

History of Ukraine-Rus': The Cossack Age, 1654-1657, vol. 9, book 2, part 1. Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Trans. Marta Daria Olynyk. Ed. Serhii Plokhy and Frank E. Sysyn, with the assistance of Myroslav Yurkevich. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2008. 566 pp. lxvi + 566. \$119.95. ISBN 978-1-894865-10-4.

REVIEWED BY: Paul W. Knoll, University of Southern California, Emeritus

This is the fifth volume of the English translation of Mykhailo Hrushevsky's ten-volume (in eleven books) *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, sponsored by the Peter Jacyk Centre for Ukrainian Historical Research at the University of Alberta. (Previous volumes were reviewed in this journal in SCJ 32 [2001]: 173-75; 35 [2004]: 868-69; and 37 [2006]: 1125-27; each of these contains general observations that are relevant to the current volume.) As with previous volumes the series appears under the general editorship of Frank E. Sysyn, ably assisted by an excellent team, especially the consulting editor, Serhii Plokhy. Hrushevsky's ninth volume, book 2 (the third volume of the subseries *The Cossack Age*), originally appeared in 1931 and ran to over a thousand pages. For practical reasons, the English translation of the volume is being published in two parts.

Hrushevsky is well known for both his history and for being, in crucial ways, the cre-

ator of modern Ukrainian identity. By the time he completed this volume he had been an important leader in the Ukrainian revolution of 1917, had briefly served as the president of the first independent Ukrainian state, had spent time in exile before returning in 1924 to Kiev, eventually to fall afoul of the changed political atmosphere under the Soviet regime. Work on his history progressed slowly, in part because of Hrushevsky's tireless efforts to add archival materials to his text. But political factors also played a role. Whereas he earlier had the support of the authorities, he was increasingly subject to open persecution. His institute in the Academy of Sciences was closed, his students were attacked, and by the beginning of 1931 Hrushevsky himself was being subjected to public attacks. He left Kiev and went to Moscow, where he was arrested, then returned to Ukraine for interrogation before being sent back to Moscow. He remained in Russia until his death in 1934.

Though volume 9 had been completed by 1929, only the first book—five of thirteen chapters—was published in that year, the remainder waiting for another two years to appear. It received officially a negative reaction. The regime accused him of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," a charge that survived into the post-World War II decades, with supposed new "errors" on his part being identified and censured. In particular, he was charged with undermining bonds between Ukrainians and Russians through his interpretation of the actions of the major players depicted in this part of his history—among them Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Ivan Vyhovsky. In today's changed world, the Marxist critique has lost much of its force, but the issues of nationalism remain. This second book of volume 9 represents an important contribution to this debate.

The four chapters of part 1 of book 2 cover a period of about two years from the Ukrainian-Muscovite agreement in May 1653 through the military and diplomatic developments in mid-year 1655, i.e., the middle period of the uprising of Khmelnytsky. The centerpiece of these developments was the so-called Pereiaslav Agreement, which, for all intents and purposes, brought Cossack Ukraine under a Moscow protectorate. Hrushevsky saw this as "a great political upheaval: Ukraine's transition from the rule of the Polish Commonwealth to being 'under the high hand' of the Muscovite tsar. It shifts the center of political gravity in eastern Europe from Poland to Muscovy, imparting a vigorous impulse for the Europeanization of Muscovy [and] its inclusion into the political system of Europe" (quoted in this volume, xxxiii, by Plokyh from *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, vol. 9, bk. 1, lxxviii). This agreement has been seen by some as a treaty between Moscow and Ukraine, a voluntary union that not only promoted, as Plokyh puts it in his introduction, "the integration of the Cossack elites into imperial Russian society," but also constituted a guarantee of Cossack rights that "defend[ed] not only the rights and privileges of the Cossack estate but also the autonomous status of Ukraine" (xxv). Hrushevsky's own controversial position, which had evolved over time, was that there was no treaty, only an agreement arrived at in the context of specific Muscovite and Ukrainian interests at that time and that in so doing the Cossacks, including Khmelnytsky, had failed to represent the whole of the Ukraine nation. All of this is argued by Hrushevsky against the backdrop of a detailed presentation of political, diplomatic, and military activity. The extensive archival material uncovered by Hrushevsky and his research teams is often quoted at length in his text. It provides a solid foundation for his history, though his extended and sometimes uncritical reliance on the diary of Paul of Aleppo, the son of the Patriarch of Antioch, who visited Ukraine in this crucial period, later enabled critics to attack his views and interpretations. This massive amount of detail is at one and the same time a strength and a weakness of Hrushevsky's work. It provides a deep and thick account of events, but it often leaves him—despite the length of this work—without opportunity for synthesis.

As with earlier volumes in this series, the editorial and historiographical contributions

made by Plokhy and others are absolutely first-rate. Whatever the shortcomings of Hrushevsky's work by contemporary standards, his *Istoria* stands as a monument to his vision of a national past. His text is supplemented by three documents well edited by David Frick, maps, a glossary, and tables of hetmans and rulers. This volume is another impressive achievement in a remarkable publishing venture.

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