes them from utilising this wealth of information. The fact that most of those documents are in Swedish is another significant barrier to their study.

Discoveries that Marina Trattner made in the National Archives of Sweden (Riksarkivet) are truly a historical sensation. Some of them remained in obscurity for the last 300–400 years, and she was the first Ukrainian to unveil that part of our country’s living history.

This book, *Treasures from the Swedish Archives. A Collection of Documents on the History of Ukraine* rediscovers and restores our historical memory while reaffirming our traditions of statehood at the same time. It is also a roadmap of the Swedish archives that helps Ukrainians take a different and more objective look at our history.

We would like to thank the National Archives of Sweden, Jan Mispelaere, Claes Gejrot, Marina Trattner, Oleksandr Alf’orov, Fr Yuriy Mytsyk, Maksym Meshkovyi, Orest Zayats, Valentyna Bochkovska, Oleksandr Malyshev, Oleksiy Kresin, Igor Poluektov, Natalia Pavlusenko, and Oleksii Chekal who worked on this publication and the implementation of our collective mission. Their efforts make it now possible for Ukrainians to immerse themselves into the world of Ukrainian Studies in Sweden – a completely new and exciting experience.

Enjoy the reading!

Iuliana Amelchenko  
Director  
Mykhailo Hrushevsky Odesa Regional Universal Scientific Library

# Introduction

Oleksandr  
Alf'orov

The book you are holding in your hands is incredible by all accounts. As Ukrainians grow more and more interested in their heritage, such publications become a benchmark for cutting-edge presentation of historical materials. This volume is a result of the joint work of prominent Ukrainian scholars and history enthusiasts. Our present holds many new challenges for researchers of the past. Not only the search for the most up-to-date sources but also their processing and presentation as well call for modern approaches. The restoration of Ukraine's independence opened the pathway to the searches for previously unknown documents in many archives all over the world. The latest technologies, such as accessible online repositories, facilitate their discoveries. However, the need for highly skilled professionals to process them remains just as high.

This book was made possible primarily through the presentation of a large amount of previously unknown or forgotten material on Ukrainian history on social media by Marina Trattner, an independent researcher who came across them in the Swedish state archives. Though not a trained historian, she was able to comprehend the importance of those digitised materials for Ukraine. The enthusiasm of the social media audience for this information and the Ukrainian media sharing the news were fascinating. It is no surprise to historians that online archives of foreign countries sometimes contain unique sources on our national history. But it was the latest means of communication that made it possible to spread and popularise such knowledge. At the same time, there were concerns about how the average Ukrainian reader would perceive the content of the findings rather than the announcement per se. Mrs Trattner is fluent in the Swedish language, and so she started by translating and publishing fragments of some of the documents she found. Dates, personalities, and circumstances, previously unknown to Ukrainian Internet users, were emerging from the obscurity of centuries. No wonder it created a dissonance in public perception. Most people imagine working in archives as something mythical and mysterious, which will certainly bring great discoveries that can change the course of history. Instead, the findings fell into a mosaic pattern that required a holistic view and in-depth knowledge of the subject. For most of the experts in source studies who followed Mrs Trattner's posts, it was a kind of experiment to watch the audience gradually begin to understand the complexity of both the search process and its results. At the same time,



■ The National Archives of Sweden



■ The National Archives of Sweden

the whole experience has clearly illustrated another factor: academia needs to engage with the public, which is not accustomed to the traditional presentation form. It is important to note that Mrs Trattner's colleagues in the history department greatly supported her along the way. The first findings were published in *Siveryanskyi Litopys*, an influential Ukrainian historical journal.

Yet understanding history takes more than merely wishing for it. Quite a few prominent Ukrainian scholars joined the work on the discovered documents. Their support and expertise greatly contributed to the proper evaluation and study of the historical sources. This book is the tangible result of this collective effort.

The key idea of this publication is to demonstrate the richness and diversity of the material on the history of Ukraine stored in the archives of Sweden. Some of these sources have been used by Ukrainian historians since the 19th century. However, the modern age and possibilities provide a unique opportunity for their all-encompassing comparative study. One more thing to remember is that the bulk of the materials contain information related to Ukrainian hetmans, namely, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Mazepa, and Pylyp Orlyk. Throughout both the Russian Empire and the Soviet eras, these figures remained under the watchful eye of censorship. As a result, their portrayal has always been one-sided until now. Another goal of this publication is to revive the interest of history researchers and enthusiasts in the deeper study of the Swedish archives. As its editor, Mrs Trattner chose the vector of presenting material, which, though not devoid of the arrhythmia typical of popularisation works, in my opinion, fits the general concept of this project. It made changes to the more traditional form, which affected the book's heterogeneity and structure as well. Yet, at the same time, this is an interesting phenomenon in today's world, where the presentation rules are not set in stone anymore, and established norms transform. The readers will see a combination of different styles, levels of argumentation and description. For example, pages of important rediscovered archaeographic artefacts are interspersed with modern reconstructions of Ukrainian hetmans' portraits by the famous Ukrainian artist Natalia Pavlusenko. This is a rare combination, whether found in an academic publication or a popular one. But it is exactly what brings the images of the past to life. And the modern model of perception demands such vividness. More than that, it bridges the centuries in a way, making the reader aware of the continuity of the historical process.

This book contains five chapters written by Marina Trattner (Chapters One and Two), Oleksiy Kresin and Oleksandr Malyshev (Chapter Three), Jan Mispelaere and Marina Trattner (Chapter Four), and Igor Poluektov (Chapters Two and Five). The first chapter, *Treasures Uncovered in the Swedish Archives*, is a very interesting attempt at examining the Swedish archival scene through the lens of the documents related to the history of Ukraine. In fact, it is a kind of roadmap for those who, following its author, would like to plunge into the world of source search or at least understand how exactly they are preserved. However, it is important to stress that the presented overview is not conventional and does not disclose the number of files, inventories, fonds, or collections. There are no characteristics or specifications of the institutions, either. They are only presented as markers, yielding to the author's main idea of demonstrating the keys to the search process, namely, how to use online platforms and where, during her own research, she came across titles related to Ukrainian history. At the same time, Mrs Trattner provides examples of the discovered documents or gives a general description of what is stored in one or another archival file or collection. Of particular importance is the fact that Bohdan Khmelnytsky minted his coin – and its description, too. This news is chronologically the first among the previously known ones. From time to time, the author provides her assessment of the importance of the

documents and engages her attentive readers in an internal dialogue. It makes Chapter One feel like a good interlocutor who is excited about the findings and actively draws you into joining the common effort. For this reason, Chapter Two, which Marina Trattner co-authored with Igor Poluektov, is the logical next step as it presents examples of documents from the 17th and 18th cc., which Mrs Trattner has uncovered in the archives. My special commendation goes to Oleksandr Malyshev, a prominent Ukrainian scholar, who translated most of the Latin documents into Ukrainian for this project, and to his general erudition and understanding of the text within the broader historical background. An accidental misinterpretation of terminology or context could lead to discrepancies and result in lessening the scientific and historical value of the source. Dr Malyshev’s knowledge was especially invaluable in mitigating this risk.

Prof. Oleksiy Kresin, an internationally renowned expert in comparative law, authored Chapter Three. Among other newly discovered documents, he paid special attention to those covering the early years of Pylyp Orlyk’s Hetmanate. Here you will find historical materials that clarify the circumstances around the conclusion of *The Treaties and Resolutions of 1710* (better known as the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk). I would also like to direct your attention to a particularly interesting analysis of two previously known documents, the *Relation on Kyiv* and the *True Relation on the Cossacks and Kyiv*, in which an unknown author derives the history of Exercitus Zaporoviensis from the Khazars. These sources testify to the creation of an ideological programme of the Cossack State that appealed to the historical origin of the Cossacks and their role predating the Kyivan princely dynasty. By their very nature, these works proclaimed the right of Cossack political institutions to own all Ukrainian lands with a centre in Kyiv. Moreover, they declared that Exercitus Zaporoviensis is not a new state, but a reconstituted one. Many of the documents described and analysed by Prof. Kresin reveal some very important aspects of Ukraine’s status in the international legal framework of the time. The perception of Ukraine and its people in the context of Swedish-Ukrainian relations and the declaration of the Cossacks’ right to their independent state particularly stands out and so deserves special attention. Also, the historical materials of Chapter Three significantly deepen our knowledge about the Mazepa emigration, activities of Orlyk’s government in its first years, and, most importantly, clearly demonstrate the political, legal, and historical thought of the period.

Chapter Four is written by the Swedish archivist and historian Jan Mispelaere. His contribution to the team has greatly strengthened the project, taking it to the international level. I would also like to emphasise that Dr Mispelaere was the principal research advisor to the editor of this book, and subsequently contributed with great enthusiasm to the in-depth comprehensive study of Ukrainian heritage in Sweden. His efforts were crucial in discovering many important artefacts. In Chapter Four, Dr Mispelaere describes the difficult and, at times, incredible journey of transporting the Charles XII’s Field Chancellery paperwork from Bender to Sweden and its subsequent deposit in the archives. Another document of great interest is a letter from Charles XII of 14 September 1711. In it, the Swedish monarch emphasised his principled position that Ukraine had to be guaranteed all rights and freedoms, the inviolability of its territory, and the status of an independent state under the leadership of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk.

Chapter Five, the final one in this book, is written by Igor Poluektov, a researcher widely known for his promoting and popularising of Ukrainian history. His participation in the project lent it a synergistic effect due to the combination of academic and popular science presentation styles. The latter in no way diminishes the scientific quality of his work, which demonstrates high research standards. Mr Poluektov’s chapter focuses on maps that describe the territory of modern Ukraine. He estimates that the Swedish archives preserved

several thousand maps, directly or indirectly related to Ukrainian lands. The researcher reviews the sources chronologically and thematically and narrates how the European cartographers of the past perceived our lands. Particularly noteworthy are the author’s explanations of historical events, which significantly expand the informational component of the images. I would also like to point out that the numerous examples cited in this chapter go beyond the Swedish archives as the author introduces his readers to the search capabilities of other European online platforms.

The appendix contains academic descriptions of the seals affixed to the signatures of Yuri Nemyrych, Ivan Kowalewski, and Ivan Fedorovych under the famous Treaty of Korsun signed between Ukraine and Sweden in 1657. This careful analysis led to unexpected conclusions and created new challenges for researchers.

All documents included in this publication are presented in their original languages and translated for readers’ convenience. Some words in the manuscripts could not be clearly read and transcribed. Those are marked with an ellipsis in brackets. Some of the terms caused ambiguity during translation, and they have a question mark next to them. The Cyrillic document *Letter to the Cossacks...* was transcribed with diacritical marks that were used in the Ruthenian (Old Ukrainian) language.

The compiled name and geographical indexes greatly enhance this publication as they make navigating the texts easier for both researchers and history enthusiasts.

Overall, this publication deserves special attention as an excellent attempt at combining the efforts of different researchers. And, of course, we must congratulate the editor, Marina Trattner, whose persistence successfully motivated scholars to participate in this rather complex project. At the same time, it is worth noting that it is an excellent example of utilising online resources to facilitate studying historical documents.

I sincerely hope that the authors will continue their work beyond this volume. Without a doubt, we are looking at having more publications of documents and the creation of a corpus of sources from the Swedish archives in the future.



# FIGHTING FOR INDEPENDENCE

## Editor’s Preface

I started writing this preface on 21 November 2013, the Day of Dignity and Freedom of Ukraine. On this day in 2013, Ukrainians and friends of Ukraine took to Kyiv’s Independence Square, the famous Maidan, to protest against the pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovich’s refusal to sign the European Union Association Agreement. He intended to continue keeping the country under Moscow’s destructive influence. And Ukrainians strived for true freedom and independence.

The first calls brought only a few dozen to the Maidan, yet, with every day, more and more people were coming to Kyiv’s central square to demonstrate their solidarity with the protesters. Many of those were college and university students who set up a round-the-clock vigil on the square. On the night of 30 November 2013, they were forcibly dispersed by the Berkut special police unit. The beleaguered students managed to escape to safety behind the walls of St Michael’s Monastery consecrated in honour of the Archangel Michael, the heavenly protector of warriors. It was this very monastery that gave refuge to Kyivans back in the distant past, in December 1240, during the Mongol invasion led by Batu Khan.

For centuries, St Michael’s Golden-Domed Cathedral has seen the victories and defeats of Ukrainian arms as well as the rights and wrongs of Ukraine, especially from the Muscovites, the heirs and followers of the Golden Horde, who repeatedly attacked our lands, demolished churches, burned cities, ravaged libraries, looted museums, murdered our nation’s patriots, banned the Ukrainian language, and rewrote our history. “Rus’, Ruthenia is Russia,” they claimed. “Ukraine is its outskirts. We are the same people.” The world heard only this Moscow propaganda about us and believed it. No other sides of the story were permitted to exist.

In early December 2013, I came to the Maidan to support Ukraine’s European aspirations and stayed there for several days with my friends. These mass protests later became known as the Euromaidan. On the night of 10–11 December, when an armed attack on the Maidan protesters began, Deacon Ivan Sydor began to ring the bells of St Michael’s Golden-Domed Cathedral, calling on all Kyivans. He was tolling the alarm for four hours.

Ukrainians united to resist the enemy. Hundreds of thousands in Kyiv alone came out to defend independence. Millions rose across Ukraine. United, the Maidan protesters held the line to the last, protecting themselves with makeshift shields and helmets. On 18 December, security forces severely beat Pavlo Mazurenko, one of the Euromaidan protesters. He succumbed to his injuries on 22 December. Injured and wounded activists were abducted from hospitals. One of those abducted was Dr Yuriy Verbytskyi, a seismologist from a renowned family of Ukrainian scientists and a Euromaidan activist. He was murdered on the night of 21–22 January. On 22 January, one of the Maidan guards, a Belarusian, Mikhail Zhyzneuski, was killed during the Hrushevskoho Street riots. He was shot through the heart

with a live hunting bullet. On 22 January, another Maidan guard, an Armenian-Ukrainian, Serhiy Nigoyan was killed with a gunshot at a time when the truce between the Euromaidan protesters and the pro-government forces was still in place. By 13 February 2014, the death toll from the security forces had reached nine. On 18 February, at the start of the most violent confrontations, another 22 people were killed, and 8 more on 19 February.

For three days, starting on 17 February, as people were dying on the Maidan, President Yanukovich was removing jewellery and antiques from his dictatorial residence in Mezhyhirya, just 25 km from the site of those tragic events.

One of the Euromaidan participants, 20-year-old Ustym Holodnyuk, who was severely beaten on 30 November, told his friends, “If they start attacking the Maidan, tell me, “The sky is falling””. On 20 February 2014, he heard those words and went to guard the others and pick up the dead near the Instytutska Street exit of the Khreshchatyk metro station, between Independence Square itself and the government quarter. Ustym was shot dead there. The sky has fallen.

According to official statistics, 48 people were killed by bullets on Instytutska Street that day. Another 20 succumbed later to gunshot wounds. On the same day, the Russian Federation launched its armed invasion and occupation of Crimea with its unmarked military forces. On 21 February at 21:24, President Yanukovich fled Ukraine.

On 21 March 2014, during the Extraordinary EU–Ukraine Summit, the political part of the Association Agreement and the Final Act of the Summit were signed.

On 12 April 2014, the Russian Federation began hostilities in Donbas with an attack on Sloviansk, Kramatorsk, and Druzhkivka. On 13 April, Ukraine launched its counter-offensive, then called the Anti-Terrorist Operation (ATO). On 1 June, the invaders began a multi-day assault on the border guard post in Luhansk causing a series of explosions, in which civilians were killed.

On 25 May 2014, early presidential elections were held in Ukraine and Petro Poroshenko was elected president. On 27 June 2014, during a meeting of the EU Council, President Poroshenko and the leadership of the European Union, as well as the heads of state and government of 28 EU member states signed the economic part of the Agreement, in particular, Title III “Justice, Freedom and Security”, Title IV “Trade and Trade-Related Matters”, Title V “Economic and Sectoral Cooperation”, and Title VI “Financial Cooperation and Anti-Fraud Provisions”, which together with the rest of the Agreement constitute a single document.

From 6 to 31 August, the Russian Armed Forces were sieging Ilovaisk. As a result of fierce fighting, on 18 August, Ukrainian troops, including many volunteers, entered the city. The enemy encircled Ukrainian units. Russian President Putin urged his proxies to open what he called a humanitarian corridor for the military on the condition that the Ukrainians leave unarmed. When the columns began to move, the enemy treacherously opened deadly fire on them.

On 16 September 2014, the Parliament of Ukraine and the European Parliament simultaneously ratified the EU–Ukraine Association Agreement.

On 28 September 2014, the Second Battle of Donetsk Airport began. The defence of the terminals lasted 242 days. During this time, the Ukrainian army created a line of fortifications around the runway along the perimeter of several villages nearby. This battle

has become a symbol of the resilience and fighting spirit of the Ukrainian army, and the troops, who defended the airport, became honourably known as the ‘cyborgs’ in recognition of their courage and indomitable spirit.

It was during this war with Russia that one of the most pivotal events in Ukrainian history came to pass. In 2018, the Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate initiated the procedures necessary to grant the Tomos of Autocephaly to the Orthodox Church of Ukraine. On 6 January 2019, Patriarch Bartholomew I presented Metropolitan Epiphanius of Kyiv and All of Ukraine with a landmark document on the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, sealing Ukraine’s victory in the struggle for the recognition of the Local Ukrainian Autocephalous Church through the abolition of its fake subordination to the Moscow Church.

Ukraine is fighting for its independence on many fronts at once. The whole nation has revolted against the enemy. Civilian army supporters are actively working at the forefront monitoring and filling technical, medical, and equipment needs. Children volunteers make camouflage nets, write letters of support, and hold fundraisers for the war effort; retired ladies knit warm socks and send home-canned food to the frontline. At the beginning of the war, our army was all but decimated and we had no efficient system of defence. Businessmen and company executives purchased weapons that army support volunteers delivered to the frontlines. Some even joined the ranks themselves. Those who could not stay there for a long time travelled to the front line for short periods and defended the country with their own weapons. All Ukrainians and friends of Ukraine rallied together to provide supplies for the troops. It was only the unity of the Ukrainian people and the support of Ukraine’s friends that made it possible to withstand the most difficult years and stop the enemy.

The Russian Federation occupied Crimea and parts of Luhansk and Donetsk regions and created puppet criminal regimes there, the so-called Luhansk People’s Republic (LPR) and Donetsk People’s Republic (DPR). It also has effectively occupied Belarus before the eyes of the European community. On 9 August 2020, Belarus held presidential elections. The incumbent president Alexander Lukashenko lost, while the opposition leader Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya became the winner. However, Lukashenko refused to recognise the will of the people and seized power in the country with the help of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

This marked the beginning of a crackdown on the opposition in Belarus. Thousands of people were imprisoned as a result. Russian President Vladimir Putin and Alexander Lukashenko signed the Military Doctrine of the Union State of Belarus and Russia, which codified the status of Belarus as a de facto western province of the bloodthirsty empire.

The Russian Federation at once deployed more military equipment to Belarus, on the border with Ukraine. The militarisation of Crimea has been rapid. Among other things, Russia has deployed there missiles capable of hitting targets at a distance of 120 km. Russians looted Ukrainian museums in Crimea, burned Ukrainian libraries, and started yet another wave of persecution against the indigenous people of Crimea and Ukraine, the Crimean Tatars.

To complicate matters further, all that was unfolding during the second year of the coronavirus pandemic that killed more than 5 million people worldwide, impacting most families. The Russian Federation was counting on everyone being too preoccupied with their current internal problems to pay any attention to what was happening in Ukraine. On 24 February 2022, Russia launched a full-scale war against Ukraine along almost the entire 2500 km of its border.

1 Weapons of the War in Ukraine: A Three-Year Study into the Supply Sources of Weapons to Donetsk and Luhansk (November 2021) <[www.conflictarm.com/reports/weapons-of-the-war-in-ukraine](http://www.conflictarm.com/reports/weapons-of-the-war-in-ukraine)> [accessed 21 November 2021]. 1. Weapons of the War in Ukraine: A Three-Year Study into the Supply Sources of Weapons to Donetsk and Luhansk (November 2021) <[www.conflictarm.com/reports/weapons-of-the-war-in-ukraine](http://www.conflictarm.com/reports/weapons-of-the-war-in-ukraine)> [accessed 21 November 2021].

The Russian barbarians attacked civilians, shot the elderly, women, and children; looted toys, clothes, household appliances down to electric kettles or microwaves, and even toilets; blew up kindergartens, schools, universities, hospitals, and museums. Everything of value was taken out of the occupied cities. Ukrainian history books were burned, and history teachers were either shot or forced to spread Putin’s new theory about Ukraine being created by Lenin. Kharkiv, Sumy, Bucha, Irpin, and Mariupol were almost completely razed by the army of savages. The terrorist country first seized the Chornobyl nuclear power plant and threatened the entire world with an environmental catastrophe. Then it deployed its Tochka-U missile launchers near the Zaporizhzhya nuclear power plant and began shooting at civilians. Russia occupied the Black and Azov Seas ports and blocked the export of Ukrainian grain for sale abroad, causing food shortages in many countries. The occupiers seized all the harvest in the vicinity, and if they were cut off any fields, they burned those fields.

Concentration camps were set up in the occupied cities, where Russians took Ukrainian children away from their parents and trafficked them against their will to remote regions of Russia for adoption by Russian families.

Despite these incredibly difficult circumstances, Ukrainians continue to heroically defend the country and rebuild its economy. Since 23 June 2022, Ukraine has been a candidate for EU membership. Many countries are helping the Ukrainian army with weapons and humanitarian aid. While all that has significantly strengthened its positions on the frontline, NATO still refuses to close the skies over Ukraine “to avoid provoking another world war”. As a result, civilians die every day in Ukraine. Russia is destroying everything connected with Ukraine and plans to continue fighting “to the last Ukrainian”. The terrorist country is committing genocide in front of the whole world. The world is trying to stop the aggressor with sanctions. But not everything is as efficient as we would like it to be. The war goes on.

Our armed forces are defending Ukraine, and the world is amazed at them. The enemy suffers massive losses. To date (18 July 2022), 38,450 Russian troops have been killed in Ukraine. The Russian Federation is trying to seize our land, appropriate our history, and rewrite it to its ends so that once and for all it can hide its past of an ill-developed country kowtowing to its Mongol overlords. In this war, it uses both conventionally banned weapons and propaganda against Ukraine. Then, the truth must become our weapon. And this truth about our past is preserved in authentic sources, books, articles, letters, portraits, and maps in archives around the world. Anyone can learn how to work with archives and put the historical records straight.

I was privileged to bring together an international team of historians, lawyers, archivists, translators, artists, and designers to create a map of the treasures related to the history of Ukraine that are stored abroad. We are only in the beginning of our work, and this book describes but a small part of what we have already found. Each of you can join this important process of restoring forgotten history and explore all those materials even on your smartphone. Really, it is an easy, interesting, and exciting endeavour.

With this book, we are revealing a new chapter of historical truth to the world while taking another step toward restoring the intergenerational connection between the heroes who gathered Ukrainian lands, built Ukraine’s statehood, and fought for its independence in the past — and Ukrainians today. We will learn about those who fought, as we do now, and defended Ukraine’s interests in negotiations with other countries during the 17th and 18th cc. You will also receive tips on where and how to search for important documents related to Ukraine’s history; in particular, where to find them in European archives and libraries. Also, in this book, we are going to show you several examples of documents and maps that are

often able to tell you more about Ukraine’s history than some voluminous editions. A very important thing about maps is that they show just as much as they tell. Their vivid eloquence makes them an extremely important historical source, and this is why we chose to use them in our research.

I would like to emphasise that the word ‘treasures’ here refers to valuable documents and is not synonymous with first found. However, this book does contain documents that are being published for the first time. We marked them accordingly for your convenience. Most of the materials described in this book, I discovered them in Swedish archives in 2021. They organically complement documents from the archives of other countries and create a more objective picture of Ukraine’s past, from ancient times to the present day. Everything presented here is only a small part of the documents found, and it still requires further processing, research, and more detailed analysis. We sincerely hope that these discoveries will spark further interest among researchers and will encourage future historians to start their own fascinating journey in search of the treasures of foreign archives.

I am especially grateful to historian Olena Petrova and her colleagues from Odesa Ukrainian Book Museum for their consistent support in preparing this book for its publication; the National Archives of Sweden for preserving the treasures of our history; Lena Ånimmer for her work in the Ukrainian Diaspora Archive in Sweden, Ulrika Hofverberg for her assistance in analysing and decoding Swedish royal cyphers, and Jan Mispelaere for every minute of his precious time as well as his expertise, experience, selfless cooperation, and initiative. Jan Mispelaere’s contribution to the reconstruction of Ukrainian history is invaluable. It was he who found, at our request, an immense number of documents that remained inaccessible to researchers for several centuries. My personal thanks go to the translators of Polish and Latin for the Ukrainian edition of this book, Oleksandr Malyshev, who worked on the texts pretty much around the clock, as well as Fr Yuriy Mytsyk, Maksym Meshkovyi, Orest Zayats, Claes Gejrot, Yevhen Luniak, and Valentyna Bochkovska. I would like to express my appreciation to Serhiy Pavlenko for guiding me in my quest for materials related to Ivan Mazepa and the Cossacks, and for all his valuable advice; Oleksandr Alf’orov for his continuous assistance during my search for documents in the archives of Sweden and working on the translations; and Oleksiy Kresin for his historical expertise, constructive criticism, and important comments on the translated documents. His references to some of the lost documents of the Bender Commission in his publications made it possible for us to track them down in various sections of the National Archives of Sweden, though they still require proofreading, translation, and analysis. We look forward to continuing working with those records and hope to publish them in Ukraine as a separate volume. We are very thankful to the artist Natalia Pavlusenko for kindly consenting to illustrate this book with her incredible portraits of Ukrainian hetmans and Cossack officers. The talented designer and calligrapher Oleksii Chekal offered to assist us with designing the publication of the initial materials during the first months of our work in the archives. We came to him when we were just starting on this project, and he gladly accepted the idea of developing an individual visual style for this book. He continued to work on its layout during the incessant bombings of Kharkiv and Lviv. A truly titanic job, and we immensely appreciate it.

My special words of gratitude go to Igor Poluektov, an accomplished man of many talents. He truly poured his heart and soul into penning a wonderful study on the maps of Ukraine. This book would not be what it is without his contribution. Also, we all would like to thank Anatol Laskowski for editing the texts, and each and every person who helped us in this journey. Many historians as well as my friends on social media shared my posts about documental discoveries made in the archives of Sweden. I am particularly grateful to them for bringing these findings to public attention. Their faith, enthusiasm, and support truly enabled me to

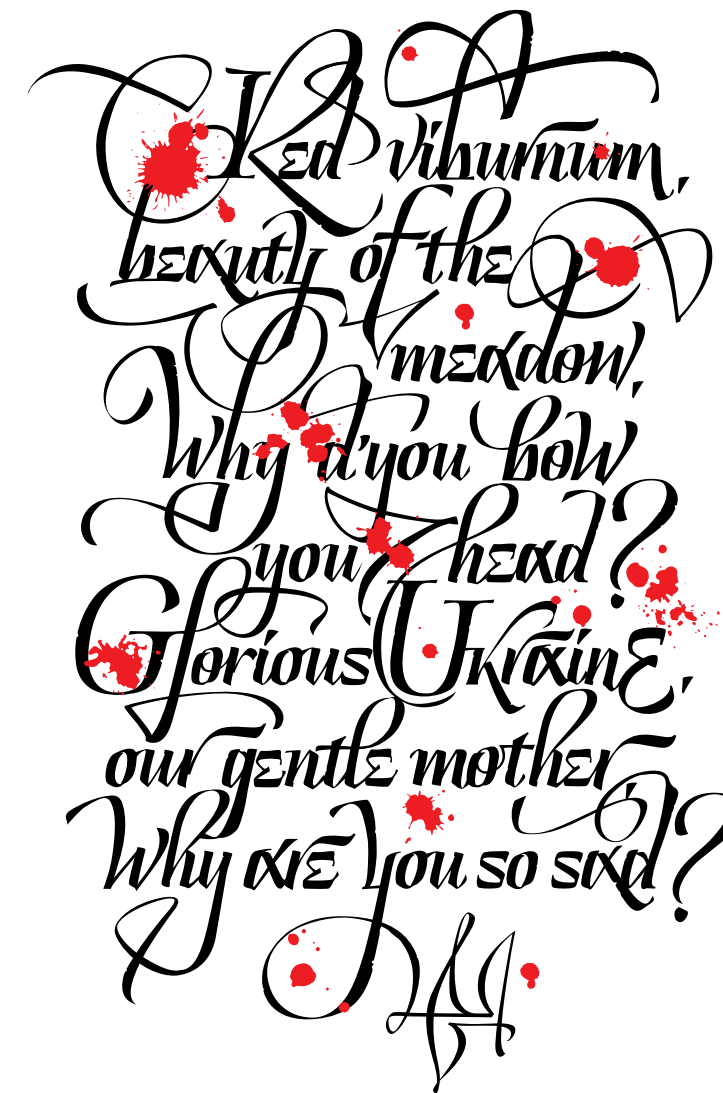
fully recreate the accurate historical context for the recovered materials. Most of the members of our project are now defending Ukraine with their life and limb. We pray for them.

I personally thank all the historians, archivists, lawyers, and other specialists and enthusiasts who value our history for their assistance during my search for documents in various archives around the world. Special thanks to my family for all their help and support.

And I bow down to all the heroes of the past and present who have won Ukraine’s independence and are fighting today for our freedom. I hope the coming generations will continue their glorious and honourable legacy.

Marina Trattner

Master of European Business Law, journalist



■ This book is another way to reconnect with our ancestors during this time of trial, passing on their wisdom to future generations. For us, the viburnum, or guelder rose, symbolizes the beauty of life, our unity, and the blood shed in defense of our homeland — just as it did for those who came before us, from the Cossacks to the Sich Riflemen.

We are the heirs to their traditions. (Calligraphy by Oleksii Chekal, 2022)

# TREASURES UNCOVERED IN THE SWEDISH ARCHIVES

Marina  
Trattner

**S**weden and Ukraine have been connected since ancient times. Recent research<sup>1</sup> reveals that the genetic origins of most Swedes trace back to the Pit Grave archaeological culture.<sup>2</sup> Members of this ethno-cultural group lived in the territory of modern Ukraine approximately 4500 years ago. The Proto-Indo-European language they spoke became the foundation from which Swedish eventually evolved. Despite the geographical distance, Swedes and Ukrainians maintained friendly, familial, commercial, and allied relations at the highest levels for centuries, preserving a wealth of important information about one another — largely because both nations shared many significant historical events.

Sweden can rightly be called the Treasury of Ukrainian history. After all, it ended up being home to many ancient manuscripts, maps and books describing Ukrainian lands, the Scythians, Rus', Kniahynia (Princess) Olga, Yaroslav the Wise, Ingegerd Olofsdotter, the Cossacks, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Bohun, Ivan Vyhovsky, Ivan Mazepa, Pylyp Orlyk, Grégoire Orlyk, Andriy Woynarowski, and many other figures who have changed the course of Ukrainian history over the centuries. The National Archives of Sweden provides an opportunity to see one of the copies of Pylyp Orlyk's Constitution of 1710, several treaties and sections of diplomatic correspondence about the Cossacks, as well as many other similar historical materials. And the City Library of Linköping is the keeper of a Ukrainian hetman's *bulava* or ceremonial mace. The collection of the National Library of Sweden, also known as the Royal Library, contains portraits, engravings, and ancient books, while the Military Archives of Sweden has maps, plans of important battles, and graphic representations of fortresses. In fact, the latter institution's collection contains almost 100,000 maps and graphic images. The Swedish Army Museum in Stockholm houses a unique relic, the personal banner of Bohdan Khmelnytsky along with dozens of other banners of Exercitus Zaporoviensis. Various university libraries and online archives contain first editions of church books, primers, books about the Cossacks, the Riksråd (Council of the Realm) protocols, and private archives of government officials. Newspapers have been reporting on Ukrainian affairs and personalities since 1645. What is particularly interesting, private collections put up for sale in second-hand bookshops or at auctions almost always contain old prints related to Ukrainian history.

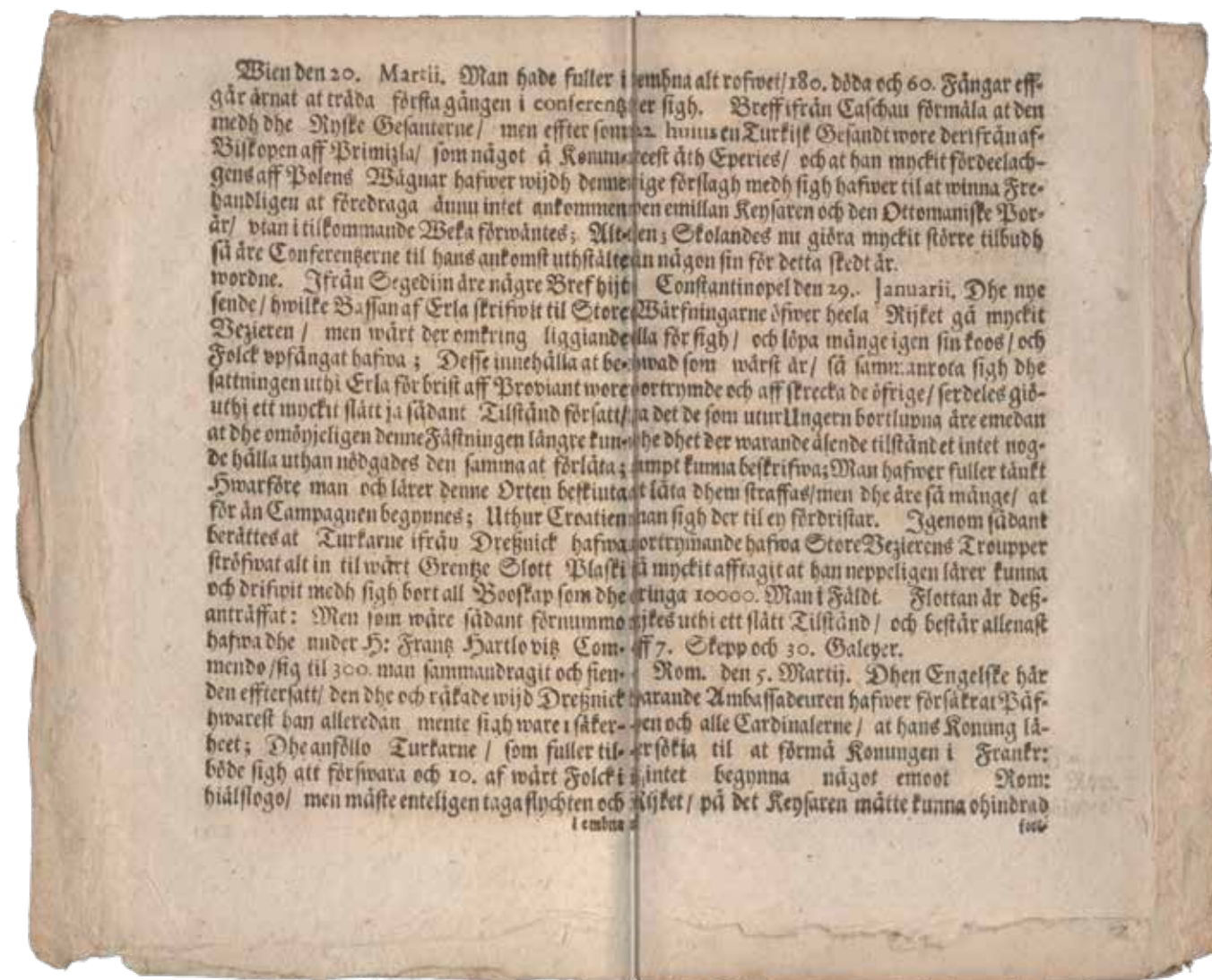
- 1 Benny Eriksson, 'Ny DNA-forskning visar att svenskar framför allt härstammar från Ukraina' [New DNA Research Shows that Swedes Primarily Originate from Ukraine], 2 March 2019, <<https://www.svt.se/nyheter/vetenskap/ny-dna-forskning-visar-att-svenskar-framforallt-harstammar-fran-ukraina>> [accessed 21 November 2021].
- 2 Kristian Kristiansen, 'Forskare fördjupar bilden av bronsålderns integration' [Researchers Deepen the Picture of Bronze Age Integrations], 12 April 2017, <<https://www.gu.se/nyheter/forskare-fordjupar-bilden-av-bronsalderns-integration>> [accessed 21 November 2021].

## SEARCHING FOR NEWS ON UKRAINIAN COSSACKS IN THE SWEDISH NEWSPAPERS

Axel Oxenstierna began running the Swedish government and indeed the country in 1632, after the death of King Gustavus Adolphus, as Christina, Queen of Sweden was only 6 years old at the time of her ascension to the throne. He headed the government in 1632–44, wrote many letters to the queen, and together with her, launched regular newspaper printing in 1645. Queen Christina was ruling Sweden at the time when Bohdan Khmelnytsky became politically and militarily active and was leading the struggle for the independence of his homeland. News from Ukraine made it to Sweden, and we can learn about the main developments of those times following the press. For example, *Post-och Inrikes Tidningar* [Post and Domestic Times], a newspaper of that period, contains a lot of valuable information about historical events related to Ukraine. To search for it, follow the link to the platform of Swedish newspapers, <https://tidningar.kb.se> and enter the name of the newspaper in the search bar. The greatest number of results comes from using the old style of writing Swedish words *cosaker* [Cossack], *fältherre* [Commander-in-Chief], *Pålandh* [Poland], *Lemberg* [Lviv], *Moskowitz* [Muscovite], *Turkar* [Turks], and *Tartarer* [Tatars]. Here is what the newspapers of the time wrote about the Cossacks.

FIGURE 1

*Ordinari Post Tijdender*, Stockholm, Sweden. 11 April 1687.





## NEWS OF 11 APRIL 1687 ABOUT HETMAN IVAN SAMOYLOVYCH AND THE CRIMEAN CAMPAIGN

*Ordinari Post Tjändender*, Stockholm, Sweden, 11 April 1687<sup>3</sup>

**Vienna, 17 March.** On 14 March, a public audience of the envoys took place. They were splendidly welcomed and presented with valuable gifts, such as sabres, elephant tusks, ermines, gold, and more. A lavish dinner in their honour followed, and afterwards [...] they will continue their journey to Venice. [...] the

<sup>3</sup> URL: <https://tidningar.kb.se/2979645/1687-04-11/edition/145134/part/1/page/2> [accessed 21 November 2021]. More details and historical documents about Ivan Samoylovych (in Ukrainian) at <[www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2022/05/6/161303](http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2022/05/6/161303)>

Turks suffered ill luck recently [...] [to engage in battle?] with [Colonel?] Orlyk. After that, they retreated and headed to Kaposvár [...] he came with two children who worked in the vineyards. Our contacts report that the Tatars are planning to attack the bridge near the town of Osijek and that many of them say they would like to leave by all means and at any cost to provide everything that may be needed in [Stulmetselenburg?]. The sultan sternly ordered all the fortresses close to the border to defend themselves with all their might and assured them that in May he would come to support them with a great army. The Grand Vizier, with the help of the Tartar khan, tried to lure Hetman Samoylovych of the Zaporozhian Cossacks away from the Muscovites and promised to release him from [contributions?] and grant him the title of *Fürst* [prince] of Ukraine. In addition, he promised to grant him many freedoms and privileges and a substantial annual pension to support numerous bodyguards. But nothing came of it, and the said Hetman Samoylovych is ready to join the Muscovites with a huge army and help them defeat the *Krim* [Crimean] Tartars. Hungary reports that every day they find those involved in the treason that has come to light. It has spread across the country. And that it was thus established that all garrisons of German soldiers, as soon as General Commissary Caraffa ordered them to start military operations, would be killed overnight, and all malcontents arrested.

**Szeged, 27 February.** Bazan [Pasha?] from Timișoara, together with the local population here in the city, secretly corresponded and planned a surprise attack and gathered 1200 people within a day to arrive quickly at the designated location. He could do it because he already had 30 people on his side. But it so happened that one defector noticed this and told the commandant, who ordered the deployment of 400 guards in the city. The musketeers marched out to defend the city on both sides of the wall, which greatly alarmed a great number of Turks. They had grenades thrown at them in considerable quantity. After that, they decided to retreat to their 100 ships, leaving a small detachment in place. That was a poor decision as our men grabbed their

bows and arrows and killed most of them. They surrendered and fled the battlefield without defending themselves. If not for our attack, they would not have retreated to their 100 ships. They took four prisoners and many spoils with them. In total, 800 Turks were on this site.

**Vienna, 22 March.** Yesterday we had the honour of opening the conference together with the Ruthenian envoys. But the Bishop from Przemysl, who is to represent the King of Poland, has not yet arrived. He is expected to arrive next week. The conference was delayed due to his absence.

Several letters from Szeged were received, written by Baffan [Pasha?] from the city of Eger to the Grand Vizier. Some people from their entourage intercepted those letters reporting that because of a lack of provisions in Eger, the fortress could not be held any longer and had to be surrendered. This place was seized before the start of the military campaign.

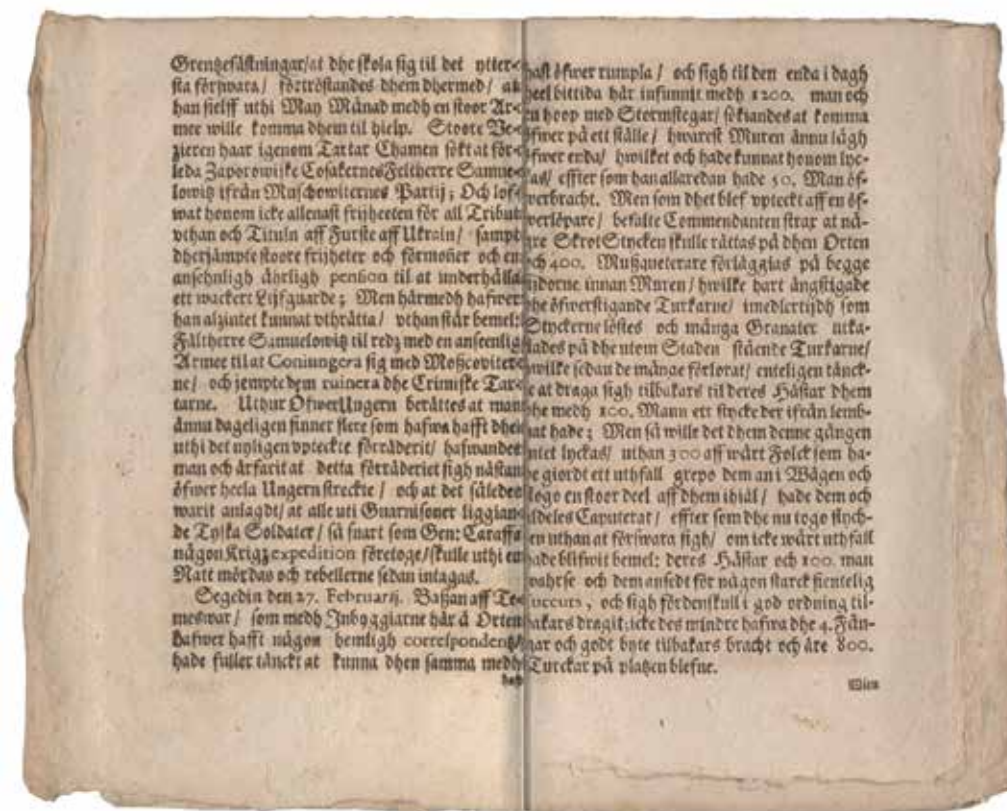
Reports from Croatia claim that the Turks from Drežnik started marching towards our Vlach palace on the border and looted everything they saw on their way. But near the dedicated to St Francis town of Karlovac, they came upon 300 men who took back what they had looted in Drežnik. They attacked the Turks and killed them. Ten of our men were killed in the battle. The surviving Turks fled. In total, 180 people were killed and 60 captured. A letter from Košice informs that on the 22nd of this month, a Turkish envoy was sent off with very favourable terms for concluding peace between the Emperor and the Ottoman Sublime Porte, offering such generous concessions as had never been done before.

**Constantinople, 29 January.** The new [...] ones are very negative throughout the country [...] many people fled because of the horrors that were happening there. [...] it was impossible to describe. People wanted to punish them. But there were too many of them. Due to such displacements, the Grand Vizier's army was significantly reduced in size. It numbers only around 10,000 fighting men on the battlefield. The fleet consists of only 7 ships and 10 galleys.

**Rome, 5 March.** The English ambassador assured the Pope and all the cardinals that his king was

looking for opportunities to persuade the King of France not to take any action against the Holy Roman Empire. That enables the Emperor to continue waging his war against the Turks without any hindrance. The Pope sent a sword and a hat to the King of England. And he sent the Queen various expensive gifts. Another large galley deserted from Civitavecchia. Everything was readied for a trip to the Levant [...].

**Venice, 12 March.** Tripoli reported that a Turkish ship was swept into the port by a strong storm, where it and 400 people on board drowned. Next Monday, it is planned to send 3000 infantry troops and 200 men on ships. They have already been prepared for departure. They will also carry bombs, frames, and other explosive and breaching devices with them. They will be sent to Morea [...]. 600 men sent from Germany are expected to have already arrived in Padua. One of them expressed a desire to serve as an archer in a unit of 1000 men. They were waiting for General d'Avila, who had served the Duke of Arenberg [...] and was now charged to lead the troops arriving from Venice. He will be commanding 7000



soldiers. The Dukes of Venice, who govern the republic, sent him a document confirming his authority.

**Lviv, 10 March.** Those Tatars who brought reinforcements to Kamianets soon plundered the area near Zhovkva and some of the king's lands and kidnapped many people. Those who managed to escape reported that there were 6000 Tatars.

**Lviv, 11 March.** The Tatars have recently attacked Podolia and started looting and burning cities there. But soon they became fewer in number and fled, leaving behind their loot and 100 prisoners.

**Muscovy, 25 February.** The Swedish envoy to Persia, Ludvig Fabritius, arrived here on 24 January and is returning home in eight days, along with several Armenian traders carrying silk. Diak [a chief clerk in an administrative, judicial, or executive office functioning on behalf of palace, civil, military, or church authorities of Muscovy] Boris Mikhailov will also travel

with them to assist them with crossing through Derpt [present-day Tartu, Estonia] and Revel [present-day Tallinn, Estonia] on their way to Stockholm. Today Kniaz [Duke] Yakov Fedorovich Dolgoruky arrives as ambassador with his proposal [...] to France and Spain. In the coming days, diak Vasili Pofinikov [...] will travel to Brandenburg and from there to Holland and England to inform many cities about the peace agreement between Poland and Muscovy and their alliance. The day before yesterday, Kniaz [Duke] Vasili Vasiliovich Golitsyn left here for [...] Achtirko [Okhtyrka?] in Ukraine, where the Ruthenian army was stationed. There are reports that they plan to leave that place in April and march to Perekop.

**Dresden, 22 March.** Last Sunday, the Grand Dowager Electress [Magdalene Sibylle of Brandenburg-Bayreuth] was seriously ill. She had *stikflus* — a sudden respiratory failure, and she died the same day.

**Berlin, 29 March.** Yesterday we received terrible news from Potsdam that the Grand Margrave [...] Louis had a severe fever [...]. He was a very intelligent, generous, and handsome gentleman, and everyone here is mourning him.

**Helsingør, 9 April.** The next ships passed through Øresund on 30 March. Michel Stolte has arrived in Szczecin from Greifswald and is on his way to Gothenburg with rye and salt. Heinrich Sievers arrived in Karlshamn from Stockholm on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March with a cargo of iron, brass, tar and [...]. On 3 April, Cornelis Hillebrant returned home to Stockholm. He arrived from Amsterdam. [...]

It is reported that a man of medium height, [...] face with yellow eyebrows, red hair and almost bald, with strong rough hands and a quick gait [...] about 30 years old, named Niels Vantief, born near Karlshamn, left Falun on the Wednesday before Holy Thursday and took one manservant with him. His whereabouts are currently unknown. If you know anything about this, kindly advise us. (*See Fig. 1*).

(Translated from Swedish into Ukrainian for the Ukrainian edition by Marina Trattner.)

More details and historical documents about Ivan Samoylovych (in Ukrainian) at <[www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2022/05/6/161303](http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2022/05/6/161303)>

# SWEDEN AND ITS ARCHIVES

The Swedish archives began their active operations in 1523 when King Gustav Vasa ascended the throne. He ordered the transfer of all ancient books and manuscripts stored in monasteries and churches to the state and created the National Archives of Sweden. From the beginning, they contained all international treaties and important documents from different parts of Sweden, including Finnish, Baltic, and German archival materials. Sweden occupied Novgorod from 1611 to 1617, adding a large collection of Cyrillic manuscripts to its archives. During the Polish–Swedish War in the 1650s, under Charles X Gustav, the Swedish army seized most of the Polish archive, including valuable books and King Władysław IV's original documents.

This section of the archive contains many interesting letters going back to 1436 (both dated and undated). There is a 1596 letter from Konstanty Ostrogski to Sigismund III, a 1638 letter by a Lviv City Councilor, and a 1649 letter by another Lviv City Councilor, Stanisław Maciejowski.

On 7 May 1697, a devastating fire broke out at Tre Kronor Castle, home to the Swedish Archives. It started in the attic and quickly spread to all parts of the building. Most of the old archives and the Royal Library disappeared in the flames. Of 24,500 printed books and 1400 manuscripts, only 6000 books and 300 manuscripts were saved from the flames. As a result, much of the medieval section is missing from the National Archives of Sweden, though many materials were later restored and supplemented.

Today, the National Archives of Sweden boasts 750 km of bookshelves. Another 130 million pages can be accessed in the online archive.

Many prominent historians, among them Sergey Solovyov, Mykola Kostomarov, Panteleimon Kulish, and Gennady Karpov, have studied these unique materials from the Swedish archives. In 1898, the Kyiv Archaeographic Commission sent Nikandr Vasyliovych Molchanovskyi to Stockholm. In the summary of his findings, he reported on the valuable materials stored in Swedish archives and related to Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his activity, indicating that documents related to the history of Ukraine could be found in the Muscovitica section of the archives, which had 450 volumes of documents dating between 1615 and 1811. Another small section, The Cosacica, housed correspondence of Pylyp Orlyk and members of his family as well as other prominent Ukrainian figures of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Yet important facts about Ukrainian history are not limited to just these two sections. A lot of valuable information can be found in the collections of documents on Muscovian, Moldo-Wallachian, Turkish, Tatar, Transylvanian, and Polish affairs.

Also, the State Registry with its immense collection of copies of the Swedish kings' correspondence on various issues turned out to be another important source of knowledge. The archives contain 48 folders of documents, each with 2000 pages, dating



https://sok.riksarkivet.se/fritext?Sokord=Kiev+&EndastDigitaliserat=false&AvanceradSok=True&PageSize=10&page=67&postid=ArkisRef+SE%2fRA%2f2415%2fIX+a.3.&tab=post&FacettState=undefined%3ac%7c&s=Balder

## ALVIN: A CULTURAL HERITAGE DIGITAL PLATFORM



from 1648 to 1660. A large number of documents have been recorded and can help restore lost originals from other countries.

Particularly valuable are the reports of Swedish royal commissioners in Danzig (now Gdańsk), Paulus Pels and Johann Kok, from 1649 to 1656. Molchanovskyi noted that these reports, spanning several volumes, could largely reconstruct Polish political correspondence from that period if it were lost. However, his sudden, unexplained death halted his study, and the Kyiv Archaeological Commission did not continue his work. Since then, these documents have remained mostly unexamined.

Many Swedish archives contain materials related to the history of Ukraine. One of the most successful cooperation projects between different institutional archives in Sweden and other countries is the national cultural digital platform, Alvin.

[www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/home.jsf?dswid=-7893](http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/home.jsf?dswid=-7893)

Alvin collaborates with many libraries around the world. It provides access to research materials from Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, France, Austria, the United Kingdom, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Russia, Belgium, the United States of America, Japan, Spain, and New Zealand. Users can search for sources in different languages. With Alvin, users can retrieve ancient manuscripts, books, maps, images, photographs, music, and videos. This is where I found a lot of various maps of Moldova (Moldavia) and southern Ukraine. To look for specific periods, you can enter, for example, “1600” and see the results of everything published in the 1600s. All materials on Alvin can be downloaded free of charge, but a reference to the platform is required (see Fig. 2).



FIGURE 2 Screenshot of the Alvin digital platform website.

# Ivan Pidkova

(1533–1578)

## IVAN PIDKOVA

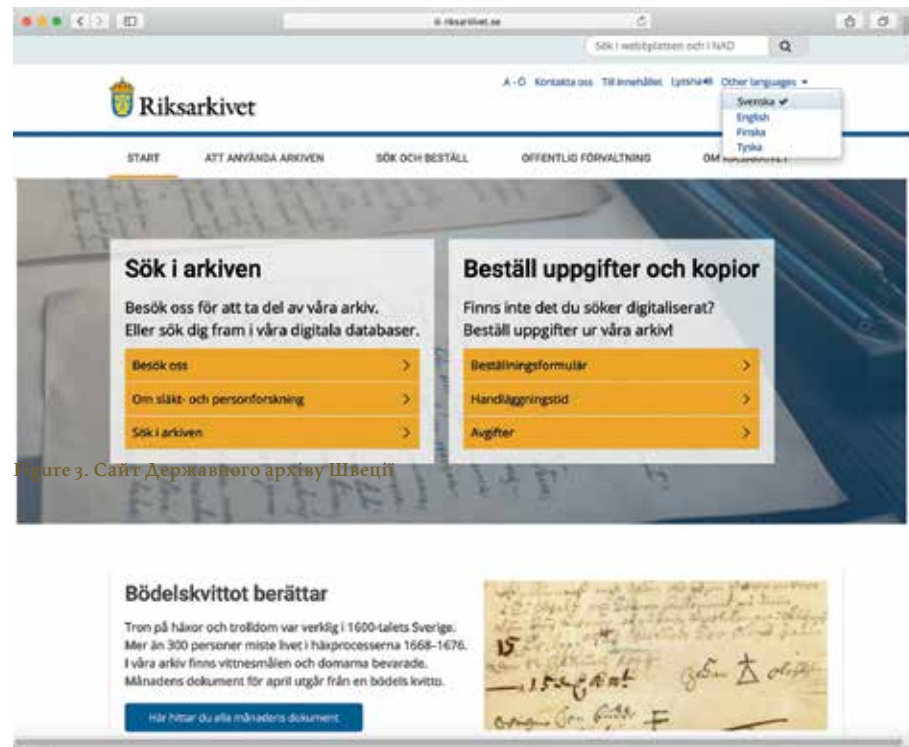
Ivan Pidkova (also known as Ioan Potcoavă or Crețul) was a famous leader of the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Voivode (Prince) of Moldavia in 1577–78. Legends said he was the half-brother of the Moldavian Voivode Ioan cel Cumplit. Tall in stature, he was known for his rare physical strength and could easily break horseshoes with his hands, for which he received his Cossack moniker, Pidkova (the Horseshoe). In 1577–78, he briefly ruled as a Voivode of Moldavia. He participated in the Cossacks' land and sea campaigns against the Crimean Khanate and the Ottoman Empire. Ivan Pidkova was beheaded by Poles in Lviv in the summer of 1578.

Portrait by Natalia Pavlusenko  
Short biography by Natalia Pavlusenko and Igor Poluektov  
Source: <https://www.pavlusenkoart.com.ua>

A Catholic from Italy, Filippo Talducci, attended Ivan Pidkova's execution in Lviv and recorded the Cossack leader's dying speech, in which he said among other things, «...I have always fought courageously and as an honest knight against the enemies of the Christian faith... I have always sought to be a shield against the infidels and am a knight of the Holy Cross.»



The content of the National Archives of Sweden page can be viewed in Swedish, English, Finnish and German. To change the language of the site, click on “Genvägar” (Swedish for “Abbreviations”) and select the language you are most comfortable with to search for materials (see Fig. 3 and 4).



■ FIGURE 3. The National Archives of Sweden website.

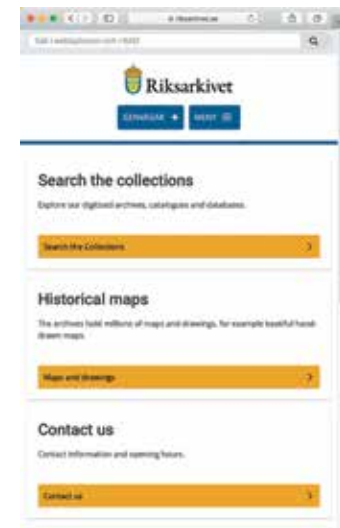
One of the first documents about Ukraine that you may find there could be this letter about Bohdan Khmelnytsky from Axel Oxenstierna to Charles Gustav of Palatinate-Zweibrücken, dated 7 April 1654.

## Nådigste Furste och Herre

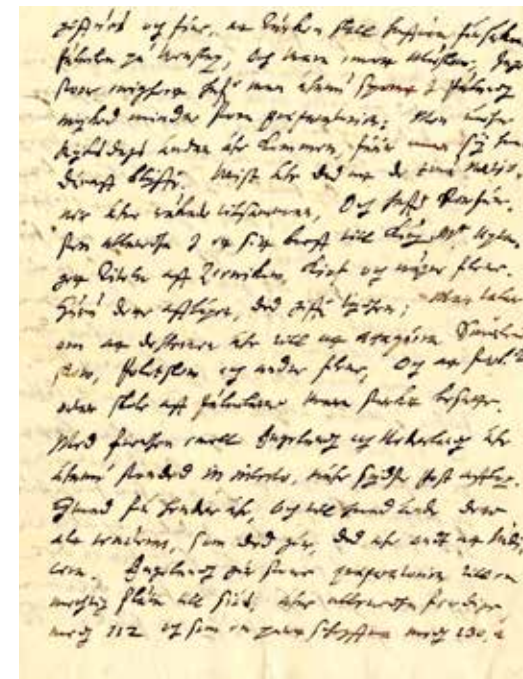
Jagh veett min plichtt vara att advertera E. K. H. om tilstonded på andra ortar och hema, så vijdha iag dem förståår och kan förfara. Men sosom iag veett E. K. Högheett haffva bettere vetskap om ded som uthrijkes passerar och hvad inrijkes förelöper bettere förståå ähn jag, så hafver jag skääå att tvijffla om hvad mig anståår. Dogh vill jag med fåå ord komma ihug ded som oss angåår och ähr aff importance.

Ifrån Muskow komma tijender och så confirmeras uthur Pålandh och ifrån Dantzigh att Smelindskie haffver sig submitterat storfursten i Muskow tillijka medh zaporowiske cossackerne och han Smelindski medh många flere lathett på muskowsktt döpa sig om och öfverantvardatt och inrymbtt storfursten Kioff och som föregiffves 150 städer i Zernikow, Podolien och Ukrainen. Somblige giffva före att han haffver fått en deel aff tartaren på sin sijda, men störste delen mena att denne snarare skall slå sig till pålacken. Så giffves och före att turken skall haffva

## THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF SWEDEN



■ FIGURE 4. The National Archives of Sweden website.



■ FIGURE 5. Transcription of the text in its original language by Helmuth Backhaus.



■ FIGURE 6. The section of diplomatic correspondence on Cossack affairs.

försäkratt pålacken på venskap och vara emott Muskow. Ingen stoor enigheett hafver man ähnnu sportt i Pålandh, myked mindre stora præparatorier; men närh riksdags ändan ähr kommen, fåår man sij hvad däråff blijffver. Vist ähr ded att de två nationer ähre råkade tilsamman, och haffver storfursten allaredha i ett sitt breff till Kongl. Mitt uptaget titeln aff Zernikow, Kiof och några flere. Huru dette afflöper, ded giffver tijdhen. Man talar om, att desseinen ähr till att attackera Smälendskow, Polotskow och andre flere, och att förbenembdhe ortar skole aff pålackarne vara starktt besatte.

## What It Says — and What It Means

This is one of the few documents reporting the news of Khmelnytsky’s submission to the Grand Duke of Moscow together with the Zaporozhian Cossacks. However, it does not specify any terms or clauses of that agreement. All the letter says is that 150 towns in “Chernihiv, Podolia, and Ukraine” have been put at the disposal of... (it is not clear who exactly Oxenstierna spoke about). Some say that a number of the Tatars support Khmelnytsky, while the rest of the Tatars support the Poles. The Turks reaffirmed their alliance with the Poles against Muscovy.

For some reason, Axel Oxenstierna spelled Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s name as Smelindskie in this letter.

Next, in the list of search results, you can find several more letters, information about Swedish citizens in Ukraine, maps with the word *Ukraine* there including a tourist map of Ukraine from 1989. First impression: nothing to see here. But this is not the case. The National Archives of Sweden has a vast number of documents related to Ukraine’s history. It is just that they have not been labelled with the search tag “Ukraine” yet. Even the archives staff would not be able to furnish you with a list of everything they have right away because no one has completed a detailed study of all the archives’ collections and a list of these materials yet. The National Archives of Sweden staff asked me to provide them with a list of documents related to the history of Ukraine. That way they could label our sources appropriately, and, when you enter the word *Ukraine* in the search line, you will see a lot more materials about us. For the time being, you will have better luck when entering other keywords, more specific terms or names of countries associated with various events in the history of Ukraine. If you enter the search term *Cosacica*, you will see diplomatic correspondence concerning the Cossacks (see Fig. 6).

## List of the Archival Documents. Volume One, 1654–1721

Documents on negotiations between Sweden and the Cossacks in 1655–1719. The collection includes dispatches by the ablegate Gotthard Wellingk in 1657, the ablegate Gustaf Lilliecrona in 1657, and the resident Daniel Oliveberg in 1655–58. Letters by Pylyp Orlyk (Philipp Orlik, Filip, Pylyp, Orlich, Orlick, Orlyk), original and copies, as well as the original Constitution signed by his hand in 1710. *Contenta pactorum inter duces et exercitum Zaporoviensem conventorum in compendium brevi stylo collecta* [The Treaties and Resolutions of the Rights and Freedoms of the Exercitus Zaporoviensis].



# Letters from the following hetmans and kish otamans of the Exercitus Zaporoviensis to Swedish kings and queens in 1654–1721:

- Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Bohdan Chmielnicki) in 1654–57,
- Ivan Vyhovsky (Johannes Wyhowski) in 1657–58,
- Mykyta Bousokh (Nikita Boyusoh) in 1710,
- Iosyp Kyrylenko (Josip Kijrilenko) in 1710,
- Kost Hordiienko (Konstantin Gordienko) in 1712,
- Ivan Malashevich (Ivan Malasjeritj) in 1720,
- Vasyl Ierofeiev (Vasilij Jerojeov) in 1721.

The last five correspondents are listed as the Kish Otamans, elected military and administrative senior officers of Exercitus Zaporoviensis. Almost all letters are translated except for the original letter in Ruthenian from Kost Hordiienko (Konstantin Gordienko) in 1712. Various documents on the Cossacks and the Cossack-related matters of 1654–1721.

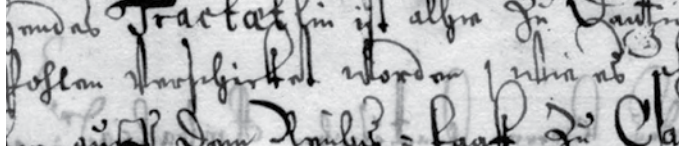
## Volume Two:

Letters by Hetman Pylyp Orlyk (Philip Orlik) to the members of the Royal House and the Chancellery officials. There are also letters from the Hetman's wife Anna, his son Grégoire (Hryhoriy), and daughter Barbara from 1717–47.

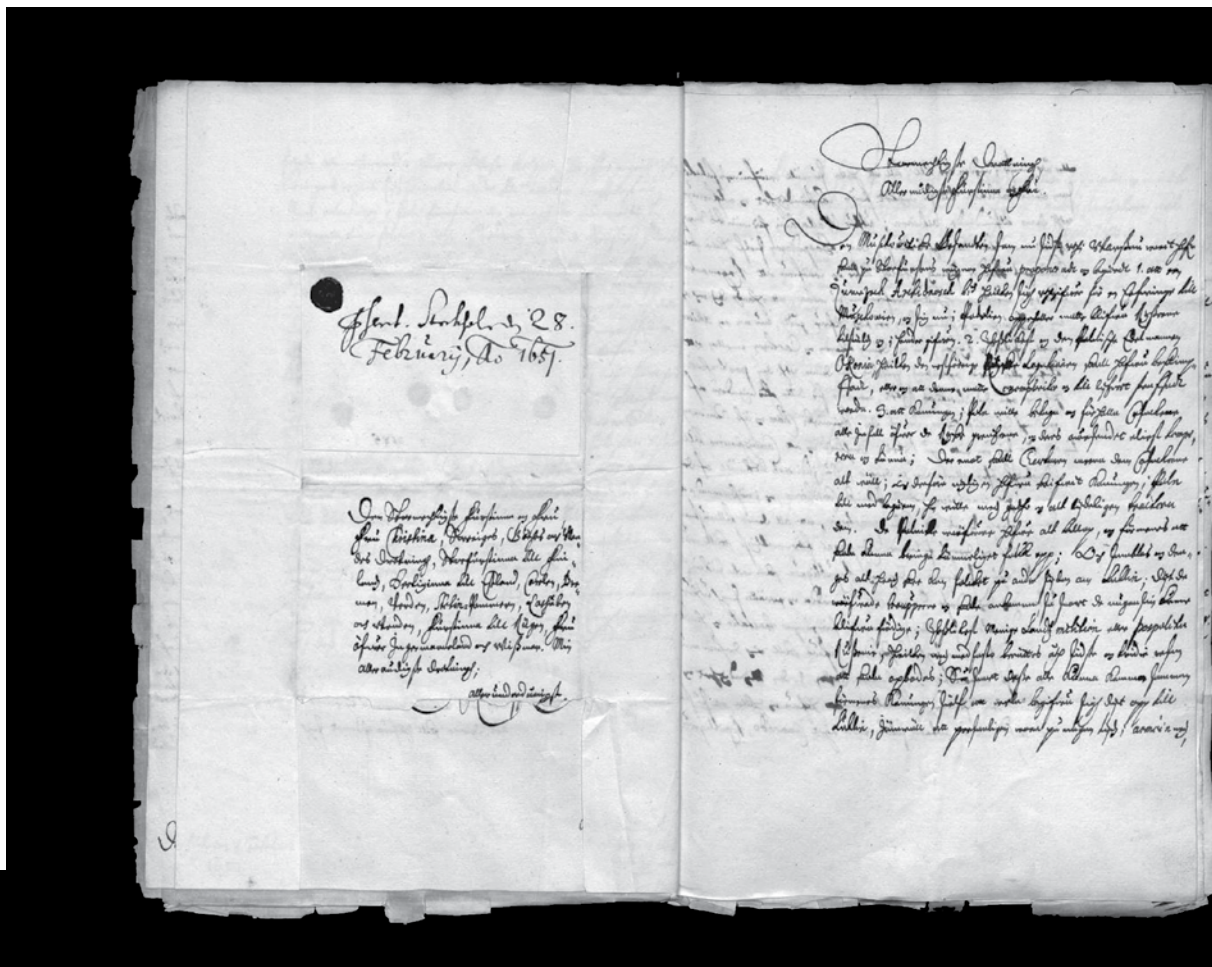
To learn more about Ukrainian heroes of the past, you can search several different sections of the National Archives of Sweden.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky: Diplomatica Polonica, Diplomatica Turcica, Diplomatica Muscovitica, Cosacica, and Registratur, as well as minutes of Riksråd (Council of the Realm) of Sweden, and articles in Swedish newspapers since 1645.

Tracing Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Swedish historical documents is quite an endeavour. Typing his name in any transliterated form of its Ukrainian spelling in the search bar returns only a handful of letters in the Cosacica section. But if you go another way and start with going through the diplomatic correspondence of the Swedish residents Paulus Pels and Johan Kock in Danzig (present-day Gdansk) you will quickly discover that almost every letter spanning a total of 1424 pages has some news about him. This is because they used the Polish spelling of his name, Bohdan Chmielnicky.



1649.



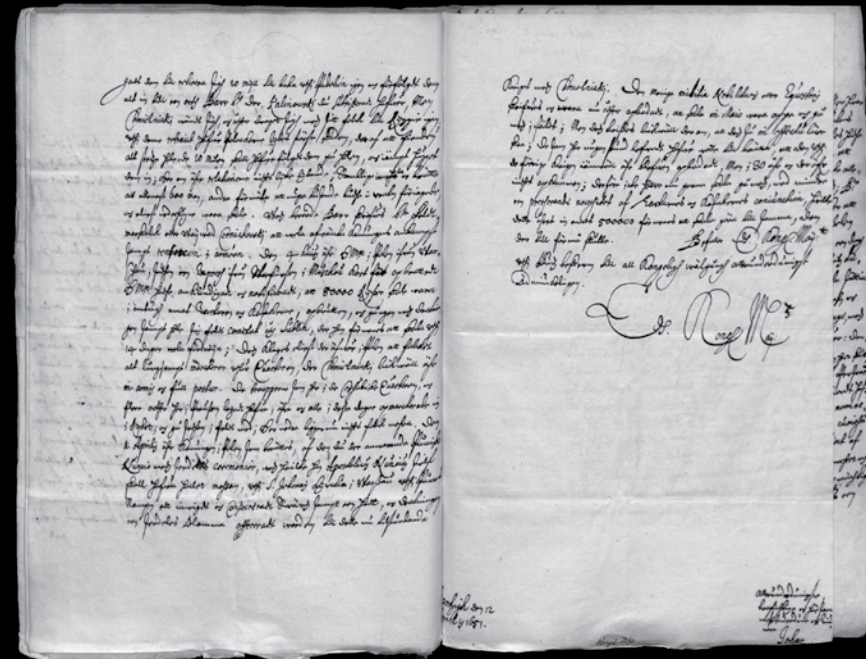
Here you can find letters from Paulus Pels:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003216\\_00003](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003216_00003)

■ Paulus Pels's signature.  
 The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.

And here are the letters of Johann Kok.  
 The first part of the archive for the years 1650–1653:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003217\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003217_00001)

The second part of the archive for the years 1654–1656:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003208\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003208_00001)

Johann Kok's letters. ■  
 The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.



One thing to remember is that the documents in this section are not placed in chronological order, so some letters dated from early 1654 might follow those of 1656.

**Ivan Vyhovsky:** Diplomatica Muscovitica, Cosacica, and other sections.

**Ivan Mazepa:** Diplomatica Muscovitica, Cosacica, Extranea, Charles XII's Field Chancellery in Bender, and other sections; references to Ivan Mazepa in Swedish newspapers.

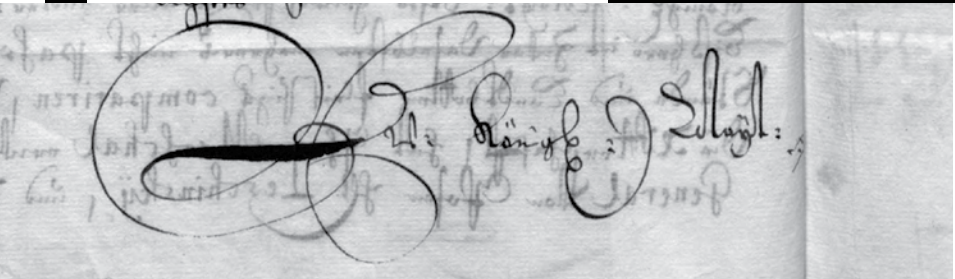
**The Bender Commission:** Act 552, Charles XII's Field Chancellery in Bender, Cosacica, Turkish Diplomatic Correspondence.

**The Ukrainian government in exile (Bender, Kristianstad, Stockholm):** Diplomatica Turcica, Diplomatica Muscovitica, Cosacica, Biografica, Charles XII's Field Chancellery.

**Pylyp and Grégoire Orlyk:** Diplomatica Turcica, Diplomatica Muscovitica, Cosacica, Biografica, Börstorpssamlingen, Ericssbergsarkivet Autografsamlingen, Diplomatica Gallica, Kanslikollegium till Kungl Majt skrivelser, Sammansatta Kollegier till Kungl Majt, Statskontoret till Kungl Majt, von Dübenska samlingen, and other sections of the archives.

**Andriy and Anna Woynarowski:** Diplomatica Turcica, Diplomatica Muscovitica, Cosacica, Biografica, Charles XII's Field Chancellery.

1650 - 1651.



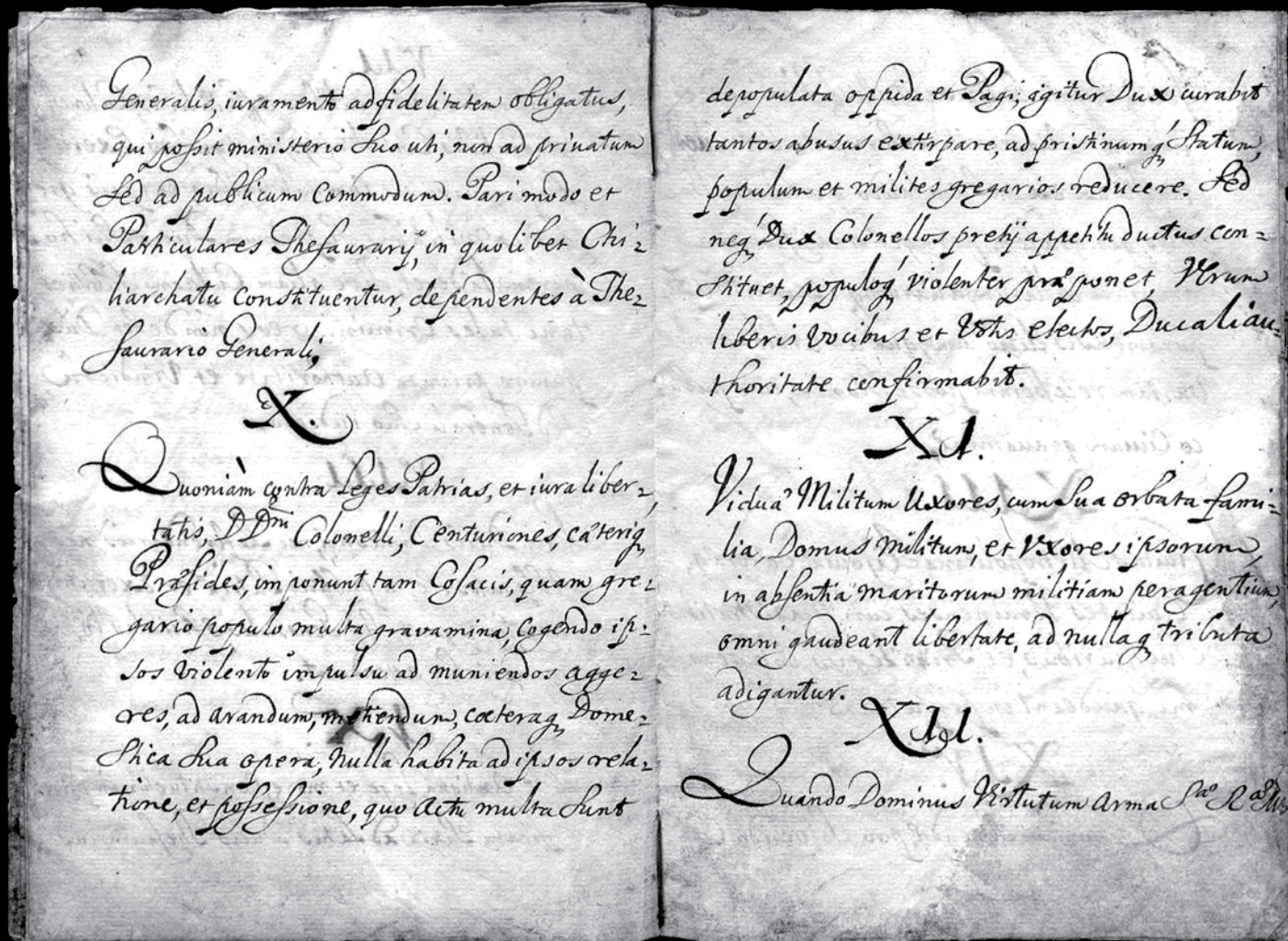
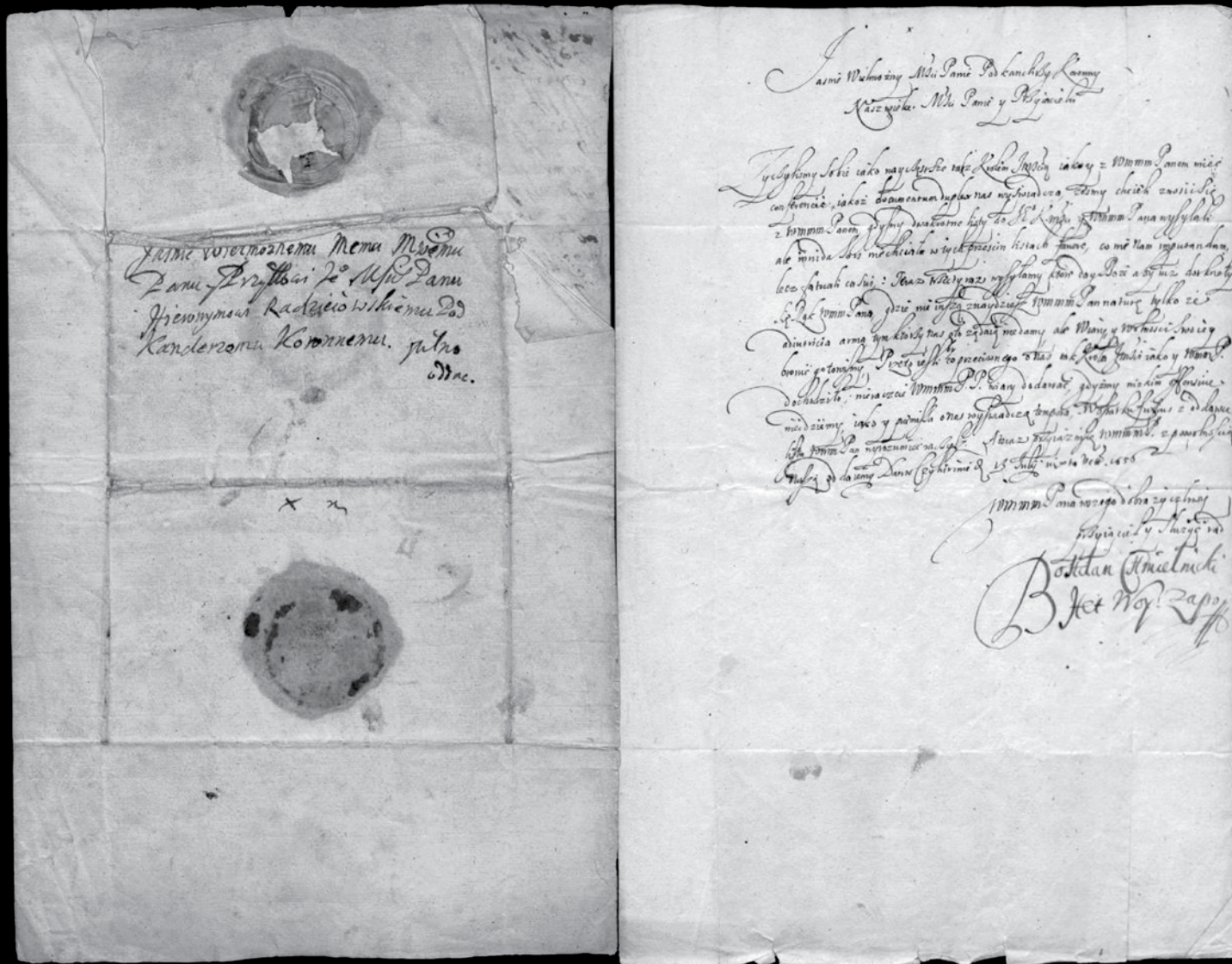
Most documents about the Cossacks are kept in the National Archives of Sweden (Riksarkivet). The most famous archive of the diplomatic correspondence with the Cossacks is *Diplomatica Muscovitica Cosacica*:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000480\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000480_00001)

The letters of Pylyp Orlyk and members of his family contain a lot of information about the Cossacks, too:

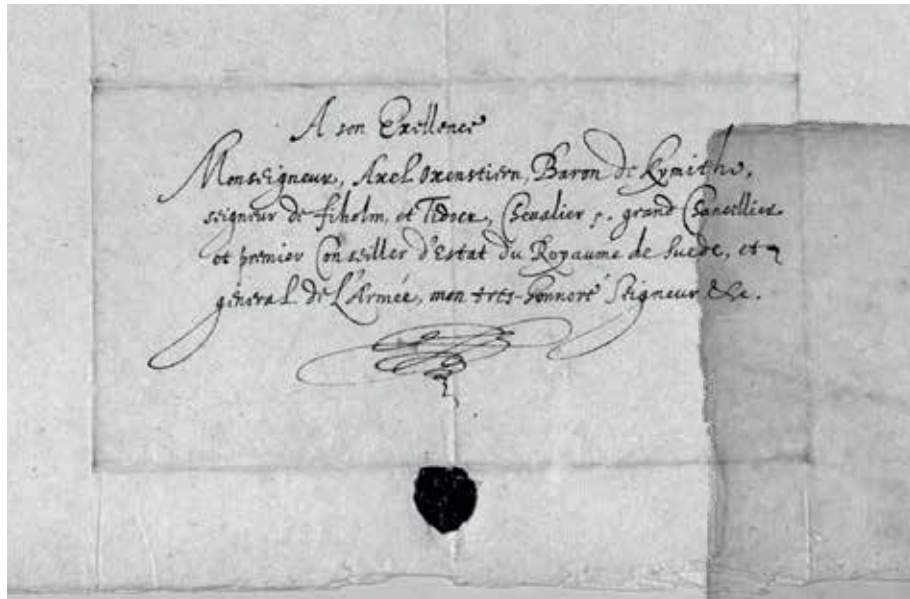
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000481\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000481_00001)

## WHERE TO FIND THE LARGEST NUMBER OF DOCUMENTS ON THE COSSACKS



Hetman Pylyp Orlyks letters to the members of the Swedish Royal House and Chancellery officials, including letters from Orlyks wife, Anna, his son Grégoire, and daughter Barbara (1717-1747)

Pylypus Orlyk Dux



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Diplomatic correspondence and other documents referring to the Cossacks from 1592 to 1742 are also found in the Diplomatic Correspondence of Turkey section (with an appendix, Diplomatic Correspondence with the Tatars):

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003209\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003209_00001)

This section of the archive has 460 pages of letters about Swedish affairs, Ukraine, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and the Cossacks. The letters are written in Swedish, Latin, French, German, and Italian. The archive materials include a letter about the Zaporozhian Cossacks, written on 31 May 1632, and quite a number of letters about Bohdan Khmelnytsky from May–June 1651 as well as instructions from King Charles X of Sweden to Bohdan Khmelnytsky dated 6 April 1657, more instructions of 18 April 1657, Otto Klinckowström's letters written in Bender on 30 July and 18 August 1709, rosters of soldiers who arrived from Bakhchysarai to Bender in 1712, and a large number of other interesting letters until 1742. There is also a separate archive with letters from 1710-11.

The diplomatic correspondence of Adolph Ekhberg, a Swedish resident in Moscow, between 1662 and 1666 was located here:

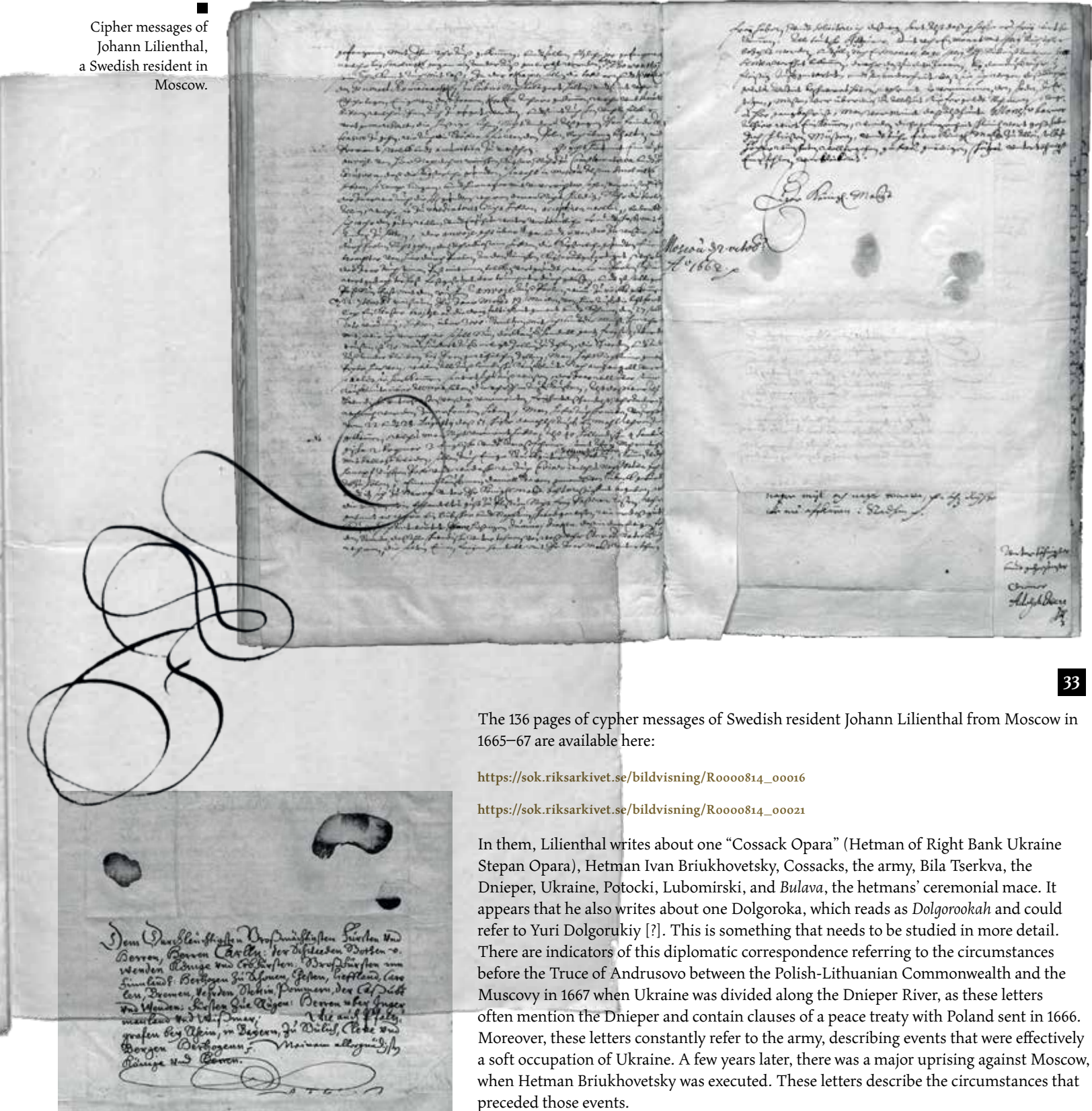
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003225\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003225_00001)

On 172 pages of his letters, Ekhberg writes about Khmelnytsky, Pereiaslav, the Cossacks, Kyiv, Bila Tserkva, Smolensk, the Dnieper, and Ukraine. This archive also contains letters that mention Hetmans Ivan Briukhovetsky and Pavlo Teteria. While it is not the treaty between the Cossacks and the Muscovites *per se*, these authentic documents at least provide some information from sources other than the Muscovites about it. Since September 1663, Ekhberg has been writing cypher reports about Ukraine, the Cossacks, Bila Tserkva, and the Dnieper. Some words have already been transcribed from German, some not yet. But if you match the read-out words, you can figure out the cypher and read the coded messages.



■ Svenska sändebuds brev och depescher, förhandlingar, tatarakanernas brev till Kungl. 1592–1742

■ CIPHER messages of Johann Lilienthal, a Swedish resident in Moscow.



33

The 136 pages of cypher messages of Swedish resident Johann Lilienthal from Moscow in 1665–67 are available here:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000814\\_00016](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000814_00016)

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000814\\_00021](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000814_00021)

In them, Lilienthal writes about one “Cossack Opara” (Hetman of Right Bank Ukraine Stepan Opara), Hetman Ivan Briukhovetsky, Cossacks, the army, Bila Tserkva, the Dnieper, Ukraine, Potocki, Lubomirski, and *Bulava*, the hetmans’ ceremonial mace. It appears that he also writes about one Dolgoroka, which reads as *Dolgorookah* and could refer to Yuri Dolgorukiy [?]. This is something that needs to be studied in more detail. There are indicators of this diplomatic correspondence referring to the circumstances before the Truce of Andrusovo between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Muscovy in 1667 when Ukraine was divided along the Dnieper River, as these letters often mention the Dnieper and contain clauses of a peace treaty with Poland sent in 1666. Moreover, these letters constantly refer to the army, describing events that were effectively a soft occupation of Ukraine. A few years later, there was a major uprising against Moscow, when Hetman Briukhovetsky was executed. These letters describe the circumstances that preceded those events.

(1605 (1610)–1680)

# Ivan Sirko

## IVAN SIRKO

Ivan Dmytrovych Sirko was a Kish Otaman of the Zaporozhian Sich, a talented and brave Cossack commander and polkovnyk of Kharkiv. He took an active part in the national liberation war of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and led several successful campaigns against the Crimean Khanate in the 1660s and 1670s winning a total of 65 battles. Sirko opposed the Truce of Andrusovo between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy, which divided Ukrainian lands into the Right Bank and the Left Bank. Throughout his life, Ivan Sirko was noted for his bravery and military talent, and his figure is shrouded in many legends.

Portrait and a short biography by Natalia Pavlusenko  
Source: <https://www.pavlusenkoart.com.ua>



There is also a digitised archive of diplomatic letters written from Poland about the Cossacks. Letters from the Swedish *Kommissarierna i Lübeck* [commissioners in Lübeck], Johan Adler Salvius, Schering Rosenhane, Hans Wachtmeister, and Lars Cantersten for the period of 1651–53 can be found here:

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/nad?postid=Arkis+8b22e408-7a6b-4412-a11d-e31454ff92f1&s=Balder>

This archive has diplomatic correspondence about the Cossacks from 1648 by the Royal Secretary Lars Cantersten:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003211\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003211_00001)

These are drafts of his letters that, too, contain references to the Cossacks:

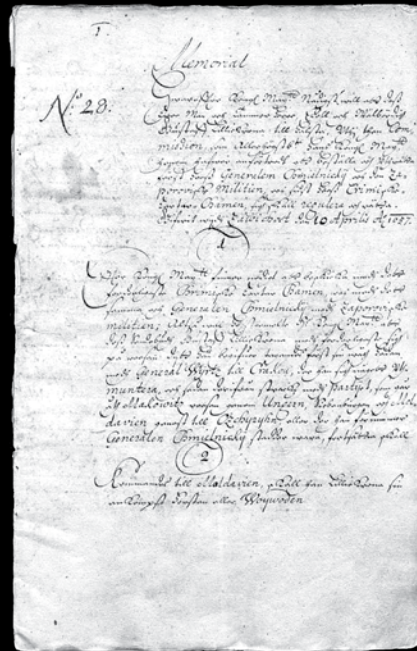
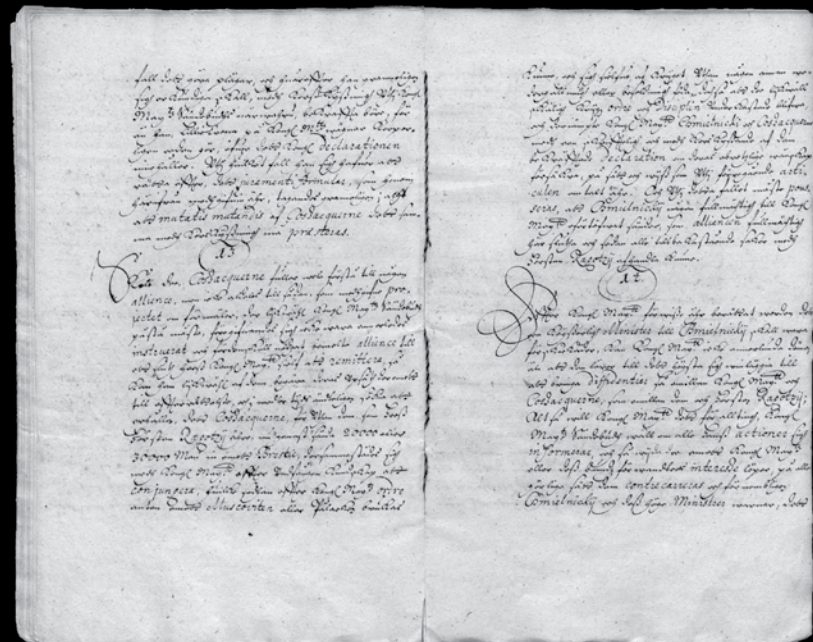
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003212\\_00002](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003212_00002)

The archive of diplomatic correspondence about Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks, starting from 1651, and letters from the Swedish Commissioner in Lübeck, Johan Adler Salvius:

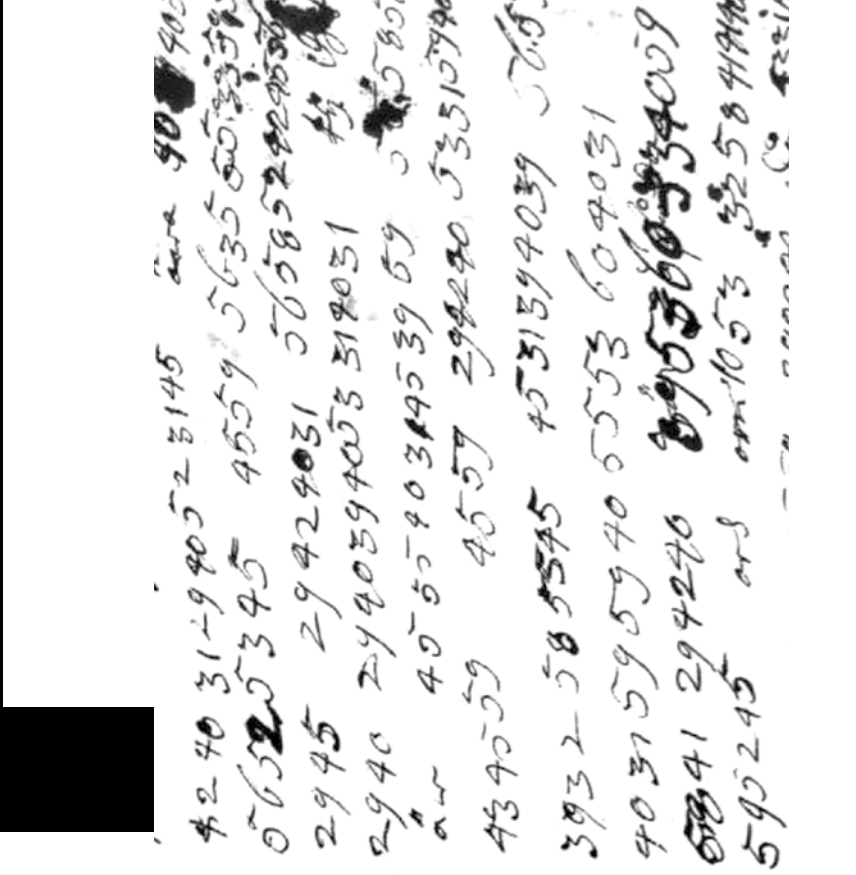
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003213\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0003213_00001)

This is a memorial that King Charles X of Sweden signed through Gustaf Lilliecrona with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossacks, and the Crimean Khan on 10 April 1657:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0004080\\_00236](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0004080_00236)



■ Memorial signed by King Charles X of Sweden through Gustaf Lilliecrona with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossacks, and the Crimean Khan on 10 April 1657.



■ Memorial signed by King Charles X of Sweden through Gustaf Lilliecrona with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossacks, and the Crimean Khan on 10 April 1657.



Ivan Mazepa's undigitised letters from 1704 are kept in the National Archives of Sweden (Collection Extranea, Volume 136.) Links:

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/?Sokord=Johan+Mazepa&page=2&postid=ArkisRef+SE%2fRA%2f2415>

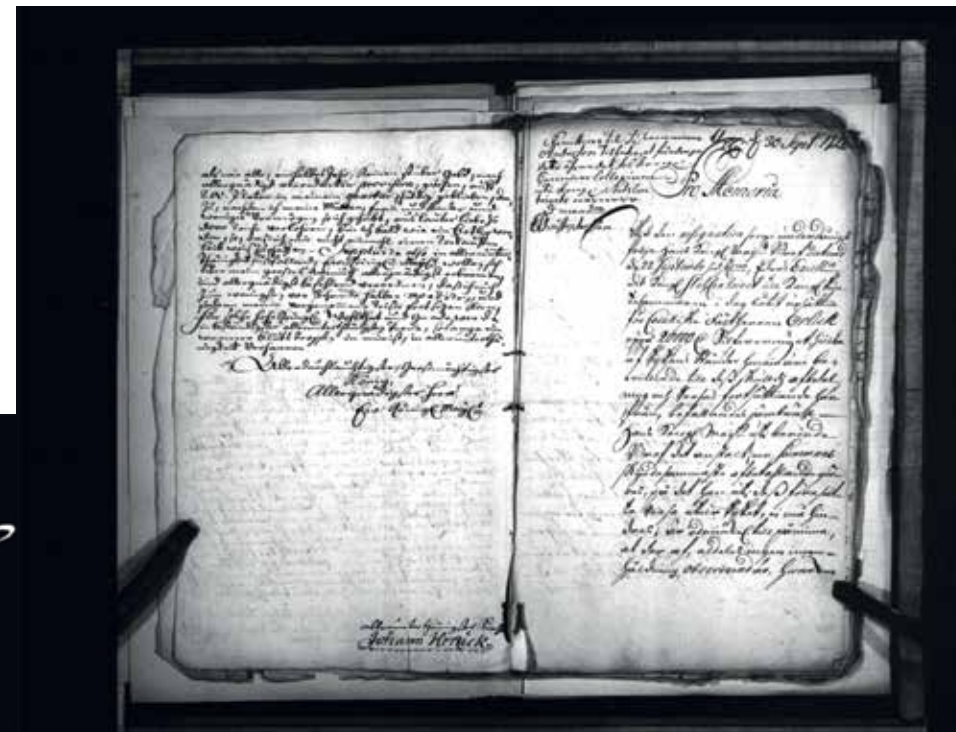
<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/?Sokord=Johan+Mazepa&page=2&postid=Arkis+11bbd3ee-9137-40d8-9579-881cddd4749e>

Here you can find letters from Charles XII, starting with 1704:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0069169\\_00283](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0069169_00283)

A file on Pylp Orlyk:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0066532\\_00509](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0066532_00509)



The document available on the website of the National Archives of Sweden does not specify when exactly this file was created, but it speaks about payments made in 1716, 1717, 1718, 1719, and 1720. It starts with the letters dated 1720, and at the end, there is a letter dated 20 June 1741 that details most of the funds.

A collection of letters by Grégoire Orlyk, in French (1739 59, 76 pages):

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0040339\\_00151](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0040339_00151)

A *pro memoria* about Anna Woynarowska in 1723:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0076477\\_00256](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0076477_00256)

It appears that this is the document referenced here (in Ukrainian):

<http://runeberg.org/emigukra/0091.html>

# Северин Наливайко

(b. unknown–1597)

SEMERII NALYVAIKO

Semerii (Severyn) Nalyvaiko was the leader of the Cossack uprising of 1591–1596. He came from a family of Ukrainian Orthodox gentry. Born in the small town of Husiatyn (now an urban-type settlement in Ternopil Oblast), he likely grew up in Ostroh. He received a quality education at the Ostroh Slavic Greek Latin School. Later, he joined the Sich and participated in military campaigns during the reign of the Polish King Stephen Báthory. Upon returning to Ostroh, he served as a sotnyk in the private Chorągiew (cavalry company) of Kniaz Konstanty Ostrogski and proved himself as a skilled cannonier, renowned for his exceptional bravery and physical strength.

Nalyvaiko maintained active correspondence with the Polish King Sigismund III, seeking recognition of rights to the territory south of Bratslav, between the Southern Buh and Dniester rivers. It was during this time that Nalyvaiko first proposed the idea of establishing a special territory populated exclusively by Cossacks and governed by the authority of the Hetman of the Zaporizhian Host.

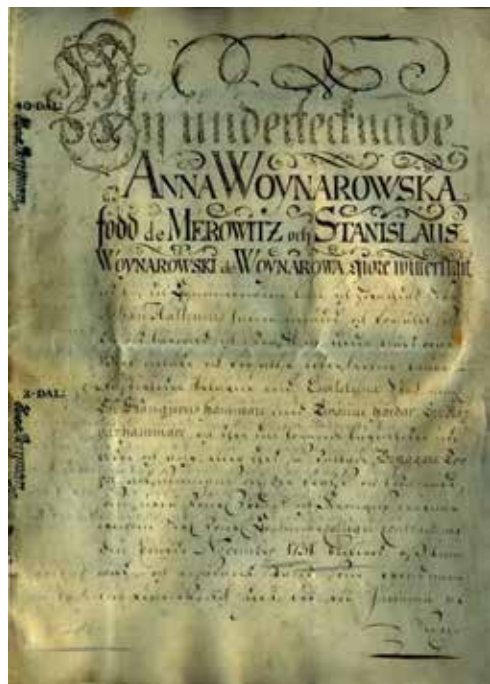
In his campaign to suppress the Cossack uprising, the Field Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski directed his main efforts against Semerii Nalyvaiko. Under pressure from the Crown forces, Nalyvaiko retreated first to the Korsun region and then to the Pereiaslav region. In April 1596, after the Battle of Bila Tserkva, Semerii Nalyvaiko was briefly elected Hetman.

Portrait and a short biography by Natalia Pavlusenko  
Source: <https://www.pavlusenkoart.com.ua>

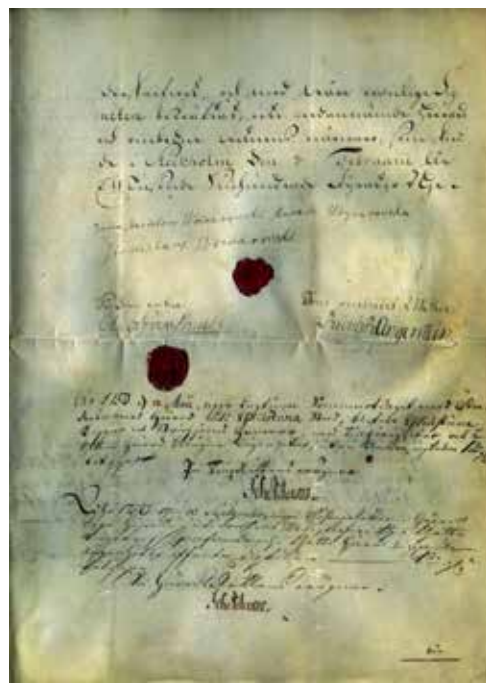


A file on the Woynarowski family (incl. letters from Andriy Woynarowski), 264 pages. The first analysis of the file suggests that it was created following an appeal to confirm Woynarowski's aristocratic status and origin.

1. What is this file about? It can be argued that it contains collections of documents on Anna Ivanivna Woynarowska, her son Stanisław, and Andriy Woynarowski, the son of Ivan Mazepa's sister, as there are manuscripts and copies of Andriy Woynarowski's letters written in German. The first letter was written in Hamburg on 21 October 1716. There is a possibility that Woynarowski wrote this letter just before he was abducted by the Russians and taken to Russia. There is one more letter, 10 pages long, that I have not been able to date yet. It could have been written in 1722 or 1723 because the documents before and after it are chronologically dated to those years.
2. The documents in this file are written in Latin, French, Swedish, and German.
3. Chronologically, the documents cover the period from 30 August 1646 to 28 February 1757 (the file ends with the documents concerning Stanisław Woynarowski).
4. The file begins with a document of 30 August 1646 written in Latin and signed by one Abrahamns Woyna (if I read it right). I cannot say if there is any connection between this document and the rest of the Woynarowski family file. Perhaps it was simply the first document chronologically signed by someone with a similar surname, Woyna. Or perhaps there is a connection, after all. I do not know that for certain yet.
5. The file contains copies of letters from Charles XII describing how much money Charles XII borrowed after the Battle of Poltava and when.
6. Several letters contain references to Ivan Mazepa. A copy of Charles XII's letter of 17 August 1713 mentions Ivan Mazepa and Andriy Woynarowski as well as the village of Budyshche on 9 and 17 April 1709, which could be a reference to the money that Ivan Mazepa lent to Charles XII, followed with descriptions of Bender and Hamburg. The next copy of Charles XII's letter of 28 February 1718, too, refers to Ivan Mazepa, Woynarowski, and Bender. Then there is a complete list of Charles XII's debts at the time.
7. From what I understand, Anna Woynarowska demanded in her letters that she be paid part of Charles XII's debt.
8. The file contains a letter from Andreas Hellenberg.
9. Incidentally, next, there is a letter written by Andere Jakubowski in German on 21 August 1723. Then there is also his letter of 14 September 1714 and another letter of 11 October 1723, written in German and, too, signed by Andere Jakubowski. All these letters were sent from St Petersburg.
10. There is a letter written in German on 18 October 1723 and signed by Anders Hellenborg Gammar (or Cammar).
11. Next, there is a letter to the King from Baron von Höpken (the one who helped the Orlyk family and paid them part of Charles XII's debt; the Orlyk file contains his proof of the payments).



■ **FIGURE 7**  
Certificate confirming the sale of the Tunafors bruk property by Anna Woynarowska to Johan Halenius in 1749. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.



12. There are minutes of the conference of 2 March 1725 attended by a number of dignitaries including Baron von Höpken. This manuscript is in Swedish, and later I will be able to transcribe and translate it.
13. The following document, dated 6 March 1725, is a response to a *pro memoria*. I cannot state with confidence if this is the answer to the 1723 *pro memoria* that I found in the archives earlier. Nevertheless, it indicates the amount of Anna Woynarowska's claims, 343,823.
14. The file contains a letter signed by M. Tornflycht and Jacob Browall dated 24 September 1730, a letter of June 1727 signed by Enberg and Franck, and a letter signed by Silvua and Joh. Kiellmann dated 29 October 1733 and addressed to Joh. Kinninmandt, as well as a reply to it of 15 December 1736, signed by Joh. Kinninmandt and mentioning Anders Hellenberg.
15. There are also two letters signed by Stanisław Woynarowski (Stanislaj Woynarowsky.) The first letter from 5 March 1744 is written in Swedish (or German) and the second letter from 24 January 1751 is written in French. One part of this file relates directly to Stanisław Woynarowski. The letters there are written in French and Swedish. The penultimate letter, addressed to Baron Tornflycht and dated 3 September, is written in Swedish. Anna Woynarowska's last letter is dated 28 February. It is also written in Swedish, so I will be able to transcribe and translate it later.

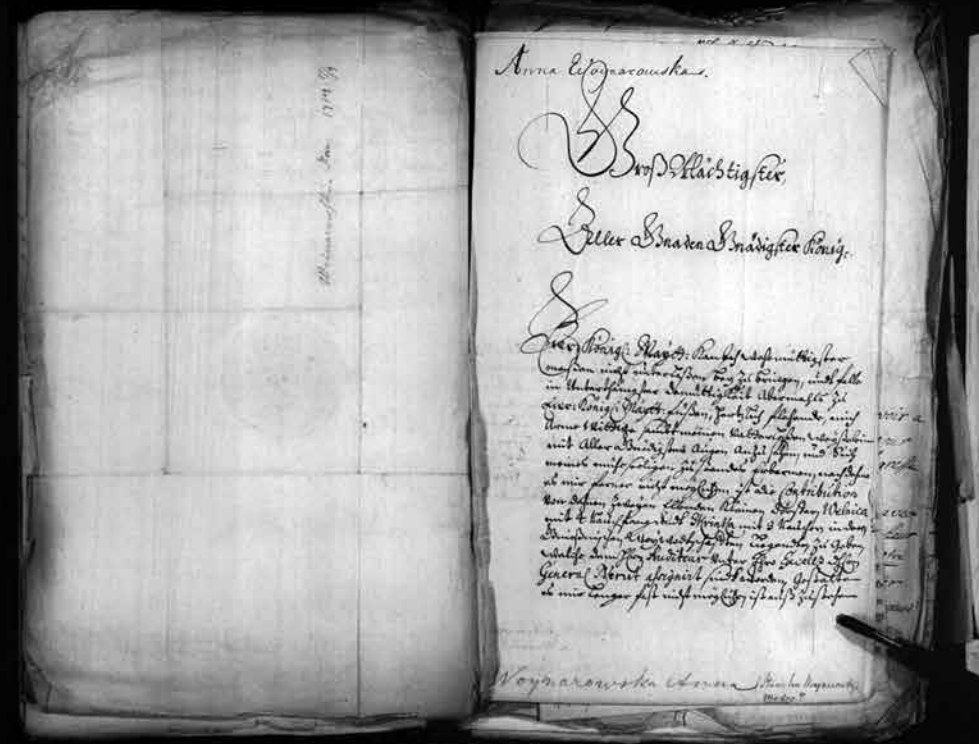
Serhiy Pavlenko, editor-in-chief of the academic historical journal *Siveryanskyi Litopys*, sent me a copy of a 1909 article with translations of several letters and other documents from the Woynarowski family file in the National Archives of Sweden and from other sources. When reviewing this file, I noted that it contained a total of 86 documents (if I have analysed everything correctly.)

So, what was translated and published in 1909? Only 12 documents out of 86, it turns out:

1. Anna Woynarowska's letter of 25 April 1715, written in Latin, (p. 13 in the file).
2. Another letter from Anna Woynarowska, written on the same day, but in French (p. 18 in the file).
3. Anna Woynarowska's letter of 18 June 1719, written in French (p. 56 in the file).
4. Anna Woynarowska's letter of 27 August 1720, written in French (p. 58 in the file).
5. Extract from a reliance letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Stockholm mentioning the name of Ivan Mazepa, dated 13 October 1716 and signed by the Swedish resident (p. 7 in the file).
6. Anna Woynarowska's letter of 19 July 1721, written in German, (p. 71 in the file).
7. Andrii Jakubowski's letter of 21 August 1723, written in German (p. 111 in the file).
8. Andrii Jakubowski's letter of 14 September 1723, written in German (p. 112 in the file).

- Andrii Jakubowski's letter of 11 October 1723, written in German (p. 95 in the file).
- Anna Woynarowska's letter of 10 March 1726, written in French (p. 202 in the file).
- Presumably a letter from Stanisław Woynarowski of 22 April 1743, written in Swedish (p. 243 in the file).
- Andriy Woynarowski's letter of 21 October 1716, written in German (p. 103 in the file).

Letter signed by Anna Woynarowska.  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.



I should be able to transcribe and translate documents from this file which are in Swedish, even though it takes some time to get used to that period's handwriting and read through every single character in the manuscripts. The letters in French, however, are written in some of the most beautiful handwriting I have ever seen. Everything is so clear. Yet each document in this file is very important for the history of Ukraine and is worth the time and effort that go into their translation.

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00162](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00162)

All documents related to Anna Woynarowska are stored in the National Archives of Sweden, but there is one document from her personal archive that is kept in the Swedish city of Eskilstuna. This is a certificate confirming the sale of the Tunafors bruk property by Anna Woynarowska to Johan Halenius in 1749. This piece of real estate was part of the payment of Charles XII's debt to the Woynarowski family. As a result, Anna Woynarowska became the first private owner of the two largest iron processing plants in Eskilstuna: Carl Gustafs järnmanufaktur and Tunafors bruk. The Swedish word bruk usually refers to a factory, industrial enterprise or farm that extracts and/or processes raw materials and includes not only the building where the treatment takes place but also the surrounding buildings including residences (see Fig. 7).

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0076477\\_00146](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0076477_00146)

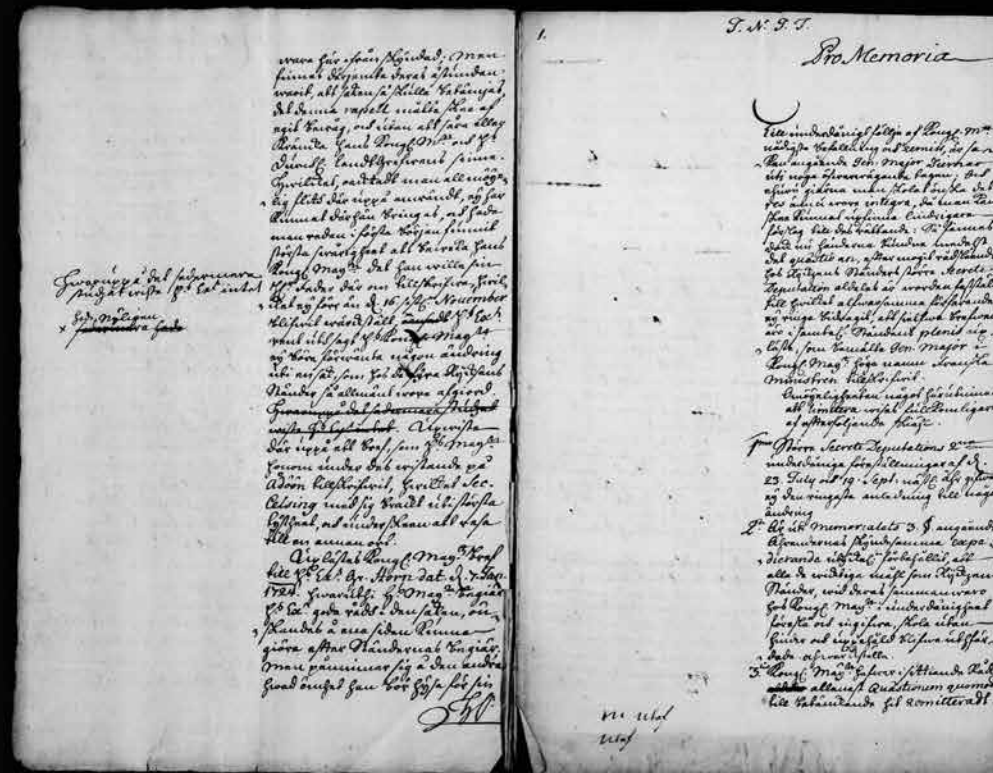
Links to the documents related to Muscovy and the Cossacks in the National Archives of Sweden:

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/digitala-arkiv?Arkivsoek=Diplomatica+Muscovitica&Lan=o&Arkivtyp=Alla&EndastDigitaliserat=false>

And here are the links to the letters in German from this file. Going to the website, click on the right arrow and select the download option "hög upplösning" ["high-quality image"].

This way, it is easier to see every word. In my opinion, Andriy Woynarowski's letter (1.8) is the most important of them all, and it should be the starting point for translating those letters if it has not been done before. Here is the list of letters in German that have not been published as of 25 August 2021.

- A letter signed by Anna Woynarowska:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00171](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00171)
- A letter signed by Anna Woynarowska:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00189](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00189)
- A letter mentioning the name of Ivan Mazepa:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00194](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00194)
- True copy of Charles XII's letter of 28 February 1718 mentioning Ivan Mazepa's name:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00211](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00211)
- True copy of a letter from Charles XII mentioning Ivan Mazepa's name:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00213](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00213)
- A letter signed by Anna Woynarowska:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00222](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00222)
- A letter from Andreas Hellenberg:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00230](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00230)
- A letter from Andriy Woynarowski:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00254](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00254)
- A letter signed by Andreas Hellenberg:  
[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994\\_00268](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0074994_00268)



Letter signed by Anna Woynarowska.  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.





■ Copy of a letter  
by Andriy Woynarowski.  
The National  
Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm.



Copy of a letter ■  
by Andriy Woynarowski.  
The National  
Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm.



Copy of a letter ■  
by Andriy Woynarowski.  
The National  
Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm.



■ Copy of a letter  
by Andriy Woynarowski.  
The National  
Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm.



■ Copy of a letter  
by Andriy Woynarowski.  
The National  
Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm.



Copy of a letter ■  
by Andriy Woynarowski.  
The National  
Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm.

# ARCHIVES OF THE UKRAINIAN SOCIETY IN SWEDEN

The National Archives of Sweden have other important information about Ukraine from a later period, too; in particular, from the 1940s to the 1990s. I was permitted to study the archives of Ukrainska sällskapet i Sverige [the Ukrainian diaspora in Sweden] compiled by Valerian Fedorchuk, also known in Swedish as Walerian Fedortjuks efterlämnade handlingar. The archive consists of 14 volumes of various documents, photographs, postcards, newspapers, and magazines. Putting together a list of this archive's contents, I have already worked through several of its volumes. Once completed, researchers will be able to easily access these materials.

I cannot but mention in this regard the large number of articles published in Sweden by Bohdan Kentrzhynsky. In many cases, it was his writings that introduced Swedes to the history of Ukraine. All books and articles that he published in Sweden should be collected and translated into Ukrainian. They can be found in Libris, the general catalogue of Swedish libraries. <http://libris.kb.se>



FIGURE 8  
The joint online catalogue of the Swedish libraries.

This is where you can find the links to some of his works. To search for his articles and books, you need to use the Swedish spelling of his first and last name, Bohdan Kentrzhynsky (see Fig. 8).

Then your search query will appear exactly like this:

<http://libris.kb.se/hitlist?q=Bohdan+Kentrzhynsky>

Kentrzhynsky has done a tremendous amount of work studying and analyzing historical documents in the Swedish archives, and this is one of the reasons why his books and articles are so important. There is a good chance that things you are looking for can be found in his writings, and, to save time, you may use Kentrzhynsky's works as a starting point for your own research. Bohdan Kentrzhynsky published his first book (1942), Kampen om Ukrainas självständighet [The Struggle for Ukrainian Independence], in Helsinki, Finland. In 1943, he released Sanningen om Ukraina [The Truth About Ukraine]. In 1954, his article Politychna propahanda v Ukraini naperedodni Poltavs'koi bytvy [Propaganda in Ukraine on the Eve of the Battle of Poltava], was published in Buenos Aires, Argentina. In 1955, Kentrzhynsky published Rozvidcha merezha Bohdana Khmelnytskoho [Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Intelligence Network] in Paris (see Fig. 9). In 1957, his book Ryskt töväder? : ett försök till analys av det "nya" Ryssland och dess randstater / med ett tillägg av Bohdan Kentrzhynskyj [A Russian Thaw: An Attempt to Analyse the 'New' Russia and Its Peripheral States, with an Addendum by Bogdan Kentrzhynski] was published in Stockholm. In 1962, Bohdan Kentrzhynsky published his magnum opus, Mazepa, in Stockholm. In 2013, it was translated into Ukrainian and published in Ukraine.



Bohdan Kentrzhynskyj  
(1919-1969)



FIGURE 9  
Search results for some of the books by Bohdan Kentrzhynsky.

FIGURE 10 ■  
Ivan Migura, Hetman Mazepa among His Good Deeds, 1705, engraving, The Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv. Photo by Oleksii Chekal.



# Chapter Two

## EXAMPLES OF DOCUMENTS

Marina Trattner,  
Igor Poluektov <sup>1</sup>

This chapter presents several examples of documents that can be found in the National Archives of Sweden. The first letter was discovered on 3 December 2021 in the section that houses the documents the Swedish army brought from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late 1650s. It was penned by Wasyl Konstiantynowycz Ostrogski, son of one of the greatest commanders and rulers of Rus', Konstanty (Konstantyn Iwanowycz) Ostrogski. Wasyl, out of respect for his father, signed all his documents as Konstanty Wasyl or simply Konstanty (see Figs. 1 and 2). The letter was written on 19 September 1596 and sent to King Sigismund III of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This document has not previously been published in Ukraine.

The second letter was discovered on 25 December 2021. It was written by Jacob Spens on 28 December 1618 in Lund and sent to Axel Oxenstierna (see Figs. 3 and 4). The letter refers to a thirty-thousand-strong army of Cossacks (led by Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachny) positioned near Moscow. This letter became another new historical source for Ukrainian scholars.

The online archive of Umeå universitet [Umeå University] contains digitised books, articles, and minutes of meetings of the Swedish Riksråd (Council of the Realm), which regularly discussed news from the Cossacks (see Fig. 5 and 6). That was where, on 16 August 2021, the first chronological mention of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's order to launch the coinage was discovered. This chapter includes a reprint of the article on the flow of money of Exercitus Zaporoviensis that was published in *Lokalna istoriia*, a Ukrainian popular historical journal and online platform, on 10 October 2021 (in Ukrainian).

Even more help came from the Swedish historian and archivist Dr Jan Mispelaere, when on 13 October 2021, at our request, he found documents in the National Archives of Sweden confirming that, while fighting for Ukraine's independence, Bohdan Khmelnytsky sought its recognition by other countries. His goal was to prevent his native land from becoming subordinate to Muscovy with the risk of turning into its province. This section features instructions from King Charles X of Sweden to his ambassador to

<sup>1</sup> Author of the sections on Konstanty Ostrogski and Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski.



■ Konstanty Ostrogski's signature.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden

Kanslitjänstemäns koncept och mottagna skrivelser, vol. 95, Karl XII tid, Karl Piper, Skrivelser från furstliga personer i Polen. Från konung Stanislaus I, Odat. (52 skrivelser som tidigare legat bland 1705 års brev) [Concepts and letters received by civil servants, vol. 95. The reign of Charles XII, Karl Piper, Letters from princely persons in Poland. Letters from King Stanisław I. (52 letters previously included in the collection of letters of 1705).]

Polonica, Kungliga originalbrev, Stanislaus I (Leszczyński) m. fl. 1704–1735. Vol. 326. Till Karl XII från Stanislaus I. 1705. [Polonica, original royal letters, Stanisław I (Leszczyński) et al. 1704–1735, vol. 326. Letters to Charles XII from Stanisław I, 1705.]



■ Knyaz (Duke) Konstanty Ostrogski.  
Hertsogy Ostroz'ki [Dukes of Ostroh]  
(Vilnius, 2016), p. 22

the Ottoman Empire Claes Rålamb in 1656, evidence that Sweden helped Ukraine fight for its independence as early as the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (see Fig. 7).

On 12 August 2021, the National Archives of Sweden yielded another treasure, three previously unknown letters written by Ivan Mazepa in 1704 (see Figs. 8–14). Their copies were sent to Ukrainian historians, Fr Yuriy Mytsyk and Orest Zayats, who translated them into Ukrainian and published them in *Siveryanskyi Litopys*. These letters, too, are included in this chapter.

Three undated documents, which were stored together with 50 other documents and letters by Stanisław Leszczyński dated 1705, were found at the end of December 2021 in the National Archives of Sweden.<sup>2</sup> Another important document found along with them was Stanisław Leszczyński's Memorial of 1705.<sup>3</sup> You can see images of these documents as well as the description of a letter from the Swedish State Counsellor Samuel Bark to State Historiographer Olof Hermelin dated 18 October 1705, in this chapter. They illustrate the connections between the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa and King Charles XII of Sweden through the Polish King Stanisław Leszczyński. It is important to note that we still do not know how those undated documents ended up in the same section as Stanisław Leszczyński's letters of 1705. It would take an all-encompassing comparative study of all materials in this section of the archives to date them more precisely.

On 26 November 2021, after a detailed description of where exactly the letter with a lost relation about Ivan Mazepa might be stored in the National Archives of Sweden, Dr Jan Mispelaere located it and sent us its image (see Figs. 22–24). He explained that this section of the archives was disbanded into several different segments and so its documents were distributed to collections in other archival departments. Yet Dr Mispelaere was able to find the cover letter to the relation about Ivan Mazepa (see Fig. 25–26). Thus, the relation and the letter are stored in different sections. The relation is in *Kanslitjänstemäns koncept och mottagna skrivelser* [Officials' Concepts and Letters Received], vol. 95, and the letter is in *Polonica*, vol. 326. The images of the relation and the letter are provided along with a reprint of Marina Trattner's article from *Siveryanskyi Litopys* for which she translated the source into Ukrainian..

## KONSTANTY OSTROGSKI

The uncrowned king of Rus'-Ukraine, Knyaz (Duke) Konstanty (Konstantyn Iwanowycz) Ostrogski, a true hero of his time, known as the next Hannibal, Pyrrhus, and the Ruthenian Scipio and greatly respected throughout the whole 16th-century Europe, is one of the main figures in Ukrainian history.

Dr Natalya Yakovenko, a prominent historian and researcher of the szlachta, the noble estate of the realm in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, wrote, "Konstanty Ostrogski was a man in the right place at the right time. One might say that he ranked second or even first in the hierarchy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania." Historian Dr Igor Teslenko, a researcher of the Ostrogski family tree, seconded, "Konstantyn Iwanowycz held one of the key positions in the realm. There is a lot of historical evidence that he had a great influence on kings. As the nobles of Volhynia, Kyiv, and Bratslav of the early 16th century. testified, "all of Rus' was under the hand of Konstantyn Iwanowycz." Marcin Kromer's *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* [On the Origin and Achievements of the Poles], p. 682: "And I shall start with the Tartars, our eternal enemies: indeed, we did not disdain to destroy three of their armies near Slutsk, under the hand of the commander of three battles, Constantinus Ostrogus, a leader most worthy of memory equal to that of all ancient heroes." According to a leading Lithuanian researcher, historian Dr



■ Unknown artist of Lucas Cranach the Younger's circle, Battle of Orsha, c. 1530s. <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle\\_of\\_Orsha\\_\(painting\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Orsha_(painting))>

Genute Kirkené, “Given the *kniaz*’s Ruthenian (Ukrainian) origin, Ostrogski’s permanent appointment to the command was a great recognition of his military career and leadership talents; of his abilities.” In the spirit of his era, the 19th-century Ukrainian historical writer and pan-Slavist Panteleimon Kulish did not always objectively assess Ostrogski’s life, but even he recognised that “His national steadfastness meant a lot for our Rus’, already shaken in its nationality.” Ivan Ohienko wrote in his monograph *Kniaz Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi i ioho kulturna pratsia* [Duke Konstanty Ostrogski and His Cultural Heritage], “He had notable battles with Tatars, Vlachs, and Muscovites, and won them all.”

Apostolic Legate Jakob Piso wrote in 1514 after the victorious war against the Muscovites, “Duke Constantinus can truly be named as the best military leader of our time, he was victorious on the battlefield thirty-three times... in battle, he is no less brave than Romulus.”

In a 1527 relation published in Nuremberg, the royal secretary Justus Ludwik Decjusz described in detail Ostrogski’s actions in one of the significant battles of the elderly hetman, calling him “a military leader whose talent surpassed that of all the leaders of the world”. As we can see from the same relation by Jakob Pizo, or from *De Ruthenorum nationibus* [On the Ruthenian Nations], a collection of synodal documents by his contemporary, Primate of Poland Jan Łaski, there was a clear and accurate distinction between Russes (Ruthenians or Ukrainians) and Muscovites (also known as Moscovites or Moschi). These two different peoples were often contrasted with each other, especially since they had been at war with each other for many years. At that time, referring to Muscovites as Rusyns, Russes, Russians, Ruthenians, or similar terms would have been equivalent to calling them

Ukrainians. This strange terminological confusion was imposed by force centuries later.

This is what historian Prof. Petro Kulakovsky of the National University of Ostroh Academy (Ukraine) wrote about Konstanty Ostrogski’s military career:

“Konstanty Ostrogski gained his initial military experience while confronting the Tatars in the 1480s when he participated in his father’s campaigns. Without a doubt, young Konstanty took part in repelling the Tatar attack of 1491 when the nomads burned the Pechersk Church in Kyiv and the Cathedral of the Theotokos in Volodymyr and sacked Halych. The decisive battle took place near Zaplav and was won by the Christians led by Kniaz [Duke] Semeon Holszański.”

From the mid-1490s, Konstanty Ostrogski began to play a key role in Volhynia in organising the resistance to the Tatars gaining his fame for more than just his efforts in defence. In 1497, he led a successful campaign to Ochakiv as well as other ambitious campaigns. Following that, he was appointed the Grand Hetman of Lithuania and Rus’.

“Tatar attacks were recurring every year back then. For example, prominent chroniclers of that time, Marcin Bielski and Alexander Guagnini, both wrote that Konstanty Ostrogski had to confront the Tatar threat in 1508 when they advanced into the realm as far as Volhynia. Both Konstanty Ostrogski’s regiments and Cossack companies led by one Cossack Polous took part in organising the resistance. Still, they acted independently of one another: some of the Tatar forces were defeated by the Hetman, some by the Cossacks. This happened during the Tatars’ return from Volhynia. Alexander Guagnini reported that both the Hetman’s units and the Cossacks took away the Tatars’ ‘spoils’, i.e., looted property. The Hustyn Chronicle, too, notes that Konstanty Ostrogski defeated the Tatars as far as Slutsk” (ibid.) The geography of his battles is impressive (not to mention that it also reflects the territorial boundaries of Rus’ at that time).

Konstanty Ostrogski had many more outstanding victories, but it was his triumph over the Muscovian army at Orsha on 8 September 1514 that brought him his pan-European fame. The Muscovites threatened to annex not only most of Lithuania and Rus, but also to seize the Duchy’s capital, Vilna (present-day Vilnius), and Kyiv. Had they succeeded, it would have robbed both nations of almost two centuries of political and cultural progress.

This victory stood out in Ostrogski’s illustrious career as the troops he led were several times inferior to the enemy in number, yet his military genius made it possible nevertheless to defeat the Muscovian army and capture many of their boyars and commanders. For almost a century, that battle determined the status quo on the borders of Muscovy and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ruthenia. In December 1514, triumphant Konstanty Ostrogski entered Vilna to a grand welcome befitting that of a Roman emperor.

But that was just one of the hetman’s great victories. In 1527 he defeated the Tatars in the battle of Olshanita. After that, he was granted a triumphant entry to Kraków, the then-capital of the Kingdom of Poland, through its main gates and was held to a royal reception with the highest honours. Igor Teslenko continues, “What was unique about Konstantyn Iwanowycz as a founder and patron of the arts, he built and financially supported churches beyond the boundaries of his domains. This historical figure is very interesting as a great politician, yet little studied. We know that the king greatly respected the *kniaz* [Konstanty Ostrogski] and granted him the privilege of a red seal. When not at war, he was often at the royal court. As a leading figure among the Ruthenian people in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, his ambitions were immense.”

Oleksandr Alf’orov sums it up: “Kniaz Konstantyn was, above all, a commander who won battles against the Muscovites — and those who do not wish to see any Ukrainian victories

today find this fact particularly hard to accept. Naturally, those who do not want Ukrainians to succeed, whether in politics or on the battlefield, also resist seeing Konstantyn Ostrogski as a role model. In his time, however, he was referred to as an Emperor — not in the sense of a monarch, but in the ancient meaning of the word: a renowned commander, a conqueror. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest strategists in Ukrainian history. He is precisely the figure we should aspire to in military, honourable, philanthropic, and political affairs.”

Konstanty Ostrogski was buried with great honours in the Dormition Cathedral of the Kyiv Monastery of the Caves. After Muscovites occupied Kyiv, his wall tomb, one of the greatest Ukrainian Renaissance monuments, was covered with a canopy at first. It was destroyed in the explosion of the cathedral in 1941. Nevertheless, despite all the resistance from Moscow, this masterpiece of Ukrainian art, the effigy of a prominent statesman, has been restored. In 1638, theologian Athanasius Kalnofoysky copied his epitaph in the Dormition Cathedral:

“Having gained sixty-three victories over Muscovy and the Tatars, at the Ros’, at the Dnieper, and at the Olshanka, all stained with blood, he decorated and founded many castles, many monasteries, many holy churches, which he built in his principality of Ostroh and the capital city of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Vilna. He generously endowed the second Gethsemane, the House of the Blessed Virgin of the Caves, and was laid to rest there after his death. He left asylums for the weak, schools for the young, and spears and sabres for the knights of the Mars Academy. To Konstantyn Iwanowycz, Scipio of Ruthenia, Kniaz of Ostroh, Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.”

An 18th-century copy of this epitaph stored in the manuscript collection of Saint Sophia Cathedral of Kyiv reads: “...the blessed and Christ-loving educated and powerful Kniaz Konstantyn Iwanowycz Ostrogski, famous throughout Rus’, the scion of the Ruthenian dukes, the Voivode of Trakai, Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, known for his bravery, he prevailed over the enemies of the Kingdom of Poland and defeated them with the help of the Almighty God. He served faithfully from his youth to his old age, and won many great battles, all 60 of them, and Three great ones: at Bila Tserkva, at Orsha on the Dnieper, and the Olshanitsa River...”



■ This image of the Ostrogski coat of arms was presented in a eulogy published in Lviv in 1615. The Ostroh Museum of Book and Printing. Photo and editing by Oleksii Chekal



■ Outline drawings of Kniaz (Duke) Konstanty Ostrogski's seal, 1508 and 1520



Unknown artist, *Portrait of Prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski*, the 18th century, oil on canvas, Volhynia Museum of Local Lore, Lutsk.

## KONSTANTY WASYL OSTROGSKI

The life of Konstanty Wasyl (Wasyl Konstantynowycz) Ostrogski was no less glorious than his father's. In fact, Ostrogski the Younger not only continued his father's work but also surpassed his achievements. A talented military leader, he made great efforts to protect the Ukrainian people and the Orthodox Christian faith both as a voivode of Kyiv and an outstanding benefactor of Ukrainian enlightenment. He gathered around him prominent scholars from all over Europe, set up a printing house, and ordered translations of biblical texts from foreign languages into Church Slavonic. The schools he opened, later grew into the famous Ostroh Academy. He went down in the history of many nations due to his support and financing of several dozen highly valuable theological and religiously polemical publications, including the 1581 Ostroh Bible, the first such edition in Eastern Europe.

The letter below is written in the hand of Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski. By signing it as Konstanty Ostrogski he stressed his seeking to emulate his father in everything and not to yield to him in glory. Using his father's Christian name implied the continuation of his sire's life and principles down his direct line.



■ Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski's coat of arms. *Bukevar* [A Primer], (1578), Gotha Research Library, Gotha, Thuringia. Photo and editing by Oleksii Chekal



■ FIGURE 1  
Address on a letter from Konstancy Ostrogski.  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

YEAR 1596, THE 19th (10th) DAY OF SEPTEMBER.  
A LETTER FROM KONSTANTY OSTROGSKI TO SIGISMUND III,  
KING OF THE KINGDOM OF POLAND AND THE GRAND  
DUCHY OF LITHUANIA

A typed copy of the manuscript in its original languages, Polish and Latin.

„Najasnieszy mściwy krolu, pani panie mój mściwy.  
Na rozkazanie waszej królewskiej mści powiminiem  
wszystko jako wierny poddany i sluga w. król. mści jedno że  
ten kałuer, o którego w. kr. mści pisać raczy, barzo zachorzał  
ale skoro ozdrowieje, się (?) się stawić w. kr. mści, bo,  
powiada, ma pisanie od patriarchy constantinopelskiego do  
w. kro. mści. Uniżone służby moje i wierność poddaństwa  
majestatowi w. kro. mści oddaje.

Z Włodzimierza d. 10 septembr. 1596.

W.kro. mści, pana mego mściwego, wierna rada posłuszny  
poddany i najniższy sluga Constantyn, książę Ostrogski,  
wojwoda kijowski w[...]”.

„Najasnieszemu panu panu Zygmuntowi Trzeciemu z łaski  
Bożej królowi polskiemu i szwedzkemu etc etc, panu  
mojemu mściwemu”.

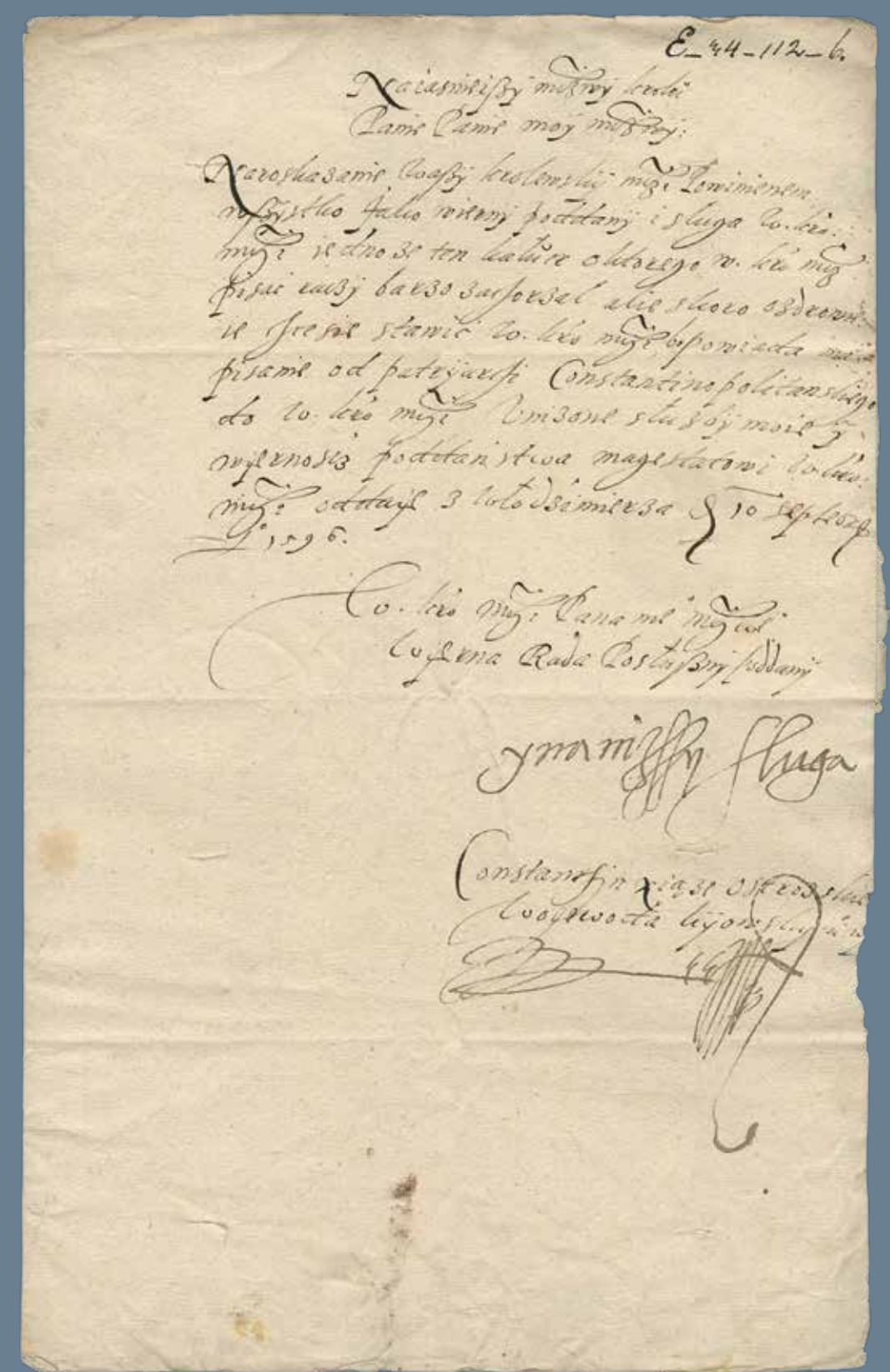
At the command of Your Royal Grace, I, as a faithful subject and  
servant of Your Royal Grace, hereby inform you that the monk  
about whom it pleased Your Royal Grace to write, fell very ill,  
but as soon as he recovers, [missing part] he will stand before  
Your Royal Grace, because, he says, he has a letter from the  
Patriarch of Constantinople to Your Royal Grace. My humble  
service and loyal submission to the majesty of Your Royal  
Grace I render.

From Volodymyr, on the 10th day of Septemb[er] 1596.

His Royal Grace and my worshipful lord’s faithful counsellor,  
obedient subject and humblest servant Konstancy, Kniaz of  
Ostroh, voivode of Kyiv in [missing part].”

Address: «To the Most Serene Sire Lord Sigismund the Third, by  
the Grace of God, King of Poland and Sweden, etc., etc., my  
gracious lord.»

FIGURE 2 ■  
Letter from Konstancy Ostrogski.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm



# Petro Konashevych Sahaidachny

(C. 1582–1622)

PETRO  
KONASHEVYCH-  
SAHAIDACHNY



Petro Kononovych Konashevych-Sahaidachny was Hetman of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, a famous military commander and politician. He came from an Orthodox noble family and rose to fame as a mastermind of military campaigns of the Zaporozhian Cossacks against the Tatars and Turks. In 1618, Petro Sahaidachny's Cossacks took part in King Władysław IV's campaign against Moscow. He played an important role in the restoration of the Orthodox church in 1620, which was almost completely dismantled after the Union of Brest in 1596.

Portrait and a short biography by Natalia Pavlusenko  
Source: <https://www.pavlusenkoart.com.ua>



# LETTER OF 28 DECEMBER 1618 ON THE THIRTY THOUSAND STRONG COSSACK ARMY (LED BY PETRO KONASHEVYCH-SAHAIACHNY) NEAR MOSCOW<sup>4</sup>

“1618-12-28

Illustris ac Generose Domine, ex literis suæ maiestatis quid factum fuerit in suis negotiis, priusquam has 22 decembris scriptas acceperam, palam fiet. Quæ nunc in mandatis habeo, eadem diligentia prosequar. Deinceps ad vos (suæ ma:ti obtemperans) profecturus.

Nihil hic in presentia scribendo dignum occurrit. Literas tantum vidi ex Polonia a Gordonio<sup>5</sup> Regis illis in partibus (quo ad commercia attinet) deputato, quibus intellexi a Rege Poloniae<sup>6</sup> indicta esse commitia im mensem feb. proxime sequentem, in quibus maxime de bello Turcico agendum et quomodo illorum et Tartarorum furori obuiam ire possint, qui circa limites Regni ingenti cum exercitu magnum omnibus terrorem iniciunt. Princeps Poloniae<sup>7</sup> triginta millibus Cosacum stipatus in Russia est iuxta Moscoviam, sed esculenti penuria et fame oppressus, ita ut vere simile sit illum non diu posse subsistere. Creditur Tartarus Moscovitorum suasu in Poloniam impetum fecisse, ut hac ratione amouerent ab ipsis belli molem. Profecti iam sunt Legati Constantinopolin de pace contrahenda. Johannes Veir, Dominus Putskensis a Polono hic exspectatur Legatus. Hæc summa literarum suarum est.

Omnem arripiam occasionem et Ma:tis Suæ negotia promouendi et inimicorum consiliis obuiam eundi. Interea temporis mutui dum viuo amoris memor Do:m V:m ex animo valere iubeo.

Lund. 28 decem. 1618.

Dominationis vestræ addictissimus  
Jacobus Spensius

Adress:  
Illustri ac Generoso Domino, Dno.  
Axelio Oxenstierna, Libero  
Baroni in Kimmeto et Fiholm  
Æquiti aurato, Regni Sueciæ  
Senatori et Cancellario, Amico  
suo plurimum obseruando

Påteckning:  
Spensii  
Redditæ in Tijdö Die  
11 Aprili Anno 1619.”

«1618-12-28

My dear and noble sir, His Majesty’s message makes it clear what had been done about his business before I received this letter on 22 December. What I have been entrusted with now, I would continue with the same care, intending to remain (as His Majesty’s obedient subject) useful to you in the future.

There is nothing worth writing about at this time. Only that I have seen a letter from Poland from Gordon,<sup>5</sup> the royal envoy on matters relating to trade, and learned from it that the King of Poland<sup>6</sup> had announced a meeting for the next month of Feb., where he would primarily discuss the Turkish war and how to resist their [Turks] and the Tartars’ fury, who, with their great army near the borders of the kingdom, were casting a great terror upon all. The Polish ruler,<sup>7</sup> accompanied by thirty thousand Cossacks, is in Russia near Moscow but is so hampered by lack of supplies and hunger that it seems likely that he will not be able to hold out for long. It appears that the Tartar attack on Poland was instigated by the Muscovites who wished to relieve themselves of the bulk of the war. Ambassadors have already arrived in Constantinople to negotiate peace. Now they are waiting for an ambassador from the Poles, Johann Weir, the Lord of the city of Puck. This is the summary of that letter.

I will use every opportunity to advance the cause of His Majesty and to defy the plans of the enemy. In the meantime, remembering our mutual amity as long as I am alive, I cordially implore Your Lordship to remain in good health.

Lund. 28 Decem[ber] 1618.

I remain most affectionately at the service of Your Lordship,  
Jacob Spens

[Address:]  
To the Serene and Noble Gentleman,  
Lord Axel Oxenstierna, Free Baron of Kimmet  
and Fiholm, a golden Rider, Senator,  
and Chancellor of the Kingdom of Sweden,  
from his most obedient Friend.

Signed:  
Spens  
Delivered in Tidö  
on the 11th day of April 1619.

FIGURE 3 ■

Letter from Jacob Spens.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

4 URL: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/dokument/oxenstierna/03525/3525t.xml> (20.11.2021).

5 Patrick Gordon, emissary to Danzig in 1610-25. For more details, see: Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean (eds), ‘Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe, 1580–1707.’ <<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/ssne/> (ID:4317)> [accessed 20 November 2021]

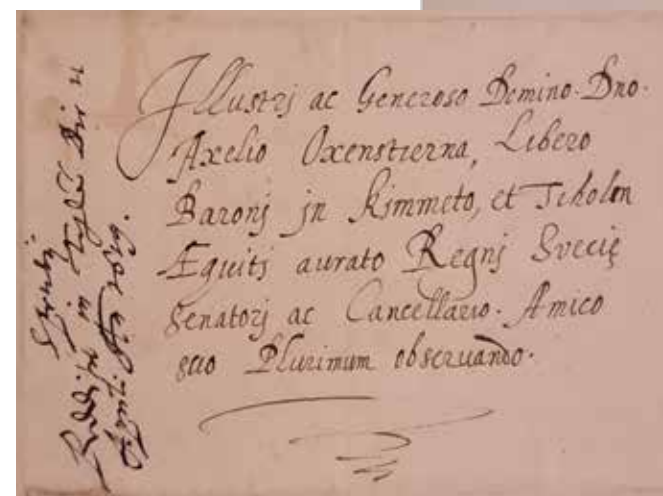
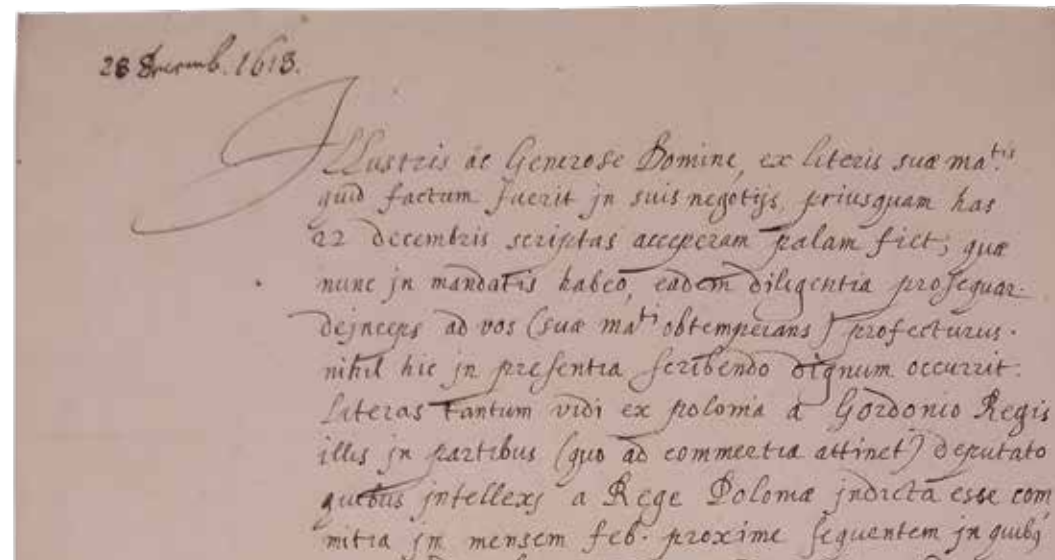
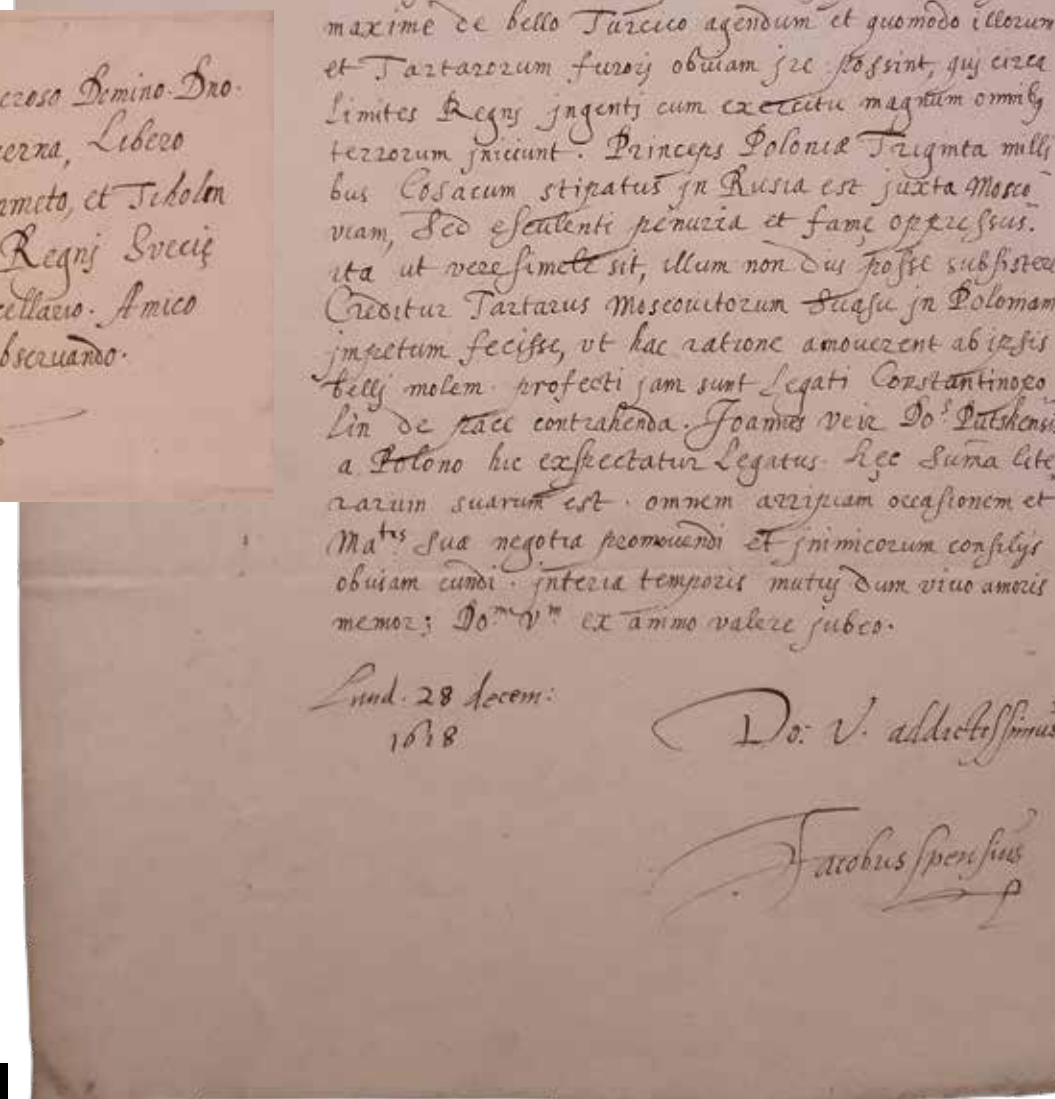


FIGURE 4 ■

Letter from Jacob Spens.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

6 Sigismund III (1566-1632), King of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1587, King of Sweden in 1592–99.

7 Władysław IV (1595–1648), King of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1632. The letter from Władysław IV to Axel Oxenstierna (1647) is stored in the Oxenstierna collection.





# Bohdan Khmelnitsky

(1596–1657)

## BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY

Bohdan (Zynoviy-Bohdan) Mykhailovych Khmelnytsky was a prominent statesman and politician, commander, Hetman of Exercitus Zaporoviensis (1648–57). He came from an Orthodox gentry family. He was the first to outline the territories of the Cossack Ukrainian state almost within the present-day borders of Ukraine and led the national liberation war. From 1648 until his death in 1657, he sought to defend the newly formed Cossack state Exercitus Zaporoviensis through both military and diplomatic means.

Portrait and a short biography by Natalia Pavlusenko  
Source: <https://www.pavlusenkoart.com.ua>



# JUNE 1649: THE FIRST MENTION OF BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY'S COIN

On 7 June 1649, a meeting of the Swedish Riksråd, the council of experienced and distinguished nobles, was held in Stockholm. One of the news announced there was that Cossack Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky ordered the minting of a coin with an image of the king on one side, and a Cossack with a sabre on the other.

This is the first chronological mention of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's money circulation, and I was fortunate to find it in the online archive of Umeå University, Sweden in August 2021. The minutes of that 1649 meeting were reprinted in Stockholm in 1912, in the *Handlingar rörande Sveriges historia*, tredje serien, Svenska riksrådets protokoll. 13, 1649 [Documents on the History of Sweden, the Third Edition, Minutes of the Swedish Privy Council, 13, 1649] collection.

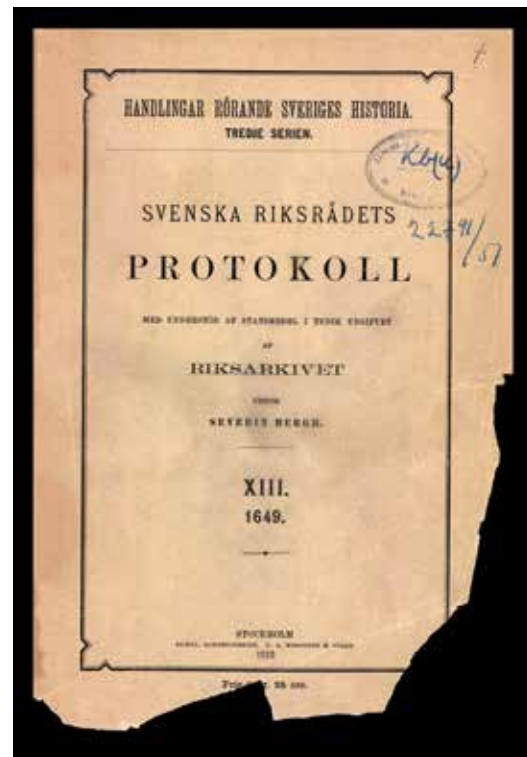
In 1649, Sweden was ruled by the 23-year-old Queen Christina Vasa, one of the most educated women of the 17th century. She presided over a traditional Riksråd at her court. At the meeting on 7 June, participants included the Commander-in-Chief, Field Marshal Gustaf Horn, the Queen's counsellor Matthias Soop, Counsellor Baron Erik Gyllenstierna, and the diplomat Bengt Skytt.

The counsellors were briefed about the “Cossack revolt” and the movement of two large armies of 120,000 Cossacks and 80,000 Tatars toward Poland.

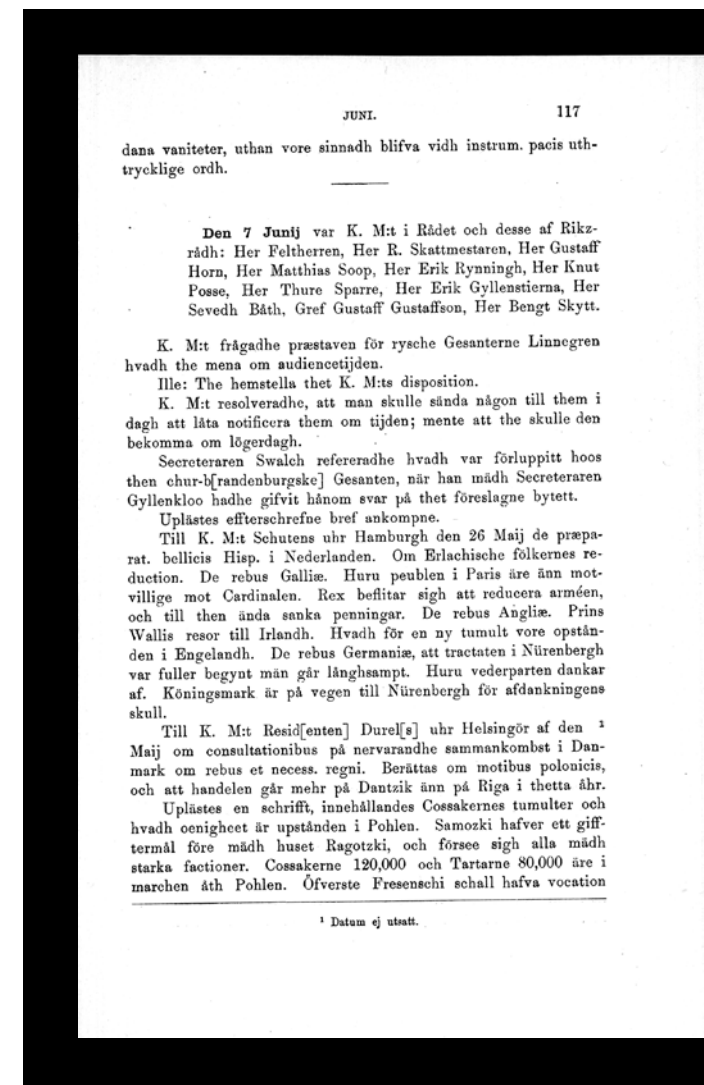
News about Khmelnytsky's activity was augmented with information about his introducing new money. “Cossack Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky ordered coins to be minted with the image of the king on one side, and a Cossack with a sabre on the other,” the minutes read.

The National Archives of Sweden, in the section on Polish diplomatic correspondence (Diplomatica Polonica), has letters from Swedish commissioners Paulus Pels and Johann Kok who stayed in Danzig (present-day Gdańsk) from 1649 to 1656. This is a voluminous and very factual correspondence where the Swedish commissioners reported on Polish and foreign news of the time. Almost every other page mentions the Cossacks and Bohdan Khmelnytsky, so it would make sense to study these documents for additional confirmation of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's coinage.

However, there are other sources, too, that contain such reports. At the end of 1649, an envoy of the Muscovian tsar, Grigori Kunakov, went on a mission to the Polish king. He mentioned Khmelnytsky's money in his *Zapiska diaka Grigoiya Kunakova o dobytyh im v bytnost' v Pol'she svedeniyah kasatel'no voiny polyakov s kazakami 1649 goda* [Clerk Grigori Kunakov's Account of the Intelligence He Gathered while in Poland about the War between the Poles and the Cossacks in 1649]. The author referred to the testimony of a Tatar, Adasius Breimov, who served under the Vice-Chancellor of Lithuania Kazimierz Sapieha reporting that Bohdan Khmelnytsky had set up a mint in Chyhyryn [then the capital of Exercitus Zaporoviensis] and was minting money, “...on one side is a sword, and on the other is his own name, Bohdan's name.”



■ **FIGURE 5**  
Protocols of Riksråd (Council of the Realm) of Sweden, 1649.  
<[https://digital.ub.umu.se/resolve?urn=urn:19a\\_000034:0000](https://digital.ub.umu.se/resolve?urn=urn:19a_000034:0000)>



JUNI. 117

dana vaniteter, uthan vore sinnadh blifva vidh instrum. pacis uthtrycklige ordh.

Den 7 Junij var K. M:t i Rådet och desse af Riksråd: Her Feltherren, Her R. Skattmestaren, Her Gustaff Horn, Her Matthias Soop, Her Erik Rynningh, Her Knut Posse, Her Thure Sparre, Her Erik Gyllenstierna, Her Sevedh Båth, Gref Gustaff Gustaffson, Her Bengt Skytt.

K. M:t frågadhe præstaven för rysche Gesanterne Linnegren hvadh the mena om audientetijden.

Ille: The hemstella thet K. M:ts disposition.

K. M:t resolveradhe, att man skulle sända någon till them i dagh att låta notificera them om tiden; mente att the skulle den bekomma om lögerdagh.

Secreteren Swalch refereradhe hvadh var förluppitt hoos then chur-b[randenburgske] Gesanten, när han mädh Secreteren Gyllenkloo hadhe gifvit honom svar på thet föreslagne bytett.

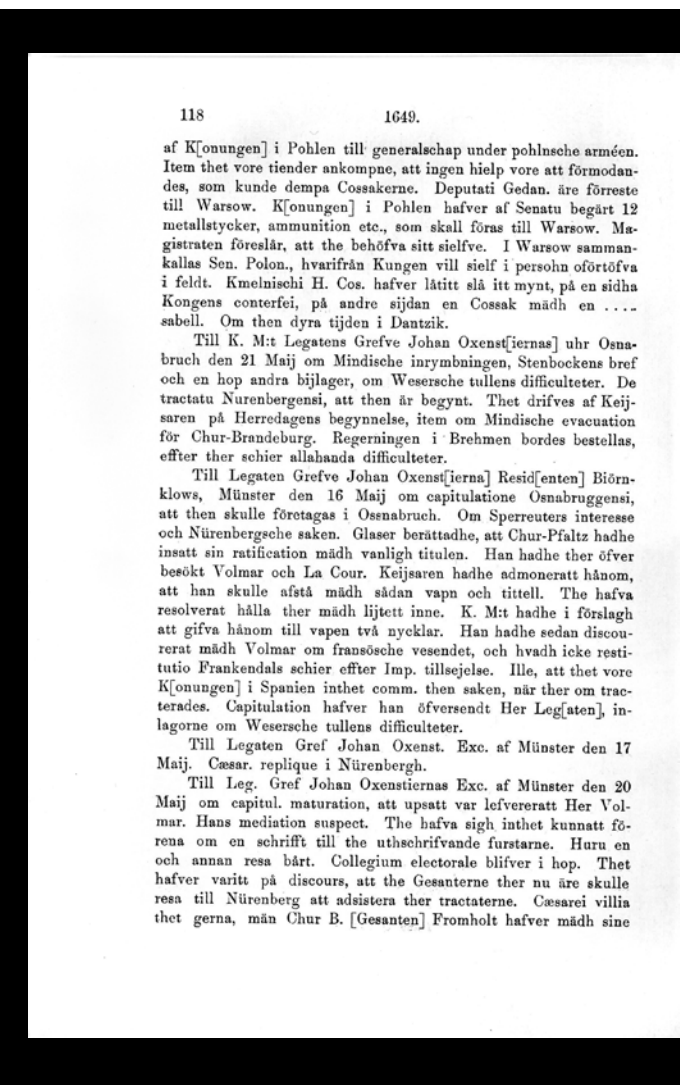
Uplästes efterschrefue bref ankompane.

Till K. M:t Schutens uhr Hamburg den 26 Majj de præparat. bellicis Hisp. i Nederlanden. Om Erlachische folkernes reduction. De rebus Gallie. Huru peublen i Paris äre änn motvillige mot Cardinalen. Rex befitar sigh att reducera arméen, och till then ända sankta penningar. De rebus Anglie. Prins Wallis resor till Irlandh. Hvadh för en ny tumult vore opstånden i Englandh. De rebus Germanie, att tractaten i Nürenbergh var fuller begynt män går långhsampt. Huru vederparten dankar af. Köningsmark är på vegen till Nürenbergh för afdankningens skull.

Till K. M:t Resid[enten] Durel[s] uhr Helsingör af den 1 Majj om consultationibus på nervarandhe sammankombst i Danmark om rebus et necess. regni. Berättas om motibus polonicis, och att handelen går mehr på Dantzic änn på Riga i thetta årh.

Uplästes en schrift, innehållandes Cossakernes tumulter och hvadh oenigheet är upstånden i Pohlen. Samozki hafver ett giftermål före mädh huset Ragotzki, och försee sigh alla mädh starka factioner. Cossakerne 120,000 och Tartarne 80,000 äre i marchen äth Pohlen. Öfverste Fresenschi schall hafva vocation

<sup>1</sup> Datum ej utsett.



118 1649.

af K[onungen] i Pohlen till generalschap under pohlnsche arméen. Item thet vore tiender ankompe, att ingen hielp vore att förmodandes, som kunde dempa Cossakerne. Deputati Gedan. äre förreste till Warsaw. K[onungen] i Pohlen hafver af Senatu begärt 12 metallstycker, ammunition etc., som skall föras till Warsaw. Magistraten föreslår, att the behöfva sitt sielive. I Warsaw sammankallas Sen. Polon., hvarifrån Kungen vill sielf i persohn oförtöfva i feldt. Kmelnisch H. Cos. hafver låtit slå itt mynt, på en sidha Kongens conterfei, på andre sidjan en Cossak mädh en . . . sabell. Om then dyra tiden i Dantzic.

Till K. M:t Legatens Grefve Johan Oxenst[ernas] uhr Osnabruch den 21 Majj om Mindische inrymbningen, Stenbockens bref och en hop andra bijlager, om Wesersche tullens difficulteter. De tractatu Nurenbergensi, att then är begynt. Thet drifves af Kejsaren på Herredagens begynnelse, item om Mindische evacuation för Chur-Brandenburg. Regerningen i Brehmen bordes bestellas, efter ther schier allahanda difficulteter.

Till Legaten Grefve Johan Oxenst[ernas] Resid[enten] Biörnklows, Münster den 16 Majj om capitulatione Osnabruggensis, att then skulle företagas i Osnabruch. Om Sperreuters interesse och Nürenbergsche saken. Glaser berättadhe, att Chur-Pfaltz hadhe insatt sin ratification mädh vanlig titulen. Han hadhe ther öfver besökt Volmar och La Cour. Kejsaren hadhe admonerat honom, att han skulle afstå mädh sådan vapn och titell. The hafva resolverat hålla ther mädh ljitt inne. K. M:t hadhe i förslag att gifva honom till vapen två nycklar. Han hadhe sedan discorerat mädh Volmar om fransösche vesedet, och hvadh icke restitutio Frankendals schier efter Imp. tillsejelse. Ille, att thet vore K[onungen] i Spanien inthet comm. then saken, när ther om tractades. Capitulation hafver han öfversendt Her Leg[aten], inlagorne om Wesersche tullens difficulteter.

Till Legaten Gref Johan Oxenst. Exc. af Münster den 17 Majj. Caesar. replique i Nürenbergh.

Till Leg. Gref Johan Oxensternas Exc. af Münster den 20 Majj om capitul. maturation, att upsatt var levererert Her Volmar. Hans mediation suspect. The hafva sigh inthet kunnat förena om en schrift till the uthschrifvande furstarne. Huru en och annan resa bärt. Collegium electorale blifver i hop. Thet hafver varit på discours, att the Gesanterne ther nu äre skulle resa till Nürenberg att adstiera ther tractaterne. Cæsarei villia thet gerna, män Chur B. [Gesanten] Fromholt hafver mädh sine

■ **FIGURE 6**  
Claes Rålamb (8 May 1622–14 March 1698), a Swedish statesman.  
<[https://digital.ub.umu.se/resolve?urn=urn:19a\\_000034:0000](https://digital.ub.umu.se/resolve?urn=urn:19a_000034:0000)>

Next, there was a letter from the Podolian voivode Stanisław Potocki to King John II Casimir dated 29 October 1652 where the voivode complained that Bohdan Khmelnytsky interfered in the king's affairs and coined the money.

Another mention appeared in the Parisian magazine La Gazette de France on 21 December 1651. Historical researcher and journalist Élie Borschak quoted it in one of his essays: “The Cossack Hetman began to mint his own coin in Ukraine, which provoked protests from the Polish king.”

Some researchers also cite Marko Hrushevsky's 1897–99 ethnographic notes from Subotiv, a manor of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, which mention mid-17th century coins depicting a Cossack on horseback with a pike.

## ROYAL INSTRUCTIONS TO CLAES RÅLAMB OF SEPTEMBER 1656

Documents from the Swedish archives allow us to trace in detail the tradition of Swedish kings supporting the Cossack struggle for Ukrainian independence. The Swedish kings saw the Cossacks as reliable partners who could help Sweden ensure security in the Baltic Sea region and curb Muscovy's aggressive ambitions. As early as 1623, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden considered supporting the Cossacks' struggle for independence.

Many Ukrainian historians who study Swedish–Ukrainian relations provide its description. Andrej Kotljarchuk wrote in his article *Diplomaticheskiye otnosheniya Shvetsii i Ukrainy v 1654–1660 gg.: Shvedskaya istoriografiya i istochniki* [Diplomatic Relations between Sweden and Ukraine in 1654–60: Swedish Historiography and Sources]:

«Since the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, Sweden has been putting effort into allying with the Cossacks. In 1626, a Russian merchant in the Swedish service, Aleksandr Rubin, was sent as a royal envoy from the Prussian city of Marienburg (present-day Malbork) till *Hvita Ryssland samt till de Zaporowke och Donske Kosackerna* [through Belarus to the Zaporozhian and Don Cossacks]. His task was to secure 'the Cossacks' aid in the war against Poland'.”.

Later Bohdan Khmelnytsky received support from Queen Christina and from her successor, King Charles X Gustav who recognised the independence of the Cossacks and Ukraine from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Muscovy and put a lot of effort into winning the same recognition from the Crimean Khan and the Ottoman Sultan.

Article 15 of these instructions (p. 1369) lists the following unanimous demands from the king and his council:

1. To hold talks with the Crimean Khan.
2. “Animera och giöra Cosakerna bijståndh till at blifwa och conserveras in statu libero, så at dhe härefter hwarken dependera af Påländ eller Muscou.” [“To inspire and get support for the Cossacks, so that they are free and remain in the free state, and do not depend on either Poland or Muscovy.”] (Riksgreg. fol. 1369v).

The same instruction is repeated in Article 16 on page 1370, stating the need to persuade the Sultan to support the Cossacks. Apparently, it refers to the proposal/demands as they were once made by Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

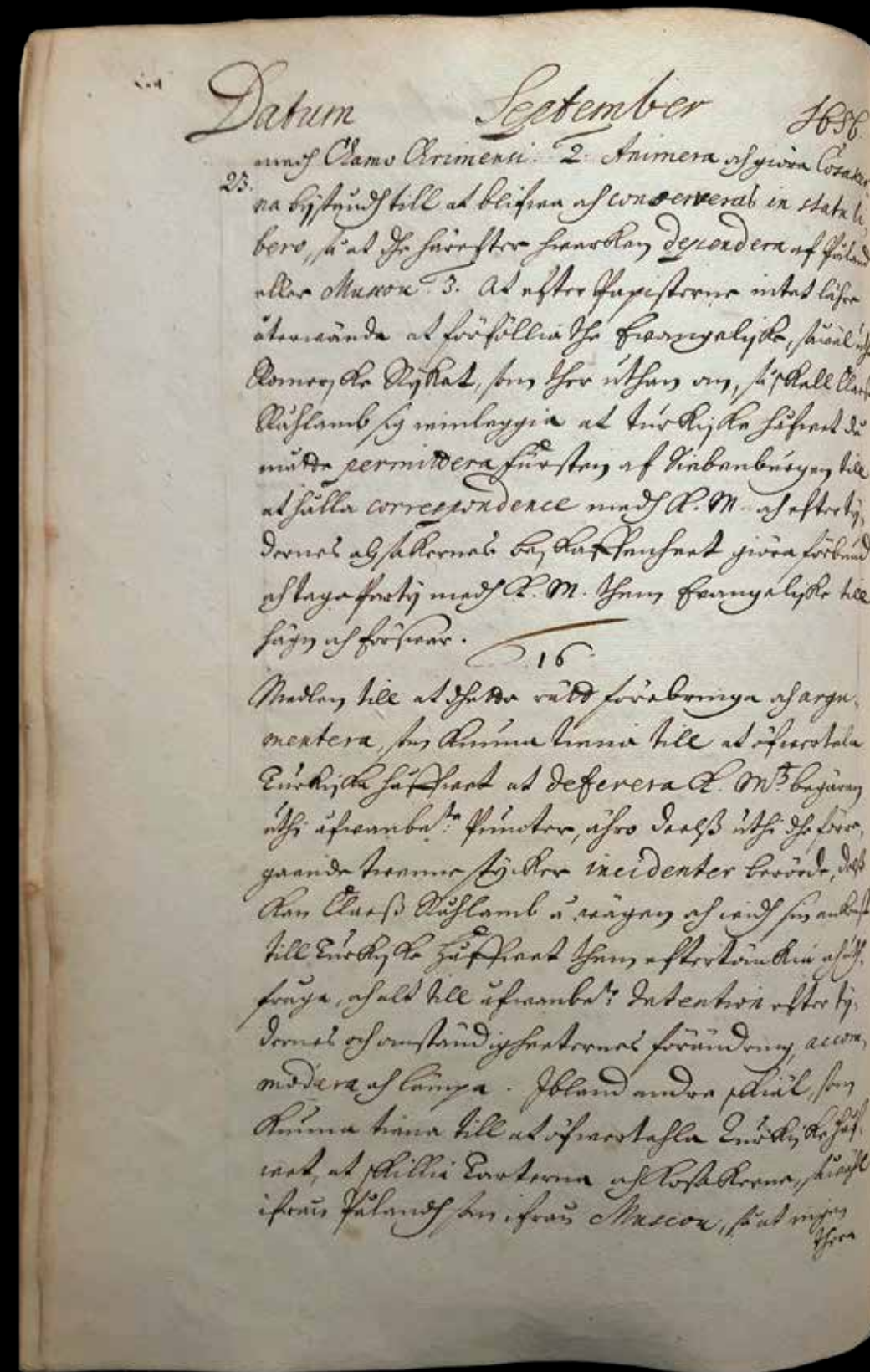
In one of his books on the prehistory of Swedish Ukrainian relations under Charles XII, published in 1959, *Till de karolinska ukraina-politikens historia* [On the Prehistory of Carolean Policy towards Ukraine], Bohdan Kentzrhynsky quoted historians Vyacheslav Lypynsky and Karl Wibling and wrote that the relations between Charles XII and Ivan Mazepa and Pylip Orlyk were in the spirit established by Charles X and Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Charles X believed that Ukraine and the lands around it, in an equal alliance with Sweden, could stop Russia's thirst for conquest. That explains why Charles X was Bohdan Khmelnytsky's ardent supporter. Keeping an eye on the growing power of Russia, Charles X tried to help the Cossacks achieve their aspirations and hopes in every way possible, thus gaining a strong and loyal ally for Sweden forever. Following my second request, Jan Mispelaere found records of the Royal Chancellery from October to December 1654, as well as the secret protocol of 3 July 1655 (section Muscovitica. G. Bielke m.fl. Strödda handlingar 1655–1658) and the Chancellery records of 1656 and 1658. They all contain references to Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Cossacks, religion, and Ukraine. The secret protocols refer to the preparation of the Swedish legates' mission in Moscow and describe the role Ukraine was supposed to play in those negotiations. There are also copies of the written instructions issued to the head of the mission, Gustaf Bielke, and Gustaf Horn.



■ Claes Rålamb  
(8 May 1622–14 March 1698),  
a Swedish statesman.  
Nationalmuseum  
<digitaltmuseum.se>

FIGURE 7 ■

Royal instructions to Claes Rålamb (September 1656).  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner



(1639–1709)

# Ivan Mazepa

## IVAN MAZEPA

Ivan (Adam) Stepanovych Mazepa was a statesman, politician, military leader, philanthropist, and hetman of Exercitus Zaporoviensis. One version has it that he was born in his family's country estate Kamianka (present-day village of Mazepyntsi, Bila Tserkva district, Kyiv Oblast), and another that he was born in Bila Tserkva, where his father served at the time. From 1687, he headed the Left Bank Cossack state and later the entire Dnieper Ukraine. Remaining under the patronage of Tzar Peter I of Muscovy, he pursued a course to restore the independent Cossack state within the borders of Bohdan Khmelnytsky's time. He sought to withdraw the Hetmanate from the protectorate of Muscovy and establish a Western European political and social system in its territory.

Portrait and a short biography by Natalia Pavlusenko  
Source: <https://www.pavlusenkoart.com.ua>



## THREE LETTERS OF HETMAN IVAN MAZEPA FROM THE SWEDISH ARCHIVES

While the famous Ukrainian archaeographer Ivan Butych published Ivan Mazepa's universal proclamations (even if not all of them), the same cannot be said of the hetman's numerous letters. Although work in this area has been stepped up in independent Ukraine (most of Mazepa's letters that became available to the public were printed in *Siveryanskyi Litopys*), many more are still buried in the archives. For example, Fund 124 of *Malorossiiskiy delo* [The Little Russian Affairs] of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Records (Moscow, Russia) alone has at least 1000 (!) Mazepa's letters. A significant part of his epistolary legacy is stored in hard-to-access archives in Sweden. Before the dissolution of the USSR, Ukrainian and Soviet researchers were de-facto banned from working there as Sweden's status of a "capitalist country" precluded them from obtaining their home state permission to travel there. The language barrier was a major obstacle, too. The only ones who ever worked there were Ukrainian historians: Nikandr Molchanovskiy (1858–1906), before the Soviet period, and the 20th-century émigrés, Borys Krupnytsky (1894–1956) and Bohdan Kentrzhynsky (1919–1969).

Nowadays, Marina Trattner has resumed this active search work in the Swedish archives. It was she who discovered three letters from Mazepa, written in Polish and heavily peppered with Latin words and idioms. They were translated into Ukrainian: Fr Yuriy Mytsyk worked on the Polish part and Orest Zayats helped with the Latin inserts. We included their printed copies in the original languages in this chapter together with a short commentary by Fr Mytsyk. These letters were written in the summer of 1704 and addressed to the Kalisz voivode Franciszek Zygmunt Gałeczki of the Junosza coat of arms. The latter was Bydgoszcz starost in 1676–80 and 1685–1710, castellan of Kalisz in 1694–95, castellan of Poznan in 1695–97, Inowrocław voivode in 1697–1703, Kalisz voivode from 3 December 1703 to 1709, Poznan starost in 1709–11, and held a court office of Crown Master of the Kitchen in 1680–94. He died in 1711. Mazepa and Gałeczki became friends in the early 1660s, i.e., during the future hetman's service at the court of King John II Casimir of Poland (see *Letter 1*).

Thus, these letters were written in July and August 1704 at the height of the Great Northern War. It was then (12 July 1704) that Stanisław Leszczyński was elected king of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with the support of Sweden, and the opposition intensified its attack on King Augustus II. The latter begged Mazepa for help asking for ca. 30,000 Cossacks to strengthen the Lviv garrison among other things. The Hetman sent 10,000 Cossacks to his aid, led by the acting hetman Ivan Mirowicz, polkovnyk [head of the regimental district, a territorial administrative unit under the Hetmanate, recognised as equal to Lithuanian Barons] of Pereiaslav, while he remained in what today is Zhytomyr Oblast with 20,000 troops. These letters shed light on the circumstances of this episode of the Northern War and help us clarify Mazepa's itinerary, both time and place (Pavoloch — Berdychiv — Chudniv). In general, it is necessary to eventually compile his complete itinerary for that period, especially since Ivan Butych took several important steps towards its creation based on Hetman's universal proclamations.

These letters could become a part of the future Ukrainian Diplomatium and disclose more of Hetman Mazepa's biography and details of his campaign in the summer of 1704 (see *Figs. 8–13*).



■ Letters by Ivan Mazepa. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm



■ Franciszek Zygmunt Gałeczki (1645–1711). <<https://polona.pl>>

## IVAN MAZEPA'S

Letter N°1

“Z obozu pod Pawołoczą July 20 a[nn]o 1704.

Jaśnie wielmożny mści panie wojewoda kaliski, mnie wielce mści panie i bracie.

Kiedy mi przychodzi post tot decursus annorum dawniej z w. m. m. panem, konfidencyą i conversacyą renovare, która nas jeszcze na dworze stej pamięci najaśniejszego króla j. mści Kazimierza in simul zostających mutuo animorum nexu copulavit, któż tedy nie przyzna, że te politicum axioma felici documento in hoc instanti practicatur. Dulcis est recordatio praeteritorum i lubo dotąd żadna niepozorna vorago rerum amnistia, nie mogła godnej w. m., m. m. pana, osoby i ściśłego afektu wygładzić z serca mego, który caelesti prawie ambrosia dulcem wielkiego w. m., m. m. pana, imienia recordationem, in candido meo cukrował animo, i vivam onego imaginem w wysokiej zawsze stymie (?) i imprezie mojej reprezentował, jednak tym bardziej teraz aureo affectu w. m., m. m. Pana calcar, stimolor i provocor do iteracye ściśłej z w. m., m. m. panem, dawnej konfidencje, kiedy w. m., m. m. pan, agendo in distans raczy już to geminata litera, animi sui indice ona renovare i podufała ze mną correspondencyą stabilire, za wiele w. m., m. m. panu, dziękując, zabieram na siebie debito jure takowy oblig, że pari afektu gotow będę in omni passu, generosae w. m., m. m. pana menti, moie conformować chęci, którego nutibus, gdy i teraz amico calamo, conformem zapisuję promptitudinem upraszam się w nieodmienną w. m., m. m. panu łaskę dawniej afekt i konfidencyą, a sam in puro favorabilis mei animi candore eo zapisuje się pradicamento żem jest w. m., m. m. p., uprzejmie życzliwy brat i sługa płm Jan Mazepa, hetman i kawaler jego carskiego wieliczestwa Wojska Zapor[ozkiego]”.

«From the camp near Pavoloch on the 20th day of July, y[ea]r 1704.

Most Gracious Lord Voivode of Kalisz, my dearest sir and brother.

When, after the passing of so many years, I have an opportunity to renew the confidence and conversations that you, my dearest sir, and I used to have when still at the court of the late blessed memory of His Most Serene Grace King Casimir, which, at the same time, serve to unite friends with a bond of mutual affection, who will not admit that this practice is worth of using a fortunate opportunity to write in this instance. Sweet is the memory of the past, and it appears that no demanding assemblage of duties and commissions was able to wipe the tender affection worthy of your, my dearest and most gracious sir, person from my heart hitherto as the very memory of your lordship's name, sweet as if it were the heavenly ambrosia, remained clear in my soul, so bringing up my lord's vivid image in my mind has always been a great joy, but all the more so now as your, my dearest sir, noble aspirations motivate and stimulate me and cause me to restore our confidential relations of the olden days while my lord is acting far away, and this double letter may indicate to his mind my wish to re-establish our truthful correspondence, where, deeply grateful to you, my dearest sir, and by all rights, I take upon myself an equal obligation to be ready to conform my desires with my lord's generous mind at every step, and, approvingly, confirm this readiness here and now with a friendly quill while beseeching you, my dearest and most gracious sir, for your invariable and long-standing favour, friendship, and confidence, and I myself, with all the candour of my affectionate spirit, remain my most gracious lord's well-wishing brother and humble servant Ivan Mazepa, Hetman and Knight of His Royal Majesty the Tsar's Exercitus Zaporoviensis.»

Omnia Perpremię  
czliwy Brat Litwa płm  
Jan Mazepa Hetman y kawaler  
Wojska Wielkiego Wojska Zapor  
Zaporoviensis

# IVAN MAZEPA'S

“Jaśnie wielmożny mści panie wojewoda kaliski, mnie wielce mści panie i bracie. Doszedł mie od jego królewskiej mści poważny list 6-ta augusti, z takową w nim wyrażoną affektacją, abym i sam z Wojskami Zaporozkimi ulteriori passu ciągnął do boku jego królewskiej mści prodandis suppetys contra hostilitatem potenciej szwedzkiej i serdiukow ad presidium lwowskiego posyłał, który supremo cultu et honore u siebie acceptując, i patendo w tym chętnie nicibus jego krolewskiej mści conformi effectu, posyłam ztąd od siebie z obozu lubo nie serdiukow, jednak dobrego i wybornego piechotyńca 400 ludzi zaporozców do gwarnizonu lwowskiego, a do pana półkownika perejasławskiego, który jest przede mną przodem z wojskami auxiliarnemi pro subsidio jego królewskiej mści ordinowany, piszę moj ordynans, aby tam u siebie półtrzeciasta piechoty i tamże do pomienionego praesidium expediował. Sam zaś dla ciężarów oboznych z artyllerią i ammunicjami muszę festi na te lente i ruszywszy się ztąd od Berdycziowa ku Połonemu, jak zmożę, zwłaszcza przy częstych w tym kraju przeprawach, gotów będę ad praefixum mnie locum prop(…)ere. Z tą tedy relacją, gdy nie in atrys w. m., m. pana, venerabundus sistor oraz godną w. m. m. pana osobę, amico convenio amplexu. Z tym się veteri amore ore et remanifestując, żem jest w. m. m. panu uprzejmie życzliwym bratem i sługą powolnem Jan Mazepa, hetman i kawaler jego carskiego prześwietlego wieliczestwa Wojska Zaporozkiego.

W obozie z pod Berdyczową a[nn]o 1704 augusti 8”.

“Most Gracious Lord Voivode of Kalisz, my dearest sir and brother. His Majesty the King has sent me a letter of great importance on the 6th day of August, namely urging me to march with the Zaporozhian forces to His Royal Grace’s side to aid him against the Swedish hostile might and to send the Serdyuks [hetmans’ own mercenary infantry units] to the Lviv garrison, which I received with the greatest honour and respect and hence, gladly obedient to the will of His Royal Grace, I send, although not the Serdyuks, yet fine and skilled infantrymen nevertheless, i.e., 400 of my own Zaporozhian Cossacks to the Lviv garrison, and to my lord polkovnyk of Pereiaslav, who has advanced before me with the auxiliaries to provide relief to His Royal Grace, I write my orders to expeditiously send two and a half hundreds of his infantry to the said garrison. As for myself, because of the camp difficulties with artillery and ammunition, I must ‘make haste slowly’ and, advancing from Berdychiv here to Polonne, as soon as I can, especially considering the frequent crossings in this country, I should be ready to come to the exact place that was assigned to me. With this relation, while not standing with reverence in the presence of my gracious lord’s worthy person, I convey my friendly embrace to you, my dearest sir. With this expression of long-standing friendship, my gracious lord, I hereby declare myself to be your well-wishing brother and humble servant Ivan Mazepa, Hetman and Knight of His Serene Royal Majesty the Tsar’s Exercitus Zaporoviensis.

From the camp near Berdychiv on the 8th day of August, y[ea]r 1704.»

# IVAN MAZEPA'S

“Z obozu pod Czudnowem a[nn]o 1704 augusti 26/15.

Jaśnie wielmożny mści panie wojewoda kaliski, mnie wielce mści panie i przyjacielu.

Sic stantibus rebus kiedy już jego kr. mśc zpod Sokala regio passu rzuszywszy się, tendit et intendit ku Litwie, convenio w. m.,

m. m. pana, interprete candidae mea mentis litera wielce upraszając o poufałą informacją, jeśli ta piechota, którą ja parierując votis i desideriiis jego kr. mści, in certo numero do gwarnizonu lwowskiego pro retundenda et repugnanda hostili ferocia ordinowałem, potrzebna jest albo będzie in praesidio. Której jeśli tam legalis et extrema necessitas mniej exigeret, tedy żeby gdzie casu fortuito ab immani hostilitate marnie nie zginęło, chciej w. m., m. m. pan, securam via, ona do boku pana półkownika pereasławskiego we 20 m. kommunika ad latus jego kr. mści ode mnie pro succursu ordinowanego odesłać. Tudzież wielce w. m., m. m. pana, upraszam o komunikację cathegoricznej wiadomości, jaka teraz po odeściu jego kr. mści zpod Sokala rerum dispositio jakie są status moderni w Rzplitej actus, także ad quem scopum et terminum one tendunt. Co wszystko że ex special w. m., m. m. pana, gratiam odbiorę, bynamniej nie wątpię, ponieważ mie w tym nie tylko dawnia w. m., m. m. pana, confidencia, nieomylną corrororat speransą, lecz i sam jego kr.mśc ad mutuum w. m., m. m. panem, correspondentiam, poufaly mi ad penetralia w. m., m. m. pana, toruje recurs. Załęczając encomiastico praedicamento w liście swoim do mnie niedawno pisany, stateczną w. m. m. pana senatorską ku majestatowi swemu wierność i życzliwość, jako prawdziwego boni Rplitej publici zelanta. Czekam tedy audissime na prętkie, a daj Boże, pomyslnie z gazet tamtejszych od w. m., m. m. p[an]a, awizy, a sam przez kuriera mego curro in charitativum emeritae w. m., m. m. p[an]a, personae amplexum, gdzie in atrys w. m., m. m. pana, gdy amico sistor calamo, zapisuje się oraz onym, żem jest w. m., m. m. pana, uprzejmie życzliwy brat i sługa uniżony Jan Mazepa, hetman i kawaler jego carskiego wieliczestwa Wojska Zapor[ozkiego]”.

«From the camp near Chudnov, y[ea]r 1704, 26 (15 O.S.) August.

Most Gracious Lord Voivode of Kalisz, my dearest sir and friend.

As things stand, since His Royal Grace has started his kingly march from Sokal aiming for Lithuania and intending to arrive there, I reach to you, my dearest sir, and, expressing my clear opinion by means of this letter, kindly ask to inform me confidentially whether the infantry, which I sent to the Lviv garrison on the word and decision of His Royal Grace, is or will be necessary to quell and repel the enemy’s ferocity there. Whereas the legitimate need for its presence is not that extreme and demanding, then, to prevent a chance where it could accidentally encounter fierce hostility and perish in vain, I implore you, my dearest sir, to order its return via a safe route to the side of my lord polkovnyk of Pereiaslav whom I sent with 20 thousand of cavalry to His Royal Grace’s relief. I would be also very much obliged to you, my dearest sir, if you could advise me with the utmost precision of the current state of things in the Commonwealth after the departure of His Majesty the King from Sokal, where and to what ends they appear to be heading and what the scope of those tendencies is. Of my lord informing me of that out of his special grace for me I have no doubt, because not only your, my dearest sir, long-standing confidence comforts me with infallible hope, but also your trusted correspondence with His Royal Grace, which paves my way back to your, my dearest sir, penetralia. Acknowledging the praiseworthy statements in your recent letter to me, I see my lord’s senator’s stately loyalty to His Majesty, truly zealous for the public good of the Commonwealth. Then I am waiting with the utmost attention on your, my dearest sir, quick and, God willing, good news from the local newspapers, and I myself, through my courier, am eager to benignly embrace the worthy person of my lord when in his confidential presence, while my friendly quill inscribes my name as your, my gracious sir, well-wishing brother and humble servant Ivan Mazepa, Hetman and Knight of His Serene Royal Majesty the Tsar’s Exercitus Zaporoviensis.”

+  
 Z Obozu pod Puławami, Siedm. 29  
 1704

Asni Wielmożny mści Panie Woiewoda Łahski  
 Cniwiejście mści Panie Prziwie

Kiedy mi przychodzi post tot decursus annorum, dawny z Wmim Panem  
 Confidenciją, i conversacją renouare, która nas  
 uszycie na Dworze Sępy, pamijci Stanisławyże<sup>2</sup> ta  
 Awsta Amici Kazimierza, in simul iusticia =  
 eych mutuo animorum nexu copulauit, do z  
 tedy mi przyzna, że te politicum axioma, felix  
 ci documento in hoc instanti practicatur. Dulce me  
 cis est recordatio prateritorum. I Ludo do tąd  
 żadna nie pozorna vorajo rerum amnistia, niemożna  
 gomey Wmim Pana osoby, i scitego afektu, wy  
 gładzić z serca me, który celesti prauie ambruz  
 sia, dukom wielkie Wmim Pana Amicia re ste  
 cordationem, in candido meo cudruwa i animo,  
 i uiam onejo imaginem, w wy solicy zaofe sty  
 mie i imprezie moicy re prazentowa, i donad ku  
 tym bardziej teraz aureo afektu Wmim Pana cala, pra

FIGURE 8  
 Ivan Mazepa's Letter 1, p. 1.  
 The National Archives  
 of Sweden, Stockholm

+  
 Z Obozu pod Puławami, Siedm. 29  
 1704

Stimulor i prauior do iteracyey, scitey z Wmim Panem dawney confi  
 dencyey, kiedy Wmim Pan agendo in distans, raity  
 iuz to geminata litera, animi sui indice, ony renouare,  
 i podufaty, ze mny, correspondencya, stabilire, i  
 wielce Wmim Panu dzykuię, zabieram na siebie  
 debito iure tudowoy obliy. ze peri afektu gotow bede in  
 omni pafpec, generosa Wmim Pana menti, nie  
 conformowac chęci, i torego nutibus, gdy q teraz  
 amico calamo, conformem zapisuię prumptitudi  
 nem, wpraszamsię w medmienney Wmim Pana  
 iuz dawny afekt, i confidencya, a sam in puro  
 fauorabilis mei animi candore, eo zapisuię pra  
 dicamento z em iest

Wmim Panu przymie  
 zliuz Prati i Stuga  
 Iwan Mazepa Hermany Kaurer  
 i iuz wielce Wmim Pana

FIGURE 9  
 Ivan Mazepa's Letter 1, p. 2.  
 The National Archives  
 of Sweden, Stockholm

1704. d. 8. Aug

*Paśnie Wielmożny Mści Panie Woiwoda Łeliski  
Mnie wita mści Panu y Bracie.*

*Dostał mi od Se królewickiej Mści poważny list, dnia Augusti, z takowym  
co nim wyrażoną affectacją, abym y sam z Wojskami Łeporadz-  
skimi, ulteriori passu cignął do boku Se królewickiej Mści  
procedans suppetis contra hostilitatem potentiej Szwedzkiej  
y Serdiusow ad presidium Łwowskiego porył, który su premo  
cultu ethonore usiebie acceptuigo, y parando w tym chystnie  
nutibus Se królewickiej Mści conformi effectu, posyła ztąd  
do siebie z obidzi, lubo nie Serdiusow, ie dnak do brzo y wybornego  
piechotyca 400. Ludzi Łeporadzow, do Swarnizona Łwowskiego,  
ado Pana Pulhownida Porcia Stawskiego, który iest przedem  
przedem z wojskami auxiliarnemi, pro subdico Se królewickiej  
Mści ordinowany, pisze moy ordinans, aby adimplendo na-  
merum a signatum, wybrał tam usiebie poltrzeciasta piechoty  
y tamdo do pomianionego presidium expediował, sam zaś dla  
cizarow oboznych z Artyllerij y amunicjami, musz festi-  
nare lenti, y ruszyc ztąd od Berdyżowa ku Polonem,  
iack zmozg, zwlaszcza przy cizylych w tym kraju przepra-  
czwach, gotow bydy ad praefixum mihi e locum propore.*

*Łeliski  
8. Augusti 1704.*

FIGURE 10

Ivan Mazepa's Letter 1, p. 3.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm

FIGURE 11

Ivan Mazepa's Letter 1, p. 4.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm

*Łeporadzki, dnia 8. Augusti 1704.*

*Zto tedy relacja, gdy wiatryj Wnim Pana venerabundus listor, oraz Godny  
Wnim Pana ady, amico concenio amplexu, z tymiż ve-  
teri amore ore et re manifestuigo, Dem iest.*

*Wnim Panu y przegmie zgozlidym  
Bratem y sluga powolny.*

*Ivan Mazepa Hetman y Kauder  
Łeporadzki Szesmeret Kauder  
Wojska Łeporadzki*

*co Chocie z Pod Berdyżowa  
A. 1704 Augusti 8.*



Z Chozu pod Rudnowem d. 1704 August 26

Wasmie Wschmozny msu Panie Woiwodzie Kaliski  
Mnie wiele msu Panie Prziwielku.

ie stantibus rebus hodie iug. I. Ar. m. i. z pod Siedla Regia pasu rasy wszystkie  
tendit et intendit Lu. Litua, conuenio Wmm. Pana interprete candida  
med. mentis litera, wiele upraszajze o poufity informacya; ieshi to  
piechota, ktorz. In prioruq. votis I. desiderijs I. Ar. m. i., in certu  
numero, do Dwarnizonu Lubowski, pro retundenda et repugnanda  
hostili feruui, ordinowalem, potrzebna iest albo biedzic in presidio,  
I. tory ieshi tam legalis et extrema necessitas m. i. exigeres, tedy zebry  
gdzie casu fortuito, ab immani hostilitate marnie nie zginete, chiecy  
Wm. m. m. Pan. securi via, ony do bodu Pana Potdownicka Porciastu  
Iku' we 2o. Komuniu ad Latus I. Ar. m. i. odemnie prouduccur.  
In ordinowane od estec. Iudziez wiele Wmm. Pana upraszajze  
o Komuniuq. categoriellony wiadomosci; iada teraz po odcysciu  
I. Ar. m. i. z pod Siedla rerum dispositio, Iudziez sa Status mo.  
dermi w Rzplitey actus, tabzic ad quem scopum et terminum onc  
tendunt, co wszyskto ze ex special. Wmm. Pana gratia odbie  
ry, bynammoy niewatpie, poniewaz mie w tym, nie tylko dawnia Wm.  
m. m. Pana confidentia, nie smysly corroborat speransa, lecz I. s. a. n.

FIGURE 12  
Ivan Mazepa's Letter 1, p. 5.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm

FIGURE 13

Ivan Mazepa's Letter 1, p. 6.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm

I. Ar. m. i. ad matuum z Wmm. Panem correspondenciam, poufity mi ad penetra  
lia Wmm. Pana toruie recurs, zalecajze oncomiastico pradicamento  
w siue suom do mnie nie dawno pisanym, staczajze Wm. m. Pana  
Senatora sa. Lu. Majestatosi suomu uerimose "Lyzyluosc", iado pra  
dziue boni Rzplitey publici zelanta. (Zedamtedy audyissime na pr  
die ady. Powzic pomysle z Gazet tamczyznych od Wm. m. m. Pauzy,  
a sam przez Lunera mego, curru in charitativum emerita Wm.  
m. m. m. Persona amplexum, gdzie in atrijs Wm. m. m. P. g. d. y. a. m.  
co sistor calamo, zapi sui sic oraz onym in veteri confidentia  
Zem iest

Wmm. Pana uprzejmie Zy  
czliwy Porat I. Stuga unison  
Ivan Mazepa  
Wojewoda  
Noy...

## A MOSAIC OF HISTORICAL SOURCES. CONTACTS BETWEEN CHARLES XII AND IVAN MAZEPA

This section pieces together all the tiniest elements of this mosaic of history to form a single picture of the struggle for Ukraine's independence. For a more detailed historical context of the events, it should be read together with the next section about Ivan Mazepa's 1707 relation. As I noted before, the article by Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand that contained the text of that relation was translated and published in *Siveryanskyi Litopys* before I found all the additional pieces of this puzzle. Also, and it is important to note, my interpretations did not influence this translation whatsoever. I only added an introduction commenting on how we found this relation. Later, nevertheless, Jan Mispelaere managed to find the original document in the National Archives of Sweden, which had been lost many years ago.

In his article on the events in Poland in 1704–09, published in the 1936 yearbook of the Carolean Society,<sup>12</sup> Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand cited Stanisław Leszczyński's Memorandum of 1705 as well as letters from the State Counsellor Samuel Bark to State Historiographer Olof Hermelin, which mentioned the name of Ivan Mazepa. After we inquired about this document, Jan Mispelaere found it and three other undated documents that were kept together with letters from Stanisław Leszczyński dated 1705. Claes Gejrot, a Latinist from the Diplomatarium Department of the National Archives of Sweden, kindly translated two of those documents as they were written in Latin. The third one was in French.<sup>13</sup> Prof. Dr Yevhen Luniak of the School of History and Law at Mykola Gogol State University (Nizhyn, Ukraine) translated it into Ukrainian, and it was this letter that made the rest of the pieces of the historical mosaic fall in place and allowed me to see the full picture of events starting with 1705. I sincerely hope that Ukrainian scholars will be able to study all these documents in more detail.

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Let's start with the most important document, an undated letter from Stanisław Leszczyński, which was stored together with other undated documents and his letters from 1705 in this section of the National Archives (see Fig. 14)



■ **FIGURE 14**  
Archival volume with an undated letter from Stanisław Leszczyński. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm. Photo by Marina Trattner

<sup>12</sup> Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand, 'Events in Poland, 1704–09, *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1936), p. 175.

<sup>13</sup> Our deep thanks go to Yevhen Luniak for his assistance in translating this letter into Ukrainian.

Transcribed from French by Yevhen Luniak:

À Son Excellence  
Monsieur le Comte Piper  
Premier Ministre et Senateur des Estats de Suède à Blonie

Mon très cher Seigneur

La Nouvelle que j'ay en de Mazeppa à ce moment je la fait scavoir à la Majesté par le porteur de la lettre qu'il aura l'honneur de dire à Nostre Excellence de quoy il s'agit le Suppliant de vouloir contribuer de Son pouvoir, pour qu'un si grand ouvrage puisse estre acomply je suis de tout mon cœur  
Votre très affectionné Stanislas Roy.

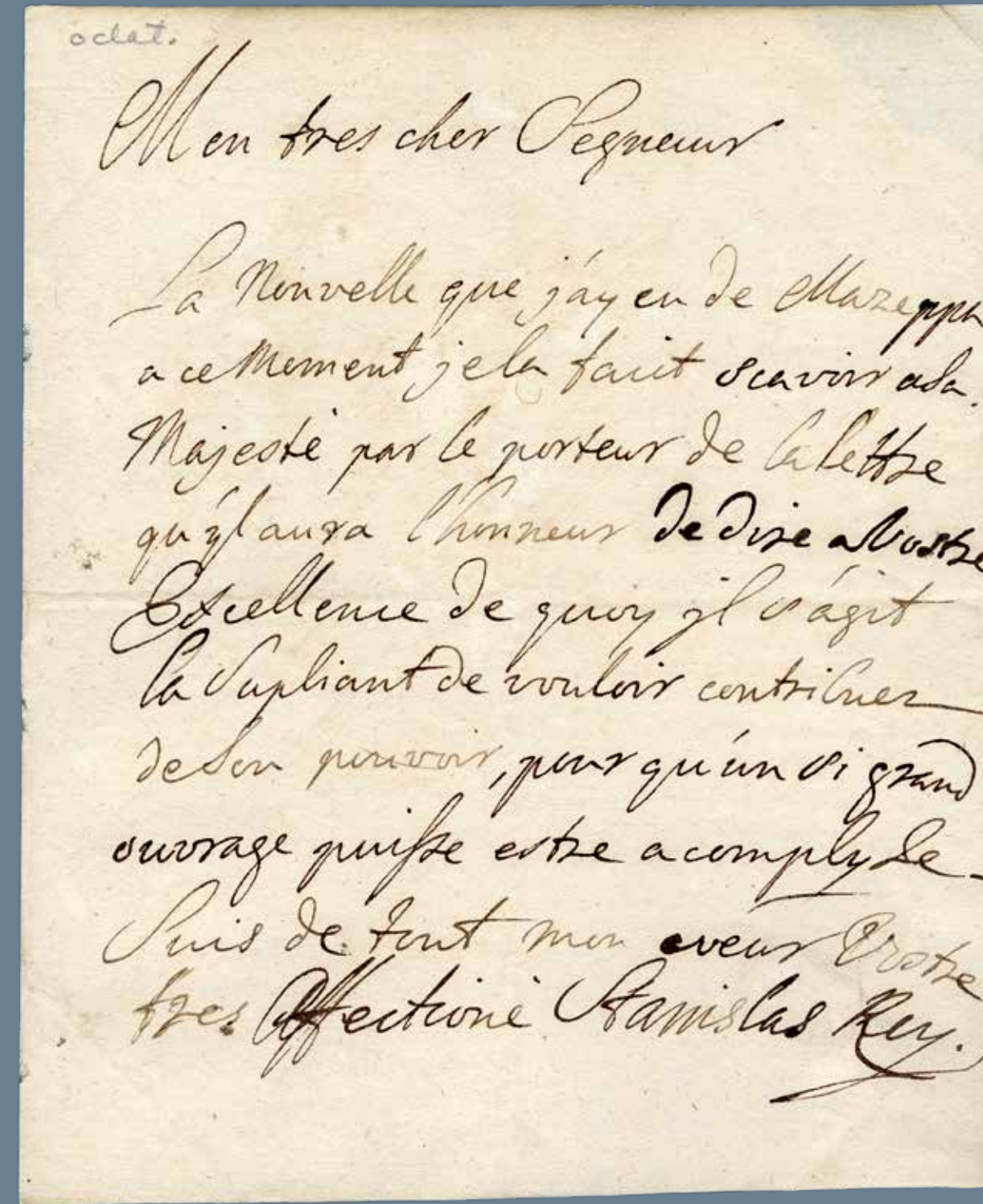
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Translated into English by Inga Kononenko:

His Excellency  
Count Piper,  
the Prime Minister of the Realm and Senator of Sweden, in Blonie

My Dearest Lord,

As for the news I have from Mazepa at this moment, I will communicate it to His Majesty by the Bearer of this letter, when he will have the honour to tell Our Grace of what it is all about the Petitioner who wishes to apply his power to bring such a great work to a complete conclusion. I am, My Lord, greatly disposed to you with all my heart  
Stanisław the King.



■ **FIGURE 15**

L'auguste couronnement de Stanislas I roy de Polog. / Seig. de Leszczinski Com. de Lesczno  
[The August Coronation of Stanislas I King of Poland / Lord of Leszczinski Count of Lesczno], 1705, engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

<<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6947243k.r=Stanislas%20Leszczinski?rk=42918;4>>

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Dr Luniak noted that its meaning had to be guessed from the context; therefore, we provide the translation with reservations. Hopefully, in the future, scholars will analyse it more thoroughly. (see Fig. 15). The letter was sent to Błonie, Poland. Charles XII and his army arrived there on 9 August 1705. If the words “such a great work” mean “coronation”, then we can assume that Ivan Mazepa confirmed that he would use his contacts to ensure that Leszczyński’s coronation went smoothly. Its recipient, Carl Piper, was the architect of Stanisław Leszczyński’s accession to the throne. He attended the coronation of Stanisław Leszczyński and his wife Catherine Opalińska on 4 (5) October 1705<sup>14</sup> in the Archcathedral of St. John the Baptist (Warsaw). The ceremony was officiated by the Latin Archbishop of Lviv, Konstanty Zieliński,<sup>15</sup> “despite the Pope’s prohibition and without observing the traditions as it was supposed to be performed by the Primate of Poland (Radziejowski)”.<sup>16</sup> Afterwards, Carl Piper secretly went to the Swedish military camp in Błonie. Soon Charles XII and his 20,000-strong army left their winter quarters there and headed east, arriving in Grodno on 9 January 1706.

This missive is possibly Mazepa’s response to the events described in a letter from the State Counsellor Samuel Bark to State Historiographer Olof Hermelin of 18 October 1705. There Samuel Bark was inquiring about the progress of an agreement with Poland and Brandenburg. He then reported the news of Cardinal Radziejowski’s death, unsure how it would affect the overall situation, positively or negatively, given that Radziejowski supported King Stanisław Leszczyński. Next, Bark wrote:

“If the negotiations with Mazepa had gone positively, this would have been the main line/boundary. People say here that the Tsar visited his army near Grodno and then departed for Moscow, leaving behind him the same orders that Kurck had given to the Westrogothian peasants during the last Danish war, namely that they should hold the line. All jokes aside, I find it hard to believe that the Russians would have been willing to engage had they known that the king was crossing the Vistula with his entire army and heading towards them. We will hear about it soon...”

It is important to note why Mazepa’s name in this letter is written in italics. The introduction to this collection of letters explains that all words that were written in cypher were put in italics in print. If we find this original letter from Bark to Hermelin, we will be able to see what digits he used to indicate Ivan Mazepa’s name. Each informant of the note had his own cypher, and this is why we need to find the original letter containing Bark’s personal cypher. Then we would be able to check whether Bark used the same combination of digits in other letters and if they are present in his correspondents’ letters, too.

The two-volume set of Samuel Bark’s letters includes Hermelin’s letters to Bark of 27 September and 18 October 1705, as well as a letter of 4 December of the same year (its copy was attached to Bark’s letter to Nils Gyldenstolpe of 29 December 1705), no. 445, UB. Samuel Bark was a personal agent of the Swedish Princess Ulrika Eleonora at the time, while Olof Hermelin supported Charles XII’s policies and helped forge his alliance with Augustus II the Strong, leading to the signing of the Treaty of Altranstädt in October 1705. Thus, the “great work” in the Polish king’s letter could also mean a positive response from Ivan Mazepa regarding the alliance with Charles XII. Bark and Hermelin mentioned this conversation with Stanisław Leszczyński in their letters. Stanisław Leszczyński’s Memorial of 1705, too, attests that this matter was discussed with Charles XII personally.

14 Several Swedish sources give the date of Stanisław Leszczyński’s coronation as 14 September 1705.

15 Józef Gierowski, ‘Stanisław Bogusław Leszczyński h. Wieniawa (1677–1766)’ [Stanisław Bogusław Leszczyński of Wieniawa Coat of Arms (1677–1766)], in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (Warszawa. Kraków. Polska Akademia Nauk, 2001), vol. XLI/4, Journal 171, pp. 600–612.

16 Jarosław Godlewski, ‘Siodło koronacyjne Stanisława Leszczyńskiego z 1704 roku’ [The Coronation Saddle of Stanisław Leszczyński in 1704]. <<https://web.archive.org/web/20170427003634/http://www.muzeumwp.pl/emwpaedia/siodlo-koronacyjne-stanislaw-leszczyńskiego-z-1704-roku.php>> [accessed 29 December 2021]



■ L’auguste couronnement de Stanislas I roy de Polog. / Seig. de Leszczinski Com. de Lesczno [The August Coronation of Stanislas I King of Poland / Lord of Leszczinski Count of Lesczno], 1705, engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6947243k.r=Stanislas%20Leszczinski?rk=42918;4>>

17 Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand, ‘Events in Poland, 1704–09,’ *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1936), p. 175.

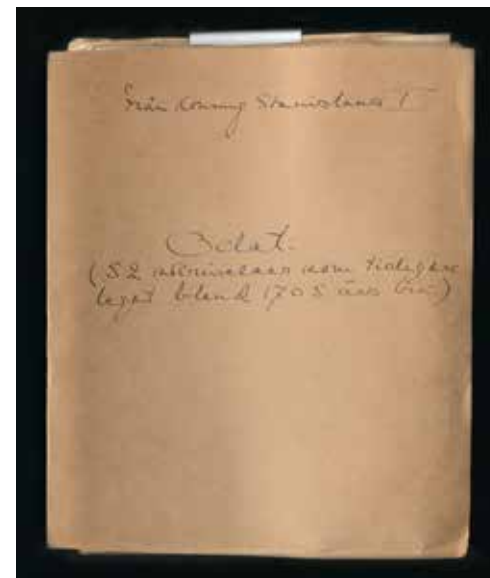


FIGURE 16 ■

A subdivision of the archive with 52 documents and letters of Stanisław Leszczyński from 1705. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm. Photo by Marina Trattner

Bohdan Kentrzhytsky, *Mazepa* (Stockholm, 1962); translated into Ukrainian as Bohdan Kentrzhytsky, *Mazepa*, trans. by Oleh Korol (Tempora, 2013). p. 272.

Serhiy Pavlenko, ‘Ukraiins’ke kniazivstvo zrazka 1692 r.’ [The Ukrainian Principality of 1692], in Ivan Mazepa. *Pershe p’iatyrichchia pravlinnia* (Mystetstvo, 2021), pp. 226–237. O. Dubyna, ‘Chy ukkladav Ivan Mazepa dohovir zi Stanislavom Leshchyns’kym?’ [Was There an Agreement between Ivan Mazepa and Stanisław Leszczyński?], *Siveryanskyi Litopys*, 2014, no. 6, pp. 71–90.

Hildebrand quotes it in his article: “Mazepa is still positive, and as soon as His Majesty comes close enough [MT: with his army], he and his supporters will be able to express everything and be sure för det vidrige.” This Swedish expression could mean “of the odious,” “of the vile,” or something similar. Without further context, it’s unclear what the author of the missive intended to convey. Perhaps it referred to the assurance of His Majesty’s support before negative reactions would emerge due to Mazepa’s defection to Sweden. Hildebrand believed these letters were evidence of certain promises made by Ivan Mazepa.

Jan Mispelaere located Stanisław Leszczyński’s 1705 memorial, along with other French and Latin documents, in the National Archives of Sweden and sent me an image of it. In paragraph 3 of the memorial, Leszczyński wrote to Charles XII, stressing the need to “reassure Mazepa and the other inhabitants so that they do not doubt the support of His Majesty, which he has kindly extended to my person” (see Figs. 17 and 18). This refers to Charles XII’s backing of Leszczyński before and after his accession to the Polish throne. What makes the memorial particularly significant is that it outlines the terms of the Swedish army’s campaign in Ukraine, along with Leszczyński’s wishes and proposals. However, there is no evidence that Charles XII or Ivan Mazepa agreed to these terms. Nonetheless, they may have been exploited by Polish propaganda and later by Russian propaganda, such as Peter I’s manifesto to the people of Little Russia on 9 November 1708, to turn the Ukrainians against Mazepa. In his monograph *Mazepa*, Bohdan Kentrzhytsky notes that Charles XII issued an appeal to the Ukrainian people, assuring them that “no harm would come to the faith or freedom of Ukrainians, and they would not be handed over to the Polish crown, even if recent enemy claims and false leaflets suggested otherwise.”<sup>18</sup>

Based on Kentrzhytsky’s statement that Ivan Mazepa continued the state-building tradition of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, we may assume that he was pursuing an alliance with King Charles XII of Sweden who could wield considerably more influence in the matter of winning independence for Ukraine. There are theories that Stanisław Leszczyński and Ivan Mazepa negotiated the unification of Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania into a federal state based on the provisions of the 1658 Treaty of Hadiach<sup>19</sup> rather than its later version. The 1658 version of that treaty provided for the Hetmanate’s entry into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth under the name of the Grand Principality of Rus’ as the third equal member of the bilateral union between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Thus, we can assume that Ivan Mazepa planned the revival of Rus’.

In this situation, when he agreed to take part in such a large-scale and dangerous project, it was quite reasonable for him to ask for minimal guarantees for himself and his associates that would facilitate implementing this plan. And this is what he did. We can read about it in two other undated documents that were kept together with fifty other documents and letters of Stanisław Leszczyński from 1705 (see Fig. 17). At my request, Jan Mispelaere asked his colleague, Claes Gejrot, a Latin expert from the Diplomatarium Department of the National Archives of Sweden, to transcribe the handwritten Latin documents for us. The first document was fairly easy to read and translate (see Figs. 18–19). However, Mr Geirut had his reservations about the second missive as it was written in an almost incomprehensible way. He transcribed the letter into Latin and translated it into English, and Oleksandr Malyshev kindly agreed to analyse the images and texts of both documents, correct them as needed, and translate them for the Ukrainian edition of this book.

FIGURE 17

Stanisław Leszczyński's  
Memorial of 1705, p. 1.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm

1705  
Memoire pour Sa Majeste.

(cedant l'eff)

1mo Je viens de recevoir encor une lettre de Berlin dans la quelle on me presse d'envoyer incontinent un homme dans cette Cour, pour negotier quelques choses de consequence, Il faut aussi sçavoir à Sa Majeste, qu'estant dernièrement icy à Pologne Mr Princh, m'a parloit sur le mesme Chapitre, s'estonnant que je n'avois Personne, jusqu' alors à la Cour de Son Maistre, et en me faisant comprendre, qu'on souhaiteroit, que je puis faire voir, par mon homme que j'envoierai a Berlin, les engagements que j'ai avec Sa Majeste. Je dois touchant mon etablissement et mon Souverain.

2do Si bien comme il n'y a rien, qui me puisse faire valoir aupres les Princes Voisins, que la Protection de Sa Majeste, et que le Roy de Prusse, ne voudra point s'engager, ni entrer en aucun negocia avec moy, que pour les fondements, de l'appuir de Sa Majeste, Je demande tres humblement pour detout le Sujet de defiance à cette Cour, que je puisse avoir (deyant que d'envoyer mon homme) une espee de traite avec Sa Majeste, ne concernant que ma propre Personne, pour, qu'en les produisant j'otte tout le Sujet de doute et de balance, tant de ce

FIGURE 18

Stanisław Leszczyński's  
Memorial of 1705, p. 2.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm

connoissois point au dernier degres, je n'aurois pas eu tant de libere, que de m'eclaircir icy sur un point si delicat. Mais à ce quil me semble tres utile à mon Souverain, et par mon Souverain à la gloire de Sa Majeste. Du moins croirois je plus leur pour moy et mon etablissement, de ne point toucher cette articlle, qu'en des termes generaux. Dans cette traite. Je suis néanmoins pret, si il plait ainsi à Sa Majeste, d'en convenir dans quelques articlles secrets de la dite alliance particuliere et Personelle, comme l'on le trouvera juste, et d'une maniere que l'on me sera permis de le faire la dite alliance, m'estant d'ailleurs d'autant plus necessaire, quelle pourra augmenter de beaucoup mon credit, et servir des fondements, à d'autres liaisons avantageuses, non seulement avec les Princes Voisins, mais aussi pour appaiser les Esprits des habitants, de Maceppa, et d'autres, qu'ils parussent encor douter du Souverain que Sa Majeste m'a bien voulu accorder pour ma Personne.

3to La Confederation ayant déjà tout executer, ce quil dependoit d'Elle, est sur le point de Securite Interne, et on est fort incertain si on doit former une Nouvelle

Referenda

- 1) Sacrae R[egiae] M[ajestatis] S[ueciae] petitur assecuratio pro domino Mazepa et suis amicis fidelibus intuenda ipsius persona, fortuna et honore, si quod attentatur et tractatur, in rem seren[issim]i R[egis] St[anislavi] praestiterit et ad effectum deduxerit.
- 2) Hoc autem quod intendit, est, ut quo tempore et loco quando significaverit exercitus adcessus eum expediatur ut habeat praetextum tradendi se cum exercitu. Ad quem finem ipse non promovet exercitum quousque res concludatur. Nec se confert ad illa loca in quibus vel nostro exercitui sub cast[ro] Cracoviensi vel Moscovitico possit coniungi.
- 3) Ista assecuratio posset dari generalibus terminis. Si quid in obsequium et rem sereniss[imi] R[egis] St[anislavi] perfecerit, providebitur illius in futurum persona honori et fortunis suorumque amicorum. Cavebitque S[acra] R[egia] M[ajestas] Sueciae pro Seren[issimo] R[ege] [Stanislao] eum omnia conclusa cum eodem domino Mazepa manu tenturum.

Stanislaus Rex



Stanisław I Leszczyński (1677–1766)

To be reported

- 1) A petition is made to His Holy M[ajesty] the K[ing] of Sweden about a guarantee for Lord Mazepa and his reliable friends. This guarantee is for his person, fortunes, and honour. If this is taken care of and administered, it would further His [Most] Serene Majesty K[ing] St[anislaw]'s cause and bring forth the desired results.
- 2) The intention is to help him, when and where he gives the message that the army has arrived so that he can have a pretext for surrendering (handing over) himself and his army. To achieve this, he is not to strengthen his army until the whole matter is brought to a conclusion. And he must not go to those places where he can join our army — in the c[amp] at Krakow — or join the Muscovites.
- 3) This guarantee should be given on general conditions. If he remains obedient to His [Most] Serene Majesty K[ing] St[anislaw] and helps his cause, he will be given this guarantee for the future and his person, honour, and fortunes; and this would also be valid for his friends. His H[oly] M[ajesty] the K[ing] of Sweden shall take care to defend this agreement for His [Most] Serene Majesty K[ing] St[anislaw] together with the same Lord Mazepa, when all matters are brought to conclusion.

Stanisław the King

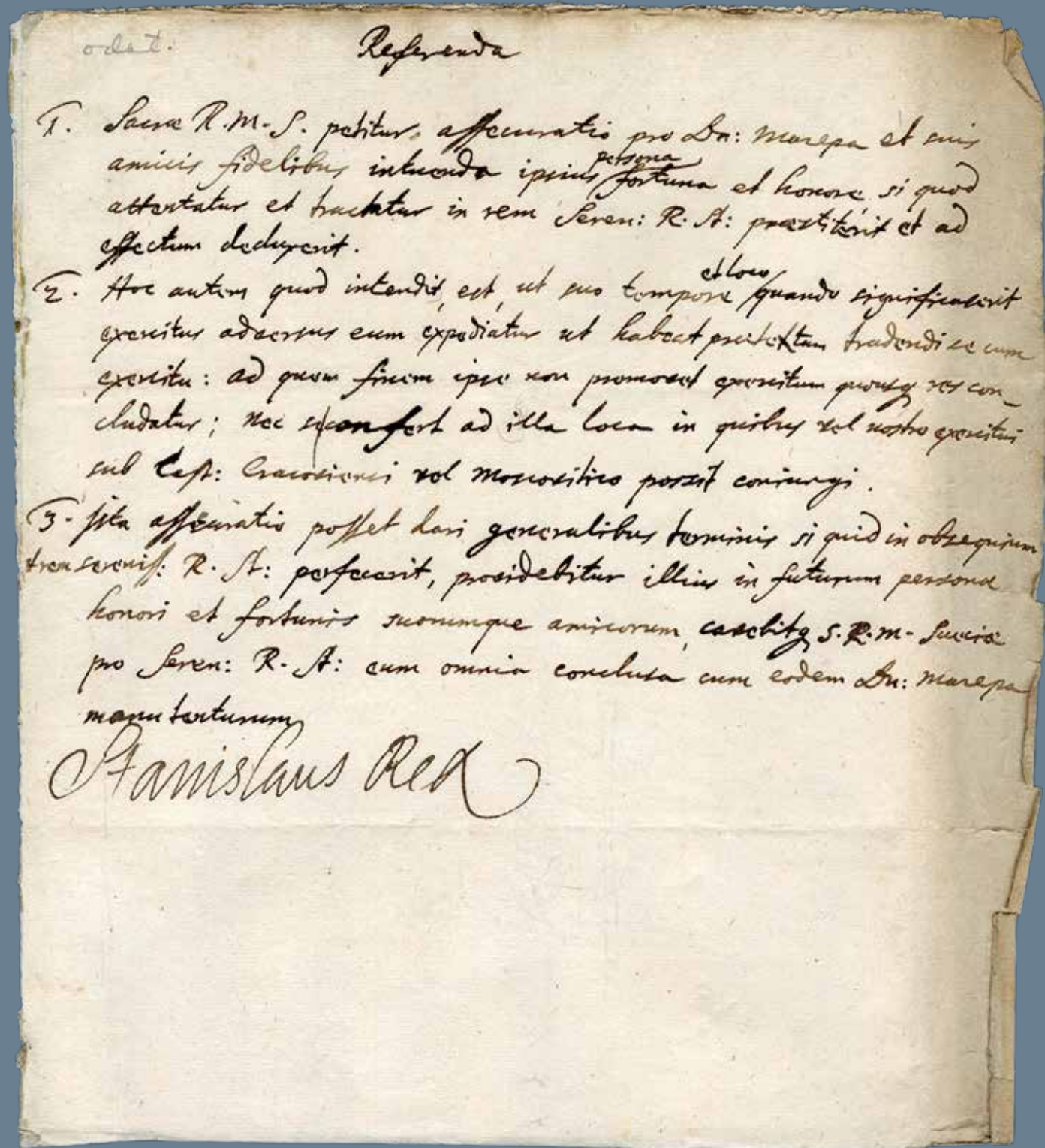


FIGURE 19 ■ Stanisław Leszczyński's undated letter. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

While the first undated document was relatively straightforward to read, the same cannot be said for the second (see Fig. 20). Jan Mispelaere, Claes Gejrot, and Oleksandr Malyshev all note that this text stands out due to its general obscurity, as well as the absence of a signature and date. Additionally, there is only a brief, vague reference to Ivan Mazepa. Although the document aligns with the context of the events, a thorough, comparative, and comprehensive study of the archive's other records would be needed to glean further insights. Both the transcription and translation of this document are provided with caution.

Transcribed from Latin  
by Claes Gejrot:

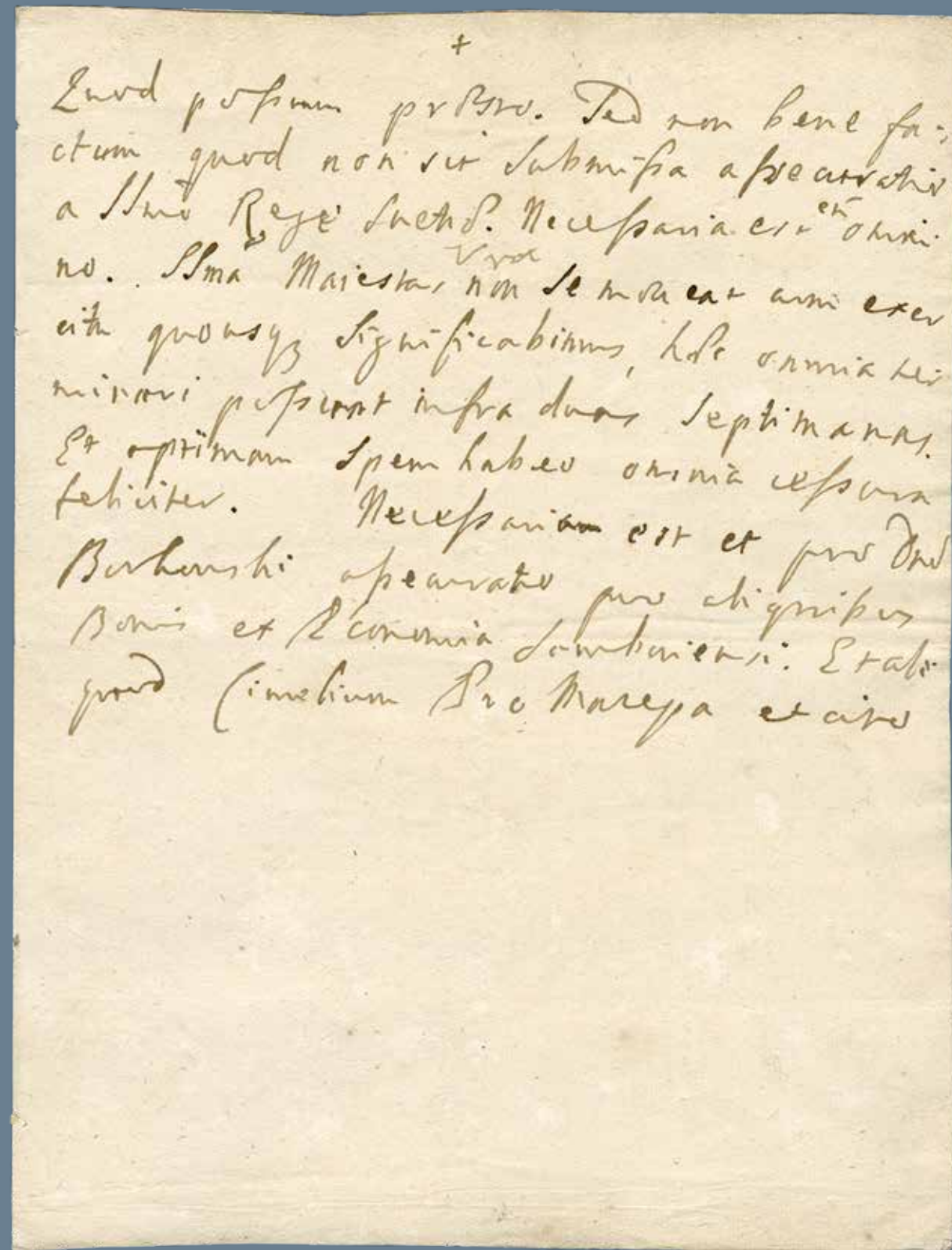
Translated into English  
by Claes Gejrot:

Quod possum præsto. Sed non bene factum quod non sit submissa assecurati a serenissimo rege Suetiæ. Necessaria est enim omnino. Serenissima Maiestas Vestra non se moueat cum exercitu quousque significabimus. Hæc omnia terminari possunt infra duas septimanas. Et optimam spem habeo omnia cessura feliciter. Necessaria est et pro D[omi]no Borkowski assecuratio pro aliquibus bonis et Oeconomia Samboriensi. Et aliquod Cimelium D[omi]no Mazepa et [незрозуміле слово].

“I will do what I can. But it is in fact not good when the guarantee has not been offered by His Serene Majesty the King of Sweden. It is absolutely necessary. His Serene Majesty must not move with his army until we have given the signal. All these matters can be brought to a finish within two weeks. And I have the best hope that everything will end well. It is also necessary to provide a guarantee to Mr Borkowski so he can take care of some goods and the estate in Sambir. And something valuable (*cimelium*) for Lord Mazepa and [illegible].”

FIGURE 20 ■

The second undated document mentioning the name of Ivan Mazepa. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

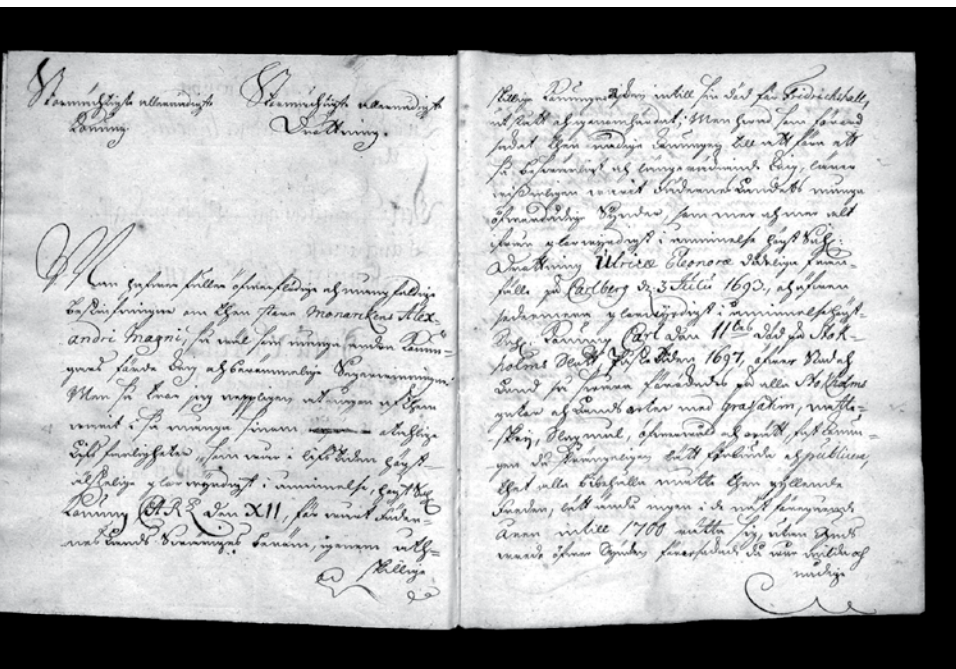


Map of Charles XII's 1705 military campaign in Poland. Letter Z indicates the location of Ivan Mazepa's troops.

<<https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0001&pid=alvin-record:95546>>

If that was the case, then it explains why Peter I was so infuriated and demanded that Ivan Mazepa be handed over to him dead or alive when he was in Bender after the Battle of Poltava. He had to ensure there would be no Prince of Rus'. It was Ivan Mazepa's wish that his sister's son, Andriy Woynarowski, should take over after him, become Hetman of Ukraine and continue his work — and perhaps become the hereditary prince of Rus'. It is known for a fact that Heinrich von Hüysen, a German diplomat in the service of Peter I, obtained the title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire for Ivan Mazepa from the emperor in Vienna, but due to lack of money, he was unable to collect and send the letter patent to the hetman.<sup>20</sup> According to Andriy Woynarowski, Ivan Mazepa gave Alexander Menshikov, the tsar's closest friend and associate, 3,000 ducats to pay for this document. It is also known that Ivan Mazepa petitioned the Austrian emperor that his heir, Andriy Woynarowski, be granted the dignity of a prince as well, but his petition was denied.

Yet one of the documents stored in the National Archives of Sweden refers to Hetman Orlyk, Ivan Mazepa and... Prince Andriy Woynarowski. This is an annotation written by Johan Hultman<sup>21</sup> who followed Charles XII everywhere from 1707 until the king died in 1718. The document contains 240 pages.



Serhiy Pavlenko, editor-in-chief of the academic historical journal *Siveryanskyi Litopys*, analysed in his book *Het'man Ivan Mazepa. Pershe p'iatyrichchia pravlinnia* [Hetman Ivan Mazepa: The First Five Years of His Rule] what Ivan Mazepa did in his attempts to restore the principality of Ukraine as of 1692. He writes that Ivan Mazepa had long known that his Turkish allies, too, had the power to grant the title of the prince of Rus'. This is also stated in a news article in the Swedish newspaper *Ordinari Post Tijdender*. “The Grand Vizier, with the help of the Tatar khan, tried to lure Hetman Samoylovych of the Zaporozhian Cossacks away from the Muscovites and promised to release him from (contributions?) and give him the title of Fürst (prince) of Ukraine,” the Swedish newspaper *Posttidningar* reported on 11 April 1687.<sup>22</sup> “In addition, he promised to grant him many freedoms and privileges and a large annual pension to support numerous bodyguards. But nothing came of it, and the said Hetman Samoylovych is ready to join the Muscovites with a huge army and help them defeat the Crimean Tatars.”<sup>23</sup> Perhaps

20 Theodore Mackiw, ‘Sprava kniazhoho tytulu het'mana Ivana Mazepy’ [The Case of the Princely Title of Hetman Ivan Mazepa], *Kyivska starovyna*, 1993, no. 6, pp. 100–102.

21 More on the author at <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/Mobil/Artikel/13882>

■ J. Hultmans, *Enfaldige Annotationer* (1707–1718) The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000394\\_00001#?](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000394_00001#?)

22 *Ordinari Post Tijdender*, 11 April 1687. Translated from Swedish by Marina Trattner.

23 *Ordinari Post Tijdender*, 11 April 1687. Translated from Swedish by Marina Trattner.

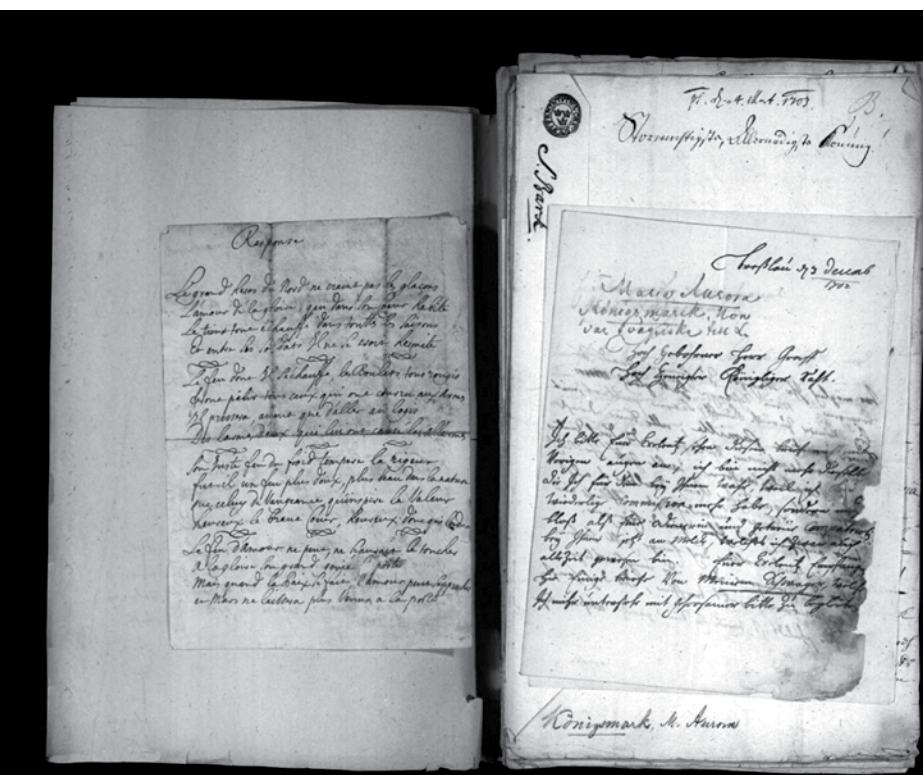
there is more on this subject in the Woynarowski family file at the National Archives of Sweden. It was created initially to confirm that Andriy Woynarowski and his son came from the nobility. All that when put together explains why the relations included in this book contain references to the centuries-old history of the Cossacks and the Ruthenian people as well as their entitlements. Another thing that emerges from these documents is a clear plan that ultimately lured Andriy Woynarowski at the invitation of Aurora von Königsmarck to Hamburg seven years after Ivan Mazepa's death. Countess von Königsmarck was the former mistress of Augustus II the Strong, the king who fought together with the Muscovites against Charles XII, and the mother of his son, who managed to remain on friendly terms with the king. Andriy Woynarowski's visit to Hamburg ended with his arrest by Russian agents, abduction, and exile to Siberia so that Ukrainians would never have even a chance to elect a hereditary prince of Rus'.

On 10 August 2021, I discovered a file on Aurora von Königsmarck here:

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0069798\\_00009](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0069798_00009)

The last parts of this chapter, when read one after another, piece together a clear picture of how Ivan Mazepa systematically planned to withdraw Ukraine out of Muscovy's sphere of interests since 1705, to secure guarantees from the Swedish king, and to make it independent by the terms of the Treaty of Hadiach in its 1658 version. All the subsequent actions of Karl XII, Ivan Mazepa, Pylyp Orlyk, and Andriy Woynarowski only confirm it. Charles XII fulfilled the last will of Ivan Mazepa supporting Ukraine in its struggle for independence, defending its rights, and subsequently demanding that other rulers recognise the independence of all of Ukraine under the leadership of Pylyp Orlyk. There were no plans to divide Ukrainian territories between Poland, Muscovy, and Sweden. This is just a myth that stems from Russian propaganda. Our task is to refute it with the documented facts.

The Konigsmarks: ■  
- Amalia Wilhelmina -  
- Beata Elisabeth -  
- Maria Aurora -  
- Maria Christina -  
- Johan Fredrik -  
- Otto Wilhelm  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm



## A RELATION ON MAZEPA OF SPRING 1707 <sup>24</sup>

During the Second World War, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute (UNI) in Warsaw, Poland planned to publish a collection of materials on Ivan Mazepa in three parts. The third part was to include a newly discovered relation on Mazepa from 1707. Unfortunately, these archival materials including the relation were lost after 1939. According to the Polish researcher R. Potocki, “the archive and library of the UNI were initially taken to the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin. In 1945, some of the materials were burned to the ground during the bombing, and some were seized and taken to Moscow.”<sup>25</sup>

I found out that Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand published an article that included a translation of this relation from Latin into Swedish in the 1935 edition of the Carolean Society yearbook.<sup>26</sup> Copies of this publication can be found in some libraries in Sweden and the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine in Kyiv. When I inquired about this relation at the National Archives of Sweden, I was told that the archive was organised differently until 1935, and that the relation disappeared during the reorganisation. No one knew where it was located presently.

Bohdan Kentrzhynsky, a Ukrainian émigré historian who lived in Sweden after the Second World War and worked with the Carolean Society, cited this article in his monograph *Mazepa* (1962), published in Swedish.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, he did not provide the full text of this account. However, I was fortunate enough to find one of the 1935 editions of the Carolean Society’s yearbook in Sweden, which contained the text of this “newly found and newly lost” account about Ivan Mazepa in Swedish, and I have since translated it into Ukrainian. I firmly believe this to be an important source for anyone interested in the history of Ukraine, Poland, and Sweden, particularly professional historians.

My comments are enclosed in brackets and marked with my initials (MT), while the comments by Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand are included in the reference section of this chapter and marked as “Author’s notes.” Previously, I translated *Karl XII i Ukraina*:

en karolins berättelse [Charles XII in Ukraine: A Carolean’s Story], the memoir of an 18th-century Swedish officer, into Ukrainian, which was published in *Istorychna Pravda*.<sup>28</sup>

Below is the translation of Karl-Gustaf Hildebrand’s article, with the text of the relation itself highlighted in colour.

\*\*\*

Here’s an edited version in British English:

Ivan Mazepa’s connections with the Swedes prior to his decision to side with Charles XII have received little attention until now. Much of the information available comes from an unreliable account by Mazepa’s confidant and follower, Pylyp Orlyk, in a letter written in 1721 as he sought to establish relations with the tsar. The shortcomings of Orlyk’s letter can be excused, given that he was recounting events from many years earlier while attempting to display certain Great Russian sympathies. This anxious hetman — along with many researchers who followed — tried to portray Mazepa as a chancer, a maverick disregarding the will and interests of the Cossacks. As a result, this source received more attention than it deserved. However, as Ukrainian historians

<sup>24</sup> Marina Trattner, ‘Reliatsyia pro Mazepu 1707 roku’ [A Relation on Mazepa of 1707]. *Siveryanskyi Litopys*, 2021, no. 1, p. 100, doi: 10.5281/zenodo.4672113

<sup>25</sup> R. Potocki, ‘Ukraiński Instytut Naukowy w Warszawie (1930–1939): jego wkład do nauki i kultury ukraińskiej’ [The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw (1930–1939): Its Contribution to Ukrainian Science and Culture], *Warszawskie zeszyty ukraioznawcze*, vols 6 7 (1998), pp. 257–266.

<sup>26</sup> Karl-Gustaf Hildebrandt, ‘En Relation om Mazepa våren 1707’ [A Relation on Mazepa of Spring 1707], *Karolinska Förbundets Årsbok* (1935), pp. 157–166.

<sup>27</sup> Bohdan Kentrschynskyj, *Mazepa* (Stockholm, 1962); translated into Ukrainian as Bohdan Kentrzhynsky, *Mazepa*, trans. by Oleh Korol (Tempora, 2013).

<sup>28</sup> *Karl XII i Ukraina : en karolins berättelse* ed. by Carl Hallendorff (Lagerström, 1915); translated into Ukrainian as ‘Karl XII v Ukraïini. Rozpovid’ karolina’ [Charles XII in Ukraine: A Carolean’s Story], trans. by Marina Trattner, *Istorychna pravda*, 13 January 2021. <<https://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2021/01/13/158807>>

Author’s note: Of particular interest is Orlyk’s <sup>29</sup> undated memorial, written in Latin during his stay in Bender. It describes the reasons for Mazepa’s revolt. This document can be found in the Cosacica section of the National Archives of Sweden. Other notable materials include *Déduction des droits de l’Ukraine* [Deduction of Ukraine’s Rights] found in the Orlyk archives in France and *Istochniki Malorossiyskoy istorii* [Sources of Little Russian History] compiled by Dmitriy Nikolayevich Bantysh-Kamensky and published by Osip Bodyansky.

MT: There is a pencil date on the letter, 3 June 1707. However, at the end of the letter itself, there is another date, 13 May 1707. I cannot say why this date, 3 June 1707, was pencilled.



■ Martin Bernigeroth, Portrait of Jan Mazepa, 1706, engraving. Latin inscription below the image reads, IOHANNES MAZEPPA / COSACCORUM ZAPOROVENSIVM / SUPREMVS BELLI — DUX [IVAN MAZEPA / ZAPOROZHIAN COSSACKS’ / SUPREME WAR LEADER]. Kowalewska, O., *Ikonoграфiа Ivana Mazepy v obrazotvorchomu mystetstvi XX — pochatku XXI st.* [Iconography of Ivan Mazepa in the Fine Arts of the 20th to Early 21st Cc.], (Tempora, 2013), p. 15

have delved deeper into the subject, it has become increasingly clear that such an interpretation of Mazepa’s character is unfounded. In 1909, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Ukraine’s foremost historian, articulated a modern perspective on the Mazepa issue, which sharply contrasts with Orlyk’s portrayal. New, intriguing materials, previously overlooked, are now being studied to shed light on Mazepa’s overall position and the motives behind his actions.<sup>29</sup> Yet, to this day, the details of the actual course of events remain obscure. The only sources offering some insights are the extensive testimonies of Mazepa’s defectors, particularly Polkovnyk Ivan Iskra and Judge Advocate General Vasily Kochubey, who unsuccessfully tried to expose Mazepa’s complicity in early 1708. Beyond these, there is little else available. Mazepa’s personal archives were destroyed after his death, his field office’s documents have vanished, and there is no trace of Stanisław Leszczyński’s personal archives. In light of this, certain archival discoveries merit publication, along with brief commentary.

In the National Archives of Sweden, there is a memorandum attached to a letter from Stanisław Leszczyński to Count Carl Piper, dated 3 June 1707 (Kanslipresidentens arkiv, Brev till greve Carl Piper). It consists of three small letter-sized pages, neatly written in Latin, in the style typical of documents from Leszczyński’s quarters in Leisnitz. Despite a few errors, the narrative style is clear and easy to read. Below is the translation.

— The report from the Vinnytsia starost of the House of Leszczyński was sent by courier from the Kamianets fortress on 14 May and arrived here on 2 June.

Upon learning that the Cossack generalissimo Mazepa had arrived at the tsar’s quarters, the Vinnytsia starost immediately dispatched a clergyman to the town of Zhovkva to determine whether Mazepa intended to fulfil his earlier promise to King Stanisław to accept his rightful rule and subject all of Ukraine to him. The Vinnytsia starost was well aware of Mazepa’s intentions. As soon as the clergyman, whom he had known for a long time, arrived in Zhovkva, Mazepa received him, and they swore an oath of secrecy. They agreed to begin a correspondence, organised from Kamianets, and the starost instructed the clergyman to convey the following message to His Majesty King Stanisław:

1. That once His Majesty assured him that his request would be granted, he would swear his allegiance and reaffirm his previous commitment to the King to subject all of Ukraine and the Cossack lands to his rule, under certain conditions that would guarantee his and the Cossacks’ safety, and grant him honour.
2. The Muscovite military council tasked Mazepa with rallying one hundred and fifty thousand Cossacks and sending them to Red Ruthenia to incite the local population to revolt against the Polish authorities, with thirty to forty thousand Cossacks to be dispatched immediately. Mazepa agreed and had already sent his sister’s son, Woynarowski, with thirty thousand Cossacks. To prove his loyalty to His Majesty, Mazepa promised that, as soon as His Majesty acted against the Muscovites in Poland, he would send an envoy to confirm his allegiance. They would handle matters independently, and the fact that Mazepa was surrounded by 10,000 Muscovites would not prevent him from taking action, as they could be eliminated when the time was right.
3. The tsar intended to avoid a major battle with the Swedish army unless it was divided into several units. If it were, he would attack whichever unit presented the best opportunity. If he faced any serious personal danger, he planned to retreat



to Pinsk and await the decisive battle. According to the plan, the tsar would be stationed in the town of Lubartów, near the Wieprz River, four miles from Lublin, with approximately 17,000 troops. The remainder of his forces, starting at Brest, would be stationed along the Vistula River until the authority of the Crown Sejm in Lublin expired.

4. The tsar postponed the election of a new king. The proposed candidates included Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki, the Grand Hetman of Lithuania (even if he had to be forced to participate), Stanisław Michał Ernest Denhoff, the so-called Marshal of the Commonwealth, and Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, the Voivode of Belz and Grand Hetman of the Crown.

5. A warning was issued that if the Swedish army found Muscovite provisions or a so-called *Magazin* and attempted to use them, everything was poisoned. This poison, said to have been invented by a Frenchman or Italian, was prepared in advance, hermetically sealed in special containers, and transported through Ukraine to Poland in 40 wagons.

6. He urged His Majesty to respond to his proposal as soon as possible.

This report describes a mission familiar to early Mazepa scholars. The clergyman mentioned, whom Mazepa had known for some time, was none other than the famous Jesuit Tomasz Zaleski, whose dealings with Mazepa are mentioned in Orlyk’s accounts and the 1708 accusations by Kochubey and Iskra. The visit to Zhovkva referenced here likely occurred in the spring of 1707, as noted by Kostomarov. The dates align closely: according to Kostomarov, the Jesuit met with Mazepa by 23 April, and Zaleski managed to return to Kamianets in time for the courier to depart on 14 May (3 May O.S.). Orlyk only knew the final links in the chain of relationships that he was allowed to see. He believed Zaleski was responsible for direct communication between Stanisław and Mazepa, and that Mazepa had sent him to Leisnitz. However, this report offers a different view. It implies that Zaleski was merely an intermediary passing on messages, not undertaking the dangerous journey to Stanisław’s court, where he could have been easily recognised. He was simply acting on behalf of a Polish nobleman. Identifying this nobleman, referred to in the original Latin as “capitaneus Winnicencis de domo Leszczynia,” is straightforward. His name was Kazimierz Ignatius Leszczynski, the Vinnytsia starost. He and Stanisław were from the same branch of the House of Leszczynski, bearing the ox head on their coat of arms. Both were descendants of Rafał Leszczynski, a 16th-century Voivode. Kazimierz Ignatius later became the castellan of Lviv and rose to prominence, though he left little other historical trace. Nevertheless, because of his family ties, his role in this relation is substantial and important in the historical context.

Kazimierz Ignatius had two half-sisters. Wiktoria was the wife of Józef Potocki, a great Polish magnate and the Voivode of Kyiv. Teofila married her mother’s cousin, Janusz Wiśniowiecki, the Voivode of Kraków, who held a significant position in Poland and was the brother of the Polish famous commander-in-chief Michał Wiśniowiecki. In 1707, the latter came to an agreement with Sapieha and sided with the Swedes. Thus, Kazimierz Ignatius was connected to two very prominent noble families, each situated in differing contexts regarding one another. This connection becomes even more significant when we consider that the mother of the Counts Wiśniowiecki, who took a second marriage to the Grand Marshal of Lithuania Jan Karol Dolski, played one of the key roles in Mazepa’s story. Ukrainian historians know her well as Kniahynia



■ Hetman Ivan Mazepa’s coat of arms on the back of the title page of the Gospel. The coat of arms is encircled with Cyrillic initials and a Greek letter Σ: Γ. Ι. [H. Yi.] M. [M.] B. Є. [V. Ye.] Ц. [Ts.] Π. [P.] B. З. [V. Z.] Σ. [S] Ч. C. A. [Ch. S. A.] A. [A.] K. [K.] This hetman’s cryptogram appears to use the Ruthenian orthography and is deciphered as *Гетьман Іван Мазепа Війська Єго Царської Пресвітлої Величності Запорозького, Славного Чину Святого Апостола Андрія Кавалер* [Hetman Ivan Mazepa of His Serene Majesty the Tsar’s Exercitus Zaporoviensis, Knight of the Glorious Order of the Holy Apostle Andrew]. Photo by Ihor Ostash

Author’s note: The fact that Leszczynski established all the connections and carried on correspondence from the Kamieniec fortress, which was in the hands of the tsar and was a key point in the defence of Poland, speaks a lot. Sieniawski wrote to the tsar on 6 May 1707. See *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikago* [Letters and Papers of the Emperor Peter the Great], V, p. 601. Leszczynski is mentioned there as a Russian prisoner, apparently arrested for espionage.

Author’s note: As Olof Hermelin wrote on 29 November 1707, «I have learned from news at the Polish court that the Turk is inclined towards forming a closer alliance with His Majesty.» Letter from Olof Hermelin to Samuel Bark, published by S. F. Rosen (1913), p. 142.

Author’s note: Jöran Nordberg, *Konung Carl XII:s historia* [History of King Charles XII], vol. 1, p. 289.

[Duchess] Dolska, Mazepa’s close confidante and his most important envoy to Stanisław. Needless to say, the whole intrigue developed in line with the best Polish tradition, closely linked to family ties and developments. One of the turning points in the previous chain of events, as described by several researchers, was the winter day of 1705 or 1706, when Mazepa became godfather to the child of Janusz Wiśniowiecki and Teofila Leszczynska.

The fact that it all has been documented and confirmed makes the part when Zaleski comes onstage all the more intriguing. His connections lead us to the same magnate families that Kazimierz Ignatius was a member of, while the Jesuit was not a part of this class, but only subordinate to it. In 1706–07, he was the rector of the Jesuit collegium in Vinnytsia. He introduced himself as Józef Potocki’s field chaplain if anyone cared to remember his connections with the Potockis and the Wiśniowieckis at all.

There is no reason to question the distribution of the roles between Zaleski and the Vinnytsia starost as described in the relation. This latter ensured diplomatic contacts with Mazepa in the spring of 1707.<sup>31</sup> This detail describes part of the diplomatic apparatus that linked Charles XII, on the one hand, and Stanisław Leszczynski with their allies in the east and south, on the other. And, without a doubt, it was this network of friendly and private political connections of the magnate families that played a crucial role in it. A researcher who would one day analyse Turkish, Tatar, and Cossack ties prior to the Russian campaign should give due consideration to these factors. And here comes a technical question: if information about the intricacies of the negotiations could be found in the archives of Polish magnates, then perhaps other sources of that period have references to them as well. That leads to a reasonable assumption: if all this policy of Eastern European alliances, all this possibility of a concentrated attack on Russia, which would remain an important factor in Charles XII’s Russian military campaign, was pursued on the Polish initiative and grew directly out of the Polish political traditions, then it had to meet certain preconditions in Sweden’s own history. Without a detailed analysis of those events, it can be argued that similar circumstances existed in the negotiations with the Sublime Porte and that the Polish issue was one of the important points in Swedish political propaganda regarding Stanisław.<sup>32</sup>

There is one more thing that makes this relation particularly interesting. It provides clear evidence that the negotiations with Mazepa at that time had already become very concrete and involved direct proposals, direct demands and promises from the hetman himself. Surprisingly, Mazepa planned to go over to Stanisław’s side as soon as the latter arrived in Poland and was ready for war. Obviously, Stanisław’s chancellery wanted to interpret everything in a positive light, but this relation confirms that their behaviour was grounded on some very real things. And the mere fact that all this can be verified is interesting per se. It also provides some support to the data we find in Nordberg’s account that Mazepa promised to go over to the side of Charles XII in October 1707, together with the Cossack army that was in Poland at the time.<sup>33</sup>

According to Nordberg, the Swedish king rejected the offer. He underestimated the battle readiness of the Cossack army compared to the regular army and thought that it was not worth sacrificing anything at that moment and sharing the honour of liberating Poland with them. He postponed the resolution of that issue until the time of his Russian military campaign. However, Nordberg never provided any reliable proof of his statements. All that can be said on this account is that it appears to be a king’s decision in the circumstances there and then. However, the reliability of the



■ Daniel Galachowski (Danylo Haliakhovskiy), *The Triumph of Hetman Ivan Mazepa*, 1708, engraving, detail, Warsaw National Museum.

hetman's promises needs to be studied, too. According to the relation, Mazepa and a great number of Cossacks were to invade Red Russia; 30,000 Cossacks had already been deployed under the command of his sister's son, Woynarowski, and their number was to increase. This data, which confirms the hetman's striving for creating an amicable alliance is strangely different from all known sources. The points Peter I sent to Mazepa on 25 April 1707 survived to our days. They apparently summarise the spring campaign plans and goals — at least those related to the decisions of the last military council, at least regarding Mazepa. More so, it looks like these plans were followed through. The Cossack army was charged with purely defensive tasks. Mazepa had to fortify Kyiv and the Monastery of the Caves, concentrate his army there, and then send a certain number of Cossacks to Volhynia, not that far from Kyiv. A company of 5000 select Cossacks was to go to Lublin. It was under Woynarowski's command and comes up in several other documents of that period.<sup>34</sup> His attack with a much smaller number of Cossacks than Mazepa had indicated hardly resembled the preparation of a major military operation in Poland. It was rather an independent event of a different nature. This data is the kernel of truth in this relation. Of course, one might think that the hetman believed in what he wrote and wrote it with the best of intentions, referring to what he had heard and what he planned to do. But none of his attractive proposals came to fruition.<sup>35</sup> The grounds for negotiations with Mazepa were unclear at the time. Only his promises and the political situation were definite enough. But neither the Polish politics, nor changes in the policy of the Western European alliance, nor negotiations with the Cossacks helped to achieve the most important goal — the Swedish military's outstanding victory over the tsar's army.

FIGURE 21 ■  
Relation, p. 1.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm

1707 3/6  
 Relatio Gni Capitanei Winnicensis de Domo Le-  
 szczynia ex Fortalitio Camenecensi per expressum  
 Cursorem 8 14 May. inde expeditum hic vero hodie  
 2 Juny Comparentem.

Præfatus Capitaneus Winnicensis quam primum rescie-  
 uit de adventu Gnalyssimi Cofacorum Mazepa <sup>ad Capum</sup> <sup>ex-</sup>  
 nunc expeditit Personam quampiam Religiosam Lot-  
 kieviam pro penetrando ipsius Animo, utrum persistat  
 in antiquis suis propositionibus, quas Srmo Regi Sta-  
 nislas fecerat de acceptando ipsius legitimo Dominio  
 Subiiciendaj ipsi tota Ukraina. Erat enim idem Capitaneus  
 ut Winnicensis pridem Consciens istorum omnium pro-  
 positorum Mazepa. Qui quidem quam primum An-  
 madvertit istam Religiosam Personam sibi ante bene-  
 notam Lotkiewia, Statim illam ad se recepit, ibidem  
 facto Juramento mutuo cum dicta Persona spirituali, ho-  
 mine Capnei Winnicensis Super tenendum Secretum  
 & instituendam Correspondentiam de Cameneca, <sup>ordinandam,</sup> talia  
 inducenda Srmo Regi Stanislas per eundem Capnelum  
 Winnicensem Commendabit

1. Quod quemadmodum Srmo Regi iam antea mentes  
 suam aperuit, nempe de Subiicienda tota Ukraina  
 atq; Zaporozia, certis conditionibus pro sui securita-  
 te & honore ac indemnitate Cofacorum, ita & ad pro-  
 sens idem confirmat Sacrosancte; Modò Srmo, re-  
 lit certificare illum de illis acceptatis petitionibus.

2. Ex Consilio Mofchoviticis inunctum est illi utk:  
 miducenta milia Cofacorum congregat illos in Partes

34 Author's note: Letters, V, p. 190.  
 Peter I to Mazepa on 19 August 1707.  
 A. a. VI, p. 44, cf. p. 228.

35 Author's note: Orlyk described Mazepa's  
 intentions and reported that Mazepa only  
 wanted to wait for the outcome of the battle.

FIGURE 22  
Relation, p. 2.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.

Cursus inducat, excitando omnes Russos ad re-  
bellionem Polonico Dominio. Interim vero ut quan-  
toerus in ibidem pramittat Tringinta vel Quadra-  
ginta Millia selecturum Polacorum. Quod ipse  
exequendum suscepit in se, atq; eam suscepit  
Nepotem suum ex Sorore dictum Woynarow-  
ski cum Tringinta Millibus Polacorum. De cujus  
tamen optimo affectu & fidelitate erga Srmum  
Regem pondet ita prout pro sua Persona, addens  
quod qm primum Srmus Rex Constitutus fue-  
rit in statu contra Moschos in Polonia agen-  
di, extunc mittet ad Regem cum Submissione  
et obedientia, ipse agere incipient agenda.  
Nec obstabit, quod habeat circa se decem Millia  
Moschorum. Illos enim una nocte perituros, ubi  
tempus iam opportunum venerit, praedixit &  
specurat

5. Intentio Pareta est evitare universalem Bataliam  
contra Exercitum Suedicum, nisi forte dividatur  
in Partitas Copias, tunc opportuniorum invadere  
statuit. Quod si vero grave aliquid ipsi incumbat,  
cum Universis Corp. recipere se intendit versus  
Pinskum, ibique stare gradum ad oppetendam  
Universalem Bataliam. Interim vero ipse Carus debet  
se locare in Oppido Lewartow ad Fluvium Praepri-  
dictum, Quatuor milliaribus Lublino, cum Septem-  
decem plus minus Millibus Militum. Reliquus  
vero Exercitus incipiendo à Graetia, Vistula in cu-  
biturus donec Actus Lublinsensis peragatur.

FIGURE 23 ■  
Relation, p. 3.  
The National  
Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm.

4. Electionem Idem Carus promovet Subjectaj pro-  
ponuntur ista. Primo Wijnioviectus. Inalis  
Exercitus Lithvanici, Etiam per vim capiendus  
si recusaverit. 2do Donhoffius bratensius Episcopus  
Mareschallus. Ultimo Pieriawscyus Patrus  
Betzensis Inalis Exercitus Regni.

5. Praecavet ne Copia Partium Svedicarum in ve-  
nientes quocumq; loci Commeatum Moschovi-  
ticum vulgo Magazyna, ~~recessu~~ Sumant de illis  
quidquam ad manducandum, omnia enim sunt  
Veneno infecta: cuius Veneni affirmat Quadra-  
ginta Currus in Certis Ollis preparati & bene  
obsignati per Ukraimam deducta esse in Polo-  
niam ex Inventione cujuspiam Galli sive Itali.

6. Petit idem quantocumq; sibi à Srmo Rege respon-  
deri in suis Propositionibus cum aliqua Certi-  
tudine.

Ms. 7. 1707 3/4

Illustrissimo Atq; Excellentissimo Dno Dux  
Domine observandissime

Excellentiam Vestram legionibus armaturæ veteris  
ad conscribendos novos milites Borussiae  
assignasse et eade causa a me desiderare  
ut mandatum denique milites sub auspiciis meis  
forsitan ibi degentes in ordinationem vestram  
intrompant ex literis ultimis perspexi  
Quoniam autem jam ante aliquot menses  
expresso Borussiae copiis hic commorantibus  
Suecicis a Serenissimo meo assignata est, ut  
vestram Excellentiam non fugit, desiderio illius  
annuere non valeo. Ante paucos autem dies  
litteras ad Serenissimum meum exaravi hac de cau-  
sa, humillime petens, ut utraq; Majestates inter se

FIGURE 24  
Relation, p. 4.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.

FIGURE 25  
Relation, p. 5.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.

conveniant, cuiusmodi huic terra cedat. Provisuris  
reponsum expectans spero Vestram Excellentiam  
eiusq; quieturam mandatumq; daturam esse, ut  
copiae ipsius ad Borussiae iter non ingrediatur  
Qui interim omni cum permansurus observantia

Illustrissimo Atq; Excellentissimo  
Dominationis Vestrae

Posnaniae 13 Maj  
1707

Adulterissimus et  
Humillimus Servus



# NEW ARCHIVAL DISCOVERIES <sup>1</sup>

## Chapter Three

This collection includes several documents from 1709 that clarify the historical context of *The Treaties and Resolutions of the Rights and Freedoms of Exercitus Zaporoviensis* of 1710 and their significance in the light of Ukrainian–Swedish relations, as well as the legal positions of Swedish and Ukrainian political forces of the time. These documents come from the Field Chancellery of Charles XII. A letter from Swedish Chancellor of State Gustaf Henrik von Müllern on behalf of Charles XII to Pylyp Orlyk of 28 September 1709 points to the nature of Ukrainian–Swedish relations, i.e., the king’s “protection and care” for the people and the state. The entire content of this letter shows that these relations, in the king’s opinion, gave him the right to influence political processes in Exercitus Zaporoviensis.

*The Instruction of Charles XII to S. Poniatowski, G. H. von Müllern, and C. Klingenstierna in the case of Exercitus Zaporoviensis v. S. A. Woynarowski*, dated 10 November 1709, significantly expands our knowledge of the so-called Bender Commission of 1709. This litigation over Mazepa’s inheritance, adjudicated by a panel appointed by Charles XII, had a profound impact on the development of Ukrainian legal thought. Among other things, it became a direct precondition for the emergence of *The Treaties and Resolutions* of 1710. Despite the publication of a considerable number of documents<sup>2</sup> and studies,<sup>3</sup>

it is evident that the source base remains inadequate, with some sources being incorrectly published, thus necessitating further research. The *Instruction* clearly identifies the most complex and significant aspect of the dispute: the classification of the hetman’s property as public or state property, in the context of inadequate statutory regulation of public law.

This document allows us to state that the dispute was initially considered by the king personally and only then was it entrusted to a specially formed judicial panel.

## Oleksiy Kresin Oleksandr Malyshev

- <sup>1</sup> In early September 2021, archivist Jan Mispelaere, following a request from Marina Trattner, checked the reserves of the National Archives of Sweden and found unique documents from Charles XII’s Field Chancellery. While translating the texts for the Ukrainian edition, Oleksandr Malyshev, J.D., then a doctoral student at V. M. Koretsky Institute of State and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, offered to add his translations of two previously known relations on the Cossacks and Kyiv to that publication. They were used as references in translating the relations for the English edition..
- <sup>2</sup> Nikandr Vasyliovych Molchanovsky, ‘Neskol’ko dannykh o smerti i nasledstve Mazepy’ [A Few Details on Mazepa’s Death and Inheritance]. *Kievskaya starina*, 1903, no. 1. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, ‘Shveds’ko-ukraïnskyi soiuz 1708 r.’ [The Swedish-Ukrainian Union of 1708], in *Velykyi ukrainets: Materialy z zhyttia ta diial’nosti M. S. Hrushevs’koho* (Veselka, 1992). Benjamin Cordt, ‘Materiialy z Stokhol’ms’koho derzhavnoho arkhivu do istorii Ukrainy druhoii polovyny XVII – pochatku XVIII st.’ [Materials from the Stockholm State Archives on the History of Ukraine in the 2nd Half of the 17th to the Early 18th Cc.], in *Ukrains’kyi arkhieografichnyi zbirnyk*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1930). Mychajlo Wozniak, ‘Benders’ka komisiia po smerti Mazepy’ [The Bender Commission on Mazepa’s Death], in *Mazepa: zbirnyk: u 2 t.*, vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1938).
- <sup>3</sup> Oleksiy Kresin, *Polityko-pravova spadshchyna ukrains’koi politychnoi emigratsii pershoi polovyny XVIII stolittia* [Political and Legal Heritage of the Ukrainian Political Emigration of the 1st Half of the 18th Century.] (V. M. Koretsky Institute of State and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2002).

Oleksiy Kresin, “‘Bila pliama” v istorii derzhavy i prava Ukrainy: “Benders’ka komisiia” 1709 r.’

[A Blank Page in the History of the State and Law of Ukraine: The Bender Commission of 1709], in *Mizhnarodne pravo i natsional’ne zakonodavstvo: zbirka naukovykh prats’*, vol. 4 (Kyiv, 2005). Oleksiy Kresin, ‘Benders’ka komisiia’ [The Bender Commission], in *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2003). Oleksiy Kresin, “‘Benders’ka komisiia” 1709 roku i pytannia pro politychni ta pravovi osnovy organizatsii vlady u Het’manshchyni’ [The Bender Commission of 1709 and the Question of the Political and Legal Foundations of the Power Structures in the Hetmanate], in *Derzhava i pravo: zbirka naukovykh prats’*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 1999). Iryna Diptan, ‘Borot’ba za “skarb” I. Mazepy iak odyz iz chynnykiv z’iavy “Konstytucii” P. Orlyka’ [The Struggle for the «Treasure» of I. Mazepa as a Factor in the Emergence of P. Orlyk’s “Constitution”], *Siveryanskyi Litopys*, 2014, nos. 1-3. Iryna Diptan, ‘Benders’ke “iabluko rozbratu” pershykh ukrains’kykh politemigrantiv’ [The Bender «Apple of Discord» of the First Ukrainian Political Émigrés], *Ridnyi krai*, 2014, no. 1.

By its very nature, this document is not an instruction, but a royal decree on the establishment of such a judicial panel, and is addressed to an indefinite number of addressees, primarily to the parties to the dispute, and not only to the members of the panel. Charles XII’s decision in this case, dated 22 December 1709, briefly outlines the case, the claims of the Starshyna, the senior military and administrative command, as representatives of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, and the king’s reasoned opinions on each of those claims. The Starshyna were denied all their demands, except for the settlement of the outstanding pay.

The Zaporozhian Sich was not named (and, accordingly, not recognised) as a party to the case in the court decision. It becomes especially important in the context of the positions of the parties and the details of the litigation process known from previously published documents, as it indicates the lack of political unity within the senior officers’ corps or their legal connection with Exercitus Zaporoviensis. This document describes the essence of the king’s relations with Exercitus Zaporoviensis as protection (“guardianship”), which provided only guarantees of external security without violating the traditional nature of the latter’s state administration. At the same time, such relations are seen as legally equivalent to the previous royal patronage, which ultimately also implies the role of the monarch as a guarantor of the inviolability of the system of power relations within Exercitus Zaporoviensis or an arbitrator between different administrative institutions with an obvious potential for interfering in their activities.

Charles XII’s declaration on the election of the Hetman of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, dated April 1710, is important per se because it defines the nature of Ukrainian–Swedish relations, as in it the patron monarch claimed his right to call for such an election. The document qualifies the position of the hetman as a “supreme prefect”, i.e., a governor of the country subordinate to the monarch whereas he receives power not only through the election of the people, but also through later approval by the monarch.

In his letter to the Zaporozhian Sich, dated 15 May 1710, Charles XII briefly describes the election of Pylyp Orlyk as hetman, attended by the General Starshyna, Town Cossacks (presumably their senior officers), and a delegation from the Zaporozhian Sich. *The Treaties and Resolutions* are characterised as a contract between the hetman and the people, concluded prior to the elections with the aim of restoring and reaffirming traditional freedoms, rather than introducing new regulations or norms. The king also deemed it necessary to mention in the letter his approval of *The Treaties and Resolutions* and the issuing of the letter of assurance. The purpose of this letter was to safeguard the integrity and welfare of Ukraine, including through the anticipated victory over the Russian state. Charles XII pledged not to conclude the war with Russia until that objective was achieved and encouraged the Zaporozhian Sich to actively participate in the conflict.

Overall, this document is more than just a letter. It is a solemn charter, which served as an introduction to *The Treaties and Resolutions* and the Confirmation and Assumption Charters of the king, which were probably sent along with it. In fact, this document proclaims the extension of the power of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk and his government to the Zaporozhian Sich, and the validity of new (or updated) principles of public law relations. We can safely assume that this document, in the eyes of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, was also meant to indicate the extension of Charles XII’s commitment to the territorial integrity of Ukraine to the lands of the Zaporozhian Sich.

All five documents consistently refer to Ukrainians within Exercitus Zaporoviensis as a Ruthenian (also Cossack) people, clearly distinguished from the Muscovite people. At the same time, “the people” is defined here in the ethnic sense of the word, i.e., as “gens” (Gens Rossiaca Exercitus Zaporoviensis, Gens Exercitusque Zaporoviensis, Gens Cosacica), but there is one instance when the Latin word “natio” is used as a synonym for “gens”. Also, all these documents consistently use the term “Ukraine” (Ucraina) and “Exercitus Zaporoviensis”, but it is difficult to establish a correlation between them. The position of the hetman is constantly referred to as Dux (duke), which was supposed to indicate the autonomy but non-sovereignty of his power over the country implying that the sovereignty over it belonged to the monarch. These documents repeatedly emphasise the concept of the public good and the good of the people and the state, which emphasises the political subjectivity of the latter. Their legal subjectivity is reflected in the repeated emphasis on the customs and rights/laws of the homeland, public law customs, and the distinction between private and public law, including in matters of public administration.

In general, these five documents demonstrate the perception of Exercitus Zaporoviensis as a state with internal autonomy but under external monarchical suzerainty on a treaty basis where the sovereign/protector acted as a guarantor of external security and the inviolability of public law relations of this state. The royal chancellery’s clear delineation of public law relations, with reference to the stance of Ukrainian political forces, was an important precondition and at the same time the context for the appearance of *The Treaties and Resolutions* of 1710.

The other two previously known documents, the *Relation on Kyiv* and the *True Relation on the Cossacks and Kyiv*, are undated and unsigned. The *Relation on Kyiv* points to the claims of the Russian state to Kyiv, which they sought to consider separately from the matter of affiliation of Ukraine. It is noted that at the time of writing the document, Ukraine (this could be the reference only to the Left Bank Ukraine) was legally under the tsar’s protection, but in fact but in fact was suffering from the Muscovy’s usurpation of its sovereignty.

The author of the document traces the history of Exercitus Zaporoviensis from Khazaria, with Kyiv as its centre. The status of this state is determined by the title of its monarch, the Princeps, which can be understood as an emperor. Similarly, the Cossack people are claimed to be the descendants of the Khazars (Cosars), while “Khazaria”, “Ukraine” and “Exercitus Zaporoviensis” are used to refer to one country, covering both Right and Left Bank Ukraine “up to the Black Sea”. Later, the Rurikid dynasty established its suzerainty over this state.

The state was eliminated through the Polish conquest and came under Polish rule, which is characterised as a yoke (slavery). In this context, the document portrays the War of Liberation under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky as the restoration of the ancient Khazar-Cossack statehood while, at the same time, emphasising the significant role of Ukraine’s then military alliance with Crimea. The Poles were forced to conclude a treaty with Bohdan Khmelnytsky, whereby the Cossacks regained possession of Kyiv “by inheritance”. The document opposes Polish bondage to Moscow’s protection, which Ukraine joined by the general, freely expressed will of the Cossacks.

Importantly, Poland (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), Ukraine, and Muscovy (the Russian state) are regarded in this document as equal states, with greater emphasis on the subjectivity of peoples than on sovereign titles. This perspective



■ Incoming documents and drafts of documents from Charles XII’s Field Chancellery (1709–12). Photo by Marina Trattner



A diary listing the registered incoming and outgoing ■ documents from Charles XII’s Field Chancellery in 1709–12. Incoming letters and drafts of documents. Copies of letters from the Registry of Charles XII’s Field Chancellery. Photo by Marina Trattner

Andrii Bovgyria, *Kozac’ke istoriopysannia v rukopysnii tradyicii XVIII st.* [Cossack Historiography in the Manuscript Tradition of the 18th Century.] (Institute of History of Ukraine of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2010). Andrii Bovgyria, “Khozary vo kozaki imenyuysya posem”: etnogeneticheskiye kontsepty v ukrainskikh tekstakh XVII-XVIII vv.’ [“Therefore, Khazars Shall Be Known as Cossacks»: Ethnogenetic Concepts in Ukrainian Manuscripts of the 17th and 18th Cc.], in *Drevnyaya Rus’ posle Drevney Rusi: diskurs vostochnoslavjanskogo (ne)edinstva* (Moscow, 2017).

enables the author to assert the absolute possession of Right and Left Bank Ukraine, including Kyiv, by Cossack political institutions, independent of monarchical suzerainty. It contrasts with the territorial treaties of the 17th century, stating, “The Poles could not cede Kyiv to the Muscovites because they no longer had authority over it [Kyiv]; the Cossacks ruled it peacefully and freely for over thirty years before the Muscovites formed an eternal union with the Poles. No one can give away what does not belong to them.” The Muscovites’ prolonged usurpation of Kyiv and the Left Bank of Ukraine is thus seen as a severe violation of this treaty protection, representing a forced return of the people and land to bondage.

However, the document contains another aspect in the understanding of the territory of Ukraine. At the end of the text, Kyiv is linked to Right Bank Ukraine, which covers the territory of the ancient Kyiv principality. First and foremost, the name “Ukraine” is used to refer to this territory, although it is noted that this country also includes the “Left Bank” possessions, namely, the former Chernihiv and Severia principalities. The treaty’s reference to the “eternal union of friendship” between Muscovites and Poles, which can only be attributed to the Treaty of Perpetual Peace of 1686, sets an unconditional lower time limit for the document’s dating.

While the *Relation on Kyiv* can be viewed as an independent short treatise in its content, the *True Relation on the Cossacks and Kyiv* is rather a supplementary memo, not a statement, but just a remark in the discussion. This document is based on the citation and paraphrase of the 1652 book of Andreas Cellarius, which sets an unconditional lower time limit for its dating while the mention of the events of 1654 in the citation moves this boundary at least to the time of the book’s second edition in 1659.

The brief conclusion of the document, following an extensive reference to the book by A. Cellarius, emphasises that Ukraine on both banks of the Dnieper River belongs to the Cossacks “by ancient hereditary law”, despite the legal claims to it by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Russian state. Therefore, Exercitus Zaporoviensis is proclaimed not a new but a restored state of the Cossack people, and the rights of the people, including territorial rights, are again placed above the principle of monarchical suzerainty. At the same time, quite in line with the legacy of Ukrainian legal thought of the second half of the 17th and early 18th centuries, the document contrasts subjection as enslavement and union/protection as a status consistent with the rights of a free people.

Both the ideological and international legal contexts determine the content and reason for emergence of these two documents and allow to date them. As for the first one, the idea of the Khazar-Cossack continuity of the historical development of the Ukrainian people and its statehood, as set out in the *Relation on Kyiv*, is noteworthy. This idea allows the author to argue that Ukrainian statehood is older than the emergence of the Rurikids, and consequently to qualify the latter’s power over Ukrainian lands as usurpation, thus refuting the historical suzerainty rights of the tsarist dynasty over Ukraine and Kyiv in particular. Several of my studies are devoted to the emergence and evolution of this idea, so there is no point in presenting it here in more detail. I will only note that the sources available at the time allowed me to date the emergence of this idea to 1710. New findings push this date back to the 1670s.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, the analysis of the *Relation on Kyiv* suggests that its presentation of the Khazar/Cossack idea is based on the text of *The Treaties and Resolutions* of 1710. Thus, the *Relation on Kyiv* was composed no earlier than 1710.



■ Documents from Charles XII's Field Chancellery.  
Photo by Marina Trattner

The international legal aspect of both documents is quite clear. It is about the possibility or impossibility of considering the issue of Kyiv's belonging separately from the Right Bank Ukraine. This is due to the interpretation of the provisions of the Treaty of the Pruth of 1711, according to which the tsar renounced his claims to the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and his suzerainty over the Ukrainian and Zaporozhian Cossacks.

The provisions of this treaty, which objectively appealed to the norms of the previous Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699 and the Treaty of Constantinople of 1700, were quite unambiguous. According to the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699, "Ukraine" covered the Right Bank Ukraine without Kyiv and its surrounding towns and was to be part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>5</sup>

The Ottoman Empire's desire to achieve revenge and regain its influence in Right Bank Ukraine by restoring the Ukrainian state under its protectorate, i.e., returning to the pre-1699 state of affairs, was manifested in the 1711 Privilege of Ahmed III to Exercitus Zaporoviensis. The government of Pylyp Orlyk was extremely interested in Kyiv's joining the Right Bank Exercitus Zaporoviensis, although it was practically impossible given the international legal system of the time.

In these circumstances, Exercitus Zaporoviensis ambassadors, as well as French and Swedish diplomats in Istanbul, tried to influence the Ottoman government as it negotiated a lasting peace with the Russian state. As the head of the Ukrainian delegation, Dmytro Horlenko, reported on 28 February 1712, the issue of Kyiv remained the last unresolved one. Both the Ottoman government and the Ukrainian

5 Oleksiy Kresin, 'Karlovitski dohovory 1699 r.' [Karlowitz Treaties of 1699], in *Entsyklopediia mizhnarodnoho prava*, vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2017).

Orest Subtelnyi, *The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early Eighteenth Century* (East European Monographs, 1981); translated as Orest Subtelnyi, *Mazepyntsi. Ukrains'kyi separatyzm na pochatku XVIII st.* [The Mazepists: Ukrainian Separatism in the Early 18th Century.], trans. by Volodymyr Kulyk (Lybid, 1994), p. 90.

Copia literarum a Duce Orlik ad Supremum Visirum. Bindaerae, 10 die Martii, 1712 anno. [Copy of the Letter of Hetman Orlyk to Grand Vizier. Bender, 10 March 1712.] *Chteniya v Imperatorskom obshchestve istorii i drevnostey rossyiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (Moscow, 1847), p. 58.

Oleksiy Kresin, 'Privilei Ahmeta III Viis'ku Zaporoz'komu 1711 r.' [Privilege of Ahmed III to Exercitus Zaporoviensis of 1711], in Oleksiy Kresin, *Polityko-pravova spadshchyna ukrains'koi politychnoi emigratsii pershoi polovyny XVIII stolittia* (V. M. Koretsky Institute of State and Law of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, 2002), pp. 378-379. See also: Mykola Kostomarov, *Ruina. Mazepa. Mazepintsi. Istoricheskiye monografii i issledovaniya*. [The Ruin. Mazepa. The Mazepists. Historical Monographs and Studies] (Charli, 1995), pp. 766-768. However, Vasyl Ulianovskiy dates this document to May 1712, a date more likely to be correct.

See: Vasyl Ulianovskiy, 'Pylyp Orlyk', in *Volodari het'mans'koi bulavy: Ist. portrety* (Varta, 1994), p. 448.

Il'ko (Élie) Borshchak, 'Het'man Pylyp Orlyk i Frantsiia (storinky diplomatichnoi istorii)' [Hetman Pylyp Orlyk and France (Pages of Diplomatic History)], in *Zapysky NTSH*, vols 134-135 (Lviv, 1924), pp. 84-87.

6 ambassadors were ready to give up Kyiv for the sake of the tsar's final abandonment of the rest of Right Bank Ukraine, but Pylyp Orlyk insisted (apparently in his letters) on the legal incorporation of Kyiv into Right Bank Ukraine.<sup>6</sup> The same problem was addressed in Orlyk's letter to the Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Porte of 10 March 1712, which stated that "neither Kyiv without Ukraine nor Ukraine without Kyiv can exist."<sup>7</sup>

7 But eventually, on 12 April 1712, the Russian Ottoman Treaty of Constantinople was signed. Despite the extraordinary success of the tsar's renunciation of his rights to the territory of the Zaporozhian Sich, Kyiv could not be added to Right Bank Ukraine. Even before that, on 5 March 1712, the second Privilege of Ahmed III to Exercitus Zaporoviensis was issued, proclaiming that Kyiv belonged to the tsar.<sup>8</sup> The issue of Kyiv and even Left Bank Ukraine was discussed in Istanbul afterwards at the initiative of Swedish and French diplomats,<sup>9</sup> but the Treaty of Adrianople in 1713 confirmed the territorial decisions of the previous year's treaty.

This context makes it possible to understand the content and reason for the appearance of the *Relation on Kyiv* and the *True Relation on the Cossacks and Kyiv* and to date them between 1711 and 1713. There is also every reason to assume that these documents came from Pylyp Orlyk's government, or perhaps they were authored by the hetman himself. The genre of these two documents, a historical and legal treatise, requires separate consideration in many contexts.

Undoubtedly, these documents clarify our knowledge of the life of the Mazepa émigrés, the operation and activities of Pylyp Orlyk's government, and Ukrainian historical and legal thought of the early 18th century. They require a detailed analysis, but this task is beyond the scope of this introduction.

■ Documents from Charles XII's Field Chancellery.  
Photo by Marina Trattner



AD DOMINUM ORLICH  
UT BENDERAM ACCEDAT  
AD DELIBERANDUM DE  
NEGOTIIS COSSACCICIS  
MAZEPPA EORUM DUCE  
FATIS FUNCTO

Ex quo Sua Regia Majestas Dominus Meus clementissimus in clytam Gentem Rossiacam, Exercitum Zaporoviensem in fidem tutelamque Regiam receperit, singulari cura pro bono eorundem semper arsit, nec desiit id ipsum quacunque occasione testari. Nunc cum Illustrissimus Mazeppa, Dux quondam Exercitum Zaporoviensium, debitum Naturæ nuper solverit, id animo sollicito volvit Sua Majestas, ne prædicta in clyta Natio totusque Exercitus Zaporoviensis, tanto Duce Capiteque orbatus, exinde detrimenti aliquid capiat. Itaque permota tum ejusmodi sollicitudine, cum instantibus precibus Magnifici Domini Koschowy Ejusque confratrum, duxit necessarium huc evocare Magnificentiam Vestram una cum Magnificis D[omi]nis Oboisnick ac Prelucki, ut possint quæ ad promovendum bonum publicum proponentur, percipere atque, mature deliberatis omnibus, quod saluberrimum censeatur concludere. Proinde ad mandatum S[acr]æ R[egi]æ Majestatis D[omi]ni mei clementissimi Magnificentiam Vestram ac prænominatas Magnificas Dominationes rogatas velim ut quantocius huc accedant, ad tam salubrem scopum pro virile collimaturæ. Ego quidem Easdem bene valere cupio ac præsertim oro, Magnificentia V[est]ra Sibi persuadeat me singulari cum Existimatione semper mansurum

Magnificentia Vestra  
Dat: ad urbem Benderam die 28 Sept. 1709.  
H. G. von Müllern

TO MY LORD ORLYK, TO REQUEST  
HIS ARRIVAL IN BENDER TO DISCUSS  
THE COSSACKS' MATTERS IN  
VIEW OF THE SUDDEN DEATH OF THEIR  
HETMAN MAZEPA <sup>1</sup>

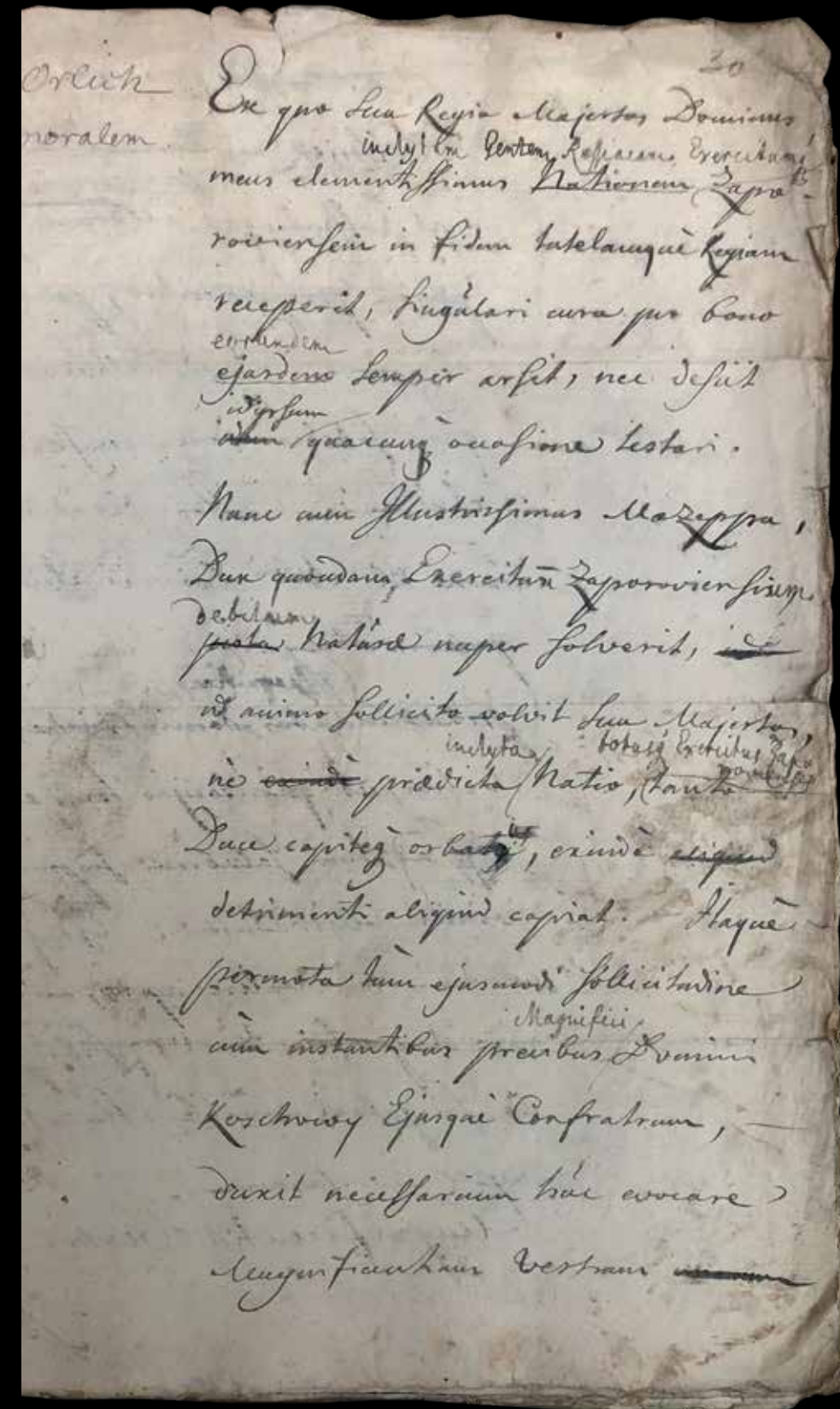
Ever since His Royal Majesty and my Most Gracious Lord, received the famous Ruthenian People,<sup>2</sup> Exercitus Zaporoviensis, into his protection and Royal fold, he has always arduously cared for their good and never ceased to manifest the same on any occasion. Now, when the Most Illustrious Mazepa, formerly the Commander of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, had lately paid the debt of Nature, His Majesty, with his compassionate mind, is concerned lest the aforesaid glorious Nation<sup>3</sup> and the whole Exercitus Zaporoviensis, bereaved of such a Commander and Head, should not suffer any harm as a result. And so, moved by such concern, and in view of the urgent requests of the Noble Lord Kish [Otaman] and his brethren, [His Majesty] has deemed it necessary to summon your Excellency here together with the Noble Lords Quartermaster [General]<sup>4</sup> and [polkovnyk of] Pryluky<sup>5</sup> that you may consider what may be proposed to promote the public good, and, having deliberated with all in due time, conclude as to what may be most beneficial. Therefore, at the command of the H[oly] R[oyal] Majesty, my Most Gracious L[ord], I would urge Your Excellency, together with the aforesaid Noble Lords<sup>6</sup> to arrive here as soon as possible, to pursue this righteous goal with courage. I, indeed, extend by this letter [to Your Excellencies] my best wishes for good health, and above all I pray that Your Ex[cellency] may be assured that I shall always have the highest regard for

Your Excellency.  
Dat[ed]: near the city of Bender on the 28th day of Sept[ember] 1709.  
G. H. von Müllern<sup>7</sup>

(See Figs. 1-5)

- 1 Here and throughout the documents, the position of hetman is referred to by the term Dux—literally «duke,» but signifying the leader of a non-sovereign state.
- 2 *Gentem* (Latin).
- 3 *Natio* (Latin).
- 4 Quartermaster General Ivan Lomikovskiy (Łomikowski) (1646–1714).
- 5 *Polkovnyk* of Pryluki, Colonel Dmytro Horlenko (1660–1731).
- 6 In the Latin original, the term *dominationes* (estates) is used here in reference to the two previously mentioned officers, in contrast to *domines* (lords), which is used throughout the rest of the document.
- 7 Gustaf Henrik von Müllern (1664–1719), Swedish Chancellor of State.

To My Lord Orlyk.  
Draft of the Müllern  
Concept, page 1.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner





*Magnificus*  
*seu unicuique* Domini  
Obis in *Domini* Prelatus  
et possint, quod ad bonum publicum  
sua proponuntur, percipere  
atque, post maturem deliberationem  
quod saluberrimum censeatur, con-  
cludere. Quamvis ad mandatum  
Sanae R<sup>m</sup> M<sup>ti</sup> D<sup>ni</sup> mei clementissimae  
procuratoris *Magnificae* Vestrae  
procuratoris *Magnificae* Vestrae  
velim, ut quanto citius huic succedant  
atque ad tam salubrem scopum pro-  
virili collimabuntur. Ego quidem  
Eandem bene valere cupio, ac praesertim  
oro, Magnificentia V<sup>ra</sup> sibi propo-  
sitae singulari cum existimatione  
Semper mansuram  
Magnificentia V<sup>stra</sup>  
Dab: ad urbem Benderam die 28<sup>ta</sup> Julii 1711  
*Magnificus Müller*

■ FIGURE 2  
To My Lord Orlyk.  
Draft of the Müllern  
Concept, page 2.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner

■ FIGURE 3  
To My Lord Orlyk.  
Draft of the Müllern  
Concept, page 3.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner

28  
*Datum Bender.*  
Ad Dominum Orlyk  
ut Benderam accedat  
ad deliberandum de  
negotiiis Cosaccis  
Mazepa corum  
Duce factis functo.  
Ex quo Sua Regia Majestas Dominus  
meus clementissimus inclytam Gen-  
tem Rossicam, Exercitum Zapo-  
roviensem in fidem tutelamque  
Regiam receperit, singulari cura  
pro bono eorundem semper assit,  
nec desit id ipsum quaecumque  
occasione testari. Nunc cum  
Illustrissimus Mazepa, Dux  
quondam Exercituum Zaporovi-  
ensium, debitum Naturae nu-  
per solverit, id animo sollicito voluit  
*Sua*

September 1709  
43  
sua Majestas, ne praedicta inelyta 28  
Natio totaque Exercitus Zaporovi-  
ensio, tanto Duce Capiteque orbatus,  
exinde detrimenti aliquid capiat.  
Itaque permota tum ejusmodi sollici-  
tudine, cum innotantibus precibus  
Magnifici Domini Koschowy Jus-  
que conspatrion, dicit necessitate  
huc evocare Magnificentiam Vestr-  
am una cum Magnifico D<sup>ni</sup>  
Oboronic, ac Trelucni, ut possint  
qua ad promovendum bonum  
publicum proponantur, per-  
cipere atque, mature deliberatis  
omnibus, quod saluberrimum  
conferatur, concludere. Proinde ad  
mandatum S<sup>ae</sup> R<sup>ae</sup> Majestatis  
D<sup>ni</sup>

FIGURE 4  
To My Lord Orlyk.  
Draft of the Müllern  
Concept, page 3.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina  
Trattner

FIGURE 5  
To My Lord Orlyk.  
Draft of the Müllern  
Concept, page 4.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina  
Trattner

Datum Bender Sept<sup>bris</sup>  
23 D<sup>ni</sup> mei clementissimi Magnifi-  
centiam Vestram ac praenomina-  
tas Magnificas Dominationes  
rogatas velim ut quanto citius huc  
aecedant, ad tam salubrem scopum  
pro virili collimaturus. Ego quidem  
Eadem bene valere cupio ac pre-  
sertim oro, Magnificentia V<sup>ra</sup> S<sup>ae</sup>  
bi persuadeat me singulari cum  
Existimatione semper mansurum  
Magnificentia Vestra  
H. G. von Müllern

10 NOVEMBER 1709

CONSTITUTORIUM PRO  
GENERALI PONJATOWSKI,  
H. G. À MÜLLERN ET  
KLINGENSTIERNA IN CAUSA  
EXERCITUS ZAPOROVIIENSIS  
CONTRA WOYNAROWSKY

Nos Carolus notum testatumque facimus quod post obitum Ducis quondam Zaporoviensis Exercitus Illustrissimi Mazeppa, sit lis exorta, de successione in bona ab eodem ex Ucraina huc perlata inter primores prænominati Exercitus ex una parte atque Ducis ex sorore Nepotem Stanislaum Andream Woynarowsky ex parte altera hoc vindicante universam successionem tanquam in bona Ducis propria et prout hæres Ejusdem ex intestate proximus: contra nitentibus illis, eadem bona reliquias esse publici ærarii Gentis Rossiacæ, in quas Nepoti Ducis nullum, Exercitui vero Zaporoviense, ex consuetudine ac Patriis legibus, omne jus sit quæsitum. Cumque Partes Litigantes per Supplicos libellos jus quisque suum coram Nobis asserere laboraverint, denique pro lite dirimenda in Compromissum consenserint, id omne negotium Nostro iudicio humillime submittentes; Idcirco Nos justitiæ omnino faventes nondum esse volumus ejusmodi Partium flagrantibus desideriis, ac in hunc finem commodum duximus, per Commissarios, cum applausu utriusque Partis selectos, seriem universæ litis Nobis candide referri. Constituimus porro, vigore præsentium, ad id negotium Commissarios nostros, Illustrés, Generosos ac Nobiles, Stanislaum Ponjatowski, Generalem seu supremum rei tormentariæ Præfectum in Magno Lithuaniae Ducatu ut et Serenissimi Poloniae Regis in Equestri prætoriana turma Tribunum: nec non Henricum Gustavum à Müllern, Nostrum Secretarium Status, atque Stenium Klingenstierna Cubicularium nostrum, cum adjuncto mandato, ut perlectis attente actis inter ambas Partes huc usque actitatis, perceptisque probe, quæ forte coram oretenus Scriptis addere Eaedem è re duxerint, Prænominati Commissarii de omni negotio ac genuinis ejusdem circumstantiis ad nos fidelem perferant relationem, cui Nos innixi poterimus sententiam ferre, quam justissimam dictare æqua ratio videbitur. In quorum Majorem fidem, hasce manu nostra subscriptas, Sigillo Regio corroborari jussimus.

10 NOVEMBER 1709

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL  
PONJATOWSKI<sup>1</sup>, G. H. VON MÜLLERN  
AND KLINGENSTIERNA<sup>2</sup> IN THE CASE  
OF EXERCITUS ZAPOROVIIENSIS  
v. WOYNAROWSKI<sup>3</sup>

We, Charles, make it known and testify that after the death of Mazepa, the most illustrious commander of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, a dispute has arisen over the inheritance of the property he brought here from Ukraine between the commanders of the aforementioned army on the one hand, and the Hetman's nephew by sister, Stanisław Andriy Woynarowski, on the other hand, [the latter] claiming the whole inheritance as belonging to the property of the Hetman and as his heir by intestacy: against those who claim that the same property is the remnants of the public treasury of the Ruthenian People, in which the Nephew of the Hetman has nothing, but the full right [to this property] shall be acquired by Exercitus Zaporoviensis state according to the customs and laws of their homeland. And when the Litigating Parties have laboured to assert their [respective] rights before Us by means of pleadings, they have finally agreed to settle this dispute by Compromise, humbly referring the matter to Our judgment; For this reason We, being in all things committed to justice, have deigned that this kind of ardent desire of the Parties should not be abandoned, and to this end We have found it expedient that the whole order of the dispute should be brought before Us in good faith through Commissioners chosen with the approval of both Parties [and] the whole proceedings of the dispute are to be candidly reported to Us. Furthermore, with the effort of the Parties, We have appointed our Illustrious, Gracious, and Noble Commissioners for that case, General Stanisław Poniatowski, the Supreme Commander of the Artillery of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [and] Chief of Staff of the Cavalry of His Serene Majesty the King of Poland: as well as Gustaf Henrik von Müllern, Our Secretary of State, and Carsten Klingenstierna, our Chamberlain, with a mandate to read carefully the acts hitherto delivered by the Parties, and having considered in detail what on the same subject they may think fit to add orally to what has been written, the Said Commissioners should give Us a faithful Report of the whole case and the true circumstances thereof, on the basis of which We shall be able to make and pronounce such judgment as in good conscience shall appear to be most just. With the highest Confidence in them, the foregoing, signed by Our hand, is hereby sealed with the Royal Seal.

Charles

(See Figs. 6–10)

1. Stanisław Poniatowski (1676–1762), a general in the Swedish army.
2. Carsten Klingenstierna (1651–1713), Chamberlain to Charles XII.
3. Stanisław Andriy Woynarowski (1680–1740 or 1741), an osavul in the Zaporozhian Host and a colonel in Charles XII's guard; nephew and private heir of Ivan Mazepa.

FIGURE 6 ■

Draft instructions, p. 1.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner

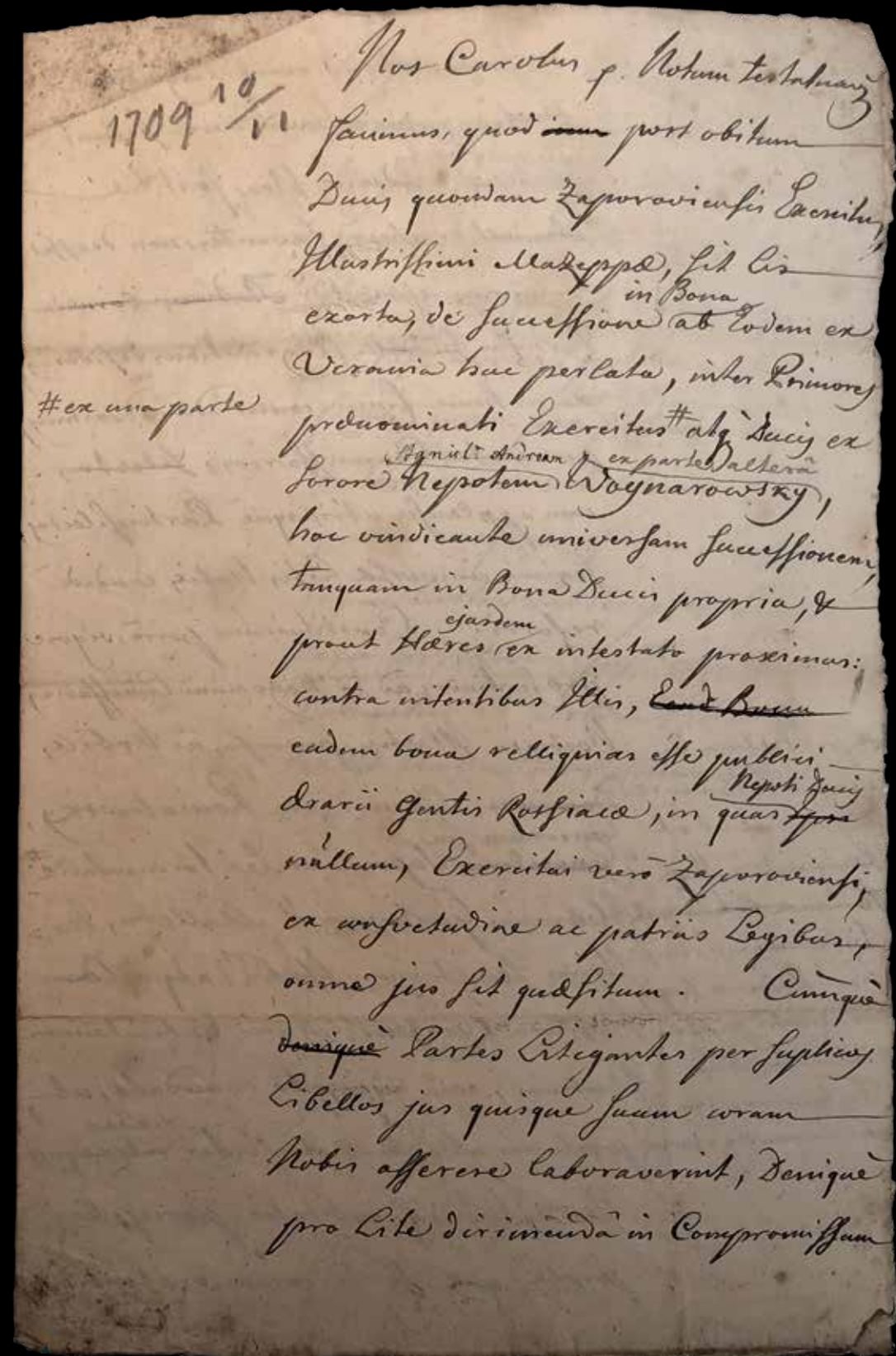


FIGURE 7 ■

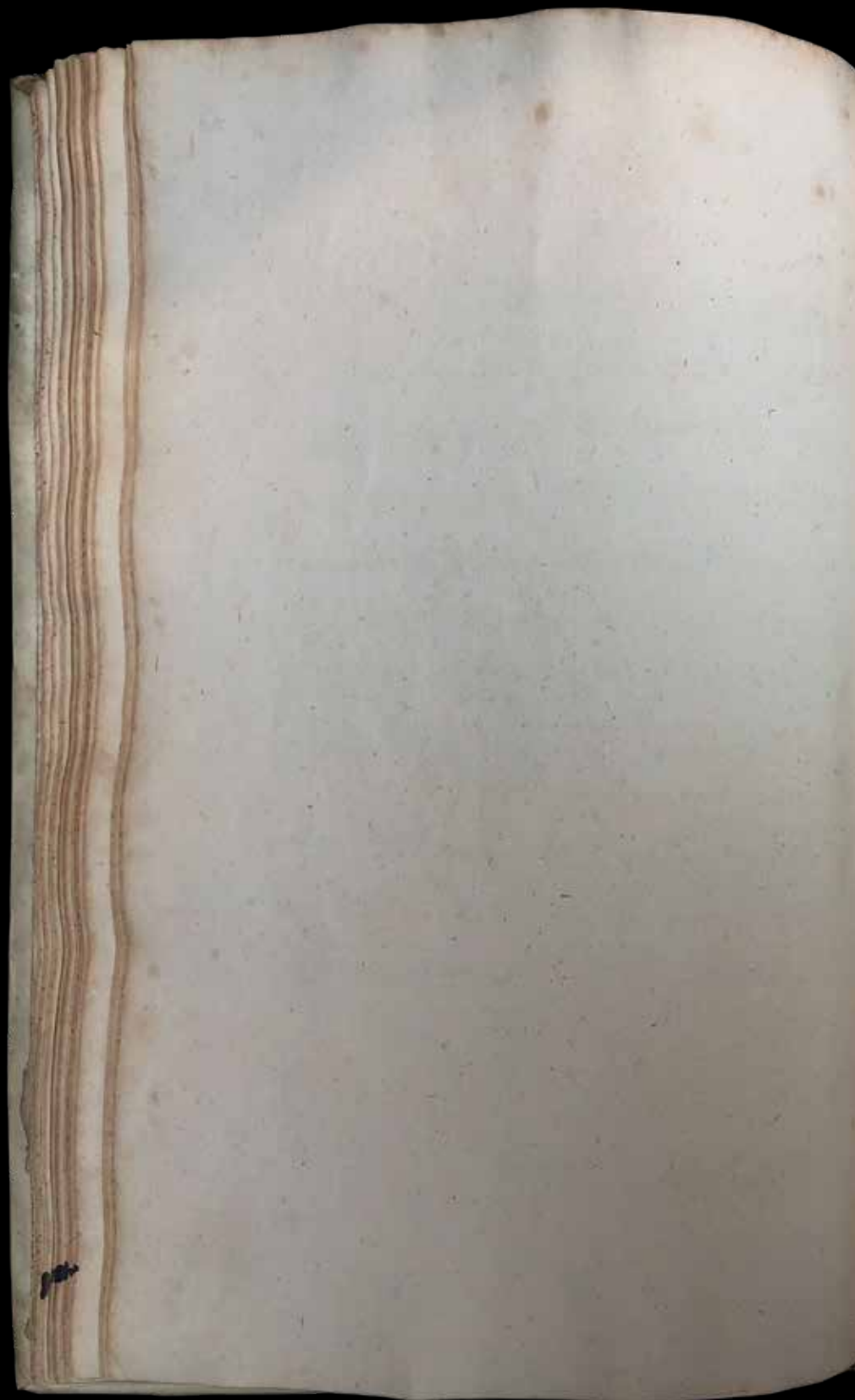
Draft instructions, p. 2.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner

consenserint, ad omne negotium  
nostro iudicio humillime subun-  
tentes; Idcirco Nos, iustitia  
~~et~~ omnium faventes, non desse  
voluimus ejusmodi ~~Partium~~  
Partium ~~hanc~~ fluyrantibus desiderij  
ac in hunc finem commodum durimur  
per certos Commissarios, selectos,  
cum applausu utriusque Partis selectis  
seriem universa Litis Nobis caudice  
referri. Constituimus porro, vigore  
presentium, ad id negotium Commissarios  
# prefectum in Nostros, Klaster, Generos, ac Nobiles,  
Regno Lithuanie ~~Domini~~, Stanislaum Kociatowsky,  
Sueata ~~et~~ et ~~Generalem seu~~  
~~Regis~~ ~~Generalem~~ ~~Supremum~~ ~~rei~~ ~~tormentariae~~  
toriana ~~et~~ ~~Henricum~~ ~~Gustavum~~ ~~a~~ ~~Mullern~~, in  
Tribunum ~~seorsum~~ ~~secretarium~~ ~~status~~, atque ~~loci~~  
fieri ~~Poloniae~~ ~~Regis~~  
in ~~Equitri~~ ~~pro~~ ~~Henricum~~ ~~Klingenskierna~~, Cubicularium  
diaria ~~curia~~  
Tribunum: ~~in~~ ~~nostrum~~, cum adjuncto ~~mandato~~, ut  
~~unum~~ ~~non~~ perlectis attente actis inter <sup>ambas</sup> utraque  
Partes, haurij, actitatis, perceptisq;  
probe quod forte coram oratenus

Scriptis addere. Eadem e se duxerunt  
predominati Commissaria de omni  
Negotio, <sup>ac geminis</sup> ~~ambobus~~ ejusdem ~~litem~~  
quibusq; circumstantiis ad Nos  
fidelem perferant relationem  
cui Nos innixi, poterimus sententiam  
ferre, quam <sup>justissimam</sup> ~~pro~~ ~~justas~~ ~~et~~ ~~aequa~~  
ditare <sup>aequa</sup> ~~ratio~~ videbitur. In  
quorum majoram fidem, hanc,  
manu nostra subscriptas, sigillo  
Regis corroborari iussimus.  
Dabuntur ad Urbem Benderam  
die 10. Novembrii, Anno Christiano  
1709

FIGURE 8 ■

Copy of a record from the Registry of Charles XII's Field Chancellery, p. 1. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm. Photo by Marina Trattner.



67.  
Datum Bender. Novemb. 1709.

<sup>10.</sup>  
Constitutonium pro  
Generali Ponjatowski,  
à Müllern et Klin-  
genstierna in caus-  
sa Exercitus Zaporowien-  
siensis contra Woi-  
narowski.

Nos Carolus, notum testatumque  
facimus quod post obitum Ducis  
quondam Zaporowien-  
siensis Illustrissimi Mazepa, sit hic exorta  
de successione in bona ab eodem. Ex U-  
rania huc perlata inter primores  
praenominati Exercitus ex una parte  
atque Ducis ex sorore Nepotem Sta-  
nislaurum Andream Woinarowski

ex  
/

FIGURE 9 ■

Copy of a record from the  
Registry of Charles XII's  
Field Chancellery, p. 2.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

## Datum Bender

10 ex parte altera, hoc vindicante univer-  
sam Successionem, tanquam in bona  
Ducis propria et proci haeres Eiusdem  
ex intestato proximus: contra nitentibus Illis, eadem bona reliquias esse  
publici et rarij gentis Rossicae, inquit  
Nepoti Ducis nullum, Exercitui ven-  
Zaporowienfi, ex consuetudine ac Patri-  
is legibus, omne jus sit quassatum. Cum-  
que Partes Litigantes per duplices li-  
bellos jus quique suum coram Nobis  
asserere laboraverint, denique pro lite  
dirimenda in Compromissum conser-  
serint, id omne negotium nostro judi-  
cio humillime Submittentes; Decimo  
Nos, iustitia omnino fauentes, non de-  
esse.

## November 1709

68

esse volumus ejusmodi Partium flagran-  
tibus desideris, ac in hunc finem com-  
modum duximus, per Commissarios,  
cum applausu utriusque Partis se-  
lectos, seriem universa litis Nobis can-  
dide referri. Constitutimus porro, vigore  
praesentium, ad id negotium Commis-  
sarios nostros, Illustres, Generosos ac  
Nobiles, Stanislaum Ponjatorowski,  
Generalem, seu Supremum rei tor-  
mentaria Praefectum in Magna Lithu-  
ania Ducatu et et Serenissimi Polo-  
niae Regis in Equestri praetoriana turma  
Tribunum: nec non Henricum  
Gustavum à Müllern, Nostrum Se-  
cretarium Status, atque Aemium  
Klingen.

FIGURE 10 ■

Copy of a record from the  
Registry of Charles XII's  
Field Chancellery, p. 3.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

## Datum Bender

10 Klingenskierna Cubicularium nostrum, cum adjuncto mandato, et perlectis attente actis inter ambas Partes huc usque actitatis, perceptis que probe, quae forte coram ortenus Scriptis adire eadem e re duxerint, Praenomina ti Commissionari de omni negotio ac genuinis ejusdem circumstantiis ad nos fidelem perferant relationem, cui nos innixi poterimus sententiam ferre, quam justissimam dictare aequa ratio videbitur. In quorum Majorem fidem, haec manu nostra subscriptas, sigillo regio corroborari jussimus.

Carolus.

## November 1709

69

23  
Dn. H. Commissions  
Secretair Strenheim  
ungarn nimb Paquet  
Abspindung nays Dispo-  
ition

Erstgubsterns H. Commissions Secretair.  
Comilant. H. H. Com. Mit vor gut gefun-  
den. Unigensmudub paquet Disposition nays  
Disposition expediren zu labum, so sabu  
in den Ungarnwidspit ob den H. Extraord.  
Envoye Baron von Stralenheim von  
winndu in Wien angulomman,  
salbigub an den H. Secretair adresfion  
rollen, mit angfangtun Witten,  
solign, ins fall man n. auf  
den Poste nist an unferm soltn,  
of unnsziglig Disposition Expressen  
nays.

SACRA REGIA MAJESTATIS  
SENTENTIA IN CAUSA  
EXERCITUS ZAPOROVIIENSIS  
AB EJUSDEM PRIMORIBUS  
INSTITUTA CONTRA  
STANISLAUM ANDREAM  
WOJNAROWSKI  
DESIDERANTIBUS  
PRIMORIBUS  
RESTITUTIONEM  
OMNIUM BONORUM AB  
ILLUST[RISSIM]O DUCE  
MAZEPPA RELICTORUM,  
SUB PRÆTEXTU, EA PUBLICI  
ESSE THESAURI. DATUM IN  
CASTRIS PROPE BENDERAM  
DIE XXII DECEMBRIS  
A[NN]I 1709

Sacra Regia Majestas clementissime jussit, per constitutos ad hoc negotium Commissarios seriem totius litis sibi candide referri, e quorum humillima relatione 1° percepit Exercitus Zaporoviensis Primores ad corroborandam prætentionem suam protulisse juramentum, ab illustriss[im]o Duce præstitum, in quo nominatus pie defunctus Dux promisit, se velle, non parcendo substantiæ suæ, salutis vitæ et ultimæ sanguinis gottæ pro liberanda à Moscovitico jugo patria, contra Moscos pugnare, unde non solum, sed etiam ex adducto insimul literarum extractu, Primores idem onus Woinarowskio imponere volunt, adducta ratione illam obligationem nondum finitam esse, patria ad huc in Servitute existente, sed re penitus perpensa, S[acr]a R[egi]a Majestas judicat, Primorum argumentum hoc in capite omnino vacillare<sup>^</sup> præsertim cum Ill[ustrissimu]s Dux juramento suo in omnibus jam satis fecerit, cujus obligatio ultra vitam non extenditur; qua propter nec istud literarum extractum obligat magis Woinarowskium, quam juramentum ipsum, vigore cujus semper se paratum declarat, ad pugnandum contra Moschos.

THE DECISION OF THE HOLY  
ROYAL MAJESTY IN THE CASE  
OF EXERCITUS ZAPOROVIIENSIS,  
BROUGHT BY ITS OWN  
STARSHYNA AGAINST STANISŁAW  
ANDRIY WOYNAROWSKI DUE TO  
THE DEMAND OF THE SENIOR  
OFFICERS TO RETURN ALL THE  
PROPERTY LEFT BY HIS SER[EN]  
E HIGHNESS HETMAN MAZEPA  
UNDER THE PRETEXT OF ITS  
BELONGING TO THE STATE  
TREASURY.

DATED IN THE CAMP NEAR  
BENDER ON THE 22nd DAY OF  
DECEMBER, Y[EA]R 1709

It pleases His Holy Royal Majesty that the whole dispute is communicated to Him frankly through the Commissioners appointed for this purpose, from whose humble report (1) He learns that the Starshyna of Exercitus Zaporoviensis have taken an oath in support of their claim, inherited from His Ser[en]e Highness Hetman, in which the said Hetman, who is now in God's peace, swore that he would fight the Muscovites without sparing his property, health, life and the last drop of blood for the sake of liberating his homeland from the Moscow yoke; and not only on this basis, but also on the basis of the excerpt from the letters provided, the said Starshyna wish to impose the same burden on Woinarowski, citing the reason that this obligation has not yet ended as their homeland is still in bondage; however, after deeply investigating the case, His H[ol]y R[oya]l Majesty judged that the argument of the said Starshyna was shaky at its very core, in particular because His Ser[en]e Highness Hetman had satisfied his oath in all respects, and the obligations under this oath do not extend beyond the limits of life, which is why the above excerpt from the letters does not bind Woinarowski to a greater extent than the oath itself, by virtue of which he declares that he is always ready to fight against the Muscovites.

(2) As for the misdeeds<sup>1</sup> of the Hetman, which are widely noted in the documents of the Starshyna, they claim that

Quod 2° ad excessus Ducis à Primoribus in Scriptis passim notatos, pertinet, quos ob varias rationes antea deferre non potuisse asserunt: contra vero Woinarowski exemplis præteritorum Ducum probat, Primores, si qui pie defuncti ducis fuerint excessus, illos Czaro deferre debuisse et potuisse; Igitur S[acr]æ R[egi]æ M[ajestat]is Sententia est, illos nunc delatos examinare non æquum esse quia Primores Stante Ducis vita nullam horum fecerint mentionem, qui contra illorum delationem tunc rationes suas proferre potuisset; Siquidem et nunc ad nonnullos à primoribus prolatos excessus Woinarowsky non sine fundamento respondit, licet illorum delationem non in foro competenti institutam esse contendat.

Idem etiam 3° S[acr]a R[egi]a Majestas judicat de eo quod Primores prætendant competentius fuisse Duci ut Duci pro munere ministerii sui, ad ripas Boristhenis prius publico, quam privato securitatem providere: quia Primorum officium, quod ante revolutionem habuerunt, per custodiam Sveticam, quæ majoris solum[m]odo securitatis gratia aderat, minime Sublatum fuit; nec obstat, quod primores, uti ulterius allegant, impersuasibilem invenerint Ducem, in maximo pro tunc periculo non solum constitutum, verum etiam morbo laborantem, quo minus illorum muneris fuerit publicarum rerum curam gerere, et antea ipsorum fidelitati commissa tunc temporis, quantum factu possibile fuit salvare.

Quod autem 4° Primores auri restitutionem à Duce Mazeppa Benderam addu[c]ti, hoc ex fundamento desiderent, quia Ducem privatum cum publico commiscuisse arguunt, proferentes omnia præteritorum Ducum et principaliter Samoilocicii bona in manus Ill[ustrissim]i Ducis incidisse: probante contra Woinarowski, Galitzinum, primarium pro tunc Czari ministrum, aliosque sibi Samoilocicii bona appropriasse, post cujus exilium, fatentibus id ipsiomet Primoribus, antea cassata arenda ob defectum pecuniarum, donec instituta fuit, unde luculenter apparet, nullas sæpius nominati Samoilocicii divitias ad manus pie defuncti Ducis pervenisse, sed Ducem pecunias jam relictas è variis bonis, Duci a Czaro collatis, è commerciis aliisque ipsi competentibus redditibus sat amplis /: ad quos etiam indutum pertinuisse patet:/ quia Primores hujus rei explicationem facere detrectarunt conguessisse affirmat. Cum itaque Primores evidentibus argumentis probare

for various reasons they could not report them earlier: contrary to this, Woinarowski uses the examples of previous Hetmans to prove that the Starshyna, if there were any misdeeds of the Hetman who had reposed in God, were obliged and could report them to the Tsar; Therefore, the Verdict of His H[ol]y R[oya]l M[ajest]y is that it is not fair to consider those [accusations] when they have been brought forward only now, because the Starshyna never mentioned them during the life of the Hetman, who could then provide his own arguments against their denunciation; Indeed, even now, Woinarowski responds to some of the offences cited by the Starshyna with some justification, although he claims that their report was not submitted to the competent court.

Similarly, (3) His H[ol]y R[oya]l Majesty judges that the Starshyna insist that the Hetman, by virtue of his official position, should have been concerned with public rather than private security on the banks of the Dnieper: since the Swedish protectorate, which took place only for the sake of greater security, affected the Starshyna ranks<sup>2</sup> they had held before the revolution to the least extent; nor does it stand in the way of the fact that the Starshyna, as they further allege, found in him an uncertain leader, who was not only placed in the greatest danger at that time, but also suffering from illness, so that it was their duty to take care of public affairs, and they were granted in advance for their loyalty as much as they could practically save on their own.

That (4) the Starshyna demand the return of the gold bro[ugh]t by Hetman Mazepa to Bender on the grounds that the Hetman mingled private with public; they refer to the fact that all the property of the previous Hetmans, and especially Samoylovych, fell into the hands of His Ser[en]e Highness Hetman; Woinarowski, on the other hand, claims that Golitsyn,<sup>3</sup> the Tsar's first minister at the time, and others appropriated Samoylovych's property after Samoilocyich's own exile, and, as the Starshyna themselves admit, the lease was canceled due to

1 Excessus. During the Bender Commission, representatives of Exercitus Zaporoviensis stated in their memorials and testimonies about Ivan Mazepa's merging of the state treasury with private funds, appropriation of previous hetmans' property, granting positions for bribes, and other abuses by the hetman.

2 The term *officium* refers to both the Starshyna (Zaporozhian military or administrative) rank and the set of rights and obligations derived from it.

3 Boyar and Kniaz Vasily Vasilyevich Golitsyn (1643–1714). At the time of Hetman Ivan Samoylovych's overthrow in 1687, he was a voivode, head of the Ambassadorial Office, keeper of the royal seal, and governor of Novgorod. Half of the funds confiscated from Samoylovych were taken to the tsar's treasury. The other half was handed over to the newly elected Hetman Ivan Mazepa. Of the remaining funds, part was paid to Vasily Golitsyn, and another part was transferred to Samoylovych's daughter and granddaughter.



non potuerunt pie defunctum Ducem miscuisse publicum cum privato: Siquidem interrogati certum publici thesauri ignorabant numerum, ideoque ignorant ea, quæ jure prætendunt; nec demonstrarunt Ducem post Samoïlowicii exilium milliones aliquas accepisse, verum actis videndum, non tantas divitias, uti primores volunt, in publico latuisse gazophilatio, cujus residuum, secundum Primorum confessionem, immediate ante præsentem revolutionem, quando illum Supremus Castrorum Metator ex mandato Ducis Baturini in curru imposuit, numerum 100 000 floren[u]m parum superavit. Tandem etiam cum Primores tempore ægrotantis Ducis erga Illustrem Generalem Ponjatowski, uti ille in ambarum partium præsentia retulit, nullam publici thesauri fecerint mentionem, ægre solummodo Woinarowskii ferentes absentiam, rogantesque præfatum Generalem, ut curam gerere vellet, ne bona Ducis Mazeppæ quid damni patiantur; Igitur S[acr]æ R[egi]æ M[ajesta]ti ex supra dictis jussu visum, hisce statuere, ea bona, quæ à Duce Benderam traducta sunt /: quorum maxima pars jam aliquando Woinarowskio fidelitati à Duce comissa fuit: / Illust[rissim] i Ducis Mazeppæ privata esse non publica, si quidem si publica fuissent, præsumendum est, Primores sine dubio de illorum locutos fuisse conservatione, uti nunc de privato Ducis thesauro ab iis factum; quapropter quoque Woinarowskio horum à Duce Mazeppa relictorum bonorum jure competit possessio: præsertim cum ipsimet Primores, vel testamentum vel testes, qui cuncta Woinarowskio destinata esse probarent, in scriptis suis desiderant, quo concessio necessario sequitur Woinarowskium sine contestatione posse etiam nunc intestati avunculi hæredem esse.

Quod autem 50 ad privatam Primorum prætensionem attinet, qui restitutionem pecuniarum immediate ante præsentem revolutionem in arendas aliquorum districtuum Duci persolutarum desiderant; Sacra Regia Majestas judicat et statuit, ut Woinarowski illas Primoribus, secundum modum in illorum responso Expressum, restituat: quia non solum Primores propter turbidum rerum statum fructus ex illis percipere non potuerunt, verum etiam hujus debiti mentionem, præsertim erga Generalem Ponjatowski jam ante obitum Ducis fecerunt.

lack of funds until it was re-instituted later, from which it is clear that none of the wealth of the oft-named Samoylovych fell into the hands of the late Hetman; instead, he claims that the Hetman had accumulated the money he had left behind from various favours granted by the Tsar and from trade and other revenues of his own competence, which apparently included clothing<sup>4</sup> since the Starshyna refuse to explain this item. Therefore, since the Starshyna could not prove with clear evidence that the piously reposed Hetman had mingled public with private, because when asked, they did not know the actual size of the state treasury, and therefore they did not know under what right they were suing, they did not prove that the Hetman received any millions after Samoylovych's exile, but the records make it clear that there was not so much wealth as the Starshyna would have it, nor it was hidden in the state treasury, the balance of which, according to the Starshyna's admission, barely exceeded 100,000 flor[in]s just before the current revolution, when the Quartermaster General, on behalf of the Lord of Baturyn,<sup>5</sup> loaded it into wagons. Finally, even during the Hetman's illness, the Starshyny did not make any mention of the state treasure in presence of the noble General Poniatowski, as he stated in the presence of both sides, but only complained of Woynarowski's absence and asked the said General to ensure that Hetman Mazepa's property did not suffer any damage.

Therefore, from the above, it seems fair to His H[ol]y R[oya]l Majesty to order that the property transported to Bender by the Hetman, most of which had already been given to Woynarowski for his loyalty, should be deemed private, and not public, with respect to His Ser[en]e Highness Hetman Mazepa, for if it were public, it is presumed that the Starshyna would undoubtedly say that it was their duty to keep it, as they now do with regard to the Hetman's private treasure, therefore Woynarowski is rightfully entitled to the property left by Hetman Mazepa: especially since the Starshyna themselves wished in writing that the fact that everything that was intended for Woynarowski should be proved either by a will or by witnesses,<sup>6</sup> and from this recognition it certainly follows that Woynarowski could be his uncle's heir without contestation<sup>7</sup> even if the latter was intestate.

- 4 The meaning of the word *indutum* is not fully clear here. It can be an independent noun, *indutus*, meaning "cloth" or "clothes", but it can also be a participle derived from the verb *induo*, which can mean "something taken over" or "appropriated".
- 5 The term "Dux Baturini" can refer to both Hetman Ivan Mazepa himself and the commandant of Baturyn, Colonel Dmytro Chechel. The first version is supported by the fact that the word "dux" (chief, leader, prince) is used throughout the rest of the text as a Latin equivalent of the word «hetman». However, the somewhat abstract nature of this designation speaks in favour of Chechel, while all other references to Mazepa in the text are clearly and unambiguously individualised.

60 quoque Statuit S[acr]a R[egi]a Majestas, ut Woinarowski Cancellariæ Cossacicæ amanuensibus in vim retentorum octo annis donorum, quæ de consuetudine ipsis offerebantur, centum et quinquaginta aureos vulgo Ducatos persolvat, quam summam Notarius Generalis, secundum illorum merita, iis distribuet, interim autem S[acr]a Regia Majestas æquitati non consentaneum esse judicat, quod quidam è dicta Cancellaria omnium in Ukania perditorum desiderant refusionem, quia ad illam Woinarowski obligari non potest.

Actum ut supra.  
Carolus

As for (5) the private claim of the Starshyna, who want a refund of the money paid to the Hetman for rent from certain districts immediately before the revolution, the Holy Royal Estates decides and orders that Woynarowski should reimburse those officers in the manner set out in their response:<sup>8</sup> not only because the Starshyna could not benefit from it due to the turbulent state of affairs,<sup>9</sup> but also, in particular, because they had mentioned this debt to General Poniatowski before the Hetman's death.

(6) The H[ol]y R[oya]l Majesty also decrees that Woynarowski shall pay in public one hundred and fifty pieces of gold commonly known as ducats to the scribes of the Cossack Chancellery, on account of the delay of eight years in the remuneration normally due to them, the sum which the Secretary General should distribute among them according to their merits, and at the same time, His H[ol]y R[oya]l Majesty deems inconsistent with justice that some of the said Chancellery desire compensation for everything that was lost in Ukraine, since Woynarowski cannot be bound to do so.

Executed as indicated above.  
Charles

(See Figs. 11–24)

- 6 During the litigation, Ivan Bystrytsky (dates of birth and death unknown), testified on behalf of Andriy Woynarowski as his relative, estate manager, and confidant of Hetman Mazepa.
- 7 The legal term "contestatio" ("certification" or "contestation") can have several meanings. In the classical texts of Roman law, contestation is usually understood to mean the so-called lithiscontestatio, an archaic Roman procedure for starting a trial, which consisted of inviting witnesses to observe the administration of justice, acting as a kind of «living record». However, contestation can mean both the legal dispute or protest itself and the testimony or proof or confirmation of something with the help of witnesses. The words «without contestation» may mean in this context that Andriy Woynarowski had the right to inherit if there was no court dispute about this right, or that the heir in this situation did not need to undergo any mandatory procedure involving witnesses.
- 8 The Bender litigation included written debates involving the submission of memorials and responses to the other side's memorials.
- 9 Literally, "fruits". This may include official remuneration from the state treasury or lost profits from the use of property located in the Russian-occupied territory.

1709 <sup>22</sup>/<sub>12</sub> Sacra Regia Majestas  
Sententia in causa Exercitus Zaporoviensis  
ab eorum Primoribus instituta, contra  
Stanislaum Andream Woynarowski, de re  
partibus Primoribus restitutionem omnium  
honorum, ab Illust. Duce Mazepa, nec  
rum, sub pretextu, ex publico officio  
ri. Datum in Castris Zaporoviensis  
die XXII Decembris A. MDCCLX.

Sacra Regia Majestas clementissima, per  
stitutos ad hoc negotium Legatos, et  
litis sibi candidè referri, è quorum humilissima  
relatione percipit exercitus Zaporoviensis  
mores ad corroborandam protestationem, quam  
tulisse juramentum, ab Illust. Duce Mazepa  
in quo nominatus pie defuncto, et  
Le velle, non parcedo substantia, et  
ta et ultima sanguinis gutta, et  
à Moscovitico iure patria, contra Moschos  
nare, unde non solum, sed etiam ex adducto  
simul literarum extracta Primores idem omni  
Woynarowski imponere volent. adducta ratione

FIGURE 11

The Decision of the Holy  
Royal Majesty in the Case of  
Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 1.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

FIGURE 12

The Decision of the Holy  
Royal Majesty in the Case of  
Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 2.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

illam obligationem nonnullam finitam esse, patriam  
adhuc in servitute existente; Sed re penitus per  
gens, Sacra Regia Majestas iudicat, Primorum  
argumentum hoc in capite omnino vacillare:  
prosertim cum Ill. Dux juramento suo in om  
nibus iam satisfecerit, cuius obligatio ultra  
vitam non extenditur, quapropter nec istud  
literarum extractum obligat magis Woyna  
rowskium, quam juramentum ipsum, vige  
re cuius semper se paratum declarat, ad  
pugnandum contra Moschos.

Quod 2<sup>o</sup> ad excessus Ducis à Primoribus in  
scriptis passim notatos pertinet, quos et va  
rias rationes antea deferre non potuisse, ap  
pant; contra vero Woynarowski exemplis  
proatitorum Ducum probat, Primores  
si qui pie defuncti Ducis fecerint excessus,  
illos Caro deferre et debuisse et potuisse.  
Igitur Sac. Reg. Maj. sententia est, illos  
nunc velatos examinare non equam esse,  
quia Primores ante Ducis vita nullam  
horum fecerint mentionem, qui contra  
illorum delationem tunc rationes suas

proferre potuisset; siquidem et nunc ad nonnulli  
à Primoribus prolatos excessus, Włynarowski  
sine fundamentis respondit, licet illorum delatio-  
nem non in foro competentis institutam esse con-  
tendat.

Idem etiam 3<sup>o</sup> Jac. Reg. majtas judicat de eo,  
quod Primores parati erant, competentiis fuisse  
Duci ut Duci pro munere Ministerii sui, ad  
res Boorysthenis potius publico, quam privato te-  
curritatem providere: quia Primorum officium  
ante revolutionem habuerunt, per cusum  
am Sucticam, que majoris Grammoie securita-  
tis gratia aderat, minime sublatum fuit, nec  
obstat, quod Primores, uti ulterius allegant, in  
neguaribilem invenerint Ducem, in maxima  
pro tunc periculo non solum constitutum, sed  
etiam morbo laborantem, quominus  
illorum muneri fuerit publicorum rerum  
curam gerere, et antea ipsorum fidelium  
canonice, tunc temporis, quantum factum  
potuisset, servare.

Quod autem 4<sup>o</sup> Primores auri restitutionem  
à Duce nazyma. Ovenderam adducti, hoc ex

FIGURE 13  
The Decision of the Holy  
Royal Majesty in the Case of  
Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 3.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

FIGURE 14

The Decision of the Holy  
Royal Majesty in the Case of  
Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 4.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

fundamento desiderant, quia Ducem pro ratione cum  
publico commisisse arguunt, proferentes omnia  
propter idem Ducem et principaliter Samoilov-  
vici bona in manus Mus. Ducis incidisse: pro-  
bante contra Włynarowski, Galizinum, prima-  
rium pro tunc Ceteri ministerium, aliorum sibi Sa-  
moilovici bona appropriasse, post cujus exi-  
tium, fatentibus à ipsismet Primoribus, an-  
tea casata arena ob defectum pecuniarum  
Duci instituta fuit, unde luculenter apparet  
nullas sapienter nominati Samoilovici divi-  
tias à manus ipsius defuncti Ducis pervenisse.  
Idem Ducem, pecunias jam relictas à variis be-  
neficis, Duci à Sacerdotibus à commercio aut  
ipsis competentibus redditibus factis applicatis, sed  
quos etiam Inductam pertinuisse patet, quia  
Primores hujus rei explanationem fuisse de-  
tractarunt: concessisse affirmat. Cum itaque  
non edentibus argumentis probare non  
potuerant ipsi defunctum Ducem misisse  
publicam rem servare: siquidem in interro-  
gati certam publici thesauri ignorabant  
numquam Deos ignorant ea, que jure pro-

terduant, nec demonstrant Ducem quod semper  
viciu exitium, milliones aliquas accepisse; verum ex  
actis videndum, non tantas divitas, uti Primores  
evoluunt, in publico latuisse gazophilatio, cujus reli-  
quiam, secundum Primorum confessionem, immediate  
ante presentem revolutionem, quando illum du-  
ces supremus Astrorum, Mutator ex mandato Ducis,  
Mutatorini in curru inportuit, numerum 100000  
renti partem superavit. Tamen etiam cum Pri-  
mores tempore agrotantis Ducis erga Illustrem  
Poniatowski, uti illi in arbitrium  
partium presentia retulit, nullam publici  
thesauri fecerint mentionem, agrum solummodo  
Wojnarowski ferentes absentiam rogantes  
prostatam Generalem, ut curam gererent  
ne bona Ducis Chazepa quod eorum parte  
tur, Igitur Sacra Regia Chazepa ex  
dictis justum visum, hinc statueret ea  
que a Duce Benderam traducta sunt, solummodo  
maxima pars jam aliquando Wojnarowski  
delitati a Duce comissa fuit. Illustre  
Chazepa privata esse non publica, si  
si publica fuisset, proderunt est, solummodo

FIGURE 15

The Decision of the Holy  
Royal Majesty in the Case of  
Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 3.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

sine dubio de illis in Ducis fuisse conservatio-  
ne, uti nunc de privato Ducis thesauro ab eis  
factum; quapropter quod Wojnarowski horum  
a Duce Chazepa relictorum bonorum, jure  
competit possessio: prosertim cum ipsimet  
Primores, vel testamentum, vel testes, qui  
cuncta Wojnarowski destinata esse porta-  
rent, in scriptis suis desiderant: quo con-  
cesso, necessario sequitur, Wojnarowskium  
sine contestatione posse etiam nunc in pa-  
tri avunculi heredem esse.  
Quod autem ad privatam Primorum re-  
tentionem attinet, qui restitutionem spe-  
natum immediate ante presentem re-  
volutionem in arendas aliquorum  
Duce perolutarum desiderant, solummodo  
Chazepa judicat et statuit, ut Woj-  
narowski illas Primoribus, secundum ma-  
gnam in illorum personis expressum, resti-  
tuat: quia non solum Primores, propter hoc  
solummodo statam, fructus ex illis peri-  
pere non potuerunt, verum etiam hujus-  
modi debiti mentionem, prosertim erga

FIGURE 16

The Decision of the Holy  
Royal Majesty in the Case of  
Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 6.  
The National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm

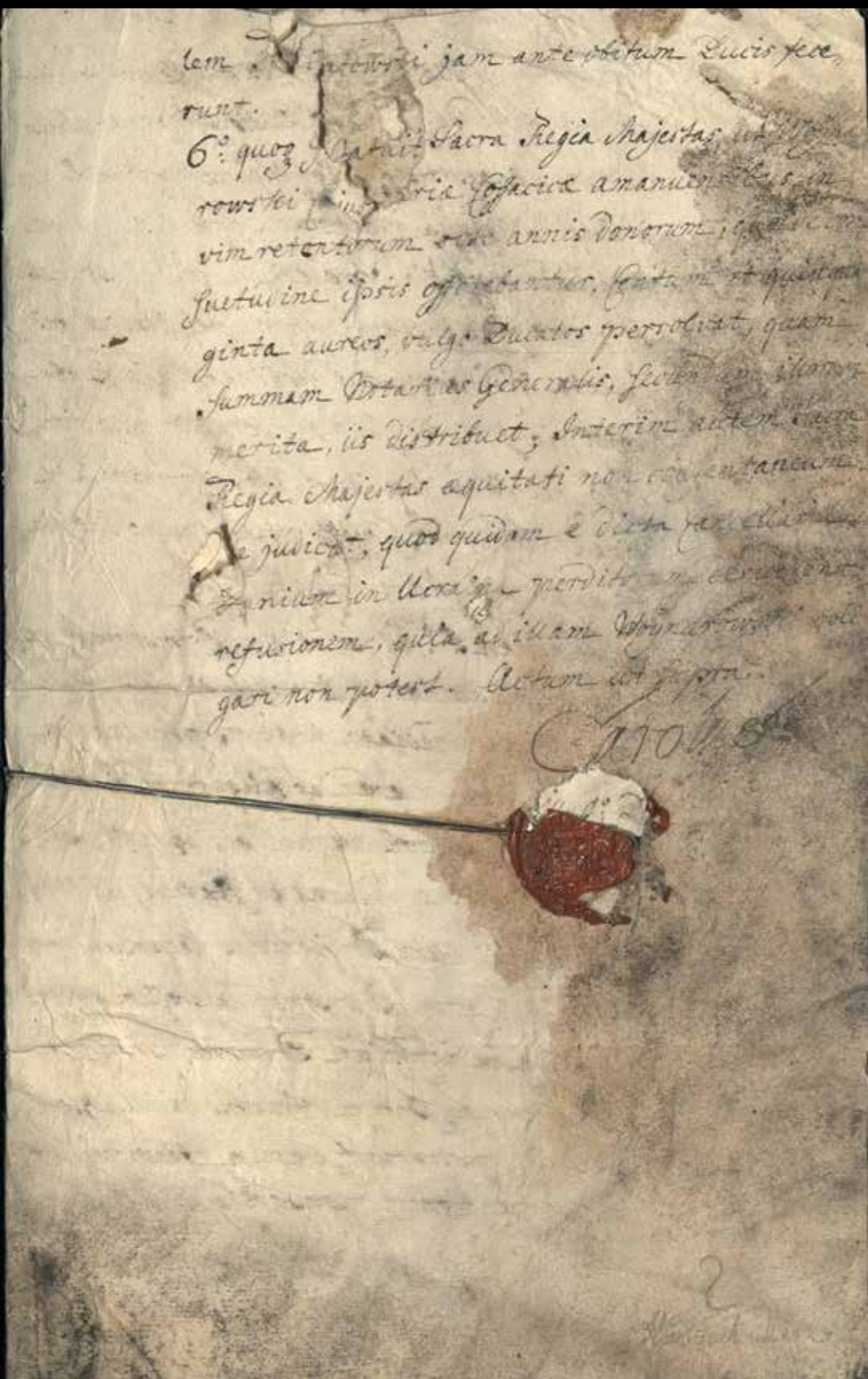


FIGURE 17

The Decision of the Holy Royal Majesty in the Case of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 7. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

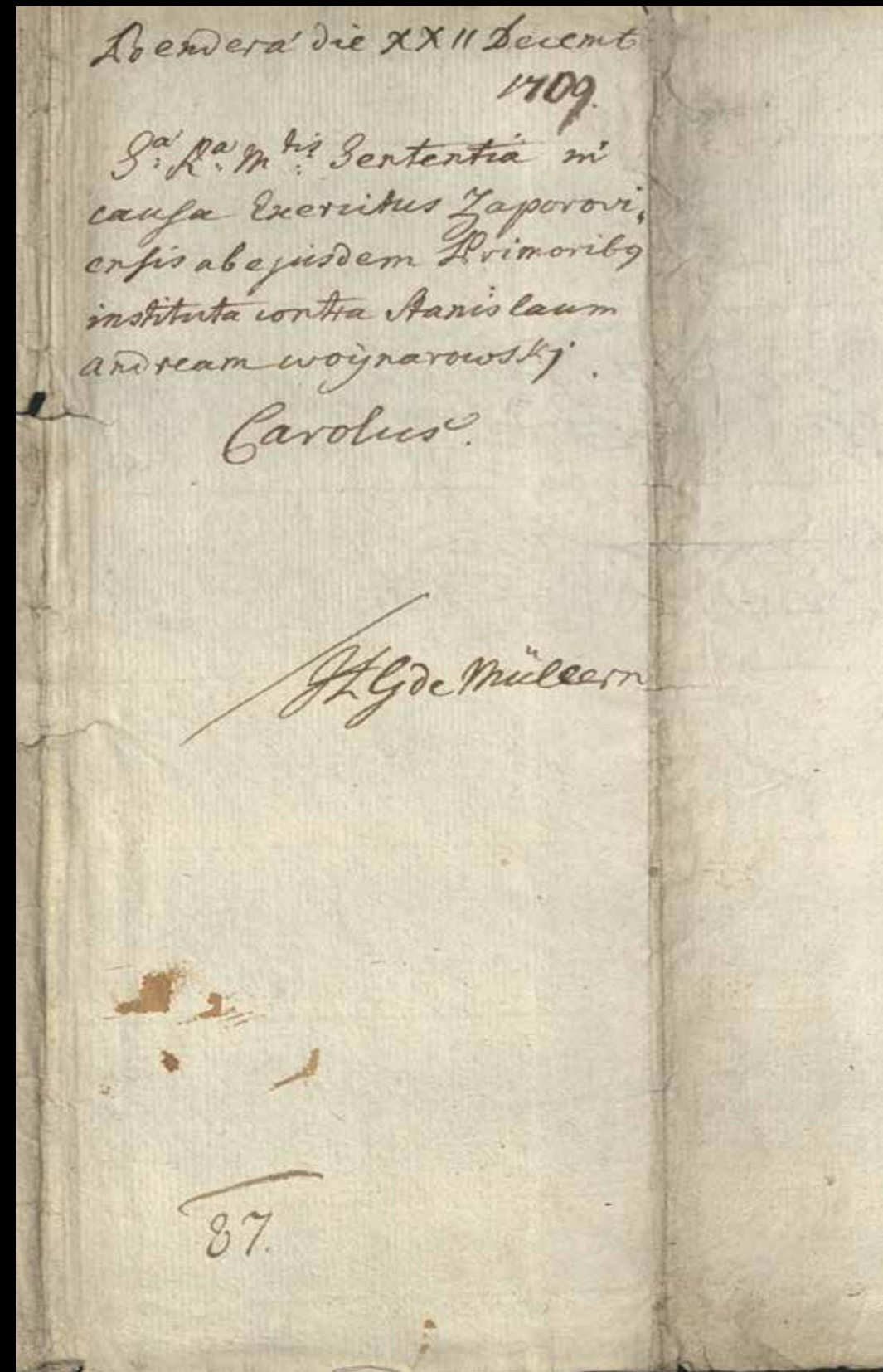


FIGURE 18

The Decision of the Holy Royal Majesty in the Case of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 8. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

# Datum Bender

22<sup>a</sup> Sa<sup>ra</sup> Ma<sup>j</sup>est<sup>as</sup> Sententia in causa  
Exeritus Zaporoviensis ab Gu<sup>do</sup>  
Primoribus instituta contra  
nislauum Andream Woynarou  
reuerantibus Primoribus resti-  
tionem omnium bonorum ab  
Illustri<sup>ss</sup>o Duce Mazeppara-  
lictorum sub praetextu, cap-  
ti esse thesauri. Datum in  
stris prope Benderam die  
XXII Decembris A<sup>n</sup> MDCCIX.

Sacra Regia Majestas clementissime  
iussit, per constitutos ad hoc negotium  
Commissarios seriem totius litis  
candide referri, e quorum humillima  
relatione 1<sup>o</sup> percepit Exeritus Zapo-  
roviensis

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164  
roviensis Primores ad corroborandam p<sup>re</sup>  
tentionem suam protulisse juramen-  
tum, ab Illustri<sup>ss</sup>o Duce praestitum,  
in quo nominatus p<sup>re</sup> defunctus  
Dux promisit, se velle, non paruen-  
do Substantiae suae, salutis, vita et  
ultima sanguinis gutta pro eliberan-  
da à Moscovitico iugo patria, contra  
Moscos pugnare, unde non solum, sed  
etiam ex adducto infimul<sup>o</sup> literarum  
extractu, Primores idem onus Woina-  
rowskio imponere volunt, adducta ratio-  
ne illam obligationem non dum fini-  
tam esse, patria adhuc in servitute exi-  
stente; Sed re penitus perpensa, Sa<sup>ra</sup> Ma<sup>j</sup>  
Majestas iudicat, Primorum argu-  
mentum hoc in capite omnino vail-  
lare.

FIGURE 19

Copy of The Decision of  
the Holy Royal Majesty  
in the Case of Exercitus  
Zaporoviensis, p. 1.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

## Datum Bender

Clarè: præsertim cum Ill<sup>l</sup>. Dux juramenta  
sua in omnibus jam satisfecerit, cuius ob-  
ligatio ultra vitam non extenditur, quæ  
propter nec istud literarum extractum  
obligat magis Woinarowicium, quam  
juramentum ipsum, vigore cuius sem-  
per se paratum declarat, ad pugnam  
contra Moschos.

Quod 2<sup>o</sup> ad excessus Ducis à Primoribus  
in scriptis passim notatos, pertinet,  
quos ob varias rationes antea deferre  
non potuisse asserunt: contra vero Woi-  
narowski exemplis præteritorum Ducum  
probat, Primores, si qui pie defuncti  
fuerint excessus, illos. Cæcò deferre  
debuisset et potuisse. Igitur S<sup>l</sup>. R<sup>l</sup>. M<sup>l</sup>.  
Sententia est, illos nunc delatos exami-  
re.

## December VIII

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165  
re non æquum esse, quia Primores Stan<sup>22</sup>  
te Ducis vita nullam horum fecerint  
mentionem, qui contra illorum delatio-  
nem tunc rationes suas proferre potuis-  
set; Siquidem et nunc ad nonnullos à  
Primoribus prolato excessus Woinarow-  
sky non sine fundamento respondit,  
licet illorum delationem non in foro com-  
petenti institutam esse contendat.  
Idem etiam S<sup>l</sup>. R<sup>l</sup>. Majestas judicat  
de eo quod Primores pretendunt com-  
petentius fruisse Ducem ut Ducem pro  
munere ministerii sui, ad ripas Bo-  
rysthenis prius publicis, quam priva-  
to securitatem providere: quia Pri-  
morum officium, quod ante revoluti-  
onem habuerunt, per custodiam Sve-  
ticam.

FIGURE 20

Copy of The Decision of  
the Holy Royal Majesty  
in the Case of Exercitus  
Zaporoviensis, p. 2.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

## Datum Bender

Præterea, quæ majoris solummodo securi-  
tatis gratia aderat, minime sublata  
fuit; nec obstat, quod primores, ut ul-  
terius allegant, imperuasibilem in-  
venirent Ducem, in maximo pro-  
tunc periculo non solum constitutum,  
verum etiam morbo laborantem, qui  
minus illorum munere fuerit pre-  
carum rerum curam gerere, et ante  
ipsorum fidelitati commissa tunc  
temporis, quantum factu possibile  
fuit salvare.

Quod autem 4<sup>o</sup> Primores auri restitue-  
tionem à Duce Mazeppe Bender  
ram aduti, hoc ex fundamento de-  
derent, quia Ducem privatim cum  
publico commiscuisse arguunt, porro  
rentes omnia præteritorum Ducum  
et/

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December 1710

et principaliter Samoiloivici bona in 2<sup>o</sup>  
manu Illustri Ducis invidiose proban-  
te contra Woinarowski, Galitzinum, pri-  
marium pro tunc Czari ministrum, a-  
liosque sibi Samoiloivici bona appropri-  
asse, post cuius exilium, fatentibus id  
ipsiomet Primoribus, antea casata  
arrenda ob defectum pecuniarum,  
denuo instituta fuit, unde luculenter  
apparet, nullas sibi prius nominatim  
moiloivici divitias ad manus pie  
defuncti Ducis pervenisse, sed Du-  
cem pecunias jam relictas è variis  
bonis, Ducis à Czaro collatis, è com-  
merciis aliisque ipsi competen-  
tibus redditibus sat amplius, ad quos  
etiam inductum pertinuisse patet,  
quia Primores huius rei explicatio-  
nem/

FIGURE 21

Copy of The Decision of  
the Holy Royal Majesty  
in the Case of Exercitus  
Zaporoviensis, p. 3.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.



Datum Bender  
nem fauere detrectarunt, et congeste  
affirmat. Cum itaque Primores eviden-  
tibus argumentis probare non potuerunt  
sic defunctum Ducem miscuisse pecu-  
cum cum privato: Si quidem interroga-  
ti certum publici thesauri ignorantes  
numeram, ideoque ignorant ea, quae  
iure praetendunt; nec demonstrarunt  
Ducem post Sarnoilovici exitum  
milliones aliquos accepisse, verum  
actis videndum, non tantas divitias  
uti Primores volunt, in publico late-  
risse gazophilatio, cuius residuum se-  
cundum Primorum confessionem,  
inmediate ante praesentem revolu-  
tionem, quando illum Supremus Castrom  
Metator.

December VIII  
Metator ex mandato Ducis Baturini<sup>22</sup>  
in curru imposuit, numerum 1000000  
renum parum superavit. Tandem etiam  
cum Primores tempore agrotantis Ducis  
erga Illustrum Generalem Ponja-  
towski, uti ille in ambarum partium  
praesentia retulit, nullam publici thes-  
auri fecerint mentionem, a quo solum-  
modo Woinarowski ferentes absentiam,  
rogantesque praesatum Generalem, ut  
curam gerere vellet, ne bona Ducis  
Mazepa quid damni patientur;  
Igitur S. R. M. ex Supradictis iusta  
visum, hinc Statueret, ea bona, quae a  
Duce Benderam traducta sunt, quo-  
rum maxima pars jam aliquando  
Woinarowski.

FIGURE 22

Copy of The Decision of the Holy Royal Majesty in the Case of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, p. 4. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm. Photo by Marina Trattner.

## Datum Bender

22 Woinarowskiæ fidelitati à Duce commissa  
fuit; Illust. Ducis Mareppæ private  
esse non publica, siquid nisi publica fuis-  
sent, presumendum est, Primores sine du-  
bio de illorum locuti fuisse conservatio-  
ne, uti nunc de privato Ducis thesauro  
abiis factum; quia propter quoque Woi-  
narowski horum à Duce et Mareppæ  
relictorum bonorum jure competit per-  
fessio: præsertim cum ipsimet Prime-  
res, vel testamentum vel testes, qui  
cuncta Woinarowskiæ destinata esse  
probarent, in scriptis suis desiderant,  
quo concessio necessario sequitur Woi-  
narowski sine contestatione posse  
etiam nunc intactati arunculi habere  
dem.

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dem esse  
Quod autem si ad privatam Primorum<sup>22</sup>  
pretensionem attinet, qui restitutionem  
pecuniarum immediate ante  
presentem revolutionem in arduis  
aliquorum districtuum Ducis perso-  
nularum desiderant; Sacra Regia Ma-  
jestas judicat et statuit, ut Woina-  
rowski illas Primoribus, secundum  
modum in illorum responso expres-  
sum, restituat; quia non solum Pri-  
mores propter turbidum rerum sta-  
tum fructus ex illis percipere non  
potuerant, verum etiam hujus debiti  
mentionem, præsertim erga Gene-  
ralem Tonjatowski jamante obitum  
Ducis

FIGURE 23

Copy of The Decision of  
the Holy Royal Majesty  
in the Case of Exercitus  
Zaporoviensis, p. 5.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

# Datum Bender

28<sup>o</sup> Ducis fuerunt.

6<sup>o</sup> quoque Statuit S<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> Majestas, ut  
Woinarowski Cancellaria Cosfauia a  
manuensibus in vim retentorum  
octo annis donorum, quae de consuetu  
dine ipsis offerebantur, centum et quin  
quaginta aurea vulgo Ducatus pui  
soluat, quam summam Notarius  
Generalis, secundum illorum men  
ta, eis distribuet; interim autem  
Regia Majestas aequitati non ca  
sentaneum esse iudicat, quod qui  
dam e' dicta Cancellaria omnium  
in Ukraina perditorum deside  
rant refusionem, quia ad illam  
Woinarowski

December 1710

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Woinarowski obligari non potest. 22<sup>o</sup>  
actum ut supra. Carolus.

Ad Magnum Vitzium gratia.  
H. Gren Müllern sum actio pro eius literis  
ad S<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>a</sup> Majestatem.

Carolus Dei gratia  
Perillustri et Magnifico S<sup>o</sup> Magno Vitzio Sa. 23.  
litem et benevolentiam nostram Regiam. Rite  
nobis reddita sunt literae, quae Dominus Ma  
gnus Vitzius ad Nos datas Palatino Kiouensi  
atque Supremo Exercituum Regni Polonia Duci  
perferendas dederat. Incurandum nobis fuit ex iis  
dem intelligere amicam declarationem et fidem  
homine et mandato Serenissimi Turcarum Impe  
ratoris, Fratris et Amici Nostri honoratissimi  
nobis datam, de prona ejus voluntate studio  
que relificandi nobis in iis omnibus quae vel  
haecenus requisivimus, vel de hinc porro de  
sideraverimus. Grato equidem animo ist  
haec

FIGURE 24

Copy of The Decision of  
the Holy Royal Majesty  
in the Case of Exercitus  
Zaporoviensis, p. 6.  
The National Archives of  
Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

SACRÆ REGIÆ  
MAJESTATIS  
DECLARATION CIRCA  
ELECTIONEM NOVI  
DUCIS SEU PRÆFECTI  
GENTIS ROSSIACÆ  
EXERCITUSQUE  
ZAPOROVIIENSIS

Nos Carolus notum testatumque facimus, Quod cum per obitum Illustrissimi pie defuncti Ducis Johannis Mazeppæ munus summi Præfecti Gentis Rossiacæ Exercitusque Zaporoviensis jam per aliquot menses vocaverit, Nobisque à primoribus ejusdem Gentis nomine totius Exercitus humillime sit relatam, quod omnes et singuli novi Ducis seu summi Præfecti Electionem ad veterem morem inire necessarium duxerint, quæ nostra sit ea de re sententia scire humillime petientes; Igitur quandoquidem et Nos nominatæ Gentis Rossiacæ Exercitus Zaporoviensis rebus salutique consultum credamus si novum quantocius sibi constituerint Campi Ductorem sub cuius ductu atque auspiciis, non minus totius Patriæ Libertas, quam singulorum privata commoda possint procurrari, hisce declarare volumus, quod non alieni simus, ut hæc novi Ducis election, secundum antiquam sæpius dictæ Gentis Exercitusque Zaporoviensis, consuetudinem, privilegiaque longo annorum cursu stabilita, liberis votis instituat, et ad exoptatum finem perducatur.

In quorum maiorem  
CAROLUS

DECLARATION OF HIS  
HOLY ROYAL MAJESTY  
REGARDING THE ELECTION  
OF A NEW HETMAN OR  
SUPREME PREFECT<sup>1</sup> OF THE  
RUTHENIAN PEOPLE AND  
EXERCITUS ZAPOROVIIENSIS

We, Charles, declare and attest that, as the office of the Supreme Prefect of the Ruthenian People and Exercitus Zaporoviensis state has been vacant for several months due to the death of His Serene Highness Hetman Ivan Mazepa, who is now with God, and We have been most humbly informed by the Starshyna of the same People in the name of the entire Host that they collectively and individually consider it necessary to begin the election of a new Hetman or Supreme Prefect according to the ancient custom, humbly seeking to learn what Our opinion on this matter is; And hence, since We would also entrust the affairs and welfare of the said Ruthenian People of Exercitus Zaporoviensis to the care of the latter, if [the people] elected [themselves] as soon as possible a new Field Leader, under whose guidance and leadership [they] could care for the freedom of their entire homeland no less than for the private benefits of individuals, [then,] in view of this, We wish to declare that We have no objection to such an election of a new Hetman, in accordance with the above-mentioned ancient custom of the People and Exercitus Zaporoviensis and the privileges established by the long course of years, to be held by free vote and brought to the desired end.

In the greater faith,<sup>2</sup>  
CHARLES

(See Figs. 25–26)

<sup>1</sup> The term “Præfectus” can also mean “governor”, “viceroy”, or “head of administration of a certain territory”.

<sup>2</sup> Here “In quorum maiorem” is an abbreviated version of a verbal formula that provides for the sealing of a document. See, e.g., in Charles XII’s Confirmation Charter of 10 May 1710: In quorum omnium maiorem fidem instrumentum hoc confirmatorium manu nostra subscriptum regio nostro sigillo corroborari iussimus.

FIGURE 25 ■

Copy of the  
Declaration, p. 1.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina  
Trattner

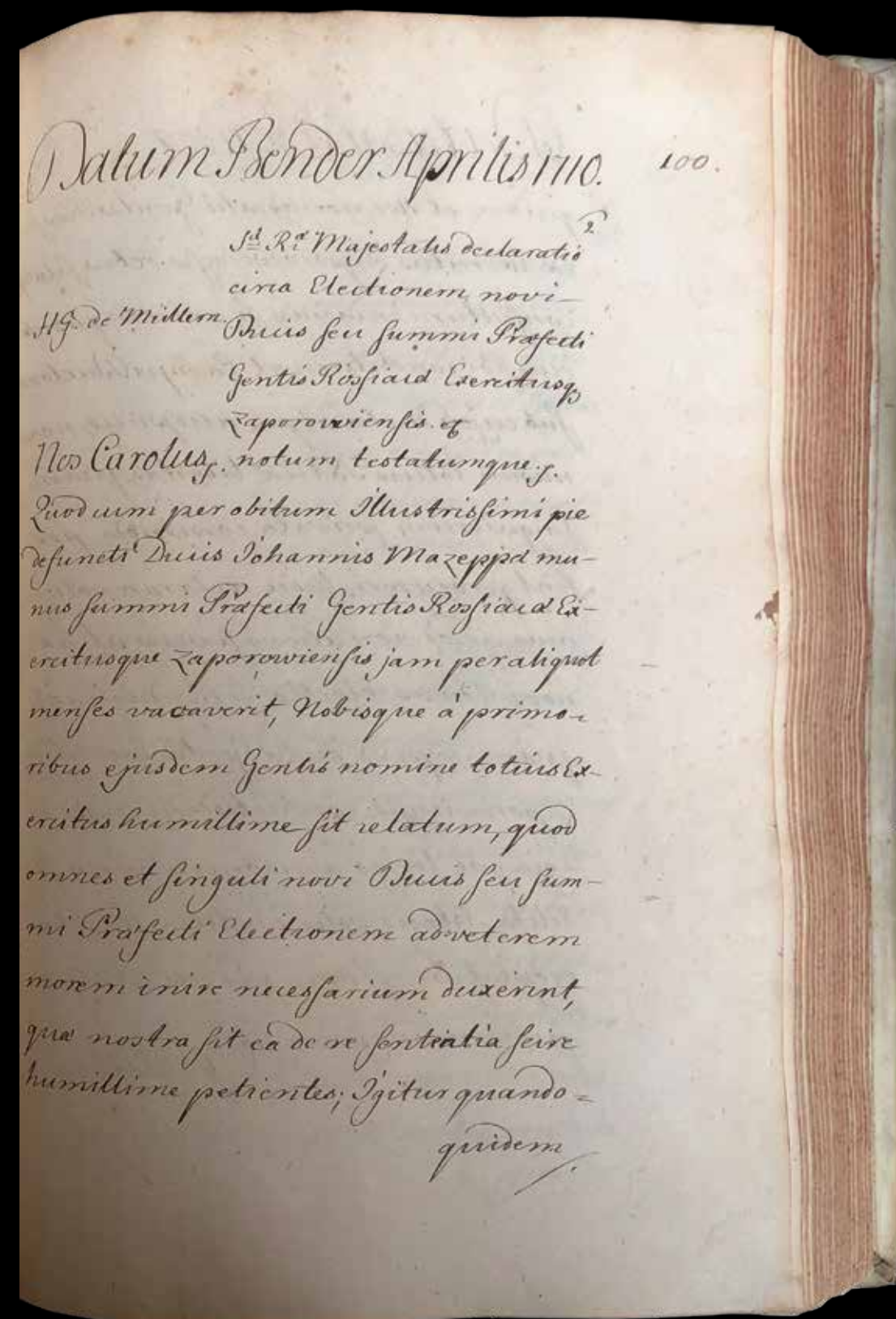


FIGURE 27 ■  
Copy of the  
Declaration, p. 1.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina  
Trattner.

Datum Bender  
2 quidem et Nos nominata Gentes Ruffica  
ca Exercitus Zaporowiensis rebus salubri  
consultum credimus si novum quantum  
eius sibi constituerint Campi Ductores  
sub cuius ductu atque auspiciis, non  
minus totius Patriae libertas quam  
singulorum privata comoda pro  
sint procurari, hinc declarare volui-  
mus, quod non alieni firmus, ut hinc  
novi Ducis electio, secundum anti-  
quam Sapientia dicta Gentes Exercitus  
Zaporowiensis, consuetudinem, privi-  
legiaque longo annorum cursu sta-  
bilita, liberis votis instituat, et ad  
exceptatum finem perducatur. In  
quorum maiorem. Carolus.

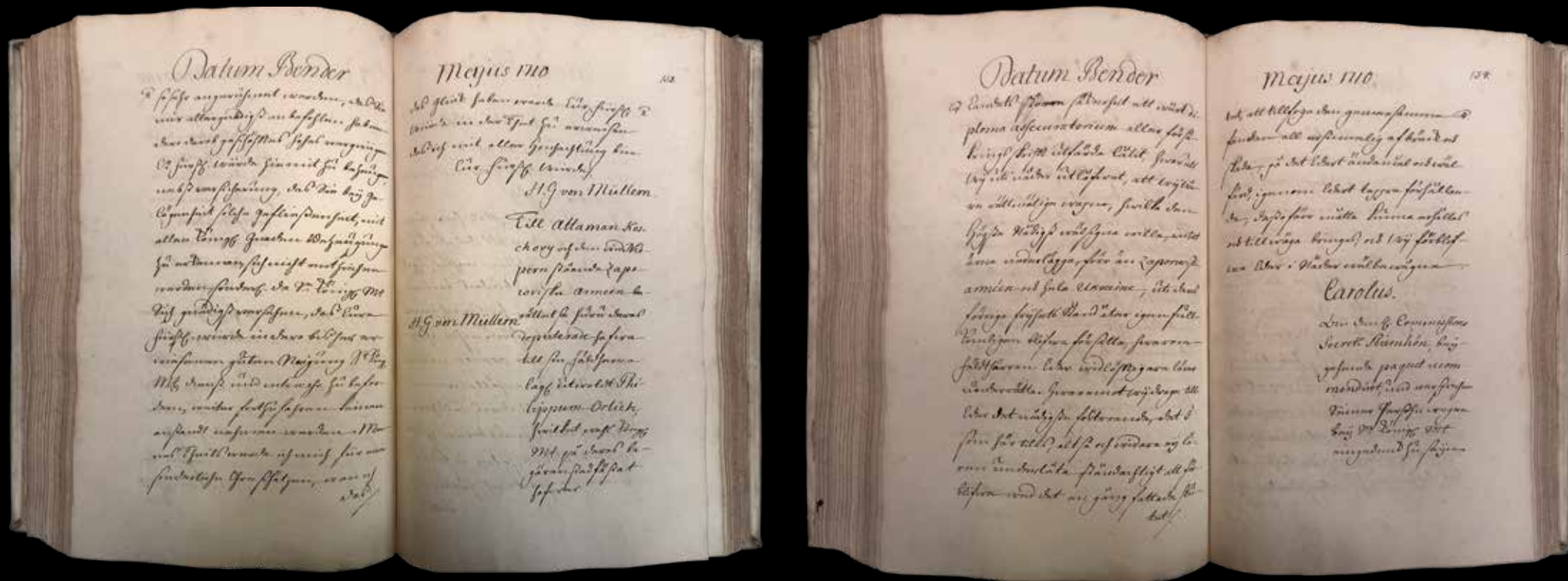
Aprilis 1710

102.

Ad Ducem Potoizky<sup>8</sup>  
responsoria, quibus  
certior redditur, quod  
requisitionis de Ipsius  
libero transitu per  
Transilvaniam et  
Wallaciam iam  
Expedita sunt.

Illustrissime Domine Comes, su-  
preme Exercituum Regni Poloniae  
Dux et Palatine Kiowiensis.

Missus a Domino Duce internuntius  
litteras Quo die 2. Mensis huius datas  
rite nobis reddidit, atque juxta pluri-  
bus exposuit, quae res Duce Duce  
permoverit ad cogitandum de festino  
Exitu à locis istis ubi nunc cum co-  
hortibus agit. Quod nobis gratum  
fuit.



# A LETTER TO THE COSSACKS REMAINING AT THE DNEIPEP, WRITTEN ON THE 15th DAY OF MAY, YEAR 1710, IN BENDER

(The original text in the Ruthenian language was transcribed by Valentyna Bochkovska)

Your obedient communication, written on the 15th of March, We have graciously received from the hands of your envoys, Grigory Burbeka and his companions, and We have understood from it how you sent the above envoys to the election of a new Hetman here, who with the General Starshyna present here and with the troops remaining here, unanimously elected for themselves by free vote and by Our Royal gracious permission the High-born Pylp Orlyk as the Hetman, and soon after they had made Treaties with him, by which your and the whole Ukraine's former liberties were restored and confirmed, which Muscovy for a long time not only tried to infringe in various and exceptional ways, but until recently has also often attempted to destroy them completely. Then, with full agreement and consent of all, We hereby approve with Our Royal Signature the Treaties that have been resolved and concluded in accordance with the humble request submitted earlier. And We are always inclined to better your and the whole Ukraine's State, prosperity and unity, and to that end, for your and the aforesaid Ukraine's greater safety, [We shall] issue a special statement in writing, in which We reaffirm by the strength of Our gracious word that with G[o]d's blessing We shall not abandon Our righteous war until Exercitus Zaporoviensis and the whole Ukraine have reclaimed their historical freedom, of which the aforementioned Hetman will inform you in detail. We also kindly trust that you will stay committed to remain at Our side in this endeavour at all times as before inflicting every possible damage on [our] common enemy, so that through your Chivalrous courage the integrity of your Motherland may be restored as soon as possible, and in the meantime, We are always favourably disposed towards you.

(See Figs. 27-29)



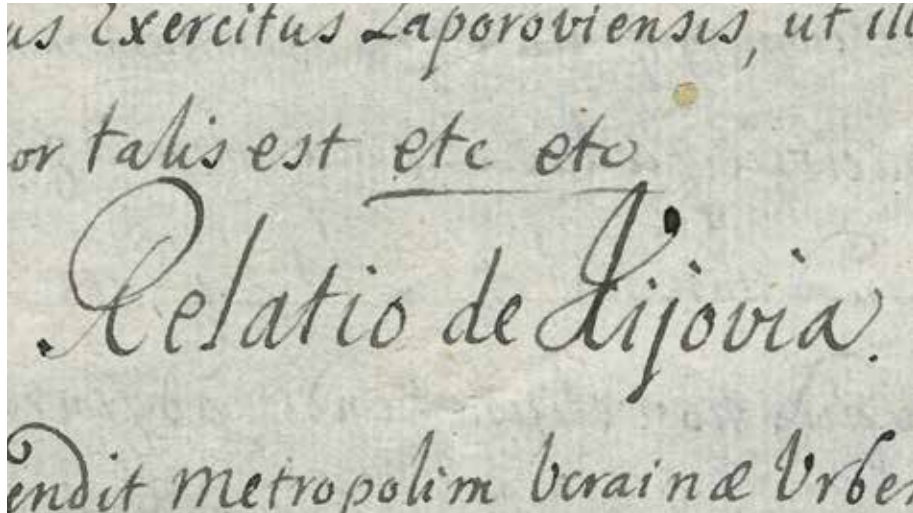
■ FIGURE 27  
Pages with the translation of the 'Letter to the Cossacks [...]' into Swedish.  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner



# RELATIO DE KIJOVIA<sup>1</sup>

Transcribed from Latin:

Iniustè Moscus prætendit metropolim Ucrainæ Urbem Kijoviam eamque ab Ucraina separare conatur: Quia Principes Kioviæ ab antiquis temporibus semper fuerat Caganis Cosaricis, postea nominatis Ducibus Cosaticis tributarii usque ad Principem Ruricum, qui ex Magno Novagorod venit ob obtinendum principatum Kioviæ, et tollit obedientiam ac vectigalia plus non persolvendas Duci Cosacorum. Postmodùm quùm Rex Poloniæ Boleslaus Chorobri expugnatam armis Kijoviam subegit cum tota Ucraina Patria Cosacica usque ad Mare Nigrum Suæ potestati, Tum ab iis temporibus usque ad bellum Chmielniccii Ducis Cosacorum, hoc est Exercitus Zaporoviensis Kijovia et tota Ucraina in Possessione Polonorum erat. Qui Chmielniccius inito foedere cum Crimea et colligatione armorum stabilita non tantum Kijoviam Membrum Ucrainæ verùm et integram Ucrainam ex utraque parte Boristhinis à Jugo Servitutis Polona, ut antiquam Cosacorum hæreditatem eliberavit, et cum his omnibus contulit se Libera Sponte Protectioni Moscoviticæ. Ab antiquis vero temporibus nullum habuit Jus Moscus supra Ucrainam. Nec potest etiam diblaterare Moscus, Kijoviam se per pacta conventa à Polonis habere, quia priùs possessioni Cosacicæ Poloni pactis Kijoviam restituerunt, et Cosaci hæreditario Jure etsi nunc cum præiudicio à Moscis supra eam usurpant possessionem. Non potuerunt enim Poloni Moscis postea cedere Kijoviam, quoniam iam eam habuerant in sua potestate, sed Cosaci sine omni à parte Polonorum præpedimento per spatium triginta et plus annorum ante quam Moscus inicit cum polonis æviternæ amicitiaë foedus supra eam pacifico liberique Dominio utebantur: nam nemo dat hoc quod non habet. Adeoque illegitime Mosci concupiscunt Kijoviam, quæ eorum cupido non alium tendit ad finem, sed ut, si Kijoviam in Meditullio Ucrainæ situatam potuerant sinistris Suis delationibus possessioni Suæ adscisci; / Ucraina dubitaret de absoluta Sua à violento ipsorum Jugo, Liberatione et ut invita deberet partibus eorum inhærere. Semperque Ucraina ad tuitionem Sui vinctas habebit manus, quia Mosci in Meditullio eius habendo potentiam, facillimè eandem quovis tempore nutibus Suis subiugare possunt. Inspienter igitur seu potiùs astutè ab Ucraina Kijoviam Separare, quæ Semper inseparabilis erat, Laborant Mosci. Concludit in Se etiam cæteros Ducatus uti Czernihoviensem et Severiensem Ucraina, nec ad hos Moscus ullam habet Legitimam



- ↑ Diplomatica Muscovitica, Diplomatica Muscovitica Cosacica, SE/RA/2113/2113.2/1 (1654–1721) – Riksarkivet – Archive Search.

When the first Ukrainian edition of this book was published in 2021, our team was unable to locate a verbatim translation of these relations and so we decided to translate the original documents ourselves. After the Ukrainian edition of this book was published, I learned that it was Omeljan Pritsak, founder and first director of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, who first drew attention to these documents, but it was not until 2010 when Natalya Mykolaivna Yakovenko translated them word-by-word. Prof. Yakovenko made her translation from a photocopy of the document kept at the Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kyiv (Fund 2236, descr. 1, folio 71, pp. 5 6). This is what an article of 16 April 2014 says, "Orlyk's proposed change to the Cossacks' 'historical passport' affected the idea of Kyiv as well making it the sacred centre and capital of the Kyivan Rus' princes and guarded by Exercitus Zaporoviensis. With the emergence of the 'Khazar Theory', only the Cossacks were declared to be the rightful successors to Kyiv, while the claims of the Muscovian tsars were rejected, citing 'historical arguments' of the Cossacks' Khazar origin. This clearest expression of this idea is found in *Relatio de Kijovia*, written in Latin and included in the small text *Praemium ad Pacta et Constitutiones*, which was attached to the Preamble of the Constitution. Omeljan Pritsak was the first to draw attention to this document in his preface to the Harvard facsimile edition of *The Diariusz podrozny of Pylyp Orlyk* (reference note 71). It was planned to be included in a separate edition of Orlyk's texts, but such an edition was never prepared (reference note 72). Pritsak believed Orlyk to be the author of the *Relation on Kyiv* and dated it to 1712 on the grounds that similar ideas were reflected in concurrent texts by the exiled hetman, namely, in his letter to the Grand Vizier of 10 March 1712, which mentions that Kyiv cannot be torn away from Ukraine, because "neither Kyiv without Ukraine nor Ukraine without Kyiv can exist." (*Nec Kiioviam sine Ucraina, nec Ukrainam sine Kiiovia unquam posse esse.*)

prætensionem, quia numquam eos in Sua habuerat possessione.

## RELATION ON KYIV<sup>1</sup>

Muscovy claims the capital of Ukraine, the city of Kyiv, and tries to separate it from Ukraine wrongfully, as the Princes of Kyiv have always been tributaries of the Khazar Khagans, who later became known as Cossack Hetmans, since ancient times and up to Kniaz [Prince] Rurik, who came from Veliky Novgorod to gain supreme power over Kyiv and established duties and taxes that were no longer to be paid to the Cossack Hetman. Later, when King Bolesław the Brave of Poland subjugated Kyiv, which he had conquered with arms, along with the whole of Ukraine, the Cossack homeland, up to the Black Sea, from that time until the war of Khmelnytsky, Hetman of the Cossacks, that is, Exercitus Zaporoviensis, Kyiv and the whole of Ukraine were in Polish possession. Khmelnytsky, by virtue of a treaty with the Crimea and a powerful combination of weapons, liberated not only the Kyiv Part of Ukraine, but the whole of Ukraine on both banks of the Dnipro as an ancient heritage of the Cossacks from the Yoke of Polish Bondage, and together with all of them, Freely Entrusted themselves to the Protection of the Muscovy. However, since ancient times, Muscovy has had no Right to Ukraine. Nor can Muscovy hollowly claim that it acquired Kyiv from the Poles by treaties concluded with them, since before that the Poles restored the Cossack possession of Kyiv under treaties, and the Cossacks [have the same] Right by inheritance, even now, when its possession is usurped by the Muscovites by precedent. For the Poles could not cede Kyiv to the Muscovites because they no longer had power over it, while the Cossacks enjoyed peaceful and free rule over it without any interference on the part of the Poles for more than thirty years before the Muscovites concluded a treaty of perpetual friendship with the Poles: for no one gives what he does not have. And all the more unlawfully do the Muscovites covet Kyiv, because their lust is for no other purpose than that if Kyiv, located in the Heart of Ukraine, could, according to Their evil claims, belong to Their possession, Ukraine would hesitate to fully Liberate Itself from their violent Yoke, and would be forced to cling to their side against its will. And Ukraine's hands will always be tied for Its defence as the Muscovites, having power in its very Centre, can easily subjugate it to Their desires at any time. Therefore, the Muscovites are recklessly, or rather cunningly, Trying to Separate Kyiv, which has Always been inseparable from Ukraine. Ukraine also includes the rest of the Principalities, notably Chernihiv and Severia, and Muscovy cannot have any Legitimate claims to them [either], as it has never had them in Its possession.

(See Figs. 30–31).



■ FIGURE 30

Relation on Kyiv, p. 1.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina  
Trattner

Orbit Neo electo Duce, ut non solum Illius Excellentia Sua in diebus utinam  
felicis Sui Ducatus Regiminis, cuncta haec sequentia punctis Expressa et fide  
Sua iurata Pacta et Constitutiones inviolate observaret, verum etiam et a ceteris  
succedentibus Ducibus Exercitus Zaporoviensis, ut illa immutabiliter sint conser-  
vanda, quorum tenor talis est etc etc

### Relatio de Sijovia.

Iniuste Moscus praeiudicium metropolim veraina Urbem Sijoviam, eamque ab veraina  
separare conatur. Quia Principes Sijovia, ab antiquis temporibus semper fuerant  
Caganis Caspensis, postea nominatis Ducibus Casaticis tributarii usque ad Principe  
Curicum, qui ex Magno Nowagorod venit ob obtinendum principatum Sijovia,  
et tollit obedientiam ac vectigalia plus non persolvenda Sui Casacorum. Post-  
modum quum Rex Polonia Boteslaus Chrobri expugnatam Armis Sijoviam  
subegit cum tota Veraina Patria Casatica usque ad mare nigrum Suae potestati,  
tum ab his temporibus usque ad bellum Chmielnickij Ducis Casacorum, hoc est Exer-  
citus Zaporoviensis Sijovia, et tota Veraina in possessione Polonorum erat. Qui  
Chmielnickius in toto federe cum Crimea et colligatione armorum stabilita non tam-  
tum Sijoviam membrum Verainae verum et integram Verainam ex utraque parte  
Borysthenis a Duce Servituti Polonae, ut antequam Casacorum hereditatem  
eliberavit et cum his omnibus contulit se libera sponte Protectioni Moscoviticae.  
Ab antiquis vero temporibus nullum habuit Ius Moscus supra Verainam. Nec  
potest etiam dilaberare Moscus, Sijoviam se per pacta conventa a Polonis habe-  
re, quia prius possessioni Casatae Poloni pacto Sijoviam restituerunt, et Casaci  
haverunt

FIGURE 31 ■

True Relation on the  
Cossacks and Kyiv, p. 2.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina  
Trattner

hereditario Iure et si nunc cum praedictis a Moscis, supra eam usurpant posses-  
sionem. Non potuerunt enim Poloni Moscis postea cedere Sijoviam, quoniam iam  
eam non habuerant in Suae potestate, sed Casaci sine omni a parte Polonorum  
praesudamento per spatium triginta et plus annorum antequam Moscus inivit cum  
Polonis Anterica Amicitia sedus supra eam pacifico Liberoque Dominio utebantur.  
nam nemo dat hoc quod non habet. Adeoque illegitime Mosci concupiscunt Sijov-  
viam, quae eorum cupido non alium tendit ad finem, sed ut, si Sijoviam in Me-  
ditullis Veraina Situatam potuissent Suis dotationibus possessioni Suae  
adsciis, Veraina dabitaret de absolute Suae a violento ipsorum Iugo, Liberatione  
et ut invita deberet partibus eorum inherere. Semperque Veraina ad tuitionem Sui  
vinctas habebit manus, quia Mosci in Meditullis eius habendo potentiam, facili-  
ter eandem quavis tempore nubibus Suis subjugare possunt. Insipienter igitur  
seu potius astute ab Veraina Sijoviam separare, quae semper inseparabilis  
erat, laborant Mosci. Concludit in se etiam ceteros Ducatus uti Chernihovien-  
sem et Severniensem Veraina, nec ad hos Moscus ullem habet Legitimam praetensio-  
nem, quia nunquam eos in Suae habuerat possessione.

# RELATIO VERA DE COSACIS ET DE KIOVIA

Celeberrimus historicus Andreas Cellarius cum Symone Starovolsio de Gente Cosacica in omni concordans sic illam in Libro Suo Amstelodami Typis impresso, Folio quadragesimo nono deprædicat, Cosaci nomen habere dicuntur à voce ruthenica Cosak, qui militem Strenuum significat, ex insulis Boristhinis exiisse, et adhuc in iisdem hodie habitacula Sua habere feruntur, inde Zaporovienses Cosaci etiam nuncupati, qui Græcam Religionem profitentes Libertate Sua gaudent, homines indomiti, mortisque contemptores, ac mori, aut vincere certi, unde et Cosacorum nomen sibi adsciverunt. In Satrapiis vero Kijoviensi et Braslaviensi casas Suas, domos et agros habent.

Idem autor Cellarius in Descriptione Palatinatus Kijoviensis eodem Libro Suo Folio 373.

Kijoviensis Palatin[at]us Regio grandis, pro magnitudine tamen non adeo populosa, iis præsertim in districtibus, qui versus meridiem exporrecti cultores et incolas desiderant. Confinis est Moscoviæ et Tartaris, quæ ortum spectant: quæ verò Australi Plagæ obtenditur. Borysthenem lato alveo in Pontum Euxinum abeuntem terminum habet. Occasum versus Braclaviensi Palatinatu, ac Volhinia ulteriore, et Septentrione alba Russia terminatur. Borysthenes inter maximos Europæ fluvios numeratus fere mediam secat. Civitates et oppida quoque habet hinc inde optimè munita, quorum potissima Pars fluminibus assidet. Incolæ bellis assiduis exercitati militares animos gerunt, et tam ex oppidis quam pagis in insulas Borysthenis confluunt. Cosacos se vocant, qui hanc et Braslaviensem Satrapiam hyberno tempore colentes, æstivo tempore in latibula Sua in Borysthenis insulis Sita recipiunt, quando nulla bella gerunt. Sub proprio suo Generali, seu præfecto Summo stipendia facientes nemini parere volunt, adeò ut Reges Poloniæ, licet ipsos subiugare sæpius studuerint, nunquam tamen voti compotes fieri potuerint. In militia contenti præda gratis serviunt, aut etiam pecuniam accipiunt. Poloniæ in angustiis

# TRUE RELATION ON THE COSSACKS AND KYIV<sup>1</sup>

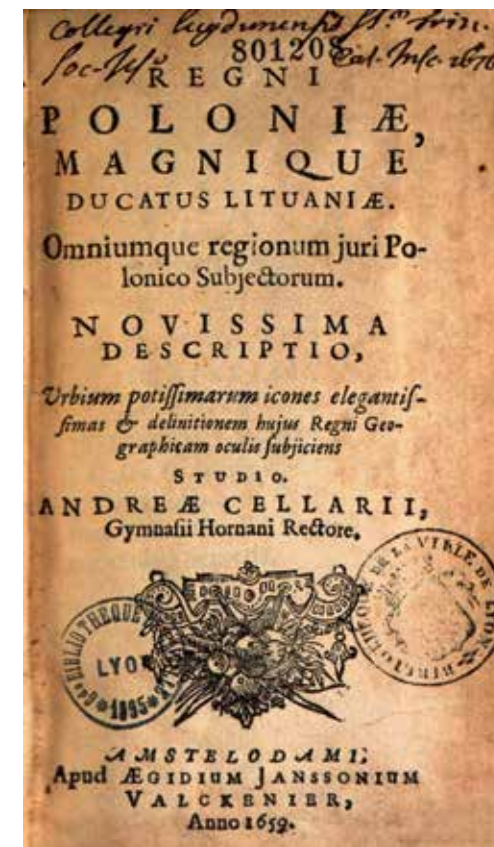
The famous historian Andreas Cellarius<sup>2</sup> who agrees with Szymon Starowolski in everything concerning the Cossack People, declares on Page 49 of His Book, printed from the Matrices in Amsterdam, that the Cossacks are said to have their name derived from the Ruthenian word 'Cosak', which means a Resolute warrior, that they come from the islands of the Borysthenes and continue to have Their dwellings there until today, hence they are also called the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who professing the Greek Faith, rejoice in Their Freedom; indomitable people who despise death, determined to die or win, whence they have acquired the name of Cossacks. They [also] have their houses, estates, and fields in Kyiv and Bratslav Governorates.

The same author, Cellarius, Describes the Kyiv Voivodeship in the Same Book on Page 373:

The Kyiv Voivodeship is a large region, but not so populous for its size, [and] the districts that stretch to the south have particular need for ploughmen and cottagers. [It] borders on Muscovy and the Tatars where it looks to the east [and] where indeed it extends to the southern edge. The Borysthenes [there] flows into the Pontus Euxine in a wide channel. In the west, [it is] bounded by the Bratslav Voivodeship and further by Volhynia, and in the north by White Rus'. The Borysthenes, numbered among the largest rivers of Europe, cuts through [this land] almost [in] the middle. Cities and towns are well fortified everywhere, and most of them sit on the rivers. The locals, skilled in constant warfare, are filled with a warlike spirit and flock from towns and villages to the islands of the Borysthenes. [They] call themselves Cossacks, live in Bratslav Governorate in winter, and in summer, when they are not fighting any war, they return to Their hideouts on the islands of the Borysthenes. Being in the service of their General, or Supreme Prefect, they are so unwilling to obey anyone that although Polish kings often tried to subdue them, they

1 Diplomatica Muscovitica, Diplomatica Muscovitica Cosacica, SE/RA/2113/2113.2/1 (1654-1721) - Riksarkivet - Sök i arkiven

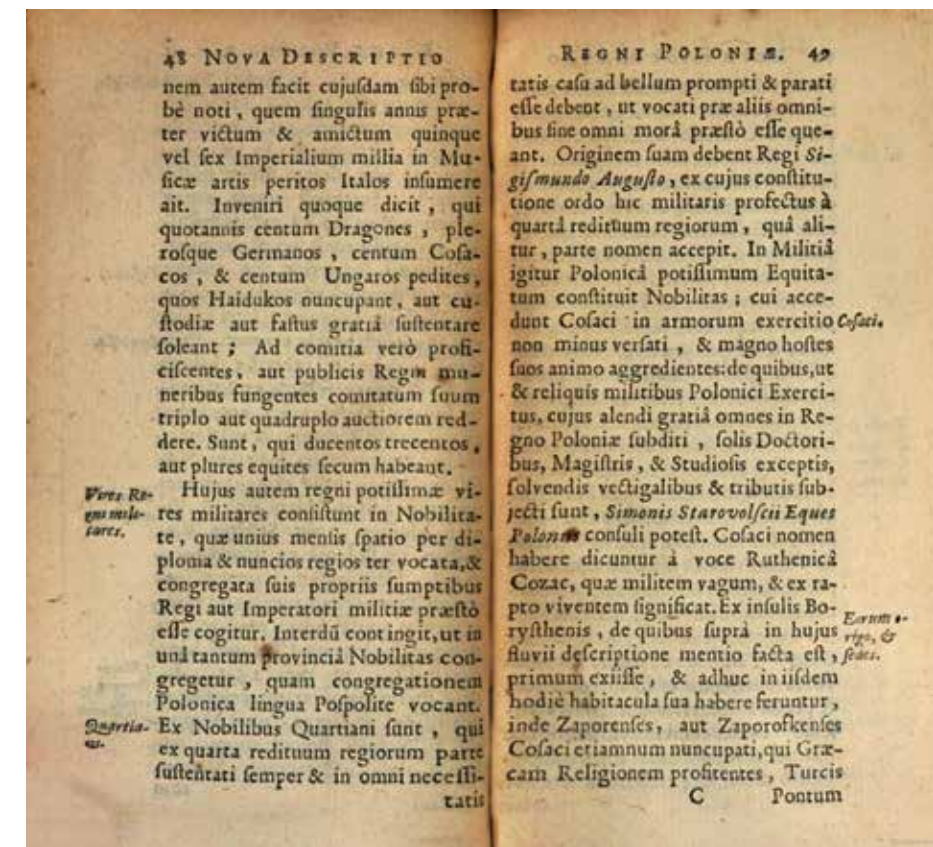
2 Source: Andreas Cellarius, Regni Poloniae, magnique ducatus Lituaniae. Omniumque regionum juri polonico subjectorum. Nouissima descriptio ... studio Andreae Cellarii (Aegidium Janssonium Valckenier, 1659). <https://books.google.com.ua/books?id=NzzYyzfPowE&printsec=frontcover&hl=uk#v=onepage&q&f=false>



■ Regni Poloniae, magnique ducatus Lituaniae omniumque regionum juri polonico subjectorum novissima descriptio. Andreas Cellarius. 1659.

constitutæ auxilio sæpius, fuerunt, Irritati tamen gravia damna intulère, adeò ut Nobilitatem Polonicam infelissimam habuerint, præcipuè proximis his annis, quibus Nobiles unicum hoc genus penitus extirpare voluerunt in cassum tamen laborantes, et Sibi ipsis magnum malum accersentes. Græcæ Religionis studiosi in sacris neminem agnoscunt, nisi Archiep[iscopu]m sive Patriarcham Suum, in cæteris liberi et Sui juris, ut pote qui nemini obedientia obnoxii esse volunt, nisi Generali suo, quem ipsi sibi eligunt.

Anno 1651 Cosaci Kijoviam ut et alias urbes in potestatem Suam redierunt recuperates iterum a Polonis. Hæc verba sunt apud eundem chronographum folio 383. Folio autem 428 affirmat idem Cellarius ac tali methodo rem exorditur. Anno 1654 Alexius Michaelides, defuncti Michaelis Fedorovicii Moscovitici Imperatoris Filius et Successor foedere iunctus Cosacis, qui Poloniam hactenus per aliquot annos gravibus bellis affligerant, Lithuaniae recuperandæ occasione arripuit, et grandi



[Polish kings] never succeeded in realising their aspirations. In military campaigns, content with spoils, [Cossacks] serve for free, or even receive money. Often, they were a support for Poland in times of trial, but when they Revolted, they caused grave harm, and at the same time they were very hostile to the Polish Gentry, especially in recent years, when the [said] Gentry took pains to completely exterminate this unique tribe, but suffered in vain, causing the greatest harm to Themselves. Devoted to the Greek Faith, [Cossacks] do not recognise any sacred authorities unless it is Their Archb[ishop] or Patriarch; in all other respects, they are completely free and Self-governing, as they do not want to be burdened with obedience to anyone but their General, whom they choose for themselves.

In 1651, the Cossacks regained control of Kyiv and other cities, taking them back from the Poles. These words are in the same chronicle on page 383. On page 428, however, Cellarius states the same [thing] and presents the case as follows: In 1654, Alexei Mikhailovich, the Son and Heir of the late Muscovian Emperor Mikhail Fedorovich, entered into an alliance with the Cossacks who had been ravaging

exercitu eam invasit ac Smolenscum obsedit etc

Unde ergo veritas rei quamvis cæca mente palpari potest, quod ab utraque partis Borysthenis Ucraina ab antiquæ hæreditarii Juris cosacorum fuerat, quid enim? Cosaci vi armorum a Polonis iterum recuperassent, si antea non amisissent. Atque etiam evidentissimè patet Moscos perperam proferre, ipsissimam nequitiam diblaterare, quia Cosacos non erubescunt Subditos esse Suos nuncupare, pro quorum parte non Solùm Author Histhoricus Cellarius militat, non subditos sed Fæderatos Moscis affirmando sed etiam cæteræ historiæ, nec non vivi adhuc homines aligenigenæ purissimam huius fidem testari valebunt.

Poland with heavy wars for several years, took the opportunity to reconquer Lithuania and invaded it with a large army, besieged Smolensk, etc.

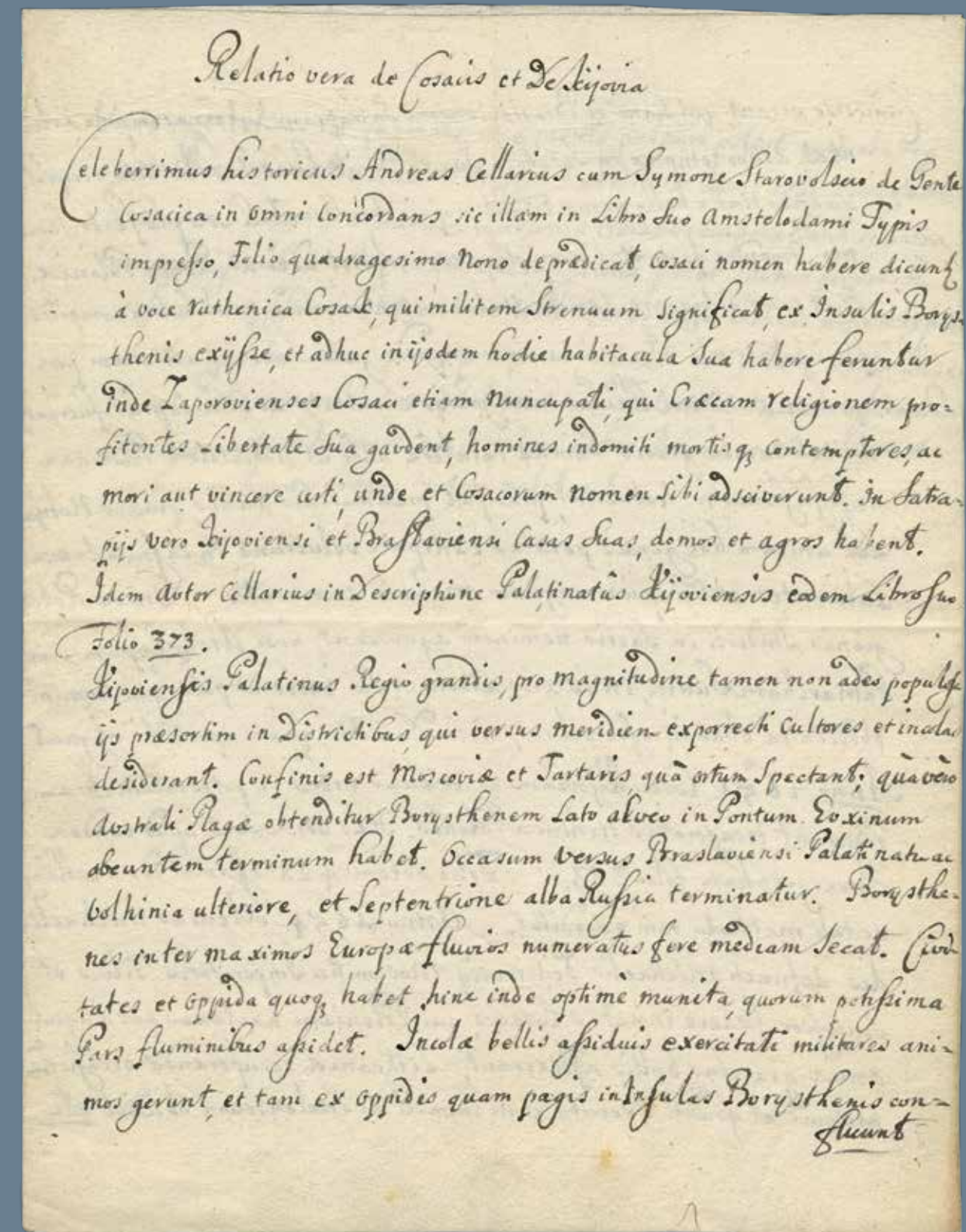
Thus, the truth of the matter can be grasped, even with a blind mind, that Ukraine belonged to the Cossacks on both banks of the Borysthenes under ancient hereditary Law, did it not? If the Cossacks had not lost it before, they would have had nothing to win back from the Poles by force of arms. And it follows very clearly from this that the Muscovites are speaking frivolously, spouting their own iniquity, since they are not ashamed to claim the Cossacks as their Subjects, on Whose behalf not Only the Author, the Historian Cellarius, is fighting affirming that they [the Cossacks] are not subjects but Allies of the Muscovites, but also the rest of history and the still living people of the noblest birth [who] are equally capable of attesting to the sincere truth.

(See Figs. 32–34)

FIGURE 32 ■

True Relation on the Cossacks and Kyiv, p. 1. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.

Photo by Marina Trattner.



Cossaci se vocant, qui hanc et Braslaviensem Satrapiam hyberno tempore coe-  
nantes, aestivo tempore in Latibula sua in Borysthenis Insulis sita recipiunt,  
quando nulla bella gerunt. Sub proprio suo Generali seu praefecto sum-  
mo stipendia facientes, nemini parere volunt, adeo ut Reges Poloniae  
licet ipsos subiugare saepius studuerint, nunquam tamen veli competes  
fieri potuerint. In militia contenti praeda gratis serviant, aut etiam pec-  
cuniam accipiunt. Poloniae in angustijs constituta auxilio saepius fuerunt,  
imitati tamen gravia damna intulere adeo ut Nobilitatem Polonicam  
infessissimam habuerint, praecipue proximis his annis, quibus Nobili-  
tates unicum hoc genus penitus extirpare voluerunt, in casum tamen  
laborantes et sibi ipsis magnum malum accersentes. Graeca Reli-  
gionis Studiosi in Sacris neminem agnoscunt, nisi Archieppum sive  
Patriarcham suum, in ceteris Liberi et sui iuris, ut pote qui nemini  
obedientiam obnoxii esse volunt, nisi Duci suo quem ipsi sibi eligunt.  
Anno 1634. Cossaci Dyroviam et alias urbes in potestatem suam  
rederunt recuperatas iterum a Polonis. Haec verba sunt apud eundem  
Chronographum folio 383. Folio autem 428 affirmat idem cellarius  
ac tali methodo rem exorditur. Anno 1654. Alexius Michaelis  
des defuncti Michaelis Fedorovicij Moscovitici Imperatoris Filius et  
Successor, federe iunctus Cossacis, qui Poloniam hactenus per aliquot  
annos gravibus bellis afflixerant, Lithuania recuperanda occasione  
arripuit, et grandi Exercitu eam invasit ac Smolenscum obsedit etc

■ FIGURE 33

True Relation on the  
Cossacks and Kyiv, p. 2.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

FIGURE 34 ■

True Relation on the  
Cossacks and Kyiv, p. 3.  
The National Archives  
of Sweden, Stockholm.  
Photo by Marina Trattner.

Unde ergo veritas rei quam vis caeca mente palpari potest, quod ab utraque  
partis Borysthenis Veraina ab antiquo hereditarij Juris Cossacorum fuerat,  
quid enim? Cossaci vi armorum a Polonis iterum recuperassent, si antea  
non amisissent. Atque etiam evidenter patet Moscos perperam  
preferre, ac ipsissimam nequitiam dilatorare, quia Cossacos non erubescunt  
Subditos esse suos nuncupare, pro quorum parte non solum Auther His-  
toricus Cellarius militat, non Subditos sed Federatos Moscis affirmans.  
Sed etiam cetera historiae, nec non vivi adhuc homines diligenter  
purissimam huius fidem testari valebunt.

# Chapter Four

## FROM THE FIELD CHANCELLERY IN BENDER TO THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES IN STOCKHOLM: A 300-YEAR JOURNEY THROUGH TIME AND SPACE<sup>1</sup>

Jan Mispelaere

<sup>1</sup> Translated from Swedish for the Ukrainian edition by Marina Trattner.



■ A German edition of *History of King Charles XII* in 10 vols, with copperplates and plans (1702–19).

<sup>2</sup> This 1716 list is stored today in the National Archives of Sweden among the documents describing the ancient receipts to the National Archives, i.e., those documents that the Royal Chancellery sent to the National Archives during the 1700s for permanent preservation in the future. They are part of the Riksarkivet collection: Ämbetsarkiv, Leveransförteckningar, Kungl. Maj:ts kansli, Utrikesärenden D2a:9.

<sup>3</sup> Björn Asker, *I konungens stad och ställe* [In the King's City and Location] (Uppsala, 2004), pp. 15–40. Peder Törnvall, 'The King's Men Who Governed Sweden from the Ottoman Empire', in *When Sweden Was Ruled from the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Klas Kronberg, Per Sandin, and Åsa Karlsson (Stockholm, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Peder Törnvall, 'The King's Men Who Governed Sweden from the Ottoman Empire', in *When Sweden Was Ruled from the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Klas Kronberg, Per Sandin, and Åsa Karlsson (Stockholm, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> Åsa Karlsson, 'The Remote King — Daily Life and Reform Policy under Charles XII's Time in the Ottoman Empire', in *When Sweden Was Ruled from the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Klas Kronberg, Per Sandin, and Åsa Karlsson (Stockholm, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Letter from Ambassador Funck to the King in Bender intercepted in September 1711. Eric Tengberg, *Från Poltava till Bender* [From Poltava to Bender] (Lund, 1953), p. 167.

governance created and received a huge number of documents. Since the king was on the battlefield for 15 years during the Great Northern War, his entire administration and the highest officials accompanied him. The state advisers and certain officials who remained in Sweden had limited powers and only dealt with routine administrative matters. The entire country was governed by the king and his staff from the place where he was at any given moment. This was especially true of foreign policy.<sup>3</sup>

Obviously, during the war, the administration highly prioritised foreign affairs. Predictably, everything pertaining to treaties, preparations for negotiations and other such meetings was carefully maintained. Still, the conditions were not friendly to the paper on which those documents were written. All notes, missives, copies, and letters, everything that would normally have been stored in the archival halls of the Stockholm palace were kept in tents, chests, carts, and temporary rooms while being constantly moved around depending on the course of the military operations.<sup>4</sup>

The most confidential and secret information could be written in cypher, but part of it was not written down at all for obvious reasons. This perambulating chancellery could have been captured by the enemy, and letters could have been intercepted.<sup>5</sup> Because of this, not all the information that could describe the history of Ukraine has been preserved — precisely because not everything was recorded. The fact that there is a gap in the documents that have survived to this day is also because in 1709 a decision was made to destroy the documents before they fell into enemy hands. Later, the Field Chancellery paperwork was lost after the Battle of Poltava. Only part of the documents was sent to Sweden earlier, in previous years. Therefore, not all the Field Chancellery documentation was preserved.<sup>6</sup>

Yet those papers that were signed after July 1709 and registered at the newly established chancellery in Bender have at least partially survived. The same applies, for example, to the documents preserved by the two Swedish ambassadors sent by Charles XII to the Ottoman Empire. Even though they relate to a later period of the war, these manuscripts remain very important for Ukraine. These are exactly the sources described at the beginning of the article, among other things transported to the North in 1714.

This is why it is necessary to explain the significance of these documents in the current historical context, to establish their provenance, and to verify the time and place of their creation. They also cast a new light on the Ukrainian Constitution, written by Pylyp Orlyk himself, and on other documents that are crucial to Ukraine's political history.

It is truly a miracle that any documents from the Field Chancellery survived at all. Even documents from an earlier period could be lost. Olof Estenberg, a clerk who, together with the registrar Gustaf Celsing, was responsible for transporting the Field Chancellery acts, summarised this October 1714 journey in his pro memoria. Both Estenberg and Celsing received captain's passports for this purpose. If one of them fell ill, the other would still be able to complete the task and transfer the entire cargo to Stralsund. Two guards and a courier, as well as five office staff, were to help them with the security of the shipment and the transfer of chests and trunks along the route.

It appears that at the beginning of the journey, they had more than ten horse-drawn carts. Estenberg says that in Vienna they were able to purchase a much more stable artillery wagon designed to transport weapons or other equipment. This allowed



Diplomatica Turcica. ■  
Photo by Marina Trattner

"No. 1. An elongated trunk clad in black leather, with iron fittings. The front panel is fitted with two padlocks, which are sealed with the seal of the Secretary of State, His Excellency the Chancellor Baron von Müllern.

No. 2. A round Turkish trunk, also clad in black leather, equipped with a padlock and, as above, sealed..."

This is the opening of an extensive list, compiled in July 1716, describing the archival documents that arrived from Bender to Ystad, a city in southern Sweden, after a long journey. Later, these documents would be transported from there to Stockholm to become part of the archive of the old Royal Chancellery. Some of them are now stored in the Diplomatica collection, which at the time corresponded to what we would now call the archive of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The above list covers only a small part of all documents sent to the north. It refers to four chests containing packages of documents that belonged to the newly created Foreign Office, one of the departments of the Field Chancellery of Charles XII.<sup>1</sup>

To understand the provenance of these documents, we need to remember that first of all, Charles XII was in a sense ruling the country unilaterally. All legal and decision-making power was concentrated in his hands. At the same time, Sweden, in its day, had a very well-developed administrative apparatus for running the state.<sup>2</sup> This system of

them to reduce the total number of vehicles to nine as the artillery wagon could carry considerably more cargo than a conventional one. In addition to that, when they left Vienna, they had eight more ordinary carts, and because of that, they had to change horses regularly. The journey started well even if they were forced to zigzag through all the military units marching on different paths often ending up on difficult-to-navigate rural roads. Then the weather turned out very bad throughout November and December. Heavy rains had already begun in Hungary. It was pouring so much that carts were constantly getting stuck on flooded sections of the roads and the ice was cracking despite the cold. The horses became exhausted quickly and had to be periodically replaced by bulls to pull the carts stuck in the mud. The carts, too, needed to be replaced or repaired regularly. During Christmas 1714, the cargo reached Vienna, where the clerks met the head of the Interior Expedition, Chancellor Casten Feif who provided them with more money for further expenses during the trip. To prevent valuable documents from falling into the hands of the enemy, it was decided to spend nights in the safest inns and lodging places, which in turn were the most expensive. The journey from Vienna to the north through Saxony and Prussia was much faster, despite the high cost of travel, constant replacement of horses, and issues with the vehicles.<sup>7</sup>

The adventures of transporting the Field Chancellery documents were far from over when the train arrived in Swedish Pomerania. On the border with Brandenburg, an artillery wagon overturned and Celsing had his arm knocked out of joint. Estenberg's time had come to assume responsibility on his own and continue the journey to Stralsund reaching it in mid-January 1715. There he had the opportunity to tell Charles XII about his adventures in person. A letter from the Chamber College (the legal, financial, and administrative services agency of Sweden) of 1756, which mentions Estenberg's pro memoria, says that all the delivered documents were sorted and placed in the relevant sections of the Royal Chancellery. The Field Chancellery personnel and the king stayed in Stralsund until the end of December 1715. The city was under siege and in November, Danish artillery began bombarding it. Vessels that were reserved for evacuation and were waiting in the harbour came under artillery fire. The ship that was intended to transport the Field Chancellery personnel and documents to Ystad was stuck in the ice with its valuable cargo and had to be released despite the bombs flying and exploding around it. According to the testimonies of the witnesses, just as the ship was being cut out of ice, it was hit by a cannonball and started to sink. Fortunately, there was another warship next to it that sent a dinghy to rescue the clerks and their staff, as well as all the Field Chancellery documents. The boat made several trips back and forth and so saved everybody and everything from ending up at the bottom of the sea.<sup>8</sup>

When I received a request to find materials related to the history of Ukraine and Pylyp Orlyk, I thought it would be right to start my search from the least known sections of the National Archives. One possible way to search for documents from an archive that has been divided into several sections and folios, series and collections over the centuries is to research who wrote which letters to whom as the first step. That way it becomes possible to identify the entire network of involved individuals. After that, it was possible to trace where people who participated in various related events sent their letters.

Charles XII and his entourage, together with Hetman Mazepa and his army, crossed the Dnieper and headed for the city of Bender, which at that time belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Obviously, the relations with its ruler had a particularly important impact on future events. If the negotiations with the Ottoman Empire had been unsuccessful, it could have had catastrophic consequences. If the sultan could be persuaded to join the alliance against Russia, it would be possible to regain military success after what was

7 Nils Herlitz, 'Svenska papper på vilospår' [Swedish Papers on Hold], *Karolinska förbundets Årsbok* (1914). Ulf Söderberg and Marie Lennerstrand, 'Källor till slaget vid Poltava i Riksarkivet och Krigsarkivet' [Sources on the Battle of Poltava in the National Archives and the Military Archives], in *Poltava*, ed. by Lena Jonson and Tamara Thorstendahl Salytjeva (Stockholm, 2009). Peder Törnvall, 'The King's Men Who Governed Sweden from the Ottoman Empire', in *When Sweden Was Ruled from the Ottoman Empire*, ed. by Klas Kronberg, Per Sandin, and Åsa Karlsson (Stockholm, 2016).



■ Olof Estenberg.  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.

8 Riksarkivet, *Skrivelser till Kungliga Maj:t, Skrivelser från Kammarkollegiet, 23 mars 1756. Severin Berg, 'Om de svenska fältkanslihandlingarnas hemförande från Turkiet 1714 och deras öden under de närmast följande åren'* [The Repatriation of the Swedish Field Office Documents from Turkey in 1714 and Their Fate in the Following Years], *Historisk Tidskrift* (1916).



Swedish Ambassador ■  
to Constantinople Thomas Funck.  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm



List of documents compiled in 1715. ■  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

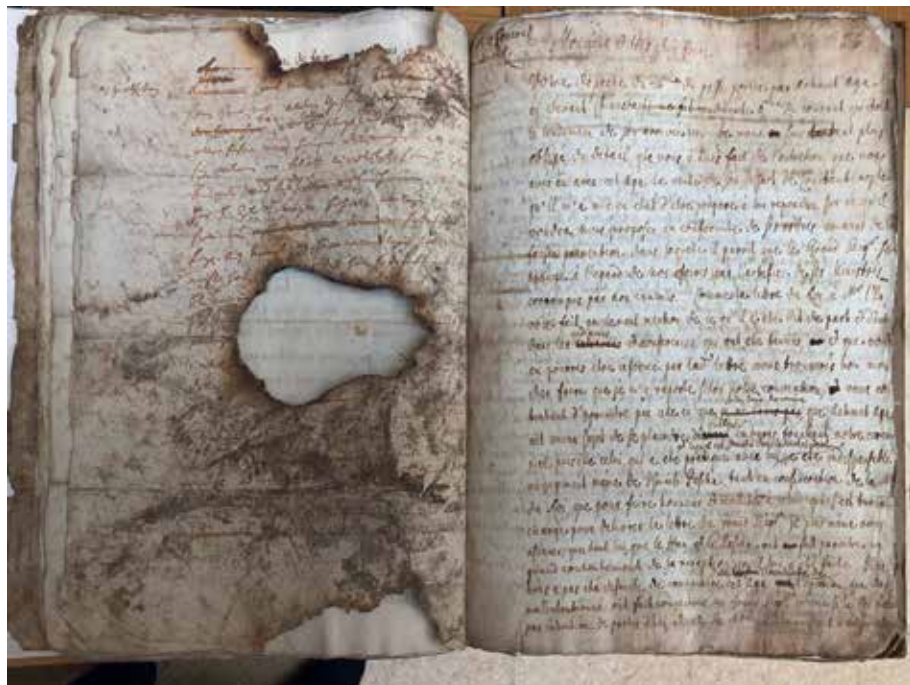
lost in Poltava. Because of this, Charles XII and Mazepa were in constant contact with the sultan, his deputies, and the court. They wrote letters and sent envoys and contact persons.

The information concerning Ukraine was transmitted through various channels and certainly left its mark on documentary sources. Of course, this is not something new, but I thought that the researchers could have missed something or failed to understand the value of certain documents. So, I once again went through certain instructions to the envoys who negotiated with the Sultan and his government. It was clear that there could be information there that was not discussed in more formal documents. The king's instructions to the envoy were meant exclusively for his ears. The king's style of expression in such letters can be completely different from that in official documents which can be read by other people, in treatises, treaty preparatory documents, and letters to the Grand Vizier. Given the years of creating Orlyk's Constitution, the Treaty of the Pruth, and the negotiations between Zaporozhian envoys and the Sultan (1710–11), I searched for correspondence from Swedish representatives during that timeframe. Diplomatic documents of this period are contained in the files of two Swedish ambassadors. Ambassador Thomas Funck began his mission in April 1711, following his predecessor Martin von Neugebauer. Thomas Funck left behind not too many documents in his small archive, but I believe that what he preserved is of great importance for European history and especially for the history of Ukraine and deserves special attention.

The content of one of the king's letters to his ambassador Thomas Funck was a great surprise for me. I also did not think that such content would have been written down at all and that the king would have used exactly the words and concepts that he and von Müllern, his right-hand chancellor, had written and sealed. I rather thought that such instructions would have been conveyed verbally or in a less formal text that diplomats would have chosen not to keep when sorting through their paperwork — and this is another reason why we provide its translation here. This is a letter written on 14 September 1711 and signed by Charles XII. Its content confirms that Charles XII was concerned about Ukraine's interests during his negotiations with the Ottoman Empire. The document emphasises that the ambassador should do everything in his power to include in the drafting "that Article" that guarantees "freedom of Ukraine and all Zaporozhians" so that it would come into force immediately (paragraph 5 of the letter). The use of the term "independent state" is striking, as it has a very modern sound to it.

5: At the same time, he [Thomas Funck] should insist that this Article, which affirms the freedom of Ukraine and all Zaporozhians, should immediately and fully come into force, so that all of Ukraine and Exercitus Zaporoviensis would thus fully enjoy their ancient freedoms and liberties, and would also be granted ownership of the territory within their ancient borders under the leadership of the present Hetman Pylyp Orlyk; in such a way that the people described above immediately gained the status of an independent State, and never again in any manner subordinated to the Tsar or remained under his protectorate.<sup>9</sup>

The letters that the king sent to Thomas Funck were bound together in 1736. The inside of the ribbon has an inscription with an interesting appendix reading, "His Royal Majesty's Original Orders, Letters and Instructions to Thomas Funck, Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Ambassador, during these years: 1711, 1712, and 1713, [and on the line below] letters which the Ambassador himself chose to keep from those letters which were burned."<sup>10</sup>



■ Documents from Charles XII's Field Chancellery.  
Photo by Marina Trattner



■ Marina Trattner with a letter from 1711 that refers to Ukraine as an independent state

As there are two lists of documents from the trunks I mentioned earlier, we can get an idea of what documents and in what packages were transported in 1714–16, in which trunks they were, and to whom they belonged. These lists were written on two sheets and were added to the inventory in 1716. They describe 150 numbered documents. That elongated first trunk and the second round “Turkish trunk” contained properly bound and packed treatises, treaties with other states, preparatory documents for negotiations, information about the tasks of ambassadors and envoys, correspondence with foreign rulers, ministers and allies, transcriptions of outgoing letters, and other important information for contacts with the other countries.

All the important correspondence that took place between August 1709, when the trip to Bender took place, and October 1714, when the Swedish army left the Ottoman Empire, was kept in these trunks. Later they were supplemented by documents written in 1715. On the list, we find the following description:

- 25. Package with Cossack letters from 1713 and 1714.
- 26. Package with draft decisions and letters to certain Cossacks from 1709, 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714, and 1715.
- 46. Original letters of the Turkish Caesar.
- 49. Letters from the Grand Viziers, Süleyman Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha, and the Tartar Khan.
- 54. Two packages of intercepted letters.

I didn't expect that Ambassador Funck's correspondence and documents from Constantinople would have been moved to Stockholm as early as 1714. Yet many of the packages of papers that were transported through Hungary and Stralsund to Ystad and later to Stockholm in the “round Turkish trunk” as per the list belonged to Thomas Funck.

- 10. Five packages with letters from Mr Funck from 1711, 1712, 1713.
- 11. One set of draft decisions for him from 1711, 1712, 1713.

And so on.

Imagine my joy when I saw that all the volumes that are now stored on the shelves in the Diplomatica Turcica section of the National Archives of Sweden are stacked one after the other exactly as described in the list from 1716, about the packages that were in the “Turkish trunk”. Thomas Funck did not return from the war, he died in Adrianople (present-day Edirne) after falling ill in the summer of 1713, after the end of his mission.<sup>11</sup>



12

■ Documents from Charles XII's Field Chancellery.  
Photo by Marina Trattner

Thomas Funck's role as a negotiator with the Ottoman court was of great importance to both the Swedish crown and the Cossacks and their future. As ambassador, he had to do everything in his power to maintain amicable and beneficial relations with the Ottoman Empire. He enjoyed the reputation of a very capable diplomat. In his conversations with the Grand Vizier and the Sultan, he was to inform them of what Charles XII and Pylyp Orlyk had agreed on regarding the future of Ukrainians and Cossacks. The letter of 14 September 1711 provides a different perspective on the origins of the Constitution and its content. And it was this letter that Ambassador Funck decided to save when he was burning other letters in Constantinople. It travelled across Hungary, in the rain, through mud and slush. It could have been flipping over in an artillery wagon when Celsing knocked his arm out of joint. This letter was saved by the bell along with other documents from the cannon fire and the waters of the Pomeranian harbour. Today, it is safely stored in much more favourable conditions. On an ordinary shelf, in the dark.

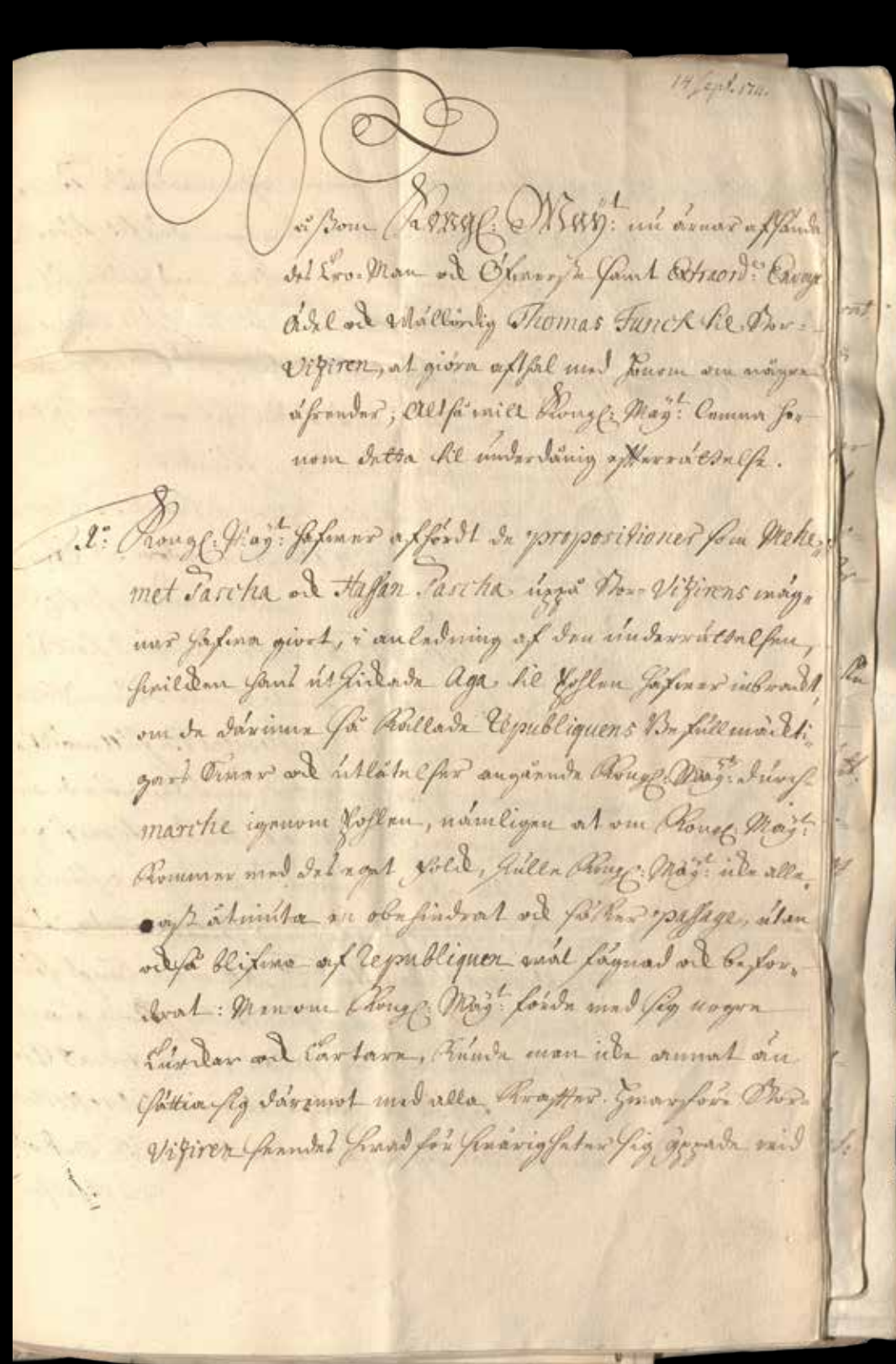
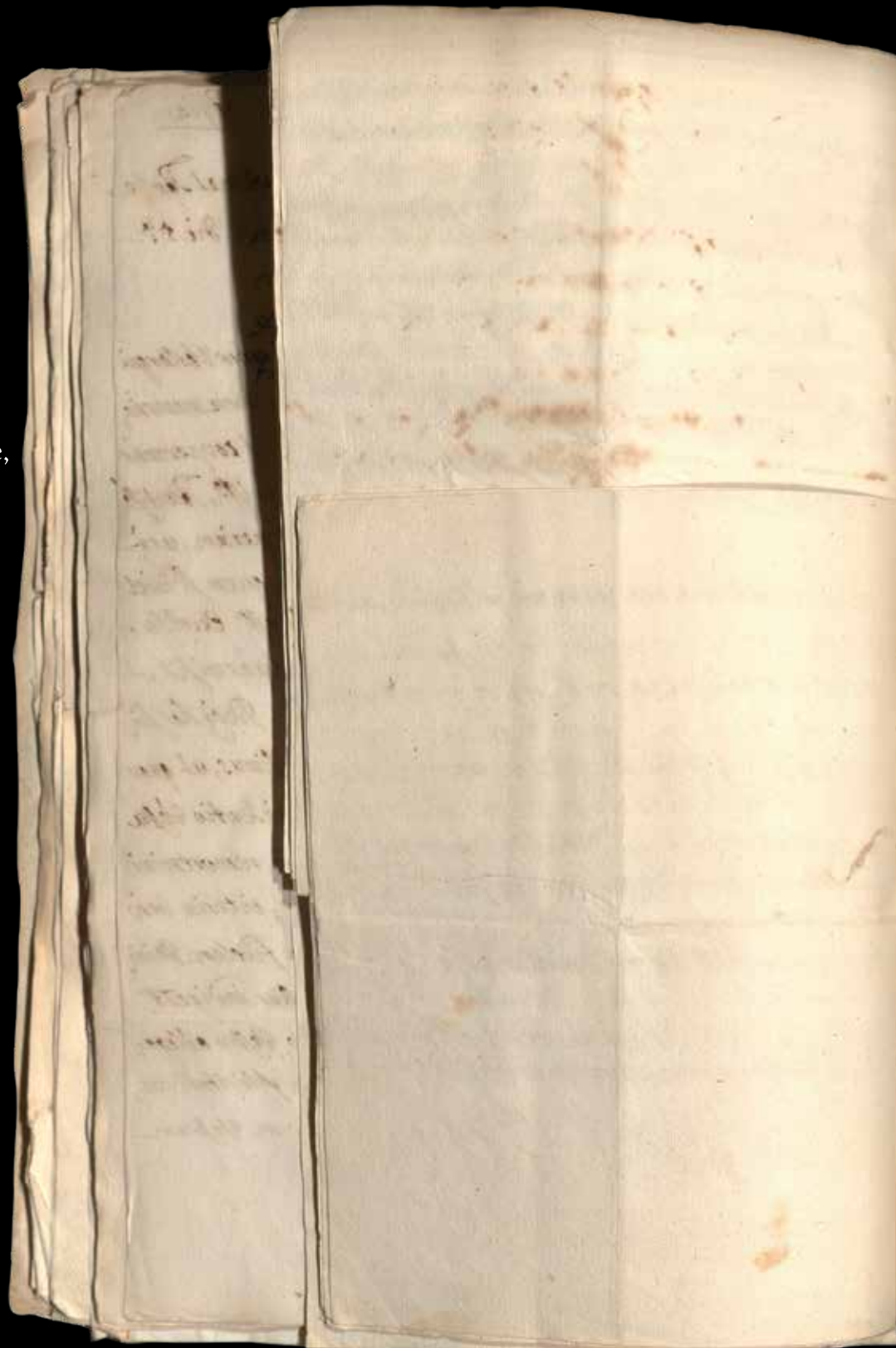
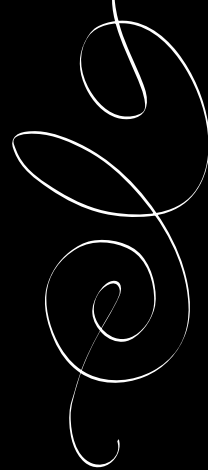


Jan Mispelaere's finding ■  
from 8 September 2021

**Jan Mispelaere, PhD,**  
Archivist and Historian,  
National Archives of Sweden,  
Stockholm, 23 November 2021.

## LETTER ABOUT UKRAINE AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

A Letter from Swedish King Charles XII to Sweden's Ambassador in Constantinople, Thomas Funck, dated 14 September 1711.



## Diplomatica Turcica, Thomas Funck, Brev från Kungl. Maj:t, vol. 13, Kungens brev från 14 september 1711

Såsom Kongl. Maj:t nu ärnar afsända des Tro=Man och Öfwerste Samt Extraord: Envoye Adel och Wälbördig Thomas Funck till Stor=Visiren, at giora afthal med Honom om några ährender, Altså will Kongl. Maj:t lemna honom detta till underdänig effterrättelse.

1 Kongl. Maj:t hafwer afhördt de propositioner som Mehemet Pascha och Hassan Pascha uppå Stor=Vizirens wägnar hafwa giort i anledning af den underrättelsen, hwilcken hans utskickade Aga til Pohlen hafwer inbrackt om de därinne så kallade Republikens Befullmäktigars swar och utlätelser angående Kongl. Maj:ts durch=marche igenom Pohlen, nämligen at om Kongl. Maj:t kommer med des eget folck, skulle Kongl. Maj:t icke allenast åtniuta en obehindrat och säker passage, utan också blifwa af Republikuen wäl

■ Diplomatica Turcica Thomas Funck Letters from His Royal Majesty, vol. 13, King's letter from 14 September 1711 (transcription in the original language [Swedish]).



fägnad ock befordrat: Men om Kongl. Majjt förde med sig nogre Turckar ock Tartare, Kunde man icke annat än sättia sig däremot med alla Kraffter. Hwarföre Stor=Viziren seendes hwar för swärigheter sig ijppade wid durch=marchen, hafwer igenom öfwannämbde Paschar åstundat at öfwerläggia med någon därtill förordnad på hwar sätt resan igenom Pohlen med säkerhet måtte kunna skie: hafwandes de också hemstält Kongl. Majjt godtfinnande at förblifwa qwar här i landet öfwer wintern, effter som åhrs=tiden til en långlig marche erdan sijtnes wara tämligen förleden.

Kongl. Majjt har uppå alt detta gifwet Pascherna behörigt swar; Men will icke des mindre att öfwersten och Extraordinarie Envoyen wid des ankomst til Stor=Viziren föreställer 1: At desamma, med hwilka den utskickade Agan warit i samtahl, icke Kunna hollas för wara eller kallas *Republiquens* Befullmäktige mijcket mindre *representanter*: emådan som de äre allenast nogre officerare af Konung Augusti parti, understödde af den sunna *Republiquens* [=Republiken i söder, sunnan] fiende Czaren; ock altså snarare böre kallas Rebeller än som *Republiquens* ledamöter. 2: Att man långt förut hafwer sedt sådane *difficulteter* skole göras, samt alt sådant länge sedan *remonstrerat* Stor=Viziren; fast än han därpå aldrig welat reflectera

hwarföre, fastän igenom öfwannämbde Paschar  
öfwindat at öfwerläggia med någon därtill förordnad  
göfva sig till anseu igenom Hofven med yttelst  
Chancera Jm: fastän dets i öfversta Jm: fastän dets  
godtfinnande at förblifwa qwar här i landet öfwer  
wintern, effter som åhrs=tiden til en långlig marche  
erdan sijtnes wara tämligen förleden.  
Kongl. Majjt har uppå alt detta gifwet Pascherna  
behörigt swar; Men will icke des mindre att öfwersten  
och Extraordinarie Envoyen wid des ankomst til Stor=Viziren  
föreställer 1: At desamma, med hwilka den utskickade  
Agan warit i samtahl, icke Kunna hollas för wara eller  
kallas *Republiquens* Befullmäktige mijcket mindre  
*representanter*: emådan som de äre allenast nogre  
officerare af Konung Augusti parti, understödde af den  
sunna *Republiquens* fiende Czaren; ock altså snarare  
böre kallas Rebeller än som *Republiquens* ledamöter. 2:  
Att man långt förut hafwer sedt sådane *difficulteter*  
skole göras, samt alt sådant länge sedan *remonstrerat*  
Stor=Viziren; fastän han därpå aldrig welat reflectera  
utan förblifwa qwar här i landet öfwer wintern, effter  
som åhrs=tiden til en långlig marche erdan sijtnes wara  
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som åhrs=tiden til en långlig marche erdan sijtnes wara  
tämligen förleden.

utan förblifwa qwar här i landet öfwer wintern, effter som åhrs=tiden til en långlig marche erdan sijtnes wara tämligen förleden.

tillsäjleser: hwilckas bedrägeri nu så mijcket mer bliwfer kundbar [=känt], som de twärt emot den nyligen slutne *tractaten* icke gådt hem til deras land, utan utbredt sig in uti Pohlen, ock förmenas där blifwa ståendes öfwer wintern. 3: Angående tilbodet at Kongl. Majjt motte ännu något längre uppeholla sig här på orten, så har Öfwersten och Extraordinarie Envoyen at förklara, at Kongl. Majjt:s interesse sådant intet tillåter, utan åstundar Kongl. Majjt med det första få brifva up härifrån ock gå hem till des Rijke. Konung Augusti *Creasurer* inne uti Pohlen understödde af Czaren äre få til antalet, ock kunna lätteligen afhollas, allenast Stor=Viziren effter Portens offta oprepade tillsäjleser gifwer en skjindesam ock *Suffisante* Escorte. Kongl. Majjt försäkrar sig at desamma partiet ock de rätta patrioter uti *Republiquen* läre så snart Kongl. Majjt ankommer slå sig til honom ock förjaga det widriga salskapet.

Skulle häremot inwändas at en ansenlig ock stark *Escorte* af Turckar och Tartare beswärligen skall kunna finna qwarter ock subsistence in uti Pohlen; så har Öfwersten och Extraordinarie Envoyen at wijsa, det sådant aldeles är fåfängt ock ogrundat. Kongl. Majjt wet af sielfwa förfarenheten [=erfarenhet, tidigare

omständigheter, äldre händerser] allra bäst hwad för lifzmedel så för folck som för hästar där inne är at tilgå: ock skall sådant intet brijta, utan för bättre köp kunna anskaffas uti Pohlen än som här i landet, allenast troupperne äre med penningar försedde, ock hafwe på någre we[ckor proviant med sig, effter som Moscowiterna sådant här wid gränsen hafwa förtärt. Hwad ijmngt förråd Muscowiterna därinne hafwa för sig funnet på alla nödwändigheter, är allmänt kunnigt: ock kan den Turckiske ock Tartarske Escorten, där wintern skulle infalla, få därinne så goda quarter, som nogonsin här hemma i landet.

2 Kongl. Maj:t hafwer för detta begiärt af Porten ett lån af Tolff = hundra Pungar til den förestående marchen; ock will at Öfwersten ock Extraord: Envoyen därpå widare ijrckar; föreställandes nödwändigheten för Kongl. Maj:t at blifwa därmed understödd, så fram han skall kunna brijta up härifrån. Kongl. Maj:t pretenderar sådant eij såsom nogon skijldighet, utan såsom at proff af Portens wänskap, hwilcken Kongl. Maj:t altid wil erkänna ock försträckningen ricktigt låta betala.

3 Skulle Stor-Viziren framställa nogot om en förlikning emellan Kongl.

för lifzmedel så för folck som för hästar där inne är at tilgå: ock skall sådant intet brijta, utan för bättre köp kunna anskaffas uti Pohlen än som här i landet, allenast troupperne äre med penningar försedde, ock hafwe på någre we[ckor proviant med sig, effter som Moscowiterna sådant här wid gränsen hafwa förtärt. Hwad ijmngt förråd Muscowiterna därinne hafwa för sig funnet på alla nödwändigheter, är allmänt kunnigt: ock kan den Turckiske ock Tartarske Escorten, där wintern skulle infalla, få därinne så goda quarter, som nogonsin här hemma i landet.

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3: Skulle Stor-Viziren framställa nogot om en förlikning emellan Kongl.

och Extraord: Envoyen swara, det han uti ingen handel kan sig inlåta med Rijske Ministrerne, så länge Kongl. Maj:t intet giort nogot wist aftahl ock slut med Porten om sättet at twinga Muskowiterna til at ingå det man åstundar ock så framt de skulle wägra sig at sluta en förlikning med Kongl. Maj:t på sådane willkohr som Kongl. Maj:t genom förut giort afftal med Porten kunnat blifwa enig om, samt funnet skiälige at påstå af Czaren. Det wore ock nödigt at Kongl. M:t ock Porten komme sins emellan då först öfwerens ock gjorde aftahl, hwad Pant ock Gisslan som skulle fordras af Muscowiterna til försäkring, de skole exequera alt hwad som utlofwat ifall de tilstå sig willja ingå det man af dem åstundar: ock om Muscowiterna skulle sedermera brijta hwad som nu gång är utlofwat ock blefwet exequerat så moste man nu redan förut hafwa beslutat på hwad sätt man det på bägge sidor skall kunna ifra [=beivra] ock hämnas.

4: Där så händer at Öfwersten ock Extraord: Envoyen i anledning af den föregående punct icke skulle kunna åstadkomma en förening eller förbindelse emellan Kongl. Maj:t ock Porten til at bringa Czaren til skiälighet, ock hollan alt stadigt in om des rätta skranckor: utan Turkarna aldeles förklara sig wilja bliwfa wid

Maj:t ock Czaren, så kan Öfwersten och Extraord: Envoyen swara, det han uti ingen handel kan sig inlåta med Rijske Ministrerne, så länge Kongl. Maj:t intet giort nogot wist aftahl ock slut med Porten om sättet at twinga Muskowiterna til at ingå det man åstundar ock så framt de skulle wägra sig at sluta en förlikning med Kongl. Maj:t på sådane willkohr som Kongl. Maj:t genom förut giort afftal med Porten kunnat blifwa enig om, samt funnet skiälige at påstå af Czaren. Det wore ock nödigt at Kongl. M:t ock Porten komme sins emellan då först öfwerens ock gjorde aftahl, hwad Pant ock Gisslan som skulle fordras af Muscowiterna til försäkring, de skole exequera alt hwad som utlofwat ifall de tilstå sig willja ingå det man af dem åstundar: ock om Muscowiterna skulle sedermera brijta hwad som nu gång är utlofwat ock blefwet exequerat så moste man nu redan förut hafwa beslutat på hwad sätt man det på bägge sidor skall kunna ifra [=beivra] ock hämnas.

4 Där så händer at Öfwersten ock Extraord: Envoyen i anledning af den föregående punct icke skulle kunna åstadkomma en förening eller förbindelse emellan Kongl. Maj:t ock Porten til at bringa Czaren til skiälighet, ock hollan alt stadigt in om des rätta skranckor: utan Turkarna aldeles förklara sig wilja bliwfa wid

den nyijligen med Moscau träffade freden, moste man fuller därwid nogot acquiescera, in til des nogon ändring förorsakas, antingen genom Stor=Vizirens skjindesamma afsättjande, då man all ting bättre med en annan Vizir lærer kunna uträtta, den där ock gerna lærer see at alt blifwer ändrat, hwad som den förra hafwer fehlut: eller moste man afwänta tidsens förlifjande af den termin som är utsatt til fästningarnas återgifwande: då rupturen af sig sielf ofehlbart lærer utbrista: Emädan som Rijsarne aldrig lære fullborda det hwar til de sig förbundet i tracraten [i det här fallet Freden vid Pruth] då man åter får så mijcket bättre lägenhet til at ijrcka på det förra påståendet, ock åter bringa Turckarna med all mackt til at angripa den gemensamma fienden: hwilcket är det rätta afseendet som man med Turkarne hafwer, ehuruwäl Öfwersten ock Extraord: Envoyen eij behöfwer wijsa at han är därom mijcket angelägen så länge de sielfwe icke betee sig där til full hugade. [=så länge de själva inte visar, sig därtill vara fullt benägna/villiga.] Men i medlertijd moste han nu altstadigt där på arbeta, at hwad som uti tractaten är för afskedat om

utan Czararnas ordentel förklara sig milja blifwa inid  
den nyijligen med Moscau förklara sig uti, uti man  
fuller därwid nogot acquiescera, in til det uti uogon ändring  
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blifwer ändrat, hwad som den förra hafwer fehlut:  
eller moste man afwänta tidsens förlifjande af den termin  
som är utsatt til fästningarnas återgifwande: då rupturen  
af sig sielf ofehlbart lærer utbrista: Emädan som Rijsarne  
aldrig lære fullborda det hwar til de sig förbundet i tracraten  
[i det här fallet Freden vid Pruth] då man åter får så mijcket  
bättre lägenhet til at ijrcka på det förra påståendet, ock  
åter bringa Turckarna med all mackt til at angripa den  
gemensamma fienden: hwilcket är det rätta afseendet som  
man med Turkarne hafwer, ehuruwäl Öfwersten ock Extraord:  
Envoyen eij behöfwer wijsa at han är därom mijcket angelägen  
så länge de sielfwe icke betee sig där til full hugade. Men i  
medlertijd moste han nu altstadigt där på arbeta, at hwad  
som uti tractaten är för afskedat om

Polen

Polen är emändat, uti vilken at Czaren aldelat inid full  
blanda sig där uti, utan draga sina troupper därifrån,  
och förning Stanislaus af Porten alt framgent  
til förtiden ordentel allena för rättmätig Konung til  
Polen, til alla delar fullkomligen må blifwa exequera:  
warandes intet mindre Portens än Kongl. Maj:ts  
interesse, at Republiken Polen alt stadigt förblifwer  
wid des gamla frijhet och rättigheter under konung  
Stanislaus. Och så at an fallt ord ordentel förwänning  
som sig förvarna görva, i det de föraböras sig  
wa in kallade och quarholne i Polen af Republi  
kens Cadaveritar, där man dock samt alluwp uogon  
så Rebeller, som ännu fölla den af statta förning  
Augusti partie, med sådana fördeliga uttog omgå:  
Juslida likväl gå in til sätt böra nämna allra för  
lat för Republiken Cadaveritar. Juslida alt Öf  
wersten och Extraord: Envoyen moste med flit söka  
at thomma Stor=Viziren til at begripa. Och i fall  
Republiken fuller millja fölla Czaren at blifwa där,  
Juslida dock aldrig af Republiken thau allra lära  
samfödat; Och så at dock intet annat Portens föränd  
som förwäntad interesse, at man där fuller samma

Polniska wärcket, nämligen at Czaren aldeles intet skall blanda sig där uti, utan draga sina troupper därifrån, ock Konung Stanislaus af Porten alt framgent såsom tillföre erkännes allena för rättmätig Konung til Pohlen, til alla delar fullkomligen må blifwa exequerad: warandes intet mindre Portens än Kongl. Maj:ts interesse, at Republiken Pohlen alt stadigt förblifwer wid des gamla frijhet och rättigheter under konung Stanislaus. Ock är det en falsk ock ogrundat förwändning som Rijsarne göra, i det de föraböra sig warainkallade ock quarholne i Pohlen af Republikens ledamöter; där man dock wet[,] allenast nogra få Rebeller, som ännu holla den afsatte Konung Augusti partie, med sådana skadelige uttog omgå: hwilcka likväl på intet sätt böra nämnas eller hollas för Republikens ledamöter. Hwilcket alt Öfwersten ock Extraord: Envoyen moste med flit sökia at komma Stor=Viziren til at begripa. Ock i fall Republiken skulle willja tåla Czaren at blifwa där, hwilcket dock aldrig af Republiken kan eller lærer samtjickas; Så är det dock twärt emot Portens såväl som Sweriges interesse, at man

där skulle lemna honom at blifwa ock få öfwerhanden; ock är han aldeles obefogad där til, som det löper twärt emot den tractat som han nijligen har ingått med Porten; hwilcken aldeles förbiuder, ock intet inneholler uti sig nogon sådan förewändning, at ifall nogon Adelsman skulle biuda hans armée twärt emot detta gjorde afftahl, at förtöfwa i Pohlen, at därför då Muskowitiska arméen skulle wara des mer [=desto mer] berättigad til at förblifwa där ock således ruina hela Pohlen samt twinga densamma til at underkasta sig des ook [=ok].

5 Sammaledes har han at pådrifwa, det den Artikeln som talar om Ukrain och Samptelige Zaporovernes frijhet må bringas ofördröijeligen til sin fullkomlige wärkställighet, så at hela Ukraine ock den Zaporowiske-hären fullkombligen sättas uti des urgamla frijhet ock possession af des land ock förra gränser under des nu warande fältherre Philipp Orlick: på det sättet at bemälte folck hädan effter skall göra en independent Stat, ock aldrig mer på något sätt stå under Czarens ljdno eller protection.

4<sup>o</sup> Quom at blifwan ad se i hvar förbanda, ock ad se i hvar aldeles obefogad där til, som det löper twärt emot den tractat som se i nijligen har ingått med Porten; hwilcken aldeles förbiuder, ock intet inneholler uti sig nogon sådan förewändning, at ifall nogon Adelsman skulle biuda hans armée twärt emot detta gjorde afftahl, at förtöfwa i Pohlen, at därför då Muskowitiska arméen skulle wara des mer berättigad til at förblifwa där ock således ruina hela Pohlen samt twinga densamma til at underkasta sig des ook.

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6<sup>o</sup>

6<sup>o</sup> Shall Öfwersten och Extraordinarie Envoyen utlägg sig för de Tro-Viziren för de Polniske troupperne, at de måge bekomma dageligen det underholl, så länge de än här äre, som de allenast på tre dagar utbekommet. För det öfrige förblifwer Kongl. Maj:t des Tro-Man och Öfwerste samt Extraordinarie Envoyé med Kongl: ijnnest ock nåde städze wälbewägen. Gifwet wid Bender den 14 Septemb: 1711.

Carolus.



2  
Hoon Mältern

Tractat des Öfwersten och Extraordinarie Envoyen.

6 Skall Öfwersten och Extraordinarie Envoyen utlägg sig hoos Stor-Viziren för de Polniske troupperne, at de måge bekomma dageligen det underholl, så länge de än här äre, som de allenast på tre dagar utbekommet. För det öfrige förblifwer Kongl. Maj:t des Tro-Man och Öfwerste samt Extraordinarie Envoyé med Kongl: ijnnest ock nåde städze wälbewägen. Gifwet wid Bender den 14 Septemb: 1711.

Carolus.

## DIPLOMATICA TURCICA

### THOMAS FUNCK, BREV FRÅN KUNGL. MAJ:T, VOL. 13, KUNGENS BREV FRÅN 14 SEPTEMBER 1711

Såsom Kongl. Maj:t nu ärnar afsända des Tro=Man och Öfwerste Samt Extraord: Envoye Adel och Wälbördig Thomas Funck till Stor=Visiren, at giora afthal med Honom om några ährender, Altså will Kongl: Maj:t lemna honom detta till underdånig effterrättelse.

**1:** Kongl. Maj:t hafwer afhördt de *propositioner* som Mehemet Pascha och Hassan Pascha uppå Stor=Vizirens wägnar hafwa giort i anledning af den underrättelsen, hwilcken hans utskickade Aga til Pohlen hafwer inbrackt om de därinne så kallade *Republiquens* Befullmäktigars swar och utlätelser angående Kongl. Maj:ts durch=*marche* igenom Pohlen, nämligen at om Kongl. Maj:t kommer med des eget folck, skulle Kongl. Maj:t icke allenast åtniuta en obehindrat och säker passage, utan också blifwa af *Republiquen* wäl fägnad och befordrat: Men om Kongl. Maj:t förde med sig nogre Turckar och Tartare, Kunde man icke annat än sättia sig däremot med alla Kraffter. Hwarföre Stor=Viziren seendes hwad för swårigheter sig ijppade wid durch=*marchen*, hafwer igenom öfwannämbde Paschar åstundat at öfwerläggia med någon därtill förordnad på hwad sätt resan igenom Pohlen med säkerhet måtte kunna skie: hafwandes de också hemstält Kongl. Maj:t godtfinnande at förblifwa qwar här i landet öfwer wintern, effter som åhrs=tiden til en långlig *marche* erdan sijnnes wara tämligen förleden.

Kongl. Maj:t har uppå alt detta gifwet Pascherna behörigt swar; Men will icke des mindre att öfwersten och *Extraordinarie Envoyen* wid des ankomst til Stor=Viziren föreställer 1: At desamma, med hwilka den utskickade Agan warit i samtahl, icke Kunna hollas för wara eller kallas *Republiquens* Befullmäktige mijcket mindre *representanter*: emädan som de äre allenast nogre officerare af Konung Augusti parti, understödde af den sunna *Republiquens* [=Republiken i söder, sunnan] fiende Czaren; ock altså snarare böre kallas Rebeller än som *Republiquens* ledamöter. 2: Att man långt förut hafwer sedt sådane *difficulteter* skole göras, samt alt sådant länge sedan *remonstrerat*

## DIPLOMATICA TURCICA

### THOMAS FUNCK, LETTERS FROM HIS ROYAL MAJESTY, VOL. 13, KING'S LETTER FROM 14 SEPTEMBER 1711

[Our] Royal Majesty's pleasure is now to send Our Confidant, the Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador, the Noble and Distinguished Thomas Funck, to the Grand Vizier to conclude with him a treaty relating to the following points:

**1:** [Our] Royal Majesty has listened to the proposals made by Mehmet Pasha and Hassan Pasha on behalf of the Grand Vizier regarding the message dispatched by the Aga, the Vizier's representative to Poland, concerning the response of the so-called Deputies of the Confederation to the march [durch=*marche*] of [Our] Royal Majesty through Poland. Namely, if [Our] Royal Majesty were to travel with Our people, the Confederation would not be able to immediately guarantee [Our] Royal Majesty an unhindered and safe passage so that We could be received with honours in the Confederation and accompanied during [Our] journey through the country. But if [Our] Royal Majesty were to travel with a number of Turks and Tartars, We would be assisted by all means. Why the Grand Vizier, realising the difficulties that might be associated with this progress, discussed with the competent persons there, through the aforementioned Pashas, how a safe journey through Poland could be organised; they too were convinced that it would be safer for [Our] Royal Majesty to remain in this country for the winter, as the favourable time of year for a long march seemed to have passed.

[Our] Royal Majesty has already given the Pashas a full answer to all this, but We still wish [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador to explain the following on his arrival at the Grand Vizier: 1: That the persons with whom the Aga had negotiated cannot be considered Deputies of the Confederation, and still less its representatives, because they are just a handful of officers from King Augustus' army, supported by the enemy of the southern Republic [the Republic in the south, in the sun], the Tsar; and [they] should rather be called Rebels than representatives of the Confederation. 2. That it had long been obvious that such difficulties would be created, and that this had long been demonstrated to the Grand Vizier; but he never wanted to think about it and only trusted the empty words and instructions of the Muscovites, whose falsehood is now becoming more and more

Stor=Viziren; fast än han därpå aldrig welat reflectera utan förlitat sig uppå Moscowiternas löse Ord ock [du kan ha ordet kvar men det är bara avsett för den som läser upp texten högt för någon annan så att läsandet flyter på utan avbrott.]

tillsäjelser: hwilckas bedrägeri nu så mijcket mer bliwfer kundbar [=känt], som de twärt emot den nyligen slutne *tractaten* icke gådt hem til deras land, utan utbredt sig in uti Pohlen, ock förmenas där blifwa ståendes öfwer wintern. 3: Angående tilbodet at Kongl. Maj:t motte ännu något längre uppeholla sig här på orten, så har Öfwersten och *Extraordinarie Envoyen* at förklara, det Kongl. Maj:ts interesse sådant intet tillåter, utan åstundar Kongl. Maj:t med det första få brijta up härifrån ock gå hem till des Rijke. Konung Augusti *Creatureur* inne uti Pohlen understödde af Czaren äre få til antalet, ock kunna lätteligen afhollas, allenast Stor=Viziren effter Portens offta oprepade tillsäjelser gifwer en skjindesam ock *Suffisante* Escorte. Kongl. Maj:t försäkrar sig at detsamma partiet ock de rätta patrioter uti *Republiquen* läre så snart Kongl. Maj:t ankommer slå sig til honom ock förjaga det widriga sällskapet.

Skulle häremot inwändas at en ansenlig ock stark *Escorte* af Turckar och Tartare beswärligen skall kunna finna qwarter och subsistence in uti Pohlen; så har Öfwersten och *Extraordinarie Envoyen* at wijsa, det sådant aldeles är fåfängt ock ogrundat. Kongl. Maj:t wet af sielfwa förfarenheten [=erfarenhet, tidigare omständigheter, äldre händerser] allra bäst hwad för lifzmedel så för folck som för hästar där inne är at tilgå: ock skall sådant intet brijta, utan för bättre kiöp kunna anskaffas uti Pohlen än som här i landet, allenast *trouperne* äre med penningar försedde, ock hafwe på någre we[ckor *proviand* med sig, effter som Moscowiterna sådant här wid gränsen hafwa förtärt. Hwad ijmnigt förråd Muscowiterna därinne hafwa för sig funnet på alla nödwändigheter, är allmänt kunnigt: ock kan den Turckiske ock Tartarske Escorten, där wintern skulle infalla, få därinne så goda qwarter, som nogonsin här hemma i landet.

**2:** Kongl. Maj:t hafwer för detta begiärt af *Porten* ett lån af Tolff = hundrade Pungar til den förestående *marchen*; ock will at Öfwersten och Extraord: Envoyen därpå vidare ijrckar; föreställandes nödwändigheten för Kongl. Maj:t at blifwa därmed understödd, så fram han skall kunna brijta up härifrån. Kongl. Maj:t *pretenderar* sådant eij såsom nogon skjildighet, utan såsom at proff af Portens wänskap, hwilcken Kongl. Maj:t altid wil erkänna ock försträckningen ricktigt låta betala.

**3:** Skulle Stor=Viziren framställa nogot om en förlikning emellan Kongl. Maj:t ock Czaren, så kan Öfwersten och *Extraord: Envoyen* swara, det han uti ingen handel kan sig inlåta med

obvious, given how they refuse to return home to their country, contrary to the signed treaty, and only spread out in Poland, and plan to stay there through the winter. 3. Regarding the suggestion that Our Majesty might remain in this city a little longer, [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador must explain that it is not in the interests of [Our] Royal Majesty and that We plan to leave here at the earliest opportunity and head to Our Country. The creatures of King Augustus, supported by the Tsar in Poland, are few and far between and can be easily kept at bay if the Grand Vizier, following frequently repeated orders from the Sublime Porte, promptly furnishes a Sufficient Escort. [Our] Royal Majesty warrants that this unit and the true patriots of the Confederation will join [Our] Royal Majesty once We arrive and will drive this disgusting company away.

If there are any objections that a large and strong Escort of Turks and Tartars will not be able to easily find everything they need for their stay in Poland, [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador must assure [the Grand Vizier] that such fears are completely unwarranted and unfounded. [Our] Royal Majesty knows from [Our] own previous experience what exactly is available there in terms of provisions for both men and horses; and if anything is lacking, it will be better to buy it for money in Poland than here, and the army will need to be supplied with money and provisions for several weeks, because the Muscovites have consumed everything that was available on the border. It is well known that the Muscovites have found everything they need there in large quantities; and the Turkish and Tartar Escorts will be able to find the same comfortable apartments for themselves when winter comes as they do here at home.

**2:** For which purpose [Our] Royal Majesty has requested a loan of twelve hundred purses of gold [Pungar]\* from the Sublime Porte for the planned march; and desires [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador to make application to the same effect; and that [Our] Royal Majesty may receive all the necessary support to enable Us to commence this march. [Our] Royal Majesty does not require this as a duty, but only as an acknowledgement of the friendship which [Our] Royal Majesty always recognises and will indeed repay in the future.

**3:** If the Grand Vizier declares his desire to negotiate with the Tsar, [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador must retort that he cannot bargain for anything with the Russian [Rijske] Ministers before [Our] Royal Majesty had signed any treaty and negotiated with the Sublime Porte as to the manner in which the Muscovites might be compelled to

Rijске *Ministrerne*, så länge Kongl. Majj:t intet giort nogot wist aftahl ock slut med *Porten* om sättet at twinga *Muskowiterne* til at ingå det man åstundar ock så framt de skulle wägra sig at sluta en förlikning med Kongl. Majj:t på sådane willkohr som Kongl. Majj:t genom förut giort afftal med *Porten* kunnat blifwa enig om, samt funnet skiälige at påstå af Czaren. det wore ock nödigt at Kongl. M:t ock *Porten* komme sins emellan då först öfwerens ock giorde aftahl, hwad Pant ock gGisslan som skulle fordras af *Muscowiterne* til försäkring, de skole exequera alt hwad som utlofwas ifall de tilstå sig willja ingå det man af dem åstundar: ock om *Muscowiterne* skulle sedermera brijta hwad som nu gång är utlofwat ock blefwet *exequerat* så moste man nu redan förut hafwa beslutat på hwad sätt man det på bäge sidor skall kunna ifra[=beivra] ock hämnas.

4: Där så händer at Öfwersten ock *Extraord. Envoyen* i anledning af den föregående punct icke skulle kunna åstadkomma en förening eller förbindelse emellan Kongl. Majj:t ock *Porten* til at bringa Czaren til skiälighet, ock hollan alt stadigt in om des rätta skranckor: utan Turkarna aldeles förklara sig wilja bliwfa wid den nyijligen med Moscaw träffade freden, moste man fuller därwid nogot *acquiescera*, in til des nogon ändring förorsakas, antingen genom Stor=Vizirens skjindesamma afsättjande, då man all ting bättre med en annan Vizir lærer kunna uträtta, den där ock gerna lærer see at alt blifwer ändrat, hwad som den förra hafwer fehlat: eller moste man afwänta tidsens förflijtande af den termin som är utsatt til fästningarnas återgifwande: då rupturen af sig sielf ofehlbart lærer utbrista: Emädan som Rijsarne aldrig läre fullborda det hwar til de sig förbundet i tracraten [i det här fallet Freden wid Pruth] då man åter får så mijcket bättre lägenhet til at ijrcka på det förra påståendet, ock åter bringa Turckarna med all macktil til at angripa den gemensamma fienden: hwilcket är det rätta afseendet som man med Turkarne hafwer, ehuruwäl Öfwersten ock *Extraord. Envoyen* eij behöfwert wijsa at han är därom mijcket angelägen så länge de sielfwe icke betee sig där til full hugade. [=så länge de själva inte visar, sig därtill vara fullt benägna/villiga.] Men i medlertijd moste han nu altstadigt där på arbeta, at hwad som uti *tractaten* är för afskedat om

Polniska wärcket, nämligen at Czaren aldeles intet skall blanda sig där uti, utan draga sina *troupper* där ifrån, ock Konung Stanislaus af *Porten* alt framgent såsom tillföre erkännes allena för rättmätig Konung til Pohlen, til alla delar fullkomligen må blifwa exequerad: warandes intet mindre *Portens* än Kongl. Majj:ts *interesse*, at *Republiquen* Pohlen alt stadigt förblifwer wid des gamla frijhet ock rättigheter under konung Stanislaw. Ock är det en falsk ock ogrundat

fulfil the desired terms of the treaty, and if they had not agreed to negotiate with [Our] Royal Majesty on the terms which [Our] Majesty had previously described in a treaty and agreed with the Sublime Porte, and which had been recognised by the Tsar as acceptable. It would be necessary in this case for [Our] Royal Majesty and the Sublime Porte to first agree and sign a treaty on what collateral and hostages would be required from the Muscovites to guarantee that they would do what they promised and that they would agree to do what was required of them; and if the Muscovites decided to then break what they had once promised to do, it would be necessary to decide now what would be demanded of both sides and how to retaliate.

4: If it should happen that [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador cannot agree on the previous point between [Our] Royal Majesty and the Sublime Porte to make the Tsar accept the terms and abide by the agreements, and if the Turks explain that they would like to abide by the terms of the peace recently signed with Muscovy, it will be necessary to arrange for certain changes to take place: Either by the quick dismissal of the Grand Vizier, because the new Vizier can be better negotiated with, in which case it is necessary to make sure that everything that the previous Vizier failed to do right is remedied; or it will be necessary to wait until the time allotted for the liberation of the fortresses has expired, so that the clash will unmistakably take place; while the Russians never do what they undertake to do in treaties, there may be a better opportunity to return to the previous arrangements, and to set the Turks again in the mood to attack the common enemy with all their might, which is the right intention to share with the Turks; at the same time, [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador should not show much interest in this, until they themselves have shown themselves ready to act. But he must at all times work to achieve what is described in the treaty, that is, what is to be done in the Polish affair, namely, that the Tsar will not interfere in it, but will withdraw his army from there, and King Stanislaw will in future be recognised by the Porte as the rightful King of Poland and will be empowered in every sense: It is not only in the interests of the Sublime Porte, but also in the interests of [Our] Majesty that the Confederation of Poland should continue to enjoy its former rights and freedoms during the reign of King Stanislaw. And that the false and unfounded allegations made by the Russians that they were summoned and kept in that country by the Deputies of the Confederation; when it is known that they are only a few Rebels who still support the deposed King Augustus, with such a harmful offensive, and who have no right in any way to be called representatives of the Confederation. [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador must ensure that the Grand Vizier quickly understands this. And if the Confederation decided to continue to suffer the Tsar there, to which the Confederation would in no way consent, it would be completely against the

förewändning som Rijsarne giöra, i det de förebära sig warainkallade ock qwarhollne i Pohlen af *Republiquens* ledamöter; där man dock wet[,] allenast nogra få Rebeller, som ännu holla den afsatte Konung Augusti partie, med sådane skadelige uptog omgå: hwilcka likwäl på intet sätt böra nämnas eller hollas för *Republiquens* ledamöter. Hwilcket alt Öfwersten ock *Extraord. Envoyen* moste med flit sökia at komma Stor=Viziren til at begripa. Ock i fall *Republiquen* skulle willja tåla Czaren at blifwa där, hwilcket dock aldrig af *Republiquen* kan eller lærer samtijckas; Så är det dock twärt emot *Portens* såwäl som Sweriges interesse, at man där skulle lemna honom at blifwa ock få öfwerhanden; ock är han aldeles obefogad där til, som det löper twärt emot den tractat som han nijligen har ingått med *Porten*; hwilcken aldeles förbiuder, ock intet inneholler uti sig nogon sådan förewändning, at ifall nogon Adelsman skulle biuda hans *armée* twärt emot detta giorde afftahl, at förtöfwa i Pohlen, at därföre då Muskowitiska *arméen* skulle wara des mer [=desto mer] berättigad til at förblifwa där ock således ruinera hela Pohlen samt twinga densamma til at underkasta sig des ook [=ok].

5: Sammaledes har han at pådrifwa, det den Artikeln som talar om *Ukrains* och Samptelige Zaporovernes frijhet må bringas ofördröjeligen til sin fullkomlige wärkställighet, så at hela *Ukraine* ock den Zaporowiskehären fullkomligen sättas uti des urgamla frijhet ock possession af des land ock förra gränsor under des nu warande fältherre *Philipp Orlick*: på det sättet at bemälte folck hädan effter skall giöra en independent Stat, ock aldrig mer på något sätt stå under Czarens lijdno eller protection.

6: Skall Öfwersten ock *Extraordinarie Envoyen* utlägga sig hoos Stor=Viziren för de Polniske *troupperne*, at de måge bekomma dageligen det underholl, så länge de än här äre, som de allenast på tre dagar utbekommet. För det öfrige förblifwer Kongl. Majj:t des Tro=Man ock Öfwerste samt *Extraordinarie Envoyé* med Kongl: ijnnest ock nåde städze wälbewägen. Gifwet wid Bender den 14 Septemb: 1711.

Carolus.

interests of the Sublime Porte and Sweden that he should be allowed to stay there and gain an advantage; and he has no right to stay there at all, according to the terms of the treaty recently signed with the Sublime Porte; it is completely forbidden, and there is no provision there that would allow any nobleman to invite an army to remain in Poland contrary to the requirements of this treaty, and so that the Muscovite army would have more rights to remain there and thus destroy all of Poland and force it to fall under their yoke.

5: At the same time, he should insist that this Article, which affirms the freedom of Ukraine and all Zaporozhians, should immediately and fully come into force, so that all of Ukraine and Exercitus Zaporoviensis would thus fully enjoy their ancient freedoms and liberties, and would also be granted ownership of the territory within their ancient borders under the leadership of the present Hetman Pylyp Orlyk; in such a way that the people described above immediately gained the status of an independent State, and never again in any manner subordinated to the Tsar or remained under his protectorate.

6: If [Our] Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador negotiates with the Grand Vizier about the expenditures for the Polish army, he should provide daily maintenance while it is here so that it can start receiving support immediately, within three days. As for the rest, [Our] Majesty affirms that [Our] Confidant, Colonel and Extraordinary Ambassador enjoys [Our] Majesty's unwavering approval.

Given in Bender on 14 Septemb[er] 1711.  
Charles

(See illustrations on pp. 170–179).

\* Also corresponds to the word for purse [French: bourse; Turkish: kışah, kışeh]. For example, a certain amount of money was kept in a (leather) purse; the word could also refer to some Turkish silver or gold coins; possibly, gold coins (equivalent to 5 pounds). For example, on the 7th (November), an envoy was sent from the Sublime Porte to His Majesty (Charles XII) with 1200 purses of gold coins, which corresponded to 600,000 riksdalers (1712).

# Pylyp Orlyk (1672–1742)



## HETMAN PYLYP ORLYK

Pylyp Stepanovych Orlyk was Hetman of Exercitus Zaporoviensis and Right Bank Ukraine (1710–14) and Hetman in exile (1714–42).

In 1708, he supported Mazepa's idea to side with Charles XII to withdraw the Hetmanate from the Muscovian protectorate. In 1710, he and representatives of the Cossack Starshyna and the Zaporozhians signed the Treaties and Resolutions of the Rights and Freedoms of Exercitus Zaporoviensis, better known in historical literature as the Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk.

Portrait and a short biography by Natalia Pavlusenko  
Source: <https://www.pavlusenkoart.com.ua>



# ENDING THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE

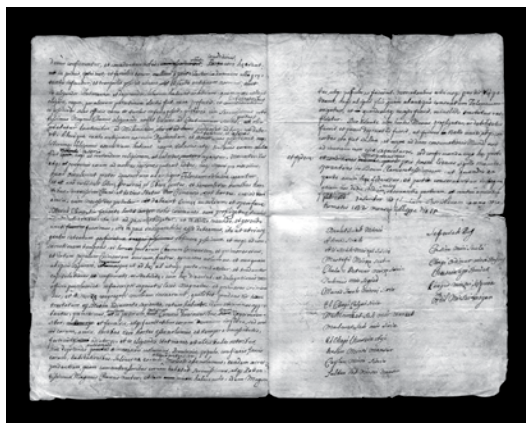
This is a letter from Pylyp Orlyk that I found in the National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm on 9 September 2021. It was in the 13th volume of *Diplomatica Turcica*, the section of letters to Thomas Funck from His Majesty. As mentioned earlier, Thomas Funck was the Swedish ambassador to Constantinople. On 14 September 1711, Charles XII wrote an important letter instructing Thomas Funck to defend the interests of Ukraine as an independent state in his negotiations with the Sultan.

Most likely, this letter from Pylyp Orlyk was intended for Thomas Funck, too. By “Secretary General” the author means Ivan Maksymovych, who, together with Colonel Dmytro Horlenko and Judge Advocate General Klym Dovhopolyi, participated in negotiations with Crimean Khan Devlet II Giray in 1710–11. These negotiations resulted in the signing of the Cossack-Tatar Treaty of 1711, officially known as the Treaty Concluded between the Dominion of Crimea and Exercitus Zaporoviensis and the Nation of Little Russia for Perpetual Friendship, Fraternity, and Indissoluble Union of Arms, around the Kair [ford on the Dnieper]. The treaty was signed on 23 January 1711 in pursuance of Article 3 of Orlyk’s Constitution, before the joint campaign of Hetman Orlyk, Crimean Khan Devlet II Giray, and Polish voivode Józef Potocki to Right Bank Ukraine in late January of the same year.

*Since we have always been in need of neighbourly friendship with the Crimean state, whose help Exercitus Zaporoviensis has repeatedly sought for its own defence, the Most Serene Hetman should appeal to His Grace the Crimean Khan through his emissaries as much as at present possible to restore the ancient brotherhood with the Crimean state, to establish military collation and to reaffirm the perpetual friendship, which would make neighbouring states reluctant to seek Ukraine’s enslavement or ever to make violence against it. After the end of the war, and if God willing, the newly elected Hetman should settle down in his residence in the peace we desire and hope for, and he should take care, and make it the duty of his government, that friendship and fraternity with the Crimean state is not broken in any way because of wilful and frivolous men on our part who are accustomed not only to destroying neighbourly consent and friendship but also to tearing up and destroying peaceful alliances.<sup>13</sup>*

*Philippus Orlik Dux*

Marina Trattner



■ The Cossack-Crimean Treaty of Alliance of 1711. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

<sup>13</sup> Oleksandr Alf orov, *Dohovory i postanovy* [Treaties and Resolutions] (Tempora, 2010), p. 45.

■ Pylyp Orlyk’s signature. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

## Copy of a letter by Pylyp Orlyk in the original language (Latin):

Excellentissime Domine  
Amice gratiosissime  
Quacumque hic occurrunt, quantaque imminent Vestrae, honoris, et integritatis nostrae pericula, ediscet Excell[enti]a V[est]ra ex ore D[omi]ni Notarii Nostri Generalis, cui dignetur Excell[enti]a V[est]ra auxilio et consilio esse, supplico, maneoque cum aeterna obligatione

Excellentiae Vestrae  
intimus amicus  
et paratissimus ad obsequia

Servus  
**Philippus Orlik Dux**  
Exercitus Zaporoviensis  
Benderae 7bris 19/18  
1711 a[nn]o

## Translation of a letter from Pylyp Orlyk:

Our Most Excellent Lord and Gracious Friend!

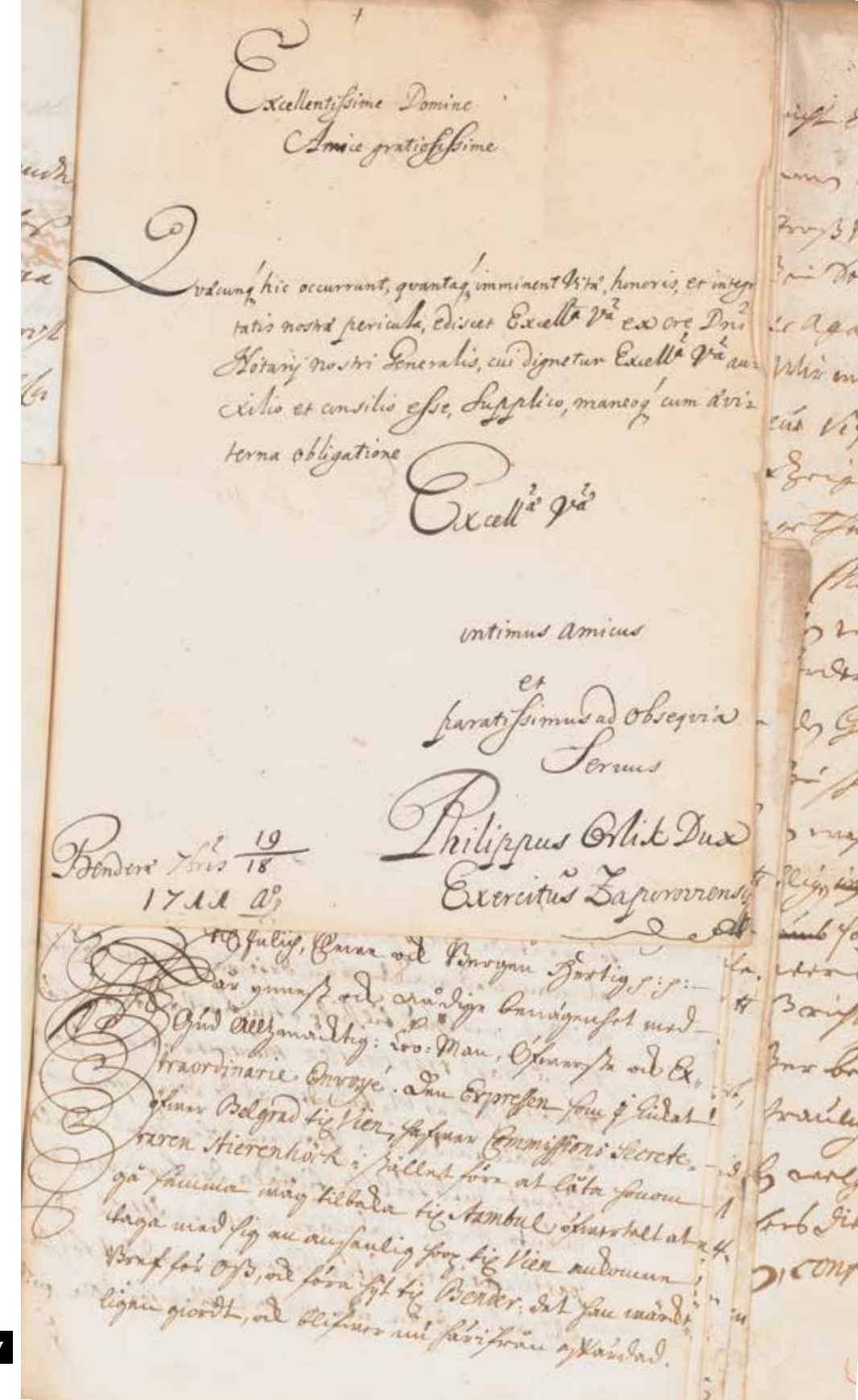
I pray that Your Excellency may learn of all that is happening here, and of the great dangers to Your honour and our safety, from the lips of our Lord the Secretary General, who may be honoured to be in the shelter and counsel of Your Excellency. I remain, Your Excellency, your forever indebted cordial friend and invariably obedient servant,

**Pylyp Orlyk, Hetman of Exercitus Zaporoviensis**

Bender, 19/18 September 1711.

(see Fig. 3).

**FIGURE 3** ▶  
Letter by Pylyp Orlyk. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm. Photo by Marina Trattner





# UKRAINE'S HISTORY THROUGH MAPS IN EUROPEAN ARCHIVES

Igor Poluektov

## Chapter Five

The Swedish archives contain so many maps and cosmographs describing the territory of modern Ukraine that their analysis alone can tell us more than some history textbooks. The stability of the country, good preservation conditions, and the principle of openness of official documents to the public made it possible for Swedish archives to accumulate several thousand maps directly or indirectly related to Ukrainian lands. In this section, we are going to feature only the most interesting ones, as they help us explore some important milestones in our history. We will also introduce some of the search options available in international archives and show you what treasures can be found there.

## SCYTHIA AND SARMATIA

In the Uppsala University Library, in the Carolina Rediviva section, there is an atlas where we can see the first map of interest to us, the ATLAS (p. 237). Origin: Anno MCCCCLXXXII, avgvsti vero kalendas XVII. Imprssvm Vlme per ingeniosvm virvm Leonardvm Hol prefati oppidi civem, 1482.<sup>1</sup>

Our lands have always been of interest to historians and great rulers. Herodotus, the “father of history” (5th c. B.C.), described the boundaries of Scythia as a territory that stretched from west to east, “from the river Ister (Danube) to the river Tanaïs (Don)”, with “the most productive” Dnieper (the Borysthenes, the Borysthenius) flowing in the middle of the Scythian lands. Book 4 of his *Histories* in nine volumes contains the oldest systematic description of the geography, ethnography and history of the territory of modern Ukraine, most of which was occupied by Scythia in ancient times.

It is assumed that Anacharsis, the son of the Scythian king Gnourus, could have been the author of its first map. At least, Herodotus seems to be describing exactly what he saw with his own eyes:

“Scythia, then, is a four-sided country, two of whose sides are coastline, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea making it a perfect square; for it is a ten days' journey from the Ister (Danube) to the Borysthenes (Dnieper), and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeitian lake (the Sea of Azov); and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who live north of Scythia.”<sup>2</sup>

Tetiana Liuta,<sup>2</sup>  
IMAGO URBS: Kyiv na starodavnikh mapakh  
[CITY IMAGE: Kyiv on ancient maps]  
(Oleksandr Savchuk Publishing House, 2017).

Yet no one has managed to find such a map yet.

Instead, there are many others, and we will start with the first one attached here (see Fig. 1. Map 1).

These visualised 15th-century revisions of the works by the legendary ancient geographer Claudius Ptolemy (87–165) demonstrate his *Geography* in the spirit of the times, linking descriptions to specific territories, water bodies, etc. There are many versions and editions of this book.

Let us look at the edition attributed to Nicolaus Germanus (1420–1490), who changed his interpretation of Ptolemy's *Geography* three times before publishing the final one in Ulm in 1482. The map's description reads, “Clavdii Ptolomei viri Alexandrini Cosmographie octavvs et vltimvs liber explicit opvs Donni Nicolai Germani secvndvm Ptolomevm finit. Anno MCCCCLXXXII. Avgvsti vero Kalendas. XVII. Imprssvm Vlme per ingeniosvm virvm Leonardvm Hol prefati oppidi civem”, translated from Greek into Latin by Giacopo d'Angelo, 31 spreads and 1 sheet. Each map has a short text on the back.

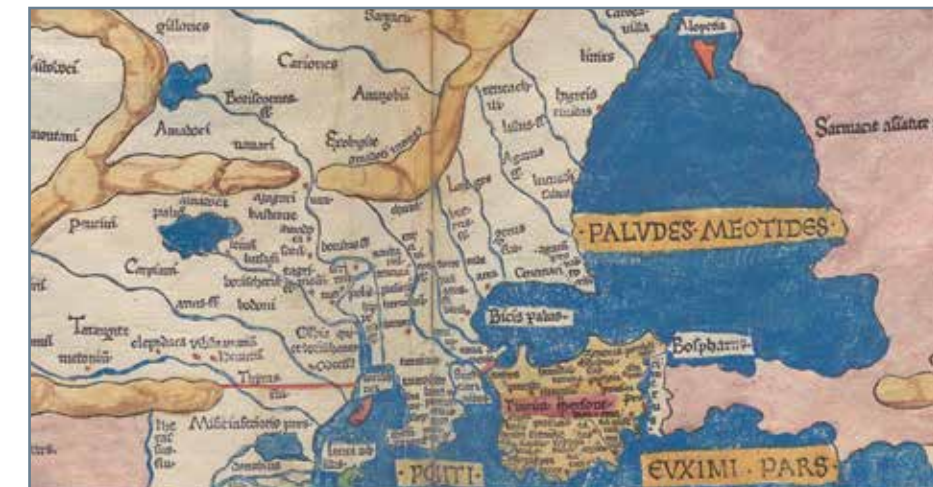
Looking at page 237 of *Cosmography*, we find a map of “European Sarmatia” (SARMATIA EVROPE), that is of most interest to us. In its very centre, along the Borysthenes, we find such settlements as Azagariū, Amadoca, Sarū, Serimū, Metropolis and others. At its confluence with the Black Sea (PONTI EVXIMI.PARS) we can see the ancient Greek city of Pontic Olbia (or just Olbia). Further down is the island of Borysthenes (present-day Berezan). Crimea (Taurica thersonobion) is highlighted in yellow. It appears to be quite densely populated at the time, with many city and town names. To the east, we see the vast Azov Sea (PALVDES.METEOTIDES). The upper edge of the territory is outlined by the river Tanaïs (Don). This is the eastern border of European Sarmatia. Its western border is marked by another river, the Danubius (the same Danube, which here has a different ancient name yet marks the same borders through the centuries).



Claudius Ptolemy (c. 87–165). ■



<sup>1</sup> <<https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0237&pid=alvin-record:1182107>> [accessed 20 November 2021]





■ FIGURE 1. MAP 1

TITLE: Atlas (p. 237)  
 ORIGIN: Ulm, Germany: Anno MCCCCLXXXII, Augusti vero Kalendas XVII. Impressum Ulme per ingeniosum virum Leonardum Hol prefati oppidi civem. 1482.  
 ALTERNATIVE TITLE: Beatissimo Patri Pavlo Secvndo Pontifici Maximo Donis Nicolavs Germanvs [To the Most Blessed Father Pope Paul II, Pontifex Maximus: Gifted by Nicolaus Germanus].  
 CONTRIBUTORS: Ptolemaios Klaudios (d. c. 170), author; Nicolaus Germanus (c. 1420–c. 1490), editor and cartographer; d'Angelo, Jacopo, translator.  
 IDENTIFIERS (GENERAL): 8932622 (Libris).  
 URL: www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.qjsf?dsId=ATTACHMENT-0237&pid=alvin-record:182107

# RUS'

Our lands were marked with different names. The first mention of the name Rus' on maps dates to the 12th century. In 1154, at the request of King Roger II of Sicily, the Arab scientist Muhammad al-Idrisi created one of the most perfect maps of the medieval world (Map 2). It is oriented in the usual way for that time: south at the top and north at the bottom. But in all other respects, it was so perfect and ahead of its time that it was considered a standard until almost the fifteenth century. Detailed descriptions of each of its parts made up a geography treatise *The Excursion of One Eager to Penetrate the Distant Horizons*, which also went down in history under the name of the king who procured it, *Tabula Rogeriana*.

For this unique book, Al-Idrisi took a new approach and spent 15 years working on it. He introduced the world as a whole, then divided it into seven regions and then split each of them into ten main sections. Then he described each section and drew a separate map for it. Three manuscripts dating between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries have survived to this day. Although none of them are kept in Sweden (two are in France and one is in the UK), I will take this opportunity to provide the readers with another valuable source for research, my favourite French archive gallica.bnf.fr.<sup>3</sup>

Visiting this site and entering, for example, "AL-IDRĪSĪ" in the top search bar, we receive 126 search results (including not only copies of his works, but also mentions of and references to him). However, the first two results lead to the same two antique manuscripts of *Tabula Rogeriana*. Narrowing down the search, it will suffice to copy the author's surname or this short title of the book in Arabic characters, and you will receive only these two manuscripts in the results.

As we can see, the archive dates them to the period of 1250-1325. They are almost identical, so let us open the first one and find the familiar outlines of rivers and the Black Sea on page 597 (orientation: south from the top of the map). This way, we can immerse ourselves in the medieval atmosphere and experience how our lands were seen at that time. But, of course, we cannot work with either text or even such a drawing without special training.<sup>4</sup>

This is why we are going to use the later adaptation and translation by Conrad Miller of 1898 (*it was also published in better quality in 1928; see Fig. 2. Map 2*).

To deal with it, we need to start with figuring out the familiar boundaries. In the east, we see the Cumanian country, which has a recognisable name "ard al Kumania". It is easy to find on the map as we need to trace the White and Black Cumanias on the coast after Alanya and Khazaria. Next to them, we also see the rather interesting name "rusia" as a designation of a city on the coast. Scholars have different opinions on this, but two of them appear to be the most well-reasoned. Trying to explain the toponym Rusia (Rūsiyya), Crimean archaeologist David Talis was inclined to consider it as the name of the Azov region as a whole, not just one settlement<sup>5</sup>. Meanwhile translator and researcher of al-Idrisi's texts Irina Konovalova writes that "using the example of the Black Sea routes discussed above, one could see that Al-Idrisi clearly identifies the Kerch Strait with the cities of Rūsiyya and Maṭra-khā as the centre of converging trade routes from Byzantium. It is these cities that the geographer mentions as the final points of sailing from Constantinople... Thus, if the name of the city of Rūsiyya, which first appears in the Arab and Persian literature in al-Idrisi's book, can be compared with references to "Rosia" in Byzantine sources of the twelfth century, the hydronym



■ Al-Idrisi's map of the world from a 1456 copy by Ali ibn Hasan al-Hufi al-Qasimi. <<http://www.oldmaps.turkist.org>>

3 <[www.gallica.bnf.fr](http://www.gallica.bnf.fr)> [accessed 20 November 2021]

4 <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000547t>

5 David L'vovich Talis, 'Rosy v Krymu' [The Ros People in the Crimea], *Sov'yetskaya arkheologiya*, 1974, no. 3, pp. 87-99.

6 Irina Gennadiyevna Konovalova, *Al-Idrisi o stranakh i narodakh Vostochnoy Yevropy: tekst, perevod, kommentariy* [Al-Idrisi on the Countries and Peoples of Eastern Europe: Text, Translation, Comments] (Vostochnaya literatura, 2006), pp. 222-225.



■ Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrisi. *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fi ikhtirāq al-āfāq* [The Excursion of One Eager to Penetrate the Distant Horizons], 1250-1325 B.C. Title page. <[www.gallica.bnf.fr](http://www.gallica.bnf.fr)>

"Rusian River", which Al-Idrisi places in the same context as the story about this city, is certainly closely related to the reports of Arab and Persian geographers about the river running through the lands of the Rusians and flowing into the Black Sea."<sup>6</sup>. In this regard, Konovalova links the analysed toponym not just to the Azov region, but specifically to the Kerch Strait and, possibly, to the city of Kerch (Korchev). Many other researchers, however, write about Taman.

All in all, we can see that the area where the Don flows into the Sea of Azov is marked as the country of Cumania, and the lands of Rus' begin further west. More specifically, the left and right banks of the Dnieper (called here the Danābris or the Dnabr) between Kyiv and Kaniv are marked as the centre of these lands with the inscription "ard al Rusia". To determine the borders of Rus', we note that in addition to its eastern neighbour, the Cumans (Polovtsy), there is "muttasil ard Kumania", i.e. "the united land of the Cumans" to the north-east of Rus'. The cities located at the source of the Dniro, such as Smolensk and its environs, were dependent on Cumania.

The north-western border of Rus' is easily guessed by the numerous mountains that make up the Carpathians. There is also a separate inscription, "muttasil ard al Rusia", that is, "the united land of Rus'". Galicia (Halych) is easy to recognise among the cities and towns that were part of Rus' but are shown here on the border with these united lands. Moving to the Dniester, we see such cities as Zala (Zvenyhorod) and Saclach (possibly present-day Bârlad or Suceava); a little further away is Barmunisū (present-day Terebovlia according to Oiva Tuulio (Tallgren)), and to the north of them is Lunisū (which Boris Rybakov identified with Lutsk). The southwest borders upon "ard Brugan" (apparently, the Bulgarian lands, where we see the city of Barnas or Varna). To the west of them, as part of Rus', are the towns of Uliskī and Mūlisa, which are identified as Oleshshia (the chronicle name of a settlement or historical area in the lower reaches of the Dnieper, a Rus' port city). Near them is Karia, located in the Dniro-Dniester interfluvium, and is difficult to identify with any of the more recent settlements.

On the coast, we see the name Karsuna, which is easily recognisable as Chersonesus (Korsun). Others are Gazuri (Gurzuf), Baartabili (Partenit), Labad (Lambat), Salusta (Alushta), Soltata (Sudak), Butar (the Feodosia Gulf). Now we made a circle and outlined all the borders of Rus'. But what is at its heart? From north to south, we find such cities as Baramūnisa (possibly Turov), Arman (Volodymyr, which was known as Volodymyr-Volynskyi in 1944-2021), Barāsā-nisa (Peresopnytsia), Kāw (Kyiv), Lūjagha (Luchesk; present-day Lutsk), Awsiyya (Ushesk), Barazūla (Trepol; present-day Trypillya), Barazlāw (Pereiaslav), Qaniw (Kaniv)... Other than the Dnieper (Danābris, Dnabr), we see the Dniester (Danāst, Danu), Danube (Danu) and other rivers of the region. The map, although very old, is quite informative and tells us about the borders of Rus', its cities, rivers, and neighbouring lands.





Charta Rogeriana **WELTKARTE** DES IDRISI vom Jahr 1154 n.Ch

■ FIGURE 2. MAP 2

**TITLE:** *Weltkarte des Idrisi vom Jahr 1154 n. Chr. (Charta Rogeriana)* [Idrisi's World Map from the Year 1154 AD (Tabula Rogeriana)].

**ALTERNATIVE TITLE:**  
*Charta Rogeriana / Explanations to the proof of the map of the world drawn by Idrisi in 1154 and restored by K. Miller in 1927.*

**CONTRIBUTORS:**

Idrīsī (c. 1100–1166); Konrad Miller (1844–1933).  
URL: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3200.ct001903>

# KINGDOM OF RUS' (RUTHENIA)

From the middle of the thirteenth century, Ruthenians, prompted by the invasion of the Golden Horde, moved further west, and the name Rus' (Ruthenia) was assigned to the lands controlled by Grand Prince Daniel of Galicia who was crowned the first King of Ruthenia by a papal archbishop in 1253. Also, the Hypatian Codex mentions King Daniel's father, Roman Mstislavovych, was first called "Grand Prince Roman" and "Autocrat of All Rus'" in 6709 Year of Creation (1201 CE).

"Since Rus' became an ethnonym, this name and the complex associated with it have invariably been used to refer to a very specific territory, what is now the middle Dnieper Ukraine, with the main cities of Kyiv, Chernihiv, and Pereiaslav, and the Dnieper Slav tribes who inhabited it, primarily the Eastern Polans ("the Polans, now known as Rus') and the politically connected with them Severians and Drevlians. Even in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the names 'Rus'" and "the land of Rus'" were used mainly to refer to the territory of the midstream Dnieper. For example, the constituent charter of Grand Prince Vsevolod Mstyslavych of Pereiaslav, Vyshhorod, and Novgorod in the 1130s specifically presents him as "ruling over the whole land of Rus' and the whole Novgorod region" – that is, Novgorod here is clearly separated from Rus'. Similarly, the sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries consistently distinguish Polotsk, Suzdal (Vladimir), and other such lands from Rus'".<sup>7</sup>

Accordingly, European cartography in the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries used the name "Rus'" to describe the Right Bank of the Dnieper, from Kyiv to Halych, and until the defeat of the Novgorod Republic by the Muscovites in 1471–1478 and 1570, it was sometimes referred to it as "Rus'" as well, but increasingly this toponym was seen more narrowly, associated only with the territory of the so-called "Rus' voivodeship" (Latin: Pallatinatus Russiae; Polish: województwo Ruskie) where Lviv became its main city. The lands of the Chernihiv and Severia as well as the principality of Smolensk became a permanent battlefield for the heritage of Rus', and therefore are often shown on maps as separate principalities or lands with the corresponding names. And to their north-east was a country that in the vast majority of independent sources was called "Moscovia" and its population was known as "Moscovites". Thus, until almost the middle of the eighteenth century, there was no confusion about this.

Although in 1493 Ivan III added the "all-Rus'" suffix to his grand-ducal style, most European monarchs remained unimpressed and refused to recognise it and the Muscovites' ambitious plans to seize the heritage of Rus'. Moreover, even in the days of Peter I, when he arbitrarily and illegally appropriated the title of Emperor in 1721 and tried to impose a new name for the country, the All-Russian Empire, there was no support for it.

"It seems that nature itself draws clear boundaries between the two peoples. The research of modern scientists has made it possible to observe phenomena that divide their territories into different zones. Europe, for its part, has long maintained this tradition of distinguishing between these peoples and names, and despite the title of "Emperor of Russia" that Peter I used to style himself, Louis XIV never officially called him anything other than "Sa Majeste moscovite".<sup>8</sup>

That is why, not only in written sources and maps but also in European newsletters, newspapers, etc. (such as one of the most famous editions, the French Gazette that was published from 30 May 1631 to 1915), the territory of our country was referred to as "Rus'"



■ Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594).

7 Oleg Odnorozhenko, 'Rus' — Ukraina: Z istorii vynykennia ta rozvytku samonazv nashoho narodu' [Rus' — Ukraine: A Few Facts on the History of the Emergence and Development of Our People's Self-Appellation], *Ukrains'kyi tyzhden'*, 19 September 2010, 38(151).



8 «His Muscovian Majesty». Paul de Saint-Vincent, *Écrivains et poètes modernes de la Pologne : La poésie oukrainienne* — Bohdan Zaleski [Modern Writers and Poets of Poland: Ukrainian Poetry — Bohdan Zaleski], *Revue contemporaine*, 1860, vol. 53, 2e s. — Tome XVIII, p. 616.

## ■ FIGURE 3. MAP 3

TITRE: *Lithuania / per Gerardum Mercatorem.*

CREATOR: Mercator, Gerard (1512–1594), cartographer.

PUBLICATION DATE: 1606.

SUBJECT: Lithuania, Grand Duchy of.

SUBJECT: Volhynia, region.

PROVENANCE: Part of: d'Anville Collection; 03157.

FORMAT: 1 map; 375 × 44 cm, on sheet 43.5 × 49 cm.

(Rusiae, Russi, Russia, Russiae, Ruthenia, Russia Rubra etc.) until the name "Ukraine" emerged, while the lands of the modern Russian Federation were only called Muscovy (Moscovie). This is what we can see on Lithuania, one of the many maps of that period made by the famous geographer Gerardus Mercator (1512–1594). On it, in the upper right corner, above Smolensk, is "Moscoviae". Below, the entire central part of the map is occupied by the Magnus Ducatus Lithuaniae, which included Kyiv (Kiof) and other present-day Ukrainian cities as well as the territories marked as Podolia and Volhinia. The only instance of the name Rus' (Russia) is in the lower left corner of the map, right before the Carpathians, between the cities of Przemyśl and Lviv (Leopolis).

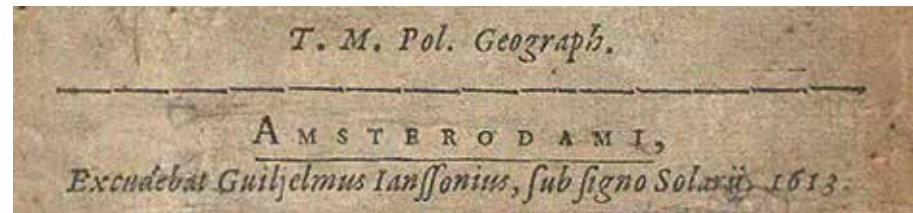


# FROM RUS' TO UKRAINE

Uppsala University Library, namely, its section Carolina Rediviva, is home to the original copy of Radziwiłł's map of 1613, which became one of the first European cartographic sources to use the name "Ukraine" (lower right corner of the map, below Kyiv).<sup>9</sup>

The onset of the name change from Rus' to Ukraine can be traced in European sources from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries, in parallel with the emergence and development of the Cossack knighthood. Continuing the chronicle tradition of 1187, when this term was first recorded in writing in the Pereiaslav land, it was increasingly gaining a wider meaning. Similarly, European maps begin to show the inscription "Ukraine" for the lands of Kyiv and around the Dnieper.

This map is probably the most interesting of those found in the Swedish archives (see Fig. 4. Map 4).



The first surviving copy (1613) shows a high level of cartographers' work, incredible detail and reliability of the data provided at that time. That is why this map is considered one of the greatest achievements of the scientists of that time, which left a significant mark on the development of European cartography in the seventeenth century and was the main source of geographical knowledge about the region for decades to come.

Among those involved in its creation were Prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (1526–1608), church and public figure Józef Wereszczyński (ca. 1530–1598), mathematician Jacob Bosgrave (ca. 1548–1623); scholars from the Ostroh Academy, which at that time boasted a whole host of true geniuses, could have contributed to this project as well.<sup>10</sup>

Various sources have used the name "Ukraine" for these lands even before that, referring in almost all cases to the territories that still make up the borders of our country today, but this is perhaps the first time it has been used in cartography. What makes it especially important is that a foreign cartographer used the name that was used by the locals. For the first time the map displays "Volynia Vltior quae tum Vkraina tum NIS ab aliis vocitatur", which can be translated as "Volhynia of the other side, which is now called Ukraine, and sometimes THE LOWER LANDS by other people". As for the second sub-name, there is a simple geographical idea from the central position of the then capital Vilnius, relative to which Ukrainian lands were to the south, i.e. in the LOWER reaches of the river. That also corresponded to the Ukrainian Cossacks' long-term self-appellation as that was what they called the lands below Kyiv and the Dnieper rapids. Hence, the "Zaporozhian Host the Lower" became the way to style the non-registered Cossacks with their initial deployment beyond the Dnieper rapids.

But this is not the only thing that makes this map interesting. For example, it is easy to guess the names of rivers, such as the Boristenes (Dniepr), the Dzieszna, the Stuha, the



■ Konstanty (Konstantyn Iwanowycz) Ostrogski (1460–1530). <[www.alchetron.com/Konstanty-Ostrogski](http://www.alchetron.com/Konstanty-Ostrogski)>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/imageViewer.jsf?fbclid=IwAR3f33OSBZ0FsNZ8iY4W7c6VUABNF>

<sup>10</sup> More information about Ukrainian educators of that time is in a focused study (in Ukrainian): Igor Poluektov, 'Rahuli chy prosvitnyky? Abo yak kozaky v ievropeis'kyh universytetakh vchylis' [Country Bumpkins or Enlighteners? Or How the Cossacks Studied at European Universities], *Istorychna pravda*, 11 June 2020 <<https://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2020/06/11/157651>>



Ros running near Kyiv (Kijouia), Vyshhorod (Wijshorod), Trypillia (Trzupole), and other cities, both chronicled and still existing. The map has marked borders between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Principality of Severia, the Duchy of Courland, Livonia, and the Principality of Moscow, as well as the borders of lands, voivodeships, and other principalities.

We find that the names of Ukrainian rivers (hydrotponymy), cities, and even historical land boundaries have hardly changed, and are recognisable and familiar to us today. Many of these names come from the ancient past, having survived both the rampages of the Suzdal conquerors who sacked Kyiv in 1169 and the Mongol invasions.

On the right, we see a small supplementary map describing the course of the Dnieper from Cherkasy to the Black Sea. This is the first description of this legendary river in such detail. Here we see small informational inserts that introduce the readers to the names of settlements, rivers, lakes, and islands mentioning Khortytsia and Sich (which was then in Tomakivka), and one of the glosses separately describes and introduces foreigners to such a phenomenon and concept as "Cossacks" (De Kozacus) in the way and manner they could understand and describe it.

The only original copy of the map measuring 920 × 1120 mm is stored in the main building of the Carolina Rediviva Museum of the Uppsala University Library (Sweden). Originally it was on a piece of fabric, and after the restoration in 2016, it was placed on Japanese paper. There are similar copies in Lviv, in the National Historical Museum of the Republic of Belarus, in Lithuania and Poland, as this map is an important historical source of knowledge about the past for each of these countries, and not only for Ukraine.



■ FIGURE 4. MAP 4

**TITLE:** Magni ducatus Lithvaniae, caeterarvmqve regionvm illi adiacentivm exacta descriptio : illss.mi ac excellss.mi principis [sic] et d.ni D. Nicolai Christophori Radziwil ... / Lectori S. Hunc Borysthenis tractum ut ad nostrum geographiae tabulam adjiciamus duo nos praecipuo impulerunt [An Exact Description of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Other Regions Adjacent to It: Dedicated to the Most Illustrious and Excellent Prince and Lord, Mikolaj Krzysztof Radziwil— / To the Reader: Two primary considerations have urged us to append this region of the Dnieper to our map of geography].

**CONTRIBUTORS:**

Blaeu, Willem Janszoon (1571–1638), editor; Gerritsz, Hessel (c. 1581–c. 1632), engraver; Makowski, Tomasz (1575–1630), cartographer; Radziwil, Mikolaj Krzysztof, Prince, (1549–1616).

**ORIGIN:** Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1613.

URL: <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/attachment/download/alvin-record:88438/ ATTACHMENT-0002.tif>



# UKRAINE

After the publication of the map with the toponym "Ukraine" in 1613, similar maps started appearing one after another. A recent discovery of a previously unknown handwritten map in Swedish archives bearing the words "Vkrainy Część" [Part of Ukraine] and describing a part of Ukrainian lands, namely the Kyiv region (Kiiow), Podillia (Podolie) and Volhynia (Wolyn), has created a real sensation. This is a handwritten road map that exists in only one copy, with very specific descriptions and legends, and is therefore particularly valuable (see Fig. 5. Map 5).



Near the "Kyiv" index, we see a small author's description (I translated it into Ukrainian for the Ukrainian edition):

"This is the City of Kyiv, which used to be famous: The Tatars burned it down in 1241. Just as all the Ruthenian lands. And then Sandomierz, Łęczycza, Sieradz, all taken by storm. Many nobles and common folk were carried away. Then they came to Kraków in the number of five times a hundred thousand. And burned down that city. Just as Wrocław in Silesia. Now that the City of Kyiv is very populated but is in danger of fire as it lies under a high mountain, from which the enemy could cause it great damage."

What comes to attention first is that the author writes the word "miasto" [the city] for Krakow with a lowercase letter (even though it was the capital of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until almost the end of the sixteenth century) yet capitalises "Miasto Kiiow" [the City of Kyiv] both times. There is a good reason for that. Although we may imagine Kyiv in those years as an overlooked and neglected place compared to the developed Polish cities, it was perceived quite differently at that time.

I would assume that the author of that inscription was inspired by Jan Dąbrowski's Latin poem *Camoenae Boristhenides* [The Dnieper Camenae], which some researchers date to 1618–1620. The author shows his deference for one of the main capitals of Christendom with high epithets, styling Kyiv as Rome, "Urbs", the City that needs no name because everyone understands that there is only one City.

The City, which once shone with honour and was full of splendour,  
Withered away in the yoke of a strongman: to this day,  
Traces of enemy blows can be seen here and there.  
A famous City, it flourishes under able rulers:  
Serving its fierce population, it stands on the border  
Between the Sarmatian Kingdom and the savage Moschi [Muscovites]...<sup>11</sup>

11 Ioannes Dąbrowski, *Camoenae Boristhenides. Historia brevis Roxolaniae* (Anni 430–1618) [The Dnieper Camenae. A Brief History of Ruthenians (Years 430–1618)] (Fastoviae, 1619).

Andrew B. Pernal, "Two Newly-Discovered Seventeenth-Century Manuscript Maps of Ukraine", in *Od Kijowa do Rzymu: z dziejów stosunków Rzeczypospolitej ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą* (Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2012), pp. 983–984.

V K R A I N Y  
C Z E S Ć

Ulla Ehrensvärd, *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930: Catalogue of Manuscript Maps in Swedish Collections to the History of Polish Territories* (Warsaw–Stockholm, 2008), p. 290.

Researcher Ihor Ševčenko emphasizes that what Dąbrowski recounted was not the history of a particular princely family, but the history of the land itself and Kyiv as its symbol. According to Sebastian Klonowic who titled his 1584 poem after another beautiful name of our country, Roxolania, "The forest stood here before Rus' had its name and was the first to call it Rus'."

Another small descriptive text on the map reads [near Płoskirów (present-day Khmelnytskyi) and Międzybóž (Medzhybizh)] reads,

"This is the beginning of Ukraine from Ploski Rów over the river Boh".

The most interesting question would be to determine the authorship of this treasure of Ukrainian history. According to Professor (Emeritus) Andrew B. Pernal of Brandon University (Canada), this map was the prototype of the famous 1650 *Delineatio Specialis Et Accurata Ukrainae* [A Special and Accurate Map of Ukraine], that is, it was the work of the French engineer Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan. Consequently, it can be dated back to the early 1630s, when Beauplan first appeared in Ukraine; ca. 1635, to be more precise.

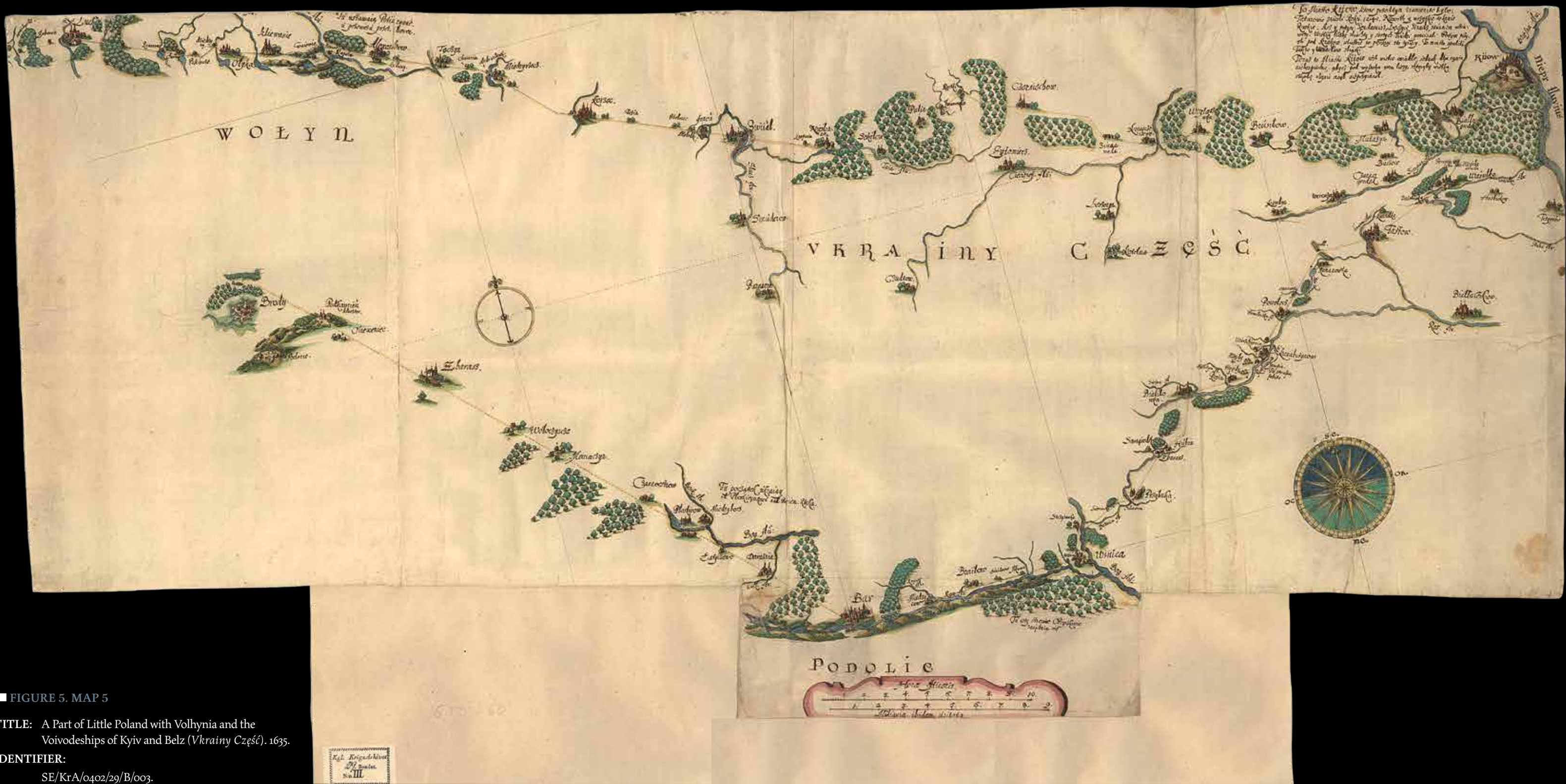
This map, similar to the Getkant atlas (which contained the map of Ukraine), was most likely also pillaged from the Royal Castle in Warsaw in 1655. [...] It has been established that Beauplan played a significant role in the fortification of Brody and Pidhortsia (Podhorce) in the 1630s. This is clearly shown on the map. Bar, also prominently depicted on the map, is shown without any new defensive construction because Beauplan did not begin to work there until the middle of 1646. One characteristic of this map is that much of it is blank and courses of even major rivers are missing. This is clear evidence that Beauplan, by 1635, did not yet have time to prepare a proper cartographic survey of the entire area.<sup>12</sup>

Interestingly, researchers note the absence of Beauplan's handwriting on the map. The reason for this is his poor knowledge of Polish. That is why it is assumed that there was a Polish assistant who made the inscriptions and indicated the names of Ukrainian settlements, although not without mistakes.

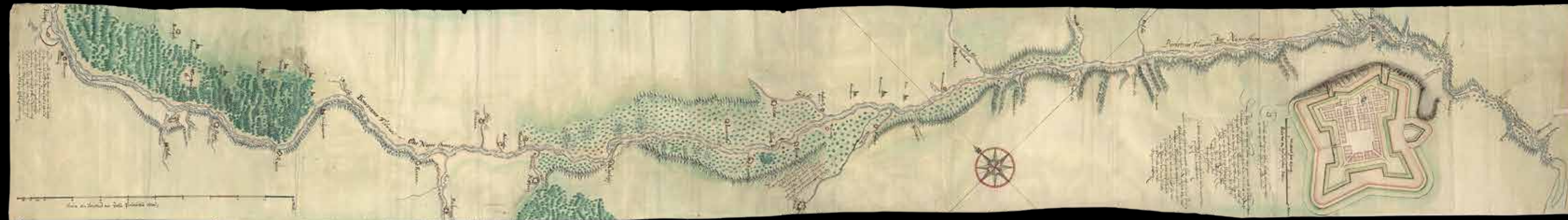
Two responses from the Swedish archives confirmed that this map dates to the 1630s (1635, most likely) and is attributed to Beauplan.







■ FIGURE 5. MAP 5  
 TITLE: A Part of Little Poland with Volhynia and the Voivodeships of Kyiv and Belz (Vkrainy Część). 1635.  
 IDENTIFIER: SE/KrA/0402/29/B/003.

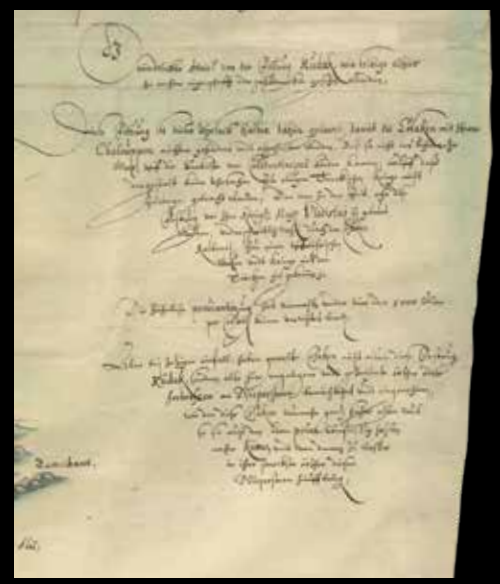


## VKRAINY CZĘŚĆ: PART TWO

This map is housed in a completely different section of the archive, but it is no less interesting as it depicts the Dnieper and the Kodak fortress in the same style (see Fig. 6. Map 6). In her fundamental work, Ulla Ehrensvärd, a well-known researcher of the Swedish archives, was one of the first to describe and date this map, indicating its author as Guillaume de Beauplan and the year of its creation as 1635. Although there are different opinions on this matter, and it is also stated that Beauplan described the Dnieper riverbed in detail during the construction of the second stage of the Kodak fortress in 1639 (this year is better described in the memoirs of other participants of this construction project), the very handwritten style of the map, which is almost identical to the above-mentioned *Vkrainy Część*, makes it most likely that this manuscript was created in the early to mid-1630s. As we see below, Beauplan's style of map preparation changed in 1639.

Details of the riverbanks, tributaries, islands, rapids, ravines, forests, living (winter) quarters, and boat-building or seasonal fishing stations appeared. The Kodak fortress, its plan, design, purpose, and buildings (including one small church) are described in the most detailed way as well. The glosses cover not only Kodak but also Kyiv and the Cossack capital Chyhyryn. One of the interesting features is that the erroneous name "Worsklo" is crossed out near the river Psel (here Psizol).

Other inscriptions on the map include (1) Barizpole, (2) Bobūwka, (3) Borowika, (4) Borūstenes fluuius Oder Nieper Strom (twice), (5) Būdilow flū[vius], (6) Buzin, (7) Cýbułnik flu[vius], (8) Czehrīn, (9) Czehrīn Dąprowa, (10) Czyrkassy, 11) Demockan flū[vius], (12) Deniszky, (13) Dolina, (14) Domūntow, (15) Drūgi Omielnik flu[vius], (16) Horodyscze, (17) Ieremiouka, (18) Iwanko, (19) Kaczkasow flu[vius], (20) Kaniow, (21) Karlet flu[vius], (22) Kiiow, (23) Kowalina, (24) Krasne flu[vius] (twice), (25) Kryłow, (26) Krzemieniczūk, (27) Kūdacze flu[vius], (28) Lisianka flu[vius] (twice), (29) Man flu[vius], (30) Masznowka, (31) MiedzŹrzyjes, (32) Mikolinski, (33) Mosow Dolina, (34) Moszna, (35) Moszna flu[vius], (36) Omielnik, (37) Osikozowska flu[vius], (38) Orel flu[vius], (39) Picozana, (40) Pieczary, (41) Piwo, (42) Psizol flu[vius], (43) Ros flu[vius], (44) Rusow, (45) Samara flu[vius], (46) Schanz Kūdak, (47) Słupierz, (48) Stare, (49) Sta ky, (50)



12 Ulla Ehrensvärd, *Cartographica Poloniae 1570–1930: Catalogue of Manuscript Maps in Swedish Collections to the History of Polish Territories*. Warsaw–Stockholm, 2008. – P. 290..



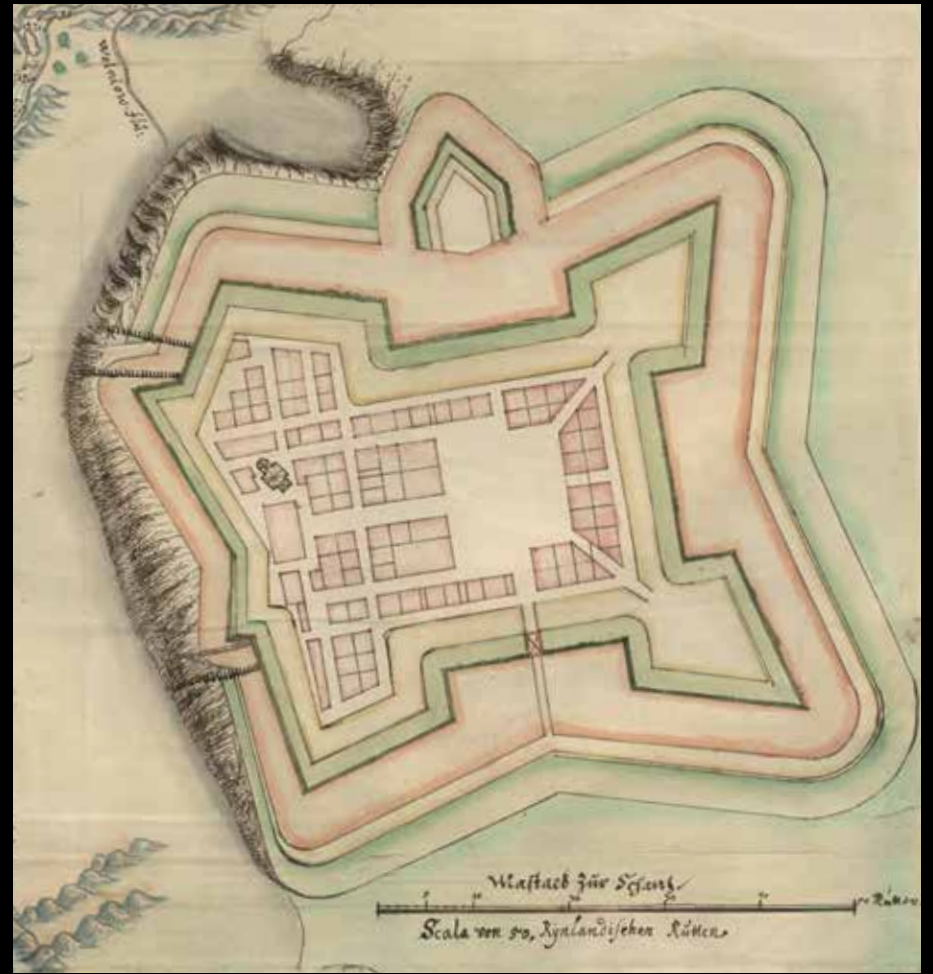
■ FIGURE 6. MAP 6

**TITLE:** *Perfecter undt Eigenlicher Abris von den machtigen Flus Borustenes oder Nieperstroms...* [A Complete and True Depiction of the Mighty River Borysthenes or the Dnieper—]

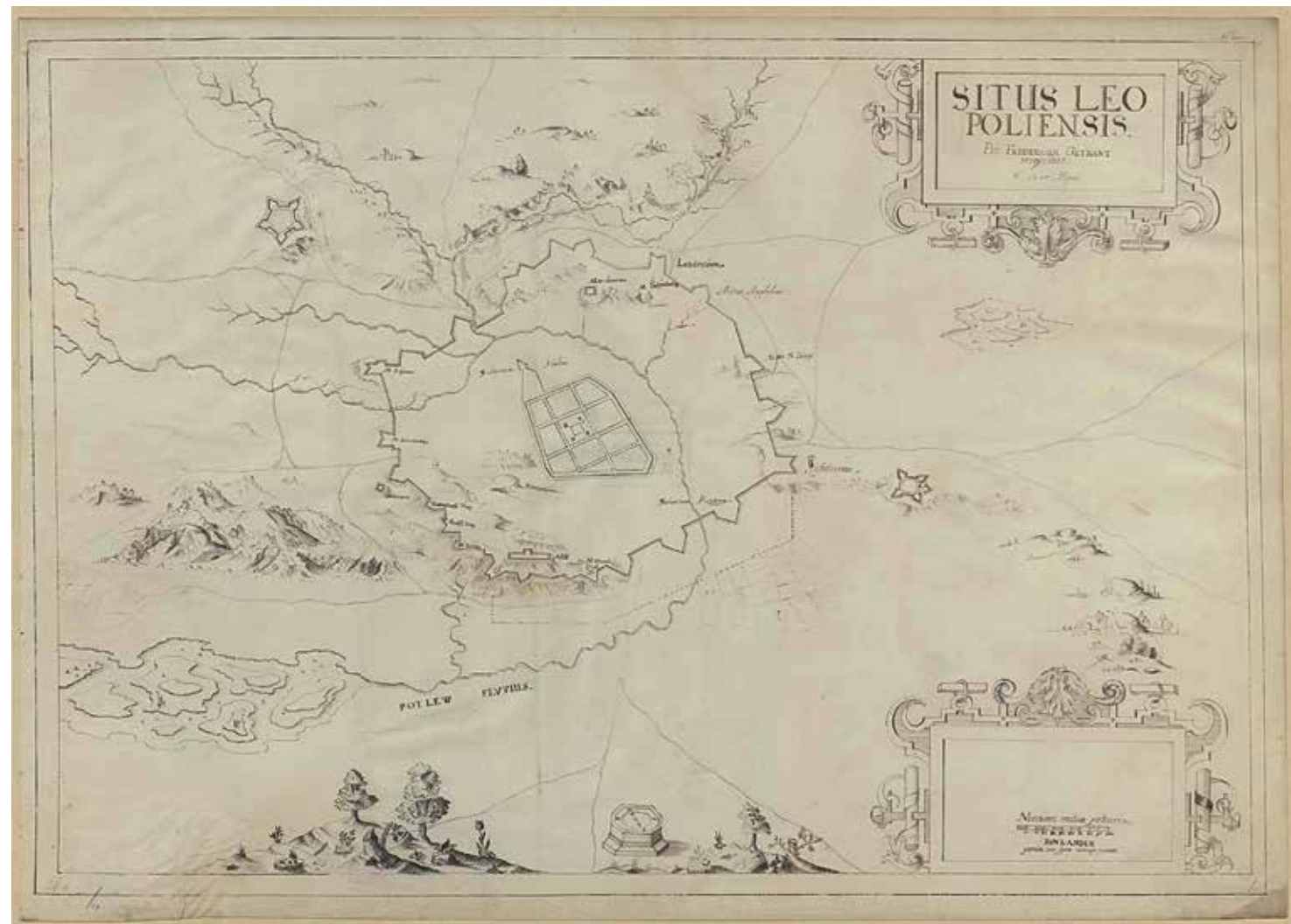
**IDENTIFIER:** SE/KrA/0403/34/B/033.



Sturez, (51) Suchy Omielnik flu[vius], (52) Suła flu[vius], (53) Sūpoi flū[vius], (54) Tasmin flu[vius], (55) Tripolo, (56) Trethymrow, (57) Trūbiec flu[vius], (58) Wolniow flu[vius], (59) Wolny flu[vius], (60) Woronowa flu[vius], (61) Woronowka, (62) Wosklo flu[vius], (63) Worozowka, (64) Zamokawt, (65) Zolnin.



This whole album of drawings and plans is titled *Topographia Practica. Conscripta Et Recognita Per Fridericum Getkant Mechanicum. Anno 1638* and is stored in the National Archives of Sweden. Some of them are of interest to us. Despite the date indicated in the title, some of the plans in it can be dated to 1635–1639 when a group of engineers from different countries were invited to Ukrainian lands to develop plans and build fortifications that would be able to protect the country from southern attacks. Another member of the group that Beauplan was a part of was Friedrich Getkant (Fridericus Getkant). The album and two plans below are signed with his name. The first is about Lviv in September 1635 titled *Situs Leopoliensis* [Location of Lviv] (see Fig. 7. Map 7).  
(Див. Ілюстрацію 7. МАП 7)



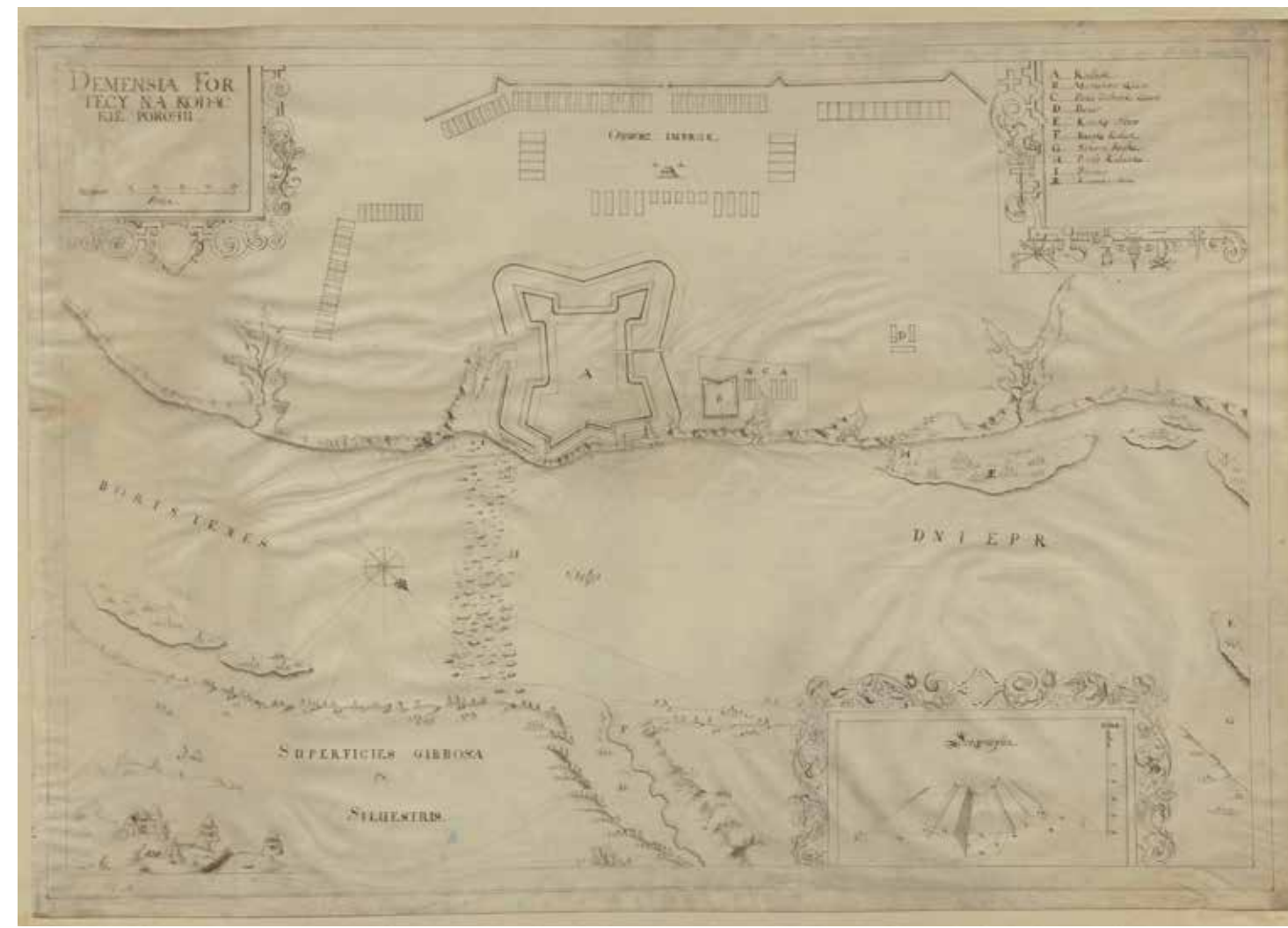
■ FIGURE 7. MAP 7

**TITLE:** *Situs Leopoliensis. Per Fridericum Getkant recognitus. A. 1635 Septemb. (Lemberg/Lwów)* [The Location of Leopoli. Reviewed by Friedrich Getkant. September 1635 (Lemberg/Lviv)].  
**SERIES:** Band 28: *Topographica Practica* (Getkant).  
**IDENTIFIER:** SE/KrA/0414/0028/0005.

Titled *Demensia Fortecy Na Kodackie Porohu (Kudach vid Dniepr/Borusthenes)* [Dimensions of a Fortress on the Kodak Rapids (Kodak on the Dnieper/Borysthenes)] (see Fig. 8. Map 8), it has the same author, Friedrich Getkant (in collaboration with Guillaume de Beauplan). However, there are difficulties with its dating. The archive dates it back to 1634–1639. The question is, though, whether this is the original fortress of the mid-1630s, which was later destroyed by Ivan Sulyma. As a side note, the Kodak fortress was first destroyed by the Cossacks under the command of the legendary Ivan Sulyma in 1635. Many historians hail him as a hero who freed Christian slaves from Turkish captivity, received a gold medal from the Pope (Serhii Plokhly writes about it in particular), and damaged a fortress just built by the Poles that hampered the Cossacks' Black Sea campaigns in 1635. But it is more likely that this is exactly the description of the Dnieper that Beauplan and Getkant made during their 1639 expedition.

■ FIGURE 8. MAP 8

**TITLE:** *Demensia Fortecy Na Kodackie Porohu* [Kodak at the Dnieper/Borysthenes]. 1634–1639.  
**SERIES:** Band 28: *Topographica Practica* (Getkant).  
**IDENTIFIER:** SE/KrA/0414/0028/0013.



# UKRAINIAN GEOGRAPHICAL MAP (TABULA GEOGRAPHICA UKRAINSKA)

The first ever map to bear this name is an important milestone in our history. In the Swedish archives, it is listed as “Tabula Geographica Ukrainiska. Ukraina. Dnjepr (söder om Tjernobyl), Don och Donaus utflöden i Svarta Havet, Krim. Poltava. Tekinia/Bender vid Dnjestr” (see Fig. 9. Map 9).

Its orientation is striking as the south is at the top. But even more interesting is the continuation of the above-described ancient tradition of depicting Ukraine’s borders from the Danube (Danubius) to the Don (Don), and from the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus) to the upper reaches of Pripyat (Pripiec) over Chornobyl (Czernobel). Incidentally, the borders of the Ukrainian lands remain the same almost 400 years after this map was drawn just as they were hundreds of years before it.

In this regard, we would like to introduce one of the most prominent figures in Ukrainian history who suffered precisely for drawing attention to such facts from the history of cartography, Maria Hryhorivna Vavrychyn, an author of a significant number of works including the acclaimed *Ukraina na starodavnikh kartakh* [Ukraine on Ancient Maps] in two volumes.

During the Second All-Union Conference on the Historical Geography of Russia held in Moscow in November 1980, Maria Vavrychyn delivered a report on little-known maps of Ukraine drawn by Guillaume Beauplan where she spoke about the collection of 11 maps by Beauplan discovered in the collections of the Gdańsk City Library (three of which are mentioned above) by the Polish scholar Stanisław Herbst. In her speech, Vavrychyn described the unknown cartographic legacy of the famous Frenchman and outlined in detail the boundaries of Ukrainian lands as they were defined by this cartographer on each of his maps. These boundaries clearly did not match the boundaries drawn in politically motivated historiography by Moscow historians of the time.

Having mapped the Ukrainian territory most accurately and completely, the seventeenth-century French engineer and cartographer was one of the first to introduce the name “Ukraine” in pre-European cartography to denote a separate geographical and political unit, stretching from Muscovy to Transylvania. Maria Vavrychyn simply recalled the historical Ukrainian borders that Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan recorded so carefully. She has collected information on the reprinting of his maps abroad thus proving the interest of Western Europe in Ukraine in the seventeenth century. Ukrainian researcher’s Moscow debut shocked the conference participants with her freethinking view of Ukrainian historical borders, historical political geography, and Ukrainian ethnic lands so much that one of the Soviet professors present bluntly stated, “We need the borders of the Soviet Union; we don’t need such maps of Ukraine’s borders.” For Maria Vavrychyn, this presentation was a milestone, yet it made her face a difficult choice of either kowtowing to the “all-Union” vision of Ukrainian history or abandoning the already approved topic of her PhD thesis *Kartografichni dzherela z istorii Ukrainy XV–XVII st.* [Cartographic Sources on the History of Ukraine in the Fifteenth–Seventeenth centuries], which she was assigned to work on at the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and continue writing without any publication prospects. She chose the latter. For a long time, Maria Vavrychyn could not publish any of her research on historical cartography. Her articles ‘Geografichni karty XV–XVII st. iak dzherelo dlia istoryko-kraieznavchykh doslidzhen’ [‘Geographical Maps of the Fifteenth–Seventeenth Centuries



Maria Vavrychyn, ‘Kompleks kart Ukrainy G. Beauplana ta iikh zberezhennia v bibliotekakh Ievropy’ [The Collection of Guillaume de Beauplan’s Maps of Ukraine and Their Preservation in European Libraries], in *Kartografija ta istoriia Ukrainy: zbirka naukovykh prats’* (M.P. Kots Publishing, 2000), pp. 18–22.

as a Source for Historical and Local History Research”] and “Novi kartografichni dzherela do istorii Ukrainy XVII st.” [“New Cartographic Sources for the History of Ukraine in the Seventeenth Century”] remained in manuscript. For the very things that we can now present in a safe and unbiased manner, demonstrating scanned copies of the original documents with references to the archival materials, she had to sacrifice a decade of her career until finally Ukraine’s independence was declared and she was able to publish her research freely including an analysis of this map, which confirmed her ideas on Ukraine’s borders.

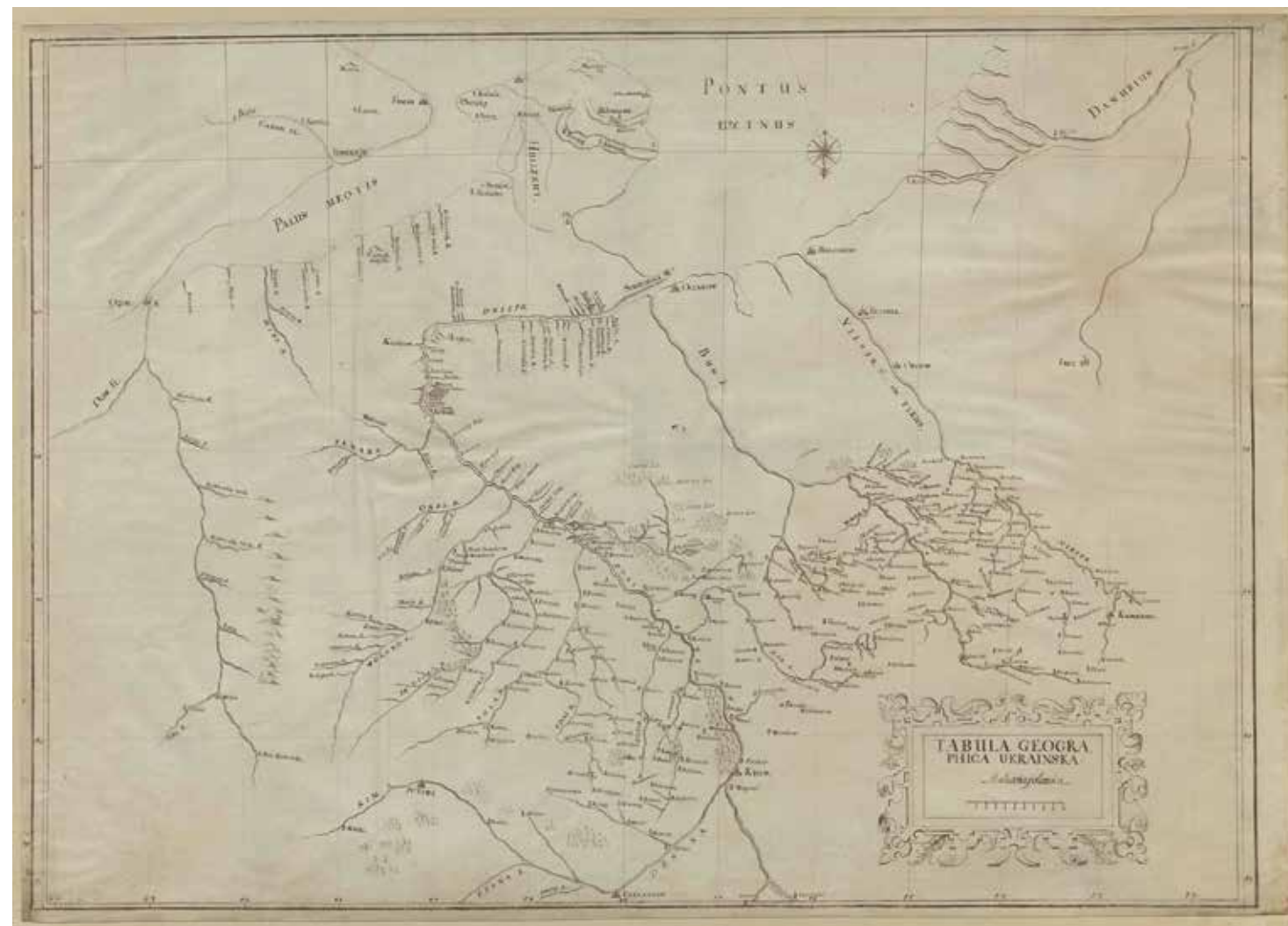
Its dimensions are 44.5 × 62.5 cm, and the scale is 1:1,500,000. It records 275 names of settlements, 80 names of rivers, 4 names of islands, 4 names of forests, etc., and, for the first time in cartography, marks 13 Dnieper rapids and lists their names<sup>14</sup>.

## ■ FIGURE 9. MAP 9

**TITLE:** *Tabula Geographica Ukrainiska* [Ukraine: Dnieper (south of Chernobyl), Don, and Danube...]. 1634–1639.

**SERIES:** Band 28: *Topographica Practica* (Getkant).

**IDENTIFIER:** SE/KrA/0414/0028/0015.



# GUILLAUME DE BEAUPLAN'S DESCRIPTION OF UKRAINE THAT CHANGED HISTORY

By the mid-seventeenth century, Western European publishers were printing and selling books about our country one after another, while scholars kept conducting numerous studies and writing theses on Ukraine and the Cossacks. The interest in these lands, the Ukrainian people, and the Cossacks was becoming relevant in the context of global processes and fundamental changes taking place on the European continent at the time.

We find it in the writings of Guillebert de Lannoy and Ambrogio Contarini (fifteenth century), Marcin Kromer and Maciej Strykowski (sixteenth century), French explorer and archaeologist Blaise de Vigenère, Italians Giovanni Botero and Alexander Guagnini (1570s), German merchant Martin Gruneweg<sup>15</sup>, Austrian emperor's ambassador to the Cossacks Erich Lassota von Steblau (late sixteenth century), Syrian traveller Bulus Ibn al-Za'im al-Halabi (known in Ukraine as Paul of Aleppo who visited Kyiv in 1654 and 1656), or French diplomat Pierre Chevalier who wrote a book about Ukraine between 1653 and 1663 and wrote enthusiastically to the French ambassador Jean-Baptiste de Flécelles, viscount de Brégy about the heroic European campaigns of the Cossacks. In his letter of dedication to the book, he recalls the first French campaign, when in 1636 La Gazette published a somewhat shocking report:

"5000 Cossacks... crossed Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, Lower Bavaria, Franconia... spent a long time around Nuremberg... Then they finally crossed the Rhine at Worms, crossed the Lower Palatinate and Moselle at Trier, and are now arriving in Luxembourg..."<sup>16</sup>.

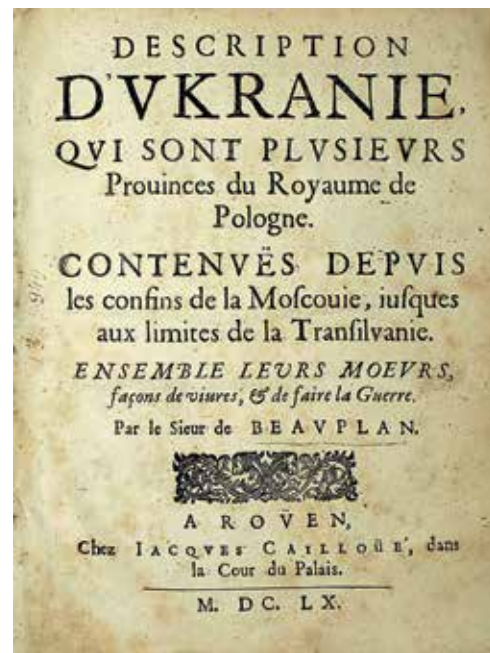
He also knew about their participation in the conquest of Moscow in 1604–1610, 1618, and 1632–1634, and about the Cossack control of the Black Sea in the early seventeenth century (Varna (1606–1608, 1612), Perekop and Ochakiv (1607), Akkerman, Izmail (1609), Trabzon and Sinope (1614, 1616), Istanbul (1615, 1616), and Kaffa (Theodosia) (1616) campaigns), the salvation of Europe from the Ottomans in the Khotyn battle of 1621, their participation in the Thirty Years' War, etc. The letter also mentions the planned second French campaign of Khmelnytsky and his Cossack army. Presumably, this may refer to the events of 1645–1646, when the Starshyna and the French envoys reached an agreement on all the terms of such cooperation, but something stopped Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks at the last moment (e.g. a possible Ottoman attack). As the Polish historian Kajetan Kwiatkowski, who researched the biography of Władysław IV, wrote, "The king categorically refused to grant permission to hire from among the Polish army... he referred this issue to the Senate, but they could not reach any decision... except that the hiring of private troops in the territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth could not be prohibited for the French".

Many other works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also describe our country; the closer in time, the more.

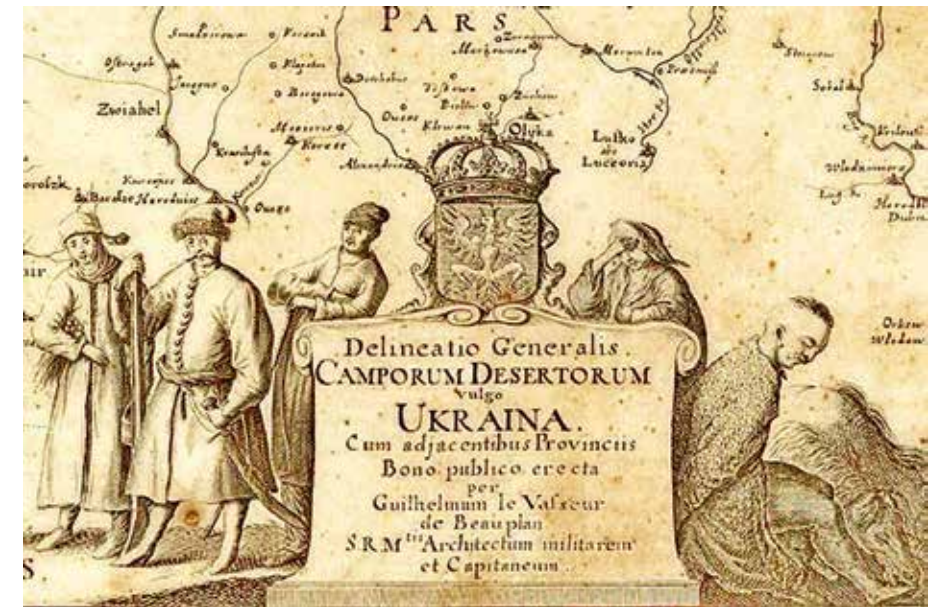
But Description d'Ukraine... [Description of Ukraine...], which Beauplan diligently put together in the period from 1630 to 1648, became the most popular of them all. It was this detailed account of the history, life, customs, and peculiarities of the people of the country the author himself called "Ukraine" that ultimately established this name in Europe. Beauplan's work has been reprinted and translated into many languages. The interest in it did not fade away many centuries later, even though many more similar works and descriptions about Ukrainians and Ukraine emerged since then. What made Description d'Ukraine... stand out was the author's sophisticated writing style combined with a simple and clear manner of presentation, and the fact that he had personally visited the country and seen most of what he described over his seventeen years there.

15 During 1584 and 1585, he visited the Ukrainian lands twice and left behind very informative notes about those trips as well as the first documentary evidence of the national dish, «Ukrainian borsch».

16 For more details, see the works of V. Liva, A. Baran, G. Gajecy, M. Dzieduszynski, V. Golobutski, L. Voitovych, and A. Fedoruk.



■ The 1660 edition of Guillaume de Beauplan's *Description d'Ukraine...* <<http://izbornyk.org.ua>>



This is what Beauplan himself said about the result of his work in a letter to John II Casimir: "Description... of Ukraine [d'Ukraine] located between Muscovy [Moscovie] and Transylvania, which Your predecessors won for You fifty years ago and whose vast plains have become as fertile as they were deserted before. This is a new kingdom that has recently grown significantly...

I can speak of this with absolute certainty, as I have witnessed it for seventeen years, during which I had the honour of being currently in the service of the last two late kings... During this time, I laid the foundations for more than fifty significant free settlements [solobodes], which became like colonies, from where more than a thousand villages sprang in a short time due to the growth of new communities. These folk, devoting all their efforts to the good of Your state, have pushed its borders far enough and have made so much progress in cultivating the barren lands they have found there that this soil's amazing fertility now makes up the greatest profit of Your kingdom...

On this topographic map, You can see this vast land of Ukraine from any point in a moment, and its possession is as glorious as it is profitable for You. Its importance may be judged from the present situation, and political and public considerations, You may be more than ever eager to pursue the important intention of its expansion, the realisation of which may multiply the infinite number of precious ornaments of Your royal crown."<sup>17</sup>.

In this way, the author's description puts us in the context of historical events. However, for a long time, the exact dates and number of maps created by this French engineer remained obscure until Maria Vavrychyn found answers to this question. Working together with the already mentioned Professor Andrew B. Pernal, she carried out extensive search work that included trips to Warsaw, Kraków, and Gdańsk looking for preserved copies of Beauplan's maps of Ukraine in libraries and archives of the former Soviet Union and Europe. The combined efforts of these two scholars revealed that there were far more surviving copies of Beauplan's maps than had been thought before based on the findings of Polish and Russian researchers. They found 14 original copies of the General Map of Ukraine (7 copies that were published in Gdańsk in 1648 and the same number of copies

of the second edition of this map, which were printed in Rouen and appended to the 1660 Description d'Ukraine...) and 12 original copies of the Special Map of Ukraine.

As a result of this work, they compiled a complete list of the mid-seventeenth-century French cartographer's maps, gained a clear understanding of the location and number of surviving originals and variants of his maps of Ukraine, as well as information about their chronology; and learned about the sequence of their compilation and evolution and improvement of the cartographic images. Professor Yaroslav Dashkevych considered publishing a facsimile of the Special Map of 1650 with a valuable reference system and indexes, which identified the geographical objects according to the present-day administrative-territorial division, to be one of the greatest documentary contributions to Beauplanian studies.<sup>18</sup>

In the Swedish archives, this map is listed as *Delineatio Generalis Camporum Desertorum vulgo Ukraina. Cum adjacentibus Provinciis* [A General Map of the Deserted Plains of Ukraine with the Adjacent Provinces]. Dated 1648, it is oriented so that the south and the Black Sea are at the top, where the carefully added Crimea is particularly noticeable (see Fig. 10. Map 10). Wallachia (Walachia) is shown to the south-west. And to the left of Ukraine, in the east, the name of Muscovy is signed (*Magni Ducatus Moskoviae Pars*). Whether by accident or not, this particular piece of the map was damaged. To the north, there are "Severiae Ducatus" and "Terra Czernichoviensis", which are shown here as separate territories (we have explained the reason for this well-established phenomenon above). The northmost neighbour of Ukraine is "Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Pars". But in the west, Galicia is shown as a separate land and is marked as "Russia pars". Once again, it confirms the point made above that until almost the middle of the eighteenth century, European historiography showed a tendency for the toponym "Rus" to drift from Kyiv to the west (and not to the northeast, Mongolward, as Muscovian historians unsupportably argued for centuries). After all, as we know, the western lands and Kyiv started their liberation from the Horde in the 1320s, while Muscovy would do so only a century later. Similarly, as of 1648, the main city of "Russia" was Lviv.

After the death of Willem Hondius, Beauplan lost access to the copperplates of his maps of Ukraine. For this reason, he added an updated General Map, re-engraved by a different engraver, to the second edition of his 1660 Description d'Ukraine. Then the map's title would be changed to have a closer resemblance to the title of the book. For the first time, the cartouche stated that the map was depicting "Ukraine, from the borders of Muscovy to Transylvania". And it was this updated map that came to be more widely known than the 1648 one we described above. Regardless, Beauplan's work is impressive. Each of his maps deserves to be studied in detail and included in the school history curriculum.

There are 23 known original cartographic works by Beauplan on Ukraine, not counting their variants. These include a plan of the Kodak fortress (1639), a Ukrainian geographical map (1639), a General Map of Ukraine (1648 and 1660), a Special Map of Ukraine (1650), maps of the Dnieper (published in 1662), and twelve maps illustrating his Description d'Ukraine... (1652). All of them are stored in sixteen libraries in fourteen cities in eight European countries. In Ukraine, there is a copy of the General Map of Ukraine of 1648 with updates on the events of 1649 and 1651 (in the collections of the Odesa Museum of Local Lore) and another copy of this map of 1660 as part of Beauplan's 1660 Description d'Ukraine (in the collections of the Vasyl Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv).<sup>19</sup>

And here, in the Swedish archives, we can see its copy from 1648.

18 Based on the works of M. Halak.

19 Maria Vavrychyn, 'Kompleks kart Ukrainy G. Beauplana ta ikh zberezhennia v bibliotekakh Ievropy' [The Collection of Guillaume de Beauplan's Maps of Ukraine and Their Preservation in European Libraries], in *Kartografija ta istoriia Ukrainy: zbirka naukovykh prats'* (M. P. Kots Publishing, 2000), pp. 18–22.

#### ■ FIGURE 10. MAP 10

**TITLE:** *Delineatio Generalis Camporum Desertorum, vulgo Ukraina, cum adjacentibus Provinciis* [A General Depiction of the Deserted Plains, Commonly Known as Ukraine, with Adjacent Provinces]. 1648.

**CREATOR:**  
Levasseur, Guillaume, sieur de Beauplan.

**IDENTIFIER:**  
SE/KrA/0403/33/018.



# UKRAINIAN NOBILITY ON THE PAGES OF HISTORICAL MAPS

The National Archives of Sweden has *The New and Now First Published Map of Polissia Marshes, Which, Contrary to the General Belief of Geographers, Shows that They Are Quite Inhabited, Suitable for Cultivation, and Accessible. Through the author Daniel Zwicker, MD, and the efforts of Willem Hondius, engraver of H[is] R[oyal] G[race] King of Poland etc. In Gdańsk in 1650 (see Fig. 11. Map 11).*

As the name suggests, this map was engraved by the Gdańsk engraver Willem Hondius in 1650, almost at the same time as Beauplan's maps. It is linked to the history of Podolia and its famous figures.

There is also an interesting explanatory note near Kyiv (Kijow), at the level of Pechersk, which was then designated as a separate settlement:

"Caves. Crypts or double underground passages called caves, namely St Anthony's and St Theodosius', who are considered the patron saints of Kyiv [Kyovi]; Ruthenians [Rutheni] keep the incorrupt relics of their saints there and show them to worshippers with a list of miracles that can be found in the books (the largest number is believed to be in the Paterikon). We, too, examined them once, while summoned by the Metropolitan of the bl[essed] m[emory] himself, His Grace Petro Mohyla, to take care of his precious health."

On the left side, there is a note indicating who commissioned and financed the creation and publication of this map:

*"To the glorious, lordly and noble men, Mr Yuri Nemyrych, Kyiv Court Chamberlain, Mr Władysław Nemyrych, Ovruch Starost, and Mr Stefan Nemyrych, brothers and Seigneurs of Chernykhiv, Horoszki, Norynsk, etc. The author and engraver donated, presented and dedicated this print to honour his patrons and advocates."*

The actual commissioner of the map, however, was the first of the three, Yuri, an outstanding and largely underestimated figure in the history of Ukraine. In a nutshell, he was one of the richest people in the Kyiv region, fought in the Polish, Swedish, and Cossack armies, was known for his outstanding mathematical skills and wrote several profound scientific texts, was a signatory to a treaty with Sweden that recognised the independence of the Ukrainian state, and drafted and lobbied a treaty to create a commonwealth similar to the European Union. Poles and Muscovites hated him with equal passion, for which he was murdered.

In more detail, the Kyiv archival records of the Ukrainian noble family of Nemyrych (Niemiryecz) go back to 1528. Our hero's father, Stefan (died 1630), was a Kyiv court chamberlain, a highly educated man who attended the Universities of Altdorf and Basel and took part in the conclusion of the Treaty of Kurukove of 1625. That is why he sent his son to study at the European universities of Leiden, Basel (1630), Paris, and possibly Oxford, Cambridge, and Amsterdam.<sup>20</sup> Later, Yuri Nemyrych became one of the founders of the Kysylyn Academy in Volhynia. He owned large estates on both the Right Bank and Left Bank of Ukraine and maintained a private army, which he led in the victorious Polish-Muscovite war of 1632–1634 and the war with Sweden. Like his father, Yuri Nemyrych was a Kyiv court chamberlain (podkomorzy or judge of the gentry land court).<sup>21</sup> Later he joined

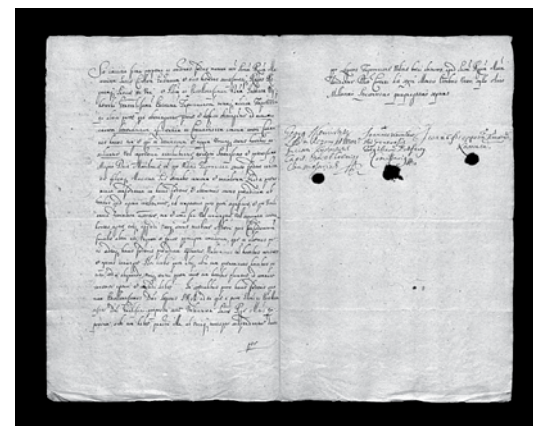


■ Willem Hondius or Willem Hondt (c. 1598, the Hague – 1652/1658, Danzig (Gdańsk)) was a Dutch engraver, cartographer and painter who spent most of his life in Poland. <www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willem\_Hondius>

<sup>20</sup> As I mentioned in my article on Ukrainians studying at European universities at that time, different sources may have some discrepancies or provide different data.

Vira Zhuk, 'Yuri Nemyrych — vyznachnyi ukrains'kyi derzhavnyi i politychnyi diiach seredyiny XVII stolittia' [Yuri Nemyrych as a Prominent Ukrainian Statesman and Politician of the Mid-17th Century], in *Hadiac'ka uniiia 1658 roku: kontraversii mynuloho i suchasnist': zbirnyk statei za materialamy Mizhnarodnoi naukovoii konferencii* (4 5, 16 17 veresnia 2008 roku) (POIPPO, 2009).

[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000480\\_00261](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000480_00261)



■ The 1657 Treaty of Korsun concluded between Ukraine and Sweden. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.

<http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000F3A300000000>

the Ukrainian service and wholeheartedly supported Bohdan Khmelnytsky's political plans, but even more so the European integration of Ukrainian lands on favourable terms. Therefore, he took part in lengthy negotiations with the Swedish government resulting in the Treaty of Korsun of 1657. Under its provisions, Sweden recognised the Cossack Hetmanate (Ukraine) as an independent state. The Cossack proposals to this treaty signed by Yuri Nemyrych and Ivan Bohun are stored in the National Archives of Sweden.<sup>22</sup>

Nemyrych was promoted to the rank of colonel, and after Bohdan Khmelnytsky's death, he supported Ivan Vyhovsky. That was when his star moment as an author of important decisions and texts, and a statesman came. Nemyrych was already known in Europe as an author of *Discursus de bello Moscovitico ad illustrium Romanum Hojski Vlodimiriensem Capitaneum, affinem* [To the Noble Roman Hojski, Volodymyr Starost and Uncle-in-Law: Reflections on the War with Muscovites], a comparative analysis of the political system of Muscovy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1632), and a treatise in the form of a Baroque poem, *Periphrasis et paraphrasis Panopliæ chrestianorum* [Description and Presentation of the Spiritual Armour of Christians] also known as *Panoplia* [Panoply] (1653) that were published in Paris. After Bohdan Khmelnytsky's death, he de facto became Chancellor of the Grand Principality of Rus' sharing with Ivan Vyhovsky the heavy cross of state leadership and heading the Hetmanate's foreign policy. Thus, his texts acquired public and state importance.

Yuri Nemyrych successfully concluded a treaty with Sweden. A little later, he drafted the 1658 Treaty of Hadiach. His younger brother Stefan Nemyrych (1626/1630–22 December 1684) was appointed general of artillery. Later he became castellan and voivode of Kyiv. The Nemyrych brothers participated together in the Battle of Konotop on the Sosnivka River, which took place on 8–9 July (28–29 June OS) 1659. The united Cossack forces with Hetman Vyhovsky at their head together with Tatars led by Mehmet-Geray, as well as a small number of Poles, Germans, Hungarians, and Serbs, confronted the advancing Moscow troops commanded by Aleksey Trubetskoy and Grigory Romodanovsky. The Muscovites suffered a painful and shameful defeat and left the Ukrainian lands with heavy losses.

Our hero managed to write and publish two extremely informative and important texts that tell us a lot about the history of the country.

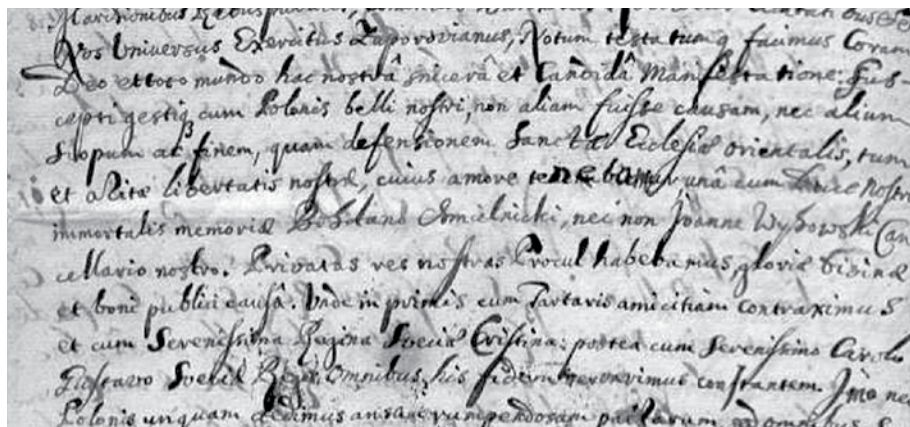
I found the first document in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin:

*"Orationes Oder Reden/ Derer eine von dem Herrn Niemieryczen Kijowischem Podkomorzi Als Abgesandtem der Zaporowischen Kozaken und GroßFürstenthumbs Reußlandt/ den 23. April dieses lauffenden Jahres. Die andere von dessen Herrn Bruder Steffan Niemieryczen Obr. über die Reuterey/ Commendanten des Schlosses Krakaw/ und Abgesandtem von der/ nach Außländischer Art dienendem Polnischen Kriegs-Heer; Auff diesem itzo wehrendem ReichsTage Vor Ihr. Königl. Maytt. und gantzem Senat, gehalten worden".<sup>23</sup>*

Printed in German in 1659, it is a collection of the speeches of Yuri and Stefan Nemyrych at the Sejm on 13 (23) April 1659, where they defended European aspirations and, together with Maciej Packiewicz, Gabriel Lisowski, Teodor Vyhovsky, Kost Vyhovsky, Hryhoriy Lesnytskyi, and Tymish Nosach, led the Ukrainian delegation to ratify the Treaty of Hadiach. On 12 May 1659, the Ukrainian–Polish–Lithuanian Union Agreement was signed in Hadiach. The Cossack delegates, for their part, and the king and senators, for theirs, assured each other of reconciliation by an oath, and the Cossacks also swore an oath of loyalty and obedience to the king. On 20 May, the last day of the Sejm in

session, John II Casimir issued a charter to "nobles, starosts, officials and all knights, townsmen and all other men of any state and status", recommending that the lords in those regions of Lithuania and Poland "where only the Ruthenian language reaches" grant legal status to the "Greek faith" so that it would exist "in all its safety, protection and respect" and "not feel... any oppression or encroachment from any denomination", strictly warning against violations of the newly ratified clauses and promising to punish offenders "without any delay". On 30 May, a royal charter was issued granting Kost Vyhovsky the position of treasurer of the Grand Principality of Rus'. What is particularly important for us in this document is the king's declared stance on the actual financial independence of the Grand Principality of Rus' since Kost Vyhovsky was granted the power to "manage according to his... competence and according to the rules of economy, all parishes, estates... duties and all other state revenues in the three voivodeships, without exception: Kyiv, Bratslav, and Chernihiv... to establish warehouses and stores, to appoint and dismiss customs clerks and collectors at will... in the same way, therefore, by the same law and custom as the Crown Treasurer and the Lithuanian Treasurer manage and administer the Crown and Lithuanian treasuries." John II Casimir also announced that "We do not intend to ever join the above-mentioned administration to either the Crown Treasury or the Lithuanian Treasury, but the Ruthenian Treasury will belong independently to the Grand Principality of Rus' [as Nemyrych and Vyhovsky chose to call Ukraine in the new confederation, tracing its origins from the times of Rus' and indicating the continuity of these state entities] for all eternity."<sup>24</sup>

The second document, Manifesto on Behalf of the Zaporozhian Host to Foreign Rulers Explaining the Reasons for Breaking Away from Muscovy of October 1658, is more widely known. Its Latin manuscript is stored in the National Archives of Sweden in Stockholm, in the Cosacica collection.<sup>25</sup> Its Ukrainian translation can be found here.<sup>26</sup>



This 1658 address of the Zaporozhian Host as an independent state to foreign rulers explains the nation's breaking away from Moscow, describes the reasons for the Muscovites attacking the Cossack state and their insidiousness in seeking to destroy the independence and violate treaties, and appeals to the European community jointly respond to Moscow's military encroachments instead of merely bystander. A careful analysis of these two documents and the map helps to better understand those times and the leaders of the young state's line of thoughts, troubles, concerns, and aspirations through the centuries. And for this understanding, it is critical to realise that with every step, those outstanding political figures of Ukrainian history were putting their own lives on the line. For that reason alone, every letter with its historical connotations deserves attention and respect.

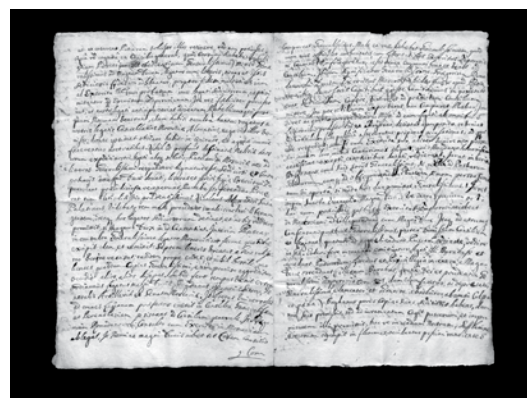


■ Oration oder Rede Welche der Herr Niemierycz Podkomorzy Kyowski etc. als Abgesandter der Zaporowischen Kosacken ... an Ihre Königl. Mayt. und die gantze Respublique der Krohn Pohlen ... den 23. April dieses lauffenden 1659sten Jahrs solenniter gehalten. The Berlin State Library (SBB).

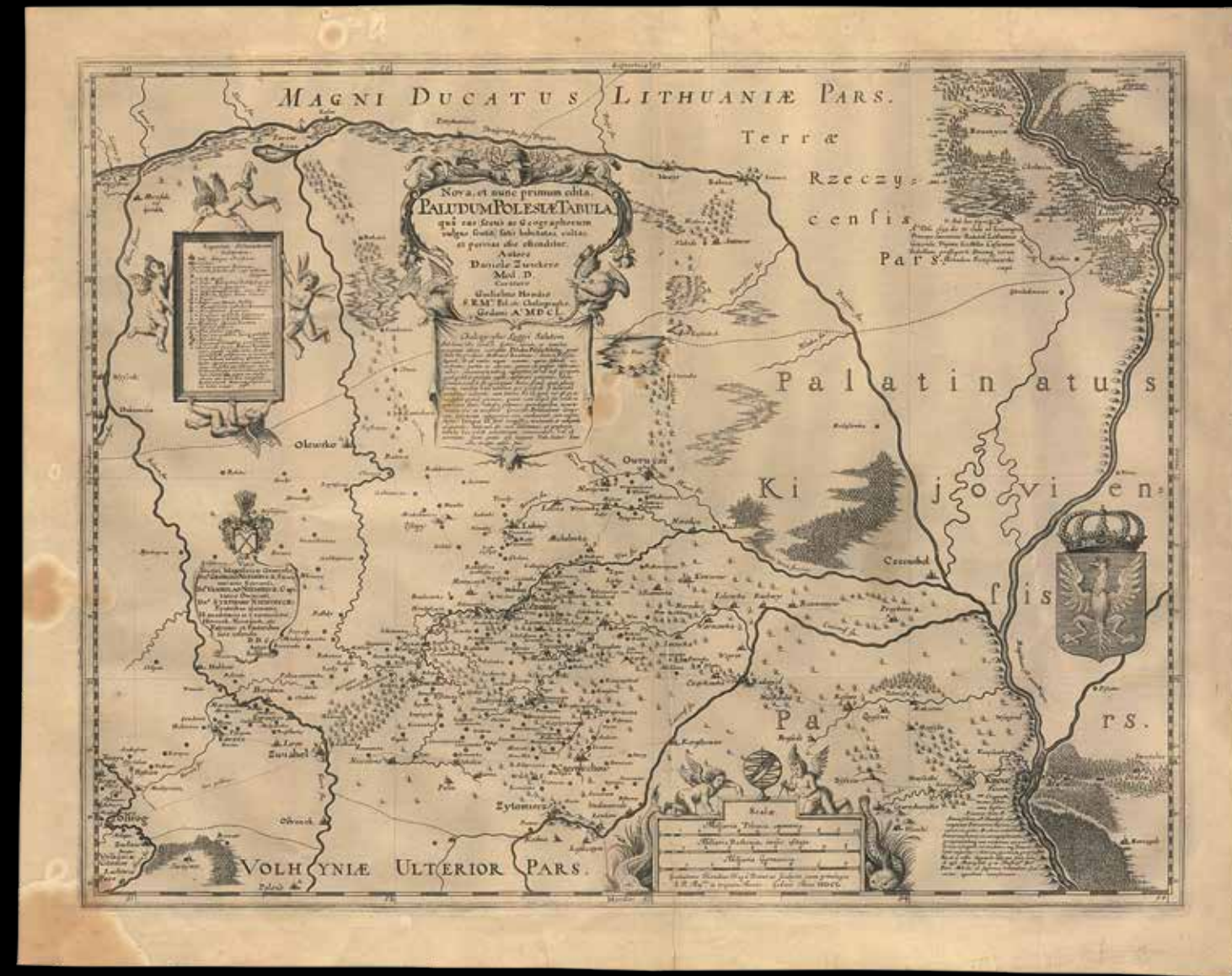
24 Andrij Bulvinskij, 'Ukrains'ka dyplomatiia na varshavs'komu seimi 1659 r.' [Ukrainian Diplomacy at the 1659 Warsaw Sejm], in *Ukraina dyplomatychna. Naukovyi shchorichnyk*, 3 (2003), pp. 257–270.

25 [https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000480\\_00018#?](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000480_00018#?)

26 <http://izbornyky.org.ua/suspil/sus102.htm>



■ Documents on the negotiations between Sweden and the Cossacks in 1655–1719. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm.



■ FIGURE II. MAP II

TITLE: *Tabula Paludum Polesiae* [Map of the Polesia Marshes]. 1650.  
 CREATOR: Zwicker, Daniel (1612–1678).  
 IDENTIFIER: SE/KrA/0402/29/B/001.



# THE DNIEPER

Beauplan's maps and his Description d'Ukraine... gave rise to the region's popularity in Europe. His work was eagerly and actively used by others, maps of Ukraine were being copied all over the world, and Europe saw the first academic theses about the Cossacks who ruled the Dnieper for almost three centuries. Until now, it was believed that the first such work was DE COSACIS, DISSERTATIO HISTORICA, QVAM In clytæ Facultatis Philosophicæ permissu, publicæ ventilationi submitunt M. GODOFREDUS WEISSIUS, Thorunio-Borussus, PRÆSES, & RESPONDENS Johan-Joachimus Möllerus, Somerfeld. Siles. Phil. Bacc. In Collegio Majori Principum, d. 7 Junis. A. M. DC. LXXXIV. LIPSÆ, Typis Krügerianis [A HISTORICAL DISSERTATION ON THE COSSACKS Presented in the Premises of the Faculty of Philosophy for Public Consideration under the Chairmanship of Messer Gottfried Weiss of Torun in Prussia, Authored by Johann-Joachim Möller, BPhil, of Sommerfeld, Silesia. In the Grand Duke's Collegium. 7 June 1684. Leipzig. Krüger's Printing].<sup>27</sup> Fr Yuriy Mytsyk, a prominent historian who described it in detail and translated it into Ukrainian, comments,

"This dissertation was written and compiled by the rules of the time. The Latin text consisted of an introduction and ten chapters divided into several paragraphs each. At the beginning of each chapter, a thesis was usually proclaimed, then developed and substantiated in the subsequent presentation... Möller relied on a wide range of sources written in Latin, as well as German and Polish, including, first of all, historical, geographical and legal works by Christoph Hartknoch, Reinhold Heidenstein, Johannes Herbinus, Johannes Justus Martius, Joachim Pastorius (Bellum Scythico-Cosacicum... [The Scythic-Cossack War...] and Florus polonicus... [The Polish Flower...]), and Szymon Starowolski. The dissertation also refers to works by ancient (Cato, Pliny the Elder, Seneca, Cicero) and Early Modern (Philipp Clüver, Marcin Kromer) authors as well as by seventeenth-century historians (Jakub Sobieski, Michel Antoine Baudrand, H. Beckmann, Friedrich Leutholfs von Franckenberg, Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, European Diary, a fundamental chronicle in Latin published in 1669) and compilers of dictionaries of oriental languages M. Berenger, Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski etc. Some of these authors and books have long been forgotten and their copies can be found only in the repositories of distant foreign countries. Möller's work, as was typical of historiography at the time, at least for a significant number of historical works, is of a compilation nature. This is why the bulk of the evidence in his dissertation is borrowed from earlier works... Although Möller exaggerates the importance of immigrants from different countries in shaping the Cossackdom, he recognises the primary role of Ukrainians... [he writes] that this process of the Cossackdom formation began after the Mongol-Tatar invasion of Ukraine in 1238–1241... drawing interesting analogies with historical phenomena in other regions of the world."<sup>28</sup>

For a long time, Möller's dissertation about the Cossacks was considered the first of its kind — for almost nothing was known about an even earlier one (1653), by the Torun scholar Aaron Blivernitz (1629–1701), titled Dissertatio juridico-politica de Cosacis an satius sit ad finiendum bellum Poloniae civile, rebelles Cosacos Marte prosequi, eosque funditus exstirpare, An vero Arte et perpetuis induciis cum eisdem pacisci [A Legal and Political Thesis on the Cossacks and How Best to End the Civil War in Poland: Whether to Drive Away the Rebellious Cossacks with Mars and Eradicate Them Completely, or to Reach Peace with Them through Skill and Continued Truces] and published in Leszno, Poland.

Both historians involved in the discovery of this dissertation are among the co-authors of this book, so we are going to briefly introduce their role here. Igor Poluektov was the first Ukrainian researcher to find and order the digitisation of the original copy of this dissertation from the Göttingen State and University Library in Lower Saxony, Germany (as evidenced by the receipt 11 February 2020, AUFTRAGS-NR. 20200130\_055, SAP Nr.8100766). Oleksandr

27 Johann-Joachim Möller, *De Cosacis, Dissertatio Historica* (Krüger, 1684); translated into Ukrainian as Johann-Joachim Möller, *Istorychna dysertatsiia pro kozakiv* [Historical Dissertation on the Cossacks], trans. by Yuriy Mytsyk, *Vsesvit*, 1988. no. 6, pp. 151–157.

28 Yuriy Mytsyk, 'Iohan-Ioakhim Müller: istorychna dysertatsiia pro kozakiv' [Johann-Joachim Möller: Historical Dissertation on the Cossacks], *Kozatstvo*, 1993, no. 1, pp. 43–54.

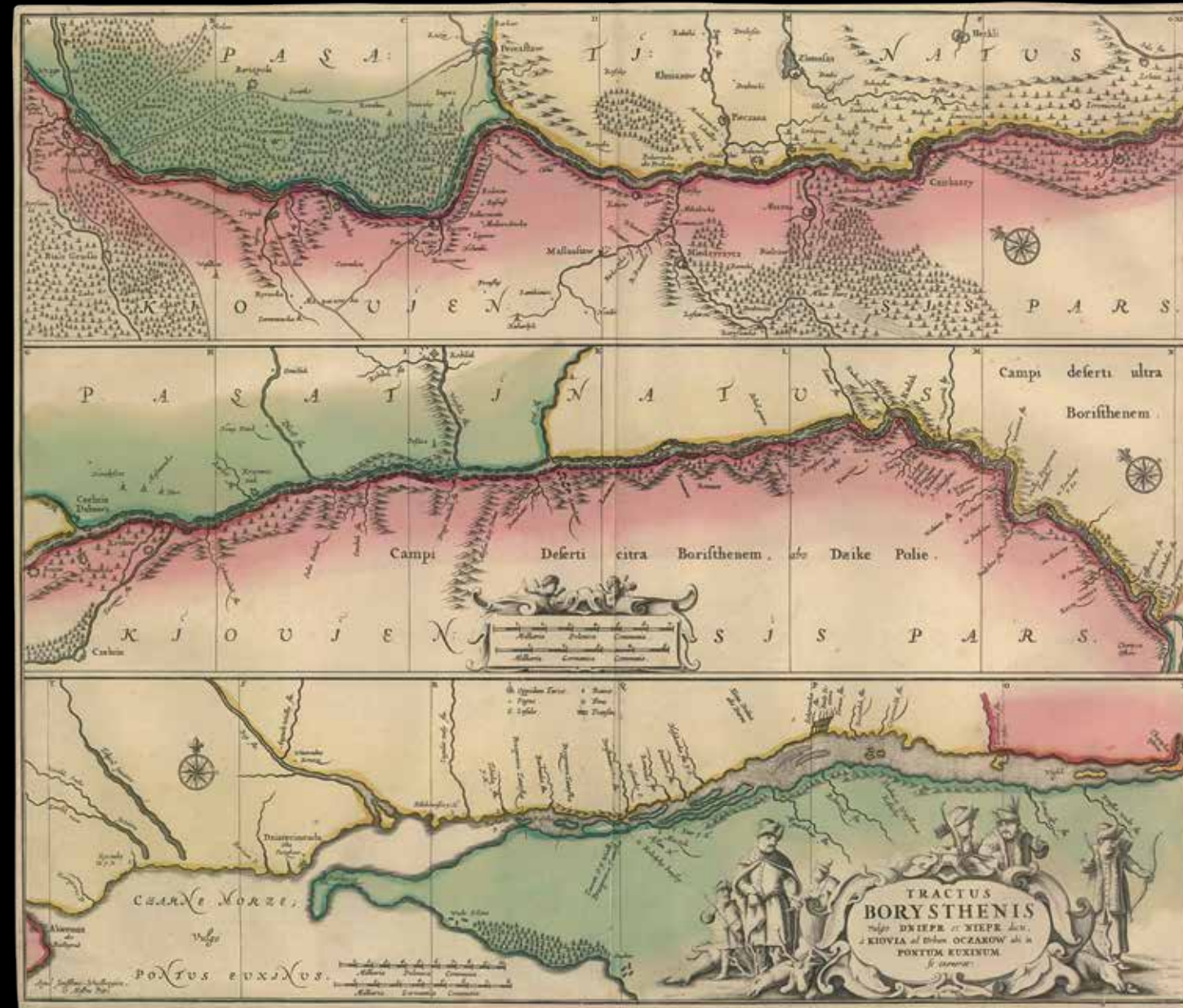


FIGURE 12. MAP 12

TITLE:

*Tractus Borysthenis, vulgo Dnieper, a Kiovia ad Urbem Oczakow, ubi in Pontum Euxinum se exonerat* [Course of the Dnieper, commonly called Borysthenes, from Kyiv to the city of Ochakiv, where it empties into the Black Sea].

CONTRIBUTORS:

Waesbergen, Jan Janszoon van; Pitt, Moses.

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IDENTIFIER: SE/KrA/0403/34/B/031.

Malyshev made its full translation into Ukrainian, which is going to soon be published and put into academic circulation (see Fig. 13).

Here is a translated excerpt from Aaron Blivernitz's work:

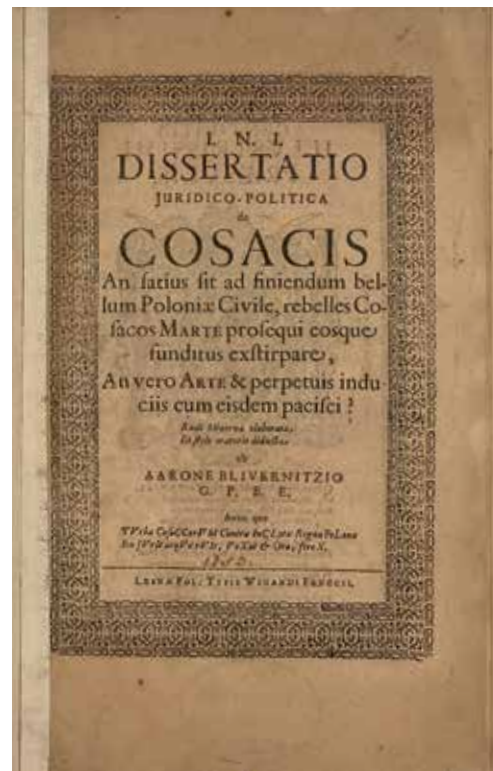
## ON THE ARMS BELONGING TO THE MOST SERENE PATRON

Coat of arms: The arrow of God's salvation! The bow appears to shine through the fog!

Our arrow-carrying most worthy mentor!  
 Born of the tribe of Mars, you are now shining by right!  
 Your swift spears of the virtues of your lineage's power  
 Are a sign of protection and the well-being of everything for us.  
 These spears have stopped enemy assaults so many times  
 And chased away from us large crowds of tigers.  
 Once again, the Orc has roared across our country  
 And Khmel[nitsky] still wants to destroy our entire nation.  
 Your arms rattle, oh chief, and there is enough fighting for You!  
 Again, You are bearing iron and prayers for your own people,  
 Therefore, You shall be praised and glorified for Your merits,  
 And Your weapons shall fly up to the strongholds of the eternal heavens.



The only Ukrainian historian to mention the existence of this thesis was Dmytro Wyrskyj. Among the foreign authors, we should highlight Karin Friedrich, who was the first and so far, the only one to provide excerpts from Blivernitz's dissertation and its brief review. We hope that raising awareness of this work as well as the forthcoming publication of its translation into Ukrainian will stimulate the interest of historians, trigger the release of scientific articles and publications, and will also contribute to a better understanding of the Cossackdom, a European phenomenon of that era. Bringing up these dissertations



■ FIGURE 13  
 Aaron Blivernitz's dissertation on the Cossacks.  
 Private collection.  
 Photo by Igor Poluektov



Mark of Johann Janssonius (1588–1664) ■  
 <[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan\\_Janssonius](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Janssonius)>

Andriy Baitsar, 'Nazva "Ukraina" na kartakh 29  
 hollands'koho kartografa Iohanna Iansoniusa  
 (seredyna XVII st.)' [The Name «Ukraine»  
 on the Dutch Cartographer Johannes Janssonius's  
 Maps (Mid-17th Century.)]  
 <<http://baitsar.blogspot.com/2017/08/xvii.html?sref=fb>>

here clearly demonstrates that Ukrainian lands and the Cossacks were of interest not only to travellers and traders but also to the European scholars who made this subject the focus of their special studies. It also shows that European archives still conceal a tremendous amount of information and documents that have not been properly processed and published and are virtually unknown to Ukrainian historians. Telling about the treasures hiding in the Swedish archives and introducing the reader to a whole range of unknown or little-known documents makes this book particularly relevant now.

Going back to the map in question, we note that in 1658 Jan Janssonius (1588–1664) published a map *Typus Generalis VKRAINÆ sive PALATINATUM PODOLIÆ, KIOVIENSIS et Braczlaviensis terras nova delineatione exhibens* [Presenting the Lands of Kyiv and Bratslav in a New General Map of Ukraine or Podolian Voivodeship]. In 1670–1680 his successor Johannes van Waesbergen thoroughly revised the 3-sheet map of the Dnieper by Guillaume de Beauplan first published in 1662 by the Amsterdam printer Joan Blaeu in *Atlas Maior* [The Major Atlas], and produced it as *TRACTUS BORYSTHENIS vulgo DNIEPR et NIEPR dicti, à KIOVIA ad Urbem OCZAKOW, Moses Pitt* [THE BORYSTHENES TRACT, Commonly Called the Dnieper or Nieper, from Kyiv to the City of Ochakiv, by Moses Pitt] (see Fig. 13. Map 12) in collaboration with the London bookseller Moses Pitt. The map was published around 1670–1680 without changes in the cartographic representation and with the publisher's note in the lower left corner of the map (Apud Janssoni-Waelbergios et Mosem Pitt [At Janssonius-Waesbergen's and Moses Pitt's]). Later, this map, as well as other copperplates by Jan Janssonius, were acquired by the Amsterdam publishers Gerard Valck and his apprentice Peter Schenk the Elder. Around 1690, they published a map with the only change being the erasure of the page number in the upper right corner and the replacement of the publisher's note by successors of Janssonius. This map was included in many compiled atlases of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including the atlas by Johann Baptist Homann (1712).<sup>29</sup>



# OVA TOTIUS REGNI POLONIAE MAGNIQ, DUCATUS LITHUANIAE CUM SUIS PALATINATIBUS AC CONFINIIS

Here is another quite interesting and artistic map by the tireless Beauplan: *A New Map of the Entire Kingdom of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Their Provinces and Their Boundaries, Drawn in Detail by Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan, His H[oly] R[oyal] M[ajesty]’s Military Architect and Captain.*

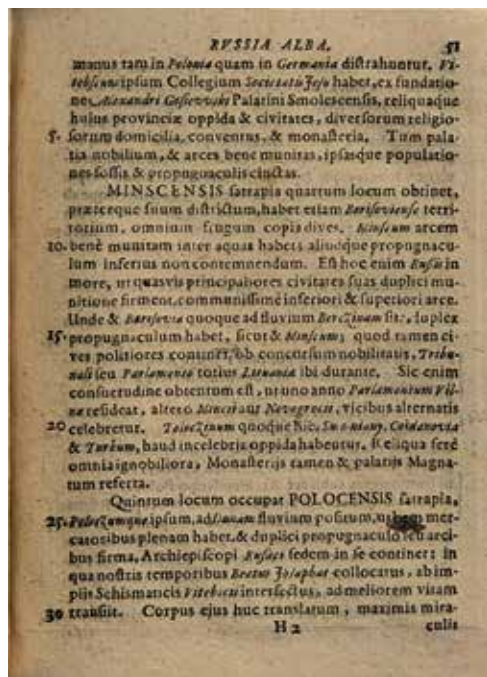
The original was appended to the 1652 book *Simonis Starovolsk[i] Polonia : nunc denuo recognita et aucta ; accesserunt tabulae geographicae [Szymon Starowolsk[i]’s Poland: A New Revised and Expanded Edition with Attached Geographical Maps]* You can see it on page 11.<sup>30</sup>

This map in the Swedish archive is a later copy of a 1651 edition (*see Fig. 14. Map 13*). We can see the inscription “Ukraine” (UKRAINA) in the centre of the usual area, near Kyiv region. Near Chyhyryn, there is a Black Forest (Czarny Las), which has been traditionally marked and highlighted on all maps since ancient times. We also see here the key thirteen Dnieper rapids, named and numbered.

Let’s take a closer look at the Left Bank, which was traditionally little explored by foreigners, and hence was often referred to as “Loca deserta” [the Wild Fields], almost a desert. That was more due to the limited information about life in that region than the real state of things. As historian Volodymyr Antonovych wrote in 1882 in his *Epizod z istorii mis’koho samovriaduvannia v Kyievi v XIV–XVII st.* [An Episode in the History of Municipal Self-Government in Kyiv in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries], at the end of the fifteenth century, the Pereiaslav county and the Left Bank were some of the lands that suffered the most after another Meñli I Giray army’s attack on the southern part of the Kyiv region; the county seat and its castle were destroyed; the population was either taken away or fled; only small hamlets and apiaries remained, and there were almost no villages left. No one wanted to take the land either for service or for seniority. Finally, in 1503, by a deed of charter addressed to the Kyiv voivode, Prince Dmytro Putyatych, the Grand Duke of Lithuania and Russia, Alexander Jagiellon granted the entire northern half of the Pereiaslav county along the Trubizh and Supii rivers to his nobleman Dashko Ivanovych as a reward for the latter’s service. Dashko’s son, Ostap Dashkevych, starost of Cherkasy and Kaniv, and legendary scout and warrior, organised an effective Cossack defence line against raids in that very area, giving a new impetus to the repopulation of these lands. Before long, a dozen of villages including Basan’ and Bykiv sprang in the county. Large estates were actively growing and developing as they were passed to the next generations. Another thing Ostap Dashkevych is remembered for is his participation in the Muscovy campaign in 1521.

It is curious to see how Europeans imagined and portrayed Muscovites (*see Fig. 15*). One example of that is another interesting map, the one engraved by Jacob von Sandrart, a student of Willem Hondius, in the 1670s. The provided excerpt shows two depictions of Muscovites of that era, a wealthy one to the left and a commoner to the right.

The map shows other Ukraine’s neighbours as well (clockwise): Crimea and Crimean Tatars in the south, Budjak, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Hungary, Red Ruthenia (Russia Rubra) or Galicia, Poland, Lithuania; the Principality of Severia in the north, Muscovy even higher above it; and the “Asian part” (Asia pars) to the east, across the Don, with the lands of Circassia (a nation that would later be genocidally decimated by the Muscovites) along the Azov Sea and the Kerch Strait. Milliaria linear scales: Polish, German, Ukrainian, and Muscovian.



<sup>30</sup> <https://books.google.com.ua/books?id=yVfELey62eQC&pg=PA51&lpg>



■ FIGURE 14. MAP 13

**TITLE:** *Regnum Poloniae et Ducatus Lithuaniae* [The Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Lithuania].

**IDENTIFIER:** SE/KrA/0402/29/A/001.



■ FIGURE 15  
The Muscovites.

# WHERE WAS OKRAINA?

For us, there is more to this map of Muscovy than merely seeing the name of the land “Ukraine” (Ukraine) near Kyiv, in the lower left corner (see Fig. 16. Map 14). More than an inscription between Vyborg and Veliky Novgorod, “Ingrie” (whose independence is increasingly being discussed today). And even more than the correct spelling of the name of a city near Moscow, Wolodimer, the way it used to be spelt after Grand Prince of Kyiv Vladimir Monomakh (pronounced as Volodimer). The most interesting inscription on this map is near the city of Tula, at the so-called “Zasechnaya cherta” or Abatis Line indicating the location of the infamous Okraina (Ocraina). The word itself means “frontier” or “outskirts”, and the map shows “Okraina” following this Abatis line.

As you can see, the area below is marked as “Petite Tartarie” [Little Tartary] or the lands of nomadic tribes (hordes) that belonged to Crimea. Incidentally, neither Ukrainian nor Polish have the word “okraina” in their vocabularies. Instead, it is “okolytsia” or “okolica” respectively. Instead, there is such a word in Russian. And this map, which is a copy of an earlier work by Nicolas Sanson shows its correct use. Here the names “Ukraine” and “Okraina” coexist without any misunderstanding and denote completely different lands.



FIGURE 16. MAP 14  
 TITLE: *Ryssie Blanche ou Moscovie*  
 [The White Russia or Muscovy].  
 IDENTIFIER: SE/KrA/0403/31/A/019.



# THE CAPITULATION OF PETER I

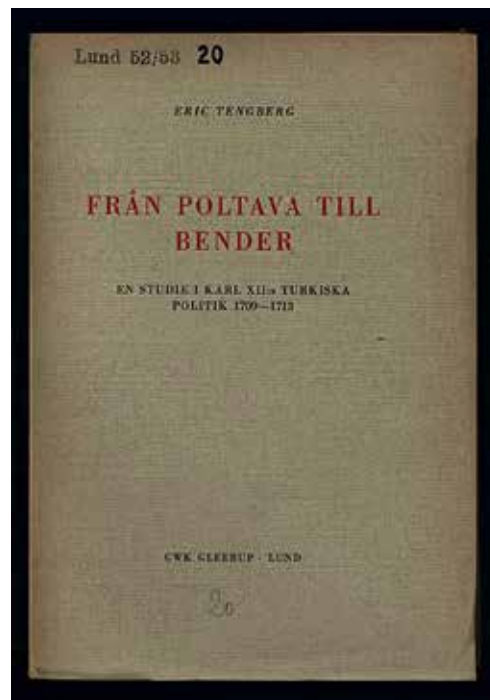
This map tells the story of a difficult period in the history of Ukraine after the Muscovites had massacred the inhabitants of Baturyn and burned and looted many Ukrainian villages and towns as a way to hamper the advancing Swedish army with their scorched-earth policy. As a result, it was Ukraine and its people who suffered the most, not the Swedes.

The well-known French newspaper La Gazette also wrote about those events. For example, in its issues of the first half of 1709, it reported that,

No letters have yet arrived from the army of the King of Sweden. It is rumoured that there was a battle between the Swedes and the Muscovites, in which the former gained the upper hand. The letters from Dantzik [Danzig] also mention it, but those who receive them from Muscovy assure us that they have no news of it [...] the truth can only be fully clarified by letters from the Swedish army. [...] the couriers that the Czar frequently sent to the Confederates to keep them on his side, were always laden with news advantageous to the Muscovites [...] the truth can only be fully clarified by letters from the Swedish army. [...] It was reported from Ukraine [the newspaper uses precisely this toponym] that the Swedish and Muscovite armies were still camped about four leagues from each other; that eighteen to twenty thousand recruits had joined the army of the Czar, who was still making new levies; which indicated that he had suffered great losses... the Cossacks continue to desert and go seeking their General Mazeppa, and that it is believed that in a short time, there will be none left in the Czar's army [...] the Cossacks [...] were much displeased with the Czar as he had their country ruined to deny subsistence to the Swedes [...] General Mazeppa came to meet him [Charles XII] there with his Generals, Colonels and three or four thousand Knights [...] he made a speech in Latin, in which he begged His Majesty to protect his country and his people against the Czar who was oppressing them, offering to assist him faithfully with all his power [...]. He was told in return that his coming pleased [the king] very much because of his reputation, which was well known... The Muscovites [...] made continuous assaults on Baturyn for two days, and stormed it on the 14th, with the loss of two thousand men. A thousand men of the garrison escaped beyond the Sem [Seym], and the rest with the Governor, the women and the children were put to the sword; which angered the Cossacks extremely...

Later that year, correspondents of La Gazette reported in their letters that,

...[in] Ukraine on the Borysthènes [...] the destruction caused by the Muscovites on the borders of Ukraine frightened the people so much that they fled to different places... There were two Cossack regiments in Starodub, which were supervised by the Muscovites, and another in Chernihiv, where the Tsar sent eight thousand people who made the colonel demonstrate his loyalty. They forced the soldiers to slave away at building the fortifications. They also destroyed all the buildings within their reach to make it harder to approach the place. They seize and collect as much food as possible and prevent Cossacks from entering the cities [...]; they do not trust each other either. The tsar set his camp in Novogradok, a fortified town on the Desna River, [...] and he was more frustrated with the Cossack uprising than with the [approaching] Swedish army. He sent several detachments of Kalmyk Tatars to force the Cossacks into obedience or to prevent the uprising from growing more and more intense. Hetman Mazepa went to the Crimean Tatars to inform them that he had joined the King of Sweden and called on them to come to his aid with at least forty thousand men. He also called on the Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had long sought to throw off the Muscovite yoke...



■ FIGURE 17  
Eric Tengberg's doctoral dissertations *Från Poltava till Bender. En studie i Karl XII:s turkiska politik 1709–1713*.



■ Appendix to von Müllern's letter.



■ Swedish Extraordinary Ambassador to Constantinople Thomas Funck's report on the surrender of Peter I and bribing the Ottomans, as well as a true description of the Pruth battle in 1711 that effectively refuted the Muscovite propaganda. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

This period was extremely trying for Ivan Mazepa as the leader of Ukraine leading to his death in October 1709. Although the Cossacks elected Pylyp Orlyk as a new hetman the territory of Ukraine had already been occupied, ruthlessly robbed, and weakened by Muscovian troops. To cement this occupation, Tsar Peter I of Muscovy planned the so-called Pruth campaign in southern Ukraine and Moldova but suffered a painful defeat that almost cost him his life.

Writing on this subject, researcher Marina Trattner recommended Eric Tengberg's doctoral dissertation *Från Poltava till Bender. En studie i Karl XII:s turkiska politik 1709–1713* [From Poltava to Bender: A Study of the Turkish Policy of Charles XII from 1709 to 1713]<sup>31</sup> as the best reading on the terms of the Treaty of the Pruth signed on 23 July (12 July O.S.) 1711, the fighting and the conditions for a peace treaty on the banks of the Pruth near Iași between the beleaguered Muscovian army under Peter I and the forces of the allied coalition of the Ottoman Sultan, Crimean Khan Devlet II Giray, King Charles XII of Sweden, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, and Kish Otaman Kost Hordiienko (see Fig. 17).

It also provides examples of the tsar's propaganda and shows how other countries countered it. In reality, most of the tsar's army was encircled by the Ottomans. Three letters were sent asking to stop the battle. The first letter was sent to the Ottoman camp on 11 July 1711 at 14:00. The Turks ignored it, intensifying their attacks instead. A few hours later, another letter arrived. It was written in Latin and addressed to the Grand Vizier himself. There was no reaction to it either. It was only the third letter signed with the tsar's own hand that elicited the response.

So how did the tsar inform the world about this? Contrary to the facts, he demanded to convince everyone that after a three-day battle, he had "decisively defeated the Turks and forced them to sign a peace". On p. 126 of his thesis, Tengberg quotes a letter from head of the Foreign Expedition (department) of the Field Chancellery of Charles XII (chef för utrikesexpeditionen vid fältkansliet) Gustaf Henrik von Müllern to Johan Palmquist, Swedish ambassador in the Netherlands, dated 20 November 1711, which speaks precisely about publishing several relations in different languages to refute this tsarist propaganda. He also cites the relation reporting on the letters from Peter I to the Vizier in which the tsar requested permission to capitulate.

In addition to that, Tengberg writes about Ivan Mazepa, Pylyp Orlyk, the Cossacks, and the fact that one of the conditions of the Treaty of Pruth was the unification of Ukraine into a single country.

On p. 147 he states that on 11 July, at the onset of negotiations with the Muscovian army, Poniatowski, who was in the Turkish camp at the time, wrote Charles XII about the talks advising him to come there in person. When Charles XII arrived, he saw the Muscovite army leaving the battlefield. He went to the Grand Vizier and pointed to his missing the great opportunities the encirclement of the tsar presented and violating the sultan's orders against signing any peace treaties. Charles XII even demanded that he be allowed to lead several Turkish units to attack and finish off Peter's army. He was refused.

Savary, the translator, wrote that there was a verbal agreement that Vice Chancellor Peter Shafirov and General Mikhail Sheremetev would remain with the Ottomans and that all the gold and silver that was in the Russian camp would be handed over to the Grand Vizier. Such details had not been confirmed at the time of writing this dissertation in 1953. However, Marina Trattner and Jan Mispelaere found thousands of pages of documents confirming the surrender of Peter I, the bribery of the Grand Vizier, and Peter's obligation to pay an annual 'pension', or a de facto tribute of 40,000 ducats per year to the Crimean Khan. More about it (in Ukrainian) on [www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2022/06/19/161460](http://www.istpravda.com.ua/articles/2022/06/19/161460).

31 [https://books.google.se/books/about/Från\\_Poltava\\_till\\_Bender.html?id=k59MAAAAMAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.se/books/about/Från_Poltava_till_Bender.html?id=k59MAAAAMAAJ&redir_esc=y)

These very events are depicted on the map below titled *Plan de l'Armée Moscovite à la Rivière du Pruth, enveloppée des Turcs, Tartares, Cosaques et Polonais 1711* [Map of the Muscovian Army by the Pruth River Surrounded by Turks, Tatars, Cossacks, and Poles in 1711] (see Fig. 18, Map 15). It contains the relevant glosses transcribed by Alevtina Abasheva:

1. The Grand Vizier's first camp near the Pruth River before it was crossed.
2. Three bridges and the ramparts that shielded them.
3. General Janssonius's squadrons that fell into the Turkish camp.
4. Marshal Sheremetev's squadrons that came to Janssonius's aid.
5. The first camp of the Tartar Khan and the Tartars who swam across the river.
6. Muscovite supplies captured by the Tartars.
7. The place where 400 Muscovites, who were ordered to lower pontoons onto the river, were captured and cut down by units of Turks and Poles and lost their pontoons.
8. A tsar's infantry battalion square with the addition of Sheremetev's and Janssonius's troops to protect supplies and the disoriented dragoons.
9. The departure of the infantry square to the Pruth.
10. The site of the tsar's camp when he was forced to stop at the Pruth.
11. The dug-in positions built by the Muscovites overnight. On one side, sand was piled up to cover the infantry up to the waist, with chevaux-de-frise on top, then the lines of chevaux-de-frise and a large number of the barriers made of dead horses.
12. A shallow moat protecting the tsar and the tsarina, with their tent on top.
13. Batteries and trenches (dug-outs) of the janissaries around the Muscovite camp.
14. The Tartar Khan's tent after crossing the Pruth.
15. A Tartar camp on both banks of the Pruth.
16. The Tartars positioned near a small swamp for the better encirclement of the Muscovites.
17. The Grand Vizier's tent.
18. The small tent of the Grand Vizier on the left flank.
19. The janissaries' tent on the right flank.
20. Turkish artillery and wagons with provisions.
21. The camp of the entire Turkish army after crossing the river.
22. Grand Marshal Potocki's camp on a hill, from where he could easily fire on the Muscovite camp.
23. Camp of the Pasha who joined the Palatine from Kyiv.
24. The road from the bridges to Sakza.
25. The road from Bender to the bridges over the Pruth and the Turkish camp.
26. The road from Iași.
27. The road from Soroca to Kyiv across the Dniester.
28. A swamp that stretches 10 leagues to the Danube.
29. Large meadows, three leagues long and one and a half leagues wide, between the mountains and the Pruth.
30. High mountains and plains covered with grass.
31. A small river with a marshy bottom.
32. The bullet fired from the pistol reached the opposite bank of the Pruth River, and the adjacent area was used to deploy cannons to fire at the Muscovite camp.

Among the forces that encircled the Muscovites, the positions of the Cossacks [Cosaken] are marked with the letter "D".



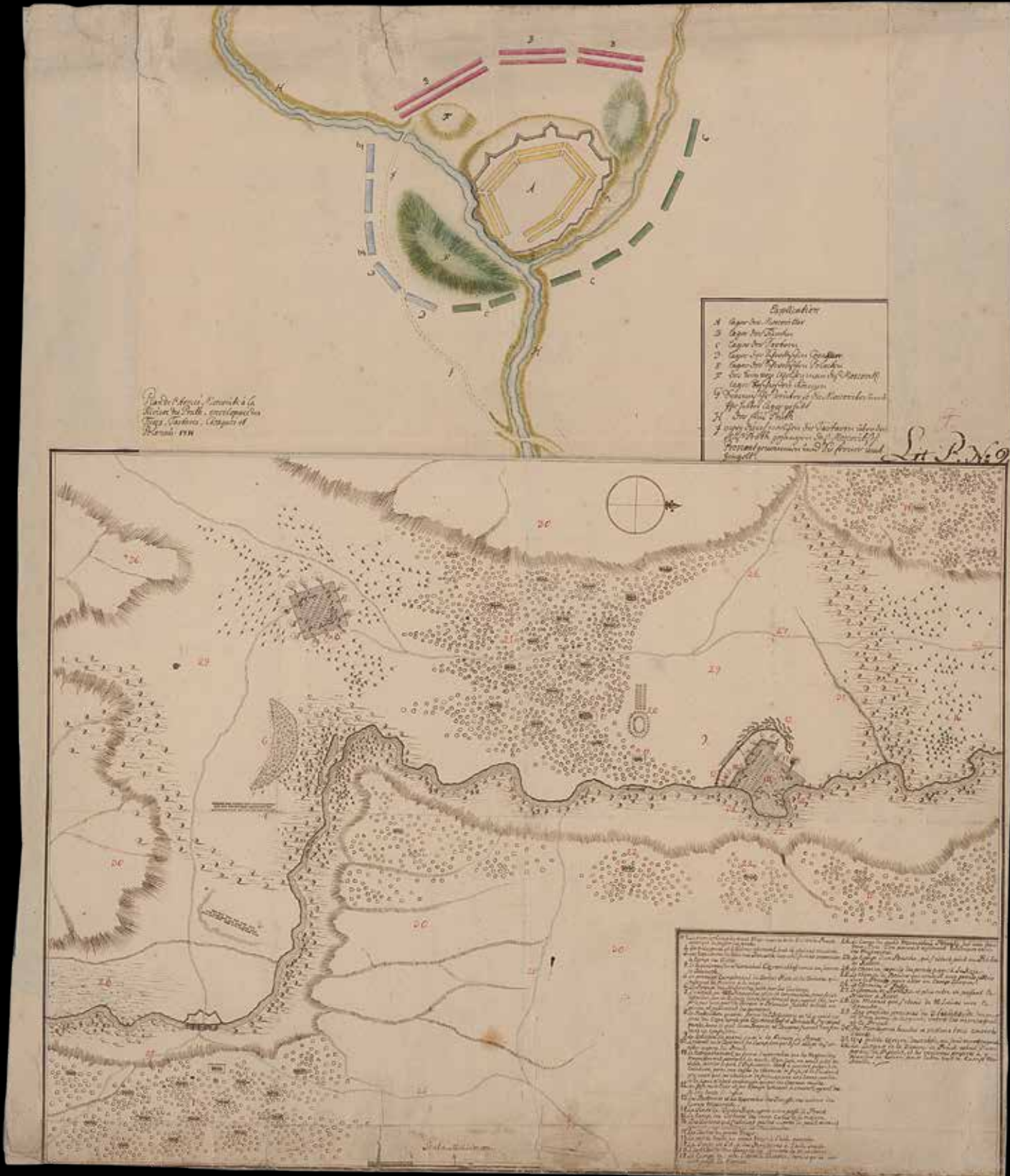
■ Treaty of the Pruth.  
The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

■ FIGURE 18. MAP 15

**TITLE:** *Plan de l'Armée Moscovite a' la Riviere du Pruth, enveloppée des Turcs, Tartares, Cosaques et Polonais 1711*  
[Plan of the Muscovite Army at the River Pruth, Surrounded by Turks, Tatars, Cossacks, and Poles, 1711].

**ARCHIVE INSTITUTION:**  
Krigsarkivet  
(The Military Archives of Sweden).  
The map was digitized by special order.

**IDENTIFIER:** SE/KrA/0425/12/208b.



# FROM THE SAN TO THE DON

This is how Ukraine and the lands of the Crimean Tatars are shown on one of the best-known maps, which is stored in the Swedish archives. The special attention it elicits comes not only from the depicted boundaries sung in the present-day Ukrainian national anthem but also from its cartouche design and title, *Vkrania que et Terra Cosaccorum cum vicinis Walachiae, Moldaviae, Minoris Tartariae provinciis exhibita a Ioh. Baptista Homanno. Noribergae. Cum Privilegio Sac. Caes. Majest.* [Ukraine or the Cossack Country with the Neighbouring Provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Little Tartary Presented by Johann Baptist Homann. Nuremberg. By His Holy Imperial Majesty’s Privilege).

The cartouche depicts six male figures that some researchers who have been studying this map<sup>32</sup> associate with specific historical figures, namely Hetman Ivan Mazepa (seen in the central figure), Peter I in the back with a banner, king of Poland Stanisław I Leszczyński, and three representatives of the Cossacks, two of whom are assumed to be Pylyp Orlyk, who was secretary general during Mazepa’s hetmanship and himself the hetman at the time of the map’s compilation, and likely Andriy Woynarowski, Hetman Mazepa’s nephew and an heir to the state treasury after his death. One alternative identification is to think of one of those three as a Swedish representative to Ivan Mazepa.

The map’s titles and the cartographer’s highlights led to the conclusion that, ...other than making the struggle for Ukraine actual for Western Europeans of the time, the statement on the cartouche, ‘Ukraine, the land [country] of the Cossacks’, is just as important as it once again raised this name from a regional to the country-state status... Homann’s map, which came fifty years after Beauplan’s, shows the result of the Cossack hetmans’ long struggle with both Warsaw and Moscow, where despite its division along the Dnieper between the two external powers, Ukraine was ‘removed’ from the usual ‘Polish’ colours on the map, yet was not painted in ‘Moscow’ colours, either. Among the maps of that era, Homann’s map brings ‘Ukraine’ as close as possible to its ethnic boundaries from Sloboda Ukraine in the east to Przemyśl in the west. It is difficult to say why Homann chose to expand Beauplan’s ‘outline of Ukraine’ (especially, to the Carpathians in the west) since he obviously could not have maps of Ukrainian ethnic lands as those would emerge only in the nineteenth century. It is possible that he simply showed all the territories where the Ruthenian people were living... This map apparently ignores Poland. The usual distinction between Dnieper Ukraine and Ciscarpathian Rus’ is overcome simply: the inscriptions ‘Red Ruthenia’ and ‘Ukraine’ run in parallel across the entire yellow ‘Ukrainian space’.<sup>33</sup>

The names of settlements and geographical features are given in Latin. According to the prominent historian Benjamin Cordt, the author was largely inspired by the “map of Muscovy” (Carte de Moskovie, 1706) by Guillaume de l’Isle (1675–1726), which he used in his work on the map of Ukraine, translating the French text into Latin.<sup>34</sup>.

The analyzed map is an excellent example of eighteenth-century compilation cartography as Homann copied the eastern part from de l’Isle’s map and the north-eastern coast of the Black Sea from Giacomo Cantelli da Vignoli’s 1684 *Tartaria d’Europa...* [European Tartary...] map, while to depict the right bank of the Dnieper, he used the corresponding part of the map of Poland by Cornelis Danckerts. The image of the territory of Crimea was copied from Jacob von Sandrart’s book *Des Königreichs Pohlen Lands — Staats- und Zeit-Beschreibung* [Lands of the Polish Kingdom — Description of the State and Time] published in Sulzbach in 1687. For the left bank of the Dnieper, Homann added the

32 Johann Baptist Homann, Ukraine or the Cossack Country with the Neighbouring Provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Little Tartary Presented by Johann Baptist Homann. Nuremberg. By His Holy Imperial Majesty’s Privilege, 1725. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

32 A. Baitsar, K. Halushko, M. Oksenyich, O. Ostaletska, R. Sossa, ... H. Iarova.



■ Cossacks on the map of Ukraine. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

 33 Kyrylo Halushko, Ukraina na karti Ievropy: Ukraina ta ukraintsi u kartografii vid Antychnosti do XX stolittia : naukovo-populiarne vydannia [Ukraine on the Map of Europe: Ukraine and Ukrainians in Cartography from Antiquity to the 20th Century: a popular science publication] (Kyiv, 2013), pp. 58–60.

33 Benjamin Cordt, Materialy do istorii kartografii Ukrainy [Materials on the History of Cartography of Ukraine] (Kyiv, 1931), Part 1, p. 15.

34 Benjamin Cordt, Materialy do istorii kartografii Ukrainy [Materials on the History of Cartography of Ukraine] (Kyiv, 1931), Part 1, p. 15.

35 Maryna Oksenyich, ‘Karty roboty Iohanna Baptysta Homanna v zbirtsi Natsional’noho muzeiu istorii Ukrainy’ [Maps by Johann Baptist Homann in the Collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine], in Istoryko-geografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini: zbirka naukovykh prac’, 2006, vol. 9, pp. 163 178, 167 168.

35 Benjamin Cordt, Materialy do istorii kartografii Ukrainy [Materials on the History of Cartography of Ukraine] (Kyiv, 1931), Part 1, p. 15.

35 Benjamin Cordt, Materialy do istorii kartografii Ukrainy [Materials on the History of Cartography of Ukraine] (Kyiv, 1931), Part 1, p. 15.

36 Oksenyich, M., ‘Karty roboty Iohanna Baptysta Homanna v zbirtsi Natsional’noho muzeiu istorii Ukrainy’ [Maps by Johann Baptist Homann in the Collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine], in Istoryko-geografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini: zbirka naukovykh prac’, 2006, vol. 9, pp. 163 178, 167 168.

36 Oksenyich, M., ‘Karty roboty Iohanna Baptysta Homanna v zbirtsi Natsional’noho muzeiu istorii Ukrainy’ [Maps by Johann Baptist Homann in the Collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine], in Istoryko-geografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini: zbirka naukovykh prac’, 2006, vol. 9, pp. 163 178, 167 168.

36 Oksenyich, M., ‘Karty roboty Iohanna Baptysta Homanna v zbirtsi Natsional’noho muzeiu istorii Ukrainy’ [Maps by Johann Baptist Homann in the Collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine], in Istoryko-geografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini: zbirka naukovykh prac’, 2006, vol. 9, pp. 163 178, 167 168.

36 Oksenyich, M., ‘Karty roboty Iohanna Baptysta Homanna v zbirtsi Natsional’noho muzeiu istorii Ukrainy’ [Maps by Johann Baptist Homann in the Collection of the National Museum of History of Ukraine], in Istoryko-geografichni doslidzhennia v Ukraini: zbirka naukovykh prac’, 2006, vol. 9, pp. 163 178, 167 168.

Ukrainian line, and for the rest, he used de l’Isle’s map again. In addition, Homann separated the Taman Peninsula from the mainland and gave it the name “Nova Krepost Taman”.<sup>35</sup>

The cartographer’s figure deserves special attention, as his career is in many ways remarkable given the events described above, when the name "Rus", which was initially associated by most European historians and cartographers with Ukrainian lands, began to erode over time and under very specific political pressure, to eventually appear in a modified foreign transcription as part of the name of a country in the northeast.

Johann Baptist Homann (1664–1724) was an outstanding cartographer and a symbol of his era. The dynasty of map and atlas publishers in Nuremberg he founded was active between 1702 and 1813. What complicates studying Homann’s maps is that he rarely dated them so the time of their creation can only be determined by secondary evidence. In 1716 he received an imperial privilege and held the title of Imperial Cartographer ever since. Hence the cartouches of the maps published after that year bear his title and position of Chief Geographer of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (“Rxm. Kays. Maj. 168 Geogr.” or “Sac. Cis. Mai. Geographo”) or a reference to his privilege (cum privilegio).<sup>36</sup>

Given his status, talent, and wide fame, Jacob (James) Bruce, one of the closest associates of Peter I, came in touch with him. Considered to be one the smartest men in Muscovy<sup>37</sup>, Bruce was charged with carrying out the reforms in line with the new policies where one of the key roles was assigned to the name under which the empire was to be known in the world. Thus, books and maps reflecting those new rules of the game began to come from the hands of one of the most famous cartographers of the time, and the Russian Empire replaced Muscovy on European maps.

Similarly, the map of Ukraine we reviewed above has the established name Russia Rubra (Red Ruthenia or Red Rus’) denoting Right Bank Ukraine. Yet, all of a sudden, we see a strange competing form in the north, Russia Rusica. Today this combination sounds like a repetitive gobbledegook, but at the time there was nothing strange about it as until then, Europe knew “Russia” to be Rus’ or Ruthenia, i.e. the territory of Ukraine.

Its inhabitants were once called Russes; today they are called Ruthenians to distinguish them from that other race which is entirely foreign to them, and which forms the real core of the great empire known today as the Russian Empire. Based on the identity of the name, some writers have cast doubt on the [...] Ukrainian nationality. [...] The historical and political question therefore necessarily falls within the scope of our literary dissertation. To resolve this question in accordance with the requirements of our subject, without getting carried away by erudite research, it will suffice to set out a few irrefutable facts and to present a few historical truths which cannot be disputed, since they are accessible to the appreciation of even the least informed readers. As for the [...] Muscovite people [...], they do not seem to have objected to this change of name and willingly repudiated their own to please [their sovereign]. [...] It was a strange and bizarre phenomenon, that of a people accustomed to subjecting their beliefs, traditions and even their most intimate and precious feelings to the most extravagant whims of the supreme power. This blind submission and obedience would, if necessary, demonstrate the Asiatic origins of [this] people... [...] A retrospective glance only confirms it. Everything that has been said and written about the [...] provinces under the name of Russia inevitably fell prey to the Empire, which used their name to invade them. Historical documents, chronicles, ancient traditions, and travellers’ accounts were

all evidence the invader used to its benefit. Writers, prompted by diplomats, substituted the name “Russian” for that of Muscovite, sometimes even in translations, and, as a result, the history of this latter people, which only began towards the end of the twelfth century, along the Klasma [Klyazma] and the Moscova [Moskva], was rolled back to the ninth century and planted onto the banks of the Dnieper. That resulted in a bizarre historical paradox.<sup>38</sup>

It should be noted here that in the first copies of *Vkrania que et Terra Cosaccorum...* map, which were published in 1712 and 1716, Johann Baptiste Homann still had the established toponym *Moscovitica* in place of the later construction, *Russia Rusica*. Likewise, the “Part of Tartary” that was under their control and shown to the east, is denoted on the 1712 and 1716 maps as *Muscovy*. The map of 1720 (included below) already demonstrates the effective work of the tsar’s representatives, who were able to motivate the German cartographer to change the conventional names so suddenly (see Fig. 19, Map 16).

Researchers point out that some of Homann’s maps were drawn according to Muscovite templates, and at some point, he literally became Peter I’s agent in Europe.

An interesting fact is that J. B. Homann was an agent of Peter I and a correspondent of Jacob (James) Bruce (1670–1735), a Russian field marshal, statesman, and scholar... who oversaw Russian book printing from 1706. The favour the Russian monarch showed to Homann was mutually beneficial for both parties: Peter I printed the maps he needed abroad, and Homann, having received a patent of a Russian commercial agent in Nuremberg in 1722 and constantly updating maps of Russia according to new templates, ensured high demand for his products both in Russia and around the world.<sup>39</sup>

Clearly, in 1722, this foreign cartographer was indeed officially rewarded by the tsar for his cooperation and for the emergence of such an artificial construct as the inscription *Russia Rusica* on what was historically denoted as *Muscovy* on all previous maps.

But we are looking at the Ukrainian lands now, so let us turn to where these two names met. Beuplan’s maps show Pereiaslav fortifications, a wide old fortress structure, and a significant number of towns and villages around it. J. B. Homann’s map shows numerous settlements of the Mazepa era. The presence of so many of them in a limited space proves that the region was heavily fortified and defended by Cossack forces. Life flourished in such a protected place. Many internationally acclaimed architectural masterpieces of the authentic Ukrainian style were constructed in that period. Magnificent and intricately decorated, they, however, were made of wood and so did not survive to this day in their original versions. Nevertheless, from archival sources of the eighteenth century, we know the plans of the buildings of this Cossack civil, administrative, and church architecture, which are striking in their originality. Every devout Ukrainian family put effort into immortalising their name with some kind of donation to help build a church or a public institution. Ordinary towns and villages of just a few hundred people at most still boast Baroque and Renaissance palaces, often built by prominent foreign architects to the local tradition, surrounded by lush gardens, parks, and ponds. All cities, towns, and villages were graced with impressive ornamental churches. Even commoners’ homes were adorned with rich locally made carpets, embroidered runners, and shawls and dotted with ornate wooden utensils. These lands became especially prosperous during the time of Ivan Mazepa. This lavishly decorated map of 1720 (which was a politically reinterpreted copy of the 1712 map) became one of

38 Paul de Saint-Vincent, *Écrivains et poètes modernes de la Pologne : La poésie oukrainienne — Bohdan Zaleski* [Modern Writers and Poets of Poland: Ukrainian Poetry — Bohdan Zaleski], *Revue contemporaine*, 1860, vol. 53, 2e s. — Tome XVIII, pp. 612-642.

39 Olena Ostaletska, ‘Atlasy i karty vydavnytstva I. B. a ta ioho spadkoiemstiv u fondi sektoru kartografichnykh vydan’ NBUV’ [Atlases and Maps of the J. B. Homann and His Heirs’ Publishing House in the Collection at the Cartographic Publications Sector of the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine], *Chasopys kartografii*, vol. 10 (2014), pp. 354-362.

the last references to the times of his hetmanship and prosperity, which ended with the Battle of Poltava in 1709. The battle site is separately highlighted on this map.



■ FIGURE 19. MAP 16

TITLE: *Ukrania quae et Terra Cossaccorum*  
[Ukraine, Also Known as the Land of the Cossacks]. 1720.  
CREATOR:  
Homann, Johann Baptist  
IDENTIFIER: SE/KrA/0403/33/053.



# THE BLACK SEA

**UCRANIA OR COSACCORUM.** This is how Ukraine is denoted on this beautiful map of the Black Sea. Its territory is combined with the Lands of the Don Cossacks, as well as Circassians, who are also called Cossacks here while the Perekop and Ochakiv Tatars are marked to its south.

Printed in Germany in 1740 by the publisher and geographer Matthäus Seutter (1678–1757), this map demonstrates to what extent all these territories were interconnected. Around the same time, the French diplomat Claude-Charles de Peyssonnel (1727–1790) was stationed in the Black Sea region. In 1787, he published his *Traité sur le commerce de la mer Noire* [Treatise on Black Sea Trade], which was later reprinted and translated into different languages. In it Peyssonnel uses the conventional name "Ukraine", clearly understood all over Europe, and provides details that could help to better understand this map. He speaks about the Cossacks (les Cosaques) going down the Dnieper (Borysthenes) to Ochakiv (Okzakow) and Crimea in their boats, carrying various goods, such as leather, tobacco (kasak-tutun), ropes, hemp, canvas, coal, fish and so on to sell and bringing back salt, wine, dried fruit, oil, soap, incense, horse equipment, sheepskin coats called "felt" (postaki) etc.

Wine. Crimea produces excellent wine and in abundance: it is all white, very light, and very diuretic; the only strong wine comes from the Sudak (Soudag) area, and it can be classed as a liqueur wine. The most highly regarded wines come from Sudak (Soudag), Belbek, Kacha (Katchi), and the Alma (Elma) regions. Most of these wines are sold inside the country. The Cossacks of Ukraine (les Cosaques d'Ukraine) and the Zaporozhians (les Zaporoviens), however, take one hundred thousand ocques each year, which they transport in carts of between one thousand and fifteen hundred ocques each. The wine of Sudak (Soudag) usually costs between 5 and 6 paras; that of Belbek between 3 ½ and 4 paras; and that of the other cantons between 2 and 2 ½.

Dismantling the imposed imperial myths, we should note here that Ukrainians had extensive economic ties with Crimea and the Black Sea region in general, actively traded and exchanged goods, and as a result, greatly influenced each other. That showed in political and military, but also in economic and cultural mutual expansion (see Fig. 20. Map 17).

40 <https://books.google.com.ua/books?id=6sZOAAAACAJ&hl=uk&pg=PA54#v=onepage&q&f=false>

## ■ FIGURE 20. MAP 17

**TITLE:** *Nova et accurata Tartariae Europaeae seu Minoris et in specie Crimeae Delineatio Geographica, cum omnibus circa Pontum Euxinum et Paludem Maeotidem jacentibus Provinciis*  
[A New and Accurate Geographic Delineation of European or Lesser Tartary, Specifically Crimea, Including All Provinces Surrounding the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov].

**CREATOR:** Seutter, Matthäus (1678–1756), cartographer.

**FORMAT:** 50.80 × 60.08 cm.

**MATERIAL:** paper.

**TECHNIQUE:** Copper engraving.

**IDENTIFIER:** Alvin-record:196739.



# CRIMEA

This map was drawn by Jan Hendrik van Kinsbergen (1735–1819), a distinguished admiral of the Dutch and Russian navies. Although he served in the latter only from September 1771 to November 1774, he participated in the fighting in the Black Sea, and so formed his own opinions about this region. He was decorated and otherwise recognised in the course of his service. After returning to the Netherlands, he prepared and published a map of Crimea. It was highly praised in Europe and was considered one of the best and most informative maps of this area until 1810.

The title read, *Map of the Crimea Surveyed During the Last War of 1772 and Dedicated to His Royal Highness My Lord Prince Henry of Prussia Brother of the King; by His Very Humble and Most Obedient Servant de Kinsbergen, Captain of the High Seas in the Service of the United Provinces and Knight of the Military Order of St George of Russia on 18 January 1776* (see Fig. 21. Map 18).<sup>41</sup>

What adds value to this map is that it has all original toponyms as shortly after it was drawn, Crimea went through forced renaming of its towns and places. Most of these names were mentioned by Giosafat Barbaro (1413–1494), a Venetian diplomat and author of a detailed description of the Black Sea coast in the fifteenth century. Let's start with one of the most interesting and best-known ancient locations in Crimea. Listed as one of the Seven Wonders of Ukraine, it is Tauric Chersonesos designated here as “Schurschi ou Scherson” (left corner of the map). Next to it is a large bay of the same name, as well as the port city Aschtiar (Akhtiar), which will later be renamed and known as Sevastopol, the city of the glory of Tatar and Cossack sailors. Here we also see Inkermann (Inkerman), which retained its original name. From there, the road leads to Belbek and then to the capital of Crimea, Baktshisarai (Bakhchysarai). Higher up, near the Salt Lake, there is a large port city “Koslov ou Gosleve”, (Kezlev), which is now better known as Yevpatoria. The western part of the peninsula is marked as “Tarchanskoi kut” (Tarkhankut). Next to it, there is the explanatory note describing how Greek and Armenian villages as well as those with Christian or Muslim populations are marked on the map. Throughout its history, Crimea has always been ethnically and religiously tolerant. In the north, we see fortifications near the familiar Perecop (Perekop). And then the shallow bays, which are still known by the same name today, “Sivasch ou la Mer Putride” [Syvash or the Putrid Sea]. They are separated from “Mer D`Azoff” [the Sea of Azov] by the Arabat Spit. The lands in the north are marked as controlled by the Nogai Tatars. The passage from the Azov to the Black Sea was made through the city “Kertsch” (Kerch) and Taman. The city of Kaffa, shown on the map as well-fortified, was of great importance. Today we know it as Feodosia (Theodosia). Other cities that stand out in the south are Sudak, Ialta (Yalta), and Balaklava as well as many others. Crimea was quite developed and populated at that time. Major cities further away from the coast are highlighted by font size. Those are Acbemetscbet (Aqmescit or “White Mosque”), which later became Simferopol, and “Karas basar ou Karasu” (Karasubazar), the ancient name of present-day Bilohirsk.

Some of the settlements on the map were Ukrainian, and that was not in the least unusual. Ever since the seventeenth-century Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi described the peninsula in detail in his *Seyahatname* [Book of Travels] and pointed out the staggering figures of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians in Crimea, making up the majority there, this question has been of interest to many. Many historians, having studied the topic, concluded that Ukrainians were, if not the majority, then certainly the second ethnic group on the Crimean Peninsula after the Tatars.

41 Carte de la Crimée levée pendant la dernière guerre de 1772. & dédiée à Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Henri de Prusse frère du roi; par son très humble et très obeissant serviteur de Kinsbergen Capitaine de Haut-bord ou service des Provinces Unies et Chevalier de L'ordre militaire de St. George de Russie le 18. janv. 1776.



■ Map of the Ottoman Empire from the 'Atlas' by Mercator and Hondius. <<https://www.raremaps.com>>

'Taras Chukhlib, 'Rosii's'ko-turets'ka viina 1768–1774' 42 [The Russian-Turkish War of 1768-74] <[www.history.org.ua/?termin=Rosijsko\\_turetska\\_1768](http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Rosijsko_turetska_1768)>

More on the Teutonic Order in another documental treasure of the Swedish archives, a 16th-century manuscript *Chronick von Deutschen Orden* [The Chronicle of the German Order] <[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000812\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000812_00001)>



More on the Teutonic Order in another documental treasure of the Swedish archives, a 16th-century manuscript *Chronick von Deutschen Orden* [The Chronicle of the German Order]: <[https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000812\\_00001](https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R0000812_00001)>

And it was the ruthlessly depleted resources of Ukraine that made it possible for the newly minted Russian Empire to with its Turkish war of 1768–1774. It all started with the deployment of Muscovian troops to Right Bank Ukraine to suppress the Koliivshchyna uprising and the anti-Russian Bar Confederation in 1768. However, as early as 31 October of that year, the president of the Little Russian Collegiate Pyotr Rumyantsev asked Kish Otaman of the Zaporozhian Sich Petro Kalnyshevsky to “put all his troops... in military order immediately”.

Ukrainian human, material, and financial resources were used on a large scale in this war. With the outbreak of hostilities in Crimea, Pyotr Rumyantsev took 100,000 rubles in bank notes from the Little Russian Treasury as an allocation for “Tartar expenses”. At the initial stage of the war, the Office of the Little Russian Treasury sent another 95,337 rubles for the needs of “six dragoon regiments, as well as the General's Staff and the field pharmacy, and the Hlukhiv garrison regiment”. On 12 June 1770, the Little Russian Collegiate issued an order to provide 4,000 rubles to form one of the Russian fleet units. On 22 March 1772, Rus[sian] Emp[ress] Catherine II ordered Ukraine to issue the commander of the 2nd Army, General-in-Chief Prince Vasily Dolgorukov 100,000 rubles. In addition, a special decree of the Governing Senate mandated Ukrainians to provide the funds for the transportation of artillery to the theatre of operations as required. The Hetmanate financed the purchase of large quantities of oxen, horses, and carts for the imperial army. In 1770, the grandiose construction of the new Dnipro Line of fortifications began, with the massive involvement of the Ukrainian population.<sup>42</sup>

Ukraine helped the Russian Empire win the war at a great personal cost. Exhausted and bleeding, it temporarily lost the very military power that had won its statehood, the Cossacks. And what was the Empire's recompense? Already in 1775, Muscovian troops seized the moment and destroyed the Sich, looting the military treasury, supplies, archives, and the church. On 25 June 1776, Petro Kalnyshevsky was arrested together with his Starshyna and exiled to the Solovetsky Monastery for life. In 1781, the regimental administrative structure of the Hetmanate was abolished and governorates were established. In 1783, Catherine II issued a decree that literally enslaved the peasants of the Hetmanate and made them the property of the landed gentry. In 1796, the same fate befell peasants in southern Ukraine. Thus, by the end of the 18th century, the Russian Empire almost completely subordinated Ukrainians militarily, politically, and economically.

Equally, it caused just as much misery in the conquered Crimea. It took Russia two wars to gain control over it and begin active colonisation of the territories. Of course, the Ukrainian peasantry bore the brunt of the integration of the new lands. For two centuries, the indigenous, local population of Crimea was suffering heavy losses, deportations, genocide, and political persecution. The ultimate goal of that was to completely change its ethnic composition. The drawing in the lower left corner of the map symbolically underlines this shameful moment of colonisation of the peninsula.

Both the Ottoman and Russian Empires tried to defuse their unresolved internal problems and tensions through external expansion, spreading the metastases of war further and further from their borders, yet the Ukrainian and Crimean states, trapped in those toxic plans and forced to fight a war that was not their own, ended up paying the ultimate price.

Yet the history of relations between Ukrainians and Crimean Tatars used to be quite different. In 1410, in the famous Battle of Grunwald, the Teutonic Order<sup>43</sup> was opposed by a multinational allied army in which Ukrainians and Tatars fought side by side. Chronicler Jan Długosz named the following banners of arms from Ukrainian lands: Halych, Przemysł, Lviv, Chełm, Martyn of Sławsko's 40th squadron, Zhydachiv, Terebovlya, Podolia, local

squadrons from Kyiv, Kremenets, Starodub, Drohiczyn, as well as a company of Tatars who were stationed on the right flank of the battlefield, immediately behind the Ruthenian (i.e. Ukrainian) army.

In the mid-fifteenth century, with the support of Lithuanian and Ruthenian lords, Haci Giray set off for the Crimea from Rus', destined to open a new page in history. The former Golden Horde ulus became an independent state, and he immortalised himself as the founder of the Crimean Khanate and its great ruling dynasty. As we wrote above, in 1521, Ostap Dashkevych, Cherkasy and Kaniv Starost, led Cossack troops together with the Crimean Khan in a successful campaign against Moscow and Kazan. Their victory forced Prince Vasili III of Moscow to sign a humiliating treaty of 6–8 August 1521 and recognise himself as an eternal tributary of the Crimea.

In 1623, Mehmed III Giray came to the throne in Bakhchysarai, and in the spring of 1624, Ottoman sultan Murad IV declared Mehmed's deposed predecessor Canibek Giray the new khan and sent several thousand janissaries to Crimea. Then it was a company of Zaporozhian Cossacks who came to his aid in repelling an Ottoman attack on 13 August 1624, thus facilitating the conclusion of the treaty between Bakhchysarai and the Sich, effectively the first international treaty of the Cossack state. The Cossacks became desirable allies of the Crimeans – and vice versa. On behalf of the Crimean Khanate, Kalga (prince) Şahin Giray issued "a letter of assurance to the Zaporozhian Cossacks and first of all, to Lord Hetman, his adjutant generals, and commanders as well as the entire Host. We certify by this letter and our solemn affirmations that no harm or injury will come from me and all our people..."

In May 1628, Hetman Mykhailo Doroshenko, who had by then earned his fame for a successful Muscovy campaign in 1618 and his contribution to the crucial victory over the Ottomans at Khotyn in 1621, fulfilled the terms of the mutual assistance agreement between the Zaporozhian Host and Crimea, led the Cossack campaign to help Khan Mehmed III Giray and Kalga Şahin Giray, who were fighting against the Ottoman protégé and were besieged by the sultan's allies in the Chufut-Kale fortress. On 31 May 1628, a several thousand-strong Cossack regiment led by Doroshenko reached the river Alma (fl. Alma on the map) in the vicinity of Bakhchysarai. The enemy was defeated, and the khan and his brother were released from the siege — though at the cost of about two hundred Cossacks who laid down their lives for Crimea. Most importantly, Hetman Mykhailo Doroshenko was among the fallen, thus having affirmed the inseparability of the history of both people.

The absolute majority of subsequent Cossack victories are also closely linked to aiding the Tatars, who likewise lent us their hand and cavalry at crucial moments. The Treaty of Bakhchysarai of March 1648 between Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Crimean Khan Islam III Giray ensured the victory of the Ukrainian army in the most important battles of that historic year when the Zaporozhian Host emerged in the flames of the war of liberation as the Ukrainian state.

The Crimeans also played an important role in 1659, when the Hetmanate fought off the invasion of the Tsardom of Muscovy and managed to win an important victory near Konotop. Ukraine and Crimea signed about two dozen treaties and other international legal cooperation documents in those centuries when both young states were actively developing and had not yet been annexed and absorbed by predatory empires. There is simply not enough room here to list all the events that describe the historical connection between Crimeans and Ukrainians.<sup>44</sup> And despite the world changing in subsequent years and the

#### ■ FIGURE 21. MAP 18

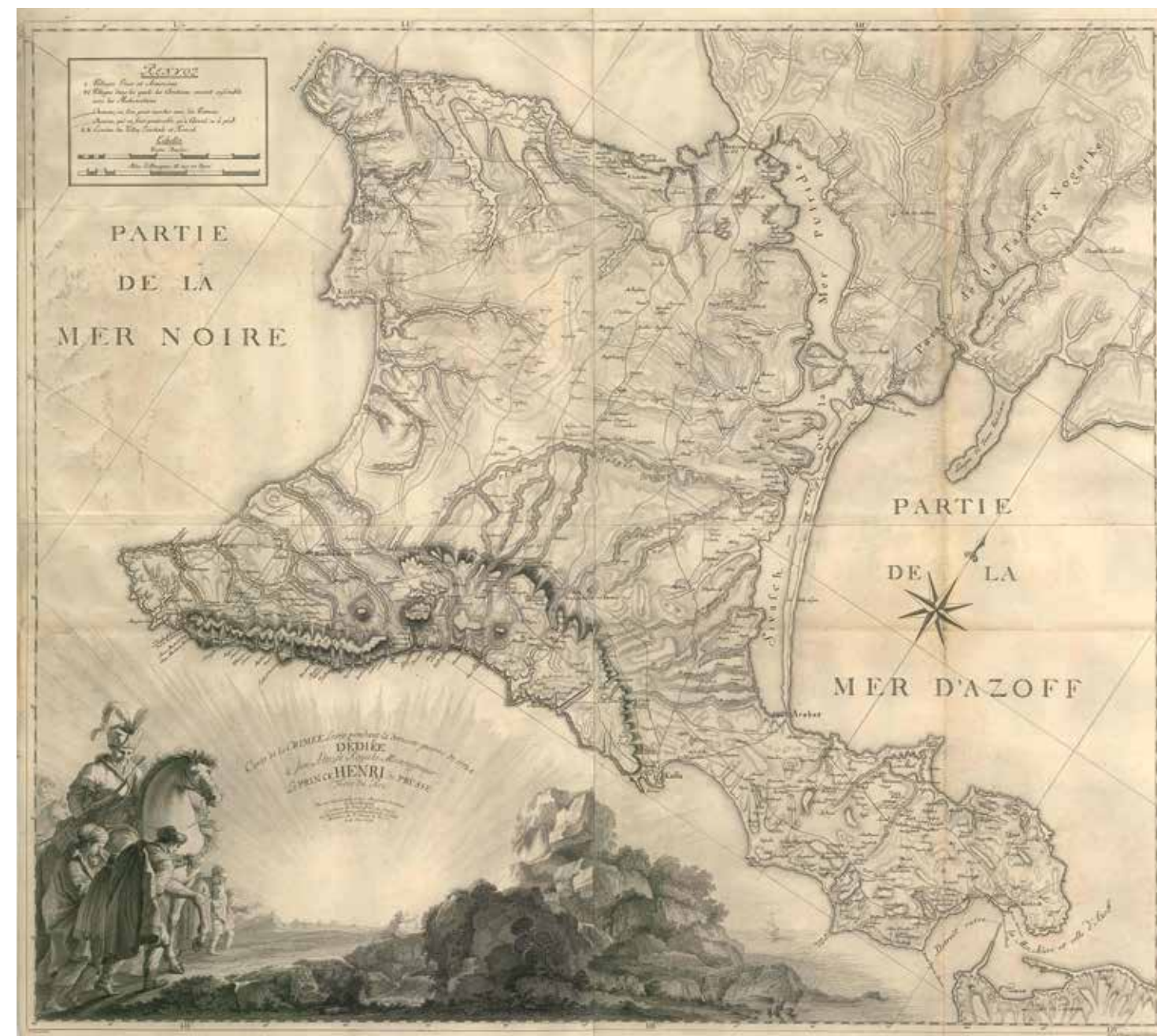
**TITLE:** *La Crimée* [Map of the Crimea]. 1772–1776.

**CREATOR:** Kinsbergen, Jan Hendrik van  
**IDENTIFIER:** SE/KrA/0403/33/024 5.

<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/arkiv/45/GYMNeBUQrH6d0002Ho87k3>

rise and fall of empires, Ukrainians and Tatars had a decisive mutual influence on the development of the Black Sea region, while Crimea became inextricably linked to Ukraine as its integral part. No temporary occupation, such as by German troops in the mid-twentieth century or by Russian troops in the early nineteenth century, will change this fact. All empires disappear, and all occupations end sooner or later.

The Swedish archives have preserved many different maps of Crimea, as it was often the focus of attention throughout Europe. Their special section called *Diplomatica Turcica*<sup>45</sup> contains documents that have not yet been put into scientific circulation. They could be of great interest to researchers.



<sup>44</sup> For additional information, see, for example, the research of Dr Taras Chukhlib (History) and his 2017 publication, *Kozaky i tatory. Ukrain's'ko-kryms'ki soiuzy 1500–1700-ky rokiv* [Cossacks and Tatars. Ukrainian-Crimean Alliances of the 1500-1700s], ed. by Valeriy Smoliiy.

# ODESA

Although this is a map of Asia and almost no Ukrainian territories are marked on it, being attributed to Europe, some cities are nevertheless present here as important maritime trade points including the Crimean ports, Kherson, Mykolaiv, Adjibeï (present-day Odesa), Akkerman (present-day Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiyi) and Izmail (see Fig. 22. Map 19).

In 1801, Aaron Arrowsmith (1750–1823) published it precisely to facilitate the regional trade development. He was the best cartographer of his generation, and from 1790 until the end of his life, personally created some of the most beautiful and elegant maps of his era. A large and extremely detailed ancient map of Asia, marking routes for explorers and traders, was a significant advance over other maps of the period. The map is dedicated to Major James Rennell, Inspector General of the East India Company's dominions in Bengal, as part of it is based on the information Rennell published in his *A Bengal Atlas* in 1779.

We are not going to dwell on the historical population density of the Crimean territories. The works we referred to above make it obvious. But Kherson, and especially Mykolaiv, marked on this map, are interesting to us as areas where life has historically been bustling and which have always used their favourable geographical location to their advantage. In the ancient days, there was a Cimmerian port city in this area. Some historians call it the first of its kind in the Ukrainian lands (the Belozerka culture, 12th to 10th cc. B.C.) And in the 14th century, Grand Duke Vytautas outlined the southern borders of his state (which later confirmed the Cossacks' rights to these lands) when he built a large system of fortifications, fortresses, towers, and customs along the Black Sea.

Recently, archaeologists have been working regularly at this site in Mykolaiv. Every year they find more and more evidence that it can be considered the first full-fledged city on the Ukrainian territory. In June 2009, during the research and excavations, a stone foundation of the second bridge was found in the fill of the hillfort's moat. This discovery confirms that this city was not just a settlement of artisans, farmers, and cattle breeders, but a regional centre of the late second millennium BCE with a complex social organisation. The 2021 archaeological season revealed "masonry with an interesting architectural structure", a tower, a cluster of stones that could be a new residential building or a fortification, and the oldest bridge in Eastern Europe over a fortress moat.

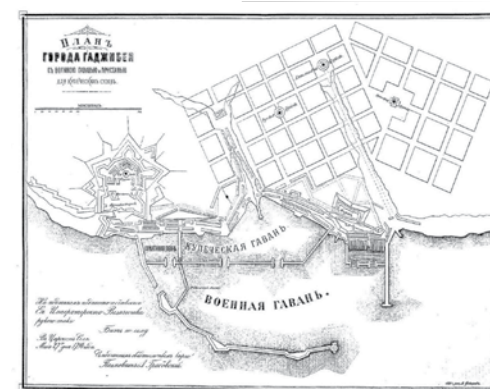


■ Aaron Arrowsmith (1750–1823) — an English cartographer, engraver, and publisher, as well as a founding member of the Arrowsmith family of geographers.

■ Detail of Fra Mauro's 1459 map showing the northwestern coast of the Black Sea, the Crimean Peninsula, and the Sea of Azov. A settlement called Fior de Lix appears on the site of present-day Odesa. <<http://bibliotecanazionalemarciana.cultura.gov.it>>

Oleksandr Muzychko, 'Rozvytok kozakoznavchykh studii u Mykolaievi ta Khersoni naprykintsi XIX – na pochatku XX st.' [Development of Cossack Studies in Mykolaiv and Kherson in the Late 19th and Early 20th Cc.], *Cnornomors'ka mynuvshchyna*, Vol. 12 (2017), pp. 142-160.

*Kiyevskaya starina*. 47 1862.



Map of the city of Hacıbey, 1794. ■ <[www.humus.livejournal.com/4245877.html](http://www.humus.livejournal.com/4245877.html)>

'T. XLVII: Khersonskaya guberniya: po svedeniyam 1859 goda' [Vol. XLVII: Kherson Governorate, 1859], in *Spiski nasyelyonnykh myest Rossiyskoy Imperii, sostavlyennyye i izdavayemyye Tsentral'nym statisticheskim komitetom Ministerstva vnutryennikh dyel*, ed. by Leonid Maykov (Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 1868), LXXX.

Before that, it was traditionally believed that the first to appear on the territory of Ukraine in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE were the ancient city-states of the Northern Black Sea region, Tira, Olbia, Tauric Chersonesos, Theodosia, and Pantikapaion, leaving a significant mark on the trade of that time and the human history overall.

Not surprisingly, it was the Cabinet of Curiosities at the Black Sea Map Depot, which was founded in 1803 and is rightly considered the first museum institution in Ukraine, that initiated historical research in Mykolaiv. The fact that the Sevastopol Cossacks assisted the museum in collecting its artefacts makes it even more symbolic. The museum's rather large collection also included objects of the Cossack era.<sup>46</sup>

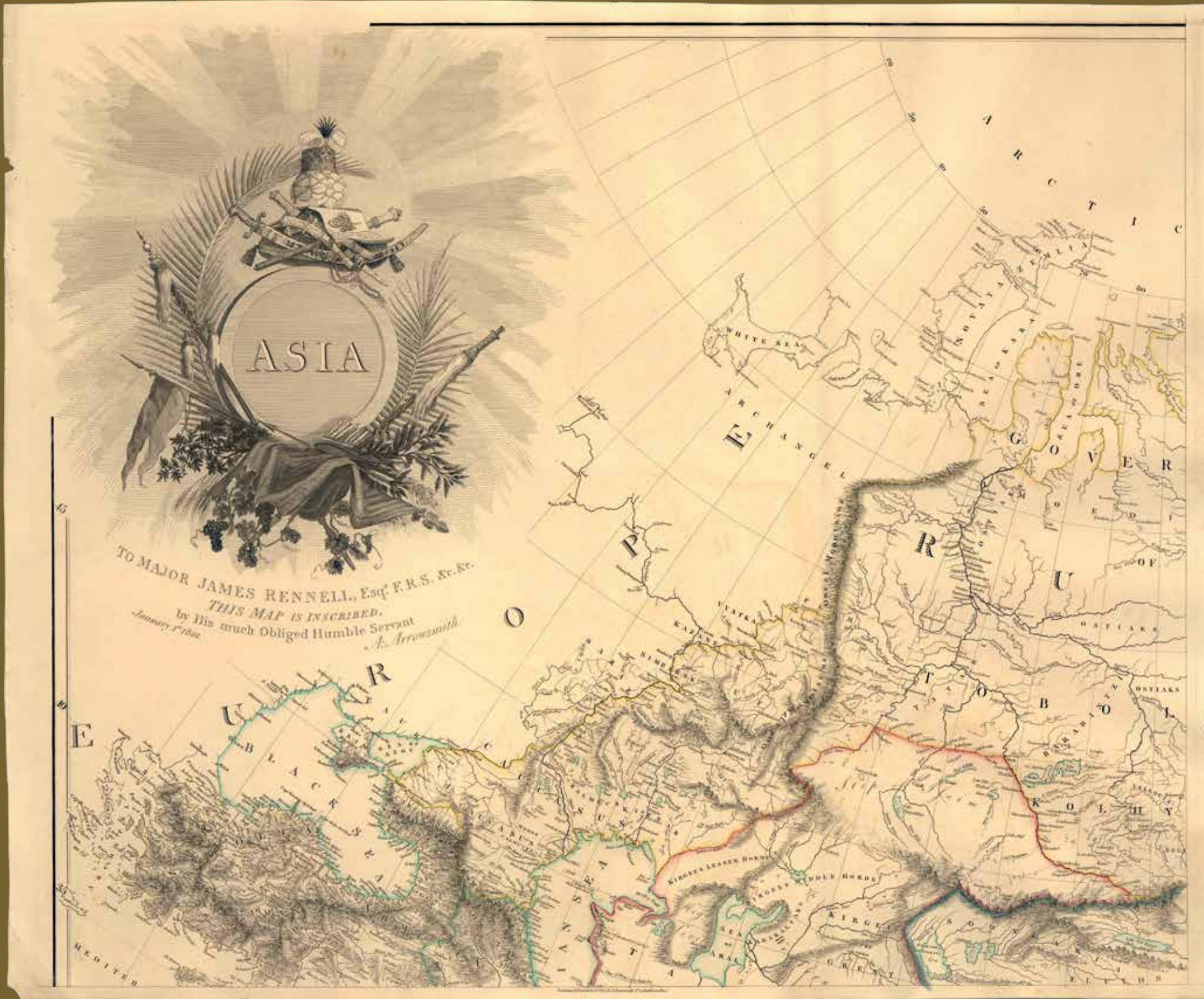
Even more interesting is the inscription "Adjibeï", which is not difficult to localise on the site of the modern Ukrainian city of Odesa. For many years, Muscovian historians used even the most dubious premises to link the Black Sea cities to their Empire. Professional academic publications of recent years completely debunked another of their myths, that is, the alleged founding of Odesa in the eighteenth century on bare ground. Not only ancient maps but also a whole range of sources confirm the existence of Ajibey (Katsiubiiv, Kotsiubey, Gadzhibei, Kachybey, Hacıbey — we can find all kinds of interpretations of the name until the city was renamed Odesa). Historian Jan Długosz (1415–1480) wrote in his *Historia Polonicae* [Polish Histories] that the first mention of the port of Kaczubyeiow (Katsiubiiv) went back to 1415. In 1442, Starost General of Podolia Teodoryk Buczacki was granted the land between the Bug and Dniester rivers to build fortifications in Chernhorod (Czamigrad), Karaul (Caravul) and Hacıbey (Caxzibeïow).

Ethnographer Petro Reviakin,<sup>47</sup> who lived near Bila Tserkva, counted one Old Man Omelko, a local lore expert, among his friends and guides. In his 1862 notes, Reviakin recorded some of the sage words of this wise and venerable man: "Why do we call Odesa 'Odesa' when, in truth, it's Gadzhibei?"

In 1802, the administrative boundaries of the lands were changed and the Kherson governorate, which included the territory from the Dniester to Chyhyryn, was created. In 1859, a census of this region was conducted. One of its main goals was to account for the languages spoken by respondents. It turned out that Ukrainians (who were forced to be called "Malorussians" or "Little Russians" for political reasons in those years) constituted the absolute majority. The statistical description indicated that there were 597,180 Ukrainians in the Kherson, Oleksandriya, Anan'iv, Yelysavethrad, Odesa and Tiraspol counties (not counting the urban population of 244,700, which was not disaggregated, but where Ukrainians also appeared to have constituted the majority). Moldovans came second with 109,660. and Jews third with 83,190. Muscovites (who were to be called "Great Russians" for political reasons in those years) numbered 64,600, close to the number of Germans invited to move there, 47,410.<sup>48</sup>

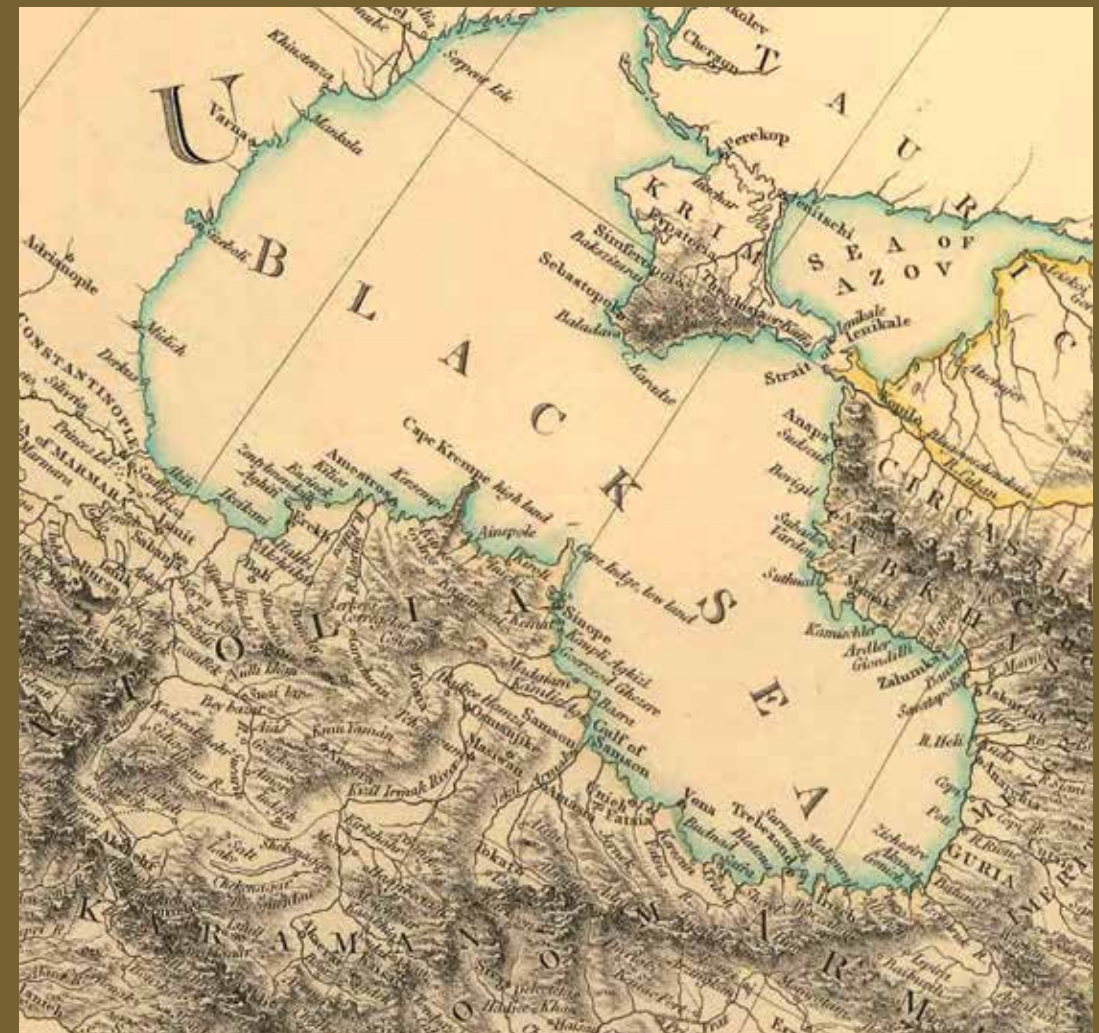
Therefore, only imperial propaganda could make Ukrainians forget their past and their true history.

This example once again confirms how much needs to be revised in the worldview to finally get rid of myths and start perceiving Ukraine's past as it was, without externally imposed clichés and narratives.



■ FIGURE 22. MAP 19

TITLE: *Asia* (4 pages). 1801.  
CONTRIBUTORS: Arrowsmith, Aaron; Rennell, James.  
IDENTIFIER: SE/KrA/0404/46/A/013 01.



# THE UKRAINIAN NATION

By the early 20th century, the Ukrainian nation was fully formed, with an understanding of its place in history, ethnic boundaries, and the right to a sovereign state. Despite all the restrictions, bans, deportations and wars, Ukrainians expressed and continue to express themselves very clearly, refusing to put up with the denial of their status and rights.



■ Juozas Gabrys, 1880–1951  
Джерело зображень: <https://literaturairmenas.lt>

The *Carte ethnographique de l'Europe* [Ethnographic Map of Europe] below was compiled by a prominent Lithuanian diplomat Juozas Gabrys (1880–1951) at Librairie Centrale des Nationalités (Switzerland) and published by Institut géographique Kummerly & Frey in 1918 (see Fig. 23, Map 20). It records data on the composition and distribution of ethnic groups in Europe somewhat earlier than the date of its publication. This excellent visualisation demonstrates the grounds for the self-awareness of Ukrainians and the way they were perceived and assessed in the world at the time.

Here we enlist the help of the Estonian archive, which provides not only the map itself in excellent quality but also a book with commentaries on it. In it, Gabrys emphasises that the map was “the result of a long research and extensive work on the ground, as well as in general and special libraries”. Describing the Russian Empire, he drew attention to the fact that some in Europe believed that, with this name, it had absorbed almost 180 million “Great Russians”; while in fact, there were no more than 40 million of those who were previously called “Muscovites”, and the rest were several other nations “which they [Muscovites] wanted to rule, but found themselves completely inept at managing the fates of others”. As a result, the author used his access to the inside information to describe the ethnic composition of this dying Empire with extra care and attention to detail. Ukrainians [Ukrainiens] are referred to here as Indo-Europeans (Slavic group). Territories of their dispersal are coloured with green and, as we can see, are much larger than the present-day state borders of Ukraine. The author



■ Serhiy Yefremov (1876–1939)  
<<https://uain.press>>

slightly shifted the western boundaries of the Ukrainian ethnic group to the east drawing them clearly along the San River (there were still decades to go before the Communists carried out Operation Vistula, a forced resettlement of the local ethnic population, and thus Ukrainians lived en masse in the so-called Zakerzonia). The southern border of the Ukrainian ethnic territories follows the Danube River, and the eastern border, you guessed it, runs along the Don and even further. And so, we end our story about historical maps with the same boundaries from which we began with the first maps that we analysed in this chapter. Many centuries ago, nature itself outlined them for Ukrainians, and nothing can change that.

The lands of modern Ukraine (and they are easy to guess even in the old maps) in the early twentieth century were occupied by ethnic Ukrainians, who constituted the overwhelming majority there. Quite a few sources confirm the presence of the Bulgarian, Greek, and German enclaves in the north of the Cis-Azov region. Crimea is divided between predominantly Crimean Tatars and Ukrainians with a lesser presence of Bulgarians and a few other ethnic groups. All this is in line with the historical context. Four groups, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Romanians, and Germans are almost equally represented in the sector between the Dniester and the Danube. The author somewhat overestimated the area of dispersal of Moldovans (Romanians) in Podolia. Historical sources do not confirm their presence on Ukrainian territory in such numbers. The influence of Belarusians is noticeable in Volhynia. At the time the map was drawn, there were no noticeable areas of compact settlement of Muscovites (the author calls them “Great Russians”) on Ukrainian lands. This indicates their insignificant presence in Ukraine before all the events of the following decades, such as political persecutions, three mad-made mass famines deliberately engineered by the Soviet totalitarian government including the Holodomor of 1932–1933, the Second World War, repressions and deportations, which had a devastating effect on the changes in the population.

Ukrainians historically constituted most of the population or were massively resettled on some of the present-day territories of the Russian Federation. We can see this as far away as Bryansk and Kursk as well as the historical Starodub lands, which used to belong to the Cossacks, and almost up to Saratov, where Ukrainian settlements bordered on German enclaves (in just a few years, those would all be deported to Kazakhstan). Ukrainians lived in large numbers along the Don River, being the dominant ethnicity in the Taganrog country and on the Taman Peninsula. The task of settling and developing the Kuban was placed squarely on the Ukrainian shoulders, and therefore their presence in the early twentieth century in the lands up to Anapa and the Cossack-founded Yekaterinodar (present-day Krasnodar) is a well-known fact. Incidentally, the population of the south of the Empire, between the Azov and Caspian Seas, was very multinational, with such major ethnic groups as Ukrainians, Tatars, Kalmyks, Nogais, Germans, Kazakhs, and some others. The “Great Russians” were not even close to any kind of majority there. These well-documented facts provide an ultimate answer to the question of the historical affiliation of certain lands.

In his 1905 article, Serhiy Yefremov, a prominent Ukrainian academician, wrote with indignance about new imperial attempts to impose the fake definition of “primordially Russian regions” on everything Ukrainian to justify the oppression of the Ukrainian language, as if to erase from existence 80 to 92% of the population of Kyiv, Podolia, Poltava, Kharkiv, and other governorates, which were ethnically Ukrainians even according to imperial estimates in the 1897 census, stating that.:

...even the very Ukrainian population in one part of its territory is declared to be outright non-existent, replaced by some 'local residents of Russian origin'. What has happened in the past six months? Or have new studies been undertaken that have revealed a major mistake about the ethnographic physiognomy of the 'Southwest Territory'? Or did its population suddenly change its appearance beyond recognition, becoming 'primordially Russian' in the sense in which this expression is used by the preservationist press, or was it some special cataclysmic event that, sweeping through three provinces like a hurricane, wiped out all Ukrainian population within its reach? Of course, nothing of the kind happened as there were no new surveys, and sudden sociological cataclysms, such as the Hun invasion, are now impossible at all, so everything is, of course, the same as before..."<sup>49</sup>.

.An outstanding scholar, intellectual and very moderate and delicate person, he was arrested by the Soviet authorities precisely for his Ukraine-centric academic works and public reflections. He was sentenced on false accusations and died in the infamous Vladimir Central prison of the Main Directorate of State Security Service in the Russian city of Vladimir on 10 March 1939 after almost nine years of excruciating imprisonment and torture.

An interesting fact: at the turn of the twentieth century, there were public opinion polls that recorded quite interesting results.

1. 378 people aged 16 to 65 were interviewed in the town of Zolotonosha (now Cherkasy region). In response to the question "What language, Malorussian [Little Russian] or Russian, would you prefer to see used for school instruction?" 324 respondents were in favour of teaching in Malorussian, 46 were indifferent, and 8 were in favour of teaching in Russian. In response to the question "Which books do you listen to and read more readily, Malorussian or Russian?" 198 respondents supported books in Malorussian, 78 were for books in Russian, and the rest were indifferent (especially the illiterate).<sup>50</sup>.
2. In the 1860s, a similar survey was conducted in Poltava. In response to the question "What language do the students prefer for their textbooks?" 129 respondents chose textbooks in Malorussian, 12 were indifferent, and 12 Great Russians by blood naturally chose books in Russian.<sup>51</sup>.
3. According to the correspondent of the newspaper Kiyevskiy otklyk in the town of Nizhyn, "...of 8 rural libraries of the Nizhyn county, only 2 reported having no requests for Ukrainian books; in all other libraries there was a very intense demand for books in the people's native language."<sup>52</sup>.

But the situation was changing with each decade. As Professor Norman Davies of the University of London wrote, "Ukrainians have been the victims of the greatest man-made disasters on the continent and a general genocide. Their losses during the war of 1918–1920, collectivisation of the 1930s, terror and Holodomor of 1932–1933, and the destruction caused by the Second World War should be close to 20 million people."<sup>53</sup>.

Still, it all did not break Ukrainians but only hardened them in their desire to have their state, their own Ukraine. That is why the path that the Ukrainian nation has travelled to become a state at the end of the twentieth century, to become a truly European phenomenon at the beginning of the twenty-first century, demonstrating miracles of indescribable resilience and heroism, deserves not only a leading place in world history but also a future that is in line with such history.

49 Serhiy Yefremov, 'Zamyetki na tekushchiye temy' [Notes on Current Topics], *Kiyevskaya starina*, vol. LXXXIX (1905), pp. 271, 275–276.

50 'Khochet li ukrainskiy narod učit'sya na svojom yazyke?' [Do the Ukrainian People Want to Study in Their Language?]. *Poltavshchyna*, 1905, no. 133.

51 *Pedagogicheskaya khronika*, 1879, no. 4.

52 *Kiyevskiy otklyk*, n.d., no. 44.

53 Norman Davies, *Europe: A History* (Oxford University Press, 1996); translated into Ukrainian as Norman Davies, *Ievropa: Istoriia*, trans. by P. Tarashchuk and O. Kovalenko (Osnovy Publishing, 2001), pp. 71–73.



■ FIGURE 23. MAP 20

TITLE: *Carte ethnographique de L'Europe*  
[Ethnographic map of Europe]. 1918.  
CREATOR: Paršaitis-Gabrys, Juozas





# Appendix

## YURI NEMYRYCH, IVAN KOWALEWSKI, AND IVAN FEDOROVYCH: PERSONAL SEALS

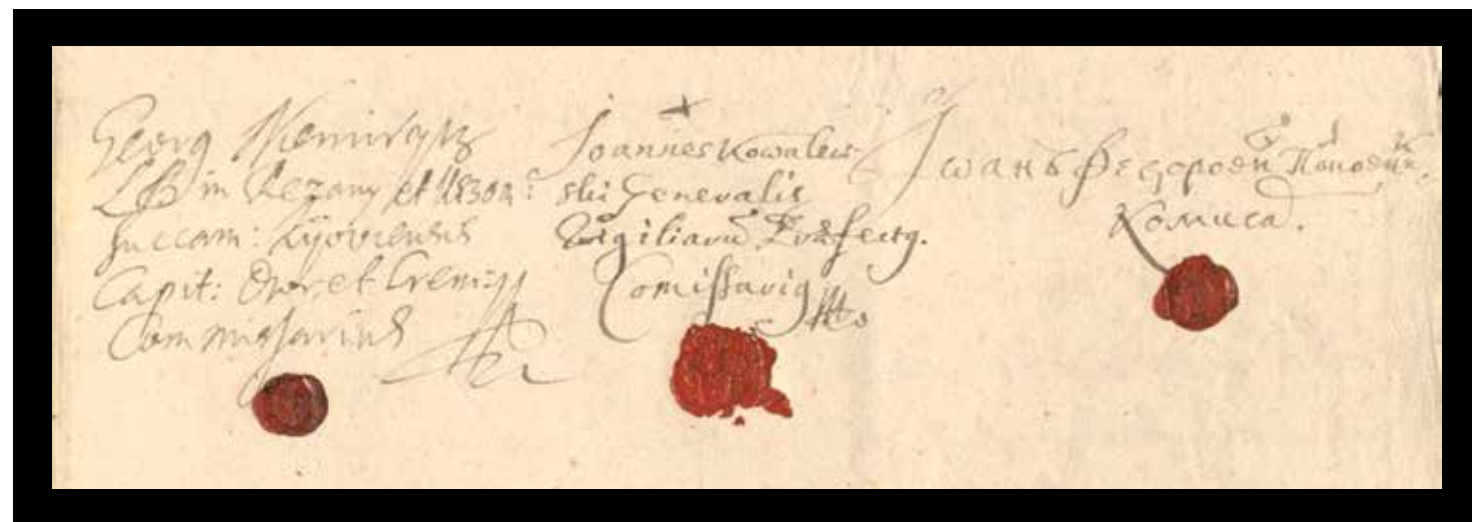
Oleksandr  
Alf'orov

- 1 'Akty Shvedskogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Malorossii (1649–1660)' [Acts of the Swedish State Archives Relating to the History of Little Russia (1649–1660)], in *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii, izdavayemyy Vremennoy komissiyey dlya razbora drevnykh aktov, vyschayshe uchryezhdyonnoy pri Kiyevskom voyennom, Podol'skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore*, Part 3, vol. 6 (Kyiv, 1908), pp. 333-335. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, (1998) *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusi* [History of Ukraine-Rus'] (Kyiv, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 63-66. I. Butych, V. Rynsevych, and I. Teslenko (eds), *Universaly ukrains'kykh het'maniv vid Ivana Vyhovskoho do Ivana Samoylovycha (1657–1687)* [Universals of Ukrainian Hetmans, from Ivan Vyhovsky to Ivan Samoylovych (1657–1687)] (NTSH, 2004), pp. 29-31.
- 2 Andrii Hurbyk and Yuriy Savchuk, 'Ukrains'ko-shvedsk'ka uhoda pro voienno-politychnyi soiuz mizh het'manom Ivanom Vyhovs'kym ta korolem Karlom X Gustavom' ["The Ukrainian-Swedish Agreement on a Military and Political Alliance between Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and King Carl X Gustaf"], in *Ukraina — Shvetsiia: na perekhrestii istorii (XVII–XVIII stolittia): 1 zhovt. 2008 r. — 30 berez. 2009 r. m. Kyiv, 9 kvit. — 31 trav. 2009 r. m. Dnipropetrovs'k : kat. Mizhnar. vyst., ed. by Yuriy Savchuk (Taki spravy, 2008), p. 66–67.*

The Treaty of Korsun or, as historians colloquially call it, the Ukrainian-Swedish Treaty of 1657 is stored in the National Archives of Sweden. Ukrainian scholars have been aware of its existence for over a hundred years.<sup>1</sup> Recently, Swedish archivists have digitised this document and posted it on the online platform of the archive's website. In 2008 and 2009, the original document, along with other objects of the 'Ukraine–Sweden: At the Crossroads of History (17th–18th Cc.)' exhibition (curated by Yuriy Savchuk), visited Kyiv and Dnipro.<sup>2</sup> Its colour copy was included in the exhibition catalogue. The edition featured the seal of Ivan Fedorovych (a non-detailed description with an image) and described the seals of Yuri Nemyrych and Ivan Kowalewski, the signatories to the treaty (without detail and showing only their general image on the document).

### ■ FIGURE 1

General view of the seals on the manuscript of the Treaty of Korsun of 1657. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm



### FIGURE 2

Impression of Yuri Nemyrych's personal seal. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

Marina Trattner provided high-quality photographs of the seals that have been included in scientific circulation as belonging to Yurii Nemyrych, Ivan Kowalewski, and Ivan Fedorovych (see Fig. 1). Their deeper analysis produced unexpected results.

## 1 PERSONAL SEAL OF YURI NEMYRYCH

The seal features a mantled Iberian escutcheon (shield) charged with an 'X', the upper and lower ends of which are invected. Above the escutcheon is a helmet facing dexter, crested with a panache of three feathers.

The impression is octagonal, measuring 6 × 9 mm, made in red wax with black inclusions. The signature is in Latin: "Georg Niemirycz / L. B. in Rezany et Uszom: / Succam: Kijoviensis / Capit: Owr: et Crem. / Commissarius m. p.". Його слід розкрити так: "Georg(io) [in Czerniechow] Niemirycz L[ibero]. B[aroni]. in Rezany et Uszom[ir]: Succam[erario]: Kijoviensis Capit[aneo]: Owr[ucensi]: et Crem[enczucensi]. Commissarius m[anu]. p[ropria]." translating as "Yuri Nemyrych of Chernykhiv, seigneur of Rezany and Ushomyr, Kyiv court chamberlain, Ovruch and Kremenets starost. Commissioner; by his own hand."

Published for the first time. Described by Andrii Hurbyk and Yuriy Savchuk, 'Ukrains'ko-shvedsk'ka uhoda pro voienno-politychnyi soiuz mizh het'manom Ivanom Vyhovs'kym ta korolem Karlom X Gustavom' ["The Ukrainian-Swedish Agreement on a Military and Political Alliance between Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and King Carl X Gustaf"], in *Ukraina — Shvetsiia: na perekhrestii istorii (XVII–XVIII stolittia): 1 zhovt. 2008 r. — 30 berez. 2009 r. m. Kyiv, 9 kvit. — 31 trav. 2009 r. m. Dnipropetrovs'k : kat. Mizhnar. vyst., ed. by Yuriy Savchuk (Taki spravy, 2008), pp. 66–67.*

## 2 A SEAL IMPRESSION UNDER THE SIGNATURE OF IVAN KOWALEWSKI

The seal field features a mantled German (bouched) escutcheon, divided per the nombril point by a wavy line, with a sextifoil charge in the upper, larger section. Above the escutcheon is a helmet facing dexter, crested with a demi-beast (possibly a lion) and two eagle wings in a heraldic position. The crest is accompanied by the initials "M" (on the sinister side) and "N" (on the dexter side), with "V" and "E" at the middle base.

The impression is octagonal, measuring 12 × 15 mm, made in red wax with several black inclusions. The signature, in Latin, reads: "Joannes Kowalew- / ski Generalis / Vigiliarum Praefectus. / Commissarius m. p.". with an invocation cross above it. When expanded, it should read: "Joannes Kowalewski Generalis Vigiliarum Praefectus [exercitus Zaporouiensis]. Commissarius m[anu]. p[ropria]." This translates as: "Ivan Kowalewski, Adjutant General (Osavul) of the Zaporozhian Army. Commissioner; by his own hand."

Published for the first time. Described by Andrii Hurbyk and Yuriy Savchuk, 'Ukrains'ko-shvedsk'ka uhoda pro voienno-politychnyi soiuz mizh het'manom Ivanom Vyhovs'kym ta korolem Karlom X Gustavom' ["The Ukrainian-Swedish Agreement on a Military and Political Alliance between Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and King Carl X Gustaf"], in *Ukraina — Shvetsiia: na perekhrestii istorii (XVII–XVIII stolittia): 1 zhovt. 2008 r. — 30 berez. 2009 r. m. Kyiv, 9 kvit. — 31 trav. 2009 r. m. Dnipropetrovs'k : kat. Mizhnar. vyst., ed. by Yuriy Savchuk (Taki spravy, 2008), pp. 66–67.*





# 3 A SEAL IMPRESSION UNDER THE SIGNATURE OF IVAN FEDOROVYCH

The seal field features an oval Baroque escutcheon charged with an erect arrow, its shaft marked vertically with the letters “F” and “G.” The same initials, “F” and “G,” also appear in the middle chief. The escutcheon field is semée with short lines. Lion faces affronté are positioned as supporters in the sinister and dexter chief.

The impression is octagonal, measuring 10 × 11 mm, made in red wax with black inclusions. The signature, in Cyrillic, reads:

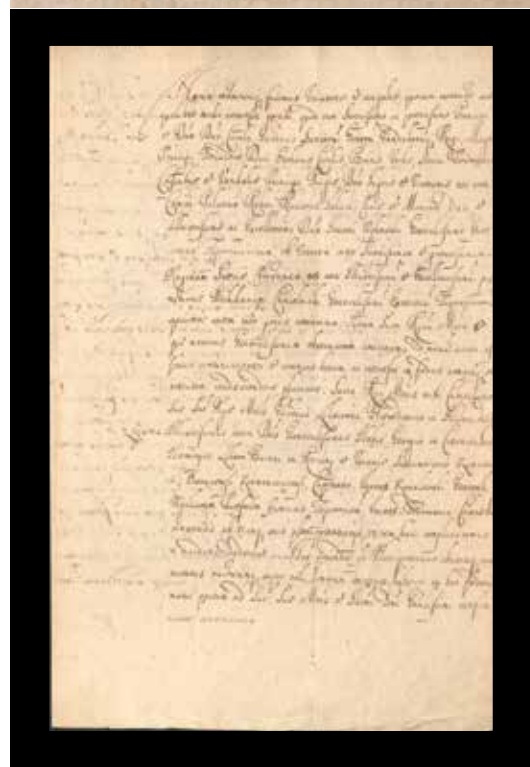
“Ivan Fedorovych, Polkovnyk. Commissioner.”

Original publication by Andrii Hurbyk and Yuriy Savchuk, ‘Ukrains’ko-shvedsk’ka uhoda pro voienno-politychnyi soiuz mizh het’manom Ivanom Vyhovs’kym ta korolem Karlom X Gustavom’ [“The Ukrainian-Swedish Agreement on a Military and Political Alliance between Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and King Carl X Gustaf”], in *Ukraina — Shvetsiia: na perekhresty istorii (XVII–XVIII stolittia): 1 zhovt. 2008 r. — 30 berez. 2009 r. m. Kyiv, 9 kvit. — 31 trav. 2009 r. m. Dnipropetrovs’k : kat. Mizhnar. vyst.*, ed. by Yuriy Savchuk (Taki spravy, 2008), pp. 66-67.

All signatures were made using the same light black ink, indicating they were written at the same time. Ivan Kowalewski’s autograph, however, is marked by a stronger stroke of the pen. The red sealing wax with black flecks was applied to the document after it had been signed, as evidenced by the seals being placed over some of the lower graphemes. The density of the black inclusions in the wax can help reconstruct the order in which the wax was poured onto the paper, and thus when each seal impression was made. Nemyrych’s seal has the most black flecks, Fedorovych’s slightly fewer, and Kowalewski’s the least (virtually none).

Without knowing how the black additive was introduced into the molten wax, or which part of the molten mass contained the highest concentration, we can only hypothesise that Fedorovych applied his seal second. This assumption is based on the observation that Nemyrych’s seal has the most black flecks, while Kowalewski’s has the fewest. However, the uneven appearance of Kowalewski’s seal impression, with its wax tails and detached fragments, suggests that the wax had cooled slightly by the time his seal was applied. This cooling caused the wax to flow more slowly, resulting in drips rather than a smooth pour. The positioning of the signatures supports this theory. Although Kowalewski’s autograph is in the centre, the awkward hyphenation in his name (“Kowalew- / ski”) suggests that there was not enough space for it — likely due to the capital “I” in Ivan Fedorovych’s signature, located to its right. This implies that Kowalewski was the last to sign and had to squeeze his signature into the remaining space between Nemyrych’s and Fedorovych’s signatures.

Thus, the sequence of signing and affixing seals can be reconstructed as follows: Nemyrych signed first, Fedorovych second, and Kowalewski last. The seals were then applied in the same order: Nemyrych’s first, followed by Fedorovych’s and Kowalewski’s. This sequence raises questions about a possible disruption of the signatories’ hierarchy. According to protocol, Fedorovych had the lowest rank of the three and was expected to sign last. Even Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, in his accompanying letter,<sup>3</sup> referred to Fedorovych as the third in rank after Kowalewski. The explanation for this apparent contradiction lies in one crucial detail of Ivan Kowalewski’s biography: although he was a prominent figure in the Hetmanate and took part in many key negotiations and treaty signings, he was illiterate. This fact clarifies why Kowalewski signed last, despite his higher status.



■ FIGURE 5  
The original manuscript of the Treaty of Korsun of 1657.

The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

3 ‘Akty Shvedskogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Malorossii (1649–1660)’ [Acts of the Swedish State Archives Relating to the History of Little Russia (1649–1660)], in *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoy Rossii, izdavayemyy Vremennoy komissiyey dlya razbora dryevnikh aktov, vysochayshe uchryezhdyonnoy pri Kiyevskom voyennom, Podol’skom i Volynskom general-gubernatore*, Part 3, vol. 6 Kyiv, 1908), p. 333.

Volodymyr Kryvosheia, *Kozats’ka starshyna Het’manshchyny. Entsyklopediia* [Cossack Officers of the Hetmanate. Encyclopedia] (Stylos, 2010), p. 408.

Sergey Kashtanov, ‘Intitulyatsiya russkikh knyazheskikh aktov X–XV vv. (Opyt pervichnoy klassifikatsii)’ [Intitulation of Russian Princely Acts of the 10th–15th Cc. (Primary Classification Experience)], in *Vspomogatel’nyye istoricheskiye distsipliny*, vol. VIII (1976), pp. 71–72v.

Oleksandr Al’forov and Oleg Odnorozhenko, *Ukrains’ki osobovi pechatky XV–XVII st. za materialamy kyivs’kykh arkhivoshkovyshch* [Kyiv Archival Repositories on Ukrainian Personal Seals of the 15th–17th Cc.] (Prosvita, 2009), pp. 108–109.

Andrii Hurbyk and Yuriy Savchuk, ‘Ukrains’ko-shvedsk’ka uhoda pro voienno-politychnyi soiuz mizh het’manom Ivanom Vyhovs’kym ta korolem Karlom X Gustavom’ [“The Ukrainian-Swedish Agreement on a Military and Political Alliance between Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and King Carl X Gustaf”], in *Ukraina — Shvetsiia: na perekhresty istorii (XVII–XVIII stolittia): 1 zhovt. 2008 r. — 30 berez. 2009 r. m. Kyiv, 9 kvit. — 31 trav. 2009 r. m. Dnipropetrovs’k : kat. Mizhnar. vyst.*, ed. by Yuriy Savchuk (Taki spravy, 2008), p. 67.

Ihor Sytyi, *Kozats’ka Ukraina: pechatky, herby, znaky ta emblemy kintsia XVI–XVIII st.* [Cossack Ukraine: Seals, Coats of Arms, Marks, and Emblems from the Late 16th to the 18th Century.] (Tempora, 2017), p. 105.

M. Gumowski, M. Hasig, and S. Mikucki, ‘Sfragistyka’ [Sigillography], in *Nauki pomocnicze historii* (Warszawa, 1960), p. 106.

Oleksandr Al’forov, *Osobovi pechatky z Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy: seredyna XVIII — persha polovyna XIX stolittia. Materialy do katalogu* [Personal Seals from Right Bank Ukraine: the Mid-18th to the First Half of the 19th Century. The Catalogue Materials] (O. Pshonkivskyy Publishing House, 2021), p. 11.

Andrii Hurbyk and Yuriy Savchuk, ‘Ukrains’ko-shvedsk’ka uhoda pro voienno-politychnyi soiuz mizh het’manom Ivanom Vyhovs’kym ta korolem Karlom X Gustavom’ [“The Ukrainian-Swedish Agreement on a Military and Political Alliance between Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky and King Carl X Gustaf”], in *Ukraina — Shvetsiia: na perekhresty istorii (XVII–XVIII stolittia): 1 zhovt. 2008 r. — 30 berez. 2009 r. m. Kyiv, 9 kvit. — 31 trav. 2009 r. m. Dnipropetrovs’k : kat. Mizhnar. vyst.*, ed. by Yuriy Savchuk (Taki spravy, 2008), p. 67.

4 Notwithstanding Kowalewski’s status, a proxy signed the document on his behalf. A comparative study of the handwriting confirms that the signature does not belong to Nemyrych, Fedorovych, or the clerk who drafted the document. However, it is worth noting that Kowalewski’s autograph begins with an invocation cross, an ancient tradition used to validate texts, symbolising the Christian Trinitarian formula: “In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.”<sup>5</sup> This cross may well have been Kowalewski’s personal mark. Yet its fluid execution, ‘without breaking the pen,’ suggests some degree of writing skill, making it more likely that this cross was drawn by Kowalewski’s clerk, indicating that the signature was not genuine.

6 This reconstruction, made possible by detailed analysis, has no impact on historical processes but will undoubtedly be of interest to researchers studying Cossack diplomacy and administrative practices.

7 The seal analysis also revealed some intriguing findings. Yuri Nemyrych’s seal impression shows that he used a stamp featuring the Nemyrych (Niemiryecz) family coat of arms, albeit slightly altered. The lower bar connecting the invected edges of the charge is missing — a modification not previously recorded in the Niemiryecz coat of arms, which is known from sigillographic records dating back to the early 16th century. One key heraldic feature of the Niemiryecz family retained on Yuri’s seal is a helmet facing to the right.<sup>6</sup> The dimensions suggest the impression was made using a signet ring.

8 In contrast, the seal attributed to Ivan Kowalewski depicts a coat of arms that has no record in either Cossack or Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth heraldry. Earlier descriptions mistakenly recorded the upper letters as “I” and “K,”<sup>7</sup> ignoring or overlooking the lower letters. The seal was thus identified as belonging to Kowalewski.<sup>8</sup> However, high-resolution photographs reveal that the upper letters are actually “M” and “H,” while the lower letters are “V” and “E,” likely abbreviating the rank or office of the seal’s owner. None of these letters correspond to either Kowalewski’s initials or the first letters of “General’nyi osavul” (Adjutant General), his official title. The presence of the letter “V” suggests the name and position were inscribed in the Latin alphabet, not Cyrillic. The Cossack state had no ranks or offices beginning with the letter “V,” and at that time, the Polish language did not use the letter “V,” typically substituting “W.” This points to the conclusion that Kowalewski was using a seal that belonged to someone else.

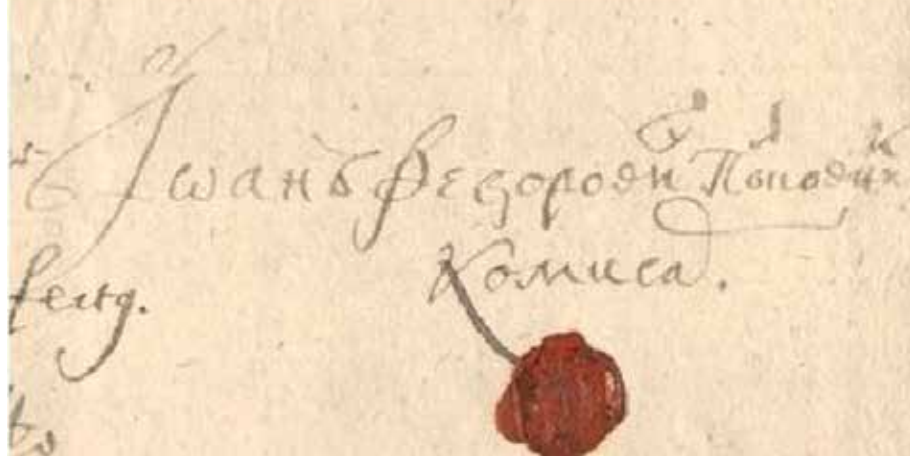
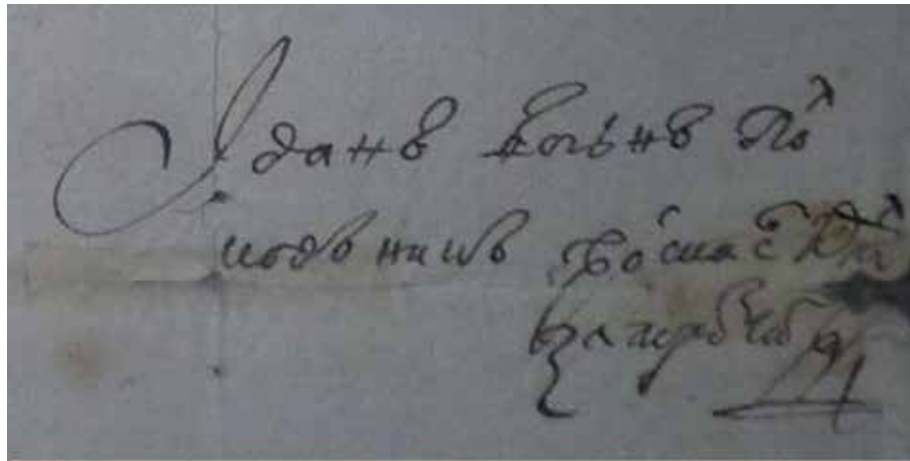
9 Using another person’s seal — known as *caerentia sigilli*<sup>9</sup> — was a fairly common administrative practice. In the Ukrainian lands, this phenomenon has been documented since the 16th century and remained widespread well into later periods.<sup>10</sup>

11 The same conclusion was reached when examining the impression made by Polkovnyk Fedorovych. He, too, used someone else’s seal. Previous scholars correctly identified the letters “F” and “G” but cautiously interpreted them as potentially standing for “Fedorovych Generalis.” However, this combination of a surname (or patronymic) and rank, without a first name, has never been recorded in Ukrainian sigillography. Consequently, we can assert that these letters represent only the seal owner’s initials. It is also important to note that the letter “G” is not typical for transliterations of Ukrainian surnames that began with the Cyrillic “Г” at that time. The letter “H” was used instead, while “G” was absent from Ukrainian sigils. Even if we consider the possibility that the seal’s owner was rendering their name in Latin and using the letter “G,” the patronymic “Fedorovych” would begin with a “T,” as “Fedir” becomes

“Theodorus” in Latin. Therefore, the initials on the seal could not represent Ivan Fedorovych’s father.

Publishers initially viewed the seal as “the polkovnyk’s family insignia with old roots in Ruthenian heraldry.” However, a detailed analysis of the image reveals otherwise. The seal actually depicts a burgher’s coat of arms, a *gmerk* or house mark, as indicated by the initials placed on the shaft of the arrow on the shield. Similar house marks were used on rings, seals, and houses in various countries, including by prominent Lviv patricians like the Boim family. This particular seal appears to be the mark of a merchant. Another clue that the seal did not originate from Cossack lands is the *semée*, or field sprinkled with small charges, in this case short lines — something not commonly seen in Ukrainian heraldry.

This analysis of Fedorovych’s seal and signature also led to an important historical discovery. For over a century, scholars of the Ukrainian Cossack Revolution have debated whether Polkovnyk Ivan Fedorovych and Ivan Bohun were the same person. Most modern Ukrainian historians, following Mykhailo Hrushevsky, have equated these two figures. In 2020, however, Oleg Odnorozhenko discovered and published a document signed and sealed by Ivan Bohun in 1651. Bohun’s seal depicts a bent bow with an arrow, point downwards, resting on the bowstring, with two estoiles positioned in the middle chief, and accosted by Cyrillic letters reading “IBPV” (Ivan Bohun, Polkovnyk of Vinnytsia). The document also bears Bohun’s signature, which is entirely different from that of Fedorovych.



12 Ibid.

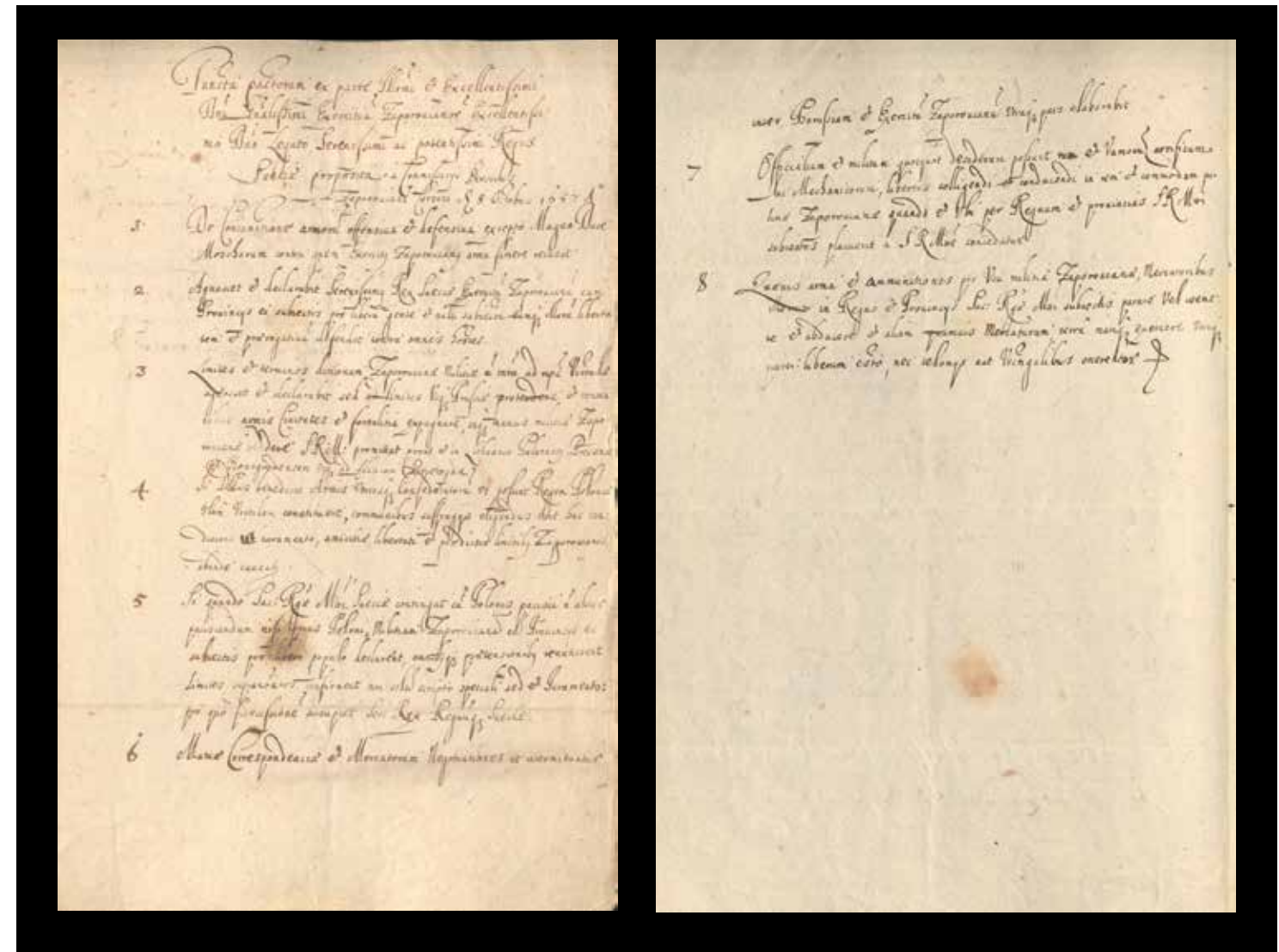
13 M. Gumowski, *Herbarz patrycjatu Torunskiego* [Coats of Arms of the Toruń Patricians] (Toruń, 1970).

14 W. Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku* [Patricians and Burghers of Lviv in the 16th and 17th Cc.] (Lwów, 1892), pp. 12, 24, 144.

15 URL: <https://www.facebook.com/oleg.odnorozhenko1/posts/502929897002715> (Дата звернення: 23.11.2021).

■ FIGURE 6

Autographs of Ivan Bohun (above) and Ivan Fedorovich (below). The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm



■ FIGURE 7

The original manuscript of the Treaty of Korsun of 1657. The National Archives of Sweden, Stockholm

Thus, the comparison of signatures and seals definitively settles the long-standing debate, proving that Ivan Bohun and Ivan Fedorovych were two distinct historical figures.

The analysis of the Ukrainian senior officers’ seals on the document reveals that only Yuri Nemyrych used his own sigil. At the same time, these findings offer new insights into the composition of Hetman Vyhovsky’s supreme council. The seals used by Kowalewski and Fedorovych originally belonged to their respective owners, who must have been present at the signing of the treaty. One of these individuals was evidently a foreigner, likely from outside the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, while the other was a member of a non-Ukrainian merchant family. Therefore, what initially appeared to be a negative result for Ukrainian sigillography has, in fact, opened up new avenues for prosopographic research and further investigation into the treaty’s signatories.

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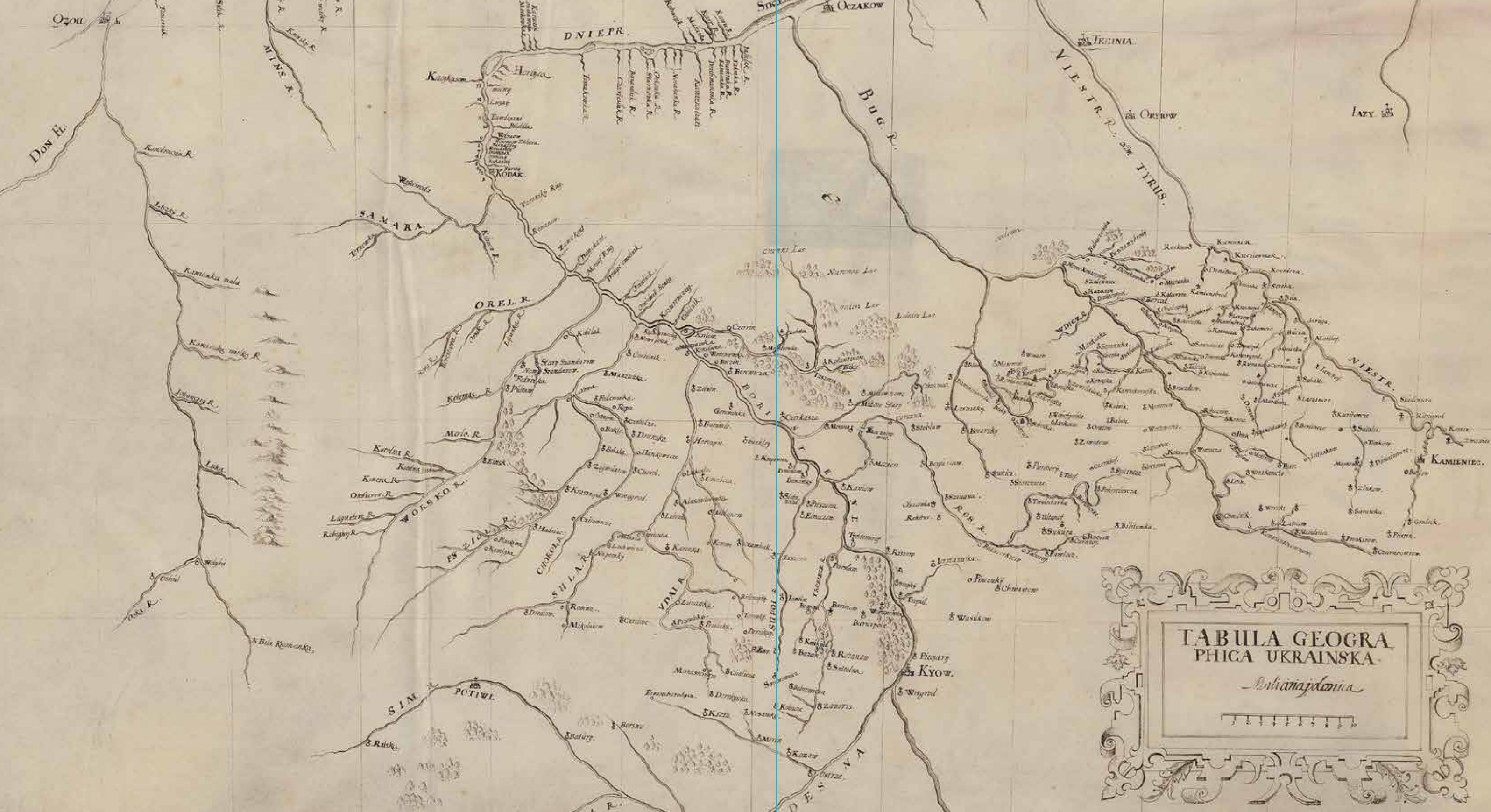
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POTIWL

KYOW.

# TABULA GEOGRAPHICA UKRAINSKA

*Wilhelms J. J. J.*

