

**FORMS AND METHODS OF STRUGGLE FOR THE HETMAN'S MACE of I. BRIUKHOVETSKY Before the "BLACK Council" in Nizhyn.**

60-ies of the XVII century were the years of the reign of one of the most interesting and unusual Hetman of Ukraine - Ivan Martynovich Briukhovetsky. His personality evokes rather mixed assessment in many researchers. The main reason for this was the policy that he pursued during his reign : close relations with the Russian Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich, making advances to people, not keeping his promises after Council in Nizhyn, where he was elected as Hetman. In order to get the Mace, Bryukhovetskiy has used a variety of methods of struggle in order to deal with his political rivals - Ya. Somko and Zolotarenko V. Among these methods were numerous slanders on them to the king, denunciations, close cooperation with the Russian Bishop Methodius, numerous promises of reforms for Nyzove Cossackdom, that played a crucial role in the events of June 1663, when Briukhovetsky was elected as Hetman of left-bank Ukraine. Therefore, there is a need to explore and systematize the main reasons and factors in the struggle for the Mace on the eve of the Council that will help us to understand the originality of the person of the Hetman of the left Bank and his role in those events. Many historians have been engaged in the study of this period. V. Gorobets should be highlighted among them and his work "Black Council", where he gives a broad characterization of not only the event itself but also describes the struggle of all three contenders for the Hetman's Mace on the eve of the Council. Significant role in this period plays the writings of T. Chukhlib "Cossacks and Monarchs" and "Hetmans and Monarchs," in which the author hasn't not ignored the figure of I. Briukhovetsky and the episode connected with the election of the Hetman at the "Black Council" using archival documents , and gives his vision of those events. It is impossible to ignore, of course, such a significant work of the famous Ukrainian researchers V. Smoliiy V. and Stepankova as "Ukrainian national revolution of XVII century. (1648-1676 PP.), in which the period of the 60s is delivered in the context of the Ukrainian revolution of the seventeenth century. Each

of these works sheds light not only on the events of "Black Council", but also better illuminates the personality of Hetman Briukhovetsky.

The important task is to explore the process of the struggle for power and to understand the objective picture of the socio-political life of the Ukrainian state in the 60-is of the XVII century. It is necessary to highlight the factors with the help of which I. Bryukhovetskiy received the Hetman's Mace and on whom he relied in his policy during his reign, as this will allow to have a broader view of the picture of political life at that time and to understand the essence of those events.

Unlike Ya. Somko and V.Zolotarenko, his competitors in the struggle for the Hetman's Mace, Ivan Briukhovetsky went to the crest of political confrontation in the Cossack Ukraine, not due to family relations, but due to his own talents and favorable circumstances. [2 , c. 85]

Having been endowed with an analytical mind, the ability to intuitively feel the mood of the masses, the actor's talent, the gift of the orator and publicist, Koshevoi Hetman differed in ambition, energy, will. At the same time, he was a clever schemer and a cynical demagogue. Having perceived the growing dissatisfaction among various classes of the population, the exudation of officers in a privileged stratum and their insatiable thirst for enrichment, I. Bryukhovetskiy skillfully used it for the formation of socio-political support in the struggle for power. In letters to different addressees, he sharply criticized the officers for arbitrariness, abuse, greed, exploitation of the population... He deservedly accused them in violation of the ordinary rights of Cossacks to occupy vacant lands, meadows and forests, to protect them or dig around and to settle on them with their families, while "the peasants in these lands.. who owned, nobody has right to hold" [5, p. 252]

In addition, Koshoviy Hetman nominated the former from Rich Pospolyta Matviy Hvyntovku and Volevich (Timka) as colonels and allowed them to recruit to their regiments all the volunteers who could vote for him during the council . Vintovka and Volevich successfully fulfilled the set goal, to recruit into their ranks the volunteers, at whose appearance the Cossacks hid as from the enemy. [2, c. 88]

In addition, Bryukhovetskiy promised after " the full black council " all the incomes, which until that time went to the Hetman, colonels, and sergeants, to send to

the Royal Treasury, so they would come from there for the pay of the Royal warriors. It should be mentioned that this, without a doubt, a very good populist move of Ivan Martinovich is not the innovation of the winter of 1663. At least, as it can be inferred from the later statements by Bishop Methodius, that the fall of 1662, during a secret meeting with the local guardian in Gadyach, a contender for the Hetman's place promised in the case of possession of Hetman's symbols of power to forgo profits in favor of the Royal Treasury. [2, p. 88]. [2, c. 88]

Proclaiming himself highly symbolic as "Koshoviy Hetman" or " Hetman of Zaporizhia ", I. Bryukhovetskiy was involved in the fight for the mace ,he started actively to reveal the "devious intentions"of Ya. Somko before the Belgorod Governor Prince Ohno Romodanovskii, a Colonel of the Moscow troops Kochavim, repeatedly signaling that to Moscow. Having arrived in Kiev in order to get the required for the Cossacks supplies and weapons, Koshoviy met with the Locum Tenens and tried to convince him that Ya Somkov couldn't be trusted because he was said to prepare a "betrayal".

Substituted Hetman was called by him as a "traitor". Not having limited only to discredit of his opponent, Hetman had been involved in highly successfully from the point of view of the urgent need of his political game –he pursued the ideas of cancellation of the institute of the Hetman in Ukraine , and the administration of the province could be entrusted to any of Moscow's nobles, at least the Royal courtier to Prince F. Rtishchev. [3, p. 87]

It is likely that Kiev Governor Prince F. Kurakin , who, on 21 September 1661 wrote a denunciation on J. Somka (he allegedly appealed to Y. Khmel'nitsky, "to make the Tatars go to this side of the Dnieper") to Moscow , received information from I. Briukhovetsky. [3, c. 86]

In addition, Briukhovetsky sent denunciation on J. Somka to the Russian courtier D. Veliko-Gagin to Sevsk accusing him in secret relations with the right-Bank Hetman, that were aimed at separation of the left Bank from the king. Hetman focused on the fact that the town officer: " in Warsaw swore allegiance to the king of Poland in order with the help of any means to join Ukraine to Poland, and now he, Somko, is seeking for any way how to counteract the holding of the Black Council,

and him to be an autocratic Hetman". Before all, Bryukhovetskiy has noted a close kinship between right and left Banks, claiming that those "communicate with the help of deceit , make fools of people and diddle them, urging the Tatars..." [1]

To illustrate his innocence regarding Samkovich's intends to betray the king Bryukhovetskiy he sent to Moscow okolnichy three letters of right-Bank Hetman P. Teteria to left-Bank Hetman, that contained the calls for the transition of the left - Bank under the protection of Jahn II Casimir. It could be understood from their context that this prospect had already been discussed between the correspondents and Ya. Somko agreed to take this step. [3, c.98]. [3, c. 98]

In relations with the Tsar, Bryukhovetskiy had chosen a very peculiar way of conduct. Knowing well the psychology of power in general and especially its Moscow version, Hetman often resorted to rather cheap tricks, which for some time worked successfully in his favor. So, being an interesting human in things Bryukhovetskiy in the address to Alexei Mikhailovich did not skimp on loyalist statements, and often outright flattery to his address. For signing the correspondence he chose such a formula: "a faithful slave and the lowest footstool of the throne of his Imperial Majesty Ivan Bryukhovetskiy" [ [4, p. 70]

Feeling his dependence on Moscow, Hetman had to be tricky, to maneuver under the pressure of circumstances, to make concessions. As it was, for example, at the beginning of 1665, during the negotiations with the clerk of the Council J. Khitrovo. Trying to force the Ukrainian side to give the food and the housings for the Royal archers, the ambassador reminded the Ukrainian audience during the negotiations that the king's troops protected Ukrainian cities from ruin. [4, p. 70-71]

In his letters to the king, I. Bryukhovetskiy had declared the necessity of refusal of Hetman's government not only from profits but in general, from claims to political supremacy in society: "And in Zaporozhian troops it has never occurred that Hetman and colonels and captains and people of all sorts owned commoners and peasants in the cities and in the villages without the Royal privileges. From the context of the conversation, it implied that the main result of years of struggle of the Cossacks, Hetman saw only in the change of the sovereign -ownership law of the Polish king had to shift to the Russian Tsar. It is clear that they similarly interpreted

the content of the events in Moscow, and therefore the political actions of Ivan Martynovich increased after such statements in the chambers of the "white stone".

In such circumstances, Moscow finally lost confidence in Ya. Somko and relied on Briukhovetsky. Hetman and the locum tenens just had to state to the representatives of Tsar in Ukraine that they feared to go to Nezhin because of the threat of attack from the side Y.Somko's men, as they were protected by the squad of the Moscow military men. [3, c. 98]

We know how such a clever tactic of Briukhovetsky in the struggle for the power ended - he won in June 1663 at the "Black Council", and the period of his govern led to a further deterioration of the political situation in Ukraine. [1]

Summing up, it should be pointed out that "Black Council" 1663 became a quite unique event, because until now common Cossacks haven't played such an important role in the elections of the Hetman – who is one of the factors of the victory of I. Briukhovetsky, who with the help of numerous promises drew them to his side. And this is only one of the factors of victory that has been used by Ivan Martynovich in Nizhyn. Due to his cunning, the talent of a demagogue and numerous libels against political rivals, he managed to achieve his goal and got the Mace. However, as time showed, his Hetmanate wouldn't last long, besides he did not improve the situation of the population, but on the contrary laid the cornerstone for the events of the period of the so-called "ruins", that was marked by the disintegration of Ukrainian statehood and general decline and bloody wars on the territory of Ukraine.

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**Слюсаренко В. В. Форми і методи боротьби за гетьманську булаву І. Брюховецького напередодні Ніжинської «Чорної ради».** У статті розглядаються форми та методи боротьби, які використовував І. Брюховецький для того, щоб стати гетьманом Лівобережної України, розкриваються його плани напередодні Ніжинської ради, яка відбулася у червні 1663 р. Вказується на непересічні таланти одного з головних претендентів на булаву. Акцентується увага на способах боротьби з політичними конкурентами напередодні червневих подій. З'ясовується роль російської влади в розгортанні боротьби за гетьманський уряд, виокремлюються чинники, котрі формували ставлення царя Олексія Михайловича до політичних процесів на Лівобережжі та вказується на його визначальній ролі напередодні виборів гетьмана і його допомозі, яку він надав майбутньому гетьману у боротьбі з конкурентами. Досліджується роль та місце російського єпископа Мефодія та окольничого Д. Велико-Гагіна у політичних баталіях п. п. 60-х рр. XVII ст. Окреслюються фактори, які сприяли становленню І. Брюховецького як гетьмана Лівобережної України: його демагогічна політика та вміння лавірувати на інтересах різних прошарків населення, зокрема рядового козацтва, яке стало одним із головних критеріїв перемоги у Ніжині. Аналізуються процеси, що відбувались у переддень ради. Вказується на важливості цієї події в історії, наголошується на її неординарності, оскільки вперше на виборах гетьмана головну роль відіграло рядове козацтво. Акцентується увага на тому, що прихід до влади І. Брюховецького на Лівобережжі став одним із вирішальних чинників початку періоду «руїни» в історії України.

**Ключові слова:** Іван Брюховецький, «чорна рада», Я. Сомко, В. Золотаренко, князь Ф. Куракін, князь Г. Ромодановський, окольничий Д. Велико-Гагін, єпископ Мефодій.

**Слюсаренко В. В. Формы и методы борьбы за гетманскую булаву И. Брюховецкого накануне Нежинской «Черной рады».** В статье рассматриваются формы и методы борьбы, которые использовал И. Брюховецкий для того, чтобы стать гетманом Левобережной Украины, раскрываются его планы накануне Нежинского совета, который состоялся в

*июне 1663 г. Указывается на непересекающиеся таланты одного из главных претендентов на булаву. Акцентируется внимание на способах борьбы с политическими конкурентами накануне июньских событий. Выясняется роль российской власти в разворачивании борьбы за гетманское правительство, выделяются факторы, которые формировали отношение царя Алексея Михайловича к политическим процессам на Левобережье и указывается на его определяющей роли накануне выборов гетмана. Исследуется роль и место российского епископа Мефодия и окольного Д. Велико-Гагина в борьбе за власть. Определяются факторы, которые способствовали становлению Брюховецкого как гетмана Левобережной Украины: в частности его демагогическая политика и умение лавировать на интересах различных слоев населения, в частности рядового козацтва, которое стало одним из главных критериев победы в Нежине. Анализируются процессы, которые происходили в канун совета. Указывается важность этого события как весьма неординарного, поскольку впервые на выборах гетмана главную роль сыграло рядовое казачество. Акцентируется внимание на том, что приход к власти Брюховецкого на Левобережье стал одним из решающих факторов начала периода «руины» в истории Украины.*

**Ключевые слова:** *Иван Брюховецкий, «черная рада», Я. Сомко, В. Золотаренко, князь Ф. Куракин, князь Г. Ромодановский, окольный Д. Велико-Гагин, епископ Мефодий.*